CHAPTER I
1. INTRODUCTION:

An impetus for the present study was provided by the persistence of the practice of inequality in the caste society, and more specifically among Warijans which is a major social problem in India. The present study, hence, aims at unearthing the socio-cultural reasons thereof and finding out variation in the pattern of discrimination in tribal and caste contexts in Orissa. The prevalent institutionalised inequality is a conspicuous feature of the Indian society. Social inequality or discrimination in Indian society has more often been a menace to its unity and cohesion since time immemorial.

Inequality stems from the ubiquitous nature of caste institution in Indian society. It has also engaged the attention of many social scientists who need to understand not only its diverse social and racial compositions, but also its unique multi-stranded social relations. Traditionally, the Harijans, being the 'exterior caste categories', who were mostly the erstwhile untouchables, have been staying alongside caste groups and tribes in village communities. They have been articulating with caste groups and tribal communities, although they are assigned lower positions in the Indian caste and tribal societies from time immemorial.

Gandhiji's struggle in South Africa revolved round the concept that all men are born equal and must enjoy equal social rights. After returning to India, he was deeply
disturbed and disheartened by the practice of untouchability, which he regarded as an "excrescence", a perversion of Hinduism (Fischer 1959:142). Under his dynamic leadership in 1920, a political resolution was adopted to the effect that Harijans could enter the Hindu temples, and since then he vigorously attempted to annihilate the practice of untouchability in Indian society. While campaigning against untouchability, he was vociferously attacked by the orthodox and social reactionaries, who demonstrated with black flag and disrupted his meetings, yet Gandhiji stood firm in his mission and clarified that it was not a political one but a movement to purify Hinduism and Hindu society. However, he was very much hopeful that it would "produce great political consequences", for the movement gradually carried the message of nationalism to untouchables. It should be emphasised here that he was not in favour of mixing up the issue of the removal of untouchability with the issue of inter-dining and inter-marriage.

The announcement of the Communal Award in August 1932 offered each minority community the political scope for contesting to legislatures on the basis of separate electorate. It not only helped the Muslims, Christians, and Sikhs, but to a greater degree the erstwhile Untouchables, who were treated as separate political entity. Many nationalists including Gandhiji, reacted strongly to the proposal as it seemed to be an attack on Indian unity and nationalism.
Finally, Gandhiji succeeded in reaching an agreement, known as the Poona pact in Yeravada jail in the State of Maharashtra in 1932. After leaving the jail, he gave up all his political preoccupations and carried on a whirlwind campaign against untouchability. He undertook two major fasts on May 8 and August 16, 1933 to convince his followers that untouchability was a social stigma and declared that a clean society is the first prerequisite for the attainment of political goals.

He conducted an 'intensive tour' from Wardha on Nov. 7, 1933 till July 29, 1934 throughout the country and covered about 20,000 Kms. by train, car, bullock cart and on foot. During the tour he also collected money for the recently founded Harijan Sewak Sangh, earlier called All India Anti-Untouchability League, which carried out its work to remove the disabilities of Harijans. In the course of his campaign he attempted at promoting welfare to the untouchables and he bestowed on them the new appellation 'Harijan', a word meaning "Children of God or Hari". The new name was intended to give dignity to the untouchables and to impress the same on caste Hindus.

The organisation spread over all parts of the country. It constructed wells in Harijan wards, and established libraries, dispensaries etc. through the district committee members for Harijans. He urged upon the social workers to intensify their activities in villages for the
social, economic, and political upliftment of the Harijans. He also started a publication, called 'The Harijan', to propagate the ideals of this noble mission.

However, after Indian independence in 1947 and particularly during the last two decades, the Government of India, through various State Governments have implemented schemes through legislation to improve the social, economic and political status of these down-trodden.

The present study aims at studying as to what extent the Harijans have achieved the national goal by utilising the advantages of Constitutional guarantees and development programmes meant for them.

Several studies on Harijans have been conducted by Indian as well as foreign scholars before and after Indian independence. But very few evaluative studies have been accomplished on Harijans in Orissan context. Thus the present study aims at highlighting the 'position' of Harijans in relation to the neighbouring caste and tribal groups, as well as to find out if discrimination among the Harijans still persists, and if so, to what extent in distinct cultural and geographical sub-regions of Orissa, namely, the eastern and the western parts. The purpose is to analyse the present social status of Harijans in caste and tribal contexts through a comparative approach.

Scope of the Study:

The present study aims at delineating the social
status of a numerically dominant Harijan caste, namely the Pana, designated as such in Coastal or Eastern Orissa, and the Ganda in Western Orissa. The study, at large, covers Cuttack district of coastal Orissa and Sundargarh district of Western Orissa. However, the focus is on two typical representative Orissan villages of the above districts, which represent two distinct sub-cultural regions. The present study is empirical and comparative in orientation.

1.1 Indian Social System (Hindu):

In early vedic period, the people of ancient Indian Hindu society assumed social status on the basis of certain approved guna (quality) and karma (actions) and the social order was known as Chaturvarna Vyavastha (a four-fold varna-scheme). In the varna scheme, the populace were divided into Brahman (priest), Kshatriya (warrior), Vaisya (merchant) and Sudra (servant) (Srinivas 1962:63-69). Former three groups constituted a broad category and were called 'Dwija'. (twice-born) and the last group Sudra, usually was called 'Ekaja' (once-born). Ancient literatures mention 'Antaja or Antyaja' (last-born); the term refers to the Untouchables, who had no place in the varna-scheme. Since medieval times a fifth varna, called Panchama, was added to the original four (Karve, 1968:6). The Panchama used to live outside caste Hindu settlements.

The varna organisation is the ideal structural model of ancient Hindu society. According to the Manusmriti,
the duties and rights of the four primary varnas or classes are as follows:

**Brahman Class:**
1. Adhyayanam (Acquiring scriptural knowledge).
2. Adhyapana (Imparting knowledge).
3. Yajnam (Sacrifice).
4. Yaajanam (Sacrificing as priest for others).
5. Danam (Giving gifts).
6. Pratigrahnam (Receiving gifts).

**The Noble or Kshatriya Class:**
1. Adhyayanam (Acquiring knowledge).
2. Yajnam (Sacrifice).
3. Danam (Giving alms).
4. Sastrajiva (Taking up arms as source of living).
5. Bhutarakshana (Protection of living beings).

**Vaisya Class:**
1. Adhyayanam (Acquiring knowledge).
2. Yajna (Sacrifice).
3. Danam (Giving alms).
5. Pashupalya (Tending of livestock).
6. Vanijya (Trade and usury).

**Sudra Class:**
1. Dvijatisushrusha (Menial service to Dwijas).
2. Varta (Production of wealth).
4. Kusilavakarma (Crafts).

It is observed that the 'Dwija' had three common duties, viz. acquisition of knowledge, performance of sacrifices and making of gifts, besides attending to other characteristic duties. The Sudras were mainly meant to provide menial services to the twice-born. Manu, the great law-giver, assigned the Sudra, the status of slaves, who, in defiance of prescribed rules, were treated harshly. They had no right to contradict the views of the twice-born, except to
capitulate before them. They were deemed ineligible for
samskara (sacraments), reading and hearing the sacred texts,
and for performing certain rites in marriage and funeral
ceremonies. Furthermore, they had neither, 'gotra' of their
own, nor had the right to wear the sacred thread.

The members of all the four varnas are called
'savarna' or 'savarna jati'. Next to Sudra in the hierarchy
is an extremely separate category of castes. They occupy the
lowest position in the social (caste) order and constitute the
'Avarna' or 'Asavarna'/'Asavarna jati'. Because of the fact
that the sparsa (physical contact) of Asavarna defiles the
savarna, the former are designated as 'Asprushya' or
untouchable.

India was predominantly a Hindu country where
caste played an important role as it does in rural India at
present exerting its influence on the body-politic of the
country. Each varna has been subdivided into a number of
castes, who are hierarchically ranked according to the
principles of purity and pollution.

The common term for caste in the Orissan villages
of Cuttack is jati and jat in Sundargarh district. The jati
indicates status gradations. It is believed that each jati
is different from another in biological as well as moral
substance. Frequent familial contacts between the jatis are
forbidden as there are restriction on intermarriage and
interdining. The manner in which a person has to interact
with his *swop-jati* (own caste) members is well known to him. Likewise, a person also knows, how he has to interact with other *jatis*, either higher or lower to his. The interaction-pattern is invariably locality-specific within the broad framework of the purity-pollution scale.

Since the independence of the country (since the adoption of the present Indian Constitution on 26th January, 1950), the caste system has been publicly derecognized. The Constitution of India aims at promoting a casteless secular society. It also aims at eliminating all forms of social discrimination and the evils, such as *asprushyata* (or untouchability). India is a secular and democratic country, where each citizen is free to profess any religion or no religion, but cannot perpetuate casteism in public life. Despite the Constitutional provisions, the caste system still persists in private and communal life, in some form or the other. Likewise, *asprushyata* or untouchability also does exist in Indian society.

Majority of the Indian citizens live in villages, i.e. 76.27 per cent (1981 census). In rural areas, there are basically two broad categories of villages, namely caste villages and tribal villages. During the historic past, particularly during the British rule, certain vocational castes and certain Harijan castes moved into tribal areas in search of better economic opportunities and settled in tribal
villages as constituent parts of many caste-dominated village communities.

The social structure of caste village is highly stratified and is both hierarchical and segmentary. Within the village, the caste/sub-caste/Adivasi (tribes) constitute distinct socio-cultural units. Each constituent unit of the village community has its distinctive set of commensal, connubial and occupational rules.

1.2 The Asprushyas or Harijans:

Besides the four varnas, ancient Indian social structure contained a large number of so-called dispossessed and despised castes and their professions, who are called 'Avarna' (out of Varna) or 'Asprushya' (Untouchable). The position of 'Asprushyas' was the lowest of the low and they occupied the panchama (fifth) place in the varna order. Therefore, the ancient Hindu literature referred to them as 'Panchama', 'Antyaja', 'Hinajati' and often as 'Chandala', 'Asura', 'Mlechha', 'Nishad' etc. But English writers mostly used the term, 'Untouchables', or 'Outcastes' to designate the same groups of men.

Manusmriti (X:31) states that untouchables are regarded 'Hina' owing to Hina Janman, meaning they are born against the rule of marriage. In the same text (X:45), they are also mentioned as 'Dasas' or 'Dasyus', who are non-Aryans and do not belong to varna order. They were
conquered by Aryans and were reduced to slaves (Kane, 1930, II:33). They did not follow Brahminic ceremonies and rituals (Das, 1925:133; cf. Ambedkar, 1948:104).

In order to trace the origin and growth of untouchable castes, it is necessary to unfold the social histories and antecedents. Various texts of different periods sporadically bring these factors to light.

i) Vedic Period

The early Smriti writers made no distinction between Sudra and Antyaja (or Chandala), but gradually they were separated from Sudra (Manu, X:41). Ghurye cites that during the time of Rig-veda, the Aryans were contrasted with the ‘Dasa’ varnas: the former had fair skin and the latter were identified by their dark colour (1950:47).

Panini asserts that there were two main divisions of Sudras—one was Anirvaasita Sudra (such as carpenters, Blacksmiths etc.) and the other Nirvasita Sudras, such as Chandala, which was the synonym for all classes of untouchables in the society (Sharma, 1980:139). Kane (1930, II:121-122) depicts that Sudras were divided into ‘Bhojyanna’ (food prepared by whom is partaken by Brahmans) and ‘Abhojyanna’ (food prepared by whom is not partaken by Brahmans) and the latter constituted the class of untouchables (1930,II:121-122). The third view suggests that there were Sachchhudra (well conducted) and Asach-chhudra (who took meat and liquor) (Srivastav, 1980:12). The Dharma-
Sutras, however, depict that due to prohibited Pratiloma marriage a number of 'mixed-castes' emerged in the society. The Apastamba Dharma-Sutra mentions about the Chandala, the Paulkasa and the Vaina as the untouchables.

Attri describes seven different professional groups which formed a class of Antyajas and Veda Vyās makes a list of Antyajas numbering twelve. The Smriti writers, viz. Angiras, Attri and Apasthambha have declared that all groups of Antyajas are untouchables and the term 'Chandala' has been used in a collective sense for all Antyajas. Chandala continued to work as hunters besides their cremation work, sweeping of roads and the occupation of juggler (Jataka, IV: 390); they led a life of misery, and were the persons without moral values (Ang. Nik, III:206).

From the lawbook of Manu (c.200 B.C to 200 A.D), it is evident that Chandala were born in consequence of pratiloma (hypogamous) form of marriage, i.e. between a Sudra male and a Brahman female. They were supposed to wear dresses of the dead, to eat in broken earthen dishes and wear ornaments made of black iron (X:51-53). Furthermore, the hypergamous marriage between a Brahman male and a Sudra female produced the Nishada (X:8); and the union of a Nishada female and a Chandala male gave rise to the Antyavayasin, who were regarded untouchables even to the Nishada and Chandala (X:39). According to Manu, there were temporary and permanent
types of pollution. Persons polluted temporarily were purified by means of prayaschita (expiation), while the permanently impure persons could not be purified. There were no prescribed means of expiation for them.

It is further mentioned that there was hostility between the ‘Aryas’ and ‘Dasyus’. Those ‘Dasyus’ who accepted defeat and readily surrendered were made touchable Sudras and were allotted various occupations like the present castes of Ahirs, Sonars, Lohars, Telis, Kumbhars etc. The second category of Dasyus were those who gave a tough fight before accepting defeat, they were made untouchable Sudras in order to inflict more punishments on them. They were allotted the lowly occupations like shoe-making, sweeping, scavenging etc. These are now known as Scheduled Castes or Harijans. The third category of Dasyus were those who bravely fought the battle and did not surrender themselves although suffered defeat. They escaped into the inaccessible forests. They are now called the Scheduled Tribes (Chaurasia, 1956:37).

2) Jaina Period:

In the Jaina texts, the Chandala are described as degraded individuals, who are often named as the Panas. Besides them the other despised classes were the Dambas, the Kanikas and the Varudas.
3) **Ramayan Period:**

In the original Ramayana, the names of untouchables hardly figure. In the legends of the *Balakanda* and *Uttarakanda*, there are stray references to Chandala who occupied the degraded and lowest position in the social scale. Moreover, there are various impure occupational castes living during Ramayana period, such as the Sudhakara (white-washer), Rajaka (washer), Charmakrita (shoe-maker), Saunika (butcher), Surakara (musician), Saundika (wine-seller), Talvachar (drummer) etc.

As the official records do not say anything substantial on the subject of untouchability, the researcher has to rely on the views of Smriti writers to assess the status of the Antyajas and their social conditions in the ancient Hindu society. However, Alberuni, a scholar of Sanskrit and Dharma-sutras, accepting the views of Attri and Veda Vyasa reckons the Antyajas not as castes but as members of certain professions (c.f. Upadhyay 1964:92-93). He enlists eight classes of Antyajas who could freely intermarry. They are:

1) Rajaka (The Fuller or Washer)
2) Charmkar (The Shoe-maker)
3) Nat (The Juggler)
4) Burud (The Basket maker)
5) Mallah (The Sailor)
6) Kaibarata (The Fisherman)
7) Bhed (The Hunter of wild animals)
8) Tantubaya (The Weaver)
Besides these eight guilds, the other workers of lowly occupations are Hadi, Doma, Chandala, and Bhadatu. Alberuni, notes that these classes are impure, and any contact with them is forbidden - be it marriage, sitting, eating, dining or any other kind of relationship. Reviewing the statements, it appears that the Pana and Ganda of Orissa might have originated from the above mentioned class of basket-makers and weavers as far as their occupations and degree of discrimination are concerned.

(4). Mahabharata Period:

Reference to 'mixed castes' are invariably found in Mahabharata texts. They are human during that period as the Chandala, Nishada, Videhakas, Mariaeyakas, Madguras, Dasas, Svapachas, Mangasas, Svadukaras, Kschudras, Pulkashad, Andhras, Kauravas, Pandusopakas, Ahindikas, Ugras, Dasadas, Dravidas, Pahalavas, Paradas and Abhiras (Srivastav 1980:12).

Socio-Political Nomenclature:

The untouchables are described by various terms and various nomenclatures were used for them during different periods of time. Because of their depressed socio-political conditions, they have been called as the Depressed Class during the British period.

