CONCEPTS AND METHODS

BA [Tribal Studies]

Paper I

RAJIV GANDHI UNIVERSITY

Arunachal Pradesh, INDIA - 791 112

About the University

Rajiv Gandhi University (formerly Arunachal University) is a premier institution for higher education in the state of Arunachal Pradesh and has completed twenty-five years of its existence. Late Smt. Indira Gandhi, the then Prime Minister of India, laid the foundation stone of the university on 4th February, 1984 at Rono Hills, where the present campus is located.

Ever since its inception, the university has been trying to achieve excellence and fulfill the objectives as envisaged in the University Act. The university received academic recognition under Section 2(f) from the University Grants Commission on 28th March, 1985 and started functioning from 1st April, 1985. It got financial recognition under section 12-B of the UGC on 25th March, 1994. Since then Rajiv Gandhi University, (then Arunachal University) has carved a niche for itself in the educational scenario of the country following its selection as a University with potential for excellence by a high-level expert committee of the University Grants Commission from among universities in India.

The University was converted into a Central University with effect from 9th April, 2007 as per notification of the Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India.

The University is located atop Rono Hills on a picturesque tableland of 302 acres overlooking the river Dikrong. It is 6.5 km from the National Highway 52-A and 25 km from Itanagar, the State capital. The campus is linked with the National Highway by the Dikrong bridge.

The teaching and research programmes of the University are designed with a view to play a positive role in the socio-economic and cultural development of the State. The University offers Undergraduate, Post-graduate, M.Phil and Ph.D. programmes. The Department of Education also offers the B.Ed. programme.

There are fifteen colleges affiliated to the University. The University has been extending educational facilities to students from the neighbouring states, particularly Assam. The strength of students in different departments of the University and in affiliated colleges has been steadily increasing.

The faculty members have been actively engaged in research activities with financial support from UGC and other funding agencies. Since inception, a number of proposals on research projects have been sanctioned by various funding agencies to the University. Various departments have organized numerous seminars, workshops and conferences. Many faculty members have participated in national and international conferences and seminars held within the country and abroad. Eminent scholars and distinguished personalities have visited the University and delivered lectures on various disciplines.

The academic year 2000-2001 was a year of consolidation for the University. The switch over from the annual to the semester system took off smoothly and the performance of the students registered a marked improvement. Various syllabi designed by Boards of Post-graduate Studies (BPGS) have been implemented. VSAT facility installed by the ERNET India, New Delhi under the UGC-Infonet program, provides Internet access.

In spite of infrastructural constraints, the University has been maintaining its academic excellence. The University has strictly adhered to the academic calendar, conducted the examinations and declared the results on time. The students from the University have found placements not only in State and Central Government Services, but also in various institutions, industries and organizations. Many students have emerged successful in the National Eligibility Test (NET).

Since inception, the University has made significant progress in teaching, research, innovations in curriculum development and developing infrastructure.

SYLLABI-BOOK MAPPING TABLE
Concepts and Methods

Syllabi	Mapping in Book
Unit I: Definitions and Scope (a) Introduction to Tribal Studies: Nature, Scope, Relevance and Relationship with other Disciplines. (b) Concepts and Categories: Tribes and Indigenous People; Use of the Terms in India: Scheduled Tribes, Primitive Tribes, De-notified or Ex-criminal Tribes in India.	**Unit 1:** Definitions and Scope **(Pages 3-41)**
Unit II: Tribal Studies in India (a) Emergence and Growth (b) Approaches to Study the Tribes	**Unit 2:** Tribal Studies in India **(Pages 43-78)**
Unit III: Social Structure and Process (a) Structure, Function and Organisation (b) Social Mobility: Types, Tribe an Caste, Tribe-Caste-Peasant Continuum and Sanskritization (c) Social Processes: Tribalisation, Detribalisation and Re-tribalisation	**Unit 3:** Social Structure and Process **(Pages 79-104)**
Unit IV: Fieldwork Tradition (a) Historical Background and Significance of Fieldwork (b) Ethics of Fieldwork (c) Etic and Emic Perspectives	**Unit 4:** Fieldwork Tradition in Tribal Studies **(Pages 105-132)**
Unit V: Collection of Data (a) Methods and Methodology (b) Quantitative and Qualitative Research (c) Tools and Techniques: Survey and Sampling, Observation, Interview, Case Study, Genealogies, Participatory and Focused Group Discussions Sources of Data: Primary and Secondary Sources	**Unit 5:** Collection of Data **(Pages 133-190)**

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

The tribal people are rich in cultural heritage and skill of art and craft but they are still marginalized in respect to higher education as well as in other walks of life. In the present age of globalization the world has shrunk into a village as the society has advanced in technology. But the tribes, who are the custodians of Indian culture in the real sense, are far behind in this race of advancement.

The greatest challenge that the Government of India has been facing since independence is the proper provision of social justice to the scheduled tribe people, by ameliorating their socio-economic conditions. Scheduled Tribes, Scheduled Castes and de-notified tribes constitute the weakest section of India's population, from the ecological, economic and educational angles. They constitute the matrix of India's poverty. Though the tribal community are the sons of the same soil and the citizens of the same country, they are born and grow as the children of nature. From the historical point of view, they have been subjected to the worst type of social exploitation. They are practically deprived of many civic facilities and isolated from modern and civilized way of living since so many centuries.

The British rulers really did something in providing certain facilities in villages and towns such as, education, transport, communication, medical etc. though inadequate and mainly with self-interest. But it did nothing for ameliorating the socio-economic conditions of tribal people, except to the people in North-East region of the country, because of certain reasons. First, the British administrators thought it expedient generally to leave the tribal community alone, as the task of administration in the hill areas was difficult and costly. Second, it was considered desirable to keep away the tribal community from possible political influence from the world outside. Third, some of the British officers genuinely felt that left to themselves, the tribal people would remain a happier lot. The Scheduled District Act of 1984 had, therefore, kept most of these areas administratively separate, the same situation was allowed to continue under the Government of India Acts of 1919 and 1935. However, post-independence this policy was abandoned and new policies of tribal development and integration were initiated. The Constitution of India has made definite provisions for the welfare and upliftment of the tribal people throughout the country.

There is an increasing interest in tribal studies in contemporary times. Besides academic interest, government organizations and NGOs also have shown their increasing interest in tribal development and as such in tribal studies. In recent years, national and international funding agencies (ICSSR, UGC, UNESCO, Ford Foundation) have been funding researches to study tribal culture and life. Tribal studies has assumed an interdisciplinary commitment over the last several decades.

This book, *Concepts and Methods*, is written in a self-instructional format and is divided into five units. Each unit begins with an *Introduction* to the topic followed by an outline of the *Unit objectives*. The content is then presented in a simple and easy-to-understand manner, and is interspersed with *Check Your Progress* questions to test the reader's understanding of the topic. A list of *Questions and Exercises* is also provided at the end of each unit, and includes short-answer as well as long-answer questions. The *Summary* and *Key Terms* section are useful tools for students and are meant for effective recapitulation of the text.

UNIT 1 DEFINITIONS AND SCOPE

Structure

1.0 INTRODUCTION

India has the largest tribal population in comparison to any other country in the world. According to the 2011 Census of India, the total population of tribes in India is nearly 104.3 million with a sex ratio of 990 per thousand. They constitute an important segment of the Indian population and account for nearly 8.6 per cent of the total population of India. Their literacy percentage is recorded at 58.96 per cent. Except for Punjab, Haryana, Delhi and Union Territories of Chandigarh and Puducherry, they are present in all the states and Union Territories of India. This does not mean that there are no tribes in these places. Every year hundreds of tribal students move to Delhi to join the Delhi University for higher education. What it means is that there are no tribal communities native to these places. Tribes occupy around 15 per cent of the total geographical area and are mostly located in the hills, forests and other relatively inaccessible places. Many tribal areas are very rich in natural resources like flora, minerals deposits and natural water bodies.

The term tribe is used for a very diverse set of communities, each of which is different from the other. They show wide diversity in terms of their cultural practices, social organizations, occupations, levels of literacy, languages, physical characteristics, degree of acquired traits, demographic characteristics and levels of economic development. Some, like the Khasis and the Garos of Meghalaya, are matrilineal while the Nagas and most of the tribes from Central India, like the Mundas and the Oraons, are strongly

patrilineal. All the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh are also patrilineal. Polygyny i.e. socially approved union of one man with two or more women is accepted among the Varlis of Dadar and Nagar Havelli, and Nishis and Adis of Arunachal Pradesh, while polyandry i.e. socially approved union of one female with more than one man was known to be prevalent among the Todas of Tamil Nadu and the Monpas of Arunachal Pradesh.

A literacy rate of more than 90 per cent is reported among the Mizos and the tribes of Lakshadweep while tribes like the Chenchus and Cholanaiken have around 1 per cent literacy. The lowest literacy rate is recorded among the tribes of Uttar Pradesh (0.06 per cent). Tribes like the Gonds and Bhumijas happened to establish a dynastic role for some time in the history of India. The Khamptis of Arunachal Pradesh, a Buddhist tribe, also ruled the Sadiya outpost of the Ahom kingdom during the first part of 19th century. Meenas from Rajasthan have a large representation in government jobs, others like the Kochuvelans and the Koragas of Tamil Nadu or the Puroiks of Arunachal Pradesh have negligible presence. Why do we still call all of them as tribes? How are they different from other communities? What are the important cultural characteristics of these communities and how are these communities different from others? This unit attempts to answer some of these questions. We shall begin with the relevance of tribal studies and then proceed to understand the concept of tribe and how it evolved in anthropology. Thereafter, we will see how tribes are defined in the Indian context.

1.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the nature and scope of tribal studies
- Describe the importance of studying tribes in the present context
- Assess the relationship between tribal studies and other disciplines
- Explain the debate on the use of the terms tribe and indigenous people
- Analyse the terms used in India to refer to the tribal communities like Scheduled Tribes, Primitive Tribal Groups and De-notified Tribes

1.2 INTRODUCTION TO TRIBAL STUDIES

Tribal studies have been a matter of interest since the late sixteenth century. It was around this time that the Western world came to know of communities and cultures which were very different from them. The study of tribal communities commenced with anthropologists' interest in the study of **'other cultures'**. Anthropology as a discipline emerged with the study of tribes. In the initial years, anthropologists were mainly interested in understanding and explaining tribal communities.

With time, the discipline of anthropology got diversified. Besides studying the tribes, anthropologists now also study the various aspects related to non-tribes and humankind in general. Therefore, we have civilizational studies, village studies, ecological anthropology, psychological anthropology, urban studies, medical anthropology and many more areas of study under the discipline of anthropology. At the same time, scholars from other disciplines like sociology, economics, history, political science, education, ecology, law, botany, zoology and literature also take an interest in the study of tribes. Scholars from these diverse disciplines have enriched the understanding of tribes through

their theoretical perspectives. In contemporary times, there is an inter-disciplinary convergence in the study of the tribes. However, the contribution of anthropologists in tribal studies remains the foremost. This is because it was due to the account of anthropologists that tribal culture and practices which were once thought to be weird, bizarre, primitive and irrational were shown to be meaningful, scientific, rational and contextually relevant. It was their accounts which brought about the much deserved respect for tribal cultures and institutions in the Western world.

Studies on tribes have contributed immensely to the growth of knowledge in academics. The origin and growth of anthropology—more precisely social (cultural) anthropology—has its roots in tribal studies. The holistic approach to study a phenomenon, comparative methods to study cultures, understanding religion as syncretism, micro studies to understand the essence of 'human-nature-super-nature' relationship, all have come from the study of tribes. Tribal studies have given a perspective to appreciate diversity and pluralism. Besides, emic-etic debate in academics, substantivist and formalist approaches to study economics, understanding social categories as acephalous (society without a head; democratic societies for example) and cephalous (society with a head), are offshoots of tribal studies. K. S. Singh (1991) informs us that 'the studies of the tribes have considerably enriched our understanding of Indian pluralism. At a time when everything appeared well and harmonious in the 1950s and 1960s, it was the study of the tribal societies that made us aware of our diversities.'

There is an increasing interest in tribal studies in contemporary times. Besides academic interest, government organizations and NGOs also have shown their increasing interest in tribal development and as such in tribal studies. In recent years, national and international funding agencies (ICSSR, UGC, UNESCO, Ford Foundation) have been funding researches to study tribal culture and life.

1.2.1 Relevance

Tribal studies have been relevant in many ways. In the seventeenth century, studies on tribes commenced with the aim to understand them as a representative of the earlier stage of human civilization. They were seen as social fossils and by studying them it was recognized that it was possible to reconstruct the past of human society and culture. Seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were also the era of expansion of Western colonization. Many of the tribal areas of Africa, America and South East Asia came under the control of colonial powers. With this, there was an urgent need for understanding the tribal communities for governing them. Therefore, the colonial power promoted the tribal studies with the ostensible objective to serve the administrative interests. However, anthropologists like Evans-Pritchard, Radcliffe-Brown, Max Gluckman and Lucy Mair, who undertook these studies, did not restrict themselves to serving the interest of the colonial government. They carried out detailed and exhaustive fieldwork to satisfy their academic and intellectual curiosity. Their efforts have contributed immensely to academic debates and broadened our understanding of many social phenomena.

With the end of colonialism, tribal studies acquired a different set of objectives. With nationalist governments in power in different countries, the focus shifted on more humanistic concerns. In India, for example, the approach shifted to the welfare and development of tribal communities, rather than the colonial approach to keep them isolated. Tribal studies have been conducted to understand these communities better. A better understanding of the tribal society has become essential to prepare programmes of planned change and development in accordance with their own values and practices.

With the passage of time, there has been a change in the paradigm of tribal studies. In the initial phases of post-colonial era, the objective was the welfare of tribal societies. Now, we talk about the welfare of non-tribal societies through the knowledge obtained from studying tribal societies. The tribal societies are seen as knowledge societies. They are viewed as sources of new ideas and innovation. The tribal art and craft objects are of great demand in cities and urban places. The tribes' knowledge of local herbs and medicines are considered to be of immense value by the practitioners of modern biomedicine. Their relationships to their ecology, and their lifestyles are often cited as models of sustainable living. Many people feel that it is essential to incorporate tribal ethos and values to overcome many of the problems besetting contemporary non-tribal societies. The knowledge derived from the study of tribal societies can go a long way in improving 'others' (i.e. non-tribals) way of life.

The tribal studies have provided a holistic understanding of social phenomena in contrast to an atomistic, fragmented understanding fostered by the Western system of knowledge. The reductionist approach of the West has promoted more and more specialized studies. It has promoted a specialized and partial understanding of societal reality. A tribal society does not manifest a segregated and isolated characteristic of a social phenomenon. In matters of selection of a plot for shifting cultivation, the people perform rituals according to their faiths and beliefs. The Adis, propitiate Kine Nane, the goddess of wealth in *Unying-Aaran* festival for good harvest. Like the Adis, all tribes believe in a deity of crops. For example, in many tribal societies, economic activities are closely tied to religion. Similarly, the same person can play the role of a medical specialist and religious specialist in another situation. The study of tribal societies has underlined how all the aspects of social life are integrated. Hence, no aspect of life can be studied in isolation. It has reiterated the significance of a holistic understanding of society and social phenomenon.

The methodology of holistic understanding derived from tribal studies has also made its impact on other disciplines. The contemporary trend in social sciences is of inter-disciplinary and multi-disciplinary understanding of social phenomenon. This is best exemplified in the case of the concept of development. Earlier, the concept of development was considered in terms of economic development only. This understanding was again based on specialized disciplinary boundary. Therefore, economic development could not bring about development in other aspects of life. Moreover, it could not be equitable. Today, the concept of development is not restricted to economic development; it includes human, social and cultural development also. As we are developing a holistic outlook to understand humankind and related issues, it is but natural to know the sources which have given such an outlook. Moreover, no community today exists in isolation; all have been exposed to forces of development to different degrees. This means, the tribal communities are also in transition. The traditional tribal society exposed to modern forces, which are more specialized, faces challenges of accommodation between holistic and specialized ideas. It is in this context that tribal studies bear greater significance.

1.2.2 Nature

The knowledge system pertaining to tribal studies so far has not been recognized as a separate discipline. However, it has been emerging as a discipline of inter-disciplinary nature. Interest in tribal studies, no doubt, has evolved into the discipline of anthropology. But anthropology is no more the study of the tribes alone. At the same time, there are other disciplines in social sciences and life sciences which take interest in the study of the tribes giving it an inter-disciplinary status.

Presently, no societies including the tribal societies are static. They have been exposed to external forces of change in different degrees. Hence, the tribal societies in particular are in transitional phases. The tribal studies have been emerging as a discipline focusing on the study of social dynamics of tribal societies.

As mentioned earlier, scholars from various disciplines take interest in tribal studies. This interest is mainly academic in nature. But the governmental and non-governmental organizations also have taken to tribal studies from the perspective of development. Their interest lies in action research to evolve development schemes and to get a feedback for policy formulation and planning the development of tribes in a better way. No doubt tribal studies promote researches which are both fundamental and action oriented. Besides, the laboratory experiment has been linked to the tribal studies especially in the study of ethno-medicine by the scholars from life sciences.

We are aware that tribal studies began with the outsiders' interest. They study the tribes from their own perspective. But over the years there are scholars from the tribes also. Clearly, the interest in tribal studies no more remains in the domain of outside scholars. It is being pursued by both outsiders and indigenous scholars and from this trend of studies we get new insights into the tribal studies. Briefly, we allocate the nature of tribal studies as a discipline in the following way:

- It studies the changes as societies are transitional.

- It is inter-disciplinary in the use of methodology and disciplinary perspectives.

- Tribal studies' research has gone beyond academic interest as is reflected in the interest of governmental and non-governmental organizations (GOs and NGOs), and therefore, has both academic and non-academic dimensions.

- It includes both theoretical and action researches.

- It is no more the study performed by outsiders; it is taken up by both outside and indigenous scholars.

  o Major portion of the knowledge is field-study based.

  o It uses both quantitative and qualitative methods of research.

  o Approach to tribal studies is of a holistic understanding as opposed to specialized knowledge.

1.2.3 Scope

Interest shown in the study of the tribes has gone a long way since its beginning with the colonial interest in these communities. Studies are now taken up for academic interest and also with objectives with policy implications. If we look closely at the subject, we will discover that field study tradition is the predominant approach to study tribes. B. Malinowski, Margaret Mead, A. R. Radcliff-Brown, Raymond Firth, to mention a few, were the pioneers in the field study tradition. But there were also library works on tribes. Mention may be made of Edward Burnett Tylor and his publication on culture and James Frazer and his publication entitled *The Golden Bough*. However, the field study tradition is the essence of tribal studies even today.

As we know, a tribe is a social category like a non-tribal community. There are various aspects of life of non-tribal people. Almost all these aspects are present in tribal communities either in form or in spirit or in both. Hence, the scope of tribal studies is wide like the study of non-tribal communities. A tribal community has a culture, a language, a social organization, an economic pursuit, a system of power and authority, a sense of

artistic perception and ascetic expression, and many such things. Studies on all these aspects have a vast scope. But studies on non-tribal communities are normally specialized investigation of phenomena. In case of tribal studies, the approach is holistic.

The studies on tribes have generally two aspects. One is the study of individual tribe and the other is the study of tribes from a cross-cultural perspective. In the former sense, individual tribes are studied in totality or a particular phenomenon relating to the tribe's culture is the focus. The same trend is noticed in case of cross-cultural studies. Two or more tribes are studied either in totality and then compared or one aspect of culture in more than one of the tribes is studied. In recent years, because of the interest of GOs and NGOs, tribal studies are becoming more action oriented. However, the focus is always on the dynamics of tribal societies and more often on various aspects of the social process. As has been said, various disciplines have shown interest in the study of the tribes. Medical practitioners also have started showing interest in the ethno-medicine system. Obviously, the scope of tribal studies is expanding and the discipline is in the making. Its scope can also be understood with its relation to other disciplines. We have discussed it in the following section.

1.2.4 Relationship with Other Disciplines

(a) Tribal Studies and Life Sciences

The life sciences deal with the evolution of life, taxonomy, physiology of animals and plants, and therefore explain the process of evolution in the case of living objects. Tribal studies carried out by physical anthropologists have close connections with life sciences. They have tried to study the process of physical adaptation and bodily changes it has caused in the process of evolution. They have also studied the disease patterns, anatomy and physiology but not in relation to an individual but as a group. In case of life sciences, the focus is on the individual, while in tribal studies the focus is on the community. There is a great degree of overlapping in tribal studies. In tribal studies, there are many topics especially related to health and medicine having many close associations with life sciences. However, in tribal studies the emphasis is on indigenous knowledge of medicine; a subfield known as ethno-medicine is a popular topic of research in tribal studies. Health is seen not merely as a biological phenomenon but also as a cultural and psychological process. Ethnobotany and ethnomedicine, which concern the tribes, have been emerging as areas of investigation in Botany.

The evolutionary theory applied to the study of tribes and their culture was influenced by Darwin's theory of evolution of life.

(b) Tribal Studies and Political Science

Political scientists generally study the nature of the state and the organs of power. They study how in a particular setting distribution of power is ordained. They also study the rules by which the groups struggle for power. Political scientists study the nature of government with special reference to its political executive, judiciary and legislative powers. In tribal studies, the concept of power has been viewed from the social perspective. They have tried to understand the relationship between power and social institutions like kinship and religion. Many tribal societies are without a governing head and are known as acephalous societies. They have tried to determine how order is maintained in such societies without any separate political institutions. The roles of lineage, economic and religious institutions have been explained in resolving conflicts. As far as

the study of power and authority is concerned, political science focuses mostly on literate societies while tribal studies on pre-literate societies. Nevertheless, there are attempts to study the body politics of pre-literate societies using the concepts and theories of political science. For example, political scientists apply the concept of deliberative democracy to understand the decision-making process in tribal village councils. There are also studies in understanding state formation in many tribal communities.

(c) Tribal Studies and History

The tribes may remember their history restricted to only three to four generations. Beyond that it tends to get merged in mythology. Moreover, there are no written records. They have only oral histories. History and historical methods tend to emphasize political and economic history. But many historians are writing about the past of tribal communities. The growth of studies based on oral records is emerging as an important method to study the history of tribal societies. In fact, recognition of the method of oral history has been helping the reconstruction of history of tribal communities. Folklores like legends and myths form the basis for preparing the histography of non-literate society in general and tribal communities in particular. The concept of ethno-history is emerging as an important branch of knowledge in the discipline of history.

(d) Tribal Studies and Economics

Tribal studies have been focussing on studying tribal economies where one encounters a different kind of economic system. In a tribal economic system, the emphasis is not so much on economic rationality or profit maximization. Tribal markets are not based on the pure market principle of demand and supply. The economic relationships are embedded in social relationships. As a result, they play an important role in economic transactions. Economic theories are based on the theories of maximization of profit. In tribal societies, people give equal importance to social values.

Studies conducted on tribal societies have contributed immensely to the understanding of many economic phenomena. The notion of development is no more confined to the basis of statistical indices like GDP, GNP, per capita income; it is conceived in terms of quality of life, level of aspirations of people and so on. We also talk about development through culture.

When an African chieftain destroys his cattle stock, it seems he is irrational. But he does so with an objective to maximize his satisfaction in terms of his social status corresponding to such an act. There is a principle of maximization guiding human behaviour; in conventional economics it is maximization of material benefit while in tribal communities it is non-material consideration in a cultural context. Tribes, unlike earlier beliefs, produce surplus, but the purpose of the surplus is not in terms of investment, but for earning social prestige, and sometimes using it as a medium of exchange. In both the cases, an economic transaction takes place; in tribal economics it is a barter exchange while in market economics money plays an important role as a medium of exchange. Many economic principles operate in both the economies, but with a difference owing to the difference in the level of technology and perception about maximization. However, tribal (barter) and non-tribal (market) economies have expanded the scope of economics as a discipline and the understanding of economics in a holistic sense. They both are complementary. We know that in recent years tribal economy is being integrated with market economy and national development planning. In recent years, tribal development has emerged as an important area of research in the discipline of economics.

(e) Tribal Studies and Sociology

Tribal studies are closely related to sociology. Earlier, sociologists were only interested in studying urban societies. Their approach was macro and the comparative perspective was absent. But this distinction is fast eroding. This is especially true for sociologists in India. This is because, as we would see later, the distinction between tribe and non-tribe is not so clear in the context of India. Many sociologists are also studying tribes using a micro perspective and through fieldwork. M. N. Srinivas's work among the Coorgs is an apt example. The contributions of sociologists like G. S. Ghurye, A. R. Desai, Andre Beteille, and Virginius Xaxa to our understanding of tribal communities are very significant. The differences are more historical. The only difference is that sociologists study societies other than tribal societies also; and the tribes do not form the main thrust of their study as it happens in tribal studies. Tribal societies are changing rapidly. In fact, all tribal communities are in a transitional phase. Sociologists have developed concepts and theories for studying social change which tribal studies can make use of. Moreover, due to the process of change, tribal communities experience social problems which provide an interesting area of study for field sociologists.

(f) Tribal Studies and Literature

Tribal/indigenous literature is emerging as a genre in the field of literature in American Literature, Canadian Literature and Indian Literature. The creative imagination in the tradition of orality often gets expression in the written tradition. The writers of the tribes write down songs, prayers and myths in their dialects or in Roman scripts. The area of ethno poetics is a significant emerging field in literature. The ballads of Nandamma, Liamen, Thulasilamma and many others of the Irular tribe of Tamil Nadu, Karnataka and Kerala are enriching experiences in ethno poetry. You will find many narratives created in response to endeavours to adjust to transitional social dynamics. The narratives also present exploitative forces which unleash the transitional phase or the personality conflict one encounters. *Things Fall Apart* by Chinua Achebe narrates the social conflict within his own Igbo tribe of Nigeria. You will also find narratives of exploitation in the transitional phase of tribal society. Gopinath Mohanty's *Paraja* is an example of exploitation of the Paraja people during the colonial period. Mahasweta Devi's *Chotti Munda and His Arrow*, for example, narrates the exploitation of the tribes and their response and struggle against it.

The exploitation and oppression by national governments of the natives in Australia, Canada and other such countries also form the theme of literary narratives. Edwidge Danticat's novel *The Dew Breaker* is a narrative of the sufferings of those Haitians who are believed to be political opponents or disloyal citizens. Lee Maracle's novel *Sundogs* is a narrative of the lives of aboriginal Canadians affected by their struggle for territorial rights. Socio-political, cultural and historical contexts are rich areas of literary creation in changing tribal communities. Feminist writings on the plight of women in patriarchal tribal communities are another area of literary activity. Many tribal writers pen down their life stories straddled between the boundary between tradition and modernity. Mamang Dai's *The Legend of Pensam* is an example of this category of literature. Tribal folklores provide more fertile ground for literary creation. Precisely, the invasion of the oral world by the written world enables tribal writers to produce literature on self-assertion and reconstruction of history. No doubt, in recent years, literature on religious movements in the tribal communities is an emerging area. It is true that the discipline of tribal studies enriches the discipline of literature and thus the two are very closely related.

(g) Tribal Studies and Archaeology

Archaeological studies are definitely essential for understanding the tribal situation. The dynamics of the tribal societies, like the process of migration, cultural contact and diffusion and evolution in phases, needs inputs from archaeological sources for better understanding. Since archaeology is basically concerned with the reconstruction of the extinct societies based on material traces, the simple facts of material culture of the tribal societies are immensely helpful in understanding the past-present continuum of these societies. Such concepts of archaeology like artefacts, monuments and conservation strategy have to be redefined in the context of tribal societies. The established pre-historic archaeological discourses also present a different picture and situation when applied in the context of tribal societies, many of which are in a pre-literate stage. Ethno-archaeological investigation which tries to unveil the unrecorded past with the help of ethnographic data is very much a dimension of tribal studies. Ethno-archaeology is, therefore, considered to be an important field of study in situations where archaeological sources are scant but tribal ethnography is conspicuous. Many of the age old practices considered as extinct facts of archaeology are still continuing in tribal societies, termed as 'Living Archaeology'. The scholars studying tribal cultures with the help of archaeological evidences call it 'Living Culture'.

Archaeological methods help understand the tribal culture as a continuum. Similarly, ethnographic data help explain archaeological facts. Obviously, archaeology and tribal studies have an overlapping area where they complement each other. From the archaeological point of view, the branch of knowledge is called ethno-archaeology while from the tribal studies point of view this could be archaeological ethnography. The only difference is in the approach, whether it is ethnography applied to archaeological facts or vice versa.

The knowledge of archaeology is also necessary for understanding the contemporary tribal situation, as tribal revivalism very often seems to manipulate the archaeological facts for glorification of the past and reconstruction of exclusive tribal history. Recently, archaeological facts have been judiciously used for understanding the ethno-history and this is considered very much relevant in many of the underdeveloped territories which were under colonial subjugation.

(h) Tribal Studies and Linguistics

Tribal communities provide a rich field of linguistic studies. Many theoretical perspectives in linguistics are linked to the study of tribal communities. Syncretic and diachronic approaches to study tribal cultures are perspectives from linguistics. The perspective in emic-etic debate also has its origin in linguistics. These terms were first introduced by linguist Kenneth Lee Pike, who argued that the tools developed for describing linguistic behaviours could be adapted to the description of any human social behaviour. The terms **emic** and **etic** are derived from the linguistic terms phonemic and phonetic respectively.

Linguistic structures which attempt at studying pairings of meaning and form can profitably be used to understand object names in a cultural perspective in tribal communities. Therefore, linguists study the tribal language system to understand the rules regarding language use that tribal speakers know. In fact, contemporary linguists believe in the fundamentality of spoken language rather than the written one. There are many tribal languages which are yet to be studied properly. Stephen Morey informs us that so many of the languages of North-East India are still very much under-recorded

and under-described. Therefore, many foreign linguists take interest in studying tribal languages. Mention may be made of Mark W. Post who wrote a grammar book on Galo language. Similarly, Stephen Morey has also worked on Singpho language (Turung variety) as well as the Tai languages of Assam. Morey and Post have also worked on Tai Ahom Dictionary and Galo Dictionary respectively.

> By Language Documentation, we mean not only recording examples of language-stories, songs, rituals conversations, procedural texts (processes for agriculture, marriage, etc.), but also producing good quality mega data for those recordings and where possible, detailed transcriptions, translations and analysis of those texts. In addition, the work is also to produce dictionaries.
>
> — Stephen Morey

Linguists describe and explain the features of language. To study a language effectively, it is necessary to know a great many things about its structure: its phonetics (sounds), phonology (sound system), lexicon (words), morphology (word structure), syntax (sentences), semantics (meanings) and pragmatics (use in communication). However, this is still not enough. It is also necessary to understand how language evolves and takes its shape in their social, cultural and environmental contexts. In this sense, linguistics form an essential component of tribal studies, and the discipline of tribal studies constitutes an essential framework in which linguistic research can be carried out. Such studies may develop new theoretical perspectives and methodological framework also.

Language being a component of culture, the study of a language system of a tribe unravels the cultural dynamics of the people. Moreover, linguists in recent years increasingly use field methods of investigation developed by anthropologists from their study of tribal communities. They try to understand the cognitive, historical and socio-linguistic processes of a language in the changing context.

In the discipline of tribal studies tribal linguistics would form a distinct but interrelated branch of knowledge. For the linguists there is ample scope for language documentation and translation of tribal languages. It is to be noted that Franz Boas, an American anthropologist emphasized on language documentation as early as 1900s. The ethnographic dimension of language documentation and description played a significant role in the development of disciplines like *socio-linguistics* and *anthropological linguistics*. The documenting endeavour has also assumed added significance in recent years when the attempt is directed to preserve endangered languages. Endangered languages are mostly the tribal languages. Linguistics and tribal studies can complement each other to study the relations of language, culture and society and to develop the knowledge in tribal linguistics.

(i) Tribal Studies and Law

The discipline of law without the recognition of tribal customary laws will not be a complete discipline. In fact, every tribe has its customary laws to deal with civil disputes like land disputes and criminal cases like theft, rape and murder. However, these customary laws are uncodified. In 1992, the Government of India decided to conduct an all India survey where an attempt has been made to codify the customary laws of many tribal societies. The Land Record Department of Guwahati High Court has documented customary laws of more than 35 tribes in North-East India. Many tribal communities are documenting their customary laws because they consider them central to their identity. In Arunachal Pradesh, many communities like Aka, Nyishi, Adi, Apatani have documented

their customary laws. The Constitutional provisions including the Sixth and Fifth Schedules are exclusively meant for tribal communities. These provisions have legal implications. Articles 371A and 371G accord constitutional recognition to the Naga and Mizo customary laws respectively. However, other tribes also run their civil affairs according to it.

There are various Acts exclusively for the tribals and others applicable to tribals along with other social categories. Two recent Acts, namely the Panchayats (Extension to the Scheduled Area) Act (PESA) 1996 and the Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act 2006 have been tribe specific in that their problems have been recognized and strategies formulated to address them.

There are other laws also which are meant to safeguard the interests of tribal people and other people as well. Some of them are: The Andhra Pradesh Scheduled Areas Money-lenders Regulation, 1963; The Agency Debt Bondage Abolition Regulation, 1964; The Assam Money-lenders Regulation, 1968; The Bihar Money-lenders (Regulation of Transaction) Act, 1939; The Bombay Agricultural Debtors Relief Act, 1947; The Kerala Money Lenders Act, 1958; The M. P. Anusuchit Jan Jati Rini Sahayata Ordinance, 1966; The Madras Indebted Agriculturists (Repayment of Debts) Act, 1955 and many others. Today, the tribals feel much more unsecured to preserve their common property resources when Multinational Companies (MNCs) occupy their resources to launch development projects under the provisions of mining laws, forest Acts, land laws and so on. There are laws which go against the tribal interest. There are also human rights dimension to tribal interests. All these require legal protection and herein comes the rule of law.

In India, the country's legal system recognizes tribal customary laws in many areas. Even during the colonial rule, the customary laws were taken as a point of reference to settle disputes relating to tribes. S. C. Roy's ethnographic account on the Mundas and J. K. Bose's account on Garo customary law were consulted to settle disputes of these communities. Even in Independent India, there are Acts, other than Panchayat (Extension to the Scheduled Areas) Act, 1996 (PESA)and The Forest Rights Act (FRA), 2006 (Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers [Recognition of Forest Rights] Act) which recognize customary laws to a great extent. Nagaland Jhum Land Act, 1970; and The Nagaland Village and Area Councils Act, 1978 are two such Acts. The Sadiya Frontier Tract Jhum land Regulation, 1947 recognizes many aspects of customary laws though its main purpose was to regulate the customary rights over Jhum land.

