The problems of social research may be classified into 'epistemological' and 'technological'. Epistemological problems cover the issues in the area of Sociology of knowledge e.g. the rationale behind the themes of research, the process involved in evolving one's theoretical framework, the linkage between theory, concepts and data etc. Technology of research refers to the problems a researcher has to encounter in course of selecting the units of study, choosing appropriate tools and techniques of data collection and defining one's identity in the field (Oommen, 1987:185). The theoretical framework which provides a perspective or approach to look into the problem has already been proposed in the first chapter. In this chapter we would confine our attention to the issues e.g. selecting the field, the rationale and shortcomings in the selection of the field, the techniques used for data collection and an overall experience of the field. Notably, a systematic procedure of data collection is essential in order to substantiate the approach or theoretical framework suggested in our previous chapter.

Although my field investigation was to be done in folk culture, my aim was not to analyse the culture of villages and urban towns. My purpose was to evaluate the role of urbanization in bringing about cultural change and to observe the manifestation of this in the perspective of rural-urban continuum. Oommen (1987:186) writes,

"... a study of change is methodologically sound only
if it is attempted either in a time-perspective or in a space-perspective. While in the former case the same working universe is subjected to analysis through time, the latter calls for a comparative study of at least two spatial units with the provision that the additional variable assumed to be causing the change is absent from one of the units."

Since man and culture are inseparable from each other and considered to be the two sides of the same coin, it was felt to be highly rewarding to attempt an analysis of continuum both in a time-perspective as well as in a space-perspective. In a time-perspective our attempt is to examine the growth and development of Sambalpuri folk-culture over the centuries. We have maintained that the growth of Sambalpuri folk culture is a result of tribal-Hindu and Hindu-tribe continuum. We have tried to construct a systematic idea for which we have taken the help mainly of historical sources and available literature on western Orissa or Sambalpur area (see Chapter-III). Besides in a space-perspective our endeavour is to select an interior village, a sub-urban village and one urban area for the study of rural-urban continuum.

THE FIELD OF STUDY : RATIONALE BEHIND CHOOSING A FIELD :

The area of my study is Sambalpur district in Orissa. Orissa was selected on the following grounds:

1. First, Orissa was the first province created on the basis of supposed language homogeneity of the state on 1st April, 1936, well before independence of India. But empirically speaking Orissa is a political unit of cultural diversities. For instance, it has several languages, cultural groups and tribes. In all these years, a culturally composite Orissa has failed to emerge.
Furthermore, the unity in diversity has not been maintained. The language and culture of the dominant pressure group i.e. eastern Oriyas, have been emphasized more than that of the other parts of Orissa. In consequence, the common identity i.e., Oriya identity supposed to emanate out of a composite culture in Orissa has been tempered with the mounting pressure and feelings of deprivation. In all these years, there has been an open conflict between Sambalpurias (people of western Orissa) and Katkias (people of eastern Orissa), or Katkias and Barhampurias (people of southern Orissa) in all fronts of life. Very recently, east-west conflict has come out sharply in the field of culture, particularly language. Also, the people of Sambalpur area have started a fresh movement for the formation of a separate state named 'Koshala Rajya'.

2. Secondly, we are well aware of or acquainted with the official language i.e. Oriya and other cultural traits of Orissa. It has contributed substantially to make this study easier in a number of ways. This personal knowledge as an asset has also inspired us to select Orissa rather than any other state of India.

The following points determined our decision to select Sambalpur area for this research work:

1. As far as physiographic sub-divisions of present state of Orissa is concerned, Sambalpur area constitutes one single topographic unit quite different from the other parts of Orissa. Orissa could be divided into three major physiographic zones.
the districts of Puri, Cuttack, Balasore and Ganjam constitutes the part of East-Coastal Plains; Koraput and Dhenkanal form the part of Eastern Ghats; and Sambalpur, Bulangir, Sundergarh, Kalahandi and Baud come under Eastern Plateaus (Sinha, 1971:5-7).

2. Sambalpur area has altogether a separate historical tradition of more than five hundred years under Chauhan rulers. It was bound to have an impact on culture of this area. Although, the entire area was divided into a number of important Chauhan kingdoms namely Patnagarh, Sambalpur, Sonpur, and Khariar, the rulers of these states had common lineage. Also, these states had a common cultural current. Summing up, the Chauhan rulers provided a common single identity in terms of social, historical, political and cultural sense (For detail see Chapter - III).

3. As far as cultural similarity and regional feeling is concerned, Sambalpur area forms a separate cultural unit, well within the present political boundary of Orissa. The more educated coastal Orissa has a smaller tribal population, high population density and comparatively high percentage of Scheduled Caste population. On the other hand, the moderately educated, sparsely populated Sambalpur area has long been a tribal dominated area. Sambalpuri is the mother tongue or the dominant spoken language of the people of this culture-area. Thereby, the people of this area belong to a single speech community. They have a long tradition of their own folk music, dances, rituals and festivals and mannerism, quite different from that of other parts of Orissa. The religious tradition of this
culture-area is also different from that of the plains (Pattnaik, 1990:32-8).

4. Although physically, culturally and historically, Sambalpur area is different from that of the other parts of Orissa, the original culture-area of Sambalpur is distributed largely across two states - Madhya Pradesh and Orissa. It is a clear indication of what Oommen (1986) calls, 'culturocide'. It may be noted here that 'Koshal Sangram Parishad' of Sambalpur has issued a map of Koshal to be formed as a separate state comprising the area of 73,480 sq. kms. (See the Map-II, Chapter-V).

5. Even after forty-four years of independence and incorporation of Sambalpur area in the state of Orissa since April 1936, the people of this culture-area have never truly identified themselves with the Oriya culture. They have maintained their cultural identity in one way or the other. In this connection, it must be noted that the later immigrants from the coastal Orissa have given the name jhadua to the previously settled caste-Hindus of the Sambalpur area (Mazumdar, 1925:64). "The common people do not consider this area even now to be in any way connected with Orissa. Whenever anybody proceeds to Puri, either on pilgrimage, or on business he says in common parlance that he goes to Orissa" (Mazumdar, 1925:68).

Very recently, they have asserted their cultural identity through Sambalpuri language movement. As a result, east-west conflict has come out sharply in cultural field.

6. In all these days, there has been an open allegation against the eastern Orissa peoples' domination in all fronts of social life. Allegedly, 'Katkias', as the people of coastal districts
are commonly known, are taking the major shares of economic, educational, political and other opportunities and thereby creating a wide gap between east and west. Years after independence, the people of this area still maintain such a feeling of deprivation that they have been dragged into the feet of Cuttack. Even though Sambalpur possesses tremendous natural resources such as minerals, waters and forests, it is one of the most under-developed region not only in India but also in Orissa. What we exactly want to point out is that development of a region should be judged not in terms of volume of work-force or educated people or trade and commerce found in a place. The true nature and colour of development is reflected in the state or condition of the people of that place i.e., 'insiders' and not of 'outsiders'.