Depressed Class:

The British Government introduced the official term 'Depressed Class'. It constituted those depressed castes which suffered from socio-cultural discriminations at the hands of upper caste Hindus. The genesis of the term reminds
one of the time when the Muslims of undivided India demanded an increasing representation in political posts and share in services, under the leadership of Aga Khan in 1909. The memorandum submitted to the Viceroy of India, Lord Minto, stated that Muslim population was almost one fourth (over 62 million, in 1901 census) of the total population, and their number was actually more than the Hindus as the latter comprised of a sizeable number of Tribal and low caste communities. The Viceroy gave much credence to the claim and in the Census Report of 1910 the Hindu population was divided into three categories, viz. (1) Hindus, (2) Animists or Tribals; and (3) the Depressed Classes (Ram, 1980:110).

Furthermore, British Government desired to collect information about them so as to take up some welfare schemes for raising their socio-political status. Accordingly the census authorities were directed to prepare reports on these castes in India. Dr. Hutton, the Census Commissioner of India, made the following criteria for identifying the Depressed Classes in 1931.

1. Whether the caste or class in question can be served by clean Brahmins or not.

2. Whether the caste or class in question can be served by barbers, water-carriers, tailors, etc., who serve the caste Hindus.

3. Whether the caste in question pollutes a caste Hindu by contact or by proximity.

4. Whether the caste or class in question is one from whose hands a caste Hindu can take water.
5. Whether the caste or class in question is debarred from using public conveniences such as roads, ferries, wells or schools.

6. Whether the caste or class in question is debarred from the use of Hindu temples.

7. Whether in ordinary social intercourse a well-educated member of the caste or class in question will be treated as an equal by high caste men of the same educational qualification.

8. Whether the caste or class in question is merely depressed on account of its own ignorance, illiteracy, or poverty and but for that would be subject to no social disability.

9. Whether it is depressed on account of the occupation followed and whether but for that occupation it would be subject to no social disability, (Hutton, 1967:175).

These conditions and criteria exhibit their social and economic position, religious and civic disabilities and educational backwardness. Till 1935 the official term "Depressed Classes" had been largely used for designating the untouchables of India. In one of the statements, Vivekananda preferred to use the term "Suppressed castes" instead of Depressed Castes, because their depression is the cause of suppression of the Hindus (1932:42).

At the Round Table conference in 1931, Ambedkar demanded and proposed for a different name for untouchables as 'Protestant Hindus' or 'Non-conformist Hindus' (1945:317).

Exterior castes:

In the wake of political reform for the Depressed castes the Government of India desired to collect information about them and their problem for future welfare
programmes. Under the orders of the Census Commissioner for India, necessary instructions were issued to the various Superintendents of census operations (1931), to prepare a list of castes to be included in depressed classes for each province. Before the operation of census work a meeting of the Superintendents of census operations was convened in January 1931, to find out suitable tests for identifying them.

Hutton (1969:198) states that the disabilities the Depressed classes suffer from are basically two types: (i) they are barred from public utilities, such as the use of roads and tanks; (ii) their religious disabilities which prohibit them from the use of temples, burning grounds, maths (monasteries) and some other institutions.

In addition to the above restrictions, there are disabilities, involved in relation to private individuals, such as the services of barbers and the admission to teashops, hotels or theatres owned by private individuals. Hutton, however, relates these disabilities with the second. As a census Superintendent for Assam, Hutton views no such degree of repression in Assam as found in Madras, so he first suggested 'exterior caste' as the most satisfactory alternative term for 'Depressed classes'. It was, however, adopted by the Census Commissioner for India in the Report on the census of India, 1931, for all-India enumeration. And for enumerating purpose, the nine-point criteria and tests (Hutton, 1969:195) were followed.
At the second Round Table conference in November, 1931, Ambedkar submitted a supplementary memorandum to change the existing nomenclature of Depressed Classes to Scheduled Castes because the untouchables usually objected to it. This legal and administrative term actually originated in the conference (Santhanam, 1946:45) which was also cited in Rudolf and Rudolf (1967:133). British Government instituted a special committee to draw up a schedule of the castes deserving government benefit to uplift their standard of living. A number of lowest ranking Hindu castes are enlisted in a "schedule" appended to the Government of India Act of 1935 for the purpose of statutory safeguard with regard to political representation and other benefits. Thus, the new official term "Scheduled Caste" was first adopted in 1935. But the constitutional scheduling was made in 1950 and the President of India is empowered to alter the schedule (Constitution of India, Art.341).

A person is said to belong to a Scheduled caste, if he belongs to any one of the castes specified in the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes List (Modification) Order,1956. Ninety three castes have been notified as scheduled in the state of Orissa. This section of population suffers from social and religious disabilities due to its low traditional position in the society as well as for its low level of backwardness in economic and educational spheres.

It is further noticed that the list of Scheduled
castes often changes from one census to the other; thus the number and growth of Scheduled caste population are not very clear in Orissa. According to 1951 census, their total number was 92, but in 1961 census they were declared to be 93 by deleting and adding certain castes from the list. However, the number remained unaltered in 1971 and 1981 censuses. Among the 93 Scheduled castes, the Pana are numerically the largest, the Dom are the second largest and the Ganda figure as the third largest in the list.

The Concept of Harijan:

'Harijan' is neither a caste appellation, nor is a synonym of 'scheduled castes'. The word Harijan was first used by a great Gujarati saint, Narsimha Mehta and later on Gandhiji (1932, 1933) adopted the term to refer to such heterogeneous masses of untouchable castes in the course of his campaign. Gandhiji stated that "the word 'Harijan' (Man of God) be substituted for the word 'Antyaja' that is being used for 'untouchables'" (1932:40). Gandhiji has actually popularised the term Harijan with a view to removing the stigma attached to various local designations found among untouchables and for drawing the nation's sympathy for these erstwhile untouchables.

Gandhiji's 'Anti-untouchability League' was renamed as "the Harijan Sevak Sangh" and the publication he started in the year 1933 was also named as "Harijan". The new name was intended to promote improvement, social upliftment,
a new integrity and a sense of dignity among the untouchables, and, at the same time, to impress on the caste Hindus that they were not socially inferior. In the present piece of research the terms 'asadvarna' and 'Harijan' have been interchangeably used.

The Reaction:

In spite of Gandhiji's well-intended motive, several educated untouchables reacted against the use of the term Harijan. A former member of the Parliament expressed that most educated people disliked to be identified as Harijan, which implied only those stigmatized untouchables without any contemplation. This was in no way a better word; therefore, many did not take it in right spirit. A graduate student of Andhra Pradesh, who was a Congress protagonist, declared that when all men are His (God's) children, why this particular word has been bestowed on untouchables. It, no doubt, conveys childish and humiliating connotation for the erstwhile untouchables. Another follower of Ambedkar and the former Member of Parliament condemned it by saying that one is called Harijan whose father's name is unknown and especially the Devadasis normally give birth to such children; hence the untouchables cannot be equated with the children of Devadasis. Some others questioned whether the untouchables are the real Harijans and those who maltreat them are Durjans (men of evil) (Gandhi 1932:40). For these reasons, Ambedkar rejected the term Harijan, and instead, he
preferred calling the untouchables simply as 'Untouchables'. (1948).

It is evident that the concept of 'Harijan' carries only the stigma of untouchability, while the term 'Scheduled caste' characterises many features other than untouchability. Those features are "Backwardness" in education, and economic levels. Thus, it led to the emergence of 'Backward Classes' during the post-independence period of India.

**Backward Classes:**

Backward Class has not been precisely defined, but it includes those ascriptive groups who are officially recognised as eligible for certain benefits on grounds of their relative disadvantages. It comprises three broad classes, viz., Scheduled Castes (S.C), Scheduled Tribes (S.T.) and Other Backward Classes (O.B.C.). The core of OBC consists of artisan and vocational castes of various descriptions, which frequently occupy low position in Varna hierarchy.

According to the Report of the Backward Classes Welfare, 1955, the first Backward Classes Commission, a statutory body appointed in 1952 under Article 340 of the Constitution, prescribed certain criteria for identifying the socially and educationally backward classes.

**Criteria of Backwardness:**

1. Low social position in the traditional caste hierarchy of Hindu society;
2. Lack of general educational advancement among the major section of a caste or community;

3. Inadequate representation in the field of trade, commerce, and industry;

4. Inadequate or no representation in government service.

The commission identified 2399 backward castes for the entire country and of these 837 are classified as the most backward. However, since 1962, Government of India restricted the term only to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The second Backward Class Commission was set up in 1979 under the chairmanship of B.P. Mandal. And in order to identify social backwardness—social, educational and economic indicators were formulated by the commission in addition to the tests like stigma of low occupation, criminality, nomadism, beggary, untouchability and inadequate representation in public services. The committee in its recommendation, suggested to set up Backward classes Development Corporations at the central and state levels, to implement various socio-educational and economic measures for their advancement.

Other Coinages:

As untouchables are placed outside the pale of traditional Hindu caste society, Hutton referred to them as 'Exterior castes', and Ghurye as 'Outcastes' (1961:10). Considering the status of untouchables as 'Unseeable', 'unapproachable', and 'unhearable' during the pre-independence period, Isaacs preferred to call them 'Ex-untouchables' in modern India (1964:27). Although such terms
are non-constitutional, many scholars and authors have shown
preference over it in their writing. Discussing the concept
of untouchability, Mayer prefers the term 'Harijan' or
'Exterior castes' to untouchables (1960:57-59). Parvathamma
continues to use the term 'Untouchables', owing to the fact
that 'pollution-barrier' differentiates the source of
pollution, from the caste Hindus (1971:61). However, Weber
called them the guest people, because they were dispossessed
of their land and other property by the dominant groups, and
then were treated as if they were outsiders.

It is observed in rural Orissa that untouchables
are identified as 'Asavarna' or by their caste names.
Recently most dominant erstwhile untouchable groups prefer to
identify themselves, and for all practical purposes, use the
term 'Harijan'. Many uneducated untouchables have less
concrete idea about the concept of 'Scheduled caste', but
they easily comprehend the meaning of Harijan. For such
reasons, the researcher has used the term Harijan to
designate the erstwhile untouchables in the present piece of
work, although it is non-constitutional.

Attributes of the so-called Untouchables:

In rural India the so-called untouchables or
Harijans are said to possess certain demeaning attributes and
for which they occupy an inferior position in Hindu society.
Dubois (1959) describes the prejudiced natural propensities
of the untouchables as drunkenness, shamelessness, brutality,
truthlessness, uncleanliness, disgusting food practices, and an absolute lack of personal honour. Gandhiji remarked that socially, the untouchables are lepers, and economically they are worse than slaves. He also regarded untouchability as an 'excrescence', a perversion of Hinduism (Fischer, 1959:142). Ambedkar describes that untouchability is another appellation for 'slavery' (1927). Highlighting the culture of Balahi, an untouchable caste of Madhya pradesh, Fuchs states that their "social customs and conventions are not their own invention, but are copied after the pattern of other castes. Their moral laws and the regulations of public life are not based on high moral ideas, but mainly on fear of public opinion... The rites and ceremonies... are all imitations of rich ceremonials of their Hindu environment. Their religious ideas are no less confused... than those of the other castes in the region". (1950:434). According to Hindu Law, Dubois states, killing a cow is not only a crime, but an awful sacrilege, a deicide, which can only be expiated by the death of the offender. He further states that eating the flesh of a cow is a defilement which cannot be purified (1978:191-192). Furthermore, observance of spurious forms of Hindu religion is another significant feature of Harijans.

In general, the social habits and customs of the Harijans are more flexible than the varnas. They take liberal views over the taboos of various kinds, for instance, in the matter of commensality and connubiality. When Hindus regard eating of flesh of cattle, pig, poultry and
concubinage, widow marriage etc. as marks of low status, the Harijans practise these.

In addition to manual work and agricultural labour, they perform a number of distasteful caste-specific jobs like scavenging, skinning and tanning of hides, basket making, leather works, and also work as watchman, messenger and musician-cum-street dancer etc. All of these are highly demeaning, impure and abhorred practices as per Hindu ideology. For such reasons, they suffer from various social, political and religious disabilities, which are enforced by powerful traditional sanctions. Thus, they have been debarred by tradition from full participation in many of the collective activities of the village, and some of these restrictions are still operative. Therefore, Majumdar (1958) states that "untouchable castes are those who suffer from various social and political disabilities, many of which are prescribed and enforced socially by higher castes". The study of Srinivas and Beteille points out that "they are virtually the social outcasts and are basically characterised by their housing segregation, occupation and style of living" (1965:136).

No doubt, they are segregated, but they form an integral part of village society for the performance of appropriate and complementary roles for the society. It is evident from the study of various scholars including Moffatt, who defines untouchables "as persons of a discrete set of low castes, excluded for reason of their extreme
collective impurity from particular relations with higher beings (both human and divine) ... They play the appropriate low roles necessary for the maintenance of the human and divine order" (1974:4).

Certain analogous social groups like India's untouchables are found throughout the world, in the past and present. They are the Eta of Japan (Donoghue, 1957; Ninomiya, 1933), the Peakchong of Korea (Osgood, 1951), and the Ragyappa of Tibet (Bell, 1924, 1928). Studies on them have revealed that although these groups suffer from untouchability, there is no such institution like the caste system as found in India. Similar type of untouchables are also recorded in China (Chang, 1945), Burma (Hutton, 1946), Ceylon (Hocart, 1950), Polynesia (Hocart, 1950), Tribal Africa (Fortes, 1950), and in Latin America (Tax, 1952).

The Peakchong of Korea and the Eta of Japan are reported to have associated with the impure work like slaughtering of animals and tanning of hides. The Eta also remove dead animals and human bodies for which they have been segregated and have constituted a separate section of the community. The reasons of adhering impurity seem to be common, whether it is in India or abroad; but the concept and implication of untouchability are quite different in India.
Concept of Untouchability

According to the Hindu tradition, the Harijans are said to be in a state of permanent pollution and this idea govern their entire sphere of interactions. The practice of untouchability is expressed as Chhuan-Achhuan in Oriya. It implies explicit and implicit behaviours manifesting both in attitudes and actions of Savarnas vis-a-vis Asavarnas, and the latter among themselves. Thus untouchability is a concept that operates in cognitive level; and disability, another associated concept, is manifest at the operational level. Situational and cultural variations although are discernible, there are certain basic and common features. The idea of untouchability is so deeply and intricately rooted in the minds of Indian people that it has become difficult to disentangle them from participating in such practices. It is not only practised in India, but is also found in various forms of identical nature in Japan, Germany, England and in U.S.A.

The notion of untouchability stems from the 'Hindu ideology' of samskara. Samskar is a closed value construct manifesting symptoms of Hindu psycho-religious mythic reality of rigid ritualistic action per se (Murthy 1976:2). Gautama narrates about forty samskaras, out of which sixteen are most important. It is meant to acquire and maintain social status. Manu (Manusmriti, II:26) emphasizes that the samskaras and the holy rites prescribed in the Veda are to be performed by the twice-born men in order to sanctify the body and
purify it from sin during this life and soul after death. Quoting *Brahmapurana* (Sm.C.I,24) and other digests, Kane mentions that no *samskara* other than *Vivah* (marriage) is allowed to the Sudras, and also agrees that by the *samskara*, not only status is conferred and confirmed, but it also helps the development of corporate life (1930,II:192-198). Further, Kane states very clearly that 'the underlying notions of untouchability are religious and ceremonial purity and pollution' (ibid:170).

Stevenson adds two valuable points by distinguishing the contacts between men from other contacts and also differentiates the concepts from temporary to permanent pollution. He states that "as a permanent attribute pollution is an inherent characteristic of the relationship between social groups of various categories; between man and the phenomena of the natural world; and between these phenomena themselves. It is the degree of permanent purity or pollution, which fixes groups' ritual status, that orders inter-group behavior and attitudes.... It is an attribute of various parts of the body,... of material objects,... of the vegetable world, ...of the animal world, and of all forms of bodily emissions. Finally, it is an attribute of death and decay". (1954:45-65). Stevenson also argues on external and internal pollutions and the latter is more serious than the former.

Applying the principle of pollution stated by Kane
and Stevenson, the status of Pana and Ganda, the erstwhile untouchable castes of Orissa can be explained. They suffer from the stigma of untouchability for the following facts. It is ascertained that they consumed beef and carrion even upto the recent past and some continue to eat these even till now clandestinely. And owing to their traditional occupation, they frequently come in contact with the dhola (percussion instrument) that is partly made up of cattle-hide, and it is a major supporting stigmatized cause of their being untouchables in the conventional Hindu society. Besides, they are associated with many other polluting activities, such as attending to the activities at the cremation ground, communicating the death news, removal and disposal of various dead animals, using discarded and impure earthen pots and non-performance of several purificatory rites as per prescribed Hindu tradition. These are some of the irrevocable factors that inflict permanent and corporate impurity on the Pana and Ganda castes of Orissa.

