

Traditional Socio-Political Structure & Institutions for Self-Governance of Paudi Bhuyan Tribe: An Ethnographic Study

Dr. Sushma Modi

Assistant Professor, Government Autonomous College, Rourkela, Odisha

Abstract: The current paper examines the traditional socio political structure of the Paudi Bhuyan tribe in Odisha. In tribal communities, socio-political institutions are essential for sustaining peace, order, and stability. Various forms of socio-political structures can still be observed at different levels, including bands, tribes, and chiefdoms. Among the Paudi Bhuyan, these socio-political institutions effectively manage socio-cultural, economic, religious, and local common property resources. The introduction of the Panchayati Raj Institution (PRI) system has led to modifications in the traditional council's dynamics. Over time, the role and status of the village head (Pradhan) have diminished with the election of ward members, sarpanchs and other PRI members. Historically, this socio-political institutions has played a vital role in socializing community members to uphold a dignified existence while ensuring order and peace within their locality.

The advancement of human mental and physical capacities spurred social and cultural growth that ultimately contributed to the development of civilization. Consequently, various social institutions—religious, economic, cultural, and political—emerged across diverse cultures to address distinct human needs. Significant transformations have occurred within these institutions over time, observable in both primitive and modern societies.

The traditional socio-political institutions found in tribal or primitive societies is a crucial social institution. Socio-political institutions are characterized by scholars as the formal and informal frameworks, regulations, and behavioral norms that influence society and governance. For instance, F.H. Giddings described them as "organs that preserve the finest elements" of society, whereas C.A. Ellwood referred to them as "established methods of cohabitation that have received approval." Additionally, James Huntington depicted these institutions as "consistent, esteemed patterns of behavior," while G. B. Ikenberry identified them as the "organizations, rules, routines, and practices" that delineate the political environment.

Morton Fried (1967) defines "political organization" as the part of social structure involving individuals or groups that manage public policy and related activities, though this is less applicable in non-state contexts (Kottack, 2015). Elman Service (1962) identified four levels of political organization: band, tribe, chiefdom, and state. Studies show links between economic systems and political structures (Kottack, 2015). Morgan's **The League of the Iroquois** (1851) is a key work in political ethnography, examining the relationship between political organization, social rituals, and economics (Vincent, 2002). Henry Maine analyzed legal evolution in relation to classical Roman law and village communities through philology.

Socio-political institutions plays an integral role in preserving societal peace and tranquility. Different forms are present at varying levels such as bands or tribes; however, India's smallest unit of tribal governance exists at the village level while inter-village associations also persist today. At this village level, local disputes—including intra-village disagreements among families along with broader socio-economic and religious matters—are addressed by representatives from these political organizations.

Inter-village disputes primarily concerning economic issues like land or marriage are resolved by councils representing their respective tribes.

This study focuses on the Paudi Bhuyan tribe located in sundargarh district. Recognized as one of Odisha's Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PVTGs), they predominantly inhabit in the Bonai hills of Sundargarh alongside Deogarh, Keonjhar, and Angul districts. Additionally housed in significant numbers outside Odisha are Bhuyans located in West Bengal, Assam, Jharkhand, and Chhattisgarh. The Paudi Bhuyan identify themselves as "Bhumiputra," meaning sons of the soil or landowners; notably derived from Sanskrit "Bhumi."

Objective of the Study

This study seeks to explore the structure and functionality of the traditional socio-political institutions within the Paudi Bhuyan tribe. Additionally, it aims to examine recent transformations and their effects on the daily lives of the Bhuyan people.

The specific objectives of this research include:

1. *Detailed Examination*: To thoroughly investigate the composition of the socio-political institutions, along with the roles and responsibilities assigned to members of the traditional council.
2. *Anthropological Analysis*: To analyse how the traditional socio-political institutions plays a crucial role in managing various aspects of socio-cultural, economic, and religious life among the Paudi Bhuyan.
3. *Exploration of Change Factors*: Finally, this paper will identify the factors that have led to changes within the traditional council and assess their impact on power dynamics within the village, particularly concerning the status and authority of traditional leaders

Methodology

The current research forms a field study conducted in the sundargarh district of Odisha. Primary data was gathered utilizing observation and interview techniques. Key informants included the Pradhan (village head), Dakua (messenger), Dehury (priest), ward members, and elder residents from the chosen villages. Insights into the traditional structure and functions of the political institution known as Darbar were provided by both the Pradhan and the Priest. Interviews helped delineate roles and responsibilities within this framework, while recent changes were documented through discussions with PRI members. Additionally, various meetings were attended by the author as an observer-participant, engaging directly in decision-making processes. Interviews with older village members aimed to shed light on aspects of change and its effects on Bhuyan society.