7. There are very few studies on the various aspects of Sambalpur – social, political and economic. And we hardly come across a single major work on Sambalpuri folk culture as such except for a few papers coming out in various local dailies and journals. Significantly, such articles are not given due importance by the much known and well-circulated established Oriya dailies and journals, published from coastal Orissa.

8. We are well acquainted with the language and other cultural traits of Sambalpur area. It has contributed substantially to make this study easier in many respects. Furthermore, such a personal knowledge has also inspired us to select Sambalpur as the area of our research, than any other part of Orissa.
According to Srinivas (1978:39) the participant observer is expected to be familiar with the literature and language spoken in the unit chosen for field work.

In view of this I have chosen the Sambalpur area i.e. modern western Orissa.

Now the question arises: Why did we select two villages and the Sambalpur town of the Sambalpur district and on what criteria? In our endeavour, the changing pattern of culture will be discussed with special reference to tribe-caste continuum, industrial urbanisation and agricultural modernization in a spatio-temporal context. Since agriculture, forests and industry are three important socio-economic dimensions of a society, it is essential to identify a suitable area where they co-exist strategically. Sambalpur town is selected because it is the centre of Sambalpuri cultural movement in Sambalpur area. Secondly, Sambalpur town has been historically and traditionally known as an important urban centre in this culture-area (See Chapter-VI).

Even in post-industrial urban era, Sambalpur is more urbanised in opposition to other urban centres of this area. The rapid urban growth was the result of many developments. The reasons were the rapid growth of population, installation and subsequently expansion of number of industries, the limited employment opportunities on the land, the lack of prospects; for employment in the rural areas etc. Jharsuguda-Sambalpur-Bargarh region centring Sambalpur town is the third largest industrial zone in Orissa with four industrial nodes. They are Jharsududa, Brajrajnagar, Sambalpur and Bargarh. These are located on the
trunk line linking Calcutta and Bombay. Sambalpur, Burla and Hirakud form the core of the zone. These industrial sites are served by the railway line linking Sambalpur and Titlagarh which was opened to traffic during the Third Plan. This industrial zone is also linked by a well developed road net-work with Cuttack and Rourkela. All the industries of this zone get hydel power from Hirakud Dam Project, situated just 16 kms. away from Sambalpur town. During the past fifty years this particular area has transformed from a predominantly agrarian and rural society, to a relatively complex industrial and urban area (Sinha, 1971:111; see Table-I of Chapter-VI). Thirdly, the forests of Sambalpur district spread over an area of about 2,351 sq. miles out of the total area of 6,764.6 sq. miles (Senapati and Mahanti, 1971:175). It means, one-third of the total area of Sambalpur district is under forests having great economic significance. Fourthly, Sambalpur town is placed on the bank of the river Mahanadi. The district has a total geographical area of 43,30,000 acres (17,52,000 hectares). Officially, about 44 per cent of this area is utilized for agricultural progress (Senapati and Mohanti, 1971:141). Since irrigation has been considered to be the major variable in agricultural modernization, Sambalpur town was considered to be a suitable place in Sambalpur area. Hirakud dam project has been constructed just 16 kms. above the Sambalpur town, which makes a great landmark in the system of irrigation in the district (Senapati and Mahanti, 1971:144).

Again within the western Orissa, Sambalpur has a longer history as an administrative unit under British Raj. British took over
the possession of this district in 1849. Consequently, it has a longer history of modern urbanization as compared to other parts of western Orissa. Introduction of developmental measures under the direct supervision of British administrative machinery had envisaged new opportunities and their differential utilizations. That is why, perhaps, Oriya language movement started first in Sambalpur in the early period of 20th century. Sambalpur also played a significant role in the formation of a separate state of Orissa in 1936. After selecting an urban centre i.e. Sambalpur town, the next attempt was to select two types of villages - one is non-irrigated, forested and relatively tribal dominated interior village, and the other one is peasant, sub-urban and irrigated for a sequential change to find out the rural-urban continuum.

FIELD WORK:

The field work was divided into two stages. The first stage was a preliminary visit to the field in order to select two villages and one urban centre. Gould(1959) has emphasized four important criteria for choosing the area of study: satisfactory rapport, accessibility from the base of operations, manageable size and relative completeness as a community. There is no denying the fact that these criteria may vary according to one's problem. Keeping these things in mind, we tried to select the villages and urban centres to be studied. It was the time to prepare ourselves with a view to establish our rapport with some of the local people. We also tried to contact various cultural groups and important personalities as many as possible, who are
engaged in cultural movement in Sambalpur area, and also to observe their reactions. It was the right time to examine the viability of those villages and urban centre in terms of their accessibility, manageable size and relative completeness as a community for our specific purpose. During this period, there was the opportunity to gather an overall knowledge and idea about the history, language, ritual-festivals and other cultural attributes of Sambalpur area.

THE PROBLEM:

Studies on folk cultural life at the micro-level are very few and inadequate. In this situation, our concern is to explore the possibilities of overcoming these limitations to some extent, and in order to make the study comprehensive and relatively more relevant to the present situation. Although, my field work was to be done in folk-culture in the two villages namely Gainpura (interior village) and Kainsir (sub-urban village) and one urban centre i.e. Sambalpur town, my aim was not only to analyse the culture of three social settings. My purpose was to evaluate the role of industrial-urbanization to bring about cultural changes in rural areas and thereby to observe the manifestation of this in a rural-urban continuum.

At the micro level, unlike the usual cultural life studies which only account for the general description of the culture and tradition, this study has also taken into account the socio-economic and political background of such culture. Consequently, our endeavour is to relate this to the socio-economic structure
of the state too. At the same time, the major policy decisions of the cultural elite and political elite are analysed to find out the cultural interest in the policies and in their implementations. As it has been said earlier, at the micro-level, the study includes the two villages and one urban area: a predominantly tribal village (Gainpura), relatively interior and isolated, unirrigated peasant village, close to jungle and away from the urban centre i.e. Sambalpur town; a sub-urban, irrigated village penetrated by capitalist mode of production.

A number of related factors contributed to the selection of Gainpura and Kainsir for our study. These are: 1. minimum congenial environment; 2. availability of a safe place to stay for a few months; 3. the facility to have food on paid basis; 4. the village has a long history as it has been a settlement for at least for 100 years; 5. the village has some old people above the age of 60 or so who could narrate the culture and history of the village; 6. the village has a critical minimum size of 80 households; 7. the village has both tribal and caste households; 8. the interior village is a multi-caste near the forest; also has seventy percent of Scheduled Tribe population. 9. it is a dry (un-irrigated) village. 10. the sub-urban village is a multi-caste and wet (irrigated) one within 5 kms. of the town; 11. the sub-urban village has all weather accessibility, electricity, recreational and other sub-urban facilities. 12. further, the impact of urbanization has been made manifest on the land utilization pattern and total economy of the sub-urban village.