Nesfield is of the opinion that the cause and growth of the feelings of untouchability are due to the close association with dirty and unclean occupations. (cf. Hutton 1951:170). Ghurye also traces its origin from certain impure occupations (1950:159). Hutton states that "the origin of the position of the exterior castes is partly racial, partly religious, and partly a matter of social custom...the ideas of untouchability originates in taboos" (1969:207). Risley also ascribes racial differences, while Majumdar, in a
different way, analyzed that the disabilities of the so-called depressed castes are not ceremonial, but probably founded on racial and cultural differences (1961:339). In his study Berreman maintains that "the degree of birth-ascribed purity-pollution is tied directly to occupation, diet, ritual behavior, religious and secular prerogatives, life-style and other aspects of caste dharma (1979:319). Dumont (1972:85) argues that in reality even though the notion may be found to contain 'hygienic associations', it is purely a 'religious notion', which, no doubt, implies the concept of purity-pollution in the context of caste system. It is, therefore, evident that the Harijan castes carry certain elements of inherent pollution according to the Hindu ideology.

However, Ambedkar has discussed in his own style the problem of the origin of untouchables. He claims that the persistence of untouchability in the Hindu society has probably been in existence from the time of Manu till today and it dates back to 400 A.D. (1948:V) For him, untouchability sprang from two different attitudes (i) opposition to a group of depressed people, and (ii) opposition to their habits. In other words:

(i) Contempt and hatred of 'broken-men'-as of Buddhists by the Brahmans; and,

(ii) persistence of beef eating habits among the 'broken-men' even though it was given up by others. (1948:V).
Alcott and Basu accept the theory that the untouchables were Buddhists, who had refused to join the renaissance in Hinduism. Borale gives the opinion that untouchability is born out of the struggle for socio-economic supremacy (1968:64). In the fight between Aryans and Dasyus, the latter were defeated and were allowed to remain in the village communities without any rights. Various scholars support the view that eating of beef, domestic pork and other unclean creatures are important riders in evaluation of caste status in India (Roy 1912; Ibbetson 1916, Haimendorf 1943; Srinivas 1952). Stevenson (1954) also state that killing of cobra and certain monkeys offer a high ritual status, while killing of domestic fowl and domestic pig are given the lowest status in the purity-pollution scale. Scholars like Dubois, Ketkar, Rose, Elwin and Hutton have also offered similar opinion in this regard.

For such reasons the Harijans not only suffered from the stigma of untouchability, but also from social, political and religious disabilities in Hindu society. Disability is defined as "the incapacity in the eye of the law, or created by a law, a restriction framed to prevent any person or class of persons from sharing in duties or privileges which would otherwise be open to them; legal disqualifications" (The Oxford English Dictionary [Compt. Ed.] 1974:737). In the 1931 census the listed restrictions
were: "inability to be served by clean Brahmans", "inability to be served by barbers, watercarriers, tailors etc., who serve the caste Hindus; inability to use public conveniences, such as, roads, ferries, wells or schools; and inability to dissociate oneself from despised occupation". (Census of India, 1931, Vol-I:472). Beteille(1969) observes that the disabilities from which the depressed classes suffered with regard to the use of amenities such as wells, and roads, temples, or status symbols such as dress and ornaments, are more severe in Madras Presidency than elsewhere. A few such typical instances of restrictions are reported from various parts of the country (Sachchidananda, 1977; Kamble, 1977). However, the degrees of discrimination are found to be different in respect of different districts and localities.
1.3. The Pana and Ganda:

Risley (1891) states that 'Pana is a low, weaving, basket-making and servile caste, scattered under various names as Pan, Panwa, Panr, Pab, Panika, Chik, Chik-Barik, Ganda, Mohato, Swasi, Tanti etc. throughout the north of Orissa and southern and western parts of Chota-Nagpur (Das, 1964). Although the caste Pana is found in several states of India under different names, it is somewhat difficult to trace its original name. The Pana are invariably distributed in all districts of Orissa, but in some western districts they are known as Ganda, whose occupation, standard of living and stereotypes are almost similar to that of Pana in the coastal districts of Orissa. It is observed that in eastern and central parts of Sundargarh district, they are called 'Pana', but in the western part they are designated as 'Ganda'. The people of the region cannot assign any specific reason as to the difference between the two, but have the opinion that it is due to the cultural influence of the adjoining districts.

Dalton describes the Pana as 'low, bastard Hindu people' (1872:299), while Stuart as 'Dravidian caste' (1891:286), O'Malley describes them as one of the prehistoric people of Orissa who are found in large numbers in the Western thanas (Police Station) of Cuttack district namely, Salipur, Jajpur and Dharmasala - which are close to the Garhajat hills (1933:65). Most of the coolies recruited
Fig. 13.1 A PANA DRUMMER
in the tea-gardens of Assam are Panas who are from some Eastern States like Dhenkanal and Talcher and from the neighbourhoods (Tallents, 1923:245). Historical records disclose that they had a strong criminal tendency (Cobden-Ramsay, 1910:57). Rath and Sircar find that the social status of Pana in the hierarchy of rural Orissa is quite low (1960:173).

Praharaja mentions that Pana is 'a class of low untouchable caste', and by profession are drummers (1934:4735). It is the most despised, low, polluted and stigmatized word in Oriya language. People believe that the term is so filthy that even Lord Yama (God of Death) hesitates to approach them as well as their living-places. Therefore, the people often name their sickly-born or the only male child as 'Pana' or 'Panua', so as to shield the child from the evil eyes of Yama. Moreover, a mother who lost her children usually thinks that she can save her child by giving names, as Pana, Ganda, Dhoba, Kandara, Chamara, etc. to her surviving one. The above names are attributed to the denigrated caste groups of village communities. There is also a custom of offering such a child to the denigrated castes till the child is grown up.

Myth Concerning the Origin:

The myth regarding the origin of the Pana and Ganda castes has been the reconstruction of various distorted memories and recollections of the people concerned. Although the written evidence are found in Mallika Purana and Kaibarta
It is said that Pranamani, the mythical ancestor of the Pana, was the eldest son of Lord Brahma, who once decided to perform a grand Yogyan (fire sacrifice). Following the invitation, all Maharshis (great saints) and Devatas (Gods) attended the sacrifice on the appointed day, except one saint. Pranamani went to remind him, but on reaching his house, the former found that the saint was about to take his meal. The saint requested Pranamani to share the prasad (sacred food) from the common dish, but the latter refused the offer. The saint, after finishing his portion of food, once again requested Pranamani to consume the remaining food. Eventually the latter lost temper and abused the saint for offering the soiled food. This annoyed the saint, who cursed Pranamani saying that he would be dishonoured and disparaged in future and would consume others' aintha (soiled-food) for refusing to accept prasad. Thereafter, both of them proceeded to Brahma, who, after giving a patient hearing, requested the saint to excuse his son. The saint, however, sympathetically declared that though Pranamani would escape the anathema, his children and descendants in subsequent generations would definitely suffer from the curse.

Brahma however wanted to delight Pranamani by offering a share of the sacrificed roasted calf of the yagyan, but the latter insisted on consuming everything. It
enraged Brahma who ultimately cursed him to face the evil consequences of beef-eating in Dwapara and Tretaya yugas (the classic Hindu periods). But in Kaliyuga the sufferings might decline, if his descendants would follow austere Hindu disciplines. Thus, Pranamani was cursed twice for his misdeed and the curse still prevails.

The myths and legends collected on the origin of the Pana and Ganda castes of Orissa are basically consistent and mutually reinforcing the fact that beef-eating, arrogance, stupidity and avarice are the causes of their degradation and humiliation. Moreover, the myths suggest that they (both Pana and Ganda) trace their ancestral linkages from higher castes or from Gods.

While collecting data on caste-stereotypes, many key informants belonging to savarna and Harijan jatis (other than Pana and Ganda) gave the following information about the characteristic features of Pana and Ganda. That they are normally jealous, treacherous, haughty, emotional, distrustful and wicked by nature. They are in the habit of cultivating shrewdness and dishonesty and most of them ridicule and abuse men of higher jatis at their back. They lack general etiquette. There is a saying that Pana Paika baunsa(bamboo)nia (fire), i.e. they abruptly burst into excitement and anger at the slightest provocation, and interestingly, a rash fling of abuse immediately deadens their high excitement and emotion. People often equate them with
'Ganda, Goyala', that is with rhino and wild buffalo, meaning that by and large they are voracious and indifferent to shame.

They were so designated because like the rhino, they were thick-skinned, dirty and voracious. This is what an informant said about their caste-appellation. 'Ganda' is a later derivation, which refers to their ferocious, animal like behaviour. The Pana and Ganda were chaffed as madhakhia (carrion-eater), chora (thief), chotha or thaka (cheat), michua (liar) etc. However, they are quite industrious, and are known as musicians Pana-baida and Ganda-baja. These stereotypes are however, changing in recent years. The modest Ganda, however, prefer to be designated as 'Pana' or 'Tanti'. Those Gandas who profess weaving of coarse clothes, have relinquished drum-beating.

On an issue of untouchability, an elderly Pana, with deep resentment and anguish, exploded that savarnas treat them 'even lesser than dogs', the latter is caressed, allowed to move and sit by one's side, and fed with care, but the very presence and touch of a Pana or Ganda causes repulsion, pollution as well as insult to the savarnas. They are unhappy not because of poverty, but because of the practice of untouchability, which they conceive as the ultimate cause of the former (economic).

They admit that because of utter poverty, in the past, they consumed carrion, beef, pork, crow, fowls, snails, oysters, and various terrestrial reptiles apart from certain
unholy practices. For instance, they consumed the Mala-bhata (rice inflicted with death pollution), Pua-pakhala (left-over steeped-rice of master's children), and Ainthā (soiled-food), and used Mala-handi (pots inflicted with death pollution or other kinds of pollution) and also utilized the unused and damaged wooden agricultural implements as fire-wood, which is a sacrilegious action. Moreover, to shun impurity or pollution, they neither followed specific purificatory rites, nor devised the proper purificatory agents, like, priest, barber and washerman etc. Therefore, they remain Anasudhia (ritually impure) perpetually.

Besides these, the notion of impurity of severe nature also lies in the following practices, which they (Pana and Ganda) practise in their respective regions.

1. Skinning of carcass and processing of hides;
2. Culling animals, especially male calf, goat, fowl and buffalo;
3. Disposal of carcasses;
4. Manufacturing and repairing of all kinds of percussion instruments;
5. Cutting and carrying fire wood to cremation ground;
6. Carrying of death notices and messages to other villages of caste Hindus;
7. Sweeping and cleaning of village roads, and
8. Beating of 'dhola' (percussion instruments) as and when needed by caste Hindus.
It is to be noted that normally Dhoba (washerman) cut fire wood, and as a principle they refrain from cutting any wood at night. It is also tabooed for all categories of savarna but in that case the Pana readily accept the job. Hence the practice is deemed to be highly polluting.

These are the chief defiling activities, performed in the society besides other specific and non-specific caste jobs, such as:

1. Village Chowkidar (Watchman);
2. Piada/Katual (Messenger);
3. Kine-house keeper;
4. Procession-monger (carry light, fireworks etc);
5. Cleaning, smearing, sweeping and fencing of court-yard, verandah and gardens;
6. Chief manual labourer;
7. Agricultural labourer; and
8. Fire wood cutter and seller.

The Pana are also specialists in making various types of bamboo and cane baskets, mats and mosquito-nets. In the past they were known for weaving coarse clothes. The Ganda, on the other hand, had never professed bamboo and cane works, but rather engage themselves in collecting bamboo, valuable timber from deep forests, which they normally sell to the people. Traditional occupation of the Ganda is the weaving of coarse clothes, commonly called Ganda Kapta. These clothes defile and are subject to defilement as those
are thoroughly dipped in manda (rice-gruel) in course of preparation.

It is necessary to discuss the place of Piada/Katual (village servant), who played an important role in traditional village community.

Piada (Village Servant):

Particularly in each revenue village, the well-to-do village headman, i.e., the Zamindar/Saanta used to appoint a Piada to assist him in the affairs of village administration. The post of Piada was hereditary, and he was mostly recruited from low castes, particularly the Pana and Kandara in Cuttack district. Similarly in Sundargarh district, the Gauntia (village headman) appointed Katual, who were usually of the Ganda caste. The term Katual was existent in ancient literatures and they also acted as the chief associate and messenger of kings.

In Cuttack district, the role of Piada was to watch the village, agricultural fields etc. during the night. They also served as guide, messenger to government servants, calling rojats (land owning peasants) to pay khajana, malgujari (land revenue) at the chaupadi (village hall), escorting the government treasury, tracking thieves to the neighbouring village, carrying death notices and messages from one village to another. However, their recompense came from the village, which included not only grains and the
dead cattle, but also a small piece of land known as *bethina jami* and a host of perquisites.

The duty of *piada*, although is curious and inferior, he was responsible to account for every matter in the village. He kept watch over everybody's affair and was well acquainted with village problems; at the time of necessity his evidence was taken into consideration. His role in land disputes was pivotal and instrumental for instance, if he spread *Pana khapare* (pot sherds) or put a *jhunta* (straw covered bamboo stick) over a disputed land, nobody would come forward to cultivate it for the fear of being polluted. Often the villagers instructed the *Pana* to spread pot sherds around the fruit-bearing trees, so that nobody would steal the ripe fruits. The Zamindar easily collected money from his loanee and his land revenue through the *Piada*, whose mere appearance before the house of a caste Hindu or his harsh word was enough for inflicting insult. For their bravery, they were conferred the *padabi* (honorific titles) such as Mahabala Singh, Bagh Singh, Bahadur Singh, Rana Jhampa, Bajra Kabata etc. and were granted free lands. Owing to their improved economic condition they refrain from beating drum, serving as agricultural labourers. Even the antagonists and dissidents of the Zamindar used to surrender and compromise, when *Pana-Piada* were sent to them by the Zamindar. There is a saying, "Piada pathaiba", (sending of a *Pana*) which implies a severe intimidation to an opponent.
Hence, the Pana were serving as "foot soldier (Paika) to the Zamindars.

Their weapon was badi or lathi (bamboo stick) and they were well conversant with badi khela (wielding of sticks), which they now even display in public on ceremonial occasions, in marriage procession, mock-fights etc.

Pana-chhuan (contact of the Pana) was regarded as one of the most severe forms of pollution. There was the fear of being boycotted from the jati, and one had to undergo purificatory rites in order to be readmitted into the jati. So, with regard to physical contact, the degree of pollution and intimidation prevailed more with Pana, next to Ghasi (Scavenger).

In Sundargarh, there was no such severity of pollution with regard to physical contact with the Ganda since it was a tribal dominated area and the influence of Hinduism was less. The job of Katual was, more or less, analoguous to that of Piada, but the implication of 'Jhunthamariba', 'Pana-khapara', 'Pana-Pathaiba', 'Pana-chhuan' were non-existent. Since the district was under the control of a Raja (King), the Ganda were not preferred as soldiers. They worked mostly as dholia (drummer), who used to excite and inspire the soldiers by showing dexterity in drum-beatings. They were also engaged by the King as drummer during hunting expedition. The Ganda drummers were instructed to remain
scattered in the forest on the opposite side of the hunting team and they used to beat drums in order to chase the games. They were also serving as Mahunta (elephant rider) of the King. Although they received lands, from the King, they were hardly recipients of titles of honour as found in Cuttack district.

Furthermore, it has been found that most of the well-to-do families of Brahman and Khandayat castes of Cuttack district used to keep trustworthy and loyal servants, particularly from the castes of Pana and Kandara. They are popularly called 'Loka-pua'/'Loka-pana' or kotha-pua meaning as adopted son. These servants (Loka-pua) are treated differently than other servants like Halia (tiller), Nagamulia (casual labourer), mulia (regular labourer), who are appointed temporarily for a period of one year, for a specific cropping season, or on daily wage basis respectively. The Loka-pua who is much like a hereditary bonded servant, not only dispenses labour for certain household and agricultural activities, but also obliges to perform several important ritual duties for the master. He addresses the master - Saanta-Khaunda or Saanta - which means the protector and saviour, and the mistress is called Saantani. Both of them are apparently the foster-parents of Loka-pua. With the establishment of such a relationship, all the family members of the master and the servant are involved in mutual cooperation. It is also evident that Loka-pua, in the past, were sold and exchanged between the Saantas
masters). For rendering various indispensable services, which are mostly impure type of jobs for the master, he had certain rights to exercise, for instance, he could retain the surname of the master, with some differentiation, like:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Surname of master</th>
<th>Surname adopted by the Loka-pua</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jena</td>
<td>Jeena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mallick</td>
<td>Malika</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sasmal</td>
<td>Samala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dash</td>
<td>Das.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Jeena* title is commonly adopted by the Pana while the *Kandara* have mostly simulated the title of *Das* in the area of study. In the official land records, they were designated by the surname *Pana*. Later on the role of *Loka-pua* or *Loka-pana* will be discussed in detail. The institution of *Loka-pua* is not found in Sundargarh district and particularly with regard to the Ganda caste.