Composition of Political Organization

Every society establishes a set of rules and regulations to govern individual behaviour and uphold social order. The Bhuyan tribe has its own traditional political framework aimed at addressing social, cultural, economic, and religious matters both within and between villages. Upon examining the structure and functions of the Bhuyan socio-political institutions, it becomes evident that it is relatively simple and minimalistic. There are no formal written laws; instead, traditional norms are passed down orally through generations. In each Bhuyan village, a headman or chief oversees local affairs. Meetings convene at designated locations with the participation of elder community members, presided over by the village chief. The headman makes final decisions after consulting with these elders, which can result in imposed fines or punishments. Historically, such penalties required the offender to provide a communal feast or contribute food items like grains or livestock—cash fines were not utilised in the past. This practice is referred to as "*jhond*" in the native terminology of the Bhuyan people. Both direct and indirect witnesses are considered when reaching final judgments, and practices such as oaths and ordeals are also part of the Bhuyan system of political justice.

Status of the Pradhan

The Pradhan holds a unique identity and esteemed position within the village. As a knowledgeable authority on regulations, customs, and traditions, he commands great respect from the community. In Bhuyan society, he enjoys unparalleled recognition across political, social, and economic dimensions. Both in personal interactions and communal engagements, he occupies a distinguished role. The admiration he receives from villagers and neighbouring communities is evident in their conduct towards him.

Role and Responsibilities of Dehury

The leader of the socio-political institution is referred to as the "Pradhan," who serves as the administrative head of the village. Meetings are convened in a location known as the "*Durbar*," typically situated at the centre of each Bhuyan village. This venue is an open-air platform with no roof, where significant decisions concerning village matters—such as festivals, conflict resolution, and communal worship—are made. Attendance at these meetings is restricted to the heads of each household within the village. The role of Pradhan is inherited through family lineage.

The spiritual leader of the village, known as "*Dehury*," holds a position that also carries religious significance. As a priest, he is expected to uphold principles of utmost honesty, cleanliness, and purity in both actions and thoughts. Similar to that of the Pradhan, this priestly role is passed down through generations within families. To this day, both the positions of Pradhan and Dehury in Bhuyan society remain hereditary and have not evolved over time.

Additionally, an important role within Bhuyan villages is that of a messenger, called "*dakua*" or "*dangua*." This position remains filled by an individual until they are no longer mentally or physically capable of performing their duties.

Remuneration for Officials

Prior to India's independence, under the reign of the King, land and resource ownership was not private. Agricultural plots were allocated based on mutual agreements among villagers. The entire property of the village was registered under the Pradhan's name. At the conclusion of each year, taxes (*khajana*) were collected in the Pradhan's name and transferred by the *dakua* to Bhuyan Pati Sardar, who subsequently submitted them to the King.

In 1960s, Odisha underwent a Revenue Settlement after land reforms law was enacted that granted individual ownership rights (*patta*) for lands cultivated over many years. During this period, extensive tracts of land were designated as *jagir* in favor of the Pradhan. Additionally, significant portions of land were assigned to village priests for their worship facilities dedicated to local deities. Research indicates that ordinary villagers preferred to register smaller plots under their names while allocating larger areas to the Pradhan. This preference coincided with a time when monetary value was low, creating anxiety about tax payments which led to arrangements known as "*Gharkharki*." The Bhuyans are generally peaceful individuals who sought contentment under traditional leadership.

Consequently, *jagir* lands within Bhuyan villages gradually became registered under the names of both Pradhan and Dehury. Presently, substantial areas remain recorded in their names across all Bhuyan villages. During festivals and rituals, it is customary for priests to receive new garments (*naba bastra*), which typically include a dhoti, banyan, and napkin. In contrast, no *jagir* land has been designated for *dakua*; however, at year-end during the Dinamundia festival, they receive annual contributions (*bartan*) comprising paddy (20 pai), grams, rice, and *naba bastra* (dhoti, ganji, gamucha).