In view of these criteria on the location, social composition and
economy of the village made me to select one sub-urban village from Dhankauda Block and the interior village from Dhama police station.

The preliminary visit was carried on for two months during September-October, 1988 in order to select the villages. I did not go through any census records, nor did I contact any Block or District level official though I was advised to take their help. Notably, some of my JNU mates were working as Block Development Officer, Additional Tahasildar, Police Officer, Revenue Officer, Sub-Divisional Officer and Probationary Officer in and around Sambalpur. They wanted me to render their service to make my task easy. But I wanted to make my first visit to the villages independent of them. Because, I thought that my association with such officials would have hampered my work. Generally, the villagers are apathetic towards government officials.

With a view to select the tribal dominated interior village I went to a friend's place. He was well placed in the All India Radio, Sambalpur. The recording unit of Sambalpur Radio station regularly visits interior areas for recording folk music and songs on the spot for broadcast and screening. My friend helped me in discussions with the people of this unit. After a long discussion and the criteria cited above we located some areas in Sambalpur district within a reach of 50 kms. from the Sambalpur town, because we noticed that the distance between two urban centres in the district was generally 50 to 60 kms. (see the Map of Sambalpur district). My actual visit to the villages started
thereafter. Without describing the detail of my experience in each and every village during this period, I would like to cite my experience in the cluster of villages near Dhama Police Station, where I finally selected a village called Gainpura for my field study.

At the outset, I went to a friend's house in the village Dhama. He was known to me during my college days in G.M. College, Sambalpur. When I first visited the place he was the High School teacher in Dhama High School. His father was also a teacher there. It helped me a lot in gathering information about the nearby villages. I talked to the family members about the social composition, convenience for staying, general nature of the economy of some nearby villages and also collected the names of some informants from different castes and classes of that cluster of villages. One morning, I borrowed a bicycle from my friend and went with packed lunch to see one of those villages for myself. Although, it was a Sunday and my friend was very much willing to accompany me, I did not take him with me. Just the previous day (Saturday) I realized that he had a bad tendency. A weekly bazaar is held in Dhama every Saturday. I went with my friend to visit the bazaar. I was new to the village. The people in Dhama village were quite curious to know about me which I found in some other villages too. They were inquisitive about my marital status, job, family background and social background i.e., caste/sub-caste etc. I noticed that he had the tendency to introduce me as an important friend from Delhi. Being a man of that culture-area it was not easy for me to hide my personal identity. Because of
that, I had to face certain problems also.

However, my dress was simple and conditioned by the approach road to the villages and weather. Here the JNU style of dress (Khadi kurta and pajama) helped me a lot. The weather was good and pleasant during that period. I went about in loose Khadi kurta, pant and hawai chappals. Obviously, the villagers are generally afraid of talking to 'Babus' with well pressed shirts and suits. But my Khadi kurta also sometimes created confusion among the simple villagers. I don't know how they had developed the idea that only politicians wear Khadi dress. In one village they took me as a political worker. So, in my next visit or subsequent visit to the villages I had to make some minor changes in the pattern of dress. Instead of wearing white Khadi kurta, I wore my usual shirt and avoided wearing white Khadi pajama also.

First, I moved around the village without talking to people. I observed the rivers, ponds and general layout of the village; its accessibility, agricultural and non-agricultural activities, irrigation facilities etc. According to Srinivas (1978:42), the informations a researcher collects during the first few weeks of his stay is not only fragmentary but also erroneous. So, one should collect informations of a routine nature on sensitive areas such as material culture, agricultural practices, weather and general village problems. Time spent on rapport building is never wasted because in the course of going about his work the researcher becomes well acquainted with the people and they come to accept his presence everywhere as a normal phenomenon. This way it secures the collection of reliable information in future.
When I started moving around the village, some people did see me. I noticed some of them paying a very casual look at me. When I started approaching a few of them, I observed that they were not responding well. It was very strange to me. I had the idea that the people and the village life are very simple and they generally show their curiosity and inquisitiveness towards outsiders and strangers. Soon I discovered that their response was based on some wrong ideas about me. There was some misconception in their minds. They took me for one of those who were searching for valuable stones on the river bed of the Mahanadi near Sonpur, about 50 kms. from the village. However, when I referred to my friend in Dhama it gave them some confidence in me. Some of them took me around the village thereafter.

The conversation with the villagers was very simple and straight as if two people of different villages were speaking to each other about their respective villages. Usually I started with the weather, harvest and seasonal festivals thereafter. Gradually the conversation shifted to the social and cultural life in the village. The villagers around me asked about my identity. I told them that I was a student and I had come to visit their village in order to study their culture.

In course of selecting an interior village once I noticed that the people were not in a position to accept me as a student. At the age of 25 how could it be possible to remain unmarried, unemployed and also a student. Some people also thought me as a Policeman coming to investigate the alleged illegal stone
business in that area. In another village when I told them that I intend to study their culture, at once they considered me as an AIR personnel. They became very happy. The news spread within a short time and soon I discovered myself in the midst of a large gathering. Later on I came to know that previous year some AIR personnel had come to that village and recorded their folk songs. In all probability, perhaps the recording unit of AIR, Sambalpur had visited that village earlier. Some villagers even went to the extent saying that I was a member of that unit who came and recorded the songs which were finally relayed through AIR and also heard by the villagers. I was helpless and was forced to give them the understanding that I did accompany the troupe the previous year. Thus, I had to sometimes reconcile with the situations, because I did not want to invite much unwelcome responses.

If I felt it difficult to carry out research in a particular social composition and if a village did not fulfil the criteria for my scope, I did not enquire much about that particular village and enquired a lot about the nearby villages that I would visit later. This way I covered that cluster of villages and thereafter selected a village which came closest to my convenience and criteria. Obviously, the selected interior village was Gainpura, situated three kms. away from Dhama. Further, I visited the same village for a week to establish some rapport with the local people. During this period, I opened up slowly telling them that I would study their culture e.g. ritual festivals, ritual behaviour and changes thereon and also compare
them with other town and villages. My being a student in Delhi aroused considerable interest in them. Interestingly enough some one asked me: Have you seen Indira Gandhi? Some one else asked me: How big is Delhi? Also I was asked the question like: Have you seen a horse? Notably, elephant, bear and even tiger are said to be found in the jungle near Gainpura. In another instance in Dhama region, some people took me to be a government officer assessing village situation to demarcate the route of canal proposed to be constructed in near future. However, I told them that I would come back again after a few months and then we would discuss in detail. This way I spent my first visit which lasted for about two months in selecting two villages — one interior village namely Gainpura and the other one is a sub-urban village namely Kainsir. A detailed description of these two villages along with the Sambalpur town will be made subsequently in this chapter.