In America, tribal legal studies are emerging as a distinct branch of academic discipline. The discipline deals with laws developed by and for the native people and the power of tribal courts and legal systems. In India, many law institutes undertake research in tribal customary laws and evaluation of rights in the context of tribal people. Tribal societies provide scope for in-depth study of the histories, structures, and practices of tribal justice systems, efforts to balance tribal legal heritage and Indian Penal Code. Criminal and civil jurisdictions, implementation of tribal children's right to education and civil rights, the issue of women empowerment, conflict resolution mechanisms in contemporary tribal law are some of the areas of research in tribal communities. No doubt, tribal studies and law have close linkages. It is not a surprise to note that the Central University of Jharkhand has set up the Centre for Tribal and Customary Law. Many University Law departments conduct research programmes relating to tribes.

Check Your Progress

1. How did the study of tribal communities commence?
2. How did tribal studies acquire a different set of objectives with the end of colonialism?
3. 'The studies on tribes have generally two aspects.' What are they?
4. What does Mahasweta Devi's *Chotti Munda and His Arrow* deal with?
5. Name some of the areas of research in tribal communities.

1.3 CONCEPTS AND CATEGORIES OF TRIBES

In this section we shall conceptualize the term 'tribe' as a social category with special reference to India. We shall begin with its colonial connection in general and India in particular. Then we shall proceed to discuss the concept from an academic perspective, and as constitutional categories in India. Then we shall also discuss the indigenous debate to designate tribes as indigenous people. This frame of analysis will provide a comprehensive understanding of the concept right from its origin and subsequent evolution.

There is ambiguity in providing a universally accepted definition of the term tribe. Anthropologists, sociologists, social workers, administrators and such other scholars who have been involved with the tribes and their problems are still not in agreement regarding the concept and the definition of their subject. This is because the term tribe has evolved in different contexts under different historical and political conditions.

1.3.1 Colonial Origin of the Term 'Tribe'

The term tribe is derived from the Latin term *tribus*, which was used for referring to the threefold division of the ancient people of Rome, identified as the Latin's, the Sabine's and the Etruscans. The three were referred to as the three Tribes of Rome, who founded the earliest Roman Empire. The word is believed to have its origin in Old French *tribu*, which in turn comes from a Latin word*tribus*. The English word 'tribe' occurs in the 12th century Middle English literature and refers to one of the twelve tribes of Israel. But the Portuguese used the term to designate the colonized people in Africa. Since then it is a colonial term of reference to groups whom colonial people considered as 'others' or different from the major groups living in a country.

'Tribe' as a Colonial Construct in India

In the pre-colonial times, we did not have a vernacular equivalent of the term tribe in any of the Indian languages. We have already discussed some of the terms by which the present 'tribal' communities were addressed. Besides, we also find the usage of the Sanskrit term *Kirata* in ancient literature, perhaps in the context of the North-Eastern tribes. According to K. S. Singh (1997), there are respectable references to some of the tribes in classical literature. He quotes one of the Shlokas from 6th century AD:

> The Kirata king is a master of the martial arts. Do not disregard him as mountain dweller. Indra, the king of gods, entreated him to reside in the Himalayas to protect the earth.

Before the British rule, no community in India was designated as a tribal community. The communities designated as tribes have/had their own terms of reference and reference by the outsiders. The Adis of Arunachal Pradesh had the appellation of 'Abor' by the outsiders. But they had their own terms of reference as Minyong, Padam, Bokar, Bori and Pasi in a wider context and the clan name in the context of self-introduction. As the communities had their own terms of reference and no community was designated as a tribe, there were no generic social categories of any sort before the colonial rule.

As the term 'tribe' was not used to designate a social category as such, the British administrators were confused to apply this term to some groups. They tried to understand these groups with reference to corresponding categories in America, Australia and Africa. But there were vast differences. Hence, they used different terms in successive censuses because the enumerators could not understand the prevailing Indian

dynamics within their theoretical construct when they attempted to fit some sections of the population as tribes. K. S. Singh (1998) writes:

> The tribe is a colonial concept, an Anglo-Saxon word, defined for the first time in the Census of 1901, in contra-distinction to caste. The notion of tribe has evolved over the censuses, from a hill and forest tribe, to a primitive tribe, to a backward tribe, and finally, to the scheduled tribe.

Susana B. C. Devalle (1992) from her study of the Jharkhand tribes concluded that 'tribe is essentially a construct', and is a 'colonial category'. The characteristics attributed to tribes, such as egalitarianism, subsistence economy, little or no external control, autonomy and isolation of such a unit, Devalle argued, are not found among Jharkhand people, known as *adivasi*. There are no evidences found to prove that these characteristics existed in the past. Needless to say, according to her, there were no tribes in Jharkhand until the European understanding of the Indian reality constructed them. The category thus devised evolved into an administrative concept later.

1.3.2 Academic Perspectives

Though the term was used by the colonial administrators to designate some groups of people, academicians used it to conceptualize social dynamics from historical perspectives. Hence, the term is defined from different angles.

Definitions

One of the earliest definitions comes from George Peter Murdock. To him a tribe is a:

> ... social group in which there are many clans, nomadic bands, villages or other/ subgroups which usually have a definite geographical area, a separate language, a singular and distinct culture and either a common political organization or at least a feeling of common determination against strangers.

The Imperial Gazetteer of India defines a tribe as:

> A tribe, as we find it in India, is a collection of families or groups of families bearing a common name, which as a rule, does not denote any specific occupation; generally claiming common descent from a mythical or historical ancestor and occasionally from an animal, but in some parts of the country held together rather by the obligation of blood-feud than by the tradition of kinship; usually speaking the same language; and, occupying, or claiming to occupy, a definite tract of country. A tribe is not necessarily endogamous, i.e. it is not an invariable rule that a man of a particular tribe must marry a woman of that tribe.

John Milton Yinger defines it as:

> …it is small, usually preliterate and pre-industrial, relatively isolated, endogamous (with exogamous sub-tribal divisions), united mainly by kinship and culture, and in many places also territorial boundaries, and strongly ethnocentric ('We are the people').

From the Indian perspective, D. N. Majumdar's (1967) definition is noteworthy. It can be briefly paraphrased as follows:

> A tribe is a collection of families, bearing a common name, the members of which occupy the same territory, speak the same language and observe certain taboos regarding marriage, profession or occupation and have developed a well assessed system of reciprocity and mutuality of obligation.

It is evident from these few definitions that a tribal community possesses some characteristics. It should be made clear that all the characteristics may or may not be found in a particular community. Some general characteristics may be outlined as follows:

- Inhabiting a specific geographical area or territory
- Using a specific language or a dialect
- Known by a distinct name and exhibiting a strong sense of belongingness or identity
- Possessing customs and laws which often vary in some degree from those of neighbouring tribes
- Having their own rites and beliefs which frequently differ from those practised and held by the people around them
- Economically self-sufficient and politically autonomous
- Are not part of civilization

Tribe as a Stage of Evolution

Academicians used the term tribe to explain the evolution of society. They placed 'tribe' as a stage in the evolution of society through different stages.

Earlier, anthropologists like Lewis Henry Morgan (1818-81), Edward Burnett Tylor (1832-1917) and other evolutionists not only defined tribe as a type of society but also regarded them as representing a particular stage of evolution. A tribe was seen as a primitive social formation; primitive because they were supposed to represent the earlier stages through which the contemporary Western civilization has evolved.

Elman Service and Marshall Sahlins were the two most important figures who observed the evolution of the society from the point of view of different stages—socio-economic development. They placed 'tribe' as a stage in socio-economic development to explain the evolution of society.

According to the evolutionary scholars, society or socio-politico development has occurred through four stages and the tribe represents the second stage in the pre-state social organization. Their scheme was:

Band ∅∅È **Tribe** ∅∅È **Chiefdom** ∅∅È **State**

Band: Their first level of organization is a band. A small group of people are related through the ties of common descent. The members have face-to-face interaction and migrate together within a specific locality. Bands were generally exogamous and other than a marriage partner, each band was self-sufficient and independent of the other.

Tribe: For certain strategic significance, like conflict or exploitation of resources, some bands may come together to form a tribe. A tribe represents more than a mere collection of bands; it differs from bands in terms of nature of integration of society. Other than kinship affiliation, association was based on age grades, religious congregation and ceremonial parties. In the absence of any centralized authority, social order was maintained through the relative differences in statuses and roles.

Chiefdom: A third stage of pre-state social organization was marked by the emergence of a ruler. In the initial stages, the chiefdoms were theocracies, with the ruler or the members of his family also serving as high religious officials. When the chief died, the role was filled by someone from a particular line of descent.

State: It is a system of social organization marked by stratification with the separation of political power from religious power. The centralized government was bestowed with

political power and the state had the right to collect taxes, drag citizens for work and for war, and enact and enforce the law.

Tribe as a segmentary society: Marshall Sahlins (1968) places tribe as a stage of evolution. But he associates the term tribe, i.e. the stage with segmentary lineages as distinguished from centralized chiefdoms. According to him, tribe is a segmental organization. It is composed of a number of equivalent, unspecialized multifamily groups, each being the structural duplicate of the other—a tribe is a congregation of equal kin group blocks. The segments are the residential and proprietary units of the tribe. It is held together principally by likeness among its segments and pan-tribal institutions, such as the system of intermarrying clans, of age grades, or military or religious societies, which intersect the primary segment.

Self-contained primitive social formation: Maurice Godelier also argues that the tribe is a type of social organization which can only be understood if we view it as a stage in the social evolution. The 19th century evolutionists readily believed that the development of a more complex or a more advanced type of society would automatically lead to the effacement of the tribal type. For these scholars of tribal studies, it is a truism that the tribe has preceded the state and civilization on the broad scale of social evolution. Hence, Godelier and his associates placed tribe as opposite to civilization. Ideally, they saw a tribe as an isolated, self-contained primitive social formation, but not as a part of civilization by force or by choice. It was defined on the basis of the absence of those characteristics which we associate with civilization.

While studying the tribes, the concept of civilization has its own connotation. Henry Lewis Morgan's work of 1977 emphasizes on the 'practice of reading and writing'. It is also understood in the presence of 'great tradition' as defined by Robert Redfield in 1947. Naturally, the tribes do not have a 'great tradition', but have their local specific cultural behaviour, i.e., the 'little tradition'. In the sense of absence of the 'practice of reading and writing', they are not illiterate, but are 'preliterate'. Hence, while placing the tribes in the scale of civilization, they would not feature in the binary oppositions of 'civilized' and 'literate', i.e. they should not be designated as 'uncivilized' and 'illiterate'. Rather, they should be designated as 'non-civilized' or 'preliterate'. Therefore, Andre Béteille has suggested for a flexible attitude towards the definition of the term 'tribe'.

Tribes in transition: Tribes in India were never in isolation. The communities at different levels of civilization have co-existed with the non-tribal communities since time immemorial. Because of this co-existence, the tribal communities have been interacting with the non-tribal communities (caste societies) at different levels. Needless to say, tribal communities in India are not static; they are always in the process of adoption and change. The process is more visible when these communities, whether scheduled or non-scheduled are integrated into the Nation's development agenda. A. R. Desai (1969) has, therefore, aptly remarked that the tribes in India are in transition. According to A. R. Desai (1969), in India, majority of the tribes should be viewed as 'tribes in transition'. To define them as a tribe, one has to take a historical perspective. Béteille (1992: 76) advocates a historical perspective to define a tribe. According to him, only by getting to know the predecessor of a group can a group be considered as a tribe.

The transitional concept can also be understood with reference to syncretism or adaptation to different livelihood strategies. This concept portrays tribal society against the background of self-contained and static nature as was attributed in the earlier writings on tribes.

Among the Khamptis of Arunachal Pradesh, one would find a syncretic tradition of Buddhism and indigenous practices. They belong to the Theravada cult of Buddhism, but also believe in the deities of mountains, forests and many other animistic traditions. Ancestor worship is a part of their curative system. Such a syncretic tradition is noticed in the study of Subhadra Mitra Channa on the Jad of Harsil (one of the five ST groups of Uttarakhand included within the generic category of Bhotiya). The people do not subscribe to any clearly bounded social or religious category; but rather display a tradition betwixt and between the Hindu and Buddhist tradition. Tribe as a 'closed cultural group' is not evident in Khampti or Jad communities. Subhadra Mitra Channa further writes that Jad, being the pastoralists, move with their animals from one location to another as an adaptive strategy to different ecological niches. Obviously, they do not follow a singular adaptive strategy for themselves and their animals. Appropriately, she labels them as a 'mode of adaptation', a way of life with adjustment to different ecological conditions rather than a bounded unit as a tribe is understood to be in conventional scholarship.

Changes have been occurring in 'tribal' communities of India at different perceptible levels from pre-colonial period. Tribes do not stick to one locality. They migrate when the resource base is depleted. Against this background, 'tribes in transition' is one of the characteristics to explain the tribal communities in India.

Tribe-caste continuum: As has been mentioned earlier, tribes in India have never lived in isolation. Hence, a tribal community is never static. In other words, the community is in transition. There is another dimension to understand the tribal interaction with non-tribal community (caste-based societies). Tribes learned from caste-based societies and castes also learned some aspects of life of the tribals. Due to this process of interaction, assimilation, acculturation and adaptation have taken place between the tribal community and non-tribal community to different degrees.

This interaction has been a feature of the Indian society from the early stages and can be traced back to the days of Ramayana and Mahabharata. The groups were referred to as *Jana* in Ramayana. When Ram reached the borders of the forests of central India during his exile, the land was introduced to him as *Jana-sthan*, the land of tribal people. His meeting with Guha and the Bhil woman Savari is a popular episode in Ramayana. In Mahabharata, there are references to *kiratas*, Bhim's marriage with a tribal girl, Hidimba and Krishna's fight with Banasura. These were in fact interactions between tribes and non-tribes during that period.

Thus, in the process of this interaction, the tribals have adopted some aspects of non-tribal ways of life. The contrary is also true. There is a legend in Odisha about the incorporation of a tribal God into the Hindu tradition which evolved into 'Jagannath Cult'. The Badaga of the Nilgiri Hills were influenced by the neighbouring tribes. The Karma festival of the Oraons has also become a festival of many neighbouring communities in Jharkhand and Odisha.

It is very difficult to place the tribal communities at one end of a pole and the non-tribal peasant communities at the other end. If we place tribal and peasant communities at the opposite ends of a pole, there will be many tribal communities displaying characteristics of peasant and caste-based communities and many caste-based communities displaying characteristics of tribal communities to varying extents. There will not be a vacuum between tribal and caste-based societies placed at the end of the opposite poles. Hence, it is said that there is a continuum between tribal and caste-based societies, known as tribe-caste continuum.

We can cite some examples of such continuum. Anthony Walker (1998) having worked among the Toda community of the Nilgiri Hills for several years, arrived at the conclusion that in comparison to 'tribes', the term 'caste' has a 'considerable value', for it helps in placing them in the context of the South Indian cultural matrix, to which they actually belong. He finds it confusing when the Toda are designated as a 'tribe' in the sense in which this term has been used in anthropological and sociological literature. In a similar methodological perspective, Hockings (1993) after working among the Badaga of the Nilgiri Hills concludes that the Badagas have been referred to as a 'tribe', 'caste', and 'Hindu race' in literatures dealing with the community starting from 1922. He argues, like Walker, that instead of focusing on a unit and labelling it, the entire system of which the unit is a part of needs scrutiny. The Badaga had migrated to the Nilgiri Hills from the plains to the north. Theirs is an example of a caste group which adopted a tribal model through its regular interaction with the Toda, the Kurumba, and the Kota, the Scheduled Tribes of the Nilgiri Hills. Hockings considers the Nilgiri people as a 'case of a caste society' displaying 'several distinct indigenous cultures' which have their 'respective origins in pre-caste social formation'.

F. G. Bailey (1961), proposed this continuity in his concept of 'Tribe-Caste continuum', where he showed there are societies with both characteristics of tribes as well as caste. Surajit Sinha (1965), similarly proposed a continuum between the tribe and peasant societies in India. Further, with several changes occurring within the community in independent India, because of government programmes of planned change, many of the tribes have undergone rapid transformation.

1.3.3 Origin of the Term Tribe and its Evolution in India

The term tribe did not exist before the colonial period. However, most of the people with whom the term is associated used to live in forests and hills. Therefore, in India the notion of tribe has evolved from these people. Over the censuses during the colonial period, the nomenclature referring to tribes underwent successive modifications, involving primarily changes in the descriptive adjectives like hill and forest tribes, a primitive tribe or a backward tribe. The Constitution of India has dropped the qualifying adjectives and has adopted the notion of Scheduled Tribes for this category. In the first Census Report of 1891, J. A. Baines, the then Commissioner for Census of India, classified some groups of people as 'Forest Tribes' under the sub-heading of 'Agricultural and Pastoral Castes'. Their number was enumerated as 16 million. In the subsequent Census Records, the nomenclature underwent successive modifications. In 1901 Census, Sir Herbert Hope Risley classified them as 'Animists', in 1911 E. Gait further classified them as 'Tribal Animists' or people following 'Tribal Religion'. J. H. Hutton categorized them as 'Hill and Forest Tribes' in 1931 Census. These people by that time were numbering 22 million. The term 'tribe' or 'tribal religion', however, does not have any definitional note in the above Census Reports. In The Government of India Act, 1935, these people came to be recorded as 'Backward Tribes' without a definition of the term. Similarly, in 1941 Census they were designated as 'Tribes' accounting for 2.47 crore of people. Post-Independence, some of these people were listed in the Constitution of India and designated as Scheduled Tribes (STs).

Though the definition of tribe was not clear, it was more or less considered to be in contrast to castes which were occupational groups. In caste system, the principle of caste endogamy was strictly followed, which was in Risley's opinion not the case with the tribes. Contrary to Risley's definition, the tribes in contemporary India have an

occupation or set of occupations; they speak many languages. They are mobile and have migrated to different parts of the country even during and before colonial rule. For example, Santhals, Oraons and Mundas who are the native people of Jharkhand were brought to settle in Assam during the last part of 19th century. The Oraons, who are the tribes of Jharkhand, are also spread over Odisha. Their original homeland was somewhere in the hills of South India from where they migrated to Rohtasgarh in present day Chhattisgarh from where they again migrated to avoid Muslim attacks, much before the colonial rule. The Mudma fair in Mandar block of Ranchi district held every year is a conglomeration of Oraons to commemorate their migration from Rohtasgarh. In Jharkhand, Oraons also live with other tribes like Mundas and non-tribes, recently called *Moolbasis* in many villages. No doubt isolation has never been a characteristic of Indian 'tribes'. The application of the term tribe to groups does not have a clear basis in the Indian context.

It is not a surprise that concepts like *tribes in transition* and *tribe-caste continuum* have been coined to explain the Indian situation. Post-independence some people were treated as Constitutional categories and were designated as Scheduled Tribes. Among them are PTGs (particularly vulnerable tribal groups). Among the tribes and some other groups of people, the colonial rulers designated some groups as criminal tribes. These groups were treated as de-notified tribes by the Government of India. Among these de-notified tribes, there are some groups scheduled and some not scheduled in the Indian Constitution. Similarly, all the groups that were enumerated under the category of tribes are also not scheduled. Therefore, academicians, like scholars of tribal studies, designate them as non-scheduled tribes. There is also a debate on the designation of Indian tribes as indigenous people.

We shall discuss about scheduled tribes, Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs), de-notified tribes and indigenous people in the following sections. Let us discuss the non-scheduled tribes, the groups who display the characteristics of tribes but are not scheduled in the Constitution.

Non-Scheduled Tribes: As has been discussed, the tribe is an administrative and political concept in India. The concept whether we accept it or not, has both administrative and political overtones. Scheduled Tribes, De-notified Tribes, and Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs), are examples. There are also communities possessing all the characteristics which have been the criteria to enlist a community as a Scheduled Tribe. But still they are not scheduled in the Constitution. These communities are called Non-Scheduled tribes and unfortunately are deprived of the benefits which accrue to Scheduled Tribes according to the Constitutional provisions. The members of these communities feel that they are tribes. At the same time they feel that they are deprived of what their counterparts enjoy having been scheduled in the Constitution. It is not a surprise that the Gujars in Rajasthan and Koch Rajbongshi in Assam claim for Scheduled Tribe status. The Dhankuts of Bahraich district of Uttar Pradesh have all the characteristics of a tribe but are not scheduled in the Constitution. Similar is the case with the Yobin group of Arunachal Pradesh, and the Badaga of Nilgiri Hills who do not enjoy Scheduled Tribe status.

Interestingly, the Malai Kuravar is a Scheduled Tribe community in Kanyakumari district and non-ST (Scheduled Caste) community in Tirunelveli district of Tamil Nadu. Another interesting case of territorial dimension of identification of a tribe is the Bharia. C. S. S. Thakur, Professor of Sociology, Rani Durgavati Vishwavidyalaya, Jabalpur informs that Bharia is a primitive tribal group in Patalkot valley of Chhindwara district of Madhya Pradesh. Outside the valley but within the district they are recognized as a

Scheduled Tribe community. Further, outside the district the community is not scheduled. Similarly, Rabari community enjoys Scheduled Tribe status in Gujarat but Other Backward Class status in Rajasthan. These groups are considered to be non-scheduled tribes by the academicians.

Generic Identity: In India, a tribe is not always community specific. You will find many tribal communities sharing a common name. There is no community as Naga tribe. The appellation Naga is shared by many communities like Ao, Angami, Rengma, etc. In fact, Ao or Angami is a tribe both anthropologically and constitutionally, but not Naga. Nevertheless, Naga is an identity of these groups which is generic in nature. Similarly, in Uttarakhand Jad along with other four Scheduled Tribe groups shares the generic Bhotiya identity.

The *adivasi* in Assam is a generic term and includes communities like Oraon, Suara, Munda and Santhals. These are scheduled tribes in their respective states of origin but these groups are non-scheduled tribes in Assam. All of them are addressed as *adivasi*, and in the popular perception of North-East, the term denotes a single community who otherwise have their individual community identity.

Terms of address: In the earlier period the communities who are now called tribes were known by their community names like the Baigas, the Oraons and the Saoras. Over the years, for the term 'tribe' in India, a number of synonyms have evolved. These are *Adivasi* (original settlers), *Girijan* (forest dwellers), *Vanyajati* (forest caste), *Adim jati* (primitive caste), *Jana jati* (folk people), *Vavavasi* (inhabitants of forest), *Pahari* (hill dwellers) and *Anusuchit jati* (Scheduled Tribes). David Hardiman (1987) notes that in Gujarat, terms like *kaliparaja* (the 'black people') is used to refer to the tribal people. Persian terms like *qabila*, *qabilewale* were also in vogue to refer to tribes. There are empirical evidences which suggest that the term 'jati' was used as a suffix to tribal communities. Mention may be made of the appellations *Adivasi jati, Vanyajati,* and *Janaj-jati* (the 'kind of forest dweller'). Denis Vidal (1997) writes, 'In Sirohi (Rajasthan)… the same generic term (*jati*) was often used to refer indiscriminately [to] the castes or tribe'.

In fact *jati* does not bear the connotation of its English equivalent 'caste'. The word connotes to a 'kind or type' rather than 'caste'. In India, it is used in a variety of other contexts such as *manushya jati* to mean humankind, *devta jati* and *danav jati* to mean gods and demons respectively, *stri jati* to mean women, *pashu jati* to mean the 'category' of animals or *vanaspati jati* to mean plants.

Many tribal communities were also designated through fictitious names, sometimes a common nomenclature. Often, the designations by which tribes are known are outside constructs. Therefore, most of them are not known to the outside world by their respective indigenous names. Contrary to the terms that the outsiders have improvized for them, tribes refer to themselves by their respective community names like Munda, Santhal, Gond, Baiga, Sahariya, Gaddi, or by the generic term *jati*, or the hybrid term *Adivasi jati*. The outsiders may also be the neighbouring tribes or clans. The Laju Nocte, known to outsiders and to other clans of Nocte by this name, refer themselves as Olo. The Khamptis address themselves as Tai, though the term Khampti has meaning in their language system.

It becomes difficult to decipher the meaning of some names, even by the people to whom it is labelled. For example, the Tagin and Nyishi tribes of Arunachal Pradesh were designated as Dafla whose origin and meaning are still a matter of speculation. Niharranjan Ray (1972) has suggested the term *Jana*, used earlier to denote tribal

communities like Savaras, Bhils, Nagas, Kirat, Pulindas, Kols, etc., in place of the term 'tribe'. He argues that *Jana* and *Jati* are both derived from the root *Jana* meaning 'to be born', 'to give birth to' and hence has a biological connotation. Their inhabited territories were known as *Jana Padas* in ancient India. G. S. Ghurye, however, uses the term 'Backward Hindus' for the tribes. This connotation is in conformity with the 'nation building' project, which requires the national identity, essentially of a Hindu nation, through the amalgamation of all people in a common bracket.

1.3.4 Search for an Alternative to the Term 'Tribe'

The term 'tribe' is a colonial construct, so also is the term 'indigenous'. In India, the term 'indigenous' is not applicable the way it is applicable in America, Canada, Australia and Africa. The scholars are engaged in finding a suitable designation for the groups who otherwise have a wide range of appellations academically, administratively and constitutionally.

It is to be noted that many scholars consider the term 'tribe' pejorative. Some have suggested to use the term 'community': say 'Santhal community', 'Birhor community' and 'Saharia community'. The word 'community' is also used for the members of a caste like 'carpenter community, weaver community', or urban neighbourhoods. Buddhadeb Chaudhuri (1992) has suggested the term 'ethnic group' as an alternative which is defined as a largely self-perpetuating group in biological terms, sharing the same descent, real or putative, which has a set of similar fundamental values realized in cultural forms. The members of an ethnic group normally have the same field of communication and interaction; they speak the same (or similar) language and understand its cultural nuances, and distinguish themselves from other categories of the same order. Jagannath Pathy (1988) however, prefers the term 'ethnic minority' because tribes are always sub-ordinated to the majority. Moreover, the term 'ethnic group' has also been used as a generic category for castes as well as religious communities.

Other terms suggested for tribes are 'autochthones' and 'indigenes'. However, none of these alternative terms have the same level of popularity and acceptance as does the term 'tribe'. That is why, notwithstanding the polemics surrounding the term, it is still the most widely used social category to describe certain sections of societies.

1.4 TRIBE AS A CONSTITUTIONAL CATEGORY

In India, tribe is an administrative concept. It refers to Scheduled Tribes, i.e. the tribes and communities listed in the Constitution of India. Other than the Scheduled Tribes, we come across two other administrative terms in the context of tribes: The Primitive Tribes and the Ex-criminal or the De-notified Tribes. Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs) is a sub-category of Scheduled Tribes. But a number of communities, tribes and other communities were labelled as criminal tribes under the colonial rule. The Government of India by an Act later de-notified these communities. These communities are designated as Ex-criminal or the De-notified Tribes. In this section, we shall discuss these three administrative concepts.

1.4.1 Scheduled Tribes

Post-independence it was realized that the most backward communities in terms of development indicators like literacy, access to healthcare, nutrition, income, poverty are from the tribes of India. Therefore, a list of tribal communities was drawn to provide

special assistance to them. Certain pockets in India are largely dominated by the tribal communities. These areas were known as 'excluded area' and were later designated as Scheduled Area. The tribes and other communities, especially in the 'scheduled area' were listed in the Indian Constitution and they came to be known as Scheduled Tribes as per Article 342. There was a debate on the use of a term for these communities. In the debate held in the Constituent Assembly, Jai Pal Singh, a tribal leader, favoured the term *adivasi* in place of Scheduled Tribe. But Dr B. R. Ambedkar, who was the Chairman of the Drafting Committee of the Constitution, argued that *adivasi* is a general term, which has no special legal *de jure* connotations. As the term Scheduled Tribe has a fixed meaning, because it enumerates the tribes, he favoured its use.

The Constitution of India, Article 366 (25) defines Scheduled Tribes as,

> …such tribes or tribal communities or part of or groups within such tribes or tribal communities as are deemed under Article 342 to the scheduled Tribes (STs) for the purposes of this Constitution.

It is to be noted that only those tribes which have been included in the list of Scheduled Tribes are given special treatment or facilities envisaged under the Constitution. The Scheduled Tribes are specified by the President under Article 342 by a public notification. The Parliament may, by law, include or exclude from the list of Scheduled Tribes any tribal community or part thereof in any State or Union Territory. In Article 342, the procedure to be followed for specification of a Scheduled Tribe is prescribed.

Article 342 of our Constitution states that:

> The President may with respect to any State or Union Territory, and where it is a State, after consultation with the Governor on… thereof, by public notification, specify tribal communities or parts of or groups within tribes or tribal communities which shall for the purpose of this Constitution be deemed to be Scheduled Tribes in relation to that State or Union Territory, as the case may be.

However, it does not contain the criterion for the specification of any community as Scheduled Tribes. The Lokur Committee has established the following criteria for declaring a particular community a Scheduled Tribe:

- **Geographical isolation:** They should be living in cloistered, exclusive, remote and inhospitable areas, such as hills and forests.
- **Backwardness:** Their livelihood should be based on primitive agriculture, a low-value closed economy with a low level of technology that leads to their poverty. They have low levels of literacy and health.
- **Distinctive culture, language and religion:** These communities should have developed their own distinctive culture, language and religion.
- **Shyness of contact:** They should have a marginal degree of contact with other cultures and people.
- They should be an ensemble of primitive traits.

The definition was not very precise and it would have been difficult to go about identifying tribes with it. For example, what is meant by primitiveness was nowhere defined. The Draft National Policy of Tribals, 2006 admits, 'The criteria laid down by the Lokur Committee are hardly relevant today. For instance, very few tribes can today be said to possess "primitive traits".' The Presidential Order, 1950 declared 212 tribes located in fourteen states as Scheduled Tribes. In fact the list was more or less similar to the list prepared in the 1931 Census. Their number increased to 427 in 1971, 437 in 1981, and to

621 in 1991. Communities can be excluded or included in the list based on the recommendation of the President. The National Tribal Policy, 2006, puts the figure around 700 while in the First Draft, 2004, the number of ST communities was given to be 698, in 2013 the number of ST communities was given to be 705.

According to V. K. Srivastava (2005), today when the anthropologist uses the term tribe in the context of India, they include all the communities included in the list of the Scheduled Tribes, although some of them may not be in accordance with the anthropological conception of tribe.

The Scheduled Tribe is an administrative and political concept and applies to individual communities and to territories as is the case of Kinnaur, Jaunsar-Bawar and Pangwal. In these territories, people irrespective of their social categories have been declared as Scheduled Tribes.

The territorial dimension of the concept of Scheduled Tribe needs an explanation. Though Kinnauras are a territorial group which forms their socio-cultural identity, the Constitution of India has treated them differently unlike the Jaunsar-Bawar. T. S. Negi writes that originally there was the Kinnaura tribe—by legendary belief as well as some historical evidences and deduction—to be the descendant of the Kinnara Tribe of Hindu Mythology. But the tribe is stratified as Khasia, Chamang and Domang castes on the basis of specialized occupation. Those who followed the profession of shoe-making are called Chamang, and those who followed the profession of iron works are called Domang. Khasias are equated with the Rajputs. Consequent to these occupational divisions, the Rajputs are known as 'Sawarn'—the high caste, and Domang and Chamang as 'Harijan'. Interestingly, all these groups have their socio-cultural identity as Kinnauras. Strangely, in the Indian Constitution the Khasias are enumerated as Scheduled Tribes and the Domang and Chamang as Scheduled Castes.

Some of the areas like Jaunsar-Bawar in Pithoragarh district of Uttrakhand were declared as scheduled areas in 1967. As such the communities living there were scheduled as Jaunsar-Bawar. Jaunsar is derived from the name Jamunasar referring to the Jamuna tract of the district. The communities living there have three distinct social divisions. These three divisions are Khasa, which includes the Rajputs and the Brahmins. The second one is the middle division under which Lohar, Sunar, Badi, Ode, Bajigi—the artisan communities are included. The third division is categorized as *harijans* and includes such communities as Dom, Koli, Kolta, Koior, Angi, etc. The Jaunsar-Bawar tribe in fact has a complete social categorization, in addition to it being a territorial construct. The territorial dimension of the tribal status is also reflected in case of many other tribes.

The territorial dimension also emerges from the fact that the Scheduled Tribe is a state concept. The tribe of one state does not enjoy the same status in another state. The *Adivasis* of Central India who belonged to Munda, Santhal, Saura, and other tribal communities were brought as tea plantation labourers to Assam during the British period. They are designated as *Adivasis* in Assam, the place to which they migrated, but without the status of Scheduled Tribe. This ambiguity stems from the Constitutional provision as is read in Article 342 (1).

Article 342 (1): The President may with respect to any State or Union Territory, and where it is a State, after consultation with the Governor thereof, by public notification, specify the tribes or tribal communities or parts of or groups within tribes or tribal communities, which shall for the purposes of this Constitution be deemed to be Scheduled Tribes in relation to that State or Union Territory as the case may be.

Article 342 (2): Parliament may by law include in or exclude from the list of Scheduled Tribes specified in a notification issued under clause (1) any tribe or tribal community or part of or group within any tribe or tribal community but save as aforesaid a notification issued under the said clause shall not be varied by any subsequent notification.

In the early anthropological literature, tribe is constructed as a community outside the state. But in India, there are tribal communities scheduled in the Indian Constitution which participated in state formation. Rajgond, Jaintia, Tripuri and Bhuyan are examples.

Hugh Chisholm (1910), informs us in The Encyclopaedia Britannica:

> ...The 16th century saw the establishment of a powerful Gond kingdom by Sangram Sah, who succeeded in 1480 as the 47th of the petty Gond rajas of Garha-Mandla, and extended his dominions to include Saugor and Damoh on the Vindhyan plateau, Jubbulpore and Narsinghpur in the Nerbudda valley, and Seoni on the Satpura highlands...

It is to be mentioned here that the tribal chiefs were not only the rulers of their own communities. There are 'non-tribal' communities which were also ruled by them. The Khamptis of present Arunachal Pradesh were sometimes rulers of the Sadiya outpost of the Ahom kingdom during the first half of 19th century. Interestingly, Sadiya was not the inhabited land of the Khamptis.

