

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY
OF THE UGC MAJOR RESEARCH PROJECT (F.NO. 42–
492/2013(SR), DATED: 20.02.2014):

DEFORESTATION AND LAND ALIENATION:
LIVING ON THE EDGE A STUDY ON AN
ENDANGERED TRIBE

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY OF THE UGC MAJOR RESEARCH PROJECT (F.NO. 42–492/2013(SR), DATED: 20.02.2014):

DEFORESTATION AND LAND ALIENATION: LIVING ON THE EDGE A STUDY ON AN ENDANGERED TRIBE

The Major Research Project entitled “*Deforestation and Land Alienation Living on the Edge A Study on An Endangered Tribe*” (F.No.42–492/2013 (SR); Dated: 20 February, 2014) has been conducted on the Totos, a Sub Himalayan mongoloid Tribe (PVTG) living only at Totopara village situated at the foothills of Bhutan Himalayas along the Indo–Bhutan border in the West Bengal State of Indian Territory.

The village Totopara is located at a latitude of 89° 20' North and a longitude of 26°36' East at an altitude of approximately 750– 1250 ft above the sea level. It falls under the administration of Totopara–Ballalguri Gram Panchyat, Madarihat Block and Police Station, Alipurduar sub division in the Alipurduar district (erstwhile Jalpaiguri district) of West Bengal. The village is nestled within the region of Jaldapara Forest Range and is surrounded by number of adjoining hills, Titi and other forests and Torsha and other rivers and streams. Totopara is divided into different *gaons* (hamlets). The Toto settlement of the village is primarily sub–divided into six *gaons* (hamlets) viz. Dhumchigaon, Mitragaon, Mondalgaon, Panchayatgaon, Pujagaon and Subbagaon. The areas inhabited by the Nepalese are used by Nepali names like Mangargaon, Poargaon, Pakhagaon, Raigaon, Simanadara etc. According to the B.C.W. Department SC/ST Welfare Centre, Totopara, during February 2016, there were 342 Toto families with a population of 1580 persons having 821 males and 759 females, the sex ratio being 924. Moreover now the village is inhabited by Toto, Nepali, Bihari, Bengali (Hindu and Muslim), Garo and Mech communities.

The studied Toto people are naturalistic and their socio cultural as well as religious life is very much attached to the nature. The studied people are very simple and primarily depend on the nature i.e. forest, land and river for maintaining their

livelihood. Even their means of production are very simple i.e. of primitive type. The history of the studied tribe reveals that they were the hunter and gatherers at first. They used to maintain their livelihood by collecting the raw materials from the forest and rivers. They used to hunt down animals, collect wild vegetables, tubers, fishes, crabs, mollusc, prawns etc. for survival. Simultaneously they used to cultivate crops and vegetables through shifting cultivation. Mainly *kaguni* or *kowny*, *marua*, maize etc. were the crops cultivated at that time. Till that time the settlement was not very permanent. The Totos have been living in Totopara since the middle of the 18th century (seventh to eighth generations), leading their own way of life far removed from the influences of the culture of the non-Totos as well as other people of India also. Their population was limited and their culture was different from the modern world. There were sufficient natural resources and to meet their need for livelihood primarily they depended on it. During that time the studied people were not very efficient in conducting agricultural work. They were very much isolated as no other communities were present nearby. Later during 1940's as a non-Toto, first, 12 families belonging to Mangar community came from Bhutan and settled there. With the passage of time, the number of migrants began to increase rapidly and as a consequence there was heavy influx of non-Toto population. As land and forest being limited, rise in population has led to considerable deforestation and land alienation which has a great impact on the life and livelihood of the concerned community.

The research project has been conducted with a view that at present it is a well-known fact that the tribal are worst affected due to deforestation, land alienation, pressure of non-tribals in the tribal areas and other consequent changes. Therefore, the main console about this research project is to find out the situation of forest degradation, amount of land alienation, pressure of non-Totos or influx of migrant people, other changes and related causes and their total impact on the livelihood of the studied Toto community.

Objectives

With the decrease of forest area as well as deforestation, land alienation, pressure of non-Totos in Totopara, mining at adjacent Bhutan hills and consequent changes, the Totos may face the difficulties to accumulate their daily requirements. Even these may cause a rapid change to the social, economic, political, religious as well as cultural life

of the Totos and sometimes these may create several crises. In the past the Totos lived in a relative isolated situation which perhaps helped them to maintain their own language and culture. In the recent past there was considerable migration of people from outside. The Government and other agencies have also provided educational and health facilities to the Totos. Thus how these changes have affected them has been examined.

In this regard, in view of deforestation, land alienation and migration of other communities in this area, the major objectives of the present research are as follows:

1. Whether land alienation and deforestation have affected their socio-cultural life, if yes, the nature of change and nature of adjustment of the concerned society will be observed.
2. To examine, are the deforestation and degradation of forest, land alienation and sharing of land affecting their life and economy, if yes, then how?
3. Whether deforestation and forest degradation and consequent non-availability of medicinal plants, forest materials and food of the forest are affecting their health and nutrition.
4. Whether the migration of people from other areas, and other developmental factors are affecting their life, economy and socio-cultural aspects of the Totos.
5. To examine the changing situation effecting the role and participation of the Totos in different economic activities and also inheritance of property, rights and authorities of the same.
6. To find out the role and function of the Totos in their daily life; and also, with it the role and position of the Toto men and women in decision making in their family and society as well as in the political sphere will be examined.

Research Methodology

The source of materials i.e., data are considered as an intrinsic part of any type of research study. In the context of present research work, the adequate information and evidences have been gathered through both primary and secondary sources. The primary data have been collected through intensive field work while the secondary

sources of data as well as materials, evidences have been collected from the various secondary sources.

For conducting the present study, Totopara village has been selected and the study has been done on the Toto people. Considering the effects of deforestation, land alienation, pressure of non-Totos on the Totos and other changes including various development factors and policies on Totos life, I have tried to examine the above objectives. Moreover, we started the field work on the month of May, 2014 and onwards.

According to the February 2016, there were total 1580 Toto people (B.C.W D. Progress Report of February 2016), among which the males were 821 and the females were 759 while the sex ratio was 924. The household survey has been conducted among 77 per cent families which cover 78.18 per cent of the total Toto population. The collected data have been tabulated and 63 numbers of tables have been prepared. The schedule covers the information regarding their age, sex, education, marital status, land, occupational involvement, working place, language, income, expenditure, amount of land, domestic cattle, health etc. Apart from the primary census schedule (PCSs), many information as well as data has been collected through continuous observation, case studies, group discussions (GDs) and, interviews. Through observation their daily lives, activities, habits as well as the way of living have been observed which includes nature and types of involvement in economic sectors especially their relation with the nature such as land, forest and rivers, working involvement in other sectors within or outside of the country i.e. Bhutan, food and drink habits, socio-religious occasions and ceremonies, involvement in education etc. Also, the village set up and boundary has been observed. Apart from observation, lots of case studies, interviews, GDs have been taken from various Toto and other people to know the situation of the Totos' forest, land, economy, food, drinks, health, education, material culture, family, birth, marriage, kinship, socio-political organisation, religious practices, growing up and personality formation of the Totos. All of their most precious traditional songs which are primarily known by three aged persons have been collected from them. The meaning and value of those songs have been written and recorded. Therefore, both quantitative as well as qualitative data have been collected.