After the preliminary visit to the field I came back to JNU and discussed my overall experiences and various problems with my Supervisor and prepared an Interview Guide (IG). The preliminary visit to the field helped me a great deal in formulating the IG. Most of my respondents were illiterate and they would have found it difficult to face any questionnaire and formal interview. In view of this nature of exploration neither the questionnaire nor the formal interview would be suitable. I wanted to be among them personally during my study more as a participant observer and I preferred to have a loosely structured IG having further scope of alteration or modification. As regards formulation of questions for IG, I divided the people, who are the objects of
investigation, into a number of categories which varied in all the three settings.

In Gainpura (interior village), I discussed with the School teacher, Gauntia (village head man who is Brahmin by caste), four old men and women of age 60s, Jhankar (the village priest), two musicians and one singer, four young boys and girls, two respectable persons in the village and two school going children. In Kainsir (the sub-urban village) I had to discuss with four old men and women of the village, the pujari (village-priest) and his wife, a doctor, two government employees, three school teachers, (two male and one female), two rickshaw-pullers, four labourers (two men and two women), two college students and four school children, one rice-mill owner, one Gram Sevak. And in Sambalpur town we have some more number of categories.

I discussed with four priests of four local religious shrines out of which one is a woman priest. Among educated people I had to discuss with the editor of a local daily, five persons from different cultural associations, two singers, two musicians, and two Assistant Station Directors, one Programme Executive & one Transmission Executive from AIR & TV stations at Sambalpur, two doctors, two lecturers, four college and two school going students, two rickshaw-pullers, two construction workers, four housewives and one employed woman (school teacher).
THREE SETTLEMENTS:
The study area is confined to Sambalpur town and two villages namely Gainpura, an interior village and Kainsir, the sub-urban village. They are 33 kms. and 3 kms. away from Sambalpur town respectively. Both are in Sambalpur Tahsil. But, Gainpura comes under the Police Station of Dhama and Kainsir is in the Dhankauda Block under the Sadar Thana (Police Station), Sambalpur and the Post Office is Sankarma.

These three settlements - Sambalpur town and two villages located on the rural-urban continuum are purposively selected in order to assess the impact of various urban factors in the persistence/change of folk culture. The villages are selected on the basis of three main criteria: the size of the village, the extent of technological networks, and urban proximity. It is assumed these factors are likely to influence the relative effectiveness of different factors responsible for and causing changes.

The two villages selected for the study have different degrees of relationships with the Sambalpur town, which will be dealt with subsequently. The functioning of external agencies in the villages affect their reception of urban way of life. Urban areas have always been regarded as the disseminators of ideas, values and knowledge. So the selection of the villages are based on the distance from the Sambalpur town.

The trunk line linking Calcutta and Bombay passes through
Sambalpur at Ainthapali, lying in the periphery of Sambalpur town. From Ainthapali chowk an all weathered pucca road leads to the village Kaūnsir situated three kms. from the town. Upto two kms. south from Sambalpur towards Gainpura one finds that it is a part of Sambalpur with regular colonies, markets, shops and buildings under construction on both sides of the road, after which there is a jor (a small river) called 'Maltijor'. On the other side of the jor come two sub-urban villages, Govindtola and then Dhanupali. Maltijor was earlier the dividing line between Sambalpur town and Govindtola. Sometimes, Govindtola and Dhanupali were two different villages. But, in course of time they emerged into one. An important observation regarding these two settlements is that due to the lack of space and over-population in Sambalpur town, people prefer staying in these peripheral areas of Sambalpur town and maintain a regular contact with the town. However, this road has been tri-furcated in Dhanupali: one leads to Deogarh town towards left and the right one touches the Maltijor. Recently, there is a bridge made over the jor at Putibandh village which connects Dhama line at Sahanspur village and reduces the distance by about 10 kms. The third one which moves straight, passes through Bhatra village to Maneswar after 6 kms. Maneswar is another sub-urban village. Here again the road has been tri-furcated into different direction. The left one takes a circular turn and touches the road which leads to Deogarh from Dhanupali and the straight one leads to Cuttack and the right one leads to Dhama through Sahanspur. After one km. ahead from Dhama in the main road leading to Birmaharajapur, on the left side, one can get a general view of the village Gainpura in
the midst of hills and forests. There is a serpentine kutcha road leading to the village which is not approachable by jeep, car or any other heavy vehicle. Only two wheelers can move along this rough and dusty road which becomes worse during rainy season.

Sambalpur district is predominantly a hilly region crisscrossed with innumerable jors and rivers like the Mahanadi, the Ib, the Maltijor, etc. To build roads, it is also necessary to construct bridges on every road-river junction. This entails expenditure. A bridge over the Mahanadi near Sonepur will reduce the distance between Cuttack/Sonepur and Sambalpur by almost 50 kms. So, the region has still to go a long way to have a satisfactory road system. Even after 42 years of independence there is no direct railway connection between eastern Orissa and western Orissa. Recently, however, the Indian Railway Board has taken a decision to construct the railway line between Sambalpur and Talcher. The work is under progress. Sambalpur is also the headquarters of the district and Tehsil. The Calcutta-Madras line of the Eastern Railway passes through Sambalpur. The Police Station and the bus stand are located in the heart of the town. The Sadar Police Station is at the Bhuta Pada chowk near which office of the 'District Employment Exchange' and Sambalpur Jail are situated in a single stretch. The road which turns to left from this chowk passes through government Women’s college and Veer Surendra Sai Stadium to Dhankauda village. TV relay centre is located at the top of the Brooks Hill and circuit house on the other hill near the Sadar Police Station. Below the circuit house Chandra Sekhar Behera Zila School is situated.
CLIMATE, TEMPERATURE AND VEGETATION:

Climatically a year may be divided into more than one season. There are two categorizations. The Indian system has six seasons viz., winter from November to February, Summer from March to May and monsoon from June to September. The three other known seasons, viz., Basanta or Spring (between winter and summer) Sarata and Hemanta (between the monsoon and winter) also show up their characteristic features in turn but they have very short duration. On the other hand the western system has four seasons, namely summer, winter, rainy and autumn. But the local people divide a year broadly into three seasons, viz. Khara (summer), Barsa (rainy) and Sit (winter). Sambalpur enjoys tropical monsoon climate. In terms of temperature, Sambalpur enjoys a moderate climate. The abundance of natural and luxuriant vegetation in Sambalpur is directly related to the physical and climatic conditions. But the practice of illegal and large scale unsystematic felling of trees in the past have not only reduced the forest but also exposed wide areas to the menace of soil erosion.