**Sub-divisions of Pana caste:**

Among the Pana, there are several endogamous units. Within the district of Cuttack, there are four groups found on the basis of territorial organisation, such as, *Baisi* (22), *Chauda* (14), *Egara* (11) and *Na* (9) *Mahalia* Panas, which are hardly differentiated by the members of other jatis.

Formerly the areas of the district were divided into *mahala* or a group of village corresponding to a *Paragana* (an equivalent of subdivision). The Pana generally identify themselves with the corresponding territorial unit (*mahala*).
and also on the basis of major occupations; they are again broadly distinguished as Pana Baisnab, (priest), Thiaria, Dholia, Patiria (or Mahuria). Each of them is endogamous and refuses inter-dining with another. Although there is no other dogmatic difference, these four units maintain their independent identity and status because of certain minute differences. The existing divisions and differences among the Pana of Cuttack district substantially corroborate the fact of intra-caste discrimination, which has resulted from variously-graded polluting occupations they profess. These four units are mentioned as below.

(1) The Baisi-Mahalia Pana: They are otherwise known as Pana Baishnabha (priests of the Pana). Priesthood is hereditary and the status is an ascriptive one; a person undergoes certain ritual training before assuming the role. The Pana of Kotapur area get priestly services from a Pana Baisnab of Saudia village, which is located 15 Kms. away from the study village. Although he has been rendering services for last 30 years, his father did not practise priesthood. The Pana Baishnab reside in multi-caste villages, and particularly inhabit isolated wards. Usually two to three such families stay together and serve their Pana clients in neighbouring as well as in distant villages upto a distance of 20 Kms. or above. Their total number in the district would be about three to four hundred. They do not cultivate land themselves but get their lands cultivated by engaging Pana labourers.
They are teetotallers; they neither play musical instruments, nor practise prohibited Hindu customs, such as domestication of or consumption of the flesh of certain proscribed animals. They do not accept cooked food from their caste-men, rather prefer to cook themselves in new earthen pots outside their client's house. In other words they emulate and simulate the style of life of Brahman priests.

They are easily identified from others by certain diacritical marks, such as the use of sandal paste on forehead, upper arms and chest, often put on sacred thread, and wear crimson colour clothes. Further, they may put on a vermilion mark on the forehead, and wear long head hairs and *Lulasi mali* (necklace made of beads of holy basil plant) around their necks. Because of their priestly occupations and ritual performances, Pana *Baishnaba* are regarded as higher and superior to the Pana in social status.

(2) **Chauda-Mahalia Pana (Dholia Pana):** They are known for beating *dholia* (drum), thus, are called *Dholia Pana*. They work mostly as agricultural labourers, but a few of them are farmers. They observe Hindu rituals, ceremonies and festivals according to *Jagannath Panji* or almanac of the State deity, Lord Jagannath.

(3) **Na-Mahalia Pana (Patiria or Mahuria Pana):** As they castrate young animals (cattle, goat, horse, dog etc.), they
are designated as Patiria and for playing Mahuri (a pipe instrument contains hide), accompanying drum beating, they are also called Mahuria. The act of castration and pipe playing are viewed as derogatory, so their social position is inferior to the Chauda-Mahalia Pana. For about two decades, the commensal and connubial restrictions are significantly blurred between the Chauda and Na-Mahalia Panas. They however work as agricultural labourers, and follow Jagannath Panji.

It is difficult to distinguish precisely the territorial boundary occupied by these Pana categories, but the area lying between Birupa and Brahmani rivers is mostly inhabited by the Chauda-Mahalia Pana, while the area beyond Birupa upto Mahanadi river is the land of Na-Mahalia Pana. And beyond Brahmani, the land is predominantly occupied by Tharia or Egar-Mahalia Pana.

(4) Egar-Mahalia Pana: They are agricultural labourers, and submarginal farmers. Like Na-Mahalia, they beat drum, play pipe instrument (Mahuri) and castrate young male animals, but follow Biraja Panji, (almanac of goddess Biraja).

Next to Pana Baisnab, the Dholia Pana (Chauda) claim superiority over others because of the fact that they associate themselves with only drum beating, while the other two categories (Na and Egara) play both drum and pipes. However, the latter two categories undertake the work of animal castration, which is regarded as a highly polluting
occupation. On these grounds, the Dholia look down upon the Mahuria and Thiaria, but recently the latter have either replaced the cattle-hide with various other type of materials in the pipe instrument, or have mostly forsaken the job of castration, which is now being done by the Government staff of animal husbandry department. Therefore, the intra-caste discrimination has been reduced to some extent among the Pana in recent times. But they all equally discriminate against the Khirastan Pana who have professed christianity. Moreover, the Pana of Cuttack district distinguish further as Dakhinia Pana (those who inhabit south Orissa), Mala Pana (those who inhabit hilly areas), Kondha Pana (neighbours of Kondha tribes in Phulbani district), and Tanti Pana (Ganda weavers of Western Orissa).

Sub-divisions of Ganda Caste:

Cobden-Ramsay describes the Ganda as "a servile caste of village drudges acting as watchmen, weavers of coarse clothes and musician. They had strong criminal tendencies" (1910:57). O'Malley reports that they are "an aboriginal race known in other parts of Orissa as Panas" (1932:77). Throughout the district of Sundargarh the Ganda are evenly distributed and it is commonly said that the Ganda jati constitutes Lakhye Ghara (one hundred thousand houses). It means that there are numerous bansa (clan) and barga (surnames) among them which they count as roughly some thousands. However, some elderly Ganda presume that it would be more than five hundred, but the researcher estimates 48
the actually existing *barga* of Ganda as 132 only (cf. Appendix-A). Among them the clan members of Mahanandia, Sunani, Tandia and Gandha *bargases* are considered important and claim social superiority, owing to the fact that they render ritual services on the occasion of *machhua pataka* (pollution due to maggot-ridden gangrene and sores on the body).

It is further observed that euphemism of surnames are rampant among them. For instance, in land records the father is ascribed with Ganda title, but in school record, his son is titled as Kua, the other son in the records of Block Office is as Tanti, while another son writes Bayas in his books. Moreover, many educated Ganda are now in the habit of using the surnames like Kailash, Dash, Gandhi, Harijan, Bhusanda, Prachanda etc, which were never known to their ancestors.

While tracing the origin of some *barga*, it has been found that each of them differs from others with regard to certain customary rites. Each and every Ganda family must celebrate *Nua-khia* or *Nabanna* festival, in which the eldest male member of the family offers food to the manes and the family tutelary deity. It is said that the clan members of Kua offer food before the Kua (crow) cries, and members of Dipa *barga* offer the light of Dipa (wick lamp), the members of Sagar *barga* fetch water from distant rivers during night for worship. Besides that the pattern of offering of food also differs from one another. Many of them, of course,
cannot justify and explain the differences concerning the
barga vis-a-vis rite.

It is also traced that they mostly originate from
inter-caste marriages. In the entire district, particularly,
the Ganda caste shows maximum leniency towards inter-caste
marriage (Ganda girl with boys of all higher castes) and
subsequent incorporation of most such bithlia (inter-caste
married couple) into their jati. But the girl when elopes
with a boy lower to their jati, it is seriously viewed and
membership to the couple is denied in their jati. This, in
course of time, has led to the formation of several new
bargas. On study of Sing barga, it is found that a tribal
man of Paika Bhuiyan, retains the ancestral title Sing even
after his marriage to a Ganda woman. Thus the instance of
numerous bargas, bansas, and customary rites among the Ganda
are all gradual accretions in time and space. Normally the
tendency to marry a non-Ganda person of higher jati is often
a deliberate choice. One important commensal restriction for
non-Ganda persons is that they cannot serve food to bansa
members in caste dining (jati feasts) for twelve years from
the date of incorporation. In other words, it takes almost
twelve years for a non-Ganda to attain the full membership in
Ganda society. During that period he is assigned lowly jobs
like nail clipping and hair-trimming, washing of clothes
etc., in their community on certain festive and ceremonial
occasions.

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Nevertheless, six important subdivisions among the Ganda have been found, which are exclusively based on the criterion of occupation. The occupations are valued with reference to the concept of purity and pollution. The subdivisions are:

1. Ganda Gosein; 4. Bajania Ganda;
2. Tanti Ganda; 5. Kandhria Ganda;

Furthermore, the Ganda of the district identify their analogous groups known as Panaka and Dungi Chauhan residing in Bolangir district of Orissa and adjoining districts of Madhya Pradesh respectively. The former is despised for they consume beef and carrion, whereas the latter are regarded as superior since they have given up the despicable habits including drum beating. Much like the Pana, the fission among the Ganda is due to indulgence in polluting activities, although they themselves are being discriminated against by the higher Hindu castes and tribes on the same ground. It is worthwhile to have a brief discussion on the various status groups among the Ganda of Sundargarh district.

1) Ganda Gosein:

It is believed that the Ganda Gosein (priest) is the son of a Brahman and a Ganda woman. They are regarded as the priest and Karma guru (religious preceptors) of the Ganda. They also know astrological calculations and the Karma
padhhati (sacrificial procedures) by virtue of their family learning and training. Their population is limited to a total number of 50-60. Sobha Chandra Gosein of Mangasapur village is the priest for the Gandas of the village studied and he is also the Sarpanch of Tangarpalli Panchayat Samiti.

In order to secure their livelihood by easy means, the Ganda Gosein initially proffered Karna mantra among the Ganda, owing to their acquired proficiency. In course of time, they not only led a priestly profession by officiating at various ritual ceremonies including marriage, but also fulfilled the necessary conditions of living required for a priestly occupation. Consequent upon the observance of restricted marital and commensal relations, they formed a distinct section among the Ganda. In case of difficulty they accept women and cooked food from the Tanti Ganda only, whose status stands next to them.

Karna mantra is a self purificatory rite in which the Gosein/Karna Guru/Gurubapa (preceptor) whispers certain precepts into the disciple's Karna (ear). It can be compared with the upanayan (sacred thread ceremony) of the twice born castes. As the body of human being is regarded impure, and without performing purificatory rites, one is considered ineligible for offering water or oblations to the manes. Therefore, every adult individual is supposed to undergo the rite before marriage. But it is observed that not all adult Ganda perform it, but a few of them, particularly those who are the first children of their parents, follow it sincerely.
Moreover, some of the Ganda perform religious rites themselves without the services of the Gosein.

2) **Tanti Ganda:**

This section constitutes the original population of Ganda community. In this area, they are the traditional weavers of coarse clothes, which are popularly called a Ganda Kapla. They used to sell their products either moving from door to door or at market places. The clothes are, however, regarded as impure because of the use of manda (rice starch) in the process of preparation. They became almost handicapped soon after the easy availability of mill-made clothes during British period. Such a situation forced them to take up various other occupations for their survival.

The chief occupation of the Ganda was weaving and drum beating. But a decade before independence some of the local Ganda leaders made an unanimous resolution to give up the practice of drum-beating, as the occupation was the cause of their derogatory and low status. These leaders, however, felt to elevate their social position with the influence of Gandhiji’s Harijan movement, and particularly, due to their continual interaction with freedom fighters and leaders of the Savarna jatis. In the wake of such forces the Ganda leaders also availed themselves of the opportunity to organise meetings, processions and often social service camps that aimed at arousing mass awareness to promote social integration by fighting against the prejudice, discrimination and untouchability. Moreover, the active
The participation of Ganda elites in the movements was a significant feature, which ultimately helped uplift the prestige of the Ganda community as a whole.

On the other hand, those Ganda who deviated and disobeyed the decisions and prohibitions enshrined in the resolution were severely beaten, fined and their drums were set ablaze. Nevertheless, many of them continue with the practice of drum-beating, cow-slaughtering, hide-collecting etc. This brought about fission and further cleavages among the Ganda. As a result there are now three categories of Ganda. They are:

a) Tanti Ganda/or Ganda Tanti/Tanti (Weavers).

b) Bajania Ganda/Bajia (Drum-beaters)

c) Kandhria Ganda/Kondhria (cow-slaughterers)

As the Tanti Ganda continue to emulate the process of sanskritization and revamp their traditional occupation and the style of life, they are regarded as higher than the other two. The Bajania Ganda, however, occupy the intermediate position in the hierarchy as their occupation is comparatively purer than the Kandhria. The latter work with Muslims and pursue the job of cow-slaughtering, hide collection, drum-making and other low and degrading occupations. They are regarded as the lowest among the Ganda. They are generally the immigrants, who reside mostly in urban and semiurban areas of the district.
3) The Birtia:

The Birtia are the mortuary ritual specialist for the Ganda, even the Ganda Gosein needs their services. But they do not serve the Kandhria Ganda as the latter are lower in the social order than the Birtia. The Birtia in Bonai sub-division of this district are called Mangan, with whom they maintain mutual commensal and connubial relationships. They accept water and kucha food from the Gosein and Tanti Ganda, but not from the Bajania and Kandhria Ganda. Like the Tanti Ganda, the Birtia also claim their origin from God Brahma.

Like Ganda Gosein, they are found in very limited numbers. Three Birtia families of Bandhapali village cover an area of 30-40 Sq.Kms. to render their services. They sing songs to satisfy the pitrugana (manes) of their clients with the help of Tripura (or Shiva) Dambaru and in return collect dana (gift) from the bereaved family. One of the special features of them is the exclusive possession of Shiva dambaru which is a kind of wooden-framework prepared by carpenter. Its two ends are covered with buka puta (intestine of goat) by them.

Conventionally, they receive the gift on the eleventh day, from the date of death, that is, on the final day of mortuary purification. In some cases they often visit the bereaved family after five years to receive the gift.
In that case a lesser gift is given. The members of the family of the deceased generally express displeasure for they (Birtia) demand all items, the dead used in everyday life, such as the utensils, umbrella, implements, clothes and ornaments. But, normally they receive one kansa gina (small bronze container), one taski (bowl) and two to five rupees and, those who are little well-off they demand from them the khata (bedstead), supti (mat), one gadu (bronze ewer), bronze tumbler, clothes and some amount of paddy or rice. Besides their fixed number of jajmans (clients), they also render such services to those Ganda families who appoint them on adhoc basis.

Apart from the mortuary gift, the Birtia also receive kala dana (death gift) in the form of cereals and pulses every year from the jajmans. On the occasion of pitru snadha, they often accept the gifts in the form of utensils and clothes from their clients. It is believed that a Birtia should not return from a house without receiving some sort of gifts. Wherever they go, they carry their bedding and they are allowed to use verandah or outer room of the jajman's house. They are not allowed to enter the kitchen. Though use utensils of their jajman for taking food, they return those after washing. Moreover, the Birtia are considered inferior to their jajmans for they receive dana in the form of old clothes, beds, etc.
4) The Laria Ganda:

These Ganda speak laria dialect and reside in the adjoining areas of Madhya Pradesh. The Ganda of Sundargarh however consider them inferior.

These broad divisions of the Ganda justify the prevalence of hierarchical groups among themselves.
1.4 The Harijan Awakening

The rise and awakening of Harijans in India is mostly due to the cherished efforts of Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of the Nation, and Ambedkar, the Father of Indian Constitution, in the early 20th century. Gandhiji's struggle in South Africa made him realise that all men are born equal and must enjoy equal rights. After coming back to India, he gave deep thought to the cult of untouchability in which the untouchables or Harijans were suffering from gross maltreatment both in public and private sphere of lives. As a necessary step towards removing the stigma, a political resolution was passed in 1920 for the admission of untouchables to Hindu temples under his leadership. Further he set up the Anti-untouchability League (later known as Harijan Sevak Sangh) on 30 September, 1932, in order to rouse Hindu conscience as well as to create sufficient awareness on the Harijan Welfare measures among different categories of Harijans, as a path to their emancipation. To enlighten and awaken the Harijans, he published the 'Harijan', which was formerly known as 'Young India'.