R. Singh (2000) in his book entitled *Tribal Beliefs, Practices and Insurrections* writes,

> … The Gond rajas of Chanda and Garha Mandla were not only the hereditary leaders of their Gond subjects, but also held sway over substantial communities of non-tribals who recognized them as their feudal lords...

Raji, a small primitive tribe of Central Himalayas claim to be the rulers of the half of Northern Pithoragarh district. They are descendants of the Eskt dynasty. Similarly, the history of the Jaintia kingdom of Meghalaya is an example of participation of the Jaintia tribe in state formation. The state Tripura is named after the Tripuri tribe who once ruled the land through the Debabarman clan.

During the British period, the construct of a tribe was basically in contrast to a caste which is a construct of occupational groups. But there are scheduled tribal communities within which occupational diversification is clearly visible. Kolcha, a primitive tribal group in Valsad and Panchmahals districts of Gujarat are basket makers, agriculturists and forest labourers. But traditionally, this community used to handle carcasses. We have also discussed the caste-based social system among the Kinnaura and Jaunsar-Bawar tribal communities.

The Scheduled Tribe group also includes communities with class formation. The Bhoksa tribe of Central Himalayas live in two territorial divisions. Dehradun, Pauri Garhwal and Bijnor districts constitute the first zone, while Nainital district constitutes the second one. The Bhoksas of the second zone are economically better off as compared to those in the first zone and consider themselves superior.

The territorial dimension of Scheduled Tribes is also reflected in their nomenclature. The Khampti tribe of Arunachal Pradesh has derived its name from a place full of gold (*Kham*: gold; *ti*: land). The Tangsa tribe of the same state derives its name from a place called *Tang*, Tangsa meaning the children of *Tang*. The Nyishi tribe identify themselves as the people living in a territory lying between *Nyeme* (Tibet) and *Nyipak* (plains). The Scheduled Tribe communities do not exist in all the states of India. In the states of Punjab, Delhi and the Union Territory of Chandigarh, there are no communities identified as Scheduled Tribes. This does not mean that there are no Scheduled Tribe population in

these places. Thousands of students and members from the Scheduled Tribe communities come to these places to study and work. It is to be mentioned that the Scheduled Tribe category is not inclusive of the social category called tribe in anthropological literature. The social category called tribe in anthropological literature includes both scheduled tribes and non-scheduled tribes.

Significantly, there are no religious bars for specifying a person as a member of a Scheduled Tribe or a community to schedule in the Constitution. Thus, we have Muslim Scheduled Tribes such as 17 tribal groups of Lakshadweep and the Gaddi and Bakriwal of Jammu and Kashmir and Scheduled Tribes following Christianity such as the Nagas, and Mizos. Similarly, we have the Khamptis and Monpas of Arunahcal Pradesh who follow Hinayana and Mahayana cults of Buddhism respectively.

1.4.2 Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs)

The Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs) is not a Constitutional category different from the Scheduled Tribes. It is a category within the Scheduled Tribe category. The distinction between the Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs) and the Scheduled Tribes is a matter of degree of development. The Shilu Ao Committee constituted by the Planning Commission in 1969 had observed that the impact of planned 'change and development' has not been uniform in all the tribal communities. Within the Scheduled Tribes, conditions of some of the communities have not improved. They remained extremely backward and some of them continued to be in the primitive food gathering stage.

Primitive tribe is an administrative category used for those Scheduled Tribe communities who were identified as more isolated from the wider community and who maintain a distinctive cultural identity. These hunting, food-gathering, and some agricultural communities, have been identified as less acculturated tribes among the tribal population groups and that is why they are in need of special programmes for their sustainable development. In these communities, the development indicators are most vulnerable. Understandably, these groups are more vulnerable to hunger, starvation, malnutrition, and poor health. Important communities among the PTGs are Chenchu, Asur, Birhor, Birjia, Korwa, Parhaiya, Savar, Kolgha, Kathodi, Kotwalia , Padhar, Siddi, Chuktia Bhunjiya, Bondo, Didayi, Dongria Khond, Juang, Kharia, Kutia Khond, Lanjia Saura, Lodha, Jarwa, Onge, Buksa, Raji, Riang, Toda, Kota, Irular and some others. Some groups like the Andamanese, Shom Pan, Cholanayakan and Koraga are on the verge of extinction.

In order to ensure the development of these communities, certain groups within the Scheduled Tribes were historically classified as Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs) for the first time in 1973. These groups were identified in 1975-76 and thereafter in 1993. These groups are regarded as the poorest of poor amongst the Scheduled Tribes. The criteria fixed for identification of such PTGs are:

- Pre-agricultural level of technology
- Remote isolated enclaves
- Small population
- Economic and social backwardness
- Very low level of literacy
- Declining or stagnant population

Based on the above mentioned criteria, 75 tribal communities were identified as PTGs spread over 17 States and one Union Territory. According to Census 2001, the

total population of PTGs in the country is 32, 62, 960. The Sahariya primitive tribal group has the highest number of population which stands at 4, 50,217 and the Sentineles the lowest at 39. Similarly, the population of PTGs in Madhya Pradesh is 9, 38,190, the highest among the states, and in Andaman and Nicobar Islands it is the lowest at 672. The National Tribal Policy has further mentioned two broad categories among the PTGs keeping in view their development requirements. The first group consists of communities which have been more or less insulated from the surrounding populations and are placed in isolated ecological environments. This group is named as 'heritage group' and includes such communities as the Jarawa, Sentinelese, Shompen and Cholanayakan. The second group does not have any name but includes the categories of PTGs which are located on the fringes of 'mainstream' population and have some contact with them. The Birhor, Chenchu, Jenu Kuruba, etc. come under the second category. The strategy of development will be group oriented in case of the heritage groups. But for the second group it will be a mix of group oriented and area development.

Although the concepts of Tribal Sub-Plan and the Special Assistance to the state governments have been in operation since the Fifth Five Year Plan, it was felt that these funds were not reaching the Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs) in proportion to their requirements and as such not much development had taken place with respect to these communities.

The PTGs can also be understood with reference to Bhupinder Singh's distinction between the two types of tribal communities on the basis of their development requirements. The first category's requirement is 'first-aid treatment', meaning little help, while that of second category is 'hospitalization', meaning proper intensive care. According to him, the primitive tribes fall under the second category. He prefers to call the PTGs the 'Primary Tribes'.

The term 'primitive', however, has derogatory overtones. Therefore, B. K. Roy Burman suggested renaming these communities as 'Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups'. But, he could not get rid of the derogatory overtones and in short Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups also bear the acrimony of PTGs. Nevertheless, the connotation of the term 'vulnerable' is still problematic. There are no objective measurements to determine the degree of vulnerability amongst the PTGs and Scheduled Tribes. However, their socio-economic and cultural development would be considered by formulating conservation-cum-development micro plans suitable to their requirements. The main objective is to raise the socio-economic standard of these groups at par with other Scheduled Tribes by 2020.

1.4.3 De-notified Tribes/Ex-criminal Tribes

The de-notified tribes were earlier known as criminal tribes. After they were de-notified, they were also known as ex-criminal tribes. It is important to mention that ex-criminal tribes are those tribes who were earlier listed under the British Government's Criminal Tribes Act of 1871. Important groups listed as criminal tribes were Bawaria, Bhatu, Beria, Bhedkut, Dom, Karwal, Mina, Mantam, Yerkula Sugali, Yandi, Koravas, Lambadi, etc. The interesting thing is that the so-called criminal tribe population constitutes a group or section of a group within a tribe or caste or an entire tribe or caste. Thus, one would find in the category of criminal tribes group of people who may be considered as tribes, Hindu caste and the Muslims. Ethnically, criminal tribes were mixed groups.

Background of the Criminal Tribes Act

British rule in India created some social categories. As you know, one is the category of tribes. This category came in as a result of the colonial policy of 'divide and rule'. The other one is the 'criminal tribe' which later became the de-notified tribe in free India. The colonial policy of exclusion of people from their traditional livelihoods resulted in resorting to petty crimes by them as an alternative source of livelihood. Instead of understanding the reason for their criminal tendencies, they were brought to task by enacting criminal laws.

The British attitude towards the petty crimes committed by some people or groups of people was based on a false notion. The colonial ruler believed that crime was a hereditary calling of these people. It is to be noted that Dr Lombroso's widely accepted theory of 'inborn criminality' continued to influence the administrators for years together.

Criminal Acts: The Criminal Tribes Act was passed by the British Government as early as 1871 and was applied arbitrarily and unjustly against some of the aboriginal tribes, castes and Muslims of our country. In 1876, the law was extended to many other parts of British India, specially to lower Bengal. An amendment of the Act in 1897, even empowered the local government to separate the children of these groups aged between 4-18 years, from their irreclaimable parents. This law empowered local governments to declare any community or tribe or any part of a tribe, gang or class indulging in systematic commission of non-bailable offences as a criminal tribe. In 1911, further amendments were made which provided for the maintenance of a register of persons considered as criminals for detailed information of their whereabouts (place). The amendments made it obligatory on the part of the members of the criminal tribes to give their fingerprints and to report change of residence. It also empowered the Provincial Governments to restrict the movement of these communities within particular areas. The offenders were punished according to the nature of their crimes. Through gradual modification, this Act was more or less, consolidated in 1924.

Who are the people who took to crimes as a source of livelihoods?: The people who were clubbed as criminal tribes did not constitute a homogenous group. P. K. Bhowmick (1989) in his article entitled 'Problems of De-notified Tribes: A Case Study of the Interaction of Government and Diverse Ethnic Groups in Fringe Bengal' informs that the so-called criminal tribe population constitutes a group or section of a group within a tribe or caste or an entire tribe or caste. Some of them would be found to be members of one particular Scheduled Caste or another. A few also were found belonging to higher castes. At the same time, some sections of the Muslims also belonged to the criminal tribes category. Thus, one would find in the category of criminal tribes groups of people who may be considered as tribes, Hindu caste and the Muslims. It marks for a group as 'habitual' rather than 'natural' offenders. On the basis of their habitats, occupations and ways of life, Bhowmick presents a classification of these de-notified tribes into the following groups:

  (i) Nomadic groups who have taken to criminal life

 (ii) Fighting men and soldiers who having lost their jobs and have turned into criminals

(iii) Communities who used to work as village watchman and police, but have taken to criminal life

(iv) Wild tribes in distress who took to criminal living as a way out of the plight they had fallen in

(v) Beggars turned into criminals

(vi) Some settled castes and tribes who took to criminality due to poverty

Why did people take to crimes?: Most of the groups, who were clubbed under the category of 'criminal tribes', had their traditional source of livelihood patronized by rich persons and royal families. The products had a market among common people also. With the coming of the colonial rule, the royal families lost their status and hence the people who enjoyed their patronage, lost their livelihood sources too. Due to the availability of cheap machine made goods in the market, the traditional handicrafts lost their market. The colonial laws were also responsible for the deprivation of the communities, especially tribals from their sources of livelihoods. The government forest policy (the forest laws of the 1880s), for example, prevented free grazing of the cattle owned by these groups and prevented them from collecting forest produce. The Chenchus of Hyderabad were very much affected by the forest laws. Out of desperation, they turned into bandits. This also happened to Lodhas of West Bengal. Bhowmick writes that territorial and economic displacements along with the changing situations forced them to commit crime and offence.

The development of roads and railways also destroyed traditional trade and commerce. Because of development activities people lost their source of livelihood and due to the availability of cheap goods they also lost the market. As a result they lost their traditional means of livelihood. Mildred MacKenzie, in his book *The Mud Bank* writes:

> The Yerukulas were originally merchants. Their forefathers carried salt, grain and other commodities inland, on the backs of the pack animals, but in the march of progress, rail, and roads came and transportation was taken out their lands. Their living was gone, they knew no trade and they resorted to crime.

These tribes led a vagrant life in the jungles, hills and deserts with no fixed abode. They wandered about with their bag and baggage and pitched their tents on the outskirts of a village or a city or in some secluded place. In the absence of any substantial means of living these people depended on begging, cattle lifting and crop stealing.

There were widespread and severe famines in many parts of the country in 1866, 1876-78 and 1898. It witnessed unprecedented outbreaks of dacoity, food riots and looting of markets, house-breakings and cattle-stealing. The Inspector General of Police (IGP) observed in 1877 that 'Dacoity as the "special famine crime" was committed by hungry people, not ordinary criminals'.

Meena Radhakrishna (2001) in her book *Dishonoured by History: Criminal Tribes and British Colonial Policy* has presented the trading Korava community of the then Madras Presidency, who were labelled as criminal tribes as her case study. The Korava community lost their salt trade due to the colonial salt policy, and access to forest resources due to the forest policy of 1890s. The forest products were important items of barter in their trade. The laws did not allow them to collect bamboo and leaves which they used for making mats, baskets and brooms. Common grazing lands were cordoned off and thus not available to their cattle. In the 1850s, road and railway networks were established throughout the Madras Presidency and the bullock cart as a mode of transport suffered a setback. The famines of late nineteenth century were devastating as far as salt trade was concerned. Large numbers of their cattle also died due to famine and restrictions on grazing in common lands. As a result of all the above factors, the Korava community suffered a massive economic setback in the period between 1850s and 1890s.

The Banjaras of Andhra Pradesh were peripatetic (walking about) common carriers for generations. But due to the development of transport facilities, they lost their

jobs and became criminals. Ranoshis and Wagharis, who acted as guards near the hills, ghats and forts during the Maratha regime adopted the life of criminals after the loss of their jobs.

By now you must have gathered that people resorted to petty crimes as a survival strategy. It is noteworthy that criminality does not happen in groups; it is an individual phenomenon. But unfortunately, the provisions of the Criminal Act applied to all the individuals of the group. Even women and children were considered to be suspects in the eyes of law. It may be said that a large percentage of the communities were led into criminality when they were stuck with the stigma of criminal tribes.

Repeal of this Act: In 1937, the Criminal Tribes Committee was set up which was headed by V. N. Tiwari. The Committee was appointed by the Government of United Provinces. Tiwari opined that criminal tribes were a legacy of unhealthy social environments and wrong methods pursued through many centuries in dealing with them. They are not the sinners, they have been sinned against. This Committee, thus, has recommended as well as introduced some welfare activities for their group.

The Madras Province repealed the Act in 1947 and Bombay in 1949. The Government of India appointed a Committee under the Chairmanship of Ananthasayanam Ayyangar in 1949.

The Committee after studying the conditions of the 'Criminal Tribes' in the entire country recommended the repeal of the Criminal Tribes Act. The Government of India accordingly repealed the Criminal Tribes Act and replaced it with Habitual Offenders Act 1952. The Habitual Offenders Act is a state government legislation. With the repeal of Criminal Tribes Act, the communities notified under this Act as 'Criminal Tribes' were de-notified and were recognized as 'De-notified Communities'. A list of the tribes which were de-notified with the repeal of the Criminal Tribes Act was issued by the respective state governments as the list of De-notified Tribes or *Vimukta Jatis*. Thus, the list of De-notified Tribes came into existence for each state. The list of De-notified Tribes of the erstwhile Madras State, for example was issued in 1952.

The Bauria, Bazigar, Barad (Barar), Bangala, Gandhila, Nat, and Sansi communities in Punjab celebrate their Independence on 31st August as on that day in 1952 they were de-notified and became de-notified tribes (*Vimukta Jatis*); the tag of criminality was removed legally from them.

Approach of the government of free India: After the repeal of the Criminal Tribes Act, a good number of people were freed from the stigma of criminality imputed to them. The Backward Classes Commission appointed by the Government of India made many suggestions for amelioration (to become better) of the conditions of these problem ridden communities. They are summarized below:

- Criminal tribes should be called 'De-notified communities' (Vimukta Jati).

- These communities should be included in the category of Scheduled Castes or Tribes and Backward classes according to their distinctive social features.

- They should be resettled in batches and gradually integrated within the larger society.

- Proper education for effecting national integration should be imparted to them for making them free citizens of free India.

- Reform activities should be undertaken for them.

- Collective criminal activities and the individual criminal activities should be clearly distinguished and understood for dealing with them.

- Proper education and employment for their children should be ensured.

- Economic rehabilitation should be ensured simultaneously.

In conclusion, it can be said that de-notified and ex-criminal tribes are the same. The only difference is that while the term de-notified tribe is an administrative category; ex-criminal tribe is a social category coined by the colonial rulers.

1.4.4 Indigenous People

The native people of many countries did not like to be referred to as a 'tribe'. In different countries, they have their own appellations. In Australia, these people are recognized as 'Aborigines', in New Zealand as 'Maaori', in Canada, as 'First Nations' and in Americas as 'Indigenous people'. All these appellations point to their original/earlier settlement. This originality again is related, as you will know, to the colonial contact. These people existed in their countries before the colonization of their territory. Therefore, they are indigenous. Indigenous movement has been a global phenomenon. In countries like India, China and some other Asian countries, different groups lived together before the colonial contact. Nevertheless, some groups of people from these countries who somewhat resemble the original people of Australia, America and Africa in social, cultural and economic life also have become a part of the indigenous movement.

Historical Background

The issue of indigenous people was almost non-existent in the Indian academics as well as political world before 1993. The United Nations declared 1993 as the 'International Year of the Indigenous People'. Arguments against and in favour of considering tribes in India as indigenous people have come up with the same degree of intensity. Many of those who defended the term 'indigenous' for tribes happened to be activists. The slogan— 'The adivasis of the world unite'—acquired popularity. This slogan was printed on the cover of the booklets that the Indian Conference of Indigenous and Tribal People brought out in 1993 on the occasion of the UN Year of the Indigenous People of the World.

However, the indigenous movement that culminated in 1990s can be traced back to 1923. During this year, the Cayuga Chief Deskaheh, a representative of the Iroquois of Ontario in Canada went to the League of Nations to represent the 'Six Nations of the Great River'. He carried a passport issued by the 'authority of his people'. However, two years before this event in 1921, the General Body of the International Labour Organization (ILO) had showed concern for indigenous workers, who were among the most exploited. In 1926 its governing body adopted Convention No. 50 'Concerning the Regulation of Certain Special Systems of Recruiting Workers'. In 1939, it adopted Convention No. 64 'Concerning the Regulation of Certain Special System of Recruiting Workers'.

It is to be noted that the real indigenous rights movement began only with decolonization after the Second World War. Autonomy movement began in several independent countries. Mostly such movements took place in Latin America where indigenous populations were feeling doubly exploited. On one side foreign companies controlled their wealth and on the other the national elite collaborated with those foreign corporations. Many indigenous communities of the Americas questioned the genocide of their own ancestors. Additionally, the European indigenous people began to become more aware of their rights.

These movements created heightened awareness in some international organizations, especially ILO, whose mandate is protection of the workers' rights. The result was ILO Convention 107 of 1957 'Concerning the Populations in Independent Countries'. In this Convention, the term 'indigenous people' came in. The convention used the term as a 'population of special category analogous to the tribal and semi-tribal population'.

International Perspectives: Indigenous movements, among other things, recognize the term 'indigenous' to designate people who were original settlers in their territory before the colonial contact. International organizations such as the ILO added to their concerns positively by defining the term.

According to the General Council of the International Labour Organization (ILO, 1957):

> Peoples in independent countries who are regarded as indigenous on account of their descent from the populations which inhabited the country, or a geographical region to which the country belongs, at the time of conquest, or colonization or the establishment of present State boundaries and who, irrespective of their legal status, retain some or all of their own social, economic, cultural and political institutions.

The aim of this convention was to protect and integrate indigenous and other tribal and semi-tribal populations in independent countries. However, notwithstanding the many positive stipulations, the ILO convention of 1957 was criticized for its 'ethnocentric bias and patronizing attitude.' Accordingly, the ILO adopted a revised Convention 169, where the concept of indigenous has been overtly de-linked from the concept of tribe. By implication, however, they have been treated as synonyms. The convention applies to:

(a) Tribal peoples in independent countries whose social, cultural and economic conditions distinguish them from other sections of the national community, and whose status is regulated wholly or partially by their own customs and traditions or by special laws and regulations

(b) Peoples in independent countries who are regarded as indigenous on account of their descent from the populations which inhabited the country or a geographical region to which the country belongs, at the time of the conquest or colonization or the establishment of the present state boundaries and who, irrespective of their legal status, retain some or all of their own social, economic, cultural and political institutions.

The General Assembly of the United Nations in a resolution states that:

> Indigenous or aboriginal peoples are so called because they were living on their lands before settlers came from elsewhere; they are the descendants…of those who inhabited a country or a geographical region at the time when people of different cultures or ethnic origins arrived, the new arrivals later becoming dominant through conquest, occupation, settlement or other means.

Mme Erica-Irene Daes, former Chairperson of the UN Working Group on indigenous populations, provides another widely used definition. According to Daes:

> Certain peoples are indigenous because they are descendants of groups which were in the territory of the country at the time when other groups of different cultures or ethnic origins arrived there; because of their isolation from other segments of the country's population, they have preserved almost intact the customs and traditions of their ancestors which are similar to those characterized as indigenous; and because they are, even if only formally, placed under a State structure which incorporates national, social and cultural characteristics alien to theirs.

Jose R. Martinez Cobo in 1986 in his work entitled *The Study of the Problem of Discrimination against Indigenous Populations* has proposed the following definition of indigenous people:

> Indigenous communities, peoples and nations are those which, having a historical contiguity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories, consider themselves distinct from other sectors of the societies now prevailing in those territories, or parts of them. They form at present non-dominant sectors of society and are determined to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories, and their ethnic identity, as the basis of their continued existence as peoples, in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions and legal systems.

Indigenous People: A Restricted Applicability: The term 'indigenous' to designate the original people of a territory was born in the Americas, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand where a clear line divides them from the colonial conquerors. In Australia and Africa for example, the natives who inhabited the land before the colonial contact and the new migrants including the colonizers live together in post-colonial period. Obviously, the population is divided into earlier settlers and new migrants. In countries of South Asia, however, different ethnic groups lived for millennia. As a result, there is a difference of opinion on who is indigenous to these countries.

The use of the term 'indigenous' as a synonym of 'tribe' lacks definitional clarity when its universal applicability is concerned. Because of this ambiguity, the ILO Convention 169 (Article 1) recognizes both, indigenous and tribal people. This means those who live in a way that sets them apart from the national community, whether or not they have descended from 'first inhabitants'. For instance, in several Central American countries, garifunas (or maroons, or other terms) are descendants of escaped African slaves, and thus are not indigenous in the literal sense, but they are tribal and are covered by the Convention.

It is to be noted that the definition of Daes on indigenous is taken as the unofficial UN definition of the term indigenous people. However, Miguel Alfonso Martinez (1999) does not agree with the universality of its application.

While working on a UNESCO report entitled 'Study on Treaties, Agreements and Other Constructive Arrangements between States, and Indigenous Populations' he has questioned the usage of the term indigenous people in Asian countries in general and in India in particular. We know that in India not only the tribal communities but all the communities which form the Indian nation-state in the post-colonial era were inhabitants even before the colonial contact. Needless to say, the parameter of colonizers' contact put all the communities of India, including the tribals, under the category of indigenous.

1.4.5 'Indigenous' and 'Tribe' Distinguished

The Portugal colonizers designated the earlier people of their colonies as tribes. But some of these tribal groups in many countries distinguished themselves from the colonizers and preferred to use the term indigenous. The essence of indigenous initially concerned the natives vis-a-vis colonial settlers. The term tribe is imposed while the term indigenous is self-chosen.

It is further clear from the ILO Convention 169 that the terms **'indigenous' and 'tribal'** are not properly defined. It takes a practical approach and only provides criteria for describing the people in either of the two categories. Self-identification is considered as a fundamental criterion for the identification of indigenous and tribal people, along with the criteria outlined below:

Elements of tribal people include:

- Traditional lifestyles
- Culture and way of life different from the other segments of the national population, e.g. in their ways of making a living, language, customs, etc.
- Own social organization and traditional customs and laws

Elements of indigenous people include:

- Traditional lifestyles
- Culture and way of life different from the other segments of the national population, e.g. in their ways of making a living, language, customs, etc.
- Typical social organization and political institutions
- Living in historical continuity in a certain area, before others "invaded" or came to the area.

Tribal and Indigenous Interface in India

In India, the use of the term 'tribe' as a synonym to 'indigenous' is contested. In India those who live in post-colonial state also lived together during the pre-colonial period. But some scholars apply the concept to tribal communities considering their domination by the nation states. The state power is considered to be dominating the marginalized people including the tribals. It is often highlighted that these people are reduced to a colonial situation and are dominated by a system of values and institutions maintained by the ruling groups of the country.

However, this type of explanation of the relations between the power of the state and the marginalized communities is too partial an understanding. The dominating role of the state as 'colonial invasion and domination' does not hold to the principles of welfare commitments of the nation states like India. Policies and programmes are formulated for the general welfare of marginalized people with compensatory discrimination and affirmative action to raise their level of development at par with the national level.

There are other concerns which need scrutiny when one addresses the issue of the 'indigenous'. The moot issue is whether to consider tribes that include Scheduled Tribes, non-Scheduled Tribes and de-notified tribes as indigenous people or only the Scheduled Tribe category under it. If we consider the Scheduled Tribe category, it becomes problematic. There are migrants from plains to hills like some communities of Jaunsar-Bawar and Gaddi of Himachal Pradesh who are included in the Scheduled Tribe category. Moreover, the Scheduled Tribe being a state specific category, the same community across the political boundary may not be considered as indigenous. If the tribe is called indigenous then that indigenity is lost if they migrate to other places. The Santhals and Mundas, who are called *Adivasis* in their respective earlier settlements and in Assam to which they migrated, belong to tribal category in the anthropological sense. These people migrated to Assam which was then inhabited by Assamese people. Hence, in comparison to the Assamese population are the early settlers of Assam. Being *adivasis*, they could not be indigenous while the non-tribe Assamese would come under the definition of indigenous as they are the early settlers.

Many ethnographical studies on tribes point to the migratory nature of the Indian population in general and tribes in particular at different points of time. The Tani groups of tribes in Arunachal trace their migration in different batches from a place in Tibet over centuries till they came to their present habitation with short sojourn en-route.

In this context the remarks of Ludwig Gumplowicz and Irving Louis Horowitz (1980) in their work entitled *The Outlines of Sociology* is worth mentioning. They inform us that:

> ... The Negritos were the earliest inhabitants of India ... The Proto-Australoids who followed them had their type more or less fixed in India and therefore may be considered to be the true aborigines. Thereafter the Austro-Asiatic peoples came ... the Indo Aryans came and settled in India; so, too, did the Dravidians ... This being the state of our knowledge regarding the peopling of India, it would be hazardous to look upon one particular section of the population as the aborigines of India ...

On the basis of the findings of the People of India Project, K. S. Singh (1997) writes:

> Four hundred and nine tribes (64.3 per cent) claim to be migrants to their present habitat. In fact all our tribal people have been migrants. Their migration is recorded in oral tradition and historical accounts. About eight per cent of the tribes record their migration in recent years.

The migration has led to various levels of interaction of different communities. In this context, S. C. Dube (1998:5) notes:

> The Kol and Kirda of India have had long association with later immigrants. Mythology and history bear testimony to their [tribals'] encounters and intermingling.

It is a known fact that the indigenous debate is of a recent origin. It has political and colonial overtones. Therefore, the point is that the tribal world should be understood in the context of its cosmology and the thoughts of the people. In this context, Andre Beteille observes:

> Where historical records are scarce and historical memory is short, the idea of 'indigenous people' provides abundant scope for the proliferation of myths relating to blood and soil.

Does it then mean that the term 'indigenous' does not have any use in the Indian context? The term *adivasi* is analogous to the term indigenous. The *adivasi* concept was accepted by the communities much before the indigenous issue emerged. Whereas, the term indigenous has an international dimension, that of *adivasi* has Indian specificity. When two communities co-exist in a particular place, there is a possibility that one community could be the earlier settler. If this earlier settler is a so called tribal community then the *adivasi* appellation has some meaning. If two communities are so-called Aryans, for example, the *adivasi* identity does not have any meaning for the earlier settlers. For all practical purposes, the *adivasi* word was used to refer to the tribal groups, who identified themselves in their community names like Gond and Bodo. To bring all of them to one category, the generic *adivasi* term has been coined. In this sense, indigenous as an equivalent to the term *adivasi,* perhaps will have a meaning in India. On the other hand, the term indigenous with its international connotation is a misnomer.

1.4.6 Contemporary Tribal Situation in India

The tribes in contemporary India have undergone many changes. Though the most primitive group in terms of indices of growth and development are the tribes but not all tribes are primitive. In many tribes, there are sections which are as influential as the sections of middle class anywhere. Internal heterogeneity in terms of differentiation of wealth is increasing. According to Srivastava (2006), with respect to the outside world, tribes have reacted in two ways.

There are tribal communities who have changed qualitatively. Economically, their condition has improved. They have better health profile, higher level of literacy and have entered new occupations. Examples of such communities are the Nagas, Mizo, Khasi, Mina and those sections of tribes of Central India who have embraced Christianity.

The second group constitutes of those who have not been benefited by the development programmes. Development has led to pauperization and marginalization. They have been displaced from their traditional habitat, forced to lead an ignoble existence as wage labourers, rickshaw pullers or domestic help to others. Majority of tribes belong to this category. This group represents the exploited and marginalized lots.

The main problem of the contemporary tribal communities is their exposure to development interventions. This has led to different problems which the tribals are victims of.

There is a rising awareness of unmet needs among the tribes in India. Resentment against exploitation is giving rise to violence. Extremist movements, like Naxalism, is gaining stronghold in many tribal areas. The tribes are deprived of the use of common property resources. There are also issues of identity assertion. All these problems have an economic dimension. In fact, economic problem is at the centre of tribal problems and it causes other problems like human trafficking, the system of bonded labour and political problems relating to insurgency, policy atrocities, declining common property resources and so on.

On the one hand, the tribals are being integrated to national development projects and on the other, majority of them have become victims of such exposures. There is a need to initiate corrective measures at the earliest to redress their problems, before the situation goes out of hand.

1.5 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that,

- Tribal studies have been a matter of interest since the late sixteenth century. It was around this time that the Western world came to know of communities and cultures which were very different from them.

- Studies on tribes have contributed immensely to the growth of knowledge in academics. The origin and growth of anthropology—more precisely social (cultural) anthropology—has its roots in tribal studies.

- There is an increasing interest in tribal studies in contemporary times. Besides academic interest, government organizations and NGOs also have shown their increasing interest in tribal development and as such in tribal studies.

- With the end of colonialism, tribal studies acquired a different set of objectives. With nationalist governments in power in different countries, the focus shifted on more humanistic concerns.

- The methodology of holistic understanding derived from tribal studies has also made its impact on other disciplines.

- Interest shown in the study of the tribes has gone a long way since its beginning with the colonial interest in these communities. Studies are now taken up with academic interest and also with objectives having policy implications.

Check Your Progress

10. Why was a list of tribal communities drawn post-independence?
11. Who are the primitive tribes?
12. How does P. K. Bhowmick present a classification of the de-notified tribes?
13. State the mandate of the International Labour Organization.

- The studies on tribes have generally two aspects. One is the study of individual tribe and the other is the study of tribes from a cross-cultural perspective.

- Tribal studies have been focussing on studying tribal economies where one encounters a different kind of economic system.

- Tribal/indigenous literature is emerging as a genre in the field of literature as American Literature or Canadian Literature or Indian Literature.

- Archaeological methods help understand the tribal culture as a continuum. Similarly, ethnographic data help explain archaeological facts.

- Every tribe has its customary laws to deal with civil disputes like land disputes and criminal cases like theft, rape and murder. However, these customary laws are uncodified.

- Criminal and civil jurisdictions, implementation of tribal children's right to education and civil rights, the issue of women empowerment, conflict resolution mechanisms in contemporary tribal law are some of the areas of research in tribal communities.

- The term tribe is derived from the Latin term *tribus*, which was used for referring to the threefold division of the ancient people of Rome, identified as the Latin's, the Sabine's and the Etruscans.

- Before the British rule, no community in India was designated as a tribal community. The communities designated as tribes have/had their own terms of reference and reference by the outsiders.

- According to the evolutionary scholars, society or socio-politico development has occurred through four stages and the tribe represents the second stage in the pre-state social organization.

- Tribal communities in India are not static; they are always in the process of adoption and change. The process is more visible when these communities, whether scheduled or non-scheduled are integrated into the Nation's development agenda.

- The term tribe did not exist before the colonial period. However, most of the people with whom the term is associated used to live in forests and hills. Therefore, in India the notion of tribe has evolved from these people.

- The tribe is an administrative and political concept in India. The concept whether we accept it or not, has both administrative and political overtones. Scheduled Tribes, De-notified Tribes, and Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs), are examples.

- In India, tribe is an administrative concept. It refers to Scheduled Tribes, i.e. the tribes and communities listed in the Constitution of India. Other than the Scheduled Tribes, we come across two other administrative terms in the context of tribes: The Primitive Tribes and the Ex-criminal or the De-notified Tribes.

- According to V. K. Srivastava (2005), today when the anthropologist uses the term tribe in the context of India, they include all the communities included in the list of the Scheduled Tribes, although some of them may not be in accordance with the anthropological conception of tribe.

- The territorial dimension also emerges from the fact that the Scheduled Tribe is a state concept. The tribe of one state does not enjoy the same status in another state.

- The Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs) is not a Constitutional category different from the Scheduled Tribes. It is a category within the Scheduled Tribe category.

- The term 'primitive', however, has derogatory overtones. Therefore, B. K. Roy Burman suggested renaming these communities as 'Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups'.

- The de-notified tribes were earlier known as criminal tribes. After they were de-notified, they were also known as ex-criminal tribes.

- In 1937, the Criminal Tribes Committee was set up which was headed by V. N. Tiwari. The Committee was appointed by the Government of United Provinces.

- The native people of many countries did not like to be referred to as a 'tribe'. In different countries, they have their own appellation. In Australia, these people are recognized as 'Aborigines', in New Zealand as 'Maaori', in Canada, as 'First Nations' and in Americas as 'Indigenous people'.

- Indigenous movements, among other things, recognize the term 'indigenous' to designate people who were original settlers in their territory before the colonial contact.