Moreover, the field data have been collected mainly through observation, preliminary census schedules (PSCs), case studies, interviews, focus group discussions, recordings and photographs. In this regard, the role of both men and women in economy, political, religious, education and other concerned social aspects have been taken into consideration. The secondary data have been collected from several governmental reports, census, journals and books etc. Both quantitative as well as qualitative analysis is being made.

Demographic Features

According to Census 2011, the total Toto and non-Toto population was 2953 in Totopara village. As per pre-enrol biometric list of 1st February 2014, there were total 3019 people; among which the Totos were 1396 (46.24%) while the non-Totos were 1623 (53.76%), (3 Adhar Card 0032-TotoparaPED-19020050032-0374_0378-DT-20140201). However, as per Progress Report of the B.C.W.D. February 2016, there were total 1580 Toto people (B.C.W D. Totopara Progress Report of February 2016), among which the males were 821 and the females were 759 while the sex ratio was 924. However, we have conducted household survey during June-October, 2014 on 258 Toto families accounting 1226 members (male and female) which cover only 78.18 per cent of the total Toto population of the village. Of the total household surveyed 1226 population, 648 (52.85 %) were males and 578 (47.15 %) were females. The detail statistics based on household surveyed data are shown below:

The frequency of nuclear, joint and others types of families were 77.13 per cent, 20.16 per cent and 2.71 per cent respectively while extended family was totally absent. The family size varied from 1 to 10 and even more than 10 members also. There were 75.97 per cent families had 3 to 6 members. Out of total Toto population, 52.85 per cent were males while 47.15 per cent were females and the sex ratio was only 891. It is interesting that 0 – 29 years age group covers 69.90 per cent of the total Toto population while 55 and above year's age group population was only 4.24 per cent and interestingly the 70 and above years Toto population was 13 in numbers. The numbers of Toto clans are 14 and the population of each clan varies from one another. Among those clans the maximum population was found in the *Dantrobei* (23.08%) and the least population was found in *Pischankobei* (0.57%). Among the Totos 52.85 per cent were unmarried while others (47.15%) were ever-married. Among the married

population, 262 were males and 256 were females respectively. The marriage age for males normally started from the age of 20 years and above while for female usually started from 15 years and above. Further, among the males there were only 1 (0.15%) separate and 21 (3.24%) widower. There was only 1 (0.71%) separate while widows were 28 (4.84%). Out of 284 (100.00%) ever married males there was inter-tribal marriages among 2.11 per cent males while 1.76 per cent males were reported to tribe-caste marriage. Among the females, out of 294 (100.00%) ever married females; endogamous marriage was reported among 96.26 per cent females. There were inter-tribal marriages among 2.04 per cent females while 1.70 per cent males were reported to tribe-caste marriages. Regarding birth, 93.26 per cent mother's first child birth took place during age group 19 – 28 years and the highest numbers (31.56%) of mother's child birth took place at the age of 23 – 24 years. Further, the first child birth among 0.35 per cent mothers took place before the age of 15 years. Regarding delivery places, 87.93 per cent people were born in their houses while 20.07 per cent were born in Primary Health Centre (PHC) and Hospitals. It is evident that 58.46 per cent married couples used the family planning method and among them 82.89 per cent couples used the modern method while 17.11 per cent couples were well aware about the time of fertility period. Regarding literacy 61.55 per cent were literate out of 1043 (100.00%) total population which covers 7 and above year's age group population. The percentage of literacy was high among the males (73.43%) than the females (48.35%). Out of total 642 (100.00%) literate Toto population, 4.21 per cent were graduates and 0.31 per cent was post graduates. The 75.40 per cent students of age group 7 and above years studied in the village schools while the rest studied in schools located outside of the village. It is evident that most of the people (41.46%), (except 0–4 year's age group) depended on agriculture while very few (1.00%) depended on other works. The trend of service (3.60%), business (3.60%), and work as labour at Bhutan (10.10%) and other works (1.17%) was more among the males than the females while involvement in agricultural work was more among the females (46.58%) than the males (36.99%). The Totos used to work in several places and mostly they did work in their own village and its surrounding areas (86.54%). Among the surveyed Toto families, except 6 (2.33%) families, the rest 252 (97.97%) were attached to the agriculture anyway and many had very little amount of agricultural land and even there were some (5.81%) agricultural land less families also. Only 91.09

per cent families had various domestic cattle like cow, goat, pig, hen, cock, dog, duck, buffalo and sheep while the rest do not have any cattle. Regarding monthly income, more than 41 per cent families could not earn more than Rs.3000/- per month, while only one third of total families earned Rs. 3001/- to Rs. 5000/- per month from all the sources. In this society, there were only 7.36 per cent families who had the monthly income above Rs 15000/- because among them most were government employees. Regarding monthly expenditure, 72.48 per cent Toto population could not spend more than Rs. 5000/- per month for maintaining their daily livelihood while it was required Rs. 15001/- and above per month for only 5.04 per cent families and as a whole 10.47 per cent families only could spend Rs.9001/- and above per month. It is to be mentioned that then 25.58 per cent Toto families were indebted and these were mainly for maintaining their minimum livelihood. Regarding language, all the Totos (100%) knew their own Toto dialect. Apart, 29.93 per cent Toto population knew Toto, Bengali and Nepali language also and now the students are also able to speak and write in English language. The common diseases among the Totos were fever, cough and cold (37.80%), followed by gastric (10.61%), dysentery (7.52%), skin diseases (6.80%), stomach pain (6.28%), headache (5.46%) and jaundice (2.88%) etc. They used traditional, modern or both types of treatments. Regarding treatment of diseases 19.77 per cent population took traditional treatment while 32.65 per cent population took modern treatment and 36.56 per cent population took both traditional and modern treatment while 11.02 per cent did not take any type of treatment.

Relation of Totos with Land and Forest

In Totos life, the nature and very particularly land, trees and forest are important part of their economy and culture. It has an immense importance in their life as they primarily depend on it for maintaining their daily livelihood. Apart from economy, their socio-cultural, religious and other important aspects of their life are closely related with it. On the basis of the present research study, their relation with land and forest is mentioned below briefly:

Land: According to my field study, data reveal that yet the primary occupation of the Totos is agriculture. Though in the past, the Totos depended on *jhum* cultivation but

now they practice settle cultivation. They produce various crops such as wet rice, *marua* (millet), *kawoni/kauni*, maize, pulse, potato, tapioca, ginger, areca nut, pineapple, *shimul-alu*, green vegetables etc. in their agricultural land; and as a cash crop most of them have betel–nut orchard in and around the homestead land and in agricultural land. The data also reveal that in an average each Toto family has around 3 *bighas* (1 acre) of agricultural land and during agricultural season most of the people of those families are engaged in agricultural work in those lands from morning to evening. They use this land also for grazing their cattle heard during non–agricultural seasons. Apart from agriculture, the land is also used to make houses for shelter. They consider the land as their deity and offer worship to the land for good harvest and well-being. Moreover, it has an immense value in their economic as well as socio–religious life.