Structure of Darbar

In each Bhuyan village, the Darbar, an open-air space, is centrally situated. A Bhuyan village may comprise one or multiple Khillis (*bansa*) (Mohanty, 2004: 73). This area features a courtyard designated for meetings where community members convene to deliberate on significant village matters; this gathering place is referred to as "*Manda Danda*." Positioned in one direction of the courtyard is the male youth dormitory known as *Mandaghara*, while another side houses a *chemda*.

Additionally, nearby stands *Kothighar*, an earthen temple. Between the Manager and *Kothighar*, a sacred pole called "*Basuki Khunta*" is erected, symbolizing Basuki Mata (the female deity). The term Basuki translates to soil in Odia. Several villages come together to form a confederation known as a "*Pirha*." The governing body at this level is termed "*Pirha Panchayat*," and its secular leader is referred to as the "*Sardar*" (Mohanty, 2004: 75). For the Santals of Odisha, the term Darbar denotes local village meetings, while inter-village councils are identified as Pirha—similar to the nomenclature used by the Bhuyans of Odisha (Murmu & Kanhar, 2014: 86-87).

Selection of Functionaries within the Political Organization

The appointment of officials occurs during the year's final festival, referred to as "*Dhi Bandana*." A village-level assembly is convened in conjunction with this event, also known as "*Dinmundia parba*," which takes place in late December. During this gathering, a thorough discussion of local issues ensues, allowing all community members to voice their grievances or concerns before the council.

As previously noted, the positions of Pradhan and Dehury are hereditary. Consequently, nominations are typically made from the eldest male members of the clan. Generally, it is the eldest son who inherits the role of Pradhan or Priest. Should he decline or be deemed unfit for duty by the villagers, nomination will pass to his next oldest brother. In cases where the current headman or priest has an underage son, temporary responsibilities are assigned to his younger brother until such time that the heir reaches adulthood. If no brothers are available, a minor son may be appointed according to hereditary customs and will fulfil his duties under the guidance of senior village members. Thus, the hereditary roles of priest and Pradhan have been preserved up to the present day.

Conversely, the position of "Dangua/Dakua" is awarded unanimously to an individual who demonstrates a commitment to social service. When a Dangua chooses not to continue in their role, their son is offered succession first. If he declines this opportunity, another qualified candidate possessing similar traits will be nominated by majority vote. The reason for prioritizing the offspring of the current Dangua stems from tradition; this role is often held for extended periods, and out of respect for familial ties and humanity, preference is given to his son before considering other potential candidates.

Role and Responsibilities of Community Members

The Pradhan serves as the chief administrative leader of the village, possessing essential leadership and decision-making skills. He holds the authority to impose penalties on wrongdoers and effectively manage both intra-village and inter-village disputes. The Pradhan resolves various conflicts between individuals and families, curtails anti-social behaviours, and addresses issues related to theft, burglary, and other forms of misconduct. Additionally, he is tasked with maintaining law and order within the village, fostering community cohesion, assisting residents during emergencies, safeguarding communal assets, and nurturing positive political ties with neighbouring villages.

Moreover, he oversees matters concerning village boundaries and the protection of natural resources while monitoring activities during local festivals and rituals. The Pradhan is also expected to take an active role in promoting socio-cultural, political, and economic advancement within the village. He must identify perpetrators based on evidence and testimonies in consultation with elders before directing the "dangua" to announce any fines (*Jhond*) that are to be imposed. His involvement is crucial in reintegrating deviant individuals back into the social fabric of village life. The Pradhan ensures that victims receive appropriate empathy as well as financial assistance from the community fund. This fund is under his direct supervision; he is responsible for its management including collection, growth, and redistribution when necessary. Furthermore, he collaborates with senior villagers to determine the interest rates applicable to this fund.

The "*Dehury*", or religious leader of the village, plays a pivotal role by appeasing all local deities to ensure the welfare of villagers. His prayers are directed towards securing good health, promoting economic prosperity, safeguarding domesticated animals, enhancing agricultural output through timely

rainfall, ensuring availability of fruits and roots while mitigating natural disasters that could threaten lives.

During festivals and rituals, he worships deities for a disease-free existence among villagers while preventing malevolent spirits from entering village premises; additionally protecting crops from wildlife threats such as wild animals or pests is part of his duties. He is responsible for maintaining cleanliness at places of worship by ensuring that individuals deemed impure according to cultural norms do not enter these sacred spaces.