Having the favourable attitude of the British Government, Ambedkar, the most eminent Harijan leader of the country, was determined to disintegrate the Harijans from the Hindus. Because he was not confident of the activities of Gandhiji. Once he bluntly expressed that Gandhiji was more keen on propagation of Khadi and Muslim-Hindu unity rather
than the removal of untouchability. Therefore, he struggled in the teeth of opposition and one of his success was evident in the grant of MacDonald's Communal Award, 1932. In response to the Award, Gandhiji, however, revolutionised his Harijan campaign throughout the country in August 1933, after his release from jail. But Ambedkar's endeavour and intellectual conviction actually brought about a significant change for Harijans in contemporary India.

Ambedkar and the Political Activity

There were many noble saints from among the untouchables, such as Raidas (Chamar jati) and Chakhavada (Mahar jati), but actually Kabir, who had the Buddhist ideals of casteless society, profoundly influenced Ambedkar. After completing graduation from Elphinstone college, Bombay, and then obtaining M.A., Ph.D., D.Sc, and Bar-at-law degrees from London, he entered into a chequered political career.

In the beginning of his career, he was much influenced by Shahu Maharaj of Kolhapur, who had already launched the non-Brahman movement. He first made a representation to the Southborough Committee for separate electorate and direct representation by asserting that 'Untouchability' constitutes a definite set of interests which the untouchables alone could speak for. Later in 1926, he occupied a seat in the Bombay Legislative Assembly as another untouchable nominated representative. In 1927, along with the attenders of the conference held at Mahad, a
town in Kolaba district of South Bombay, he marched to the
Chowdar tank and drank water, with a view to achieving their
legal right; but it ended up in rioting.

Thereafter he realised that without political
guarantees for the Depressed Classes, the Harijans could
hardly be benefited. Then he formed the Independent Labour
Party which mainly aimed at protecting the interests of
labouring classes, irrespective of the castes.
It was modelled like the Labour Party of England. But owing
to lack of cooperation and the resultant rivalry among the
untouchable castes themselves, the new party could not
achieve the desired goals.

His next step was to seek separation from caste
Hindu society. In July 1942, at Nagpur meeting of All India
Depressed Classes Conference, he argued for a constitutional
provision for transfer of Scheduled castes to separate
scheduled caste villages, which would be spatially apart from
and independent of Hindu villages. Although it was an
alienative trend, it brought about an effective mobilization
among the Scheduled castes. And the last resolution in the
meeting was to continue political movement of Scheduled
Castes through the formation of Scheduled Castes
Federation. The Federation later launched satyagrahas for
separate electorates before State Legislatures at Poona,
Nagpur, Lucknow and Kanpur in 1946 to press for their
demands.
Ambedkar owned a seat in the Constituent Assembly from Bengal in 1946, and later, after partition, from Bombay. With the commencement of Indian independence, he was made Chairman of the drafting committee for the Constitution, and was included by Nehru as Law Minister in the first cabinet. The Congress Government made several legal prohibitions of untouchability, provisions of economic and educational benefits, and reservations in public bodies and government posts.

Just before India's first general elections in the fall of 1951, Ambedkar resigned from the Cabinet because he lacked Congress support for the Hindu Code Bill. In the elections of 1951-52, he was defeated by a Chamar opponent, N.S. Kajrolkar in the North Bombay (North) constituency and the Scheduled Caste Federation too. In the 1952 bye-election, he again lost as a Scheduled Castes Federation candidate.

In Nagpur Conference, 1956 he made an attempt to transform the Scheduled Castes Federation into a Republican Party, which could speak for all the 'Dispossessed', the Scheduled castes, Scheduled Tribes and Backward Classes. It was a failure on the part of Harijans that the Republican Party could not be formally organised even after the death of Ambedkar. His last effort, in the same meeting, was to inspire the Scheduled castes for mass conversion to Buddhism, in order to emancipate the Harijans from the grip of Hinduism. Along with him, about 3,00,000 Harijan
followers professed Buddhism, which really caused a great threat to Hinduism. However, without making future plans for the development of Scheduled Castes, Ambedkar breathed his last on December 6, 1956, two months after setting the conversion movement and the idea of a new Republican Party in action.

The contributions of Gandhiji and Ambedkar towards Harijan awakening bear the testimony to a new era in India. In reference to the socio-political background, the present study attempts to examine the plight of Harijans in Orissan context as an empirical test case.
1.5. Conceptual Framework:

All human societies from the simplest to the most complex have some form of social inequality. Social inequality simply refers to the existence of socially created inequalities, which may broadly be in terms of power, prestige, wealth and status. The Hindu social system has been characterized as a pre-eminent case of social inequality, where groups and individuals are exhaustively ranked as superior and inferior, and as higher and lower. Social inequality in India is not only a matter of existential differences in wealth, power and privilege, but also a question of values as the order, stability and co-operation in society are based on value consensus. Thus, the evaluative aspect also helps in ranking individuals and groups in a social system.

Various studies in India and elsewhere have indicated that inequalities in the material conditions of existence are accompanied by a host of other inequalities, and they together form the social hierarchy. The hierarchical idiom plays an important role in the Hindu society where considerations of status reach into virtually every sphere of life.

All members of a society occupy a number of social positions. It needs conceptual clarification. To begin with, the individual, being an anonymous and a neutral term in the society, he or she is recognized as a person for occupying a position. A person, due to his or her position, behaves
typically and, thus, the symbolic interaction depends on the specifics of time, place and person or group. A concise and appropriate term to designate these specifications is status (En.so.sc, vol-15, 1969:251).

Therefore, the term status connotes a position in a social system, and it not only implies a physical position, but is concerned with a set of cultural values, beliefs and expectations (ibid). Social scientists have taken "status" rather than "person" as the basic unit of study, for it serves as a more useful level of analysis. The concept of status, according to Wilkinson, is a "significant sociological variable in the explanation of human behaviour in individual and collection" (1970:400). In this respect, status refers to personal or group prestige and esteem at all levels of interaction, whether it is within the family, among the friends and relatives or in society in the private and public spheres of life. Further, status does not only lie in the level of interactions, but also depends significantly on how the individual (or group) fulfils the demands of others.

Maine (1861) uses the notion of status to distinguish between societies or social relations where one's position (status) in the society is determined at birth, called "ascribed" and the "achieved", which is acquired by the actions during one's life time (Graburn, 1971:289). Further, Pareto labelled the persons to indicate their proper
place in the various classes of people as lawyers, physicians, engineers, millionaires, artists etc. (1935). Weber's analysis, based on sound methodology, excelled that of Pareto, for taking "individual motives" and "typical action" into consideration. While classifying individuals in the categories, like king, official, procurer or magician (1947:67). Furthermore, his notion of status refers to the way people are ranked according to the amount of "esteem" or "prestige" they possess in society. For him, status is a quality of social honour or a lack of it, and is mainly conditioned as well as expressed through a specific style of life (1958:39).

Linton, a student of Boas, has made major contributions to the anthropological theory for classification of the nature of status and role. He considered status and role as strictly complimentary concepts, as if they are two sides of the same coin. For him status is the "polar position" that consists of a collection of rights and duties. He explains that "status is the static aspect of role" and "role is the dynamic aspect of status" (1936:114). Later on he changes his opinion and states that status is not a collection of rights and duties, rather it denotes categories or kinds of person (1945:50-52).

Aiming to refine Linton's idea, Merton proposes that in each status of an individual another social person is associated. It involves not a single role but a whole array of roles which he designates as "role-set". Consequently,
there is the emergence of the concept of "status-set" (1957:284-86). Parsons, however, holds the view that the "role" is status translated into action, the role being the 'processual aspect' of status, as status is the 'positional aspect' of the role (1951:25). According to him, a person's status is his place in the relationship system of parts.

In order to refine the concept of status, Nadel, a student of Malinowski, accepts the views of Linton and Parsons, but he is of the opinion that "the execution of certain rights and obligations is a performance (role) ... this set of rights and obligations are embodied in a piece of knowledge in a norm or prescription" (1956:29). The former signifies the role, while the latter, the rule. He further states that the rule is the status and its application is the role. With this he separates the concepts of status and role, and refers the term 'status', more narrowly, as to the "particular sets of rights and obligations falling to persons" (ibid).

Goodenough, a student of Murdock, takes a positive attempt to further refine the concept in his own words as:"I shall consistently treat statuses as combinations of right and duty only. I shall emphasize their conceptual autonomy from social 'position' in a categorical sense by referring to the latter as social identities" (1962:2).

Like Linton, he speaks of 'ascribed' and 'achieved' statuses. He advocates that 'rights and their duty
counterparts serve to define boundaries within which the parties to social relationships are expected to confine their behaviour (1969:3). Privileges to him relate to the areas of option within these boundaries. Hence he maintains that, for analysis of status, it is the boundaries (the rights and duties) that command our attention and not the domain of idiosyncratic freedom (privileges).

Further, he stresses that every individual has a number of different social identities, and one's rights and duties vary according to the identities he appropriately assumes in a given interaction. And every pair of reciprocal duty-statuses (or corresponding right-statuses) constitutes a status relationship. It is viewed that same status relationships may be found to obtain in quite different identity relationships. Thus, a culturally ordered system of social relationships is composed of identity relationships, status relationships, and the ways in which they are mutually distributed (1969:8).

Various authorities have defined and outlined the concept of status by its attributes. In brief, the commonly accepted attributes of status are "respect, prestige and influence" (McIver and Page, 1962:350), 'quality of social honour' (Weber, 1958:39), 'relative position within a hierarchy' (Benoit-Smullyan, 1944:131-161) etc.

However, Indian caste system has its own parameters, and customary manner of awarding status.
Analysing the Hindu society, Weber remarks that "Kinds of occupation and income, which entail the most far-reaching consequences for connubium, commensalism, and ritual rank, are decisive in the case of all castes" (1958:45). Following the views of Manu, Stevenson (1954) proposes the following principles for evaluating the group ritual status; viz, (a) Occupation, (b) commensality, (c) connubiality, and (d) Right to perform rites (ritual services).

Karve holds that status is "a value which receives concrete manifestation on innumerable occasions" and she pleads that it should be studied in reference to the history of the region, the power and numerical strength, and the safeguards offered by the Constitution (1968:38-41). In Indian context, while Gough (1959) explains the ritual status through the analysis of the performance of services, Mayer finds that the base of status lies in commensality (1960:34). Leach observes it in the role of marriage, whereas Bailey emphasizes marriage and social customs (1959:123).

Dumont (1970) who has attempted a thorough structural analysis of Hindu society, notes that man is essentially hierarchical and the principles of hierarchy formally govern all social relations on the basis of these essential characteristics:

(i) Status is determined by principles independent of the distribution of authority;
The idiom in which higher or lower status is expressed, is the idiom of purity.

Further he expresses that the theory of pure and impure is still in its infancy to explain various phenomena in terms of prevailing norms in the society. Hence necessary examination is required of the rules which not only set principles to evaluate and separate the people and the related objects, but also regulate social mode of transaction, eating, marriage, physical contact etc. Thus, status evaluation in Hindu society is essentially different and it partly rests in the Hindu ideology and partly in its vast folk-tradition.

To assess ritual status, Mukherjee (1953:63-64), Mahar (1959:127-47), and Kolenda (1959:139) have constructed the parameters, known as 'social distance scales'. But Freed (1963: 881) adopts a different approach, that is 'reputational approach' and D'Souza (1967: 199-203) employs a new technique called the 'Card Ranking Technique', for evaluating caste status. However, Berremann, who supports the view of Barth (1960:139), stresses on the criterion of 'intrinsic worth' or 'social worth' to comprehend social status (1960:126).

In fact, the relative importance of one's status is seldom a constant feature in any society, as it changes over
a period of time. Presumably, the status of Harijans in Indian society has evinced modifications with the passage of time, however, the intensity and dimensions of change of the status of Harijans in Orissa is still a virgin territory for social scientists. Therefore, the study attempts to utilize the concept of 'status' to ascertain the social position of the Harijans in Orissa.
Indian society has been largely influenced by the politico-historical antecedents, hence the social discrimination in Indian society is a historical fact. The general position of Harijans in traditional Indian society was very low, which has undergone certain changes since the adoption of the present Indian Constitution (from 26th Jan., 1950). Since independence, they have been equated with others legally and politically, which means that they enjoy equal status with all others in Indian public life. Thereafter, some of them have occupied various high, respectable and responsible positions in public life (Sachchidananda, 1974). But a majority of them are still considered inferior and backward as compared to the higher castes and some of the tribal communities of the country with regard to education and participation in national life. They largely carry the stigma of untouchability and lead a life of indignity and humiliation.

The upliftment of the Harijans and other downtrodden communities has become India's national goal since independence, and it is a Constitutional commitment. The Government of India and various State Governments have been formulating and implementing a number of socio-economic and educational programmes to ameliorate the despicable position of Harijans. Indeed, a lot of money has been spent for their overall upliftment. But what transpires from the observation of Indian social life is that the age-old discrimination
still persists; untouchability is being practised, and Harijans continue to suffer from indignity. Therefore, there is a necessity of critical evaluation of the status of Harijans in contemporary society.

The focus of the present study centres round an evaluation of the social position of the Pana and Ganda, the two Harijan communities, of coastal and western Orissa respectively. These two communities though designated differently are socio-culturally more or less uniform.

The selection of Harijan community for studying social discrimination poses a methodological problem because all the Harijan communities are discriminated by caste Hindus and each Harijan caste or community is again discriminated by other Harijan castes. Thus each Harijan caste discriminates some other and also is discriminated against.

The problem of studying the status of Harijan is beset with a number of difficulties on account of the fact that very little has been written on this subject so far. Although different authors have presented the discriminatory problems of Harijans in general, enough substantive information on the status of Harijan are either dealt superficially or are narrated unsystematically. Focusing on the problem, Sachchidananda speaks, "it is only in the beginning of the 20th century that we got more detailed studies of Scheduled castes in the form of monographs" (1974:1).
Moreover, for assessing status, the researcher faces difficulties in ascertaining an appropriate base line for study. The dividing line between the period before and after independence leaves out an incoherent span of time for comparison purposes. Although independence has been achieved for the last four decades, in Orissa the Harijans in general witness the impact of independence hardly during last two decades. However, Indian independence is the significant landmark as regards the change of status in the Harijan society, and from methodological point of view the researcher has taken Indian independence as the base line for studying the status of the Harijans. Independence undoubtedly has heralded a new era for the downtrodden in India. Hence, it is imperative to choose Indian independence as the base-line for the evaluation of the changing status of Harijans in India.

For an evaluation of the status of Harijans the present study mainly lays emphasis on the concept and practice of purity and pollution which is the main prop of the Indian (traditional) social order. In recent years, there has been changes in the concept of purity and pollution; nonetheless, this phenomenon still persists and functions as the guiding principle of Hindu social order. Changes have occurred in Indian society due to many factors. The factors are:

1. Introduction of democratic political structure;
democratic decentralisation and party based politics;
inculcation of secular values;
establishment of uniform civil and penal laws;
introduction of planned economic development;
spread of mass-education;
spread of mass-communication and rise of general awareness.

These are the direct contribution of Indian independence.

It has been accepted that the principles of purity and impurity not only evaluate and separate the people and other related objects, but also regulate all food transactions, eating, marriage etc. Thus traditional Indian society exhibits a unique pattern of transaction and interaction that mostly operates within the ritual frame of Indian society. But, currently ritual status is no more a primary concern for status evaluation in the society; therefore, it raises a problem to examine and test the traditional mode of operations against the actually existing patterns of transaction of food items, goods and services, the powerful indices for status evaluation in Indian society.

The present study, therefore, aims at making a comparative evaluation of the status of Harijans (Pana and Ganda) in two sub-cultural regions of Orissa. Two representative villages have been selected – one from each sub-region, for comparative evaluation.
Before Indian independence, the two sub-regions of Orissa were dissimilar as regards the ecology, historical background, socio-political set up, ethnic composition and various socio-cultural interactions. But since independence, factors of change, as mentioned above operate more or less uniformly in both the areas and are supposed to bring about by and large similar and comparable situations. As both the sub-regions are now subject to similar factors of change, the areas are expected to have undergone similar type of changes with regard to the values, attitudes and practices relating to Hindu social order.