Forest: Forest is regarded as inseparable part of Totos life. The socio–cultural and economic life of the Totos is intimately connected with forest ecology. They believe that their ancestors are closely related with plants in the forests. The presence of sacred–grove of the Totos is noticed in the forest and hills. Besides these many of the totem clans of the Totos were derived from plants and animals which are available in the forest and hills and it has an immense importance in their religious practices. Their folk songs and dances are very much related to the forest.

The first and foremost characteristic regarding the economic pursuits of the Totos is the close relationship between their economic life and the natural environment or habitat i.e. the forest. The forest provides material to build a home. They depend on forest for fruits, roots, tubers, leaves, vegetables, flower, wild animals and birds as their prime source of feeding during lean months of the year. Various products like latex, nuts, fibres as raw materials for ropes, bamboo, wax, fire wood etc. honey, spices, herbal plants, collected from forests are important_source of income for them. They depend on forest for the pasture for their flock consisting of cows and goats. The young men work in their fields and in forest. They make different types of implements. For making the plough they depend on jungle *Sal* trees. Raw materials for the craft and cottage industries of the Totos are mostly collected from forests. The Totos are equipped with indigenous tools like wooden or bamboo pots and vessels, bamboo baskets and bamboo logs for food gathering. Besides these they make

brooms, winnowing fans, fishing nets, traps for animals and containers out of it. Bamboo is the pivot of Toto material culture which provides them most of their requirements. Health and nutrition, particularly in the Toto societies is deeply associated with forest ecology. Yet in some cases they depend on folk medicine and the medicinal plants which are collected from forest. Moreover, forest is their integral part of their life in all respects, such as economic, social, cultural, religious, political and so on.

Advent of non-Totos and Introducing of other Developmental Activities

The Totopara village was more or less isolated and they lived alone up to 1939. Even no other communities were present nearby at that time. However, during 1940's as a non-Toto, first, 12 families belonging to Mangar community came from Bhutan and settled here. With the passage of time the number of migrants began to increase rapidly and as a consequence there was a huge influx of non-Toto population. In the year 1982-83 the introduction of weekly market attracted many non-Totos/ migrant people to establish trade and commerce and permanent settlement at Totopara. In the mean time several governmental and other offices such as health centre, schools, PWD bungalow, rural library, post office, bank, roads etc. have been made. As a whole the number of migrants began to increase rapidly and as a consequence there was huge influx of non-Toto population. It is the fact that nowadays the Totos are minority in their own land. As per official estimate of 1st February 2014, 54.17 per cent of the families in Totopara were non-Totos, with 284 Nepali families, 30 Bihari families, 14 Bengali Hindu families and 5 Muslim families and 1 family of Garo, Mech, Lepcha, Asur, Oraon origin. Moreover, all the above factors have led to the process of deforestation, land alienation and changes in various aspects of the Totos life.

Crisis and Consequences

As land and forest being limited, rise in population has led to considerable deforestation and land alienation. Apart from these, several developmental policies and programmes have been taken and implemented for their development. As a whole it has a great impact on the life of the concerned community which are stated below:

Land: In earlier the whole Totopara was recorded only in the name of the Toto community. They were the owner of 1996.96 acres of land. They used to cultivate paddy, millet, maize, pulses etc. in this land. At that time, they had enough production from the land to feed themselves all the year. There was abundance of orange garden at that time. They used to sell oranges outside the village. Apart from agriculture the land was also used to make houses for shelter. They considered the land as their deity and offered worship to the land for good harvest. But with the passage of time their land has been alienated by the migrants coming from Bhutan, Nepal, Other States of India and neighbouring areas. Whereas earlier as much as 1996.96 acres of land was recorded in the name of the Toto *mondal*, the chief, on behalf of the whole community, in 1969 individual ownership of land was introduced, and as per the records, it was noted that 89 Toto families had 300 acres of land in their possession. The residual land, which is more than 1600 acres, was labelled as ‘vested land’. This vested land seems to have been marked as ‘owner less’, allowing anybody to settle there without special permission being required. A decade later, in 1979, it was found that 33 Toto families were landless. During the recent Government Survey, conducted during 2000– 2001, it was noticed that due to the increase in the number of families, the amount of land available for one family had decreased substantially. However, due to the distribution of vested land the number of landless families has gone down simultaneously (Chowdhuri, 2005: 151–152). But the land available for cultivation is inadequate, and a number of Totos have no cultivable area at their own property, which is also another serious problem. In the course of the field study, it emerged that 343 acres (17.18%) of land remain in the possession of the Totos, while the rest (82.82%) has passed into the hands of non–Totos. Consequently, the size of the average land holding is reduced to around 3 *bighas* per family. The study further reveals that 5.81 per cent of the families have not any agricultural land; and 131 (50.80%) families each has below 1 *acre* of agricultural land which is very minimum for agriculture. Few are fully land less share croppers and day labours as they have not any agricultural land. This is alarming as previously Toto society did not have share croppers or agricultural day labourers. Obviously, it is due to land alienation, population pressure as well as economic scarcity that share cropping on another’s land has been introduced. As there is not enough land for cultivation in this village, many of the Totos go to the neighbouring Ballalguri village, about 5 km. away, to pursue

agricultural work. Today as they are outnumbered in their territory, and most of their land (82.82%) and resources are under the control of non-Totos, the Totos are even forced to go beyond India's borders in search of jobs for their survival. The study reveals that so many families fully depend on Bhutan for their livelihood and some of the family depend on work both in India and Bhutan. It is also known that apart from the above-mentioned land area of Totopara village; they also owned around 1000 bighas of land along Torsha river bank as well as the foothills of Himalayas mostly for paddy cultivation. However, that was captured by the forest department in 1962. In the year 1974 the forest officials started plantations in those allotted land. Moreover, the crop production as well as the prime earning source has been affected seriously.