- The use of the term 'indigenous' as a synonym of 'tribe' lacks definitional clarity when its universal applicability is concerned. Because of this ambiguity, the ILO Convention 169 (Article 1) recognizes both, indigenous and tribal people.

- The tribes in contemporary India have undergone many changes. Though the most primitive group in terms of indices of growth and development are the tribes but not all tribes are primitive.

1.6 KEY TERMS

- **Appellation:** It means the name or title by which someone is known.

- **Acephalous society**: It is the society without a political head or hierarchy, democratic type of societies.

- **Cephalous society**: It is the society with a central political head like the chief.

- Ñ **Endogamy**: It is the practice of marrying within the defined kin-group, be it clan, lineage, village or social class.

- **Exogamy**: It is the practice of marriage outside the kin-group.

- **Morphemes**: They are meaningful units into which a word can be divided.

- **Morphology**: It is the study of the morphemes of a language and how they are combined to make words.

- **Theocracy**: It is the system where there is a state religion.

1.7 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. The study of tribal communities commenced with anthropologists' interest in the study of 'other cultures'. Anthropology as a discipline emerged with the study of tribes.

2. With nationalist governments in power in different countries, the focus shifted on more humanistic concerns. In India, for example, the approach shifted to the welfare and development of tribal communities, rather than the colonial approach to keep them isolated.

3. The studies on tribes have generally two aspects. One is the study of individual tribe and the other is the study of tribes in a cross-cultural perspective.

4. Mahasweta Devi's *Chotti Munda and His Arrow*, for example, narrates the exploitation of the tribes and their response and struggle against it.

5. Criminal and civil jurisdictions, implementation of tribal children's right to education and civil rights, the issue of women empowerment, conflict resolution mechanisms in contemporary tribal law are some of the areas of research in tribal communities.

6. The term tribe is derived from the Latin term tribus, which was used for referring to the threefold division of the ancient people of Rome, identified as the Latin's, the Sabine's and the Etruscans.

7. Elman Service and Marshall Sahlins were the two most important figures who observed the evolution of the society from the point of view of different stages—socio-economic development.

8. Maurice Godelier also argues that the tribe is a type of social organization which can only be understood if we view it as a stage in the social evolution.

9. Buddhadeb Chaudhuri (1992) has suggested the term 'ethnic group' as an alternative to the term 'tribe' which is defined as a largely self-perpetuating group in biological terms, sharing the same descent, real or putative, which has a set of similar fundamental values realized in cultural forms.

10. Post-independence it was realized that the most backward communities in terms of development indicators like literacy, access to health care, nutrition, income, poverty are from the tribes of India. Therefore, a list of tribal communities was drawn to provide special assistance to them.

11. Primitive tribe is an administrative category used for those Scheduled Tribe communities who were identified as more isolated from the wider community and who maintain a distinctive cultural identity.

12. On the basis of their habitats, occupations and ways of life, Bhowmick presents a classification of these de-notified tribes into the following groups:
    (i) Nomadic groups who have taken to criminal life
    (ii) Fighting men and soldiers who having lost their jobs, have turned into criminals
    (iii) Communities who used to work as village watchman and police, but have taken to criminal life
    (iv) Wild tribes in distress who took to criminal living as a way out of the plight they had fallen in
    (v) Beggars turned into criminals
    (vi) Some settled castes and tribes who took to criminality due to poverty

13. The mandate of the International Labour Organization is the protection of the workers' rights.

NOTES

1.8 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. How have the studies on tribes contributed immensely to the growth of knowledge in academics?

2. State the relevance of tribal studies.

3. Why are tribal societies in a transitional phase?

4. List the nature of tribal studies as a discipline.

5. What is the relationship between life sciences and tribal studies?

6. Name few laws which are meant to safeguard the interests of tribal people.

7. Write a note on tribe as a colonial construct in India.

8. State the reason behind the tribes being in a state of transition.

9. Why is Anthony Walker of the opinion that the term 'caste' has a 'considerable value' in comparison to the term 'tribe'?

10. List the criteria established by the Lokur Committee for declaring a particular community as a Scheduled Tribe.

11. The term 'primitive' has derogatory overtones. Give your views.

12. Give a background of the Criminal Tribes Act.

13. Who are the indigenous people? How are they different from the tribes?

14. What is the contemporary tribal situation of India?

Long-Answer Questions

1. What are tribal studies? How did they evolve?

2. Discuss the nature, scope and relevance of tribal studies.

3. Assess the relationship between tribal studies and other disciplines like economics, sociology and law.

4. Critically analyse the relationship between tribal studies and political science, history and literature.

5. Assess the colonial origin of the term tribe.

6. Describe tribe as a stage of evolution.

7. Evaluate the origin of the term tribe and its evolution in India.

8. Who are the Scheduled Tribes? Why is the concept of Scheduled Tribe a state concept?

9. Describe the Primitive Tribals Group (PTGs) as a category of the Scheduled Tribes.

10. Explain the category of the de-notified tribes and the reason behind their taking recourse to theft.

1.9 FURTHER READING

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UNIT 2 TRIBAL STUDIES IN INDIA

Structure

2.0 INTRODUCTION

The origin of the term 'tribe' has been discussed in the previous unit. The unit also defined its meaning and scope. As we know the concept of tribe was never in use before the British rule. Hence, the concept of tribe in India is a colonial legacy. Therefore, post-independence, the word 'tribe' is not used in the anthropological sense. We use it as an administrative concept. Moreover, there are tribes who are not scheduled in the Constitution and exist in an anthropological sense. Therefore, in India tribes are studied either in the colonial sense or as an administrative concept or as an anthropological category. There exists different approaches to study the tribes. In this unit, we shall discuss the historical background and different approaches to study the tribes. Moreover, studies on tribes show different perspectives which have emerged from such studies. We shall also discuss the nature and types of such studies to understand the interdisciplinary perspectives in tribal studies.

2.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Trace the establishment of tribal studies in India
- Describe the characteristics and features of the Indian tribes
- Analyse the emerging fields of knowledge in tribal studies
- Explain the anthropological approach to study tribes
- Describe the emic and etic approach to tribal studies
- Assess the policy approaches to tribes in detail

2.2 EMERGENCE AND GROWTH OF TRIBAL STUDIES

Tribal studies, as a discipline are of a recent origin and emerged when different universities started offering Post-graduation courses, M. Phil courses, Ph. D programmes or Post-graduation diploma programmes in tribal studies. But the interest in the study of tribes dates back to the colonial period. In India, the study of tribes started with the administrative support during the British period with an objective of generating data for the smooth administration of tribes. The government of independent India took interest in tribal studies as its welfare measure of the people of India in general and the tribes in particular. In this section, we shall discuss the history of tribal studies and its growth over the period.

2.2.1 Beginning of Tribal Studies in India

During the 18th century, the British government felt the need to have an ethnographic account on different tribes of India with a view to rule them easily. They were not anthropologists by training and profession, but their account on the tribes provided ample information on the tribal history of India. A number of foreign anthropologists visited India to record the customs and traditions of the Indian tribes. British anthropologist W. H. R. Rivers came to India in 1904 and studied the Toda tribe of South India, which was published in 1906. Another anthropologist, Alfred Radcliffe-Brown came to India to study the Onge tribe of the Andaman Islands in 1906 and 1908. A monograph on the Onge tribe was published in 1922 under the title *The Andaman Islanders*. Therefore, during the colonial period, we have works on tribes which are administrative accounts and ethnographic studies. Most of the data were collected from fieldworks.

Among the Indian scholars, **S. C. Roy** is regarded as 'The Father of Indian Ethnography'. He was a lawyer by profession. He settled in Ranchi to establish his practice as a pleader (legal practitioner). Gradually, he came in contact with the tribal people of Chota Nagpur. He gradually developed an interest in their life and culture. As a lawyer, S. C. Roy used to visit the interiors of Chota Nagpur on commission from courts and could observe the tribals from close quarters. He was distressed by the way tribals were treated in the court of law. He emphasized the need to study the tribal customary laws in order to do justice to their cases. Roy was of the opinion that having knowledge about the history of a tribe would help us appreciate its culture better. He studied the Munda, Oraon and Birhor tribes and published the information he collected on them. He first published a monograph on the Mundas.

The later ethnographic works of S. C. Roy are *The Oraons of Choto Nagpur: Their History, Economic Life and Social Organization* (1915), *The Birhors: A Little-known Jungle Tribe of Chota Nagpur* (1925), *Oraon Religion and Customs* (1928), and *The Hill Bhuiyas of Orissa* (1935). Because of his deep and sound understanding of tribal life and culture, the government often sought his advice whenever the government faced administrative problems in dealing with the tribals. He proved how timely intervention by an anthropologist could lead to the end of stress and strain in the society. He emphasized the need for giving anthropological training not only to the administrative and judicial officers, but to the forest and excise officers also, who were posted in tribal areas.

Another anthropologist who contributed immensely to tribal studies in India was **D. N. Majumdar**. He conducted fieldwork among the Ho tribes of Bihar, which later

was published as a book in 1937. He was the first Indian to study and write about the impact of non-tribals on the life of Indian tribes. He also pleaded for the application of the findings of anthropology to the task of development and policy formulation. His posthumous book, *Himalayan Polyandry, Structure, Functioning and Culture Change: A field study of Jaunsar-Bawar* (1962) contains a detailed discussion of the community development programmes in Jaunsar-Bawar in Uttaranchal.

J. K. Bose's book on *Culture Change among the Garos* (1985), based on his field work in 1941 is significant from both methodological and empirical points of view. In this book, Bose has studied the Garo tribe who had migrated to the plains of Mymensingh (present Bangladesh) adjacent to the Garo Hills around 1891 and had adopted cultivation. On the basis of field study, he studied the changes taking place among the Garos in their new settlement with reference to their original settlement in Garo Hills.

Another popular work on the tribes was the one conducted by **M. N. Srinivas** among the Coorgs. In his one year of fieldwork among the Coorgs, he gathered data on marriage and family, which was published in 1942.

Probodh Kumar Bhowmick is another Indian scholar who studied the tribes on two accounts: To prepare ethnography and to work towards the upliftment of the tribes. He believed that research does not merely lie in 'knowing about underprivileged' rather in 'doing something for the upliftment of the underprivileged'. Since 1955 P. K. Bhowmick carried out his activities for the socio-economic development of the tribes in general and the Lodha tribe in particular. He founded the Ashram-cum-Research Institute *Bidisha*, where traditional knowledge on tribes culminates with the social research for their upliftment according to the changing needs of modern times. His twin objectives are reflected in his book *Applied-Action Development Anthropology* published in 1990.

Renowned anthropologist L. P. Vidyarthi studied the tribal village named Ghanhra under the auspices of Census Operation in 1961. The study of this Munda village reflects how Manjhi, a section of Munda tribe, has adopted the Hindu style of life and become a caste. His book, *Cultural Contours of Tribal Bihar* (1966) explains the historical, geographical and social background of the tribes of Chota Nagpur. Some concepts like unity and extension, sanskritization and desanskritization, tribalization and detribalization have also been attempted in the context of tribal Bihar. The book explains the factors responsible for bringing changes in the tribal societies of Bihar. **L. P. Vidyarthi** and **B. K. Roy Burman** wrote a book under the title *The Tribal Culture of India* (1976). Taking data from secondary sources at the Indian level, the authors have attempted to present a comparative and comprehensive view on the social, economic, political and religious life of the Indian tribes. The book also presents a good amount of information on folklore, art, course of life and personality structure in the context of tribal India. The book highlights the character of tribal village, matriliny and polyandry in tribal India. It also deals with the approaches, planning and programmes for tribal development and cultural changes among the tribes of India.

2.2.2 Stages in Tribal Studies

The researches conducted on the tribes of India may be reviewed at par with researches on Indian anthropology in three chronological phases of development, namely:

1. Formative phase (1774-1919)

2. Constructive phase (1920-1949)

3. Analytical phase (1950-1990)

1. Formative Phase

It may be noted that though the scholars have identified these three phases of development, it does not mean that one phase completely replaces the other phase. Also, there have been different rates of development of tribal researches in various parts of India.

Tribal research in India owes its foundation to the establishment of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (1774). Sir William Jones, the founder member, piloted a number of researches and publications on subjects concerning the tribes. Hereafter, the British administrators, missionaries, travellers and other individuals interested in tribal studies collected data on tribes and wrote extensively about their life and lifestyle. They collected ethnographic data and published a series of handbooks on the tribes. They also wrote about tribal life and culture in *The Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (1784), *Indian Antiquary* (1872) and later in the *Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society* (1915) and *Man in India* (1921).

The British government appointed a large number of scholarly-oriented British administrators in tribal areas to enquire about their habits, religion and other cultural aspects to facilitate easy rule. These generalized works about the land and people of different regions were followed by some detailed accounts by scholars who were greatly influenced by British anthropologists like Rivers and others who published monographs on different tribes of India.

These works by British administrators are still valuable for basic information about the life and culture of the tribes and castes in different regions of India. Risley, Dalton and O'Malley wrote on the people of East India, Russel of Middle India, Thurston of South India and Coorks on people of Northern India during this period. Besides, there are some other works on tribes by some administrators. Mention may be made of the following:

- G. Campbell, 1866: *The Ethnology of India*
- R. G. Latham, 1859: *Ethnography of India*
- H. H. Risley, 1891: *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*
- George W. Briggs, 1920: *The Chamars*

Under these influences, the first Indian, who was later known as the 'Father of Indian Ethnography' to write exhaustive monographs on the tribes of the country was S. C. Roy, who published a monograph on the Munda (1912) and the Oraon (1915). He is also called the 'Father of Indian Ethnology'.

2. Constructive Phase

Tribal study in India entered its second phase—constructive phase—when social anthropology was included in the curriculum of the two important universities of Mumbai (in 1919) and Kolkata (in 1921). Scholars like G. S. Ghurye, Irawati Karve, A. Ayyappan provided the initial stimulation to organize scientific anthropological researches. They did this by conducting field expeditions, writing books and articles and also by training researchers for undertaking anthropological researches especially on various aspects of tribal culture. These scholars have worked across disciplinary boundaries.

A big advancement in tribal studies came in 1938 when the joint session of the Indian Science Congress Association (ISCA) and the British Association was held. During the session, the progress of anthropology in India was reviewed and the plans for future anthropological researches in India were discussed.

During the constructive phase, different anthropologists studied and analysed their doctoral data critically and brought out a certain amount of theoretical sophistication in tribal researches in India. D. N. Majumdar's work on changing Hos of Singbhum entitled *The Affairs of a Tribe: A Study in Tribal Dynamics* (1950), M. N. Srinivas' publication *Marriage and Family in Mysore* (1942), and N. K. Bose's *Hindu Method of Tribal Absorption* (1941) brought the turning point in tribal studies in India. During this time, missionary turned anthropologist Verrier Elwin, came out with a series of his problem-oriented publications on the tribes of Madhya Pradesh and Odisha. His publications like *The Baiga* (1939), *The Agaria* (1942), *Maria, Murder and Suicide* (1943), *The Muria and Their Ghotul* (1947), and *The Religion of an Indian Tribe* (1955) were important insights in tribal studies. *A Philosophy for NEFA* and *Democracy in NEFA* were his further contributions to tribal studies.

Christoph von Fürer-Haimendorf's publication like *The Chenchus. A Jungle Folk of the Deccan* (1942), *Tribal Populations of Hyderabad* (1945), *The Reddis of the Bison Hills*: *A Study in Acculturation* (in collaboration with Elizabeth von Fürer-Haimendorf in two volumes, 1945), were landmarks in tribal studies. His works on Apatanis also were subsequent additions to tribal studies. The tradition of tribal studies as the exclusive focus by the progressive British scholars, administrators, missionaries and the British and Indian anthropologists continued till the end of forties of the 20th century.

3. Analytical Phase

After Independence, the tribal studies in India witnessed an analytical and action-oriented approach. As a result the tribal communities began to be studied with an interdisciplinary approach. The constitutional commitments to ameliorate the conditions of the tribal communities gave a boost to study and evaluate the processes of change in the tribal communities. The Census operations of the Government of India also intensified the schemes of tribal studies. The tradition of tribal research was further enriched during the contemporary analytical phase. A number of non-governmental organizations came up in the country to look into the welfare of the tribal people. They drew the attention of the government to the tribal problems and their possible solutions.

During the early period of the analytical phase, D. N. Majumdar, M. M. Das, L. P. Vidyarthi, K. N. Sahay, B. N. Sahay, S. C. Sinha, P. K. Bhowmick and N. K. Behura contributed to the tribal studies from an analytical viewpoint. The analytical tradition is upheld by present scholars of tribal studies like A. K. Kapoor, V. K. Srivastava, K. K. Mishra, Jagannath Das, L. K. Mahapatra, Ashim Adhikary, V. S. Sahay, Tamo Mibang, M. C. Behera, Malli Gandhi, Karma Oraon, Soumya Ranjan Patnaik, Prafulla Mohapatra and many others.

2.2.3 Present Trends in Tribal Studies

Interest of Government Organizations (GOs) and Non-Government Organizations (NGOs)

Beginning with the colonial interest to study the tribes for the purpose of administration, the interest in the study of tribes has been diversified and has travelled a long way. It is not the academic interest, but the necessity of the development practitioners which has strengthened the studies on the tribes and about the tribes. No doubt various government organizations and NGOs have taken interest in tribal studies. The University Grants Commission (UGC), Ministry of Tribal Affairs, Indian Council of Social Science Research

(ICSSR) and many funding agencies provide financial assistance to research projects on tribes and their ways of life. Dibrugarh University, Assam, for example, has made a study of demographic profiles of more than 10 tribes of North-East under Special Assistance Programme of University Grants Commission, New Delhi.

K. S. Singh, in his project 'People of India' and in various seminars and conferences, has contributed to the tribal studies. His approach is basically anthropo-historical studies of the tribes and tribal–non-tribal relations. In the academic sphere, various universities having centres, institutes and departments promote research works on tribal studies. Recently V. K. Srivastava has made a survey of ICSSR funding to tribal researches in the country. In many states, there are tribal research institutes and many research institutes are coming up which conduct researches on different aspects of tribal way of life. The Anthropological Survey of India conducts studies not only on socio-cultural aspects of the tribes, but also on physical aspects. Recent interest in Indigenous Knowledge Systems (IKS) has given a new impetus to the study of tribes.

Scholars study the various aspects of tribal life from interdisciplinary perspectives. Not only that, they study different tribes and topics in the course of their academic pursuits contrary to the earlier tradition of studying one tribe for a long time. This is because language is not a problem for field scholars and there are earlier works available as base work. Moreover, refined field methods like participatory rural appraisal are also available. Jagannath Das, V. S. Sahay, A. K. Kapoor and many others have studied a number of tribes. M. C. Behera has also studied a number of tribes with distinct research objectives and methodological perspectives. On the basis of his study of the Puroiks (2001-02) of Arunachal Pradesh, he has contributed to the understanding of the concept of *foraging mode of thought*. He has also produced two ethnographic reports, namely *Impact of Orange Cultivation on Traditional Role of Galo Women* (1999), *Village India: Identification and Enhancement of Cultural Heritage* (2000) on the Galo and the Minyong group of Adi tribe respectively. He has—after working among the Khamptis—produced a book entitled *Planning and Socio-Economic Development of the Tribals* (1994).

The growing academic and applied interests in tribal studies has increasing institutional support in the form of a National Commission or Tribal Research Institutes in many states, Line Ministry of Tribal Affairs, and Centres, Institutes and Departments in Universities. Institutional interests in tribal studies sometimes aim at promoting and preserving tribal culture. The Bhasha Research and Publication Centre was established in 1996 as a voluntary organization for the study, conservation, and promotion of tribal languages, literature, history, culture, arts, and crafts. It is also concerned with the socio-economic welfare of the tribals and protection of their human rights. Bhasha's work is mostly conducted in the western tribal belt of Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat, and Rajasthan. It also extends to other regions, primarily through its activities among migrating communities, especially the de-notified and nomadic tribes. In order to save the tribal languages from extinction and to preserve their vast cultural and literary treasures, Bhasha publishes a magazine called *Dhol* in 11 tribal languages (Ahirani, Dungri Bhili, Panchamahali Bhili, Kunkna, Dehvali, Rathawi, Bhantu, Choudhri, Gor-Banjara, Pawri, and Marathi). The editor of each issue is a folklorist/compiler of oral literature in his or her respective community. *Dhol* has emerged as a platform on which tribal intellectuals can share their cultural knowledge and practices with the other tribes of India. The COATS (Council of Analytical and Tribal Studies), Koraput provides M. Phil and Ph. D degrees in Tribal Studies at the Berhampur University. Besides, it is engaged in researches pertaining to tribal development of the region.

Tribal studies have been introduced as a research subject at M. Phil and Ph. D. levels of many Universities like Rani Durgavati Vishwavidyalaya, Jabalpur; Rajiv Gandhi University, Itanagar; Indira Gandhi National Tribal University, Amarkantak and many others. Except one University (Kannada University, Hampi) there are no independent Post-graduation (P.G.) programmes in other Universities. However, P.G. Programme in anthropology is combined with tribal studies in North Orissa University, Guru Ghasidas University and Central University of Orissa. Moreover, Tripura and Himachal Pradesh University have introduced P.G Diploma in tribal studies. Universities like Assam University, Nagaland University, Anand Agricultural University, Kannur University have centres of tribal studies, mainly to promote research activities.

The Central University of Jharkhand has established four centres pertaining to tribal studies. These are Indigenous Cultural Studies, Tribal and Customary Law, Tribal Folklore, Language and Culture and Tribal Music and Performing Arts. Krishna Kanta Handique State Open University has introduced a paper on 'Tribal Social System' in its Programme Masters of Social Work. Rajiv Gandhi University also has introduced Tribal Studies as a subject at the Under-graduate level in distance education. Quite a good number of journals are now available on tribal studies. You will also find that many state governments have started with tribal research institutes. This growing importance of tribal studies can be attributed to its relevance and in its expanding scope in contemporary times.

Tribes are studied as a stage in the process of social change. Obviously, there are theoretical works. The development practitioners show interest in action-oriented researches. Language and identity issues have become a thrust area in tribal studies. Due to the conversion to alien religion, many scholars take interest in the study of the identity and cultural process of the tribal communities. Resource management and people's knowledge in bio-diversity has also become a thrust area of research in tribal studies. Documentation of culture and knowledge system of the tribes has been undertaken by many scholars. As the tribes are conscious of their rights and duties, there are attempts to safeguard their rights on land and forests. Impact of different policies and Acts on these resources and on tribal rights has emerged as an interesting area of study. So is the case with the area of health and hygiene. The tribal system of medicine and its efficacy is now the interest of study for many scholars. Documentation of customary laws has been the thrust area of study for many research organizations. The syllabus is so designed as to focus on the above aspects through four papers.

2.2.4 Characterizing Indian Tribes

We all are aware that the term 'tribe' is a colonial construct. The colonial ruler divided the Indian society into tribes and castes; the analogy for the group of people as tribes was drawn from the Australian and African experiences. Risley used this analogy to define tribes in the 1901 Census. According to Risley and Gait, a tribe is a collection of families or groups of families having the following characteristics:

- Bearing a common name, which as a rule, does not denote any specific occupation
- Generally claiming a common descent from a mythical or historical ancestor and occasionally from an animal, but in some parts of the country held together rather by the obligation of blood feud than by the tradition of kinship
- Usually speaking the same language and occupying, professing, or claiming to occupy a definite tract of the country

- Is not necessarily endogamous; that is to say it is not invariably the rule that a man of a particular tribe must marry a woman of that tribe and cannot marry a woman of a different tribe

Risley's attempt to define a tribe, in contrast to caste is clearly apparent in his definition of a tribe. Tribes were not occupational groups; their names do not specify any occupation. On the other hand, caste names mostly denote the occupations of the members. For example, *Lohar* (ironsmith), *Swarnkar* (goldsmith) or *Teli* (oil presser) caste names also indicate their respective occupations. In caste system, the principle of caste endogamy is strictly followed, which was in Risley's opinion not the case with the tribes.

Contrary to Risley's definition, the tribes in contemporary India have an occupation or set of occupations and they speak many languages. They are mobile and have migrated to different parts of the country. For example, Santhals who are the native people of Chota Nagpur plateau have also settled in Assam for occupational reasons since a very long time. Isolation is disappearing. A section of them is as advanced as any middle class community in India. Why do we then continue calling them tribes? This is so because they are scheduled as a tribe in our Constitution.

In India a tribe is always in the process of interaction and we have constitutional nomenclature for it. Though the tribes are in the process of interaction, still they differ in respect of their level of interaction, place of habitation and so on. Therefore, Indian scholars have their schema of characterizing a community as a tribe. All characteristics may or may not be present in a community but these are general aspects for our understanding of what a tribe stands for.

S. C. Dube (1990) has listed the following characteristics of the tribal groups in India:

- Their roots in the soil date back to a very early period. If they are not original inhabitants, they are among the oldest inhabitants of the land. However, their position is different from the American Indians, Australian aborigines and the native African population. They were present much before the white settlers arrived in these countries. There is no doubt of their being the indigenous population of these places.

  However, this cannot be true in the case of Indian tribes. Tribes have been living in close contact with the non-tribals for centuries. Some tribes like the Mizos and Khamptis have settled much later in their place of habitation.

- They live in the relative isolation of hills and forests. This was not always so. There are evidences of their presence in the Gangetic plains. It is only because of subordination and marginalization that they have been forced to retreat to inaccessible places.

- Their sense of history is shallow, for them history is restricted to three to four generations. Beyond that it tends to get merged in mythology. But in recent years the oral tradition which was considered to be a weak source of history is accepted as the source material to reconstruct the history of the pre-literate people.

- They have a low level of techno-economic development.

- In terms of their cultural ethos—language, institutions, beliefs, worldview and customs, they are different from the others.

- By and large they are non-hierarchic and undifferentiated. There are some exceptions like the Gonds, the Ahoms and the Cheros who once had a ruling class or the landed aristocracy.

T. B. Naik has given the following features of tribes in the Indian context:

- A tribe should have least functional interdependence within the community.
- It should be economically backward (i.e. primitive means of exploiting natural resources, tribal economy should be at an underdeveloped stage and it should have multifarious economic pursuits).
- There should be a comparative geographical isolation of its people.
- They should have a common dialect.
- Tribes should be politically organized and the community panchayat should be influential.
- A tribe should have customary laws.

Naik argues that a community should possess all the above mentioned characteristics to be eligible as a tribe. A very high level of acculturation with the outside society debars it from being a tribe. Thus, the term tribe usually denotes a social group bound together by kinship and duty, and associated with a particular territory. The society is changing, therefore, the concept shifts to accommodate changes over the period to understand the dynamics.

Today, in India, the term 'tribe' is used to mean:

- The communities included in the list of the scheduled tribes
- The communities that were relatively isolated at one time and later had their integration with the outside world, but have continued to call themselves tribes because of their vested interests
- The communities that still dwell in remotely situated forests and hills and are backward in terms of the indices of development, although they may not have yet found a place in the list of the scheduled tribes

2.2.5 Emerging Fields of Knowledge in Tribal Studies

Studies on tribes have not been limited to research engagements only; the nature of study has been diverse, topically including research works, creative world view, and aesthetics. Further, the research is no more confined to knowing the tribal culture and tribes for the purpose of administrative necessity or for the academic curiosity of knowing the 'others'. The study now addresses the contemporary issues both from the empirical and theoretical perspectives. In India, works/studies on tribes that could be summed up in the discipline of tribal studies, cover a wide range of subjects and topics. We have categorized a few of the available works on tribal studies to understand its growing importance as a discipline.

As you know, the discipline tribal studies provides a holistic frame of understanding of phenomena. Further, it is also interdisciplinary even in topical investigation. Tribal studies as a discipline has been included in many University courses in different forms—as a separate paper or a few chapters in a paper. As a result, research works are undertaken by students and faculty members within the discipline providing such courses. There is no doubt that disciplines like sociology, history, economics, political science, social work and development studies have contributed immensely to its growth. For example, in the discipline of history you will find a good number of studies on tribes. Few of such works are as follows:

- *Problem of the Hill Tribes: North-East Frontier 1843-72* (1978) by H. K. Barpujari

- *Glimpses of the Early History of Arunachal Pradesh* (1973) by L. N. Chakravarty

- 'Customary Rights and Colonial Regulations: Thana Forests in the Nineteenth Century' (1993) by Indira Munshi Saldanha

- *History of the Frontier Areas Bordering on Assam: From 1883-1941* (1983) by Robert Reid

- *The North-East Frontier of India* (1884) by A. Mackenzie

- *Tribal History of Eastern India* (1973) by E. T. Dalton

- *Ahom-Tribal Relations: A Political Study (1968)* by Lakshmi Devi

Ethnohistory is also emerging as a branch of tribal studies in recent years. Mention may be made of *The Nyishi of Arunachal Pradesh: An Ethnohistorical Study* (2009) by Tana Showren.

The categorization of various fields in tribal studies made here is often overlapping. For example, exclusion is a conceptual frame of examining the impact of development. Hence, it is a development issue. But the concept being a distinct way of understanding the impact of market driven development process is treated separately in our categorization. Similarly, tribal culture and tribal ethnography do not have much difference except from the methodological perspective while studying the culture. But ethnography is not limited to the study of culture only. It covers the study of contemporary issues. For example, *Ethnography of Development among the Car Nicobarese* by Keya Pandey and Sashi Bhatia, 2006, describes development dynamics in the community based on ethnographic data. However, we have discussed tribal culture and ethnography together from the point of view of studying culture only.

You will also find that the issue of identity pervades through many categories made here. So the categorization is made for the convenience of understanding the emergence of different distinct fields in tribal studies.

Similarly 'indigeneity' in itself is very wide in scope to cover all aspects of culture. Traditional knowledge, faiths and beliefs, arts and crafts and customary laws, all are inclusive in the frame of indigeneity. Similarly, the cultural frame of analysis is also wide in its scope and includes all these aspects. Without defining conceptual perspectives, we have presented topical divisions in tribal studies. However, these divisions are not made as water-tight compartments.

Emergence of important fields of knowledge in tribal studies and examples of a few of the available works have been presented here. The list of books presented will motivate you to study further on the subject.

Ethnography and Culture

Cultural and ethnographic studies cover a wide range of topical investigations. Civilizational studies, for example, are an important dimension of such studies. 'Tribal Cultures of Peninsular India as a dimension of Little Tradition in the Study of Indian Civilization: A Preliminary Statement' (1959) by Surajit Sinha is an example in this regard. In civilizational studies, village studies constitute an important dimension. You will find works on village studies which have enriched tribal studies in general. Mention may be made of the following:

Tribal Villages in Arunachal Pradesh: Changing Human Interface (2004), *Dynamics of Tribal Villages in Arunachal Pradesh: Emerging Realities* (2004) edited

by Tamo Mibang and M. C. Behera, and *The Tribal Village in Bihar: A study in unity and extension* (1966) by Sachidananda.

Many topical divisions present the culture of the tribes. These include monographs, works on cross-cultural studies, ethnographic works on society and social institutions, beliefs and practices and so on. A few general works on ethnography and tribal cultures is mentioned below:

The Binjhias by Sushil Kerketta (1996); *The Maria Gonds of Bastar* by W. C. Grigson (1935); *Hill Kharia/Sabar* by V. S. Upadhyay; *Society and World View of the Birhor* (1984) by Ashim Kumar Adhikary; *Kora Tribal Community* by Rajesh Kumar Choudhary; *A Glimpse of Santali Tradition* by Parao Murmu; *Polyandry in India* (1987) edited by M. K. Raha and P. C. Coomar; *History and Culture of the Adis* (1993) by Tai Nyori; *The Naked Nagas* (1946) by C. F. Haimendorf; 'Ethnographic method and its Applications in Cultural and Social Anthropological Research' (2009) by D. K. Sahu and Ankita Arya; 'Between Ethnomethodology and Ethnography: Constraints and Strategies' (2009) by Bindu Ramachandran; *The Tribal Culture of India* (1985) by L. P. Vidyarthi and B. K. Rai; *Social Organization of the Minyongs* (1990) by R. N. Srivastava; *Dialogues with the Dead: The Discussion of Mortality among the Sora of Eastern India* (1993) by Piers Vitebsky; 'Communities, Conservation and the Challenges of Participation: An Ethnographic Detour of Conservation Programme and the Fate of Jhummias in Naga Villages' (2010) by Debojyoti Das; *Amazing Arunachal Pradesh* by M. C. Behera and K. K. Misra, 2013; *Marriage in Tribal Societies (Cultural Dynamics and Social Realities)* (2007), 2006 *Marriage and Culture, in two volumes (2006)* edited by Tamo Mibang and M. C. Behera.

Tribal Literature

Literature in tribal studies reflects the creative imagination of the authors in the form of poems, essays, novels and so on. But this imagination is coloured by the contemporary social issues. Needless to say, the literatures available on tribes by tribal authors and others present the dynamics of society including such themes as gender issues, violence and insurgency, feminism, ecological concerns, exploitation and many others. Here, mention is made of two novels to understand how creative imagination incorporates the protests to exploitation in the society.

The first one is ***Paraja***, a novel written by Gopinath Mohanty which was first published in 1945, before Independence. ***Paraja*** is a tale of woe of a tribal peasant family living in a remote village of the then Koraput district of Odisha. Sukru Jani, who belongs to the Paraja tribe is easily exploited by everyone in authority. Money lenders, forest guards, judges, letter writers, lawyers, land owners, policemen, all prey on him until at last he loses his land, his freedom, and his family. Sukru Jani's tragic tale begins when one day he is fined for cutting down forest trees—the same trees that he had always thought to be free gifts of nature—and he has to borrow money from the Sahukar to pay the fine. In order to pay off this small debt, he and his younger son become ***gotis*** to the Sahukar. However, the small debt is never redeemed. Their valuable land is mortgaged and is never returned even when debts have been repaid. They go to the court of law but lose the case. Sukru Jani and his sons begin to live elsewhere as *gotis*, and the daughters are left at home. It is at this point that the daughters begin to feel an emotional vacuum. Their dreams are lost in the quagmire of poverty and they begin to stray. Things get more complicated when the elder daughter, Jili, becomes the mistress of the same Sahukar who had snatched their land, cheated, exploited and tortured her

father and brothers. Sukru Jani and his sons appeal once more to the Sahukar to return their land, but when their humble submission is met with abuses, they lose their head and kill the Sahukar.