Individuals or families classified as impure may include those who have failed to conduct purification rites following births or deaths; those who have married through elopement without performing requisite rituals; persons who have committed acts such as killing a cow; marriages involving scheduled castes; or women during menstruation—all prohibited from accessing sacred areas.

In instances where pollution occurs within worship sites due to someone's actions, they are required to bear the costs associated with purification rites which may include hosting a communal feast as restitution. Henceforth, it falls upon the priest's duty to uphold cleanliness at all worship locations.

Within Bhuyan society, every household maintains an ancestral worship space known as “*Mul Ghar*” or “*Bhitar Ghar*”. The priest also possesses a designated sacred area where he venerates ancestors while storing all ritual instruments pertinent to village-level ceremonies—a space restricted from entry by other clan members or individuals in states considered polluted.

Function of socio-political institutions

The Bhuyan community leads a self-sufficient existence within a defined geographical region. Utilising their traditional socio-political institutions, they have established social, cultural, economic, and political frameworks that facilitate a healthy, simplistic, and disciplined lifestyle. Consequently, various social institutions have emerged.

In Bhuyan society, the socio-political institutions heavily influences social activities. Through the Darbar institution, individuals are socialized to uphold a disciplined and respectable way of life while ensuring equitable access to common property resources and fostering respectful social interactions to cultivate an orderly and harmonious environment. The perspectives of villagers are shaped to promote local unity, brotherhood, and cooperative relationships. To achieve this, values related to informal education—such as freedom, justice, and rights—are instilled in individuals' minds. Additionally, the socio-political institutions plays a crucial role in safeguarding language, customs, traditions, and regulating labor divisions based on age and gender.

As outlined previously, one of the primary roles of the socio-political institutions is to regulate individual behaviour. Various conflicts are addressed within the Darbar framework. Serious penalties are imposed on wrongdoers to deter future unacceptable actions. However, in instances where evidence or witnesses are lacking, perpetrators may evade punishment. In such cases, the accused is required to take an oath involving soil; they venerate a stone representing them while invoking curses upon it. Should the accused provide false testimony during this process, they risk supernatural retribution which could result in death. They must affirm while holding the soil: *"If I lie then I will die in near future and I shall be immersed in the soil."* Conversely, if an accused person admits their wrongdoing despite insufficient evidence or witnesses present, leniency may be granted regarding their punishment. A portion of any imposed fines is allocated for communal feasts while the remaining funds contribute to the village's common fund.

Role and Responsibilities of Dangua/Dakua

The dangua, or dakua, holds a crucial position in the communal activities of Bhuyan village. Acting as both an aide and messenger for the Priest and Pradhan, the dakua disseminates information regarding upcoming meetings to every household. In addition to managing intra-village communications, he also coordinates details related to inter-village discussions and other relevant matters. The dakua serves as a vital link between the villagers, the Priest, and the Pradhan.

At the village level, the dangua is an exceptionally active figure who vocally announces meeting details from the Darbar location. He supports the Pradhan in overseeing, safeguarding, and distributing shared community resources. Furthermore, he plays a key role in bringing forth individuals accused of misconduct before the Darbar and ensures that fines are collected from offenders.

As previously noted, Bhuyan village maintains a common fund that is overseen by the Pradhan with assistance from the dangua. His commitment to upholding social, cultural, economic, and political order within the community is unwavering. Consequently, the dakua enjoys a prominent status among villagers; his involvement is essential for conducting meetings at the Darbar effectively.

Process of impeachment from Positions

The removal of Pradhan and Dehury within the Bhuyan community is an uncommon occurrence. These roles are typically hereditary, granting them a sense of permanence. In instances of old age, mental or physical incapacity, or death, the elder son temporarily inherits the position. During the recent festival known as “Di Bandana,” he is officially recognised as the permanent Pradhan or Priest.

Should the newly appointed son demonstrate behaviour deemed inappropriate—such as being intoxicated, deceitful, accepting food from lower caste groups, or experiencing altercations with others—he faces disciplinary actions in accordance with community rules. Generally, he must contribute to the costs associated with purifying deities and organising communal feasts. He is expected to refrain from such misconduct in the future.

In cases where an individual has consumed food or water prepared by a lower caste or has been physically assaulted by members of that group, a purification ceremony is conducted which includes head shaving by a barber. The individual bears all expenses related to these purification rites. This guideline applies to all male members within the society.