The waterways of Sambalpur was most important during ancient time. Mahanadi, the perennial river at that time was the only root that connects this region with that of Kalinga in the eastern Orissa. It was due to the river system that Sambalpur developed as a major commercial centre in early period reference of which is found in so many historical accounts. The location of towns like Sonepur, Baud other than that of Sambalpur, on the bank of the river Mahanadi signify a lot on the importance being
played by the inland waterways both in the past and in the present. Sambalpur is very famous for 'tie and dye' cotton and tassar silk bringing out most artistic designs from loom, almost like magic, with the help of formulae which have passed down from father to son for generations (Senapati and Mahanti, 1971). It is still mainly a caste-based cottage industry. But the most remarkable piece of Sambalpuri handloom is Saree. Sambalpuri saree is remarkable for its colourful variety and texture. The importance of Sambalpuri saree is revealed from the list of articles sent to the Paris exhibition sometime in 1854 (Dash, 1971:6). Undoubtedly, weaving occupies the pride of Sambalpur. Gold and jewellery works were also developed in Sambalpur. These ornaments are out-dated and out of fashion today, but remain as the testimony of cultural heritage. However, caste structure has close ties with the economic structure of Sambalpur. Various caste people provided specialized services. The entire socio-economic system created a type of interdependence between various castes and thereby the caste groups are segregated in other respects too. The epigraphic evidences clearly prove the existence of caste-system in Sambalpur in ancient and medieval period. The Sripur stone inscription of the time of Somavansis Mahasivagupta provides the clear picture of the existence of four-fold caste system. In the social hierarchy the Brahmins continued to enjoy a respectable status. Royal patronage was bestowed upon them in the form of land grants which were made to Brahmins distinguished in the study of the Vedas and the Vedantas and capable of performing Vedic sacrifices. Furthermore, the Brahmins not only performed their sacred duty but also became
an indispensable feature/part in state administration (Mahanty, 1988:10-11). By the time Britishers took over the administration of Sambalpur in the middle of 19th century they found a local tax system called Bara Patuk prevailing in Sambalpur. It was a tax on the various classes/castes each representing a particular profession, occupation and trade and each divided into several sub-classes (Majumdar, 1988:31-40). It may be suggested that caste and occupation/profession/economic activity are still corelated in many villages. Notably is easier to identify a drummer as an untouchable. But it is very difficult to point out a drummer (musician) in AIR or TV station or in the stage programmes as an untouchable.

Power potential from hydro-electricity in Sambalpur is very high. The entire power production of Sambalpur comes from Hirakud Dam and Rampur Thermal Power Station. Fish is an important item of food due to the close proximity of river Mahanadi and Hirakud Dam.

SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERS OF SAMBALPUR TOWN:

The old Sambalpur town exhibits some interesting features. The streets are irregular in pattern and narrow. The 'Bad Sadak' and 'San Sadak' the two main vehicular thoroughfiores of the yesteryears are rarely more than thirty feet wide without sidewalks, and often encroached upon by betel shops and tea stalls. Gali or the side streets are much narrower and almost impassable for wheeled vehicles. Two or three storey construction
is predominant along these two streets.

There is some evidence of British influence in the form of the Town Hall, the Municipal office, Nariseva Sadan and church. The main bazar, called 'Golebazar', is crowded with numberless small retail shops which deal in foods vegetables, cloth, hardware, and other consumer goods. Generally the upper rooms are used as dwelling places by the businessmen. It is mainly a bazar for green-grocers and grain merchants. Khetrajpur is an important market for wholesale grain and other bulk commodity. There is a pada called Kansari Pada, where brassware is sold and another called Sahansia pada for stone-goods. Bad Sadak and San Sadak areas are primarily for the residential neighbourhoods. Streets connecting Baidyanath Chowk to Gole Bazar Chowk, Gaiety Talkie Road, Laxmi Talkie Road, Ashoka Talkie Road, Bus stand Road connecting Modipada Chowk, the road connecting Modipada chowk and Khetrajpur Railway Station are the main commercial streets of present Sambalpur town. In the past, Bad Sadak and San Sadak served the main commercial streets. However, surrounding and adjacent to the commercial streets are the primarily residential neighbourhoods.

Sambalpur town is divided into about 50 padas or residential units just like the Agra city observed by Lynch (1967:142-158). Sambalpur town exhibits an interesting mosaic of social group and caste diversity, where each social group or caste or dialect group tends to concentrate to some extent in a particular pada. In other words, one finds residential segregation by caste and caste groups within these padas. The tendency of clustering of
people on caste line is found particularly in the old settlements of Sambalpur town that had developed on the bank of the river Mahanadi. It may be said that the old Sambalpur town set up on the bank of the river Mahanadi was divided on the traditional caste-model, which is evident from the distribution of population in different padas or localities on the caste background. For example, Nanda Pada and Jhadua Pada comprise Udiya Brahmins and Jhadua Brahmins respectively. Untouchables and other lower castes lived outside the Brahmin areas and away from them. Fishermen, locally known as Keunt were most likely allotted accommodation in Dalai Pada, Kunjel pada, Hat pada and Bada bazar. Untouchables like Ganda, Ghasia or Ghasi traditionally treated as outcastes were allotted accommodation in the outskirts of the main settlements that is in Thelkopada. There was also a locality for Kumbhar or potters called Kumbhar Pada; a locality for Kansari caste and two localities - Mahanti Pada and Pattanaik Pada - for Mahanti caste.

Thus, the name of a particular pada sometimes highlights the social or caste/sub-caste background of its inhabitants. This may sound surprising, but it is important to note here that the numerical strength of a caste or sub-caste in a particular pada alongwith economic status also expresses its political domination in local level such as election of representative to the Sambalpur Municipality.

In sum, pada, as a social unit also has some features of rural life. First of all, people are identified by their padas just as the villagers are identified with their respective villages and
the reputation of their villages. Further, the pada as a residential unit plays an important function in various social occasions like marriage, birth and death. There is a high degree of community consciousness and personal identification of the inhabitants with these neighbourhoods. All the residents are related to one another as real or as fictive kin. Any girl of the pada is the 'jhi' (daughter) or 'baha' (daughter-in-law) of the pada and is under the protection of the whole pada. Kinship terms are widely used to address fellow inhabitants in the pada. Besides, all these similarities, an important difference between the pada of Sambalpur town and the mohalla of Agra city described by Lynch (1967:142-158) is that like Mohalla, pada in Sambalpur is not an endogamous unit. It is observed that there is a large number of matrimonial relationships among the families of the same caste in the same pada besides other padas. In addition to this, there is also a 'Panchayat' like body in each pada, composed of senior and respected persons of that pada. It attempts to solve 'inter-pada' or 'intra-pada' disputes, cases serious enough for a larger body to consider, matters of importance to the whole pada, and arrangement of social functions like Dasra (Durga puja), Ratha jatra, Ganesh puja and Nam jajna etc.