1.7. Objectives of the Study:

The present piece of research provides an intensive, detailed and microcosmic study on the status of Harijans. The study basically aims to highlight the magnitude of untouchability, especially in private and public spheres of life, despite all legal measures and safeguards. Another important aspect connected with the objectives of the study is that those Harijans who are discriminated against by the caste Hindus, do discriminate among themselves in their mutual interactions too. It causes a serious type of disintegration among the Harijans, and the present study aims at empirically verifying the viability of the attempts at the integration of Harijans socio-politically for their upliftment. And finally to ascertain, in Orissan context, as to what extent the Harijans have availed of the Government
machinery and the benefits to develop their economic plight. However, the present piece of research formulates these specific objectives as below:

(i) to what extent the Harijans were suffering from social, economic, political and religious handicaps during pre-independence period;

(ii) what were the goals and models, if any, pursued by the Harijans to enhance their status during pre-independence period;

(iii) what is the present position of Harijans in the village communities both in public and private spheres of life;

(iv) what is the nature of discrimination prevalent towards Harijans and among the Harijans after independence;

(v) what is their general level of awareness and what are their achievements in the socio-political spheres of life;

(vi) what benefits have accrued to them since independence through Constitutional safeguards and development inputs; and

(vii) to find the actual social status of the Harijan in the contemporary society, that is, in the two sub-regions of Orissa, one represents dominantly a caste context and the other largely a tribal context.

Selection of the Universe:

Keeping in view the theoretical framework and the research design, the researcher wishes to model the study in the following way.
Orissa has a distinct regional cultural system, in which coastal (or Eastern part) and Western sub-regions represent two very important sub-cultural zones. However, the southern region has not been included in the purview of the present study. Eastern and western regions are somewhat strikingly different from each other, namely, ecologically, culturally, ethnically, linguistically, and geographically. The Eastern region is predominantly inhabited by caste Hindus, while the Western by the tribes.

The city of Cuttack, being the cultural centre of Orissa, the people of Cuttack district uphold high tradition of Oriya caste society than the inhabitants of any other district of Orissa. That apart, the Cuttack district has the largest number of dominant Harijan castes in the State of Orissa. On the other hand, Sundargarh district of Western region, formerly a princely state, has 40 different tribes out of the total of 62 tribes found in Orissa. Hence, from all considerations, Sundargarh district is most suitable than any other district of Orissa for comparison with Cuttack district. Moreover, there is a sizeable number of Harijan population, out of which the dominant Harijan caste of the region figures in the district as the largest. To satisfy the complexity of the problem, selection of the area for study, the researcher not only matched the statistical data, but also personally visited different villages and districts to bring about comparable universe from caste and tribal dominated areas of Orissa. However, several visits were made.
to different block headquarters of either region (districts) and inquiries were made on the type of villages with all statistical, social and cultural information. Finally, two typical Orissan villages, Kotapur of Dharmasala Block, Cuttack district and Kulabira of Lephrripada Block, Sundargarh district were chosen as the suitable representative villages of the respective regions for intensive study. Thus, each village has been conceived as a microcosm of the macrocosm (sub-region).

With the idea of making the village representative of the region, the following criteria have been kept in view. Further, it was thought that the social structure of these villages would provide comparable data for making some sort of generalization with regard to the concept of the social status of the Harijans of Orissa.

(1) The villages are the typical representative ones of their respective ecological and cultural settings;
(2) they are located in an agricultural milieu, being surrounded by other agricultural villages in rural areas;
(3) they are medium-sized villages, whose population are below 2,000;
(4) they are rural and most of the caste groups continue to pursue their respective traditional occupations;
(5) the villages have hierarchical social structures i.e. the constituent caste groups are ranked relative to each other;
Map showing the villages of the present study and their respective sub-regions within the region of Orissa.
they contain Brahmans, other caste Hindus and at least four Harijan castes in common; and further the villages are multi-caste or multi-ethnic in composition, representing in their population as far as possible all the major castes/tribes of the sub-region. The Harijans are however expected to live in separate hamlets in the village precincts;

the villages are situated reasonably away from all-weather roads, district headquarters and urban areas;

in the coastal village of Kotapur, caste Hindus are numerically dominant, and in the western Orissa village of Kulabira, tribal groups are numerically dominant. This is a major difference.

Thus, the study villages have certain similarities as well as some dissimilarities. The present study intends to compare the differences in the social status of the Harijans (Pana and Ganda) which emanate out of the variable factors, if any.
1.8. The Research Design

Prior to the field-work, the researcher systematically made plans, programmes and preparations necessary for conducting the study. It includes:

(a) Construction of a study design compatible with the theoretical formulation of the problem through literature scanning;

(b) Assessment of available resources in terms of time, fund and area.

Selection of adequate sample for the study is always a problem for anthropologists. Various authors have pointed out the inadequacy of single village study, especially for evaluating status of Harijans in Indian society. Therefore, the importance of studying a plurality of villages has been felt. Because of the time factor, which is about two years, the intensive study was confined to two typical representative villages of Orissa: one is in caste dominated coastal Orissa and another in tribal-infested western Orissa. Study in the two villages of the two different sub-cultural regions usually offers scope for a unique comparative approach. It explains the differences and similarities or commonalities of the regions, so far as the indices of status evaluation are concerned. The reasons behind selecting two regions are mainly as follows:

(i) that Orissa has broadly two distinct ethnic regions, such as caste and tribal; and Harijans too live alongside the caste and tribal groups; thus, it requires a
comparative approach for evaluating status of Harijans in these two different contexts;

(ii) that Dumont (1957a-iii) is of the opinion that all castes within a given cultural area are based on common fundamental institutions. Therefore, it is necessary to test the rules essentially governing the institution of untouchability in each sub-cultural region as similar or different.

(iii) that the concept of pollution vary to certain extent in different cultural regions; hence the caste and tribal dominated regions may offer the opportunity to identify variable degrees of discrimination in two different contexts in the Orissan social system;

(iv) that according to Stevenson, untouchables attempt to achieve Hindu ritual status by abstaining from the ritually polluting roles. Hence the study aims to test whether such type of consciousness is aptly prevalent in either region and what are the factors responsible for differentiation, if any.

Hereafter, the necessity of fixing appropriate criteria for selecting a sample village for an indepth study in each sub-cultural region of Orissa became imperative. Therefore, a typical representative village of each region has been studied. The villages resemble each other in respect of size, population, caste, tribe and Harijan composition, land types, crop pattern, distance from urban areas, sources of drinking water, market place, temple,
Moreover, village network approach has been kept within the purview of study, because a single village in the region does not contribute much to the total working order of the system. Thus the present empirical study is designed to encompass a number of neighbouring villages, which are integral and complementary parts of the total system, covering the entire district. Secondly, it also provides the scope to establish general consensus and unanimity with regard to the data.

Therefore, the study has been designed to make an intra-sub-regional comparative approach at a lower level, because it would essentially provide somewhat greater adequacy to the universe under study. It is now necessary to delineate the basic features of the sub-regions of Orissa from their ecological, ethnic, historical and socio-political aspects as well as various interactions, such as commensality, connubiality, ritual service and discriminatory practices. The research design has been diagramatically prepared (Fig.1.8.1). This diagram illustrates different units and levels of comparison, which has been embodied in the present thesis. The thesis proceeds from beginning to the end comparatively as per the research design with special emphasis on the following points:

1. In both the study villages intra-Harijan caste and inter-Harijan community comparisons have been done in
Fig. 3.1 Schematic Presentation of the Research Design

THE PANA
Kotapur
CUTTACK DISTRICT

THE GANDA
Kulabara
SUNDARGARH DISTRICT

PARAMETERS OF COMPARISON

STATUS
OF
HARIJANS

ECOLOGY

HISTORICAL
BACKGROUND

ETHNIC
COMPOSITION

VILLAGE STRUCTURE

SOCIO-CULTURAL
SETTING

MULTI-ETHNIC

PREDOMINANTLY

Caste-oriented

NUCLEATED
LINEAR

PREDOMINANTLY
Tribal-oriented

NON-NUCLEATED AND
DISPERSED

PERSISTENCE OF SANSKRITIC
SCRIPTURAL PRESCRIPTIONS

MULTI-ETHNIC

AWAY FROM THE PRINCIPAL
PILGRIMAGE CENTRES

LESS PERSISTENT

PERSISTENT

UNITY

OF

LANGUAGES

OPPORTUNITY FOR STATUS MOBILITY

EMERGENCE OF SECULAR DEMOCRATIC VALUES AND INSTITUTIONS!

OPPORTUNITY FOR STATUS MOBILITY
order to find out discrimination within a Harijan caste
and between various Harijan castes.

2. In each of the study villages, Harijans as a category of
caste communities have been compared with savarna (caste
Hindus).

3. Position of Harijans in both the study villages have
been compared to find out as to how caste and tribal
contexts influence the status of the Harijans.

General Account of Orissa:
The State of Orissa is situated in the south-eastern
part of India. It has been formed in 1936 with six
districts and later on, that is, in 1949, with the merger of
twenty four princely states, it has assumed a larger area
comprising thirteen districts. It has an area of 155,707 sq
kms, which is 4.74 per cent of the total area of the country.
The total population of the State is 2,63,70,271 as per 1981
census of the country.

It is stated that 11.79 per cent of its people are
urban and 88.21 per cent of people live in 50,887
villages. About 98.0 per cent people of Orissa speak Oriya,
but the literacy percentage is only 34.23. Although the
State consists of four natural sub-regions, it has been
broadly divided into two major sub-regions, such as, the
eastern coastal plain and the western hilly region.

The coastal region is composed of Balasore, Cuttack,
Puri and Ganjam districts covering 25.81 per cent of State's
territory. The region contains 47.29 per cent of its total
population. The coastal region is densely populated as
compared to the western region. Mohanty (1978) is of the opinion that political factionalism is also marked along the line of hilly and coastal regions.

The Scheduled castes of Orissa:

According to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes List (Modification) Order, 1956, Orissa has 93 Scheduled castes and 62 tribes, which are 14.66 per cent and 22.43 per cent respectively of the total population of the State. Scheduled caste population is more or less evenly distributed in the thirteen districts of the State. Ten major Scheduled castes of Orissa are mentioned below with their respective number.

Table No.1.8.1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Schedule Castes</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Percentage of total Scheduled Castes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pana</td>
<td>8,06,514</td>
<td>20.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ganda</td>
<td>4,46,166</td>
<td>11.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dom</td>
<td>4,27,078</td>
<td>11.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhoba</td>
<td>4,18,383</td>
<td>10.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bauri</td>
<td>3,36,278</td>
<td>8.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kandara</td>
<td>3,16,367</td>
<td>8.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hadi</td>
<td>1,33,625</td>
<td>3.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gokha</td>
<td>1,16,226</td>
<td>3.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghasi</td>
<td>77,132</td>
<td>1.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Namasudra</td>
<td>76,316</td>
<td>1.97</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The above table indicates that the Pana (20.86%) and Ganda (11.54%), which includes the Panatanti, are numerically preponderant Scheduled castes of Orissa. In Sundargarh the Ganda and Panatanti constitute one community. Furthermore, other references suggest that out of 93 Scheduled castes, 85 are alone found in Cuttack district, which represents (17.67%) per cent of total Scheduled caste population and next to Cuttack are the districts of Ganjam (15.02%) and Puri (12.93%). The total percentage of Schedule castes' population in Sundargarh district is 8.52, while in Mayurbhanj their population is 6.58 per cent which is the lowest among all the districts of the State.

The Scheduled Tribes of Orissa

The Scheduled Tribe population is more concentrated in the districts of Mayurbhanj (57.67%), Koraput (55.22%), Sundaragarh (51.26%), Keonjhar (44.82%), and Boud-Khondamal (38.94%). These areas were mostly under the erstwhile princely states. Among these, Sundargarh has the distinction of having 40 different types of tribals out of 62 tribes of the State. The major tribes of the district are shown in the following table with their percentage in respect of the total tribal population of the State.
Table No.1.8.2
Major Scheduled Tribes of Sundargarh (1981 Census)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Scheduled Tribes</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Oraon</td>
<td>1,77,828</td>
<td>3.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Munda</td>
<td>1,49,418</td>
<td>2.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Kisan</td>
<td>96,950</td>
<td>1.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Khadia</td>
<td>89,293</td>
<td>1.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Bhuiyan</td>
<td>67,522</td>
<td>1.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Gond</td>
<td>39,976</td>
<td>0.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Binjhia</td>
<td>7,487</td>
<td>0.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Santal</td>
<td>7,282</td>
<td>0.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Kolha</td>
<td>3,790</td>
<td>0.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Ho</td>
<td>2,993</td>
<td>0.05</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Scheduled tribes of the State have mostly been returned as Hindus in the census, and 2 to 3 percent of tribes have been converted to Christianity. Some tribes of Mayurbhanj, however, belong to Sarana religion. Thus, Orissa is a caste-ridden Hindu society, in which upper castes, i.e., Brahmans, Karana and Khandayats, constitute 8 per cent, the peasants and artisans about 50 percent and the Scheduled castes and tribes constitute more than 37 per cent of the total population.

Historical Account of Orissa:

In ancient times, Orissa was known as Udra, Utkala, Kalinga and Toshali. It was extended from the
Ganges to Godavari along the eastern coast of India. Kalinga was conquered by Ashoka in 361 B.C., and then ruled by the Chedis in 1st century B.C., but in the middle of the 4th century A.D., Samudragupta invaded Kalinga region.

In 736 A.D., the Bhaumas (736 – 931 A.D.) became powerful in Toshali, which again passed to Somabansi Kescharis (931-1110 A.D.) of South Kosala. Both the dynasties had their capital at Viraja Nagar (present Jajpur). Nearly 375 years of ruling at Jajpur is regarded as a major historic period of Orissa (Panigrahi, 1961).

As the kings of Samavansi Keshari were designated as Jajati, it is believed that their first king had renamed the capital from Viraja Nagar to Jajati Nagar during 10th century A.D. (Journal of Bihar & Orissa Research Society, vol.-II pp 417-19).

However, by 12th century, it was ruled by Choda Gangadeva, the founder of Ganga dynasty (1216-1235 A.D.), who preferred to shift the capital from Jajpur to Abhinava Baranasi Katak (now called Cuttack). It is mentioned that during that time, there were five important forts (Katak) at

(i) Abhinava Jajati Nagar (Jajpur),
(ii) Abhinava Amaravati Katak (Chhatia),
(iii) Choudwar Katak (Choudwar),
(iv) Abhinava Baranasi Katak (Cuttack), and
(v) Chodanga Katak (Sharangagada near Baranga, (Madala Panji, 1940:28).
In course of time, Baranasi was mis-spelled as Bararasi, Biranasi and finally as Bidanasi which still exists within Cuttack city.

Legend has it that first Jajati Keshari of Somavansa performed Aswamedha Yajna at Jajpur according to Vedic customs, for which he was forced to invite ten thousand vedic Brahmins from Kanyakubja, central India. These priests were mostly Tantrik Brahmins, who were in the habit of consuming fish and meat, and were ignorant of Vedic rites. After the sacrifice, the water of Baitarani river turned into wine and those Brahmins who drank the wine were called Jajaputreya, and those who refused it and moved southward in search of suitable settlement were known as Dakhinetraya. The latter Brahmins followed Jagannath Panji(almanac) and not only refused marital ties with the former, but also denounced their astrological calculations mentioned in Biraja Panji.

Thus coastal Orissa is said to be divided into two cultural zones (Mandalas), viz., Jagannath Mandala or Shree Khetra, and Biraja Mandala (or Khetra), and their capitals were situated at Puri and Jajpur respectively. The former is named after Lord Jagannath, while the latter, took its name from the Goddess Biraja, the presiding deity of Biraja Khetra. Hence both Puri and Jajpur have been regarded as principal pilgrimage centres of Orissa.

After the Ganga dynasty, the Afghans ruled in 1568 A.D. and then it passed to the Mughal King, Akbar in
In 1690, eastern Orissa came under the occupation of the Marathas, who made Cuttack as their headquarters. Cuttack was occupied by the English on 14th October, 1803.

The district of Cuttack was formed in 1829. Earlier it was a part of Puri district since 1803, and was under the Province of Bengal till April, 1912 when it was annexed to the Province of Bihar and Orissa. The separate Province of Orissa was carved out on 1st April, 1936 with Cuttack as its headquarters. Cuttack remained as the capital of Orissa till 1948, when Bhubaneswar was officially declared as the capital of the state. Still Cuttack functions as the chief cultural, commercial and historical city of Orissa and particularly, of eastern region of the state.