Repeated infractions result in disqualification from holding the position; consequently, responsibility shifts to his eldest son. If he has a minor son, one of his brothers assumes temporary duties until the boy reaches adulthood. In situations where there are no brothers available, an elder male member of the clan (Bansa) steps into this role.

It is important to note that women are not permitted to serve as priests or Pradhans within this community. In scenarios where no male members are present in the clan, a priest or Pradhan may be sourced from a neighbouring Bhuyan village and accorded villager status for that time.

Economic Life and socio-political institutions

The Paudi Bhuyan community is characterised by a variety of traditional cultural attributes and practices. They embrace conventional methods of agriculture mainly shifting agricultural practices, with rice serving as their primary food source. Due to their geographical circumstances, they are compelled to engage in shifting cultivation for sustenance. Additionally, they enhance their diet with products sourced from local forests. Historically, the tribe has also participated in hunting and pastoral activities.

Socio-political institutions play a crucial role during the allocation of land designated for shifting cultivation; community members are required to adhere to the directives issued by this governing body. The Darbar is responsible for safeguarding and managing essential communal resources such as forests, grazing areas, and burial grounds. All village communal properties fall under the jurisdiction of this political entity.

Furthermore, the traditional council oversees the establishment and effective utilisation of village funds during times of crisis. They ensure timely collection of stipulated fees from individuals to foster growth in these funds. Community members may seek loans from these resources when faced with emergencies such as droughts, floods, unexpected home damages, or significant life events like marriages or funerals.

The council also governs interest collections and determines applicable interest rates on loans. It sets wage standards for both male and female labourers within the village context. Decisions regarding

communal expenditures for festivals, worship services, dance performances, music events, as well as purchasing and maintaining musical instruments are also made collectively.

Annual compensation (Bartan) for service providers such as barbers (Barik), washermen (Dhoba), and potters (Kumbhar) during life cycle ceremonies is agreed upon unanimously during Darbar meetings.

Religious Practices and Governance among the Bhuyan

The Bhuyan community is notably recognised for their veneration of nature. They pay homage to various natural elements, including hills, mountains, rivers, rainfall, lightning, air, the sun and moon, as well as earth (referred to as Basuki Mata), stones, trees, and leaves during their festivals and rituals. The preservation and upkeep of these sacred worship sites are managed by their traditional socio-political institutions. Collectively, this socio-political institutions is responsible for maintaining the sanctity of all revered locations within each village. It is commonly believed that any form of contamination—whether intentional or accidental—of these sacred spaces results in the displeasure of divine beings. According to Bhuyan beliefs, ensuring harmony with these supernatural entities is paramount; thus, individuals who violate these rules and pollute sacred sites face repercussions from the council. In such instances, the individual deemed at fault must bear all costs associated with purification. All religious observances—from festivals to life-cycle ceremonies—are conducted under the direct oversight of the Pradhan, who serves as the leader of the traditional village council.

Recent Changes and Their Impact on the Paudi Bhuyan Society

Change is an inherent aspect of nature and occurs continuously. The traditional Socio-political framework of the Bhuyan tribe has undergone significant transformations, primarily due to the introduction of the Panchayat Raj Institution (PRI) by the Government. This initiative precipitated a substantial shift in the power dynamics at the village level. Elected representatives, including Ward Members, Sarpanchs, and other PRI members, assumed responsibility for planning and executing comprehensive development projects both within their villages and at the Panchayat and Block levels.

Initially, this transition faced resistance in Bhuyan territories; community members protested against infrastructure developments such as roads and hospitals. Their concerns centered around the belief that improved road access would invite outsiders into their villages, while new hospitals could introduce unfamiliar diseases. They were apprehensive about compromising their socio-cultural integrity.

In response to these challenges, PRI launched various awareness programs in remote areas inhabited by the Bhuyan people. These initiatives focused on health education, which led to a shift in attitudes towards health and disease management. As villagers learned they would have a say in electing local representatives, acceptance of this new governance structure began to grow. Villagers recognised that someone from their own community would likely advocate earnestly for local welfare.

Over time, *Palli Sabhas & Gram sabhas* emerged as platforms for discussing developmental issues within the community. This marked a noticeable transformation in the structure of Bhuyan villages, with improvements such as all-weather roads, schools, healthcare services, electricity access, and equitable selection processes for housing benefits becoming evident.