The same overtone is clearly visible in Mahasweta Devi's novel *Chotti Munda and his Arrow* written in 1980. Devi presents the conflicts and compromises in the Munda community through the life of Chotti that ranges over the decades in which India travels from the colonial rule to the unrest of 1970s via independence of the country. Chotti Munda, the hero of the novel is believed by his community members to have supernatural powers; myth is woven around his arrow of having a spell. But Chotti Munda is more practical towards life. He protests against injustice to his people. He negotiates with agents of 'modernity' with a sense of strong commitment for the cause of his community and its members. He is hailed as a leader and thus the myth about his supernatural power becomes his community identity. Later, to protect and preserve the dignity of the community and protect the future of the youths, he accepts a crime which he had not committed.

In Arunachal Pradesh, Lummer Dai, Y. D. Thongchi and Mamang Dai write on their own culture as it encounters external forces of change. There is a humanitarian overtone in their writings and a critical description of the cultural change; somewhere a conflict between tradition and modernity is noticed in their writings. Lummer Dai's *Paharor Xile Xile* (In the Midst of Rocks of Hill), 1961; *Prithibir Hanhi* (The Smile of the Earth), 1963; *Mon Aru Mon* (Heart to Heart), 1968; *Kainyar Mulya* (Bride Price), 1982 and *Upar Mahal* (Higher Level) are novels written in Assamese. Y. D. Thongchi's *Saba kota Manuh*, *Mouna Ounth Mukhar Hriday* (Silent Lips, Talking Heart) situates culture in the changing context. Mamang Dai's *Legends of Pensam* (2006) is a search of her own cultural identity through her journey from the past to the present. J. Malsawma is a Mizo writer who writes in Mizo. The works such as *Zozia: Ethics and Moral Principles of Mizo People* (2003) and *Zonun: Collection of Essays on Mizo Culture* (1963) are presentations of the culture in the changing world. There are some works on tribal leaders and eminent persons. Mention may be made of *Life and Times of Birsa Bhagwan* by P. C. Orwan (General editor), 1964; *Jadonang: A Mystic Naga* (2009) by Gangmumei Kamei; and *Rani Gaidinliu* (2002) by Kusumlata Nayyar.

Tribal Customary Laws

Studies on tribal customary laws in India can be traced back to the beginning of tribal studies in the country. The British administrators reported the customs, practices and culture of the tribes in their writings. Ethnographers also recorded the customs and practices while writing monographs. There are occasions when the government deputed anthropologists to document the customary practices for reference in courts. We are already aware of the works of S. C. Roy on the Mundas and J. K. Bose on Garo inheritance laws in this regard.

Studies on tribal customary laws cover a wide range of topics and issues. The themes cover documentation of customs and practices, examines constitutional provisions, various Acts and regulations, and their critiques from various perspectives. For example, studies that are carried out relate to the extent to which the constitutional provisions have been able to conserve tribal traditions. The development interventions conform to the functioning of traditional tribal institutions and preserve the tribal mode of life. The provisions of laws and regulations accommodate customs and practices, and so on. The study also examines the implementation of various Acts and assesses the impact on tribal communities.

The topics and issues taken up for study are also varied in nature. Some of them are customary laws in social and political institutions, land tenure and inheritance, succession, adoptions, social and criminal offences, traditional system of administration of justice, process of arbitration, nature of witness and evidence, leadership pattern and its changing nature. The study also addresses such issues as critical analysis of uncodified customary practices vis-a-vis codified laws.

There are also laws to accommodate the changing trends taking place in the society. There are legal views on the status of the child of a couple where one of the spouses does not belong to the tribe or the endogamous group. The scholars study such types of laws with reference to customary practices.

Studies which form the subject matter of tribal and customary laws are based on various Acts and regulations. Some of them are: Chotanagpur Tenancy Act, 1908 and its amendments as in 1982, 1983; The Orissa Scheduled Areas Transfer of Immovable Property (By Scheduled Tribes) Regulations, 1956 and Rules 1959; The Agency Tracts Interest and Land Transfer Act, 1917 (covers the then Ganjam, Vizagapatnam and Godavari agency tracts); The Government of India (Excluded and Partially Excluded Area) Order, 1936; The North-East Frontier Tracts (Internal Administration) Regulation, 1943; The Bihar Scheduled Areas Laws Regulation, 1950. Two recent Acts on the matter are the Panchayats (Extension to the Scheduled Areas) Act (PESA), 1996 and the Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act, 2006.

You will come across a good number of works on tribal customs and practices documented during the study of tribal cultures. These are tribe specific or general in nature. These works are either authored or edited covering various tribes. Some of them are:

Tribal Customary Laws of North-East India (2011) by Shibani Roy and S. H. M. Rizvi; *Tribal Ethnography, Customary Law and Change* (1993) by K. S. Singh; *Life and Customary Laws of Tripura Tribe* (2009), K. N. Jena and B. D. Tripura; *Customary Laws of Tribes in Rajasthan* (2012) by Mukesh Bhargava; *Customary Law of the Austric-Speaking Tribes* (2002) by P. K. Bhowmick; *Garo Customary Laws and Practices* (2000) by Julius Marak; *Tribal Law in India* (2004) by G. S. Narwani; 'Laws relating to Land Transfer in Scheduled Areas of Andhra Pradesh' (2009) by Sri O.S.V.D. Prasad; 'Customary Rights in Law and Forest and the State' (1993) by L. K. Mahapatra; *The Customary Laws of the Munda and the Oraon* (2002) by Jai Prakash Gupta; *A Handbook of Dimasa Customary Practices* (2004) by L. K. Nunisa; *Customary Rights in Land and Forest of the Tribals of Chotanagpur* (1993) by M. C. Sarkar; *Customary Laws of Nyishi Tribe of Arunachal Pradesh* (2012) by N. N. Hina; and many others. Jagannath Shroff has compiled various Acts in a book entitled *Laws Preventing Land Alienation by Scheduled Tribes and Castes* (2013) which governed land tenure and land transfers in some agencies of Andhra Pradesh and Orissa during the colonial rule. He has also included laws on the subject after independence and the implication of such laws.

There are also works available on tribal leadership, working of tribal political institutions, status of women in customs and practices. Some of the works are:

Democracy in NEFA (1965) by Verrier Elwin; *Tribal Leadership in Bihar*, (1991) by S. P. Sinha (ed.), *Emerging Pattern of Tribal Leadership in Arunachal Pradesh* (2005) by Rejir Karlo; *Local Government in Arunachal Pradesh* (1997) by D. Pandey;

Customary Laws in North-East India: Impact on Women (ed.) by Walter Fernandes, Melville Pereira and Vizalenu Khatso; *Kinship, Politics and Law in Naga Society* (1993) by N. K. Das; *Customary Law and Women: The Chakhesang Nagas* (2003) by Adino Vitso and many such types of works covering different tribal groups of the country.

Tribal Development and Policies

In tribal studies, the issues of tribal development have emerged into an interesting area of enquiry. The issues relate to health, education, economy, livelihoods, occupation, migration and many others. The enquiry deals with development perspectives, policies, programmes, schemes, strategies and their implementation, impact and evaluation. The perspectives on tribal development keep changing. Consequently, development policies, programmes and strategies also change. Tribal development is investigated in response to these changes.

Most of the studies on tribal development examine the impact of development policies and programmes on the traditional way of life of the tribes. Issues such as exclusion, marginalization, displacement, deprivation, inequality, participation, empowerment, finance, administration and institutional support, and resource management are included in the study of tribal development. Generally, tribal development is often studied from cultural perspectives that provide a critique of general development policies and strategies.

You know that development is not a mere economic concept. It includes all aspects of life. So studies on tribal development cover a wide range of issues. Some of the works on tribal development in India are as under:

Tribal Development: The Concept and the Frame by B. D. Sharma, 1978; *Agricultural Patterns of Tribals* by M. S. Rao, 2010; *Tribal Development in India: Myth and Reality* (1994) by L. K. Mahapatra; *Tribal Development: Options* (2001) edited by P. K. Samal;

Tribal Affairs in India (2001) by B. D. Sharma; *Sustainable Development in Bonda Hills* edited by P. Mohapatra, K. K. Mohanti and P. C. Mohapatro; *Tribal Development in India* (2006) edited by Govinda Chandra Rath; *Tribal Economy in Transition* by M. K. Sukumaran Nair, 1987; *Institutional Framework for Tribal Development* by P. V. Rao, 1988; *Out of this Earth: East India Adivasis and the Aluminium Cartel* by Felix Padel and Samarendra Das, 2010; *Sacrificing People: Invasions of a Tribal Landscape* by Felix Padel, 2011; 'Habitat, Health and Nutritional Problems of Kondhs: A Major Scheduled Tribe Community in Orissa' by Gandham Bulliyya, 2003.

Research papers on issues of tribal development in the context of globalization are included in various volumes edited by M. C. Behera, Jumyir Basar and some other scholars. Some of them are:

Resources, Tribes and Development edited by M. C. Behera and Jumyir Basar, 2014; *Investing in Globalization: Policy, Participation and Performance in Odisha,* edited by M. C. Behera and R. C. Parida, 2013; *Interventions and Tribal Development: Challenges before Tribes in India in the Era of Globalization*, edited by M. C. Behera and Jumyir Basar, 2010; *Globalization and the Marginalized: Issues and Concerns for Development*, edited by M. C. Behera and Jumyir Basar, 2010; *Globalization and Development Dilemma: Reflections from North-East India*, by

M. C. Behera, 2004; *Agricultural Modernization in Eastern Himalayas* edited by M. C. Behera, 1998; *Trends in Agrarian Structure in the Hills of North-East India* edited by M. C. Behera and N. C. Roy, 1997; *Planning and Socio-Economic Development of the Tribals*, by M. C. Behera,1994.

Gender issues have also been taken up in development studies. We can cite an example of a work entitled 'Gender issues in Tribal Development and Empowerment: A Focus on Women Displaced by Irrigation Projects of Southern Odisha' (2009) by Latha Ravindran and Babita Mahapatra. An edited volume entitled *Tribal Women: Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow* (2015) by S. N. Chaudhary has included papers on gender issues.

Applied and Action Research

Applied and action research is an important area of research in the discipline of tribal studies. 'Development' in earlier years was considered as an economic phenomenon. But in later years the concept was considered from a holistic perspective encompassing all aspects of life. On the basis of the studies on the tribes, scholars realized that in tribal communities, economy is not a separate domain of activity. Like other activities, such as social, political and cultural, the economy is integrated and instituted in the social process. This holistic understanding of the concept of development is the contribution of tribal studies. Therefore, when tribal development was considered only in economic terms, some anthropologists and sociologists tried to implement development programmes to suit the holistic life of the tribes. Hence, they not only provided theoretical perspectives of tribal development but formulated strategies and put them into practice. Out of this concern of tribal development, there evolved a branch of applied and action research in anthropology.

L. P. Vidyarthi is regarded as the pioneer in applied and action research. He carried out field works mostly among the tribes of the then Bihar and developed new insights into applied anthropology. He developed the concept of 'Tribal Sub Plan' (TSP) which is now in vogue in planning strategies of tribal development. Vidyarthi had headed the 'Task force for the Development of the Backward Areas', appointed by the Planning Commission on the eve of the Fifth Five Year Plan. In his report, he forwarded the concept of TSP for tribal development.

You are already aware of Prabodh Kumar Bhowmick's work namely *Applied, Action Development Anthropology* published in 1990 in this regard. NGOs that are involved in development issues of the tribals also engage in applied and action research. There are a few more works on the subject. *Applied Anthropology and Development in India* by L. P. Vidyarthi (1980); *Anthropology of Development* by Jagannath Pathy, 1987; *Shifting Cultivators and Their Development* by B. D. Sharma, 2003; *Sparks from Bidisa, Vol-I: Tribal Development* edited by S. N. Rath and many others.

Tribes and Exclusion

The concept of social exclusion has been employed to study the nature and extent of economic exclusion of social groups in market driven development processes. The concept was used for the first time by René Lenoir in 1974. This concept is also used to study the nature, process and extent of exclusion of the tribes socially, educationally and economically. The process of social exclusion is studied in terms of deprivation, marginalization and displacement. The following studies in the field of social exclusion of the tribes are noteworthy.

Issues on Ethnicity, Discrimination and Social Exclusion (2010) by S. N. Tripathy; *Dimensions of Social Exclusion: Ethnographic Explorations* (2009) by K. M. Ziyauddin and Eswarappa Kasi; *Unbroken History of Broken Promises* by B. D. Sharma, 2010; 'Informal to Formal Education in Tribal Communities of Arunachal Pradesh and Issues of Exclusion' (2011) M. C. Behera and Jumyir Basar, 'Conceptualizing Social Exclusion in the Context of Tribal Communities of Arunachal Pradesh' (2010) by M. C. Behera and Jumyir Basar; 'Interventions and Exclusion: A Critique of Tribal Exclusion in Formal System of Education' (2010) by M. C. Behera and Jumyir Basar; '*Exclusion, Discrimination and Stratification: Tribes in Contemporary India* (2013), edited by N. K. Das; *Tribal Marginalization in India: Social Exclusion and Protective Law* (2013) by Kavita Navlani Søreide; *Social Exclusion and Adverse Inclusion: Development and Deprivation of Adivasis in India* (2012) edited by Dev Nathan and Virginius Xaxa; *Navigating Social Exclusion and Inclusion in Contemporary India and beyond* (2013) by Uwe Skoda, and many others.

Tribal Art and Craft

Art and crafts are identity markers. A tribe has its own colour pattern, design, beliefs, taboos and so on relating to its tradition of art and crafts. You must have seen that a tribe is identified from its distinct weaving tradition.

In common language, art and craft constitutes material objects which are mostly utilitarian in nature. But in a broader sense, performing arts such as music, painting, song and dance, also come under tribal arts. Most of the art and craft of a tribe have myths around them; some of them have a soul consciousness and all of them have a purpose of use. Traditionally, these objects were not sold in the market, though there are examples of use of some of these objects in barter trade. In recent years, the artistic genius and craftsmanship of tribesperson create objects for the market.

The tradition of art and craft of a tribe along with its contemporary status is a well-researched subject. But presently, various socio-cultural organizations and government departments maintain websites of the tradition of tribal arts and crafts. Along with the corresponding literature, you will also get to see the visual display of art and crafts of various tribes. Few works by scholars and academicians have been mentioned here.

Marginalized Identity: An Engagement with Art, Literature, Language and Ethnicity edited by Jumyir Basar, M. C. Behera and Lisa Lomdak, 2012; 'Traditional Dhokra Art of Chhattisgarh' by Neetu Singh, 2012; 'Art of Body Decoration: Some Aspects of Dress and Ornaments among the Rongdani Rabha of East Garo Hills, Meghalaya' by Moromi Talukdar, 2003; 'Tribal Art, Artifacts and Art Objects: Need for a Demand Driven Marketing Strategy' (2009) by Sahoo. A. C.; *The Tribal Art of Middle India: A Personal Record* (1951)*, The Art of North-East Frontier of India* (1959), and *Folk Paintings of India* (1967) by Verrier Elwin; *The Arts and Crafts of Nagaland*, Compiled by Naga Institute of Culture, Government of Nagaland, Kohima, (1968); *Nagaland* by Prakash Singh (1972); *Folk And Tribal Designs of India* (1974) by Bhavnani Enakshi; Tribal Art and Crafts by A. K. Das (1979); Art of Manipur, by Nilima Roy (1979); *Cane and Bamboo Crafts of Manipur* (1994) by Mutua Bahadur ; 'The Sauras and their Panoramic Paintings' (2005) by C. B. Patel; *Tribal Arts and Crafts of Madhya Pradesh (Living Traditions of India)* by Aashi Manohar and edited by Shampa Shah (2008); *Nomadic Embroideries: India's Tribal Textile Art* (2008) by Tina Skinner and Sam Hilu; *Tribal Architecture in North-East India* by Rene Kolkman

and Stuart Blackburn (2014); *Folk Art and Culture of Bodo-Kachari and Rabha Tribes of Assam* (2015) by Paresh Bhuyan; *The Black Cow's Footprint: Time, Space, and Music in the Lives of the Kotas of South India* (2005 and 2006) edited by Richard K. Wolf, Stephen Blum and Christopher Hasty; *Painted Myths of Creation: Art and Ritual of an Indian Tribe* (1984) by J. Jain*; Handloom and Handicrafts of the Adis* (1995) by H. Borgohain; *Handicrafts of Arunachal Pradesh* (1990) edited by P. C. Dutta and D. K. Duarah.

Given below are links to some websites where you may find the literature and visual display of tribal art and crafts:

- http://www.folkways.si.edu/tribal-music-of-india-the-muria-and-maria-gonds-of-madhya-pradesh/world/album/smithsonian
- http://media.smithsonianfolkways.org/liner_notes/folkways/FW04028.pdf
- http://chandrakantha.com/articles/indian_music/nritya/folk_dance.html
- https://mamtavn.wordpress.com/2011/12/06/tribal-art-of-india/
- http://www.ishafoundation.org/blog/inside-isha/isha-yoga-center/gond-art-painting/

Tribal Ecology

Ecological studies generally focus on the interaction of human beings, animals and plants among themselves and with their natural surroundings. This operational frame of interaction is quite visible in tribal communities. Therefore, the tribes have been living in harmony with nature from time immemorial. But this harmony is disturbed due to modern forces of development and as a result we face a number of crises. For example, mega dam projects displace a number of people including the tribesmen. Such displacement adversely affects the socio-cultural and economic life of displaced persons. Before finalizing such mega projects, conducting environmental impact assessment along with the assessment of socio-economic impacts has become a pre-requisite in recent years. Projects get clearance on the basis of the nature and extent of impact on environment and socio-economic life.

In order to address many such emerging crises, scholars and academicians look for a solution in strategizing a harmonious relationship among humans, animals, plants and their natural surroundings. It is true that ecological tradition in tribal communities provides an interesting area of study. Therefore, a number of works are available on different perspectives pertaining to tribal ecology. These studies are either simple presentations of traditional ecological system or critiques of development philosophy in relation to ecological wisdom or any such related issue. A few works/studies on the subject are mentioned below:

Ecology, Economy: Quest for a Socially Informed Connection by Felix Padel, Ajay Dandekar and Jeemol Unni, 2013; *Tribal Ecosystem and Malnutrition in India* (1989) by A. N. Sharma and P. D. Tiwari; 'Ecology and Rice Cultivation among the Apatanis of Arunachal Pradesh' (1991) by Arun Kumar Singh; *Identity, Ecology, Social Organization, Economy, Linkages and Development Process: A Quantitative Profile* (1996) by K. S. Singh; *The Tribal Man in India: A Study in the Ecology of the Primitive Communities* (1974) by Paramanand Lal; *Conservation Ethos in Local Traditions: The West Bengal Heritage* (2001) by Debal Deb; 'Shifting Cultivation and Man-Nature Relationship: An Ecological Study with Reference to Nishing tribe of Arunachal Pradesh (2004) by M. C. Behera; 'Sacred Groves' (1992) by Madhav Gadgil and M. D. Subash Chandra; 'Conserving the Sacred: Ecological and Policy Implications'

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(1998) by P. S. Ramakrishnan; 'Forest and Tribal Culture: An Overview of the Man-Plant-Animal Relationship' (1993) by S. N. Rath; *Community-based Natural Resource Management: Issues and Cases from South Asia* (2007) edited by A. P. Menon, P. Singh, E. Shah, S. Lélé, S. Paranjape and K. J. Roy; *Forest Management in Tribal Areas: Forest Policy and People's Participation* (1997) P. M. Mohapatra and P. C. Mohapatro; 'Indigenous Communities' Knowledge of Local Ecological Services' (2001) by Sanjay Kumar; *Indigenous Knowledge and Resource Management: Perspectives of a Tribe in North-East India (2014)* by Jumyir Basar.

Tribal Folklores

In tribal studies, folklores have occupied an important area of enquiry. Both outsiders and insiders study folklores for the purpose of documentation of vanishing tribal culture with a view to preserve them for posterity. Besides, the study also has academic importance and literary expressions. Folklores inform us a great deal about culture. Like kinship and cosmology, they present and explain tribal attitudes and actions, rituals and practices, fears and fantasies, and in general their world view. Folklores provide the rationality behind social reality. In recent years, studies on folklores have enriched our conceptual and methodological knowledge to understand and present various dimensions of social process.

We find tribal scholars and writers using folklores to examine the cultural identity in a changing situation. Shanchuila Ramung in the book entitled *Head Hunting Nagas: A Tangkhul's Journey into the Past* (2001) searches the identity of the community in today's world of fading customs and of the mundane replacing the mystic. The feasts and festivals, myths and ceremonies come alive in the vibrant portrayal of Tangkhul identity through ballads and folktales. S. Bhattacharjee and Rajesh Dev, in their edited book entitled *Ethnonarratives: Identity and Experiences in North-East India* (2006) have included ethno-narratives of various communities of North-East India with a wide range of themes to construct various identities such as political and historical. Mamang Dai in her books *Once upon a Moontime: From the Magical Story World of Arunachal Pradesh* (2005) and *The Sky Queen* (2009) has presented the identity of the Adis through folk tales.

Folklores help in reconstructing the historical past of the pre-literate people. Stuart Blackburn (2003/2004) in his paper entitled '*Memories of Migration: Notes on Legends and Beads in Arunachal Pradesh, India*' has used both verbal and material aspects of culture to trace the migration history of some tribes of Arunachal Pradesh. Similarly, Blackburn (2005) has studied the importance of oral texts in his paper entitled '*The Journey of the Soul: Notes on Funeral Rituals and Oral Texts in Arunachal Pradesh, India*' to explain people's philosophical perception on soul. More importantly Blackburn (2007) explained the concept of *cultural area* with reference to material culture and verbal culture of the tribal people in another paper entitled '*Oral Stories and Culture Areas: From North-East India to South-West China*'. Through folk stories, he established the importance of vertical borrowing down generations to explain the similarity in verbal culture and commonality in material culture.

Verrier Elwin had worked among a number of tribes of the country. A number of works by him on folklores on different tribes are available. Some of them are *Folk-songs of the Maikal Hills (1944)* (with Shamrao Hivale), *Folk-songs of Chhattisgarh* (1946), *Myths of the North-East Frontier of India, Volume 1* (1958), *When the World was Young: Folk-tales from India's Hills and Forests* (1961), *Tribal Myths of Orissa*

(1954), *Myths of Middle India* (1949), *A New Book of Tribal Fiction*: *North-East Frontier Agency* (1970), and *Folk-tales of Mahakosha* (1980). *Tribal Songs, Ballads and Oral Epics of Bastar* by Uma Ram and K. S. Ram, 2012; 'The Songs of the Hill Maria, Jhoria Muria and Bastar Muria Gond Tribes' by Walter Kaufman, 1941; *Folksongs of the Mishing* (1992) by B. Datta and T. R. Taid; *Mishing Folk Tales* (2013) by T. B. Taid; *Folk Tales of the Adis* (2003) by Obang Tayang; *Oral Literature of Arunachal Pradesh: Creation of Universe* (1999) by B. B. Pandey; *Tribe, Caste and Folk Culture* (1998) by Chitrasen Pasayat; *A History of Nagas and Nagaland:* and *Dynamics of Oral Tradition in Village Formation* (1996) by Visier Sanyu are some other works on folklores.

The Arunachal Institute of Tribal Studies promotes folklore studies by conducting seminars and motivating M. Phil and Ph. D scholars to work on folklores. Mention may be made of two edited volumes. The edited volume entitled *Folk Culture and Oral Literature from North-East India* by Tamo Mibang and Sarit K. Chaudhuri (2004) is a compilation of 22 papers on various aspects of tribal folklores. Another volume entitled *Indian Folk Tales of North-East India* by Tamo Mibang and P. T. Abraham (2002) is a documentation of 47 Adi folk tales.

Some scholars of Arunachal Institute of Tribal Studies have worked on folklores from different perspectives. The works are analytical and topical. Kime Mamung (2011), Tage Pugang (2008-09), Jombi Bagra (2009) and Pranab Jyoti Gogoi (2001-2002) have investigated the rationality behind social practices followed in tribal communities through oral traditions. In a similar vein, Nending Butung (2010-2011) has made an investigation of culture as it reflects in Apatani oral narratives. Tenzin Yeegha has studied the meaning of symbols as used in the dances of Tawang-Monpas (2008-09). Tunge Lollen (2006-07, 2006) has studied the symbolic expressions in Galo proverbs and marriage respectively.

Tribal Knowledge system

The tribal knowledge system is very comprehensive. It includes material culture and non-material culture, arts and crafts, technology and belief; it presents the way of life in its totality. The tribal knowledge system manifests the culture, but the two differ the way they are perceived. In fact, the knowledge gets expressed through culture. Generally, tribal knowledge system refers to the informal knowledge system of a tribal community. Such knowledge is derived from informal sources and acquired through contact. The knowledge is mostly tribe specific and is orally transmitted down the generations. You may find works on traditional knowledge, culture and indigenous knowledge which presents the same phenomenon but with different topical perspectives. A few works on the topic are as under:

Indigenous Knowledge and Intellectual Property Rights of Tribals: A Case Study (2000) by A. M. Kurup; 'Traditional Knowledge, Innovation System and Democracy of Sustainable Agriculture: A Case Study of Adi Tribes of Eastern Himalayas of North East India' (2010) by R. Saravanan; *Traditional Knowledge System in India* (2009) by Amit Jha; *Indigenous Knowledge, Natural Resource Management and Development: The Konda Reddi Experience* (2005) by Kamal K. Misra; *Indigenous Knowledge: An Application* (2007) by T. R. Sahu; *Indigenous Knowledge on Forests: An Enquiry into Worlds of Kuttia Knondhs and Saoras of Orissa* (1995) by K. Seeland, G. B. Patnaik, K. K. Patnaik, H. C. Das, M. K. Jena, P. Pathi and S. C. Behera; 'Traditional Knowledge in Biodiversity: Past Trend and Future Perspective' (2000) by A. K. Ghosh; *Indigenous Knowledge: A Handbook of Sora Culture* (2011)

by Piers Vitebsky; *Tribes of Panchmarhi Biosphere Reserve and their Indigenous Knowledge* (2006) edited by S. N. Chaudhary and R. P. Singh; *Tribes and their Indigenous Knowledge: Implications for Development* (2008) by S. N. Chaudhary; *Traditional Systems of Forest Conservation in North-East India: The Angami Tribe of Nagaland* (2001) by Alphonsus D' Souza; *Cultural Diversity, Indigenous Knowledge and Biodiversity Conservation* (2010) edited by N. K. Das; *Traditional Knowledge System and Technology in India,* edited by Basanta Kumar Mohanta and Vipin Kumar Singh, 2012; *Traditional Knowledge in Indian Society* edited by Amitabha Sarkar, A. V. Arakeri and Suresh Patil, 2012.

Issue of Indigeneity

The term 'tribe' is a colonial construct which was used to designate some people in different countries by the European colonizers. But these people in some countries in Americas, Canada and Australia preferred to be designated as indigenous people in contrast to what the European settlers named them. The issue has become a global phenomenon and even in a country where the designation 'tribe' is used, a sense of feeling 'indigenous' pervades among the tribes.

There are studies conducted all over the world on these topics such as indigenous knowledge, indigenous literature, indigenous governance, indigenous health system and indigenous institutions. Seminars and workshops are held on indigenous issues including conceptual and theoretical perspectives. The UNO and other international organizations also support indigenous issues and the UNO has enacted various rights on the indigenous people. Needless to say, the issue of indigeneity has been an interesting area of investigation by scholars, writers, academics, intellectuals and activists. A few of the works available on the topic are as under:

Indigenous and Tribal People: Gathering Mist and New Horizon (1994) by B. K. Roy Burman; *Indigeneity in India* (2006) by B. G. Karlsson and T. B. Subba; *Globalization and Indigenous Peoples in Asia: Changing the Local-Global Interface* (2004) edited by Deb Nathan, Govind Kelkar and Pierre Walter; 'Tribes as Indigenous People of India' (1999) by Virginius Xaxa; 'The Idea of Indigenous People' (1998) by André Béteille; *'Indigenous' and 'tribal' peoples and the UN International Agencies* (1995) by B. K. Roy Burman.

Tribal Religion

There was doubt about the religion of tribal people in the earlier tribal studies. Many researchers were of the opinion that tribal people do not have a religion. But with deeper insight into tribal faiths and practices, scholars of tribal studies later did not nourish any such doubt and misconception. Scholars of tribal studies recognize tribal religion and believe in its various forms like animism, animatism, totemism and shamanism across tribal cultures. All these forms come under the banner of *tribal or indigenous religion* where the tribal world view of nature and super-nature provides for the basis of faiths and beliefs, practices, and a state of transcendental consciousness.

In recent years, tribal people are getting converted to other religions. The issues of conversion and interpretation of traditional culture in the light of the philosophy of a new religion also come under the studies of tribal religion. In recent years, there are attempts being directed to conserve the traditional faiths and practices. Obviously, a revivalist trend is noticed among the tribes. Literature on revivalism in tribal communities forms a part of studies on tribal religion. *Bathouism*, *Saranaism, Donyi-Poloism* etc.

are revivalist literature on tribal religion. Similarly, folk Hinduism among the tribes is a case of syncretic tradition and the literature on the topic also comes under the study of tribal religion.

Therefore, one will find many works available on tribal religion. These works are mostly ethnographic depictions, though a few works have conceptual and theoretical perspectives. You will find some works on religious syncretism. A study of Tanginath or Gonasika—sacred place—shows the syncretic tradition of tribal and non-tribal faiths. However, many of these works are available in edited volumes. You can know about the tribal religion from the following works which have resulted from the study on various tribes.

Hindu Method of Tribal Absorption (1949) by N. K. Bose; *Religion and Society among the Coorgs of South India* (1952) by M. N. Srinivas**;** *The Religion of an Indian Tribe* (1955) by Verrier Elwin;*The Maler: The Nature-Man-Spirit Complex in a Hill Tribe* (1963) by L. P. Vidyarthi; *Hinduization of Tribal Deities in Orissa: The Shakti Typology* (1986) by Anna Charlotte Eschmann; *Tribal Priesthood and Shamanism in Chhattisgarh* (1988) by N. K. Das; *Hinduization among Western Indian Tribes* (1989) by R. S. Mann and K. Mann; *Rama-Katha in Tribal and Folk Traditions of India* (1993) edited by K. S. Singh and B. Datta; *Bhagat Movement: A Study of Cultural Transformation of the Bhils of Southern Rajasthan* (1997) by V. K. Vashishtha; *Conversion, Reconversion and the State: Recent Events in the Dangs* (1999) by G. Shah; *Tribal Religion: Change and Continuity* (2000) edited by M. C. Behera; *Culture, Religion and Philosophy: Critical Studies in Syncretism and Inter-Faith Harmony* (2003) by N. K. Das; 'Hinduism and Tribal Religion' (2003) by K. S. Singh; *The Debate on Conversion Initiated by the Sangh Parivar, 1998-1999* (2005) by S. Kim; *Christian Therapy: Medical Missionaries and the Adivasis of Western India* (2006) by D. Hardiman; *Hindu Shrines of Chotanagpur: Case Study of Tanginath* (1975) by K. N. Sahay; 'Religious Beliefs and Practices among the Koyas in Andhra Pradesh' (2009) by Reddi Sekhara; and 'Whose centre? Gonasika: A tribal Sacred Place and a Hindu Centre of Pilgrimage' (2012) by Cécile Guillaume-Pey.

A few works on North-East are as follows:

Indigenous Faith and Practices of the Tribes of Arunachal Pradesh (1998) edited by M. C. Behera and S. K. Chaudhuri; *Understanding Tribal Religion (*2004) edited by Tamo Mibang and Sarit K. Chaudhary; *Religious beliefs and Practices of the Mishing People of Assam* (1998) by Durgeswar Doley; 'Religion of the Adis' (1980) and 'Philosophy of Donyi Polo' (2004) by Oshong Ering; *Religious History of Arunachal Pradesh* (2008) edited by B. Tripathy and S. Dutta; *Tingkao Ragwang Chapriak: The Zeliangrong Primodial Religion* (2005) by Gang Mumei Kamei; 'Christianity and its Impact on the Nagas: An assessment of the Work of the American Baptist Mission' (1984) by S. K. Barpujari; *Christianity in North-East India* (1976) by Frederick S. Downs; *From Naga Animism to Christianity* by Veprari Epao; *Nyibo Agom: The Sacred Religious Literature of the Adi*, Two volumes (1983 and 1984) by T. Ete.

Tribal Movements

Numerous uprisings of the tribals have taken place beginning with the one in Bihar in 1770s followed by many revolts in Andhra Pradesh, Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Odisha and in the North-East. The famous tribal movements of the 18th century are Revolt of Paharia Sardars in 1778, Halba rebellion in 1774-79 against the British, Revolt

of the Tamars in 1789 and 1794-95 and uprising of the Koli tribes in Maharashtra in 1784-85. In the 19th century, tribal movements were mostly directed against the British rule itself or against the representatives of the British government. The famous movements against the leaders recognized by the British were Kond revolt against the leadership of Chief Bisoi (1850), the Santhal uprising in Dhanbad against the local monarch in 1869-70 and the Koya community's revolt against the landlords in 1862. The movements against the British were the Santhal rebellion in 1853 and 1855; the Bhil revolt in 1857-58; the Lusai people's raid into the British territory in Tripura in 1860 and revolt in 1892; the Synteng revolt in 1860-62, the Juang revolt in 1861; the Naga revolts in 1844 and 1879; the Koya revolt in 1880; the Sentinelese attack on British in 1883 and the Munda agitation 1874-1901. The 20th century also saw many revolts organized by the tribes who had revolted in the 18th and 19th centuries. Important among them are Koya revolt in 1922 and the Gond and the Kolam revolt in 1941. The Naga movement under the leadership of Rani Gaidinliu though was against the British, was also directed towards socio-religious reforms. Similarly, the Bhagat movement in 1913-14 and in 1920-21 had reformist zeal at its centre.

Scholars and academicians of different disciplines show interest in the study of tribal movements of the country. As a result, studies on tribal movements have emerged as an inter-disciplinary enquiry. These movements have been classified under different categories by different scholars. These can be as under:

- Movements seeking autonomy and movements with separatist tendencies
- Agricultural movements
- Movements on forest rights
- Socio-religious movements

Mostly, the movements are resistances against the oppression and discrimination, neglect and backwardness, denial or restriction of rights to resource use and apathy of the government towards the tribal communities. The resistances also are for identity assertion.