Forest: In earlier days the Toto had the overall freedom to exploit the resources provided by the forest and the rivers. Their livelihood was mostly depended upon the nature and specially forest and even their culture was very much associated with the forest and its products. They used to consume wild vegetables, tubers, bamboo shoot, banana pulp, honey, wild spices, birds, egg and hunt animals like deer, wild boar, porcupine, birds etc. and aquatic animals like fishes, crabs, mollusc, prawn etc. for food. They used to collect tree trunk and bamboo and wild grass for making house and fire wood for cooking food. They also used to take their domestic cattle for grazing on the forest and also collect fodder for the pig and other domestic cattle. Even they used to make ropes from the fibre to use in various purposes. Most of the household and agricultural implements were made from the forest product. They used to collect plants having medicinal value for making herbal medicines. As much of their livelihood was dependent upon the forest, they offered prayers to the forest, rivers, trees, hills, stones etc. They used to protect the forest as their own property. In earlier the localities surrounding Totopara was full of forest resources and the forest was so dense that they do not find any difficulties for collecting the forest resources or materials for their daily needs. Even their folk songs and dances are much related to the forest. But with the passage of time many migrants are attracted to settle there permanently in search of basic amenities for livelihood. The establishment of tea estates in the neighbouring areas has led to a heavy influx of working population. Now the people from adjoining villages of Totopara such as Hollapara, Lankapara, Hantapara, Dalshinpara, part of Jaigaon also depend on the same forest. Thus, there is

a huge pressure in this area due to huge influx of other population. Due to the rise in the population within and outside the village the people from other communities began to trespass in the forest which was once owned by the Totos. Further, the forest department captured the forest from the land of the Totos during 1970. The plantation of the saplings in the forest has not been done properly. The forest officials began to plant trees having commercial values. They had also set up a various spot for tourism in the forest. The Totos blamed that the forest officials do not have a proper knowledge about the relation between the forest people and animals and do not take proper care of the forest. Nowadays the illegal cutting of trees for commercial purpose is also going on. All these factors played an important role in deforestation. The mining works in the nearby hills of Bhutan is the major cause for the river to change its course. Several parts of forest are affected by the floods which are common during rainy season thereby destroying the vegetation. Apart from it the change in climatic condition is also responsible for the destruction of the forest. Gradually the Totos began to lose their control over the forest resources.

With the continuous influx of non-Totos in the Totopara village, the Totos lost their previous control over the territory and its resources. The forest started to degenerate at a rapid pace through logging, clearing and over-exploitation of the natural resources for the purposes of the non-Totos. The Jalpaiguri district (presently Alipourduar district), where the Toto reside, was previously covered by dense forest, but now it covers only 2,857 sq km (45.88%), of which 715 sq km (25.035%) is very dense forest (VDF), 441 sq km (15.44%) is moderately dense forest (MDF); and 1701 sq km (59.54%) is open forest (OF), (FSI, 2017:318). Under the changing circumstances, the Totos are unable to produce their adequate seasonal food crops to meet their own needs. Hence, they tend to depend more on the forest for gathering and collection of jungle fruits, roots and tubers, mushrooms etc. to balance their seasonal agricultural shortage of food stuff to some extent but with dwindling forest area and alienation of resources, this is becoming very difficult. They construct their huts and houses with bamboo, bushes, wood, grass, leaves, etc. available from the forest. In other words, their whole material culture and their food requirements are to a large extent forest based. So, there can be no doubt that with the decrease in control over the forest area, it has become extremely difficult for the Totos to meet their daily necessities.

Moreover, both the process of land alienation and deforestation, and also advent of migration may have a serious impact on the economic and socio-cultural life of the concerned society. On the basis of field study (observations, interviews, group discussions, household survey etc.) the impact of the above on their various aspects of life are mentioned below one after another.

Effect of Deforestation and Land Alienation on Economy: The Toto's life and livelihood, i.e. economic, social and cultural aspects are deeply attached to the nature; and as a whole the nature, i.e. forest and land is treated as 'mother' by the Totos. Their life is fully nourished in the lap of the nature, i.e. forest and land. The reduction of economic resources due to land alienation, land sharing, destruction of the forest or degradation of forest area by the migrant non-Totos and merchants has affected the income source of the Totos. Forest degradation has brought changes in the local environment and now the days are becoming hotter day by day. The storms are often in the village destroying the big trees, agriculture crops, houses etc. The people are facing acute problems of less rainfall. Most of the streams have been dried up. Up to 1939-40, the Totos used to depend upon the land, forest, hills, rivers and streams for their entire livelihood. Later, non-Totos started to come and settle here permanently and began to depend upon the resources of limited land, forest, hills, rivers and streams of this village and locality. Within a very short time the non-Totos became outnumbered (53.76%) and also, the most of the village land transferred to the hand of the migrant non-Totos and now there is a limited land left for them to maintain their livelihood. Totos are also deprived of the rights of ownership and using the resources of the surrounding forest due to the intervention of the Forest Department and Forests Acts.

Effect on Forest Economy: The Totos depend on forest for various types of foods like, roots, tubers, spices, mushrooms, vegetables, wild animals, birds, honey etc house making materials, raw materials for most of their traditional material culture such as crafts, utensils, implements, herbal plants and animals. They collect several types of materials such as fuel, spices, seed coat, resins, cotton and fruits mostly for the purpose of selling. The bamboo is an important forest product for the Totos to make several types of crafts which they use in the house and during agricultural

works. But due to deforestation in the form of illegal cutting, floods, landslide etc. most of the useful trees and bamboos in the forest have now been reduced very much. At present the collection of fuel and other forest products for selling purpose has got reduced due to unavailability which is hampering their economy to some extent.

Effect on Agriculture: Agriculture is the most important economy for the livelihood of the Totos. But at present the Totos do not have enough land to cultivate crops in large scale. Further, due to mining the land of several Toto families is being eroded every year by the flooded water of river Haori. The amount of rainfall has also been reduced a lot. Now most of the local streams and rivers remain dry in the dry season and the Totos do not avail water for irrigation. Now they depend upon the rain water for cultivation and most of the times delay in rain hampers the production of the crops. Also due to deforestation there is scarcity of fodder in the forest for the wild animals to feed on. Due to this fact the wild animals like elephants, monkeys, rabbits, and porcupine are often destroying the crops of the Totos. Also, the domestication of animals among the Totos has been reduced a lot and due to this fact, they cannot avail sufficient manure for better production. Now there is the scarcity of oxen for ploughing the field. Due to all these facts, agriculture, a prime source of economy among the Totos has got reduced a lot.

Effect on Domestication of Cattle: Next to agriculture, domestication of animal is an important part of their economy. It is a source of nutritious food, agricultural activities, religious offering as well as earning for the Totos. The prevalence of forest and pasture land provide a favourable condition for domestication to the Totos. Once they had sufficient land to keep domestic cattle in large numbers. But at present the amount of land per family and also forest and pasture land has been reduced to a level of minimum due to land alienation/transfer, soil erosion, deforestation etc. As a whole, at present domestication of cattle among the Totos has been reduced due to shortage of fodder in the forest and grazing lands compared to the past.

Effect on Domestication of Plant: In the past there were numerous big trees, fruit bearing trees and plants such as jackfruit, mango, oranges, lemons etc. in the village which were very useful for the Totos. They used to consume to fill their hungry

stomach. Also, there were several trees in the village which were used as fodder for animals and firewood. There were abundant bamboo bushes in the village. But due to deforestation and land alienation most of the trees at present have been destroyed. Some of the fruits such as oranges were the source of earning for the Totos in the past but now the orange cultivation is nearly absent due to environmental changes. Now the Totos do not have enough land to plant such trees and this is certainly hampering in the economy as most of the things which they got in earlier from the trees and plants available in the village has been reduced a lot or destroyed.