Another important continuity between rural and urban social systems of Sambalpur is the ascribed and mutually exclusive occupational status of caste groups. Keunts are traditionally supposed to be fishermen and boat-men whether they are in the villages or in Dalai Pada of Sambalpur town. The occupation is
traditionally part of their status-set in the caste system. Since fishing is traditionally considered to be a polluting work, fishermen are exclusively from the Keunts and Sahara of Sambalpur. Till the beginning of this decade the primary and the only occupation of the Keunts of Sambalpur was fishing and they had constituted the urban proletariat in the Sambalpur town. But about a decade ago all fishermen were included in the category of Scheduled Caste opening up avenues and opportunities for them in the fields of education, employment, political power and in other private occupations like getting tender to construct roads and so on. Originally as fishermen the Keunts have been integrated into the wider socio-economic system of Sambalpur town.

The general differentiation based on the caste line however, exposed the distinct caste backgrounds. People can be further identified on the basis of language, dialect, and other social background. Based on the socio-cultural traits the whole population of Sambalpur town can broadly be sub-divided into major groups like Sambalpuria, Katkia, Marwari, Punjabi, Muslim, Christian, Bengali, tribal and others. Interestingly, substantial concentration of these groups is found in various localities. For instance, concentration of Muslims is found in Pathan Pada near Sambalpur Municipality, Pension Pada, and Bhuta Pada; Christians in Christian Pada near G.M. College; tribals in Sakhi Pada and Ainthapali; Marwaris in Marwari Pada and Khetrajpur; Punjabis and Biharis in Modi Pada, Khetrajpur and Remed and finally concentration of old inhabitants whom we call Sambalpuria is found particularly in the old settlements of Sambalpur town.
discussed earlier. It is widely said that the immigration to the Sambalpur town has been increasing in the past few years and the most recent immigrants to the town are found in Bhuta Pada, Moti Jharan near Stadium, Khetrajpur, Bada Bazar, Ainthapali and Remed which were once considered to be in the outskirts of the old Sambalpur town. But these peripheral areas are gaining importance due to the physical expansion of the town. Considering the above fact, Sambalpur town being a part of wider culture area, has a large number of social and religious elements which contribute to its specific Sambalpuri culture and social and cultural life. In other words, the urban culture in Sambalpur town contains different colours and contours which cannot be ignored. However, the limitation of this study is that a unified picture of Sambalpuri folk culture or cultural life in all its details as applicable to all the parts of western Orissa, the culture-area, cannot be presented.

The languages of communication between people are, Sambalpuri which is the mother tongue of the people of Sambalpuria, Oriya which is the official language of the state or Hindi, the National language of India. Thus, there are three main languages commonly used in Sambalpur. However, the link language between various linguistic groups is Sambalpuri. In some of the business and commercial areas like Khetrajpur, Remed and Golebazar Hindi is generally prevalent. The paper work in various government offices and establishment is done in Oriya whereas it is Sambalpuri among the common people and in old settlements of Sambalpur town. One can put these three languages in a continuum
on the basis of increasing number of speakers of each language (See table below). The disruption of this chain may also be observed. The Oriya language in various government offices, is gradually losing its strength from the offices and institutions because of the recruitment of local people to various government jobs which were once monopolised by the people of eastern Orissa. Secondly, due to the language movement started by 'Sambalpuri Lekhak Sangh', 'Koshali Bhasha Sahitya Parishad' and 'Sambalpuri Bhasha Suraksha Committee' the importance of Sambalpuri in the cognition of people is increasing. On the other hand, the Hindi language used in business circle is also gaining strength because of the expansion of trade and commerce and rapid increase of immigrants mainly non-Oriyas in Sambalpur. People believe that the persistence of Sambalpuri language is at stake due to the lack of literature, absence of a script of its own and because of the pressure from Hindi and Oriya. On the other hand as the official language and medium of instruction, Oriya language is in a relatively dominant position.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hindi</th>
<th>Oriya</th>
<th>Sambalpuri</th>
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<td>Increasing number of speakers --&gt;</td>
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GAINPURA : The Interior Village

Gainpura is situated at a distance of about 33 km. from Sambalpur town in the mountainous interior of Sambalpur district surrounded by jungle. It is a tribal dominated village of small size. According to local legends it was the seat of Bhima, one of the
five Pandava brothers of the Mahabharata. Bhim Puja, a festival in honour of Bhim is celebrated every year in the full moon day of Magh. The Dhama village near Gainpura too claims to have been existed during the Mahabharata period. According to the prevailing myth, the five brothers and their mother Kunti took shelter in a Brahmin family of Dhama after the incident of Jatugriha Daha. The Asurgarh mountain near the village has been identified as the spot where the second brother Bhima killed the demon Baka. Kunti in the name of Jharibudhi is worshiped by the people of Kandha tribe in the form of a stone in Dhama and a grand festival is organised every year during Dasra in her honour. It reflects how the Hindu deity has been tried to be tribalized in this area.

Till the beginning of this decade elephants and bears (Bhalu) were reported to be numerous and very common in Gainpura. Now-a-days, elephants are occasionally reported to be found by the people in remote jungle area or expected to be seen during harvesting period. Their number has fallen drastically recently.

In the north, the village is connected with Sambalpur town which was also the capital of the former feudal state by a 30 km. motorable road. There is a regular bus service plying between the Sambalpur and Dhama. Also, a number of jeeps and trackers ply between Sambalpur and Dhama. From Dhama, a rural-urban village, the village of Gainpura is about three km. There is no pucca road in between them. Buses plying between Birmaharajpur and Sambalpur also run via Dhama. As it has been noted earlier, before 1988, to reach the village from Sambalpur town one
required to take 33 kms. circuitous journey via Maneswar. Now-a-days, after the completion of the bridge over the river Maltijor near Putibandh, the journey can be easily accomplished in 23 km.

The village Gainpura is mainly inhabited by Kandha community. They have been interacting with the plain people of Dhama and nearby villages since long and have adopted Hindu way of life like accumulation of Sanskritic elements in their fairs and festivals etc. Despite the urban thrust and their interaction with caste-Hindus, this village maintains its own religious rituals, such as Bhim Puja and Karma Puja. Besides, worship of Jharibudhi is a testimony of their culture.