Cuttack District:

Cuttack is one of the coastal districts of Orissa which has 11,142 sq kms area and 46,28,800 population (1981 census). The density of population per square kilometer is 415. It constitutes 7.16 per cent of state's area and 17.55 per cent of state's population. It lies between 20° 1' N and 21° 10' N latitudes and between 84° 58' E and 87° 3' E longitudes. The district consists of three distinct tracts:

(a) a marshy strip along the coast, which is less suitable for cultivation;

(b) a deltaic plain, stretching inland for about 65 Kms. traversed by many large rivers; though is affected by frequent floods, it is a very fertile area;
(c) a hilly region at a distance of 95 to 115 Kms. from the sea-shore; the hills are not continuous and are small in height averaging 500ft above the sea level.

The district has three main rivers, Mahanadi, flowing in the south, the Brahmani at the central part and the Baitarani in the north. In rainy season the rivers usually overflow the banks causing various damages in the area.

Cuttack has mainly a caste-ridden Hindu society, in which casteism is vividly marked mostly in its rural areas. As the previous censuses do not present sufficient information about the population of scheduled castes of the district, it is difficult to provide their increasing or decreasing trend. However, ten number of scheduled castes of the district which constitute 94.36 per cent of the total Scheduled caste population of the district have been furnished below:

1. Pana or Pano (26.66%) 4. Dhoba (11.92%) 7. Hadi (2.60%)
2. Kandara (24.00%) 5. Gokha (4.29%) 8. Baghuti (1.79%)
3. Bauri (16.50%) 6. Chamara (3.91%) 9. Dom (1.35%)
4. Kela (1.34%)

Most of the people of the district speak Oriya, but there is considerable dialectical difference between the speeches of Upper castes and low castes. That apart, each jati shows a distinct pattern in food, dress, ornament and
cultural values to maintain the identity. As the district is nearer to important pilgrimage centres like Puri and Jajpur, one notices the predominance of various sanskritic cultural traits.

The district is regarded educationally advanced owing to the establishment of educational institutions like Secondary College in 1868, Degree College in 1878 and the first Orissa Medical School in 1875. This district developed because of the facility of Calcutta-Madras railway links that opened in 1887. Among the thirteen districts of the State, Cuttack has the longest road mileage.

Western Orissa:

Compared to the eastern coastal region, western region is dry, mountainous and marked with scattered village settlements. Moreover, the ethnic groups bear different cultural, linguistic, racial and historical traditions than the people of eastern region. The western region consists of Kalahandi, Balangir, Sundargarh and Sambalpur districts, whose area and population are given below as per 1981 census.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Area (in sq.km.)</th>
<th>Population (in 1000s)</th>
<th>Density of popn. per Sq.km.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kalahandi</td>
<td>11,772</td>
<td>13,39,192</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balangir</td>
<td>8,913</td>
<td>14,59,113</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sundargarh</td>
<td>9,712</td>
<td>13,37,976</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sambalpur</td>
<td>17,516</td>
<td>22,80,976</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Sundargarh District:

The district of Sundargarh occupies the north-western portion of Orissa State, and is contiguous to Madhya Pradesh in the west, and Bihar state in the north. It is situated between 21°35' N and 22°32' N latitudes and 83°32'E and 85°22'E longitudes. The shape of the district is extremely irregular as it represents undulating table-land of different elevations formed by rugged hill ranges that remarkably slopes from north to south. The district is formed only on the 1st January 1948 by the merger of two former princely states, Gangpur and Bonaigarh.

The total population of the district is 13,37,871, which is 5.07 per cent of the population of the State. It ranks tenth with regard to area among all the districts of the state, extending over an area of 9,712 sq. kms. It comprises an area of 6.24 per cent of the total area of the state and the density of population per Sq.Km. is 138 as against 169 of the State. The villages in the district are sparsely distributed and number about 1,712 of which 1,665 are inhabited.

The district is rich for its mineral deposits, i.e. lead, copper and zinc. The only steel plant of Orissa is situated in the district at Rourkela at a distance of 104 Km. from the district headquarters; and a zinc factory is situated at Sargipalli, almost 15 Kms. from the studied area. Ib and Brahmani are the rivers that flow through the
district. In the past, the Gond tribes of the area used to collect diamond and traces of gold from the sands of river, Ib and its rivulets. The people are divided into several linguistic groups. Out of 58 languages retained in the state, 36 are spoken in this district; and of the 36 languages, 60.73 per cent of the total population speak Oriya as their mother-tongue.

The district headquarters is situated at Sundargarh town, which is located 35 Kms north of Jharsuguda, the railway junction on the Bombay – Howrah route. The Bengal – Nagpur railway operated in 1891. The people of the district mostly maintain links with Jharsuguda, Sambalpur and Rourkela to avail of the educational, commercial, medical and other facilities. The district comprises three sub-divisions, viz. Sundargarh, Panposh, and Bonai. The concentration of the Scheduled Tribes is the highest in Sundargarh sub-division.

Besides the Scheduled Tribes, the number of scheduled caste population is the highest in the Sadar sub-division of Sundargarh district. The population of the following ten scheduled castes have been enumerated to be 94 per cent of the total scheduled caste population of the district. They are:

1. Ganda (17.98%)  4. Dhoba (7.03%)  7. Turi (2.49%)
2. Pana (20.53%)  5. Ghasi (7.17%)  8. Dom
3. Pana Tanti (7.20%)  6. Chamar (6.00%)  9. Hadi (2.40%)
10. Badaik (8.23%)
These Harijan castes are mainly concentrated in the police stations of Hemgir, Talsara, Lephripada and Bargabn. As Lephripada is surrounded by Hemgir and Talasara, the former is taken as the regional unit for the indepth study.

Historical Background:

In the first decade of the present century, Maharaja Raghunath Sekhar Deo (1917) renewed the name from Suadihi to Sundargarh, which literally means 'Beautiful Fort'. The history of the region further unfolds that Sundargarh was a part of ancient Koshala, and was ruled by Keshari Vansa, who were the descendants of former Keshari Vansa of Puri before the invasion of Marathas. However, the Marathas had no direct influence on Sundargarh as it remained quite a long time under the suzerainty of Sambalpur. No doubt, Sambalpur was a part of the dominion of the Maratha Rajas of Nagpur.

Consequent to a special agreement in 1806, the feudal supremacy of Sambalpur continued the reign over the ex-states of Bonai and Gangpur till 1821; and, finally ceded to the British under the treaty of 1826. In 1833, both the states were again incorporated into a newly created Province called 'South-western Frontier Agency', which was redesignated as Chutia Nagpur (or Chota Nagpur) in 1864.

In subsequent stages both the princely states of Bonai and Gangpur, were transferred to Orissa Division on 16th October, 1905. Since then the post of political Agent was created under the Commissioner of Orissa to represent the
states. The Rajas (or Chiefs) of the feudatory states maintained political relations with the Government of British India through such political Agents. But Gangpur remained an independent princely state under several Rajas even after Indian independence till it merged with the state territory of Orissa on January 1st, 1948.

Local fictions on Gangpur depicts that much before the regime of Rajas, it was an union of several political units- which were directly controlled by the Sardars, the political head of specified territories. These Sardars who generally belonged to the Bhuiyan tribe, used to meet at a scheduled village, once in a year, particularly in the month of Baisakh (March-April) in order to select an able leader from among them. They used to discuss administrative problems, and mutually exchange their experiences in encounters in order to settle difficult disputes, before selecting their leader.

The selection procedure for the post of chief (Sardar) was simple, in which the Sardars of several territorial units used to sit close-by around a tree and the Sardar of the previous year managed to throw a Lembu (lemon) over the tree-trunk so as to hit another Sardar. Eventually the latter was declared the Lembu Raja for that year. If he declined to be the leader of the Sardars (Raja), further attempts were made in similar way till they unanimously found out another suitable leader.
On several occasions the Sardars as well as their leader (or lembu Raja) appeared to be negligent of their entrusted duties for petty reasons. It resulted in severe administrative disorder, compelling them to have a permanent Raja (king) of any royal (or Kshatriya) ancestry for their kingdom. But such an alternative measure could not be taken as none of the Sardars were Kshatriya by birth. Although there are many anecdotes, yet the much-believed one is that during Mohammedan period, two brothers of a Rajput family after coming away from Ujjain, had settled at Kashi pur of Manbhurn district. The Bhuiyan Sardar of Sargipalli mysteriously brought the younger brother, Gangadhar Deo and kept him concealed at Mushabira of Lephripada until he was crowned as the first ruler of the State. Thereafter, the state was named as Gangpur.

**Land Tenure System**

Another important difference between the cultural sub-regions was noticed at the level of land tenure system. There were three major land tenure systems (Jena, 1978:82) that brought about certain changes in social and political aspects of Orissa. They were:

(a) Permanent and Temporary land settlement:

(b) Ryotwari system:

(c) Subsidiary Alliance System.
Besides other land tenure rules, the permanent and temporary land tenure system was marked in Cuttack district. In this system the Zamindars were appointed by the British Government to collect the land revenue of certain areas either on long-term or on short-term basis. Due to the Sunset rule, many non-Oriyas, particularly the Bengalis acquired the Zamindary in Cuttack region, and in subsequent stages local aristocrat families made their entry into the profession. However, Kotapur was all along under several Oriya Zamindars, who were mostly Khandayat by caste.

In the past, Kotapur was under Alati Pragana or Mahal, which comprised an area of four Kosha (about 12 kms) and the Alati Mahala was surrounded by Baruhan Pragana on the north, Madhupur or Darpani-garh, (16 Kosha), an ex-princely state, on the west, Alamgir (4 kosha) on the south and the area known as Bayalish Mauza (4 kosha) was on the east. It was not under the control of a chief or king, but was controlled by the Zamindars and the area was popularly called as Mughul-bandi territory because Mughal kings had direct control over the territory. Zamindar appoints several Makadamidars for collecting revenues for his area. On the other hand, Madhupur was called Pakhi Mahal during British period as the king was directly submitting the fixed annual amount of revenue before the British Government. However, after independence significant changes took place in the area, due to the abolition of Zamindari in 1953, April and in 1956, October the system of Makadami was also
obscured. Thus Kotapur's administrative structure was different from Kulabira where the revenue power was vested in the Gauntia, the village headman.

In Sundargarh the subsidiary system was in force, although other systems of land tenure operated, such as Zamindary, Kharposh, Parganadar, Debottar, Brahmottar, Naukarana, Ganjhuani, Head Ganjhuani, Gaontiahi and Sikim Gaontiahi (Settlement Report of 1929 - 1936). However Kulabira's land revenue was collected by the Gauntia (Bhuiyan family) who retained the power of revenue collection till the Government of Orissa has taken over the responsibility.

After discussing the geographical, historical, ethnic, demographic composition and other relevant features of the state as well as its cultural sub-regions, the researcher further aims to delineate basic comparable components of two representative villages of both the sub-regions so as to make the comparison clear-cut and meaningful. As stated earlier, the two villages are:
(i) Kotapur of Dharmasala block in Cuttack sub-region;
(ii) Kulabira of Lephripada block in Sundaragarh.

The comparable bases are the ecology, historical background, socio-cultural setting, ethnic composition, village structure and the social interactions.

Thus the coverage of the universe is on a sub-regional scale and the units of the respective sub-regions are studied for an intensive comparison to find out some
regular pattern of institutions and values. It also highlights the factors pertaining to the features of dissimilarities. The enquiry is primarily a limited synchronic study, though it partly depends on diachronic regularity to establish historical connections between the defined sub-regions. However, in this study the sub-region is strictly confined to the present administrative district as a limited geographical area for the purpose of comparison.

Duration of Field-study:

Prior to the field-study, first six months are utilized for library work and another three months for preparing the schedules, questionnaire, and interview guides as necessary tools for the study. Immediately thereafter, the researcher spent a couple of months for selecting a sample village from each sub-region, and simultaneously the work of pilot study, which involved the testing of the validity of prepared tools for research; and indeed this was accomplished within the stipulated time. Thus, the pre-field preparation consumed almost eleven months of time.

Empirical study was launched in those two villages and the districts over four spells of visits alternatively. Each spell of time was approximately three months. But the field-situations did not permit the researcher to gather data during the stipulated time. As a result of which the field-work was completed in twenty-four months instead of eighteen months of time. However, after returning from the
field, six complete months were spent on tabulation, calculations and analysis of the collected materials. As far as possible the researcher was able to prepare the format of the first draft within eight months, but the report-writing was taken up thereafter.

1.9. The Research Strategy:

Research strategy is essentially a contributory factor in understanding and controlling field-situations. The researcher sets apt strategy out of his vivid impressions, encounters and experiences gained in course of first-hand contact with the people of the study-area. The interest to conduct field-study in Orissa is not innate, but it emerged out of several past research experiences in the state as a native researcher.

The present study is not so easy and innocuous in respect of the criteria, and therefore the parameters are to be determined both from objective and intuitive viewpoints by analysing the history, legend, customs and beliefs of the people. It also lies in various symbolic gestures and expressions; thus, it demands manifold personal and intimate observations of behaviour and customs of each jati within the universe. Moreover, the study among the Harijan poses various social and psychological constraints and typical tactical problems.

One of the important constraints in beginning was that the savarna elites avoided to discuss the issues
relating to Harijans. Many refused to gossip and accompany the researcher (Who is a Brahman) as the latter took keen interest (research-oriented) in Harijans, and they felt that this more or less amounted to degrading their prestige. Quite a few did not appreciate the idea of the researcher staying within the village consecutively for six months. After sensing the attitude of the savarna, the Harijan too remained indifferent apprehending some threat and persecution by the savarna.

Therefore, at the early stage of the study, the researcher established contacts with the authorities of Block office, who ultimately tried to develop rapport with their contact-men in important study-areas. Various officials of the Block often accompanied the researcher to the villages during their official visits and tours and it evidently helped him to intimately come in contact with the villagers and to gain acquaintance and confidence of the villagers. Thereafter they believed in the research bonafides of the researcher and did not treat him as an intelligence officer of the government machinery.

Before conducting intensive study, several trial and test interviews were made with the help of schedules to know its efficacy, and visits to the study-village are made twice in a week to know the reaction of the villagers. Nearly a month after the preliminary visit to the field the researcher felt convenient to camp in Kotapur where three
alternative strategic locations were found: they are the thatched residential quarters of the doctor of the Government dispensary; a room in the school hostel and an out-house of an ex-Zamindar. All of them, however, offered good locales for obtaining intimate ethnographic data through observation. But the anxiety regarding the final selection of the camping site was over when the informants suggested to occupy the residence of the doctor for the following reasons:

(a) That it remains free from the values of local discriminations and prejudices;

(b) That it lies in the fringe of the village, and away from the dominant *savarana jati* (Khandayat) area and the Harijan enclave (Pana sahi);

(c) That the sweeper (Hadi) attached to the doctor acted as one of the key-informants who resided in the Harijan enclave;

(d) Besides that a cook of Gauda caste (milkman), who used to prepare food for the doctor, also served food to the researcher, who acted as a reliable informant;

(e) That the researcher enjoyed enough liberty and could continue to collect reliable data through personal interviews during anytime of the day. Free and spontaneous discussions with informants were possible because of the tactfulness of the researcher.

Thus, the problem of accommodation and boarding was solved. The visits to distant villages posed a vital problem. It could, however, partly be overcome by using bi-
cycle. To achieve greater degree of participation in data collection as far as possible, the researcher stayed two to three days in Harijan houses, ate with them in their utensils, took bath in their bathing **ghats** and so on. Such participation broadened the scope for coming closer to the Harijan informants and they gradually confided in the researcher. Thus, the strategy is primarily adopted for an indepth and intensive study among the Harijans in the caste context.

Almost similar strategy was followed for the second study village, Kulabira in Sundargarh in a multi-ethnic contextual framework. The researcher camped in an out-house of an Ayurvedic doctor of the local dispensary located at an approachable distance from Harijan residential clusters.
1.10. Methods and Techniques:

As we know each method has certain advantages and disadvantages, the researcher finds out suitable method(s) for the study. For the present study, the researcher utilises "regional controlled comparison" as a useful method; because the Harijans (Pana and Ganda) of the sub-regions are almost comparable, although the sub-regions reflect relatively dissimilar histories and environments. It again fascinates because those Harijans, however, show certain degree of differential status, although they are subjected to almost similar politico-legal forces to achieve similar and uniform pattern of change, particularly since Indian independence. Thus the study compares by limiting the spatial dimension as well as by associating the temporal scope to understand the crux of the problem.

The present study which is empirical, analytical and micro-scopic, has entirely depended upon qualitative and quantitative data in an intensive orientation limited to specific areas within well-defined universe and sample. By and large, the data collected are primarily from first-hand field-work. Although the field-work was exceedingly difficult as it was to be conducted particularly among the Harijans, and in a multi-ethnic contextual framework, the tools of study had been specially sharpened to elicit appropriate data. As the domain of comparison was broad and
exhaustive, the tools and techniques employed in this study were also designed with multi-dimensional approach to make the empirical study free from personal bias and other methodological errors.