Effect on Fishing: Fishing in the local streams and rivers was a common practice among the Totos in the past. The fishes were abundant throughout the year. But now the fishes are not easily available in the local streams and they cannot catch enough so that they can eat or sell for earning. The increase in population due to migration has led to use of land and forest resources to such an extent that the local environment has got changed a lot leading to the scarcity of water, flood, and landslide. Some of the natural flowing rivers which were important source of fishes became dried up due to same reasons. Many varieties of fishes which were common in the locality have already been lost. Now fishing and aquatic collections have been reduced to a large extent and it is available during the rainy season only while in earlier the fishing was common throughout the year in the village streams. Now except monsoon the streams are mostly dried up and thus to meet the need of the fishes they depend upon the local market and in river Torsha but this is always not possible for them due to their poor economy and long distance respectively.

At present in order to adjust with this changing situation most of the Totos are found doing different types of work such as service, business, daily wage labour both in Totopara and Bhutan; agriculture, domestication of cattle, hunting and gathering from the forest, rivers and streams to maintain their livelihood. Some of the Toto families are also cultivating the land at Ballalguri as share croppers. Now most of the Totos have cash crop cultivation like areca nut, ginger, cardamom, pineapple and few also sell milk. Very few Toto families are practicing pisciculture to meet the need of fishes in their daily life. Now their economy is a mixed type and they engaged themselves in different types of works i.e. both modern and traditional economy for maintaining their livelihood. Apart from depending upon agriculture, domestication of cattle, forest

collection etc. in their own village, as daily wage labour the majority of the Totos are going to work outside and mainly in Bhutan for earning. They stay there for more than a week to earn for their family. Even the students of 10 and above year's both boys and girls work in the village and also go to Bhutan for earning as labourers. By availing the government provided supports a large section of the Toto people is also getting food to some extent to carry on their livelihood. Many of the educated Totos are working as government employees in various sectors. For fulfilling their materialistic needs now, the people mostly depend upon the market-based products but it is becoming very difficult for many of the Totos due to their poor economic situation. Even now many the people of present generation are on the way of forgetting indigenous knowledge of food gathering, herbal medicine and treatment, deities, totemic objects, folklores, traditional crafts, tools and implements etc. For survival the Totos are now engaging themselves in other works for earning. However, apart from involvement in various works in different sectors most of the Totos are going through extreme poverty and facing crisis in their daily life to accumulate their livelihood.

Poverty: Now they do not have enough land for making shelter, cultivation and domestication of cattle. In addition, deforestation, soil erosions, mining are also hampering their economic lives. Due to this fact the Totos are becoming poorer day by day. Apart from very hard work in their everyday life they are facing difficulties to provide the necessary requirements such as food, shelter, dress, cost of education, treatment, shelter etc. to the family members. The production of crops from the land has got reduced due to land reduction. Their minimum crops and other properties are also often destroyed by the wild animals. Enormous deforestation is leading to unpredictable rainfall, storms and drought every year which are also reducing the number of crops following every year. Minimum resources are shared among the Totos and migrants non-Totos. Most of the streams and rivulets of the village and its surroundings have got dried up and due to this fact; they are facing problems of drinking and irrigational water, fishes and other aquatic foods etc.

The government has provided several beneficial aids for the welfare of the Totos such as loan from LAMPS for the purpose of small business like goaterly, piggery, kitchen-garden for growing vegetables and so on but in most of the cases it is insufficient for

the Totos to continue their livelihood smoothly. Now modern medical treatments are gaining ground among the Totos but for the Totos it is always not possible to avail it as they are not economically sound. Domestication of cattle is the sources of economy, religious offering and nutritious food for the Totos but the land alienation/transfer and deforestation has reduced this scope of income. Mostly the parents fail to spend money for the education of their children and thus the little children are bound to earn by working as a day labour. Thus, they are compelled to take loan or borrow money from the local money lenders/shop owners or others for maintaining their livelihood as well as to bear the cost of expensive treatment etc. in time of need. They are exploited very much by them in return. At present most of the Totos have no other option rather than working as day labourers at Bhutan and within the village to earn for the family.

Effect on Material Culture: Most of the raw materials of the Toto material culture are mostly available in the forest. Various types of forest materials such as plants, trees and grasses are used by the Totos for house making, agricultural implements, household utensils, crafts as well as for the purpose of domesticating their cattle. But due to destruction of the surrounding forest, the Totos are facing several crises to get the raw materials, food etc. and now they have to depend mainly upon market for these. Their traditional houses are reducing because woods, bamboos, tree poles; wild canes etc. are scarce in the surrounding forest. The wooden and bamboo made utensils and implements are becoming rare among the Totos. The shape; size and design etc. of the houses and also the material objects like various household utensils, fishing, hunting and agricultural implements and technologies, food and drinks type, herbal medicines, mode of transportation and communication etc. have been changed a lot due to scarcity of the forest and other natural resources or due to the influences of the migrant non-Toto people and other developmental factors or combined effects of all. In this way the use of traditional wooden and bamboo made utensils, crafts etc. are reducing day by day while the plastic and metal utensils are becoming more common.

Dress: At present the *kapas* fibre are not easily available in the forest. The Toto's traditional dresses were made from *kapas* fibre. The reduction of *kapas* trees resulted in the lessening of making their traditional dress and now they are wearing modern dress available in the market. Students have their own school uniform. At present in

socio-religious occasions the people are seen wearing new and fashionable dresses while few of the aged and the religious specialists wear the traditional dresses in their religious occasions.

Ornaments: The interaction with other, mass-media and market economy has provided opportunity to spend some of their earning in buying cheap metal and glass ornaments. Even some of the families are now earning enough through governmental jobs, contract works and businesses etc. to buy various types of expensive gold ornaments. The prevalence of beauty parlour within the village market for female and saloon for boys has attracted several members to adopt the modern fashion. Now only very few aged females are seen wearing traditional ornaments.

Food, Drinks and Health: At present due to deforestation, land alienation/transfer and soil erosion etc., the natural food resources upon which the Totos primarily depended earlier, has been reduced to a large extent. The mining, landslides and soil erosion in this area is also leading to the reduction of the forest resources and agricultural land. Now most of the local rivers and streams upon which the Totos used to depend for water source, fishes and other aquatic lives have got dried up due to deforestation, mining, landslides etc. Land reduction has reduced the crop production which is the main source of feeding. Also, domestication is an important source of nutritious food (meat), income and religious offering but now it has been reduced due to deforestation and land alienation. Even the climatic condition has been changed resulting in less rainfall, drought, and storms etc. which hamper the cultivation to a large extent. Further, cultivated crops are destroyed by the wild animals. Due to the above factors the Totos are facing crisis in their daily lives to accumulate the required amount of food and drinks in their everyday life which is hampering their normal growth, nutrition and culture. The collection of aquatic lives such as fishes, prawns, snails, crabs and other plants as vegetables have been reduced extensively as there is no water in the local streams and rivers due to deforestation and settlement of the non-Totos. In earlier there were several fruit bearing trees in the forest and village but due to deforestation most of these have been either uprooted by storms or cut down by the traders. Now they are devoid of consuming such natural nutritious fruits and now they have to depend on the local market to consume it. The spices which the Totos used

traditionally were mainly collected from the surrounding forest but now it has been reduced and they mostly depend on market for it. The traditional drink, *eu* is prepared from millet but due to the reduction of millet production the drink habit has been changed into modern liquor which is not good for the health, economy as well as culture of the Totos. Moreover, deforestation, land alienation, soil erosion, mining, migration, changing factors etc. have reduced the availability of traditional food and economy for the Totos. Now they mostly depend upon market-based foods but they are facing lot of difficulties to accumulate the required food, fruits, drinks etc. timely and regularly for proper nutrition. The foods which they obtained from the forest, land, water and domestic animals got reduced a lot and now mostly they buy it from the market and also depend on government provided food. They are continuously coming in contact with others and being attracted by their food taste. Even their food habit is also on the way of changing. Today most of them cook foods using oil and other spices. Even now rice has become their staple food. Due to insufficient production of *marua* and time, always they fail to prepare traditional drink, *eu*. They are now in a habit of taking several foods and drinks from the local market. The foods and drinks offered in a social occasion have been changed and now most of them used to prepare modern types of dishes.