KAINSIR WITH A SPECIAL REFERENCE TO GAINPURA:

As it was in the past, the present day village economy of both Gainpura and Kainsir is based on agriculture and consequently cultivation of the land is the main occupation of its people. Agriculture of Gainpura is dominated by monsoon. So, monocrop system is widely prevalent. Rice is almost the sole crop cultivated. The monsoon that appears in the summer season helps to grow Rutu Dhan only. During the dry seasons practically nothing is grown. But, the villagers most of whom are tribal depend on the jungle for their livelihood. They usually go to the jungle and collect wood, fruits etc. and sell it in the nearby markets. But recently restrictions have been imposed on them against collecting wood illegally.

On the other hand, in Kainsir, due to the well-developed irrigation facility the villagers do not face any problems. Rice
dominates the agricultural economy of this area and the diet too.
In Sambalpur, rice is called Chaul and paddy is called Dhan. They
grow paddy twice in a year - Rutu Dhan during the monsoon period
and Dalua Dhan during winter with the help of irrigated water.
Thus, the villagers of Kainsir are benefitted out of irrigation
facility to grow Dalua paddy. Rutu Dhan is again divided into
three types taking into account the time each of them take to
mature. These are Chhot Dhan which take short time to grow and
coarse in quality; Majhia Dhan takes a little more time and fine
in quality; Bad Dhan takes longer period to cultivate but
superfine in quality. In the wake of independence and modern
developments in science and technology there has been a
considerable change in the agriculture based economy particularly
of Kainsir, situated near Sambalpur town just 3 km. away.

Cowdung is the only manure used in the fields of Gainpura whereas
the people of Kainsir use fertilisers alongwith cowdung. In
comparison to Kainsir, transport and marketing facilities are
inadequate in Gainpura. Land holdings are also widely scattered.
As a result farming operations are far from efficient. Only 60 to
70 per cent of the cropped area is sown just once a year. Only 10
to 12 per cent of the total cultivated area uses chemical
fertilisers. Most peasant in Gainpura use a 'Hal-Balad' (a pair
of oxen) to plough their fields which, in most cases, are small
patches. In Kainsir, on the other hand, a number of farmers use
large tractors for cultivation. Unlike the farmers of Kainsir the
peasants of Gainpura depend a great deal on natural rainfall.
Irrigation facilities have been greatly improved in Kainsir since
the inception of Hirakud Dam. In Kainsir, farmers use improved seeds, fertilisers and modern implements to increase production to raise their socio-economic status, whereas in Gainpura the peasants lend money from the banks and cooperative societies to increase the productivity of their lands so that they can at least meet the minimum needs to sustain their lives and families. Considering all these factors the resultant effect is a low per hectare production of rice in Gainpura, which is much lower than the average production of Kainsir.

More than half of the rice is hand pounded by Dhenki (pastele and mortar) in Gainpura, whereas the people of Kainsir take their rice to the rice mills. There are two rice-mill owners in Kainsir. They have got four rice mills in total out of which two are situated in the village itself and the rest two are situated in Ainthapali, about one km. away from the village. Agricultural productivity, application of new or improved technique of operations, arrangement of irrigation etc. rest largely on the size of operational holdings. But due to the heavy pressure of population on land in both the villages, the size of operational holdings has become very small. Although Kainsir is agriculturally well-developed in relation to Gainpura, yet the common attitude is that there cannot be real progress and prosperity unless they join in service sector and other private sectors to increase their earnings. This is mainly due to the increasing pressure on land, intention to enhance social status, impact of urban areas, and due to the growth of modern and industrial values.
During last one decade Kainsir has developed into a more modern village in comparison to the Gainpura. There are more Pucca houses in Kainsir than in Gainpura. Unlike Kainsir, almost all the villagers in Gainpura still live in mud-and-thatched huts or in mud-bricks houses clustered along the main thoroughfare of the village, in which streets are unpaved and unlighted. Electric lines do run through the village but the power supply is not adequate like Kainsir. In Kainsir, for power supply some people depend on gobar gas (bio-gas). There are seven gobar gas plants in the village which are generally used during power failure. But in Gainpura the people have no idea of a gobar gas plant. In Kainsir, the farmers hire tractors for agricultural operation to save time, labour as well as money. Most of them produce not only for domestic purposes but also for commercial markets. So, we can term them as 'farmers' whereas in Gainpura the small tribal peasants produce to meet their own needs. The farmers in Kainsir have large holdings but the peasants of Gainpura have very small holdings. They have to depend on the nearby forests as discussed earlier in other seasons.

Summing up, the village economy of Kainsir is both industrial and agricultural. About 70% of population in Kainsir still depend on rice cultivation. Some of them work in various government offices in Sambalpur and even outside their native village. Those who work in the Sambalpur town also do and supervise their agricultural works. Evidently, there is labour shortage during agricultural operation in Kainsir. Labourers from Chhatisgarh, Raipur and Raigarh areas of Madhya Pradesh come to work.
On the other hand, the villagers of Gainpura have to solely depend either on the jungle or on the land or on both. Most of them work as hired labourers and seasonal labourers during agricultural operation. They also get some benefits out of the different types of socio-economic measures adopted by government for their economic upliftment, particularly for Scheduled Tribes. However, in Kainsir, we find advanced technology in all levels — agriculture, social and culture. They are found using sound system and light decoration and even 'Band parties' are hired from Sambalpur town on the occasion of marriage, birth, initiation and other religious festivities. There is a Kata (a large pond) just outside the village Kainsir which is generally used for pisciculture.