The Bodo or Karbi movement and Kamtapur movements are movements for autonomy. Unfortunately, incidences of violence also took place in these movements. The revolts against the British had questions of autonomy at the centre though there were issues of forest rights too. Movements with separatist tendencies in independent India are often called insurgencies.

Studies on tribal movements are historical studies. There are many works on the topic available as independent research papers or included in edited volumes. Some studies also concern the contemporary movements. A few works on tribal movements are mentioned below:

Zeliangrong Heraka Movement and Socio-Cultural Awakening in Naga Society (2005) by N. C. Zeliang; *Tribal Movement, Politics and Religion in India: Tribal Religion in India*, Vol-III (1998) edited by A. C. Mittal and J. B. Sharma; *Tribal Movements in Jharkhand* (1857-2007) edited by Asha Mishra and Chittaranjan Kumar Paty, 2010; *Struggles for Swaraj* by Mathew Areeparampil, 2002; 'Tribal Movements: Resistance to Resurgence' (1998) by Pradeep Prabhu; *Adivasis in Colonial India-Survival, Resistance and Negotiation* edited by Biswamoy Pati, 2011; 'The Kamatapur Movement: Towards a Separate State in North Bengal' by I. Sarakar, 2006; *From Phizo to Muivah: The Naga National Question* (2002) by A. Lanunungsang Ao; *Strangers*

of the Mist: Tales of War and Peace from India's North-East (1994) *by* Sanjoy Hazarika*; Naga Insurgency: The Last Thirty Years* (1988) by M. Horam*; The Night of the Guerillas* (1978) by Nirmal Nibedom*; Tribal Movements in India: Visions of Dr. K. S. Singh* (2012) edited by Kamal K. Misra and G. Jayaprakashan; and *Tribal Movements in India*, two volumes (2006) edited by K. S. Singh.

Tribes and Insurgency

Resistance has been a characteristic feature of Indian tribes since the British rule. During the British period, the resistance was against the exploitation by the colonial ruler and its agencies. Such resistances were aiming for freedom and safeguarding rights on land and other resources. Further, there were socio-religious movements like the Bhagat movement. Such movements were also against exploitation but with a zeal for reformation within the society. All these resistances are termed as tribal movements. Post-independence the tribal communities have become part and parcel of the Indian nation and are governed by the provisions of the Constitution of India. Nevertheless, some members of one or some tribal communities are involved in separatist activities following the path of violence in order to achieve their goals. These activities are against the government and the spirit of democracy and Indian nationalism. Such activities are called tribal insurgencies in Independent India. In tribal movements, the issue of resistance concerns the entire tribe. But in case of tribal insurgency, some members of a tribe or across some tribes pick up an issue against the democratic government and resort to the path of violence to fulfill the demand. Often, they exploit the sentiment and the sense of community consciousness of the members of the tribe/tribes.

Many scholars, intellectuals, NGO activists and many others who are interested in tribal studies have been working on the issue of tribes and insurgency. Some of the works on the subject are as following:

Terrorism and Separatism in North-East India (2004) by Chandra Bhusan; *Insurgencies in India's North-East: Conflict, Cooperation and Change* (2007) by Subir Bhaumik; 'Tackling Tribal Insurgency in Central India: From Verrier Elwin to Vijay Kumar' (2013), by K. S. Subramanian; 'Ethnicity, Ideology and Religion: Separatist Movements in India's North-East' (2006) by Subir Bhaumik; *Naga Insurgency: The Last Thirty Years* (1988) by M. Horam; *Tribal Insurgency in Tripura: A Study in Exploration of Causes* (1990) by S. R. Bhattacharjee; 'The Naxalites and Naxalism' (1971) by M. Sen; 'Naxalite Armed Struggles and the Annihilation Campaign in Rural Areas' (1973) by Biplab Dasgupta*; Tribal Guerrillas: The Santhals of West Bengal and the Naxalite Movement* (1987) by Edward Duyker; ' "People's war" and State Response: The Naxalite Movement in Telangana' (1995) by R. Ravikanti; *The Naxalite Movement in India (*1995) by Prakash Singh; *Maoist 'Spring Thunder': The Naxalite Movement 1967-1972* (2007) by Arun Mukherjee; 'Naxalism, Caste-Based Militias and Human Security: Lessons From Bihar' (2008) by R. Sahay; *Hello, Bastar: The Untold Story of India's Maoist Movement* (2011) by Rahul Pandita; *Days and Nights in the Heartland of Rebellion* (2012) by Gautam Navlakha.

Tribal Identity

The issue of tribal identity provides a very interesting area of academic enquiry. The issue has been taken up by political scientists, folklorists and others who have interest in the topic. Identity issue provides an interdisciplinary approach to study. There are many works available on identity issues including cultural identity. You will find works on identity

issues in language studies, folklore studies, and in literature as well. Even tribal insurgency is also studied from the identity point of view. A few works on the topic are as under:

Nationality, Ethnicity and Cultural Identity in North-East India, edited by B. Pakem, 1990; 'Territory, Identity and Mizoram' by Sivasish Biswas and Sravani Biswas, 2012; 'Globalization, Ethnic Identity and Karbi People', by Nityananda Pattanayak, 2012; 'Ethno-regionalism and Tribal Development: Problems and Challenges in Jharkhand' by Sajal Basu, 2006; *Ethno-history, Ethnic Identity and Contemporary Mishing Society* (1984) by J. S. Bhandari; *Cultural Identity of Tribes of North-East India* (2003) by J. L. Dawar; *Emerging Religious Identities of Arunachal Pradesh* (2005) by N. T. Rikam; 'Politics of Language, Religion and Identity: Tribes in India' (2005) by Virginius Xaxa; 'Tribal Identity Movements Based on Script and Language' (1982) by K. S. Singh; *From Fire Rain to Rebellion: Reasserting Identity through Narratives (2011) edited and translated by* P. Andersen, M. Carrin and S. Soren; *People of the Jangal: Reformulating Identities and Adaptations in Crisis* (2008) by M. Carrin and H. Tambs-Lyche; *Ethnic Identity, Ethnicity and Social Stratification in North East India* (1989) by N. K. Das.

Tribal Language

Interest in the study of tribal languages has been a significant area of research for quite a long time. Tribal languages are studied, as you know, for the purpose of documentation, to prepare grammar books and to understand the culture. You will find socio-linguistic studies on tribes undertaken in many University departments in India. Moreover, studies on tribal languages also have a commitment of preservation and promotion. Few works on tribal languages and related issues are as the following:

The Language of the Muria by A. N. Mitchell, 1942; *Languages of North-East India* by Dipankar Moral, 2004; *Endangered Languages in India* edited by K. Sengupta, 2009; *Multilingualism in India* (1990) by D. P. Pattanayak, 1990; *Endangered Cultures and Languages in India: Empirical Observations* (2015) edited by Gautam Kumar Bera and K. Jose*;* 'Language Contact and Genetic Position of Milang (Eastern Himalaya)' (2011) by Mark W. Post and Yankee Modi; 'Language Diversity, Indigenous Knowledge and Biodiversity' (2010) by M. Sreenathan; *An Introduction to Galo Language* (1963) by K. Dasgupta; 'The Future of Tribal Oral Literature' (2008) by Anjali Padhi; 'The Other Maternal Uncles in Indian Languages' (2009) by Panchanan Mohanty.

Conceptual and Theoretical Issues

The strength of a discipline lies in its growing theoretical foundations, conceptual perspectives and the extent of application of scientific methods of enquiry. In all these aspects, tribal studies have had a rich tradition right from anthropological interest on tribes and their cultures. One may find works that attempt at conceptualizing a tribe as a category. There are works on analytical concepts like 'tribe-caste continuum', 'nature-man-spirit-complex', 'syncretism', 'foraging mode of thought', 'giving environment', 'culture areas', 'cultural relativism' and many more to understand and explain tribal cultures. Theoretical perspectives from other disciplines are also applied to understand and explain the social process of tribal communities. On the basis of evolutionary perspective, tribal communities were considered as a stage of social evolution. A few works on Indian tribes concerning theoretical and conceptual perspectives are mentioned here.

The Maler: The Nature-Man-Spirit Complex in a Hill Tribe by L. P. Vidyarthi (1963); 'Transformation of Tribes in India: Terms of Discourse' (1999) by Virginius Xaxa; ' "Tribe" and "Caste" in India' 1961, by F. G. Bailey; 'The Definition of Tribe' (1960), 'The Concept of Tribe with Special Reference to India' (1986) and 'Construction of Tribe' (1995) by André Béteille; 'Tribes in Transition' (1969) by A. R. Desai, *The Scheduled Tribes* (1963) by G. S. Ghurey; 'What is a Tribe: Conflicting Definitions' (1968) by T. B. Naik; 'Tribe into Cast: A Colonial Paradigm' (1997) and 'Concept of Tribe: A Note' (2003) by K. S. Singh; *Foraging Mode of Thought and Forager Sulung's Social Self: A Critical Insight into the Concept of Foraging Mode of Thought* (2009) by M. C. Behera; 'The Giving Environment: Another Perspective on the Economic System of Gatherer-Hunters' (1990) by Nurit Bird-David; 'Tribe in India: A Discourse of Temporal and Contextual Limitations' (2010) by M. C. Behera; 'Tribe-Caste and Tribe-Peasant Continuum in Central India' (1965) by Surajit Sinha; *Civil Society and Democratization in India: Institutions, Ideologies and Interests* (2013) by Sarbeswar Sahoo; 'Between the Visible and the Invisible: Gender Relations in a Tribe in India' by Arima Mishra, 2010; 'Embeddedness of Violence in Inequality: Understanding Violence against Women in Patriarchal Tribal Culture with Arunachal Pradesh as Case Study' by M. C. Behera and Jumyir Basar, 2008; 'Contemporary Status of Tribal Women: A Critique of "Lenski's Status Inconsistency"' by M. C. Behera, 2015.

Tribal Communities and Social Change

Tribal communities are frequently in the process of transition consequent upon their exposure to such forces as education, cultural contact, conversion and apparently, development interventions. Few more works have been mentioned to emphasize on the topic of changes in tribal communities.

Peripheral Encounter, Santhals, Missionaries and their Changing Worlds (2008) by M. Carrin and H. Tambs-Lyche; *Modernization and Elites in Arunachal Pradesh* (1975) by S. M. Dubey, *Traditional Rationality and Change: Essays in Sociology of Economic Development and Social Change* (1972) by M. S. A. Rao; *The Tribals and their Changing Environment* (2000) by Tomo Riba; *Continuity and Change in Tribal Society* (1993) edited by Mrinal Miri; *Tribal Elites and Social Transformation* (1993) by Kamal K. Misra.

2.3 APPROACHES TO STUDY THE TRIBES

Before Independence, the British government in India had its own interest in studying tribes. But after Independence, the Government of India gave much attention to the development of tribes. It was a challenge for the academicians too. Therefore, different approaches have been advocated for studying the tribes keeping the above objectives of tribal development and welfare in mind. The approaches have been discussed in this section.

Interdisciplinary approach

Presently, interest in disciplines like economics, political science, sociology, biology, law, psychology, etc. has been growing to study the tribes. An economist applies either the economic approach or anthropological approach to study the developmental aspects of the tribes. Scholars talk about development through culture. A botanist applies his approach

Check Your Progress

5. What does the literature available on tribes present?
6. What are the issues of tribal development in tribal studies?
7. How are folklores significant in tribal studies?
8. Why are tribal languages studied?

to study ethno-medicine. Hence, the approach is interdisciplinary. History also has been using oral tradition to reconstruct the history of non-literate society, especially of the tribes. Tribal studies are emerging as the interdisciplinary approach to knowledge on the tribes from a changing and comparative perspective.

2.3.1 Anthropological Approach

This approach was adopted by anthropologists to study the tribes. The approach has passed through different stages. The first one is an administrative account by administrative scholars. The East India Company appointed various administrators in tribal areas to collect ethnographic details about the tribes and this knowledge was used for administration of the country. Owing to the pioneering efforts of these administrators, a bulk of ethnographic data was produced which aided the colonial administrators.

The second one is the isolationist approach. Anthropologists have been widely criticized for this approach for conspiring to isolate the tribes in a zoo for the progress of their discipline. The temporary isolation of the tribal groups recommended by Elwin also faced a number of criticisms. In his book on Baigas (1939), Elwin not only discussed the malady and devastating effects of 'over-hasty and unregulated process of civilization', but also suggested remedies. The first step in this direction, according to him, was the establishment of some sort of a National Park where the tribesmen could live their life with utmost happiness and freedom. Due to this, anthropologists were labelled as 'isolationists' and 'non-changers' by the social workers. In his later works, Elwin clarified the misconception surrounding his work and emphasized the need for careful planning.

The third one is the integrationist approach. By and large anthropologists believed in the complete integration of tribes into the mainstream of Indian life.

In the anthropological approach, the tribes were initially studied as 'outsiders'. But later, anthropologists participated in the tribal way of life. They visited the tribals in their natural habitat and conducted fieldwork among them. They stayed with the people and learned their language. They collected information of their customs and beliefs. With time, from the top down approach the anthropologists adopted a bottom-up view of the society. Some anthropologists became so involved with the locals while conducting fieldwork that they became their spokespersons. The fieldworkers too got so involved with the tribals and their issues that they became their leaders and drew the attention of the general public to the tribal matters.

There is a fourth approach to study the tribes. This approach, focused in 1960s, aimed at quick documentation of tribal cultures before they disappeared in the rapidly changing world. This approach was named as Urgent Anthropology. The main motive was sheer academic interest, but not any ideological commitment. However, work on traditional knowledge system in recent years has fulfilled the objective of the Urgent Anthropological perspective.

Evolutionary Approach

This is an anthropological approach to study the evolution of the societies in the historical context. In the previous unit, we got to know that some anthropologists placed tribe as a stage on the scheme of evolution of the society. According to them, society evolves from being simple to complex, from being primitive to a civilized state. This assumption is used to understand tribes as a stage of development in the evolution of human society.

Classical anthropologists, especially the colonial anthropologists, believed that the study of tribes can obtain greater benefit when understood in evolutionary perspective i.e. principle of succession. Following this approach, the tribal society was taken as if it is at a particular stage of cultural evolution. The tribal group was understood to be in an arrested stage of development. Here, Morgan's definition of tribe draws our attention. He described tribe as a completely organized system having within its boundary all resources that are necessary for maintaining a particular mode of collective existence. This approach of understanding tribes has emphasized the principle of succession, i.e. one type of culture preceding and succeeding the other type of culture.

2.3.2 Historical Approach

The evolutionary approach is not applicable in the case of India. Instead, the historical approach is applicable in India. The historical approach believes that a tribe does not represent a stage in cultural evolution. According to this, a tribe cannot be placed in an evolutionary sequence following the principle of succession. In case of India, the tribes have been living in India since time immemorial along with the corresponding civilizations and other castes. Archaeological findings in Daojali-Hading prove that even tribal communities of the Garo Hills knew the cultivation of crops as early as the Neolithic period along with, what we call today, the 'non-tribal' communities. During that time, 'tribes' and 'non-tribes' were at the same stage.

Therefore, in India, tribes and non-tribes do not reflect differential stages of cultural evolution but have to be viewed from the *point of interaction*. Scholars who have studied the tribes from the historical point of view are N. K. Bose, S. C. Dube and F. G. Bailey. They took recourse to this approach since the evolutionary approach was grounded in the colonial approach. In places like Australia and Africa, there are major distinctions between the local community and civilization. In both these cases, civilization was a Western import but in case of India, civilization has been there right from the beginning and tribes have been in constant interaction with it.

2.3.3 Folklores

Folklore is regarded as the prehistory of a society. The folklore researches, which were at the level of sporadic collection of tribal songs taken to be included in the monograph, received a systematic treatment with Verrier Elwin to begin with, under the influence of Franz Boas and E. B. Tylor. With the passage of time few anthropologists unearthed social elements hidden in folklore. Now-a-days, anthropologists and historians are attempting to collect information on folk songs, folk beliefs, folk medicines and folk proverbs under the topic folklore to explore the folk-culture of an area.

In recent years, oral history has been a growing branch of knowledge based on folklore. Among the Indian anthropologists, S. C. Roy made a strong plea for the study of folklore by anthropologists. Roy believed that folklore throws light on the early intellectual evolution of human society. He emphasized upon the need to collect and preserve folklore traditions, since they are the treasures of past handed down from generation to generation. Roy held that Indian students are in the most advantageous position to collect and study folklore, although folklore traditions have already disappeared due to various reasons. According to him, in the study of folklore of the Indian tribe, a systematic collection of these folklore materials can be done on the basis of districts, taluks and smaller territorial arrangements. He held that the study of folklore should include folk songs, folk-rites, folk-magic, folk-riddles and folk-recreation. Roy was of

the idea that in order to know about the origin of any item of folklore, the researcher will have to make a deep analysis and distributional study of such folklore items by plotting it out on a map, determining its focal centre and tracing its diffusion to marginal areas. The search for folklore customs was referred to by Roy as tracing *the genealogy of folklore.*

Another Indian anthropologist, L. P. Vidyarthi too contributed a lot to the folklore approach to the tribal studies. Vidyarthi collected rich materials on folklore and folkloric traditions. In his book on Maler (1963), he also attempted to collect and analyse the folklore of the Maler dealing with their habitat, family, economics, festival, fairs and religion. He edited a book titled, *Folklore Researches in India* (1973). This book is a collection of essays on Indian folklore written by eminent anthropologists on the basis of fieldwork.

2.3.4 Emic and Etic Approaches

The neologisms 'emic' and 'etic', which were derived from an analogy of the terms 'phonemic' and 'phonetic', were coined by the linguistic anthropologist Kenneth Pike (1954). He suggests that there are two perspectives that can be employed in the study of a society's cultural system. In both cases, it is possible to take the point of view of either the insider or the outsider.

The emic perspective focuses on the intrinsic cultural distinctions that are meaningful to the members of a given society. The native members of a culture are the sole judges of the validity of an emic description.

The etic perspective relies upon the extrinsic concepts and categories that have meaning for scientific observers. Scientists (outsiders to the culture) are the sole judges of the validity of an etic account.

Besides Pike, the scholar most closely associated with the concepts of 'emic' and 'etic' is the cultural anthropologist Marvin Harris, who has made the distinction between the emic and etic perspectives an integral part of his paradigm of cultural materialism.

Emic constructs are accounts, descriptions, and analyses expressed in terms of the conceptual schemes and categories that are regarded as meaningful and appropriate by the members of the culture under study. An emic construct is correctly termed 'emic' if and only if it is in accord with the perceptions and understanding deemed appropriate by the insider's culture. The validation of emic knowledge, thus, becomes a matter of consensus of native informants. They must agree that the construct matches the shared perceptions that are characteristic of their culture.

Etic constructs are accounts, descriptions, and analyses expressed in terms of the conceptual schemes and categories that are regarded as meaningful and appropriate by the community of scientific observers (scholars who are outsiders to the culture). The validation of etic knowledge, thus, becomes a matter of logical and empirical analysis. It is to be verified whether the construct meets the standards of falsifiability, comprehensiveness, and logical consistency or not. The empirical analysis will ensure whether or not the concept has been falsified and/or replicated.

Finally, most cultural anthropologists agree that the goal of anthropological research must be the acquisition of both emic and etic knowledge. Emic knowledge is essential for an intuitive and empathic understanding of a culture, and it is essential for conducting effective ethnographic fieldwork. Furthermore, emic knowledge is often a valuable source of inspiration for etic hypotheses. Etic knowledge, on the other hand, is essential for

cross-cultural comparison because such comparison necessarily demands standard units and categories.

In India, we have scholars who have studied Indian culture. A Hindu studying Hindu culture can also be considered to have an insider's perception. G. S. Ghurye, D. N. Majumdar, and many others have studied Indian societies and their perspectives are apparently those of insiders. L. P. Vidyarthi, K. N. Sahay, Makhan Jha and Baidya Nath Saraswati and M. C. Behera have studied the sacred complexes of Indian tradition. They are insiders to the culture they have studied. There are many such examples.

Similarly, in different Universities, tribal scholars study their respective communities for their Ph. D dissertations. Tamo Mibang has studied his Minyong (Adi) community for his Ph. D dissertation at Dibrugarh University. In Rajiv Gandhi University, Tomo Riba and Jumyir Basar have worked on their own Galo community, Tana Showren, N. N. Hina and N. T. Rikam in their own Nyishi community, Ashan Riddi in his Tagin community, Pura Tado in his Apatani community, Gindu Borang and Otem Pertin in their own Padam community for their respective Ph. D degrees.

2.3.5 Human Rights Approach

Tribal communities are no more self-reliant; they are integrated to the national development policy and development ideology. These communities have been exposed to market forces. Their resources are used for mega development projects which they exclusively use as their common property resources. Many rules and regulations are applicable to them that curtail rights they used to enjoy within their cultural frame. Because of mega projects, the tribal people are displaced, or denied access to their common property resources. Any protest is brutally suppressed by the state machinery. Many tribal people lose their lives, as happened in Kalinga Nagar in Odisha in 2006. Many tribals also lose their lives in police encounters as suspected insurgents or at the time of bombing operations.

Development interventions grossly intervene in their traditional way of lives. Moreover, they cause deprivation, exclusion and marginalization of tribal people. Therefore, many NGO activists and academicians consider the situation of displacement, exclusion, poverty to which tribal people are pushed to in the process of development as a violation of human rights.

The preservation of tribal culture experiences contradiction. On one hand there is a cry for preservation of tribal culture. On the other hand there are forces unleashed that would make the preservation efforts futile. For example, in recent years, language is linked to the job market. While tribal people are concerned about the protection and preservation of their language, they educate their children in English language keeping in view the demand of the job market. These are two opposite forces, and the demand for job market is very powerful. The situation of contradiction is not favourable for preserving a tribal language. That is why scholars in recent years study the tribes and development interface from the human rights perspective.

2.3.6 Policy Approaches to the Tribes

Tribes in India have been living with dignity along with the non-tribal communities since time immemorial. It is the British government that viewed the tribes from their own perspective and tried to bring them to their administrative fold. Since then the interest of the state has been directed towards the tribes and as a result the search for policy measures became a priority among scholars and administrators for a long time. There

NOTES

are three distinct approaches that mark the state's policy approach towards the tribes. They are:

- Isolation
- Assimilation
- Integration

1. Isolation

The isolationist approach is a colonial mindset of divide and rule. In fact, it existed in the colonial mind much before Verrier Elwin wrote his book on the Baigas. Inner Line Permit Regulation of 1873, which was extended to the territories of Nagaland, Manipur, Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh, is nothing but a strategy of the British administration to keep the tribals isolated.

In 1930s, the idea of isolation came up in academics being pioneered by missionary turned anthropologist, Verrier Elwin. In 1936, he wrote a detailed account of the primitive tribe called 'Baigas' of Bastar district of Chhattisgarh. In his work, Elwin came with the idea of isolation. He found that unless the tribal life and culture is preserved and protected from extinction, things would go out of hand. This idea was not purely Elwin's idea. On the other hand, it was a product of the existing intellectual climate of Indian anthropologists.

Hutton in 1931 talked of the loss of tribal political and cultural autonomy mainly in the North-East. He opined that this loss was a result of acculturation. Hutton argued that unless we check such changes taking place, it would be difficult to maintain their identity. His idea came close to Elwin's idea of isolation. Indian scholars like S. C. Roy and D. N. Majumdar strongly believed that problems among the tribals were due to the overexposure to the industrial culture. All the writings of 1930s had the same view of tribal isolation.

Elwin came up with the idea of creating National Parks or protected areas in which the Baigas and their neighbouring communities could lead a life of their own without much difficulty. Elwin's idea was accepted by the colonial government, which found expression in the Government of India Act of 1935. It decided to create protected and excluded areas for the tribal dominated areas of Bastar of Chhattisgarh and outsiders were not allowed on the assumption that it might lead to exploitative consequences. Elwin felt that this was a temporary isolation and was required for the greater good of the tribe. The British administration realized that administering certain tribal areas caused much more problem in comparison to the general areas and therefore they should be kept away. Whenever the British saw the emergence of any tribal uprising, they suppressed it by declaring that area as protected area. Within these protected areas, attempts to convert the people to Christianity continued.

Anthropologists like G. S. Ghurye criticized the policy of isolation. He found that the policy of isolation was promoted to ensure adequate revenue generation within the protected land area. Another criticism against this policy was levelled by S. C. Dube. According to him, it was a deliberate attempt by the colonial government to create a cleavage between the tribals and non-tribals. Even Gandhi criticized the British policy of isolation on the grounds that they are spreading separatist tendencies. The policy of isolation was also criticized vehemently by the famous social worker A. V. Thakkar. He believed that the policy of isolation supported the academic interests of anthropologists. He said that this policy helped them in maintaining the distinction between the tribals and

non-tribals and thus, they could academically romanticize the tribes. In fact, Thakkar gave his own approach, which came to be popularly known as the social workers approach or the policy of assimilation.

2. Assimilation

Thakkar said that the policy of isolation favoured the Britishers and a category of scholars who were none other than the anthropologists. He was of the opinion that the isolation was contradictory to the ongoing and spontaneous process of acculturation. He strongly believed that the tribals were devoid of entrepreneurial skills. They have superstitious beliefs and they are not at all forward looking. This was responsible for their backwardness, low status and exploitation. He said that the work of social workers should be to point out the superstitious beliefs and practices and their evil effects on tribal life. He was of the opinion that the social workers should make the people aware about the positive sides of mainstream and caste society. They should act as facilitators of change generating the forces of acculturation leading to assimilation.

Elwin responded critically to Thakkar's idea of assimilation. He questioned that how can a social worker believe that there is nothing good in a tribal society. He also pointed out that the tribal people with their social differences could not be regarded as belonging to the lower social order. Therefore, Elwin was of the opinion that assimilation is not a spontaneous process. He said that it was unsound on the part of social workers to attempt either by force to convert the tribes or impose on them the elements of great tradition. He said that the social worker's approach treated the tribal social system not as a meaningful system but as a system of oddities. According to them, only after these oddities are dropped, that the meaning will emerge. In 1952, even the first Prime Minister of India, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru criticized the approach of assimilation. He said that assimilation would lead to second role imitation of wider culture and by converting them they would lose their identity. Through this we will be destroying the fabric of cultural life. He questioned if the civilized society is developed and better off in comparison to them. He said, 'I don't have an answer to this but I certainly know that tribal life having its own characteristics is happier in many ways than of our own and every attempt should be made to preserve the best of tribal life.' And this marked the beginning of the policy of integration.

3. Integration

This approach is the middle path. It falls between the other two policies i.e. isolation and assimilation. This approach argues that some institutions of tribal society should be preserved. The institutions that are to be isolated are the administrative institutions and no interference from the government should be tolerated. Institutions that can be assimilated are the ones that do not affect tribal sentiments.

The pioneers of the integration approach were Nehru and Elwin together. Elwin raised a fundamental question in his article entitled 'Do We Really Want to Keep them in Zoo'. In this article he countered the charges, which were levelled against him by the social workers. He explained that the policy of isolation came up in response to the general breakdown of tribal social fabric. It was the manner in which the tribals were responding to industrialization. In his work 'A Philosophy of NEFA', Nehru in the preface gave his opinion of integration. Elwin in the book gave the following points as an essence for the policy of integration.

- Tribal people should be approached with a tribal mindset.

- Tribal cultures with special reference to traditional practices and customs must have continuity and change.

- The economic rights of tribals must be protected and they should be allowed to continue with their traditional practices.

- The tribal culture should be preserved, integrated and developed.

- Finally, tribals must be united and integrated with the Indian mainstream.

  Pandit Nehru, in the Preface, identified five important principles which characterized the essence of the policy of integration:

  (a) People should develop along the lines of their own genius and we should avoid imposing anything on them. We should try to encourage in every way their own traditional arts and culture.

  (b) Tribal rights in land and forests should be respected.

  (c) We should try to train and build up a team of their own people to do the work of administration and development. Some technical personnel from outside will, no doubt, be needed, especially in the beginning. But we should avoid introducing too many outsiders in the tribal territory.

  (d) We should not over-administer these areas or overwhelm them with a multiplicity of schemes. We should rather work through, and not in rivalry to, their own social and cultural institutions.

  (e) We should judge results, not by statistics or the amount of money spent, but by the quality of human character that is evolved.

These five principles are popularly called the *tribal panchsheel*. Elwin in his book demonstrated how challenging the task before the anthropologist is. Integration involves creating a sense of desire among the tribals to get united with the Indian mainstream. This is a very problematic area because the Indian mainstream has not been defined properly. There are religious, linguistic, ethnic, political and regional factors which hinder such integration. These are all the primordial elements which come in the way of integration. It was observed by some anthropologists that integration is taking place or can take place at different levels—at the level of materialism and idealism. According to K. S. Singh, in the Indian context, integration takes place more in the material aspect than in the ideational one.

Among the scholars who criticized the policy of integration was G. S. Ghurye. He opposed the policy of integration and said that it was a Western model and was not applicable in the Indian context.

However, in spite of the criticism levelled against integration, it remains the essence of state policy towards the tribes since independence.

2.4 SUMMARY

- Tribal studies as a discipline is of recent origin when different universities started offering Post-graduation courses, M. Phil courses, Ph.D programmes or Post-graduation diploma programmes in tribal studies. But the interest in the study of tribes dates back to the colonial period.

- During the 18th century, the British government felt the need to have an ethnographic account on different tribes of India with a view to rule them easily.

- A number of foreign anthropologists visited India to record the customs and traditions of the Indian tribes. British anthropologist W. H. R. Rivers came to India in 1904 and studied the Toda tribe of South India, and their findings were published in 1906.

- Among the Indian scholars, S. C. Roy is regarded as 'The Father of Indian Ethnography'. He was a lawyer by profession. Another anthropologist who contributed immensely to tribal studies in India was D. N. Majumdar. He conducted fieldwork among the Ho tribes of Bihar, which later was published as a book in 1937.

- Renowned anthropologist L. P. Vidyarthi studied the tribal village named Ghanhra under the auspices of Census Operation in 1961.

- Tribal research in India owes its foundation to the establishment of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (1774). Sir William Jones, the founder member, piloted a number of researches and publications on subjects concerning the tribes.

- The British government appointed a large number of scholarly-oriented British administrators in tribal areas to enquire about their habits, religion and other cultural aspects to facilitate easy rule.

- During the constructive phase, different anthropologists studied and analysed their doctoral data critically and brought out a certain amount of theoretical sophistication in tribal researches in India.

- After Independence, the tribal studies in India witnessed an analytical and action-oriented approach. As a result the tribal communities began to be studied with an interdisciplinary approach.

- The Bhasha Research and Publication Centre was established in 1996 as a voluntary organization for the study, conservation, and promotion of tribal languages, literature, history, culture, arts, and crafts.

- The colonial ruler divided the Indian society into tribes and castes; the analogy to group the people as tribes was drawn from the Australian and African experiences. Risley used this analogy to define tribes in the 1901 Census.

- Studies on tribes have not been limited to research engagements only; the nature of study has been diverse topically including research works, creative world view, and aesthetics.

- Cultural and Ethnographic studies cover a wide range of topical investigations. Civilizational studies, for example, is an important dimension of such studies.

- Studies on tribal customary laws in India can be traced back to the beginning of tribal studies in the country. The British administrators reported the customs and practices of the cultures of the tribes in their writings.

- In tribal studies, the issues of tribal development have emerged into an interesting area of enquiry. The issues relate to health, education, economy, livelihoods, occupation, migration and many others.

- Applied and action research is an important area of research in the discipline of tribal studies.

- Art and crafts are identity markers. A tribe has its own colour pattern, design, beliefs, taboos and so on relating to its tradition of art and craft.

- Ecological studies generally focus on the interaction of human beings, animals and plants among themselves and with their natural surroundings.

- Folklores inform us a great deal about culture. Like kinship and cosmology, they present and explain tribal attitudes and actions, rituals and practices, fears and fantasies, and in general their world view.

- The tribal knowledge system is very comprehensive. It includes material culture and non-material culture, arts and crafts, technology and belief; it presents the way of life in its totality.

- There was doubt about the religion of tribal people in the earlier works of tribal studies. Many were of the opinion that tribal people do not have a religion.

- Numerous uprisings of the tribals have taken place beginning with the one in Bihar in 1770s followed by many revolts in Andhra Pradesh, Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Odisha and the North-East.

- Interest in the study of tribal languages has been a significant area of research for quite a long time. Tribal languages are studied, as you know, for the purpose of documentation, to prepare grammar books and to understand the culture.

- Before Independence, the British government in India had its own interest in studying the tribes. But after Independence, the Government of India gave much attention to the development of tribes.

- Anthropologists have been widely criticized for the isolationist approach for conspiring to isolate the tribes in a zoo for the progress of their discipline.

- The evolutionary approach is an anthropological approach to study the evolution of the societies in the historical context.

- The evolutionary approach is not applicable in the case of India. Instead, the historical approach is applicable in India. The historical approach believes that a tribe does not represent a stage in cultural evolution.

- In recent years, oral history has been a growing branch of knowledge based on folklore. Among the Indian anthropologists, S. C. Roy made a strong plea for the study of folklore by anthropologists.

- The neologisms 'emic' and 'etic', which were derived from an analogy of the terms 'phonemic' and 'phonetic', were coined by the linguistic anthropologist Kenneth Pike (1954).

- The integration approach is the middle path. It falls between the other two policies i.e. isolation and assimilation. This approach argues that some institutions of tribal society should be preserved.

2.5 KEY TERMS

- **Assimilation:** It is the social process of absorbing one cultural group into harmony with another.

- **Matriliny:** It is the practice of tracing descent through the mother's line—contrasted with patriliny.

- **Tribal knowledge system:** It refers to the informal knowledge system of a tribal community.

- **Emic**: It relates to, or involves analysis of cultural phenomena from the perspective of one who participates in the culture being studied.

- **Etic:** It relates to, or involves analysis of cultural phenomena from the outsider's perspective.

2.6   ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. British anthropologist W. H. R. Rivers came to India in 1904 and studied the Toda tribe of South India, which was published in 1906.