Natural resources are the source of nutritious foods, medicines, sacred objects, shelter as well as economy of the Totos. But at present owing to land alienation/transfer and deforestation the Totos are facing several difficulties to get the healthy and nutritious food which is hampering their health status. Their healthy diet helped them to improve immunity against various diseases. But now the Totos are being deprived of natural nutritious foods. The forest, hills and rivers/streams are the source of healthy and nutritious foods for maintaining good health for the Totos. Now there is a shortage of wild vegetables, tubers, fruits, honey, meat due to unavailability in the forest which is hampering their nutrition and health. Similarly, due to deforestation most of the local rivers and streams have got dried up. These streams and rivers were the source of nutritious fishes, crabs, mollusc, prawns etc. for the Totos. Now there is a shortage of such nutritious food thereby affecting their food and health. Due to same reasons, traditional sacred objects such as rivers, stones, hills, and trees are disturbed very much. Their food and drink habit has become changed as natural food and drink which they obtained from forest, rivers and land has been reduced. The use of modern liquor

is affecting the health of the Totos seriously and deaths are often happened. Their poor economy does not allow them to purchase required nutritious food etc. Other habits such as bathing, washing clothes, sanitation, use of toilets have been improved due to education, contact with the outsiders as well as modern world and governmental aids. The sources of traditional magico–religious treatments have got reduced very much due to unavailability of the herbal plants and animals in the forest and land. Now they are availing both traditional and modern treatments for curing diseases. For modern treatment they go to the village Primary Health Centre, Hospitals or sometime health workers such as ASHA, ANM help them. For complex diseases they have to spend a huge amount for treatment. Moreover, reduction of traditional food, economy and climatic change has affected very much their traditional food, nutrition and health.

Effect on Family and Birth: Due to the interaction with non–Totos living in the village and outside of the village, developmental factors such as education, ICDS, governmental jobs, ration, banking, aged pension, transport and communication, mass media etc., many cultural traits and elements of the non–Totos have been incorporated in the social ceremonies/occasions, festivals and religious beliefs as well as social system of the Totos. Further, due to deforestation and land alienation the economy, socio–religious and health aspects of the Totos have largely been affected. All these factors have a great impact on their social structure, formation as well as function of the traditional Toto society including family and other social institution in various ways. It has been reflected that along with the increasing of nuclear family, the family size has been reduced to small and may be due to the prevalence of modern healthcare facilities i.e. family planning, awareness, education and the reduction of family income owing to the changes in economy.

Now the delivery mostly happens in the village health centre or in hospital rather home delivery. The role of family members, traditional midwives and priest gets reduced during pregnancy and delivery of the child. They are availing modern healthcare facilities in case of sickness of mother and child. Health (ASHA, GNM) workers are helping them to use the methods of family planning. There is a prevalence of immunization and vaccination programmes for the wellbeing of the child and mother. The government schools and I.C.D.S in the village are providing daily food to the small children in order to improve their health status and to provide education to

them. The rituals related to birth have got changed to some extent due to the interaction with the non-Totos. Inter community marriage has also led to some changes in the birth rituals. Some of the Totos have adopted Christianity and they follow the Christian rituals and principles during birth, marriage and death of an individual. Rituals and customs of the Totos are constantly being influenced by the local Nepali culture due to interactions with them and also others in schools and various places. Thus, migration and developmental factors have serious effect on their life and livelihood. In traditional Toto society a family is a production unit. But at present due to the combined forces of land alienation, deforestation and migration their economy has undergone several changes leading to the change in the family institution of the concerned community. Now they go to outside for several days to earn for their family. Their children go to the schools and also some of the Totos are engaged in various governmental jobs, businesses and contract works within and outside of the village. Due to these facts they face acute shortage of the member works in the family to conduct their traditional means of economic livelihood. They fail to get sufficient time to go to the forest due to engagement in labour works, services and education and further they fail to avail the forest materials in the nearby forests. Mostly they fail to attain and help in the socio-religious ceremonies/occasions of their kins and community due to engagement in various works, education etc. as many of them have to stay at outside. They are debarred of their respective responsibilities at present. It has also affected in the process of socialization because the children from very early age are sent to the schools where they interact with the members of other community and learn many different things. The modernization has also led to the change in the family institution of the Totos. They are availing the facilities of modern education. They remain engaged in going to the schools most of the time and they cannot help their parent every time. They are also debarred of attaining social functions related to the community. Due to the influence of the modern mass-media, mobile, television and modern development programmes it becomes easy for them to interact and learn many new things. The family which once maintained the social cohesion among the community members is failing to provide strength to bind the members of the community in solidarity.

Effect on Marriage: In earlier Totos were fully endogamous group but now inter-community marriages are often practiced. Now most of the Totos are moving outside of the village for earning and they are interacting with the non-Totos in the village and outside also. Due to this fact the inter-tribal and inter community marriages are taking place in the Toto community and have adopted some rituals and customs of others and mainly Nepalese. The traditional ways of mate selection by the parents is also reducing day by day and this is mainly being replaced by love affairs. Mostly they have rejected their traditional childhood marriage rather marriage age for both boys and girls has been raised. Their traditional marriage songs and dances mostly have been replaced by the modern Nepali, Hindi and Adivasi songs. Many of the non-Totos mainly Nepalese are invited by the affluent Totos on a separate day of reception and they are provided modern types of food and drinks like tea, cold drinks and foreign liquors like rum, whiskey, beer etc. Considering the migration, deforestation, landslides, soil erosion and less rainfall leading the streams to dry up the Totos are facing difficulties to manage to provide proper feasts in marriage by inviting all the community members. The use of the number of oxen used in marriage for meat and expanses for the marriage has been reduced due to the reduction in domestication of animal. They are facing difficulties to avail the traditional banana and *hatti paila* leaves for making plate and bamboo for making basket at present. The use of bamboo and banana pulps as a traditional marriage food has been reduced a lot due to unavailability in the forest. The use of traditional liquor has been reduced due to the reduction of millet cultivation. At present the economic constrain of most of the Totos is hindrance to avail the required materials from the market. Now they have not enough land for earning and they are falling in the trap of indebtedness of the local *mahajans* (money lenders). Inter-community marriages which were not at all practiced in earlier but now these are happening quiet frequently. Ultimately all the concerned factors have seriously affected the institution of traditional marriage of the Totos as it has lost the importance of basic rituals and customs of Toto marriage institution.