Consequently, the influence of traditional leaders like Pradhans diminished concerning developmental decisions; meetings convened by Palli Sabhas & grama sabhas are now predominantly led by PRI Members. Although Pradhans are still invited as special guests to these gatherings, their input carries limited weight during discussions about development initiatives. However, they continue to preside over meetings addressing socio-cultural matters.

Community sentiments indicate that Pradhans hold less authority compared to PRI Members today. Notably, PRI Members have also taken on responsibilities related to preserving the customs and traditions of the Bhuyan tribe. The role of dakua remains unchanged; he acts as a liaison not only for the traditional head (Pradhan) but also for elected PRI Members.

Conclusion

The evolving landscape has led to a gradual transformation in the traditional socio-political institutions of the Paudi Bhuyan community. Historically, village matters were overseen by a traditional council; however, some aspects have remained unchanged. The roles of Pradhan and Dehury continue to be hereditary. Nevertheless, there has been a notable shift in the significance of socio-political institutions within the village. The stature and influence of the village head (Pradhan) have diminished over time. Previously, he commanded great respect among villagers, but his status has since declined to a degree. This decline can be attributed to the introduction of the Panchayati Raj Institution (PRI) system and the election of public representatives through direct elections. Currently, decisions regarding village development—including infrastructure, education, public distribution systems (PDS), beneficiary selection, and health services—are predominantly made by these elected members. Villagers increasingly turn to elected members for assistance in accessing government schemes and programs that meet their needs. Furthermore, the Bhuyans have become more aware about contemporary laws and regulations as well as local law enforcement and judicial processes. Despite these changes, the traditional socio-political framework played a crucial role in fostering a sense of order and dignity within society by promoting social harmony and stability in the community.

The Pirha system of the Paudi Bhuyan tribe exemplifies a complex framework of self-governance based on customary law and collective consensus. An ethnographic examination of the Pirha structure uncovers a decentralised political entity that governs socio-political matters, mediates disputes, upholds cultural traditions, and coordinates community rituals. This institution functions independently from the formal legal apparatus of the Indian state, yet it holds significant legitimacy among the Paudi Bhuyan people, reflecting their resilience and autonomy amidst the encroachment of modern state systems. Additionally, internal issues such as generational changes, educational influences, and migration are reshaping how the Paudi Bhuyan view the relevance of the Pirha. While older generations remain steadfast in their allegiance to its authority, younger individuals are increasingly swayed by external state political systems and judiciary.

References

1. Roy, S. C. (1935). *The Hill Bhuiyans of Orissa*. New Delhi: D.K. Printworld (P) Ltd.
2. Mohanty, B.B. (2004). Bhuyan. In the book “Tribes of Orissa”. SC & ST Research and Training Institute, Bhubaneswar.
3. Morgan, L.H. (1851). *League of the Iroquois*. Citadel Press.
4. Murmu, S.C. & N. Kanhar (2014). Santal Durbar and Its Democratic Role. *Adivasi: Journal of SC & ST Research and Training Institute, Bhubaneswar*. Vol. 54 (1&2), ISSN: 2277-7245.
5. Ota, A. B., & Sahoo, A. C. (2021). The Paudi Bhuyan. In *Encyclopedia of tribes in Odisha (Vol. 1)*. Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Research and Training Institute (SCSTRTI). ISBN: 978-93-80705-82-8.
6. Patnaik, N., Ali, A., Rout, S. P., & Debi, K. B. (2021). Handbook on the Pauri Bhuinya: An anthropological study of the primitive section of the Bhuiya tribe of Orissa. *Adivasi Special Number, 19(1-4)*. In Ota, A. B., & Sahoo, A. C. (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of tribes in Odisha (Vol. 1)*. Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Research and Training Institute (SCSTRTI). ISBN: 978-93-80705-82-8.
7. Pradhan, B. C. (2015). A general account on the traditional living condition of Paudi Bhuyan. *Odisha Review*, 72(3), 45-50.
8. Patnaik, N., Choudhury, B. P., Rath, A., Senapati, P. K., Giri, D. B., Mishra, M., Mohanty, P., Jena, M. K., & Seeland, K. (2015). *Forest tribes of Orissa: The Hill Bhuyan of Kendujhar (Vol. 4)*. D.K. Printworld.