It is a fact that observation is one of the exclusive anthropological methods for collecting relevant data even in most difficult situations. Therefore, the researcher tried to employ this method and its concomitant techniques firstly to understand various interactional phenomena that actually occurred in the natural settings prior to utilising other methods and techniques employed in this study. It, however, required an accurate watching, both as participant and non-participant observer in order to conceptualize the whole dynamics of the Harijan life in the village community. The intricacy and regularity of discriminatory behaviours in different situations are the important findings available through the method. It, no doubt, helped in gaining greater insight about the practice of untouchability and the related social and prejudicial principles existing in the public and private spheres of rural life in the study area.

Apart from standard method and techniques of observation, interview method was employed to probe into deeper feelings and attitudes of the caste Hindus, tribes and other Harijan communities against the Pana/Ganda. It was, however, necessary to establish appropriate rapport before
commencing interview with respondents. The researcher was directly involved during the process of interview to augment respondents' interest and desire to recollect specific and factual information. In course of the study, it was experienced that selection of certain key informants from each community was inevitable so as to minimize the length of time spent for fulfilling the preliminaries of interview like unnecessary mutual appreciation, laughing etc. It was proved to be highly efficacious particularly for obtaining the socio-political network established during elections by the Harijan leaders.

Moreover, the researcher conducted both personal and group interviews to seek opinion of selected individuals and of the social groups. Besides that unstructured and informal interview with the women, ritual specialists and traditional leaders was highly advantageous for gaining confidence of the villagers as a whole as well as for obtaining general information of the village. Throughout the process of interview the researcher not only lent his sympathetic and patient hearing to the informants, but also used interview guides.

Apart from the standard techniques of observation and interview for collecting various ethnographic materials, the following tools have been employed in the field:
1. *Household Census Schedule*:

The initial analytic apparatus of data collection from door to door in the villages under intensive study was the household census schedule. And this has been elaborately prepared and specially printed in Oriya language to avoid suspicion of the respondents. It consisted of four printed pages, which contained thirty-three questions pertaining to the following aspects:

(i) Personal data and background information of respondents;

(ii) Knowledge, attitude and patterns of discriminations;

(iii) Reaction of caste Hindus and tribes with regard to the untouchability Act;

(iv) Participation in various meetings, demonstrations, elections and party politics.

(v) Means of awareness through various mass-media;

2. *Village Schedule*:

It was formulated to collect data on demographic, geographic, ethnic composition, and other relevant features like sources of drinking water, bathing ghats, markets, tea-
shops, schools, cremation/burial ground etc. It is aimed at highlighting the levels of discrimination against the Harijans in public and private spheres of life. Besides that it aimed at collection of information on social, economic, political and educational aspects on the one hand and the changing nature of village institutions, functionaries and social disabilities of various types, on the other. However, special attention was given to collection of data on commensality, connubiality, ritual services and on the practice of untouchability.

3. **Focused Interview Schedule**

The schedules which include the items of specific interest are canvassed among village elites and political leaders of caste Hindus, Tribes and Harijans, and their opinions on caste system, social disability, development programmes and the status of Harijan within village communities are recorded. Furthermore, Lickert's 5-point scale has been deployed to frame the schedule.

4. Moreover, the biographies, memoirs of a few important leaders are collected along with their degree of popularity, interpersonal network and the party affiliation.

5. Important still-photographs have been taken in different situations which indicate the customary rites,
caste-roles, discriminatory treatments, settlement patterns etc. in order to highlight the typical characteristics of the sub-regions.

In addition to the primary and first-hand data, secondary sources of information have been collected which largely helped to substantiate the present work. Those have mainly been collected from the Census Hand-books, Reports, research papers, official records and many other published and unpublished materials.

Nevertheless, during the field-study several elites and knowledgeable informants in the neighbouring villages have frequently been contacted to cross-check the data for achieving greater degree of accuracy and validity. Several villages within the districts, although distantly located from the study villages but are well within the observable universe of the present study, have been visited and this ensured relevant data for controlled comparison.
1.11. Literature Survey:

The number of studies relating to status of Harijans, the erstwhile untouchables, is not large. Whatever literature are available the researcher sincerely attempts to record the relevance of earlier studies with the present work. Studies on untouchables have been, in fact, carried out from the beginning of the 19th century, mostly by foreign scholars. Most of these are published in the form of reports and some references are available from travel accounts and missionaries.

Dubois, a French missionary, describes the Hindu manners, customs and ceremonies with first-hand knowledge of village India between 1792 and 1823. He offers disjunctive views between the higher caste Hindus and the lowermost untouchables, particularly the Paraiyan caste of Tamilnadu (1815). During that period another Western observer, Buchanan describes the marriage customs and other related aspects of untouchable Madiqa of Mysore (1807). While surveying the districts under Bengal Presidency during the year 1807-14, he has given the first-hand account on the marriage and social positions of low castes. It was published by the Bihar and Orissa Research Society in 1928.

The ethnographic details on untouchables are also available to a considerable extent in 'Descriptive Ethnology on Bengal' (Dalton 1827) and in 'A Statistical Account of Bengal' (Hunter 1877). But Plowden (1883), Gait, Risley,
Stuart in 1891 have exhaustively discussed in Census Reports and Gazetteers, their customs, living conditions and social discriminations. The monumental work of Francis, Allen in 1901, O'Malley (1908), Thurston (1909), Rose (1911), Ibbetson, Russel in 1916, Roy (1920), Tallents (1921) provide almost a bench-line data on untouchables for scientific research. These reports often bear evidences of status elevation by them through adoption of new caste names and reform of caste practices. The contributions of Wiser (1930) and Hutton (1931) are immense as the former deals with the traditional economic relationships between caste Hindus and untouchables, and the latter presents the discriminatory treatments and disabilities the untouchables suffered from. But these writings do not offer any comprehensive idea on any untouchable community.

The work of Briggs on the Chamar of Uttar Pradesh in 1920 is the most detailed monographic account followed by Fuchs (1950) on the Balahis of Madhya Pradesh. The micro-analysis of these studies offers a significant contribution towards establishing sound anthropological concepts and the field-work tradition to carry out research on Harijans.

Anthropological field data concerning the lives of Harijans and their changing relations with other caste members of society due to endogenous and exogenous factors show significant changes particularly since 1950s. The studies (Srinivas 1952, Cohn 1955, Bailey 1957, Mahar 1960, Fuchs 1965, Harper 1968, Parvathamma 1968, Barber 1968,
Alexander 1968, Beteille 1969, Singh 1969, Saberwal 1970 etc confirm the fact that Harijan castes have become mobile by manipulating appropriate mechanisms. Sachchidananda (1974) mentions that with the change of time, the Harijans adopted the mechanisms and tactics of social mobility broadly in three ways: Reform Movement, Sanskritization and Westernization. Finally he concludes that the trend towards sanskritization has been arrested as the traditional society is yielding place to a technological order.

The analytical studies of Epstein (1962) points out that the economy and power politics have ushered change in the lives of Harijans of South India. Further Lynch 1969, Patwardhan, 1966, 1968 and Bhatt 1971 state that sanskritization is no longer as effective and relevant method as political participation. In this vein it has been argued by Shaha (1975) that sanskritization can help a group in elevating itself in social status, whereas political participation, besides doing this can also help even an individual in acquiring higher status. Lynch and Patwardhan argue that Harijans could develop group identity and solidarity through collective political mobilisation. Hardgrave too explains the case of the Nadars of Tamilnadu, who not only moved from the lower rungs of hierarchy to a position of status and power, but also organized the Nadar Mahajan Sangam for community integration and mobilization (1969:262-266). The Nadars could achieve it through secular means, though they tried initially through sanskritization.
However, the studies reveal that political participation of Harijans is mostly limited to voting at the time of elections (Gangrade, 1975) and they hardly get a share in the decision-making process of the PANCHAYAT (Shaha, 1975).

It seems pertinent to discuss the significance of theoretical and methodological perspectives of the studies conducted by Alexander (1968) and Lynch and Damle (1968) who have emphasized the significance of Merton's 'reference group theory' for analysing the structural processes in caste mobility. It refers to the non-membership group or a caste individual (usually Harijans) seeking to imitate or identify with the Brahman or other high caste group as the approved reference group, which may be positive or negative reference group. Damle cites the case of upward social mobility by the lower caste individuals in Poona, whereas Lynch finds such cases among the Jatavas of Agra in post-independence period. Their studies leave a gap of knowledge for focusing each on two dimensions of reference group approach (cf. Silverberg, 1968).

Marriott (1959) provides a pertinent theoretical framework for the analysis of caste ranking, which is called "attributional and interactional" theories. The former deals with the 'behaviour or attributes' and the latter emphasizes the 'structure of interaction'. These two aspects constitute the vital components of caste status and they can
be correlated with the 'culture' and 'social structure' of the society respectively. Though it suffers from criticisms, the utility of the tool in Indian context is highly relevant. He further devises a 'Multiple Reference' Model (cf. Silverberg, 1968:108-114) to assess the status of a local caste group in reference to at least three successively larger zones, viz. (1) the zone of the village community and its directly connected part of the countryside, (2) the zone of the recognized cultural or linguistic region, and (3) the zone of the whole civilization. The pervasive rank-consciousness and recognition of the caste group in these zones may apparently provide another dimension of status evaluation.

While contrasting the American and British paths of mobility through education, Turner (1960) treats them under his theoretical model as 'contest mobility' and 'sponsored mobility' respectively. The former refers to the status earned as prize in an open contest, while the latter is the bestowed status. Referring to the studies by Das (1968), Mahar (1972), Beteille (1972a), Turner (1960), Schermerhorn presents a comparative paradigm showing modes of social mobility of three minorities in India, viz. the Scheduled castes, the Scheduled tribes and the Muslims (1978:52). The mode of mobility of Scheduled castes is mentioned below:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theoretical Categories</th>
<th>Collectivistic</th>
<th>Individualistic</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Culture</td>
<td>Sanskritization</td>
<td>Westernization</td>
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<tr>
<td>Emulation</td>
<td>Neo-traditional</td>
<td>Anti-traditional</td>
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<td>Style of life</td>
<td>Local, regional models</td>
<td>All-India models</td>
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<tr>
<td>Prestige goal</td>
<td>Upper caste reference groups</td>
<td>Western educated reference group</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Group display</td>
<td>Individual anonymity.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Group cohesion</td>
<td>Alienation from group.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Power and Control</td>
<td>Contest mobility</td>
<td>Sponsored mobility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use and acceptance</td>
<td>Involvement with group encounters</td>
<td>Protected competition.</td>
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<td>of sanctions</td>
<td>Self-chosen group commitment</td>
<td>Cooptation by outsiders</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Total group identification</td>
<td>Formal group identification.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>In-group authority</td>
<td>out-group authority</td>
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<td></td>
<td>In-group goals</td>
<td>Out-group goals.</td>
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The above paradigm has provided enough methodological insight to the present researcher. But Sachchidananda’s (1977) study provides him with some stimulation, as he outlines a far-reaching methodological dimension while assessing the status of Harijan elites of Bihar serving under various government and non-government organizations. Not only he hinted on their network, role and...
status mobility, but also underlined various forms of untouchability and discriminations encountered both by their colleagues and caste members including Harijans. It, however, does not highlight the mechanisms adopted for occupying political offices through electioneering. Therefore, the researcher aims at highlighting the election campaigns organised by Harijan candidates in his study areas as an important dimension of political development. To initiate the study, the concept of action-set (Mayer, 1966) is utilized as the theoretical framework. The contribution of Vidyarathi (1979) is no less to comprehend the socio-cultural lives of Harijan communities of Bihar.

The researcher also referred to relevant literature concerning the role of education, services, mass-media, Constitutional safeguards and planned development programmes etc, as major factors of development relating to Harijans of Orissa in general and of Cuttack and Sundargarh districts in particular. In this context the references (cf. Isaac 1965, Mahar(ed) 1972, Dushkin 1972, Galanter 1969, Scheduled Tribe and Scheduled Caste Commissioner's Report and various other Government reports, gazetteers and brochures etc.) were of utmost importance.

In the proliferating field of research on Harijans, the erstwhile untouchables, the studies mostly lack the thrust of a consistent theory. It is due to the fact that
studies on theory building processes are almost lacking in anthropological literature for various reasons. Moffatt, however, presents a brilliant piece of analysis in this regard. He makes an exclusive and critical review of earlier studies of Indian untouchables leading to constitute the 'Models and Theories of Indian Untouchability' (1979:3-31). He advocates the following three sets of approaches under the theories: (a) Models of Outcaste Images, (b) Models of Diversity, and (c) Models of Unity. The first two models imply the general theories of social inequality.

The outcaste image is mostly the construct which depicts not only the caste system as a system of oppression, but also encompasses some awareness of their own oppression. The second model views that Harijans ignore cultural continuities and do imitate the values and practices other than the higher castes. It also attempts to explain the determinants of cultural differences from caste to caste. The third model, on the other hand, views the Harijans as a functional part of the caste system. Under this category, Moffatt brings out two important approaches on principles of diversity; the structural model of Dumont, and the "ethnosociological" model of Marriott. The former is directly concerned with the structural model of Indian society, while the latter attempts to comprehend the indigenous cultural categories (1979:24).

Moffatt further argues that though the third model
presents disjunctive approaches, it fundamentally is concerned with the "ideology" or culture. It does not treat culture of caste as an epiphenomenon of something more sociologically universal, such as, stratification, power or oppression, but caste represents the institutionalisation of hierarchical values, withstand the presence of these universals. These values in their manifest form point up to a social structure that generates the culture of caste. This has been clearly argued by Dumont (1970).

Dumont's structural approach requires the analysis in comparative perspective. Dumont differs radically from Berreman and from other conflict theoreticians and functionalists. He argues that "to compare is not to search for abstract, ahistorical essences common to caste, race and ethnic stratification, and to dismiss ideological specificities as unimportant detail. To compare is to construct a structural analysis of each ideological and social formation, and then to confront these fully and specifically analyzed formations with one another (cf. Barnett, Fruzzetti, and Ostor 1976:627-28). Dumont further speaks that Brahman and Untouchables are conceptually opposed in a number of ways, but exhibit a feature of complementarity—the completion of a "whole" by two equally necessary but unequally ranked parts. Therefore, "the impurity of the untouchable is conceptually inseparable from the purity of the Brahmin, as the execution of impure tasks by some is necessary to the maintenance of purity for others.
Society is a totality made up of two unequal but complementary parts" (Dumont 1970:92,93). Hence his analysis of status and power in caste does imply a particular type of commonality between top and bottom.

On the contrary, the ethnosociological model argues that as the speakers of a given language seldom reject its grammar, the low-ranking actor hardly ignores the core cultural conceptions. With this logic, ethnosociology emerges as a field of knowledge that establishes a linguistic analogy with the basic cultural assumptions contributing to a more adequate understanding of the cultural conceptions the people have in their mind. Marriott states that the purpose of the approach is to describe the "pervasive indigenous assumptions" behind social action in India (1974:1). For instance, the concept of "transaction" in the beginning was a type of raw behaviour (Marriott 1968). When analysed in cognitive terms (Marriott 1974), it constitutes a more precise and specific tool for decoding the meaning of a given caste's status and identity than does anything found in Dumont (cf. Moffatt 1979:31). Therefore, Moffatt states that Marriott's approach is more radical than Dumont's.

Though Marriott's approach provides more precise approximations of certain Indian cultural conceptions than Dumont's model, the former is still empirically an inadequate tool to explicitly reveal the total structure of Indian social order than is the latter's. Therefore, Moffatt
suggests that each of them is complementary to the other to deal with the Indian situation.

It transpires from the above discussions that it enriches researcher's knowledge to initiate the following propositions on Harijans, although there are insufficient generalisations.

(i) they constitute a heterogenous social category;
(ii) they no more represent a static society;
(iii) they largely follow Hindu cultural traditions;
(iv) they either emulate the culture of the dominant caste or that of any other;
(v) religious conversion seldom raises their social status;
(vi) eschewal of their demeaning practices somewhat reduces untouchability;
(vii) constitutional safeguards though help strengthening their rights and identity, it fails to bring about effective social structural change;
(viii) status determination virtually lies in traditional values;
(ix) Politicalisation among the Harijans has been increasing;
(x) the influence of education, mass-media, public employment and elections are the major factors of their change; and
(xi) like caste Hindus, they too discriminate amongst themselves