Effect on Kinship: In a Toto community the entire community member is tied up by kinship bond and they are related as close or distant affinal and consanguineal kins. Totos are patrilineal and the descent is traced through father line. All of their socio-

cultural, economic, political, religious, folk activities and functions are performed very much following the kinship system. The participation of kins and neighbours in different socio-economic and religious activities helps to bind the members together. But at present due to deforestation, land alienation, migration and changing factors, the strength of kinship bonds is becoming weakened among the community members. Now owing to new economic involvement and education outside the village, the Totos are mostly debarred from attending their traditional socio-economic activities resulting in failing to extend their support and also to share the joys and sorrows with the kin members in these occasions. Many of the Totos have adopted Christianity and thus mostly they are debarred from attaining the socio-religious occasions of the traditional Toto society. Even they have become divided into Traditional and Christian Toto groups. Now due to the contact with the outside world inter community marriages are not restricted which result in the formation of new relation with the families of outside communities. Many of the traditional Totos are against the inter-community marriages. All these facts and factors are loosening the kinship bond and thereby affecting the solidarity and unity of the community.

Effect on Education: Now the percentage of education has reached to nearly cent per cent among the Toto children of present generation from a complete illiterate community just within few decades and it has become possible due to initiatives of missionaries, government and few other agencies. Presently the students are going to different schools located in the village and outside. Few children of economically sound families are studying outside of the village from primary level. However, most of the Toto students somehow continue their study up to class X in village high school. But primarily due to poverty mostly they start to lose the interest for continuing further education. Because of deforestation, land transfer, soil erosion, pressure of non-Totos the Totos are facing difficulties to earn their livelihood from the minimum resources left. Now most of the Totos are below poverty line. The parents fail to provide money every day for travelling and food to their students. Their poor economy does not allow separate rooms and required materials for continuing education. In such situation the Toto students are engaged in works to help their family rather than going to the school for study. Even the school going children from the age of 10 and above years go to Bhutan for earning. They are bound to protect

their minimum agricultural crops from destruction by the wild animals every season rather attending the school. Due to essential economic involvement they are mostly irregular in schools. They rarely get a chance to study in their houses because of urgent involvement in economy for survival. Apart from poverty, they face a lot of difficulties to read book in several other languages. Due to their poor educational foundation in the primary/basic level they fail to understand the subject matters properly and the same problems continue in their higher education and due to this reason, they lose the interest to go to school and study further. All these facts are seriously causing the early drop out and providing quality education to the Toto students from the school and it is a major drawback of the educational progress of the Totos.

Effect on Socio–Political Organisation: In the past the traditional panchayat used to exercise full control over the members of the Toto community. Their traditional political organization used to direct all the Totos to follow their customs, traditions as well as social regulations. The traditional socio–political organisation of the Totos is knitted together in kin relation. The peace and harmony were maintained by the traditional political organisation as the participation of representatives of every clan or hamlets, *gappu*, *kaizi* and other respected persons used to solve the problem easily which made them happy and united. All these functions and roles of kinship helped to run the community smoothly and bind together in unity. All the conflicts, socio–religious matters, distributions, restrictions, taboos and problems were solved without hampering the interest of any member. Moreover, the cases of conflicts, disputes, theft, and robbery were rare. But continuous transformation and reduction or loss of livelihood resources have thrown the Totos in serious competition and frustration. The conflicts, disputes, communal tensions are increasing in the village. Now they do not hesitate to break the social norms, values and customs. Even the Totos are to some extent divided into ‘Traditional Toto’ and ‘Christian Toto’ groups. Again, in the past the competition among the Totos for livelihood was nearly absent but after entering of non–Totos and consequent changes most of the livelihood resources of the Totos have got transferred to the hands of non–Totos. Even now they are the majority and dominant in all respects. Now majority of the non–Totos particularly Nepalese dominate the Totos and the role of traditional Toto leaders, *gappu* and *kaizi* in settling

intercommunity disputes has been reduced and it is mostly handled by the land officials or modern statutory panchayat pradhan (head). Further, many of the Totos' sacred places, lands, objects, trees etc. have been destroyed and polluted by the non-Totos. Even they do not pay attention to their sacred beliefs, values; and also, the names of several sacred things and hamlets of the Totos have been changed into Nepali names. All the issues have increased the grievances against non-Totos which lead the inter-community conflicts and frustration and unhappiness among the Totos. However, the traditional panchayat at present has lost its power to a great extent although it is functioning in solving several minor social problems of the Totos like adultery, theft, extra-marital affairs, land disputes in the family, religious matters etc. Moreover, now the modern statutory panchayat along with governmental rules are imposed in the village and these are functioning here also. Most of the issues of earlier traditional political organisation of the Totos are now very much looked after by the modern statutory panchayat. Therefore, it can be said that the traditional panchayat has lost its power and become weakened in the Toto society to exercise control over its members due to which the community solidarity and unity is breaking down.

Effect on Religion and Supernatural Belief: The Totos are naturalists and their socio-religious life is very much associated with the forests, hills, rivers/streams, land, stones, sun, fire, rain, wind etc. as well as whole nature. Many of the rivers and streams trees, hills etc. are regarded as their deities, God/Goddesses or sacred objects or places. They pay high respect to all of these. With great merriment they observe community, clan and family level worships. Even to look after the socio-religious matter they have a council/ body/also. Their ancestral God and Goddesses, various other *deities* and spirits etc. live in the nature i.e. forest, hills, rivers and streams etc. Birth to death the whole aspects of Totos life and livelihood including health are deeply attached to the various magico-religious beliefs. Several natural objects like stones, all rivers/streams, many trees, land, land hills, sun, fire, rain, wind etc. are regarded as their deities, God/Goddesses or sacred objects. They have several sacred trees, places and birds also. Further, their ancestral gods, several deities live in the forest, hills, rivers/streams etc.