2. D. N. Majumdar was the first Indian to study the impact of non-tribals on the way of life of Indian tribes.

3. S. C. Roy is known as the 'Father of Indian Ethnology'.

4. The Bhasha Research and Publication Centre was established in 1996 as a voluntary organization for the study, conservation, and promotion of tribal languages, literature, history, culture, arts, and crafts.

5. The literatures available on tribes by tribal authors and others present the dynamics of society including such themes as gender issues, violence and insurgency, feminism, ecological concerns, exploitation and many others.

6. In tribal studies, the issues of tribal development have emerged into an interesting area of enquiry. The issues relate to health, education, economy, livelihoods, occupation, migration and many others.

7. Folklores inform us a great deal about culture. Like kinship and cosmology, they present and explain tribal attitudes and actions, rituals and practices, fears and fantasies, and in general their world view.

8. Interest in the study of tribal languages has been a significant area of research for quite a long time. Tribal languages are studied, as you know, for the purpose of documentation, to prepare grammar books and to understand the culture.

9. Anthropologists have been widely criticized for the isolationist approach for conspiring to isolate the tribes in a zoo for the progress of their discipline.

10. The evolutionary approach is an anthropological approach to study the evolution of the societies in the historical context.

11. Verrier Elwin gave a systematic treatment to folklore studies.

12. The pioneers of the integration approach were Nehru and Elwin together.

2.7   QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. How did tribal studies in India evolve?

2. State S. C. Roy's contribution to tribal studies.

3. Was it academic interest of the British government for which tribal studies in India was promoted? Why?

4. What is the analytical phase in tribal studies?

5. What was the contribution of the Bhasha Research and Publication Centre to tribal studies?

6. State the relationship between ethnography and culture.

7. 'Art and craft are identity markers.' Explain briefly.

8. How does the tribal knowledge system manifest culture?

9. Why have tribal movements evolved as an important field of study in tribal studies?

10. 'The issue of tribal identity provides a very interesting area of academic enquiry.' Discuss.

11. What are the different stages of the anthropological approach to study tribes?

12. Do you think the evolutionary approach is the right approach to study Indian tribes? Why or why not?

13. Mention two grounds of criticism labelled against the policy of isolation.

Long-Answer Questions

1. Assess the establishment of tribal studies in India.

2. Discuss in detail the stages in tribal studies.

3. Evaluate the present trends in tribal studies.

4. Describe the characteristics and features of the Indian tribes.

5. Critically analyse the emerging fields of knowledge in tribal studies.

6. Discuss the significance of folklores and art and crafts in tribal studies.

7. Analyse the differences between tribal movement and tribal insurgency.

8. Explain the anthropological approach to study the tribes.

9. Describe the emic and etic approach to tribal studies

10. Assess the policy approaches to the tribes in detail.

2.8   FURTHER READING

Beteille, A. 1975. *Six Essays in Comparative Sociology*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

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UNIT 3 SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND PROCESS

Structure

3.0 INTRODUCTION

The structure, content and organization of any society or culture are far from static and monolithic. Changes in the society and culture are imminent due to two factors: external and internal or endogenous. External forces like acculturation most often bring about changes in society and culture. Sometimes endogenous forces also attract changes in the social structure that come from within the society itself to adapt to a difficult or changing environment. Therefore, social scientists study the structure of a society and its process of change to understand its dynamism.

Let us understand and appreciate the fact that no society or culture exists in a state of chaos and conflict for long, but are organized in a particular manner. For example, social norms in the form of rules, regulations, prescriptions and prohibitions keep the societies running, however chaotic they might seem on the surface. But even these organizational aspects are far from static and change in response to changing environments around them. Therefore, there is a need to study the changing dimensions of social organizations as well.

In this unit, we shall discuss some concepts that relate to societies and culture and try to understand and appreciate their dynamic nature.

3.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Define the concepts of structure, function and organization as they are often used in anthropology and sociology and tribal studies
- Explain the concept of social mobility and its operation among the tribes and castes of India
- Explain the concept of social process, particularly the way tribalization, detribalization and re-tribalization take place in the Indian context
- Evaluate the process of Sanskritization as a form of social mobility in rural and tribal India

3.2 STRUCTURE, FUNCTION AND ORGANIZATION OF A SOCIETY

A society is an abstract idea, but it expresses itself through its structure, function and organization. However, there is a lot of confusion in the usage of these concepts. In this section, you will learn about the meaning and nature of these concepts to clearly understand a society and to distinguish them from each other.

3.2.1 Social Structure

There are different writers who have made attempts to understand the society in terms of its structure. In this section, you will be able to learn what a structure is and what a social structure means.

What is a structure?

The term 'structure' is derived from the Latin word, *struere*, which means to build. In order to understand the idea behind a structure, let us examine the following analogy. Most of us live in multi-roomed houses or dwelling units. Each room in a house has a special function. The purpose of the sitting room is different from that of the kitchen. The arrangements inside these rooms are also different. For example, we may not have furniture in our kitchen, but it is perfect to keep them in our bedroom. Therefore, each of the rooms has a distinct identity, yet they are essential to the very concept of a house, and contribute to the structure of a house. But most of the traditional tribal houses are single-roomed dwelling units. In these houses, while one corner of the room is used for cooking, the other corner is used for worshipping the ancestral spirits. There may be a fire place at the centre. The corners here have distinct identities, yet they contribute to our conception of a house. Please note that rooms in a multi-roomed house or the corners in a single-roomed unit are not put together haphazardly, but are 'arranged' or 'organized' in a particular design.

Let us discuss an example of a traditional house of the Adis in the village of Riga of Arunachal Pradesh which was studied by M. C. Behera as a cultural space. The house is rectangular in shape. The house has the following pattern and is shown in figure 3.1:

1. ***Bale***: The staircase, also called the *ebang*

   In fact, a big sized ladder is called *bale* while a small one is called an *ebang*. Its location does not vary from house to house.

2. ***Batum***: Temporary place for pigs, mithuns, etc.

3. ***Gojok***: Left side corridor of the house

4. ***Tungo***: Right side corridor under the main roof, inner portion of a *tungo* is called *garang*

5. ***Gotek***: *Tungo + atek* (extra) extension of *tungo* beyond the main roof

6. ***Eyap/yapgo:*** Front door, entrance

7. ***Kok gojok***: Attached corridor to the right side of the house

8. ***Asi dupu lingko***: The place for keeping water container

9. ***Yapok sodung/hodung***: Place for sleeping (guests, family members, etc.)

10. ***Hodang***: Place nearer to fire place from the door

11. ***Gulung***: The fire place

12. ***Rising***: Place for male members of the family

    The female members are not allowed there. It is believed that if the female members enter this space then the male efficiency will be adversely affected. The popular slang for an ineffective hunter is—*mlme kisa na*—like a female.

13. ***Kiipar***: Place for kiipar/kipar (rice pounder)

14. ***Kodang***: Main working space in the house

    Dead body of a member is kept in this portion of the house before taking for cremation.

15. ***Kok eyap/yapgo*** also called *kodang yapgo*: Side door (the second door to the left side of the house is a custom in Riga area)

    It opens into the attached corridor to the right side of the house.

16. ***Erang***: Place for female members

17. ***Erang yupko***: Sleeping place for female members

18. ***Bango riising/rising***: Place for rituals after successful hunting, only male members are allowed

19. ***Yugum***: Pig sty

20. ***Adang***: The two main pillars of the house
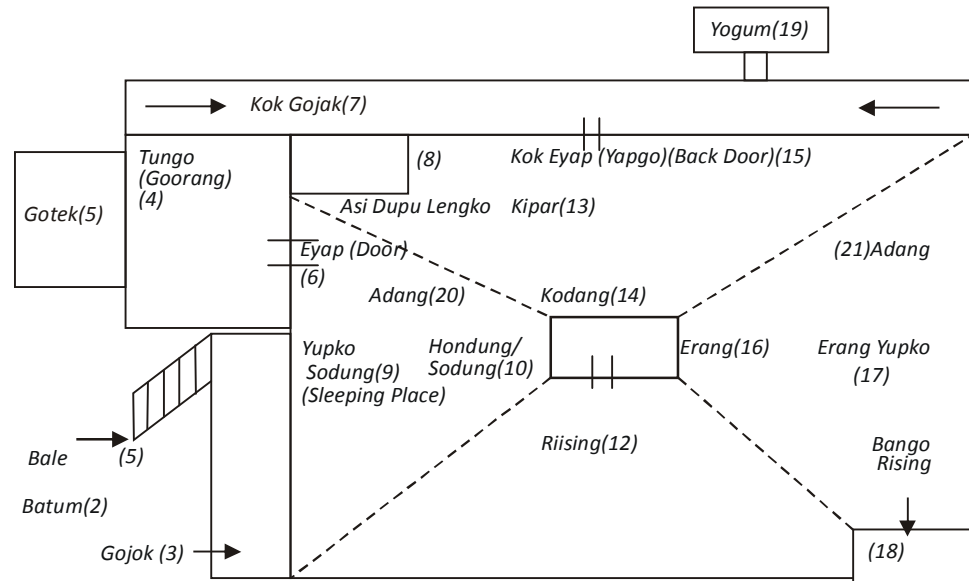
Fig. 3.1 *An Adi House Structure at Riga*

The idea of this analogy is to appreciate that the concept of a structure is very much linked to the concept of proper arrangement of its parts. A house is not only a physical structure; it has its patterned functional structure also. However, in the concept of social structure, the pattern includes abstract ideas, norms, etc.

History of the Concept of Structure

The concept of social structure has a long history in the social sciences. Earlier, structure was used to form the concept of 'social structure', it had different meanings in different centuries. It goes back to the writings of Herbert Spencer, the class structure analysis of Karl Marx or the 19th century work of Georg Simmel. In the works of these writers, we understand social structure as abstract patterns underlying human interaction.

The notion of social structure is intimately related to a variety of central topics in social science. It has been extensively developed in the twentieth century from a variety of analytical perspectives. For example, the structuralist perspectives drawing on the structuralism of Levi-Strauss, Feminist or Marxist perspectives, functionalist perspectives such as those developed by Talcott Parsons and his followers have contributed to the understanding of the concept of 'social structure'.

Use of the term structure before its use in social sciences: We have already mentioned that the word 'structure' has been derived from the Latin word *struere* which means to build. The word was widely used in this sense in the 15th century to refer to the construction of a building. It retained this meaning through much of the 17th and 18th centuries. Its main uses were in practical architecture and the science of geometry. In the science of geometry, it was used as abstract mathematical properties of different kinds of structure. In the 19th century, it was used in the branch of engineering with the introduction of *elastic* and *plastic* structures. The extension of structural idea from architecture to engineering encouraged their use in other scientific disciplines. During the 19th century, the word 'structure' came to be used in biology. There, it referred to a combination of connected and interdependent parts that make up an organism. At the same time, the term 'structure' had begun to be used in geology to describe the patterns of rock formation; in chemistry, it was used to explain the arrangement of atoms in molecules.

Until the publication of *The Origin of Species* by Charles Darwin in 1859, in all the uses mentioned above, the word 'structure' was used to give a static idea about the forms. It did not give any idea about the development or transformation of forms. But Darwin believed in linking the idea of structure to that of development. He suggested that structural analysis could be dynamic as well as static. With this shift in thought, the sociologists felt the need to use the concept of social structure for scientific studies of the subject matter. However, the concept of social structure became popular among sociologists and anthropologists in the decade following the Second World War. It became fashionable to apply this concept to almost any ordered arrangement of social phenomenon. Other scholars on tribal studies also applied the concept to understand the tribal social structure.

Understanding Social Structure

The Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary (1999) gives three meanings of the term structure, they are: (i) the way in which something is organized, built, or put together (e.g., the structure of the human body); (ii) a particular system, pattern, procedure, or institution (e.g., class structure, salary structure); and (iii) a thing made up of several parts put together in a particular way (e.g., a single-storey structure).

When an anthropologist or a sociologist speaks of structure, the anthropologist/sociologist has all the three meanings in his mind. By structure, the anthropologist/sociologist means an 'interconnectedness' of parts, i.e., the parts of a society are not isolated entities, but are brought together in a set of relationships to each other.

Secondly, social structure means the enduring nature of such relationships. Thirdly, the concept is used to mean enabling institutional frames/norms to govern these relationships in practice/action.

It was Herbert Spencer who was one of the first scholars to talk about structures of societies with a biological analogy. In chapter IV of his book, *The Principles of Sociology* (1876), he puts forth that social structures are analogous to the organs of a living body in so far as they tend to be specialized in particular tasks or activities. These tasks are the functions. A whole society, then, is a set of connected structures, or a 'system of organs'.

Later, the French sociologist, Émile Durkheim, was greatly attracted to the organic analogy, and said that the idea of function in social sciences was based on an analogy between the living organism and the society. He used the term 'social morphology', by which he meant what we mean by the term 'social structure'. He postulates that social structure has two attributes: first, 'collective relationships', which are internal arrangements of a society like its kinship; second, 'collective representations', which are the mental phenomena and include beliefs, ideas, values, symbols and expectations of the members of the society. He holds that the social structure of a society consists of a complex combination of collective relationships and collective representations that give society a unique identity.

Lopez and Scott (2000) have defined social structure from two perspectives—institutional and relational.

In the first sense, 'social structure is seen as comprising those cultural or normative patterns that define the expectations of agents hold about each other's behaviour and that organize their enduring relations with each other'. In the second sense, 'social structure is seen as comprising the relationships themselves, understood as patterns of

causal interconnection and interdependence among agents and their actions, as well as the positions that they occupy'.

Social structure is also defined in relation to social groups. Social structure when defined in this pattern results into **segmentary social structure**.

There are two ways of observing social structure: One is the notion of social structure with family as a basic unit. It was propounded by E. E. Evans-Pritchard. The other way is to study the society with individuals as the basic unit where the social behaviour of each person is the essence of study. This person to person relationship exists at various levels or segments of the society such as family, lineage and clan. It is because in his study of the tribe *Nuer,* he observed the society through different segments like clans, lineages, consanguineal and affinal kins. In case of *Nuer,* he started with homestead. He studied the *Nuer* under the relationship of the homestead with the wider group of a village. Then he studied the village in relation to a group of villages called tertiary group; tertiary group in relation to secondary group which is composed of several tertiary groups; the secondary group with the primary group which is composed of several secondary groups till the whole tribe was included. His approach to study the society with family or the homestead as the basic unit gives us the concept of segmentary social structure.

Social structure is also studied in relation to **social roles**. The components or units of social structure reflect interpersonal relations. The units, however, become part of the social structure in relation to interpersonal relations which exist within the unit. This interpersonal relation defines the status positions occupied by individuals in the unit. The status of a person defines the person's role which he has to perform. We can cite the example of a priest/shaman as a social unit and relate his role in terms of relations with other individuals. We can see the structure of the society in relation to the role and status of the priest and other individuals or social units. Thus, social roles within the units of social structure help in understanding the society. This is the social structure approach in relation to social roles to study the society. S. F. Nadel in his book, *The Theory of Social Structure* (1969) has defined social structure in relation to social roles. He has emphasized on the roles played by the individual actors in the society and the consequent social status. He writes, 'We arrive at the structure of a society through abstracting from the concrete population and its behaviour the pattern or network (or "system") of relationships obtaining between actors in their capacity of playing roles relative to one another.'

Radcliffe-Brown and Social Structure

The British social anthropologist, A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, was greatly influenced by the idea of organic analogy of Durkheim and contributed immensely to the study of social structure. His name is associated with the 'structural-functional approach' in the analysis of the structure of society. Let us examine some of the salient points of Radcliffe-Brown's concept of social structure.

Radcliffe-Brown has related the concept of social structure to the concept of social function. The concept of function, according to him is the 'contribution which a partial activity makes to the total activity of which it is a part'. This concept involves the notion of a structure consisting of a set of relations amongst unit entities. He argues that social structures are 'just as real as are living organisms' and that social structure is 'the

set of actually existing relations, at a given moment of time, which link together human beings'. He says that social structures encompass 'all social relations of person to person'. Precisely, social structure consists of arrangement of people in relation to each other.

The continuity of the structure is maintained by a life-process made up of the activities of the constituent units. He referred to the structural aspect of a society as **social morphology**, and the functional aspect as **social physiology**. Thus, for Radcliffe-Brown social structure consists of a network, of person to person relations and when we study social structure we are concerned with the set of actually existing relations at a given point of time.

Radcliffe-Brown has introduced the concept of **dyadic relations** to understand all social relations of person to person. For example, the kinship structure of any society consists of a number of dyadic relations, such as father and son, mother and daughter, brother and sister, and so on. These relations, according to Radcliffe-Brown, are the basis of the social structure of a given society.

He includes under the social structure, the differentiation of individuals and classes by their social role. He also states that social structures encompass 'the differentiation of individuals and of classes by their social role'. This means that the relations between the headman or the priest and an ordinary villager, between men and women, between the employer and the employee, come under the purview of social structure. To him, social structure is not an abstraction but an empirical reality.

Radcliffe-Brown is also of the opinion that social structure is a dynamic concept, and not a static one. As the living body replaces the dead cells by new ones and replenishes the level of energy, similarly the 'social life renews the social structure'. This obviously means that relations between persons change over time. It is also clear from his statement that the continuity of the structure is maintained by a life-process made up of the activities of the constituent units. Another British anthropologist, E. E. Evans-Pritchard differs from Radcliffe-Brown with regard to the conception of social structure, when the former says that social structures 'refer(s) only to persistent social groups', and thereby, not recognizing person to person relationships as such.

Lévi-Strauss and Social Structure

The French anthropologist, Claude Lévi-Strauss, has also contributed to the study of social structure. In contrast to Radcliffe-Brown, Lévi-Strauss says that the term 'social structure' has nothing to do with empirical reality. It precisely refers to 'models' that are built up from empirical realities. For Lévi-Strauss, social structure is an 'abstraction' from what we observe as person to person or group to group relationships. These observable relations, Lévi-Strauss says, are just 'social relations' and not 'social structures'. He says '…the object of social-structure studies is to understand social relations with the help of models'. He adds that social structure is a model; it is a method of study.

According to Lévi-Strauss a structure consists of a model meeting the following requirements:

- The structure exhibits the characteristics of a *system*. It is made up of several elements, none of which can undergo a change without effecting changes in all the other elements.

For any given model there should be a possibility of ordering a series of transformations resulting in a group of models of the same type.

- The model should be constituted so as to make immediately intelligible all the observed facts.
- The above properties make it possible to predict how the model will react if one or more of its elements are submitted to certain modifications.

The British anthropologist, Edmund Leach, also made a significant contribution to the idea of social structure as a model, although there are many significant differences between the approaches of Lévi-Strauss and Leach to structuralism. For instance, whereas Lévi-Strauss is interested in formulating the 'universal structures'—structures applicable to all human societies at all points of time—Leach applies the method of structuralism to understand the local (or regional) structures. Because of this, some term Leach's approach as 'neo-structural'.

3.2.2 Function and Functionalism

Many writers opine that a society exists and continues because of the functions it performs for its members. From this idea, the concept of functionalism has developed. In this section, we shall discuss the meaning of function and the concept of functionalism.

What is function?

Literally, the word 'function' refers to activity of some kind for the fulfillment of a given objective. The Oxford Dictionary defines function as the 'activity, proper or natural, to a person or thing; the purpose or intended role of a person or thing; an office, duty, employment, or calling, also, a particular activity or operation (among several); an organizational unit performing this'. We understand the term with reference to the function of a machine, function of an institution, function of a job or an occupation. In anthropological, sociological and tribal studies, function refers to the activities performed by a culture or a social institution, such as family and marriage for the maintenance of that society or culture. In this section, you will learn function in terms of performance and interconnectedness of different aspects of culture in tribal communities.

Functionalism in Anthropology and Tribal Studies

Functionalism dates back to the 1920s. It is concerned with finding: (a) reasons why people act the way they do, and (b) interrelations between the different aspects of society. Whereas personality was mainly an American interest, functionalism was predominantly a British focus. The leaders of functionalism were Bronislaw Malinowski and A. R. Radcliffe-Brown.

Bronislaw Malinowski was the pioneer of modern fieldwork methods. He emphasized functional relations which ethnographers could observe in the field. He also tried to emphasize relations between biological needs and cultural life.

Radcliffe-Brown emphasized the interrelation between social systems: kinship, politics, economics and religion. He was also interested in the function of social institutions (e.g. marriage, initiation) within these systems. Above all, he believed that the goal of anthropology ought to be the comparison of societies and formulation of general laws to explain how the society works. Sometimes Radcliffe-Brown's approach is referred to as structural functionalism and Malinowski's as pure functionalism.

Functionalism was a dominant theory in the British and American anthropology and sociology from the beginning of the 20th Century till the end of the Second World War. It was based on four basic assumptions. First, ideally the societies and cultures are very well integrated wholes and are in a state of homeostasis. Second, study on functions should be synchronic rather than diachronic, necessitating long-term intensive fieldwork in simple societies with participant observation. Third, holism is the hallmark of cultural studies, and to understand one aspect of a culture, such as kinship, one has to understand all the other aspects like politics, religion, economy, and so on. And fourth, it should aim at studying any institution to understand how it contributes to the maintenance of integrity of the whole society.

Malinowski and Functionalism

The contributions of Bronislaw Malinowski have been considered paramount in establishing the foundation of functionalism in British social anthropology. His prolonged fieldwork in the Trobriand Islands has resulted in an important method in anthropology, known as **participant observation**. Malinowski viewed function from a physiological point of view. He says, function may be defined as '… the satisfaction of an organic impulse by the appropriate act. Form and function, obviously, are inextricably related to one another.' He believes that cultural institutions are integrated responses to a variety of human needs. For example, he says that kinship as an institution is a response to the biological urge for reproduction. In order to comply with acquiring a mate, establishing a family, procreating children, ensuring livelihood and social status for them, care is taken by the institution of kinship. Therefore, the function of kinship is to satisfy the human urge for reproduction.

Malinowski argues that contrary to popular belief that 'magic' is a mere superstition or empty gesture in a simple society, it has multiple functions, such as to kill enemies and prevent being killed, to ease the birth of a child, to enhance the beauty of dancers, to protect the fishermen, or to ensure a better harvest. He says that magic still persists in societies because it works or functions well. Malinowski, thus, believes that no institution in a culture is unimportant; all of them function so as to contribute to the holistic functioning of the culture.

Problems with Functionalism

Despite its strong appeal to understand the integrity of societies and cultures through their institutions, functionalism is fraught with many problems. It is criticized, largely because of its inability to deal with changes in the society and culture. Further, it is realized that synchronic approach alone cannot make us understand the culture; it needs to be combined with historical or diachronic approach. Its somewhat mechanistic models and assumptions have not been favoured by many later scholars.

The structural perspective forwarded by French anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss provided an alternative to understand social structure. His perspective has become popular as structuralism.

Structuralism is the perspective which argues that meaning is only revealed through the relation between things. Things have no meaning independently. This perspective was borrowed from linguistics and was developed by Lévi-Strauss and his British admirers such as Sir Edmund Leach.

In rituals, meaning is embedded in the juxtaposition of ritual actions. In mythology, meaning is found in contrasts between events or between characters. This structural explanation became problematic for functional explanation.

3.2.3 Organization

The literal meaning of organization is to arrange something systematically. The Oxford Dictionary defines organization as 'the way in which something is organized; coordination of parts in an organic whole; systematic arrangement'. If we extend this concept to society, it would be referred to as 'social organization' or the systematic arrangement of a society.

Social Organization

Humans are social animals and live in groups throughout their lives. We may enjoy isolation for some time, but we cannot live in complete isolation, because of our dependence on other humans for many things. We get our food, shelter, security through other fellow members of the society. Therefore, humans form numerous social groups to live a decent life. In fact, we are members of many social groups at the same time. We may be family members, employees in a company, citizens of the country, members of clubs, religious organizations, political parties, occupational groups (like doctors and engineers), and ethnic groups and so on. In pre-literate tribal societies, people are grouped around their kinship network. For example, a stranger in these societies is questioned regarding his tribe or clan rather than his name.

Many anthropologists have endorsed this definition of social organization. For example, Robert Lowie advocates that the study of social organization deals primarily with the significant grouping of individuals. Humans do not and cannot live alone. They have to fulfill their basic biological as well as social needs. They need food, clothes, shelter, recreation, safety and security, for which they form groups of various kinds. These groupings are nothing but the organization of the society. British anthropologist, Raymond Firth, therefore, says that all community life involves methods of grouping and grading people for an effective carrying out of various types of activities necessary for common existence.

Social Structure and Social Organization

Confusion may arise between the concepts of 'social structure' and 'social organization'. Social structure, in a general sense, is 'any ordered arrangement of social phenomenon' for a 'permanent and enduring social relationship'. An organization or social organization is a formal group of people with one or more shared goals. The word itself is derived from the Greek word *organon* meaning *tool*.

In the social sciences, organizations are studied by researchers from the point of view of several disciplines. The study of organizations is available in sociology, economics, political science, psychology, management, anthropology and tribal studies. In sociology 'organization' is understood as a planned, coordinated and purposeful action of human beings to construct or compile a common tangible or intangible product or services.

This action is usually framed by formal membership and form (institutional rules). Sociology distinguishes the term organization into planned formal and unplanned informal (i.e. spontaneously formed) organizations. In tribal communities, organizations are mostly informal in nature. Social organizations can take many forms, depending on a social

context. For example, for family context the corresponding social organization is of course the 'family'. The social organization next to 'family' may be 'lineage' or 'clan'. The *Patang* of Apatanis is an organization of division of labour. Similarly, the *Mukchum* of the Khamptis or the *Kebang* of the Adis is a political organization. Needless to say, the sociological understanding of informal institutions is applied to study organizations in tribal societies.

Social organization is more concrete, formal and goal oriented. Social structure, on the other hand, is more general, inclusive and comprehensive. However, some scholars use these two concepts interchangeably. But Raymond Firth in his book *Elements of Social Organization* (1956) has made a distinction between the two concepts.

He regards both these terms as only heuristic devices or tools rather than precise concepts. According to him, social organization is concerned with the choices and decisions involved in the actual social relations: while the concept of social structure deals with the more fundamental social relations, which gives a society its basic form, and which provides limits to the range of action organizationally possible within it.

Firth says that in the aspect of structure, the continuity principle of society is found, while the variation or change principle is to be found in the aspect of organization. The latter aspect allows evaluation of situations with a scope for individual choice.

Firth studied the social structure and organization of small communities, such as the Tikopians of Solomon Islands. He found that the structure and organization of the community life possess certain constituents which are essential for social existence within a community. These constituents are: social alignment, social control, social media and social standards.

Social Organization among the Tribes of India

Indian tribes invariably organize themselves by grouping and grading their fellow members to meet the demands of a collective life with the help of their kinship network. This conscious exercise of grouping and grading ensures a smooth collective life. These groupings may be of two types: kin-based and non-kin-based. In India, we find that individuals of the tribal societies form families, families form lineages, lineages form clans, clans form phratries, and **phratries** form tribes. Many tribes are divided into two or more sub-tribes or into two **moieties**, each moiety being endogamous. Hence, moieties are popularly known as 'half-tribes'. Sometimes a group of tribes come together with the same generic name, as in the case of the Nagas. In fact, Ao Nagas, Rengma Nagas, Konyak Nagas, etc. are individual tribes and generically call themselves as Nagas.

Although individual tribes have their own typical way of organizing their society, which varies considerably between the tribes, we will discuss two examples of social organization. Our first example is the social organization of the Rengma Nagas inhabiting Nagaland and the second example is of the Kondhs of Odisha.

The Rengma Naga is a member tribe of the Naga group as discussed above. But they are territorially divided into the Eastern Rengmas and the Western Rengmas. J. P. Mills in the book *The Rengma Nagas* (1937) informs us that the Western Rengmas are further divided into six exogamous groups or phratries. Each of these six phratries is further divided into a number of clans. The Eastern Rengmas have no such phratries, but are divided into three clans. The clans have sub-clans, which are divided into families and families into individuals. Therefore, for the Rengma Naga, the social organization is:
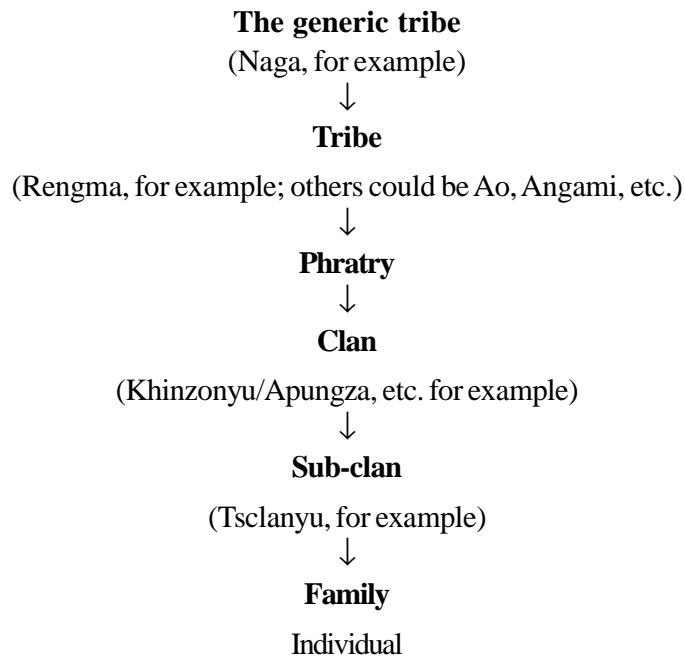
The generic tribe

(Naga, for example)

↓

Tribe

(Rengma, for example; others could be Ao, Angami, etc.)

↓

Phratry

↓

Clan

(Khinzonyu/Apungza, etc. for example)

↓

Sub-clan

(Tsclanyu, for example)

↓

Family

Individual

The Kondhs in Odisha are territorially divided into Kutia Kondhs, Desia Kondhs and Dongria Kondhs, which are the sub-tribes of the main tribe. Each sub-tribe is further divided into many exogamous totemic clans, constituted by a number of families. Each family is again constituted by many individuals. Therefore, the Kondhs organize their society in the following pattern:

Tribe

(Kondh)

↓

Sub-tribe

(Dongria)

↓

Clan

↓

Family

↓

Individual
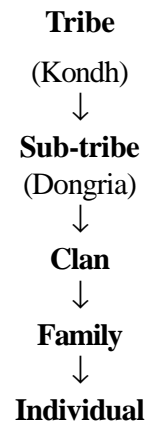
Besides these kin-based social organizations, Indian tribes also have non-kin-based organizations in the form of age-grades and age-sets. The age-based groups among the tribes are termed as age-grades by the anthropologists. For example, in the youth dormitories of the Oraon of Jharkhand, known as *Tur*, there used to be three grades of members: *Puna Jokhar* or novices entering at the age of 11 or 12, *Majh Turia Jokhar* or the middle class members, and *Koha Jokhar* or the oldest members. While the first two age-grades are of three years duration each, the last grade continues until the member is married, and sometimes until the member has a child. Among the Padams of Arunachal Pradesh, *musup* is a male institution similar to the youth dormitory in other tribes to some extent. The members in a *musup* are graded as *Musup ko, Minil, Ruutum* and *Pator Mijing*.

In some societies, age-grades are clearly recognized as distinct identifiable groups of people. Anthropologists refer to these groups as age-sets. They are members of

similar age and usually of the same gender, who share a common identity and maintain close ties throughout their lives. They also pass through age-related statuses together as a group. Age-sets are especially common in sub-Saharan Africa. Among the Masai cattle herding people of southern Kenya and northern Tanzania, for instance, male age-sets have been traditionally very important. The Masai strongly differentiate between three major age-based male groups—boys, warriors, and elders. The latter two groups are also informally divided into junior and senior warriors, and junior and senior elders.

In many tribal societies of India, social groupings are made on the basis of gender also. This differentiation is more visible in the tribal youth dormitories. Among the Oraon of Jharkhand and the Juang of Odisha, the youth dormitories were divided on gender lines, which means that there used to be separate dormitories for unmarried boys and unmarried girls. Among the Padams of Arunachal Pradesh, there is *musup* and *raseng* for boys and girls respectively. Among Ao Nagas, *Ariju* existed for boys and *Tsiiki* for girls. Of course, many of these dormitories are now extinct among the tribes of India. But among the Padams both the institutions exist in the villages of the hills.

3.3 SOCIAL MOBILITY

Mobility stands for shift, change and movement. The change may be of place or from one position to another. Further, change is value free i.e. it cannot be said that change is for good or bad. When we prefix 'social' along with mobility it would imply that people or individuals occupying a social position, move to another position or status. In the social ladder, this movement may be upward or downward or it may be inter-generational or intra-generational. *In short, social mobility stands for change in the position of an individual or a group of individuals from one status to another.*

Social change in traditional societies is culture determined. In such societies, money and market in their present form do not exist. Hence, the status is determined not in terms of occupation or quantity of money, but in terms of social position as culturally recognized. But traditional societies, such as tribal societies, in recent years are not exclusively traditional. These societies have been exposed to money, market forces and development interventions. Therefore, status and position are also determined by contemporary factors like occupation, education and so on. In this section, we shall discuss the concept and process of social mobility in general and with reference to the tribal societies in particular.

The study of social mobility is important for a number of reasons. We can observe changes in the class system of a society by studying social mobility. If the society and its members are more mobile, we can conclude that it is more open. In closed societies, social mobility is relatively difficult. We can also understand people's life histories through the study of social mobility.

Meaning and Definitions

As we have noted earlier, no society or culture is static, but always in a state of flux. Along with the changes in the society and culture, social positions also undergo changes. Therefore, Pitirim A. Sorokin, an eminent sociologist, in his book, *Social and Cultural Mobility* (1959) says: 'By social mobility is understood any transition of an individual or social object or value—anything that has been created or modified by human activity—from one social position to another.'

Check Your Progress

1. From whose writings can the concept of social structure be traced?
2. What did the term 'structure' refer to in biology in the 19th century?
3. Whose name is associated with the 'structural-functional approach' in the analysis of the structure of society?
4. What is 'function' in anthropological, sociological and tribal studies?
5. How is organization defined in the field of sociology?

Barber (1957) defines social mobility as 'movement, either upward or downward between higher or lower social classes; or more precisely, movement between one relatively full time, functionally significant social role and another that is evaluated as either higher or lower.' This movement is to be conceived as a process occurring over time, with individuals moving from one role and social class position to another because of what has happened to them in various kinds of social interaction. Mobility arises in social interaction, as each individual reacts to others in a changing series of social roles.