Although the roads of these two villages are dusty and muddy, the streets of Kainsir are comparatively wide and in good condition and easy to move on them. However, there is practically no air or noise pollution from vehicles and industries like Sambalpur town though we find a couple of motorcycles, for personal use and tractors for agricultural operation in Kainsir and trucks sometimes coming to the rice mills. On the other hand, the only vehicle common in Gainpura is cycle. Cottage industry like Bidi or construction works or fishing offer employment to the tribals and lead them to an alternative means of subsistence from their traditional agricultural economy in Kainsir. Bidi-making is a small scale but labour intensive industry. In Sambalpur town there are four industries which provides such part-time employment to about 1000 persons. Incidentally, most of the
employees are tribals. In Kainsir, mainly the lower class tribals and caste-Hindu women are engaged in Bidi-making business. Despite all these facilities in Kainsir it has a dependent economy in the sense that it depends much on Sambalpur town. The villagers have to depend on Sambalpur market even for vegetables. A number of villagers also depend on private and government jobs in Sambalpur for which they have to move daily from their village to town. Rising demands in the sphere of consumer goods and cosmetics and other modern items have also led them to be dependent. Community development projects have been started in Kainsir but not in Gainpura. These developmental projects help the villagers of Kainsir to improve their standard of living and education and provide them with medical facilities and sophisticated mass media. There is a high school in Kainsir owned and managed by the village committee. There is a Primary School of the Block too. But, there is no High School or Middle English School in Gainpura. There are very few High School going children in Gainpura who go to Dhama, three km. away from the village to attend the School. There is, of course, a Primary School in Gainpura. In comparison to Gainpura all these surface changes in Kainsir appear to bring about changes in some of the customs and practices of the Kainsir village which will be discussed in the subsequent chapters. The two villages under consideration - Gainpura and Kainsir - vary according to their area, size, population, economy, ecological environment and way of life. However, a study of the cultural history of the two villages and Sambalpur town particularly brings out several important elements.
that are common throughout the ages and are related to the formation of fundamental values and attitudes of Sambalpuri culture. We can observe marked differences in Sambalpuri language, folk festivals and rituals etc. The kind of socio-cultural symbiosis obtaining in the two villages and Sambalpur town itself has led to a typical type of inter-group adjustment just like in a Deccan village characterized by Dube (1978:202-215). Kandhas of Gainpura and Kols of Kainsir maintain their distinctive socio-ritual pattern (see Chapter IV), but have accepted traditional economic relationship and cooperation in the ritual fields. In both Kainsir and Gainpura caste-Hindus are mainly land-holders and tribals work on their lands. Brahmin priests are not used in the village shrines and traditional rituals. Now-a-days, however, the Brahmin priest assists the Kandha priest in Bhim Puja (unlike Karma) in Gainpura. It may be an attempt towards sanskritization. Although Karma is a distinctive ceremony of Kandha tribe, Bhim Puja has become a distinctive ceremony of Gainpura village. Kandhas of other villages may join the Karma ceremony in Gainpura. On the other hand, token participation of the caste-Hindus in Karma festival of Kandhas is found in Gainpura. Whereas the people of Kainsir consider it derogatory to participate in their Karma ceremony. However, the tribals of Kainsir and Gainpura join the Hindus in the major festivals of Sambalpur like Dasra, Jharibudhi Puja in Dhama, Nuakhai, Ratha Jatra and so on. They are also active and enthusiastic in planning measures to ward off evil spirits, ghosts and epidemics, in cooperation with their Hindu neighbours. A copule of years back the tribal magicians were summoned to ward
off evil spirit from a tree in Gainpura.

Leadership in village affairs of Gainpura and Kainsir are largely with the caste-Hindus. The traditional Gauntia/Gantia of Gainpura is a Brahmin. But Kandhas dominate the scene in the village by the strength of their numbers. However, they do not have political control or influence and economically they constitute the down-trodden section of the village society. On the other hand, the traditional Gauntia of Kainsir is also a Brahmin but Khandayats dominate the scene in the village because of their numerical strength, economic power and political influence.

The study in Gainpura, and Kainsir leads us to certain significant conclusions. Firstly, the castes once devoted to their specific traditional occupations are taking to new occupations as in the case of the Brahmin, Mahanti, Khandayat and low-caste Hindus and tribals like Kandhas and Kols. This has happened because their traditional occupation has ceased to be profitable while jobs in various public and private sectors give them a better opportunity to earn more and fulfil their needs easily. Secondly, this change of occupation in several cases, has led to temporary or permanent migration outside the village. Thirdly, among the lower caste Hindus like the Ganda, Ghasi or Ghansia and Chamar a tendency towards sanskritization is marked since they aspire to go up in the caste hierarchy or social ladder following the ways of the higher castes. One of the lower castes, the Ganda, has also invented a new mythical lineage for it relating its caste members with Kabir. Out of four sub-
divisions of Gandas - Oriya, Lariya, Kandharia and Kabhria - the Kabhria Gandas are called so because they are the followers of Kabir. They have also brought puritanical reforms in their community as reflected in their abstinence from eating meat and fish (Senapati and Mahanti, 1971:110). In this connection, it may be noted that the Gandas have a tribal origin and they have been Hinduized since long (Mazumdar, 1925:90). Fourthly, communities like the Kandhas in Gainpura and Kols in Kainsir though falling outside the periphery of the Hindu social system, are given some sort of social status relative to each other (below the Hindus) based on their alleged contrast or similarities with the Hindu way life.

Economically, Kainsir is still self-sufficient to a large extent in comparison to Gainpura. But the people feel dependent on Sambalpur town which is mainly a mental attitude towards their existence. Agriculture in Kainsir is more than a subsistence economy. Land mostly belongs to individuals over which they have exclusive rights. Agricultural operation is carried on mainly within the immediate domestic group. In case of any help needed, it may be sought by payment in cash or in the shape of mutual help from other members of the village or working parties (group of labourers) coming to the village during the agricultural activities. Despite this if they feel insecure and depend on Sambalpur town then this feeling or sense of dependancy is mental construct.
SOURCES OF DATA:

For the purpose of this research, data have been drawn from both the primary as well as secondary sources. Secondary sources include written documents—published and unpublished—in the form of books, articles, newspapers, souvenirs and various research works. Historical data have also been used in order to study the growth and development of Sambalpuri folk culture. It has been assumed, Sambalpuri folk culture is a product of a historical interaction between tribals and Hindus in Sambalpur. However, a broad acquaintance with history is valuable for the study of ethnological data like Sambalpuri folk culture. Again, this historical data is helpful to understand the authenticity, validity and significance of contemporary social reality like socio-cultural movement in Sambalpur.

Primary data have been collected through 'Participant observation' and 'Interview Guide'. The present research work is an empirical study and one can hardly think of an empirical study in which some observations have not been made. "Observation may be defined as systematic viewing, coupled with consideration of the seen phenomena" (Young, 1982:161). Since, the observing eye catches many more things, the basis for selection of objects of analysis depends on nature, scope and objectives of the inquiry. Generally, the formulated assumptions is the guiding element in the immediate observation (Young,1982:162). So, it is important to list the assumptions of our research work:

1. Sambalpuri folk culture is a historical product of tribe-caste interaction in Sambalpur area.
2. Growth of Sambalpuri culture
is accompanied with the growth of Sambalpuri cultural identity, leading to cultural conflict with that of eastern Orissa. (3) Sambalpuri folk culture is changing due to urbanisation. In some cases the primordial tie based on language is gaining importance whereas the traditional rituals like animal sacrifice, tongue-piercing ceremony etc, are diminishing as a result of urbanisation and other developmental activities.

For our purpose we have taken rituals and language of Sambalpur in order to analyse the rural-urban continuum in this area. We have taken three ritual festivals namely, Karma, Dalkhai, Nuakhai and rituals associated with the deities namely, Samlei of Sambalpur town, Kantaharien of Kainsir village, Jharibudhi and Bhim of Gainpura village to try to examine rural-urban continuum.