For worshipping and ritualistic performances along with various magico-religious activities, *eu* and *marua*, fowl, ox, pig etc. are offered and also various jungle products

like leaf, bamboo, etc. are essential. However, the availability of these things and products are linked with the nature i.e. forest, hills, land, rivers etc. But with the advent of migrant non-Totos particularly Nepalese, the land has been occupied, forests have been deforested; rivers have become dried up and polluted. Due to this reason, the living places of the *deities* and ancestral Gods etc. of the Totos became scarce. Many of their sacred trees, stones and places have been destroyed due to deforestation. Further, the sacred places have either been cleared or polluted and most of the sacred trees either have been sold out due to poverty or uprooted due to storm caused by deforestation and now they only used to offer worship in their name. Also, soil erosion and landslides have destroyed many of their sacred objects in the surrounding locality. Thus, from economic point of view the Totos fail to observe always the worships to different deities-on time because of non-availability of forest materials or natural products, domestic cattle and also due to poverty they fail to purchase timely and regularly the required materials from the market. Mainly due to deforestation, land alienation and the change in the economy there is a reduction in the domestication of animals. Now for worshipping they have to buy the animals for offering from others. From sacred and religious point of view now most of the land is occupied by the non-Totos and further, the land use pattern has been changed by them. Most of the earlier hilly forested areas have been destroyed and cleaned and transferred for settlement and cultivable land. Owing to this fact the village streams/rivers are mostly drying up. They do not show respects rather disobey and further making it polluted by the disposal of the waste material, urinating and domestication continuously by ignoring the sacred values of the Totos and in this way the purity of the rivers has got lost. They believe that their ancestors and deities reside in the forest. But due to deforestation, the trees which were once worshipped have been destroyed. As a whole the suitable places are not available there for staying the Totos' God/Goddesses. After establishing the settlements, the non-Totos have changed the name of the places and settlement according to their Nepali nomenclature by ignoring the values of the Totos which has also led to many inter-community conflicts. Moreover, due to regular contact with many of the Buddhist and Hindu non-Totos their culture has also led to assimilate many religious beliefs of Buddhism and Hinduism. Further, some of the Toto families have adopted Christianity and left most of the traditional forms of rituals causing rupture in the social solidarity and unity of

the community. The inter community marriages have also led to the changes in the rituals and customs of the Totos. Many of the educated members have left their age old traditional religious belief and now the present generation owing to the contact with modern world is giving less importance to their age-old beliefs and practices. Community and other worships of the Totos help to maintain the solidarity and integrity among them. It also provides an opportunity to the people to continue their rich traditional folk arts. But the traditional religious beliefs of the Totos are on the way of abolishment due to the prevalent factors like migration, deforestation, land alienation and several changing factors.

Effect on Social and Cultural life: Staying outside the village for the purpose of earning has resulted in the breakdown of the family, social system as well as political and religious organization. The extra marital affairs of the Totos have begun to increase leading to separation of husband and wife. The inter community marriages in the form of inter tribe and tribe-caste marriages become prevalent among the Totos. Now they fail to participate in several occasions related to social and religious life. In such situation their kinship bonds as well as the community solidarity are becoming loosened. Due to the change in economy and coming in contact with the modern world the Totos are on the process of modernization. Now the Totos are in a habit of listening modern songs etc. rather than their traditional ones by using televisions, radio, mobile phones, sound system etc. These are now becoming more common in their marriage occasion, birthday and picnic. Now their traditional dances are becoming rare among the present generation. They prefer to dance in Nepali, Hindi and Adivasi songs rather than their traditional dance. In these ways their traditional songs and dance are on the way of abolishment. Furthermore, owing to the reduction of the traditional economic resources the Totos are nowadays facing problems to retain their cultural heritage because every part of culture is deeply attached to their nature, forest and land economy.

Effect on Growing up and Personality Formation: The enculturation and socialization of the Toto children and their personality formation depend on the surrounding natural environment. But at present the village is mostly populated by the non-Totos. As forest and land no longer provide enough resources to maintain their

livelihood, the close sentiment which was felt by the aged Toto members towards the forest and land is gradually losing among the present generation. Due to the change in economy the Totos are in completion to earn for themselves rather than thinking for the community nowadays. Now the Totos are widely exposed to the modern world and are in the habit of adopting market products etc. They are playing football, cricket, volley ball etc. and also learning behaviour, practices, and languages of many others cultures. The prevalence of other cultures in the village and outside has led to the assimilation of many elements/traits of other cultures in Toto community. Their simplicity, innocence and decent character are reducing day by day due to the influence of other cultures. At present the government has provided several facilities such as health centre, supplied water for drinking and domestic works, house, roads, electricity, latrine, free food through ration, education, statutory panchayat etc. for their development which help them a lot to be modernized by providing new ideas and interests. Now their ambition is to become educate and get a good job for the betterment of the family. It can be said that apart from their own cultural predominance to some extent, the socialization and personality formation of the Toto individuals at present is also influenced by the migrant non-Totos, land alienation, deforestation and developmental as well as changing factors.

Moreover, in earlier the entire area was covered by dense forest which gradually degraded due to the advent of the other people. In the past the forest and the forest resources were enjoyed and controlled only by the Totos. But now it has fallen into the hand of non-Totos. As a whole once the PVTG Totos occupied the territory Totopara village and for their holistic survival, they entirely depended on its forest, land, water etc. resources alone. But later, the non-Totos started to come and settle which has changed the demography of the village. Now the non-Totos are dominant group and also dominant factors in all respects. With the passage of time large scale deforestation, land alienation/transfer, mining and consequent soil erosion, land sliding with blockage and drying up of streams and rivers water and also sharing of minimum livelihood resources with others have created reduction and serious scarcity of the prime livelihood resources as well as prime economy of the PVTG Totos. Competitions and conflicts for survival have increased to a maximum level both within and outside of the groups, and also with wild animals. The scarcity of nature-

based food; raw materials etc. have seriously affected the health, nutrition, immunity, material culture as well as whole traditional socio-cultural system of the Totos which also made them poorest of the poor in most of the cases. Several functional, structural and ritualistic changes have been taken place in various social institutions like family, marriage, kinship, religion etc. of traditional Toto society. On the other hand due to various developmental initiatives by the Government and other agencies and also several influencing factors, now they are becoming educated, wearing modern dresses interacting with others and learning languages, dance, music, songs, arts, rituals, customs, values, etc. of others cultures, getting loans for economic development, facilities of pensions schemes, house schemes along with drinking water and sanitation, free food through ration and ICDS, modern health and treatment support, scholarships and accommodation etc. for educational development and so on. All these initiatives are helping them a lot for survival and adjusting with the changing situation and upliftment also. Some are working in Government and other sectors, marrying in other communities and many of them observe some rituals and customs of Hindus and Buddhists in their daily life. Few have adopted Christianity and now they are divided into Christian and Traditional Toto groups which have broken their solidarity and unity. However, they are being educated but quality of education is very scant and failing to compete with others for getting a job or earning. Various socio-political problems of the Totos were completely solved in their traditional panchayat but now these are being intervened by the modern political system. Totos don't feel comfort to raise their issues here may be due to their shyness and small representative/s. Moreover, due to deforestation, land alienation/reduction, pressure of non-Totos along with loss of economic resources, traditional culture has also lost its huge elements and it is becoming weakened day by day. In their everyday life they are learning many new things, increasing interaction with others and even some are getting better opportunities for maintaining livelihood as well as survival and as a whole, drastic change has been taken place in Tots life and livelihood within a few decades. However, still the Toto society is patriarchal but there is no distinction between a boy and girl child. Even females are given highest respect and are treated as most valuable asset of the Toto family as well as society.

Lastly it can be concluded that the land alienation and sharing of land, deforestation, degradation of forest areas, migration of people from other areas to Totopara have

largely affected the Totos' long traditional social institutions such as family, marriage, kinship, political life, religion as well as total socio-cultural life, rights and position, economy, food, nutrition and health; and without developmental initiatives of the Government and others it would really very difficult for them to maintain their minimum daily livelihood and survival.