In case of individuals, it is common in industrial societies that people move from one level of occupation to another with the change in the social position, which is an example of social mobility. In tribal societies, when an ordinary citizen is selected or elected as the headman or the priest of the village, there is a change in his social position, which exemplifies social mobility. Similarly, groups of individuals also change their social positions, and the mobility of castes in India is an example of this kind of social mobility.

3.3.1 Types of Social Mobility

There are two principal types of social mobility—horizontal and vertical.

1. Horizontal Social Mobility

By horizontal social mobility is meant the transition of an individual or a social object from one social position to another situated on the same level. An example of horizontal social mobility is given here. When a person changes his religion from animism to say, Christianity, it signifies a horizontal social mobility, as all religions are on the same level. Similarly, when a person changes his citizenship from one country to another, or changes his factory or workplace with the same occupation (say, a mechanic, a fitter, a doctor), or changes his family by divorce and remarriage, or changes his place of residence, we call it horizontal social mobility. In all these cases, 'shifting' may take place without any noticeable change of the social position or status of an individual or social object.

Sorokin explains the concept of horizontal mobility more broadly. According to Sorokin, 'Horizontal mobility refers to territorial, religious, political party, family, occupational and other horizontal shifting without any noticeable change in vertical position.' A clan or a tribe, for example, may migrate to another place. In the new place, it may have a new identity. But in relation to its original tribe its status does not change. This is an example of horizontal mobility.

2. Vertical Social Mobility

When there is a change in the social position of an individual or a group or a social object because of mobility, we call it vertical social mobility. In the words of Sorokin, 'by vertical social mobility is meant the relations involved in transition of an individual (or a social object) from one social stratum to another.'

According to the direction of transition, there are two types of vertical social mobility: (a) ascending (also called social climbing or upward mobility), and (b) descending (also called social sinking or downward mobility).

> (a) **Upward mobility:** When a person of a lower social position moves to a higher social position, the mobility is of ascending vertical type. For example, when a ward member of a local Panchayat becomes a member of the Legislative Assembly of the state, there takes place an ascending vertical mobility for that person. This may be true for a group also.

When some members of an existing group form a new group and insert this group into a higher stratum, there takes place an ascending vertical mobility of that group. The shifting of students' associations into powerful political parties is an example of this type.

(b) **Downward mobility:** When a person of a higher social position is dropped to a lower social position, it is called vertical descending mobility. Reduction in the amount of wealth, losing elections, going to jail for criminal activities, etc. denote sinking of the social position of an individual, and hence, are examples of descending vertical mobility. This may be true for a group also. When a political party loses the election, it causes sinking of social position of its members. Among the Apatanis of Arunachal Pradesh, if someone commits a crime towards a member of a family, then he has to pay some fine to compensate the family. In case of failure, he becomes a *Mura* of the family till he repays the fine. Similar is the case among other Tani group of tribes. The Mura/Nera is dropped to a lower social position. However, this practice does not exist now.

Social mobility can be observed taking into consideration the generational factor as well. Accordingly, there may be two types of social mobility: inter-generational and intra-generational social mobility. These two types of mobility are noticeable in modern tribal societies also.

Inter-generational: When change in the social position is noticed in two or more generations, it is termed as inter-generational social mobility. For example, the son of a farmer becomes a civil servant, there is evidently social mobility across generations. Hence, usually, inter-generational mobility is used to compare the level of the parents with that of their children. This type of mobility means that one generation changes its social status in contrast to the preceding generation. However, this mobility may be upward or downward.

Intra-generational: If a person has risen in the level of his career in his own lifetime, the mobility is of the intra-generational type. For example, if a tribesperson during his life time becomes a shaman, his status in the community changes. It is an upward intra-generational mobility. In tribal societies a good hunter has a higher status than a common man. If misfortune touches a tribesman and he fails to repay debt, then he may be a bonded labourer to the lender's family. His social status sinks. It is an example of downward intra-generational mobility.

3.3.2 Social Mobility among Tribes

We are aware of the fact that the tribes of India are undergoing a rapid process of transformation, which induces social mobility among them. This is not to discount the fact that still they have retained a large part of their traditional cultures and values. Vidyarthi and Rai (1985) discuss two broad types of factors that bring about social transformation among the tribes of India—traditional and modern.

The traditional factors include the impact of certain traditions of the major neighbouring communities on the tribes, which have been continuing for a long period. These are the processes of Hinduization, Sankritization, revitalization and many other reform movements.

The modern factors of social transformation are due to the processes of Christianization, urbanization, industrialization, tribal development programmes, spread

of communication, modern education, democratization, and so on, which have a direct bearing on tribal cultures. There are also some other factors like motivation, achievements and failures, skills and training, and migration which affect the status of people. These eventually induce social mobility among the tribes.

Now we will discuss some concrete cases of social mobility among the tribal groups of India. The central Himalayan tribes, the Tharu and the Khasa studied by Srivastava (1958) and Majumdar (1962), have been accepted as the Hindu Kshatriyas due to constant interaction with the neighbouring Hindus. The Tharu wear sacred threads like the Kshatriyas, call themselves 'Thakurs' and have succeeded in establishing marital relationship with the Hindu Thakurs. Similarly, the Khasa have declared themselves as Hindu Rajputs and have established social connections with the Brahmans and Rajputs of the plains. One can notice here the instances of social mobility from tribes to caste Hindus of these tribes.

The Santhals of central India, distributed over the states of Jharkhand, Odisha and West Bengal, have witnessed social mobility in some areas. Those of them who adopted the Baptist way of Christianity during the British days, and others who revitalized their tribal religion and cultural values sought for a higher social status. Many of them emphasized on thrift and abstinence from liquor, avoidance of wasteful ostentation, and valued the ethical principles of high living of the Hindus or Christians, eventually attaining a higher social status. Therefore, Roy Burman (1970) prefers to call them 'post-primitives' in place of 'primitive tribes'.

3.3.3 Social Mobility among Castes

Castes in India are considered to be very rigid and closed theoretically. Surajit Sinha has defined caste:

> …as a hierarchy of endogamous groups, organized in a characteristic heredity of division of labour. The endogamous segments, castes or *jatis*, are committed to internal structural solidarity as well as to organic coordination with the large multi-caste social system. This coordination is brought about through functional specialization of the endogamous groups as also through hierarchical relationship among the *jatis*.

Two important features of caste are evident from this definition: endogamy and hereditarily ascribed status. Endogamy refers to marriage within the caste boundary, and ascribed status means the status gained by a person by his/her birth. For example, a person born in the caste of a barber or a potter remains as a member of the same caste throughout his life.

However, there are many instances of social mobility among the castes of India. M. N. Srinivas has attributed the process of Sanskritization to social mobility among the castes as well as tribes in India. We shall discuss about Sanskritization later in this unit. In Sanskritization, lower castes imitate the lifestyle of the neighbouring higher castes, and try to attain a higher caste status in course of time.

3.3.4 Tribe-Caste-Peasantry Contrast and Continuum

Here, we will see the differences between the concepts of 'tribes', 'castes' and 'peasants' and also the areas of overlapping between them. Our first task will be to distinguish between tribes and castes. First, there is a relative isolation of tribes as compared to castes. This means that the tribe has very limited external social ties, whereas a caste is

linked with many other castes by multifarious ties. Second, the tribes speak a number of dialects/languages, although they inhabit the same locality or region. For example, in any district of Arunachal Pradesh, many tribes live together and speak their own dialects. In case of a caste, many castes living in the same region speak the same language or dialect. Third, most of the tribes are animists, while castes profess Hinduism as their religion.

Now let us examine the concept of peasants. Beteille, for example, identifies three important features of the peasants. First, peasants are attached to land either as owners or as tenants or as labourers without any right over land, yet earning their livelihood through labour. Second, peasants occupy a lower social and economic status in the society compared to the gentry or the nobility. Third, they represent a class of exploited people in the hands of various classes.

Despite conceptual differences, in terms of operational realities, it is difficult to see the tribes, the castes and the peasants as disjointed or compartmentalized categories; it would be prudent to view them in terms of a continuum. A continuum is nothing but a scale, on which tribes, castes and peasants are located, due to the overlapping of their values and ideal behaviours. Ghurye's characterization of tribes as 'backward Hindus' differing only in degree from other segments of the Hindu society gives credence to the idea of a continuum between tribes and castes. In his celebrated article, 'Hindu Methods of Tribal Absorption', Bose (1941) has shown how the tribes of India gradually get absorbed into the Hindu fold by observing Hindu rituals and sharing Hindu values. He says 'such a slow movement of economic change, spread over at least a hundred years or more, has led to the gradual absorption of some sections of tribal people into the Hindu fold.'

Surajit Sinha had once commented on the amorphous boundaries that exist between the tribes, castes and peasants, which are in a state of continuum. He refers to various central Indian tribes and castes and says, 'The Bhumij, the Santhal, the Kharia and the Pahira of Singhbhum; the Bhatra, Dorla and the Dhurwa of M.P.; and the Riang of Tripura; and the Paundra, a scheduled caste of West Bengal represent a series in the degree of intensive articulation with the regional Hindu hierarchical system. While the Bhumij and the Paundra have been more or less fully integrated into the Hindu social order, the Kharia and the Pahira of Manbhum, the Dorla of Bastar and the Riang of Tripura still maintain a much greater distance from the mainstream of the Hindu social order surrounding them. The position of the Santhal of Manbhum, the Dhurwa and the Bhatra of Bastar fall somewhere between the two extreme types mentioned above' (Sinha 1965).

Many tribes in India are peasants for all practical purposes. The Raj Gond of Andhra Pradesh, the Munda of Jharkhand, the Bhuiyan of Odisha satisfy all the criteria of a peasant described above. Many tribes in India were rulers of their small kingdoms during the pre-British times and were claiming to have a Kshatriya or warrior origin. History is replete with many myths that were in circulation, legitimizing the Kshatriya status of these rulers. There have been many instances of the rulers upgrading the status of tribes to peasant castes and vice-versa, rendering the boundaries between them spurious. Thus, the contrast between tribes, castes and peasants are merely conceptual; in reality, they were along a continuum due to highly fluid boundaries between them.

Check Your Progress

6. Define social mobility.

7. Name the two principal types of social mobility.

8. What are the modern factors of social transformation?

9. What is a continuum with regard to tribes, castes and peasants?

3.4 SOCIAL PROCESSES

A society is not static. It changes over time. There are various factors affecting this change. These factors may vary from society to society. The study of these factors gives us an idea about the process of social change in different societies. We shall discuss the process of social change with reference to tribal communities in India.

Social Processes in Tribal India

Social process is a phrase that carries multiple meanings. But let us define it in a crude manner. It includes generic processes that structure the time-space fabric of a society. It may include political, economic, and socio-cultural processes, and human interactions arising out of these processes. If we restrict ourselves to the socio-cultural processes among the tribal or pre-capitalist social formations, we notice the use of kinship, exchange relations, social control mechanisms and the human interactions arising out of them that ensure the continuity of the society. These are characteristically different from the capitalistic societies with their emphasis on capital, class and state. In this section, we shall discuss a few social processes that operate in the tribal societies of India in the form of tribalization, detribalization, re-tribalization and sanskritization.

3.4.1 Tribalization

In the previous section we learnt that many tribal communities received the profound impact of 'Hinduization' due to their interaction with the neighbouring Hindu peasants, thus elevating their social position to the Hindu castes. But it is also true that in some tribal pockets the reverse trend of caste Hindus adopting tribal customs and rituals have been noticed. This may be known as the process of 'tribalization' of the castes. Kalia (1959) is of the opinion that the process of 'tribalization' is found in many tribal pockets of the country with gradual internalization of the tribal customs, mores and religion by the neighbouring caste groups, which are in many respects antithetical to the caste ideology in India. In the following paragraph, we shall discuss some examples of tribalization in India.

In his study among the Kondh of Odisha, F. G. Bailey (1955) observes that the tribal Kondh dominated region has also a considerable Pano population, who are Scheduled Castes and had migrated from the plains prior to the migration of Oriya foot warriors (*Paika*) as a part of the army raised by the local chiefs/kings in the hills. Bailey prefers to call them the 'Kondh Pan' in contradistinction to the 'Oriya Pan', as the former speak Kui—the Kondh language—participate in their rituals, share their worldviews and values, and are adept in Kondh dancing and music. With regard to the Oriya population living in the Kondh inhabited region, Bailey observes that although both these communities live in separate villages, 'there has been intermarriage, although not extensively, since such marriages offend the rules of caste. It is also clear from records and tradition that Oriyas were fully committed in the Kond ritual of human sacrifice. Even today many rites in an Oriya village are in essence Kond rites' (Bailey 1955). This is an excellent example of tribalization of Oriya caste people in the Kondh hills of Odisha.

Behura and Misra in their study have highlighted the process of tribalization with the help of the concept of 'encysted castes'. They observe that three artisan castes from the plains, such as, the blacksmiths, potters and weavers have settled down among

the Koya, Kondh and Gadaba tribes of south Odisha for generations, and have been serving them for pecuniary advantages. These three artisan castes are so much assimilated with their host tribal populations that except endogamy they can be easily identified by their 'encysting tribes' (Behura and Misra, 1985). They opine that 'The encysted castes have even adopted tribal dialects and tribal way of life, to the extent of participating in community festivals with them, quite often headed by a tribal priest. It is, therefore, plausible to assume that despite many strong claims of tribes and castes of Odisha belonging to two separate cultural genres, in reality the boundary has been much more fluid and porous facilitating tribe-caste continuum on a long-term basis' (ibid).

3.4.2 Detribalization

Detribalization is the process of tribal cultures losing their cultural identities in favour of another culture. In an earlier discussion we have learnt that tribal cultures undergo transformations due to both traditional as well as modern factors. While the traditional factors include the processes of Hinduization, Sankritization, revitalization and many reform movements, the modern factors are the processes of Christianization, urbanization, industrialization, tribal development programmes, spread of communication, modern education, democratization, and so on, which have direct bearing on tribal cultures. The factor maybe any of the above two factors, but when the tribal culture starts losing its identity, we say that detribalization has taken place.

Besides religion, locational proximity and the pressure exerted by larger organized groups are said to be the major factors of detribalization. It is said that '… these (indigenous or tribal) people were able to maintain somewhat their socio-religious, economic and cultural identity. But because of their close locational proximity and the steady pressure of the larger and techno-economically more organized communities, they were obliged to enter into social and cultural and more importantly, economic contacts, communication and exchanges with their neighbours who were socially, culturally and economically more dominant' (Ray, 1972). N. K. Bose is of the opinion that culture '… seems to flow from an economically dominant group to a poorer one when the two are tied together to form a larger productive organization through some historical accident' (Bose, 1967). This implies that it is rather obvious that when tribes are surrounded by economically stronger Hindu peasants, the former lose their tribal characters and get detribalized. Sinha attributes the role of tribal markets, which accelerate the process of detribalization, and hence, he says, 'These tribal communities have been in touch with the traditional network of weekly markets whereby they are involved in economic symbiosis with at least ten or more Hindu castes'.

Detribalization may take place in the entire tribe or a group or section of the group within a tribe. A section of a group or groups of a tribe may convert to an alien religion, thereby loosing many aspects of their culture. Similarly, we see a section of a tribe becoming economically better off because of the benefit its members derive from development schemes. This section of tribe enjoys the marital culture alien to their culture. These are few instances of the process of detribalization.

We have already discussed the cases of the Tharu, Khasa and Bhumij, who have been detribalized to a large extent and are considered as caste Hindus in their respective regions of habitation. Similarly, the Gond, Bhuiyan and many other tribes have lost their tribal characters, thus being detribalized.

3.4.3 Re-tribalization

Re-tribalization is an exercise towards identity reinforcement among some of the tribal communities of India, which had previously undergone the process of detribalization. It is clearly a revivalistic phase of glorifying the tribal origin, language, religion, cultures and customs, portraying a tribal cultural identity with a new vigour, different from the non-tribals. A couple of examples here would help us understand the concept and its empirical manifestations.

Revival of tribal languages and creation of tribal scripts are some of the components of the process of re-tribalization. Revival of the Kui-lipi (Kui script) by the Kondh, the Ol Chiki for the Santhali and other Munda languages, the Warang Chiti for the Ho language, etc. are some of the trends of re-tribalization of the tribal communities. In the Lohit district of Arunachal Pradesh, there have been considerable efforts to re-create the Khampti script. It is a definite marker of self-assertion and re-tribalization by the Khampti (Misra 1994).

Revamping the old religions into more ethical religions is another dimension of re-tribalization. For example, the new Sarna religion of the Santhal, the emergence of Donyi-Polo faith in Arunachal Pradesh and similar efforts in other tribes indicate the process of revitalization of renewed tribal identities in a changing context. There is revivalism of traditional socio-political institutions and youth associations, as in case of the Christian Ao Naga, towards the process of re-tribalization and resurgence.

In order to concretize the process of re-tribalization and bring together all the members into the fold of the tribe, many tribal communities have formed their own associations very much like the caste associations. The examples of Utkal Kui Samaj of the Kondh of Odisha, the Kula Mela (community assembly) of Suddha Savara of Odisha, Gond Jatiya Mahasabha (Pan-Gond Caste Super Association) of the Gond and Bhauma Samaj of the Hill Bhuiyan, are clear evidences of re-tribalization or identity reinforcement among the tribes of India.

In recent times, re-tribalization has gained momentum due to the Constitutional safeguards for the Scheduled Tribes and greater benefits in education, politics and service sectors arising out of that.

It is debatable if the recent trends regarding some of the former tribes such as the Kurmi-Mahtos of Chota Nagpur, who were de-scheduled as a tribe in 1931, and of other communities, seeking tribal status to avail themselves of the privileges of being a 'tribe' granted under the Constitution of India could be considered a dimension of tribalization. The Mahtos of Chota Nagpur do claim that they share many social characteristics with tribes, but these are not spelt out. Similarly, the Bhumij who once claimed to be Kshatriyas have now discovered fresh merit in 're-tribalization.' The Bhotiyas of U.P., who acted as traders across the Himalayas before the Indo-China conflicts, once claimed the status of Rajputs. Later, as border trade came to a standstill and their economic condition deteriorated, they laid claims to be members of a Scheduled Tribe. Claiming tribal status is one thing; accepting tribal mores is another thing. Evidences on the part of such claimants regarding their newly discovered affinities with tribes, participation in tribal festivals and worship at tribal shrines is still weak. However, with the increasing politicization of such communities as live on the borderline of a tribe and a backward community, this trend deserves to be noted.

3.4.4 Sanskritization

As we have noted earlier, it is but natural that with more organized cultures and religions around, tribal people imitate the rituals, cultures and customs, in an effort to raise the social position of their group in the hierarchical Indian society. It was M. N. Srinivas, who first used the concept 'Brahminization' and later 'Sanskritization' to refer to this process.

The term **Sanskritization** has been coined by M. N. Srinivas, a distinguished Indian sociologist. This term has been used to symbolize the process by which the people of the lower castes in the caste hierarchy emulate the behaviour and practices of the upper castes to seek social mobility.

Srinivas defines Sanskritization as a process by which:

> …a 'low' Hindu caste, or tribal or other group, changes its customs, ritual ideology, and way of life in the direction of a high and frequently 'twice-born' caste. Generally such changes are followed by a claim to a higher position in the caste hierarchy than that traditionally conceded to the claimant class by the local community…'

A prominent example of Sanskritization is the implementation of vegetarianism by members of a community belonging to the low castes who are traditionally not opposed to non-vegetarian food. This change was brought about through the emulation of the practice of *dvija*, the twice-born castes.

Realizing social mobility among the tribes to achieve the status of a caste and ensuring a place in the local caste hierarchy, Srinivas adds that a tribe may undergo the process of Sanskritization 'claiming to be a caste, and therefore, **Hindu**'. We have already seen the examples of the Bhumij, the Paundra, the Gond, the Bathudi, the Bhuiyan, etc. who are almost integrated with the caste structure of the Hindus. In order to be recognized as a Hindu caste, many of them lead a life recommended in the Hindu scriptures, usually written in Sanskrit. In Robert Redfield's terms, there is an effort to emulate the values of the 'Great Tradition' of the Hindus by the tribes by worshipping Hindu deities, believing in Hindu values and practising Hindu ways of ideal behaviour. Therefore, M. N. Srinivas is of the opinion that Sanskritization not only includes the adoption of new customs and beliefs but also comprises the revelation to new ideas and values appearing in the Sanskrit literature. He informs us that the terms *Karma, dharma, papa, maya, samskara and moksha* are the most used theological Sanskrit ideologies which appear into the daily usage of the terms among people who are sanskritized.

Perhaps one of the glaring examples of Sanskritization or Hinduization by a tribe comes from the writings of L. K. Mahapatra (2005). Describing the process among the Saora of South Odisha, he notes economic specialization, purity/pollution differentiation and caste-like exclusiveness among them. Some of them consider themselves superior to others by abjuring beef (but not the flesh of sacrificial buffalo), giving up abhorrent and unacceptable eating habits from the Hindu point of view, and naming themselves as *Suddha* (pure) Saora. There are many such examples of Sanskritization process among the tribes of India.

The theory of Sanskritization was first proposed by M. N. Srinivas in his D. Phil. Thesis at the Oxford University. This thesis was later published as a book in 1952 titled *Religion and Society among the Coorgs of South India*. This book was an

ethnographical study of the Coorg community of Karnataka, India. Srinivas writes in the book:

> The caste system is far from a rigid system in which the position of each component caste is fixed for all time. Movement has always been possible, and especially in the middle regions of the hierarchy. A low caste was able, in a generation or two, to rise to a higher position in the hierarchy by adopting vegetarianism and teetotalism, and by Sanskritizing its ritual and pantheon. In short, it took over, as far as possible, the customs, rites, and beliefs of the Brahmins, and adoption of the Brahminic way of life by a low caste seems to have been frequent, though theoretically forbidden. This process has been called 'Sanskritization' in this book, in preference to 'Brahminization', as certain Vedic rites are confined to the Brahmins and the two other 'twice-born' castes.

The book *Religion and Society among the Coorgs of South India* challenged the idea which was rampant in that period regarding caste being non-flexible and an invariable institution. The concept of Sanskritization addressed the actual complexity and fluidity of caste relations. It brought into academic focus the dynamics of the renegotiation of status between various castes and communities in India.

3.5 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that,

- A society is an abstraction but it expresses itself through its structure, function and organization.

- The term 'structure' is derived from the Latin word, *struere*, which means to build.

- The concept of a structure is very much linked to the concept of proper arrangement of its parts. A house is not only a physical structure; it has its patterned functional structure also.

- The concept of social structure has a long history in the social sciences. It goes back to the writings of Herbert Spencer, the class structure analysis of Karl Marx or the 19th century work of Georg Simmel.

- During the 19th century, the word 'structure' came to be used in biology. There, it referred to a combination of connected and interdependent parts that make up an organism.

- It was Herbert Spencer who was one of the first scholars to talk about structures of societies with a biological analogy.

- Émile Durkheim used the term 'social morphology', by which he meant what we mean by the term 'social structure'. He postulates that social structure has two attributes: first, 'collective relationships', which are internal arrangements of a society like its kinship; second, 'collective representations', which are the mental phenomena and include beliefs, ideas, values, symbols and expectations of the members of the society.

- There are two ways of observing social structure: One is the notion of social structure with family as a basic unit. It was propounded by E .E. Evans–Pritchard. The other way is to study the society with individuals as the basic unit where the social behaviour of each person is the essence of study.

- Radcliffe-Brown has related the concept of social structure to the concept of social function. The concept of function, according to him is the 'contribution which a partial activity makes to the total activity of which it is a part'.

- Radcliffe-Brown has introduced the concept of dyadic relations to understand all social relations of person to person.

- The French anthropologist, Claude Lévi-Strauss, has also contributed to the study of social structure. In contrast to Radcliffe-Brown, Lévi-Strauss says that the term 'social structure' has nothing to do with empirical reality.

- In anthropological, sociological and tribal studies, function refers to the activities performed by a culture or a social institution, such as family and marriage for the maintenance of that society or culture.

- Functionalism dates back to the 1920s. It is concerned with finding: (a) reasons why people act the way they do, and (b) interrelations between different aspects of society.

- Bronislaw Malinowski was the pioneer of modern fieldwork methods. He emphasized functional relations which ethnographers could observe in the field.

- Radcliffe-Brown emphasized the interrelation between social systems: kinship, politics, economics and religion.

- Despite its strong appeal to understand the integrity of societies and cultures through their institutions, functionalism is fraught with many problems. It is criticized, largely because of its inability to deal with changes in the society and culture.

- The literal meaning of organization is to arrange something systematically. The Oxford Dictionary defines organization as 'the way in which something is organized; coordination of parts in an organic whole; systematic arrangement'.

- Indian tribes invariably organize themselves by grouping and grading their fellow members to meet the demands of a collective life with the help of their kinship network.

- The Kondhs in Orissa are territorially divided into Kutia Kondhs, Desia Kondhs and Dongria Kondhs, which are the sub-tribes of the main tribe.

- Social mobility stands for change in the position of an individual or a group of individuals from one status to another.

- There are two principal types of social mobility—horizontal and vertical. By horizontal social mobility is meant the transition of an individual or a social object from one social position to another situated on the same level.

- When there is a change in the social position of an individual or a group or a social object because of mobility, we call it vertical social mobility.

- The Santhals of central India, distributed over the states of Jharkhand, Odisha and West Bengal, have witnessed social mobility in some areas.

- Despite conceptual differences, in terms of operational realities, it is difficult to see the tribes, the castes and the peasants as disjointed or compartmentalized categories; it would be prudent to view them in terms of a continuum.

- A society is not a static reality. It changes over time. There are various factors affecting this change. These factors may vary from society to society. The study

of these factors give us an idea about the process of social change in different societies.

- Many tribal communities received the profound impact of 'Hinduization' due to their interaction with the neighbouring Hindu peasants, thus, elevating their social position to the Hindu castes. But it is also true that in some tribal pockets the reverse trend of caste Hindus adopting tribal customs and rituals have been noticed. This may be known as the process of 'tribalization' of the castes.

- Detribalization is the process of tribal cultures losing their cultural identities in favour of another culture.

- Besides religion, locational proximity and the pressure exerted by larger organized groups are said to be the major factors of detribalization.

- Re-tribalization is an exercise towards identity reinforcement among some of the tribal communities of India, which had previously undergone the process of detribalization.

- The term Sanskritization has been coined by M. N. Srinivas, a distinguished Indian sociologist. This term has been used to symbolize the process by which the people of the lower castes in the caste hierarchy emulate the behaviour and practices of the upper castes to seek social mobility.

3.6 KEY TERMS

- **Function:** It refers to the activities performed by a culture or a social institution, such as family and marriage for the maintenance of that society or culture.

- **Functionalism:** It is a theory about the nature of mental states. According to functionalism, mental states are identified by what they do rather than by what they are made of.

- **Structuralism:** It is the perspective which argues that meaning is only revealed through the relation between things.

- **Organization:** In sociology 'organization' is understood as planned, coordinated and purposeful action of human beings to construct or compile a common tangible or intangible product or services.

- **Phratry:** It is a grouping of clans or other social units within a tribe.

- **Social mobility:** It stands for change in the position of an individual or a group of individuals from one status to another.

- **Horizontal social mobility:** By horizontal social mobility is meant the transition of an individual or a social object from one social position to another situated on the same level.

- **Vertical social mobility:** When there is a change in the social position of an individual or a group or a social object because of mobility, we call it vertical social mobility.

- **Detribalization:** It is the process of tribal cultures losing their cultural identities in favour of another culture.

- **Re-tribalization:** It is an exercise towards identity reinforcement among some of the tribal communities of India, which had previously undergone the process of detribalization.

3.7 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. The concept of social structure has a long history in the social sciences. It goes back to the writings of Herbert Spencer, the class structure analysis of Karl Marx or the 19th century work of Georg Simmel.

2. During the 19th century, the word 'structure' came to be used in biology. There, it referred to a combination of connected and interdependent parts that make up an organism.

3. The British social anthropologist, A. R. Radcliffe-Brown's name is associated with the 'structural-functional approach' in the analysis of the structure of society.

4. In anthropological, sociological and tribal studies, function refers to the activities performed by a culture or a social institution, such as family and marriage for the maintenance of that society or culture.

5. In sociology 'organization' is understood as a planned, coordinated and purposeful action of human beings to construct or compile a common tangible or intangible product or services.

6. Social mobility stands for change in the position of an individual or a group of individuals from one status to another.

7. There are two principal types of social mobility—horizontal and vertical.

8. The modern factors of social transformation are due to the processes of Christianization, urbanization, industrialization, tribal development programmes, spread of communication, modern education, democratization, and so on, which have direct bearing on tribal cultures.

9. A continuum is nothing but a scale, on which tribes, castes and peasants are located, due to the overlapping of their values and ideal behaviours.

10. Detribalization is the process of tribal cultures losing their cultural identities in favour of another culture.

11. Besides religion, locational proximity and the pressure exerted by larger organized groups are said to be the major factors of detribalization.

12. Re-tribalization is an exercise towards identity reinforcement among some of the tribal communities of India, which had previously undergone the process of detribalization.

13. A prominent example of Sanskritization is the implementation of vegetarianism by members of a community belonging to the low castes who are traditionally not opposed to non-vegetarian food. This change was brought about through the emulation of the practice of *dvija*, the twice-born castes.

3.8 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. What is a structure? Describe the use of the term structure as it was used before its appearance in social sciences.

2. How does the Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary define structure?

3. What does the term 'social morphology' mean as used by Durkheim?

4. Write a note on the segmentary social structure.

5. What is the concept of dyadic relations introduced by Radcliffe-Brown?

6. What is the meaning of social structure according to Evans-Pritchard? How does he differ from Radcliff-Brown?

7. Why has functionalism been criticized by various scholars?

8. How is the tribal society of India organized?

9. State the differences between tribes and castes.

10. Write short notes on the following giving examples:
     (i) Tribalization
    (ii) Detribalization
   (iii) Sanskritization

Long-Answer Questions

1. Discuss the concept and the history of the concept of social structure.

2. Explain the concept of social structure with reference to segmentary social structure and social roles.

3. Assess the contrasting approaches of Radcliffe-Brown and Claude Lévi-Strauss to social structure.

4. 'Functionalism was a dominant theory in the British and American anthropology and sociology.' Discuss.

5. Critically analyse the relationship between social structure and social organization.

6. Describe the concept of social mobility.

7. Evaluate the concept of social mobility among the tribes and castes.

8. Describe social processes such as tribalization, detribalization, re-tribalization and Sanskritization with regard to tribal studies.

9. Discuss how Sanskritization works in raising the social position of some tribes to the level of Hindu castes. Discuss how the tribes achieve that.

3.9 FURTHER READING

Beteille, A. 1975. *Six Essays in Comparative Sociology*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

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UNIT 4 FIELDWORK TRADITION IN TRIBAL STUDIES

Structure

4.0 INTRODUCTION

The tradition of fieldwork goes hand-in-hand with research work. Generally, research is defined as a scientific investigation of phenomena which includes collection, presentation, analysis and interpretation of data that reflects an individual's perception and speculation of reality.

A research can be a library research or a field research or a laboratory research. The last one is an experimental research and is related to physical and natural sciences. In library research, answers to research problems are found from secondary sources. It is the tradition of finding a solution to a problem using 'others' information'. In field research, the fieldwork is the heart and soul of the research and the research is conducted in the natural setting. The threefold classification of research is based on the access to data. In fact, **fieldwork is a method of data collection.**

Social science researches can be either library research or field research. The research can be a combination of both library and field researches. Accordingly, social researchers mainly employ two methods of data collection, viz., fieldwork and documentary research in the library. The process of collecting data by living with the people, having a first-hand experience of their lifestyle is termed as fieldwork. Fieldwork method generates a lot of data about the lifestyle of people and the meaning they attribute to their actions. It also teaches the distinction between 'what people think', 'what people say', 'what people do', and 'what people say they ought to have done'. Field data is not 'others' data'; it is the researcher's own data generated for his own purpose. It is, therefore, the primary source of data and hence original. In this unit, you will learn about the fieldwork tradition in tribal studies.

4.1   UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Understand the fieldwork tradition as a method of data collection
- Trace the origin of fieldwork tradition in studying the tribes
- Explain the nature and course of fieldwork tradition in India
- Describe the significance of fieldwork
- Discuss the meaning of ethics and its importance in fieldwork tradition
- Evaluate the comparative method and its significance in tribal studies
- Assess the emic-etic debate around studying a culture

4.2   HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND SIGNIFICANCE OF FIELDWORK

The tradition of fieldwork in tribal studies is as old as the interest in studying the tribal communities. In this section, we shall discuss the tradition of fieldwork while carrying out researches on tribal studies.

Fieldwork is central to researches in tribal studies. It is the crowning jewel of anthropology. In studying the tribal communities of the Trobriand Islands of New Guinea, Malinowski is credited as being the most important figure in the development of the modern fieldwork tradition. Not less were the contributions of Franz Boas, Radcliff Brown, Evans-Pritchard, Lewis Henry Morgan, Ruth Benedict and others to this tradition of studying the tribal cultures.

Tradition of Fieldwork outside India

The tradition of fieldwork is heavily credited to the American and British anthropologists. Bronislaw Malinowski, a Polish-British anthropologist, is a pioneer of the tradition of field research in tribal studies. He studied the Trobriand Islanders of Papua New Guinea during the last part of the first decade and the first part of the second decade of 20th century. He emphasized on participant observation and the use of tribal language during field studies. His student Sir Raymond Firth worked among the Tikopia of Polynesia. Phyllis Mary Kaberry, another student of Malinowski, had studied the Australian aboriginals.

In the early 20th century the fieldwork tradition among the sociologists of Chicago University was known as 'case study method'.

E. E. Evans-Pritchard, another British anthropologist, studied the Zande and Nuer community in Sudan, and other East African groups as well. In America, Franz Boas (1920), a German-American anthropologist studied the Inuit or Eskimo of Baffin Island and Kwakiutl of British Columbia. He trained generations of American students in the field study method. Famous among them are Ruth Benedict and Margaret Mead. You will study about them later in the same unit.

By now you must have known that the fieldwork tradition gathered momentum in the early part of the 20th century to study tribal communities. Prior to Malinowski, E. B. Tylor and other writers produced ethnographic information collected from secondary sources.

4.2.1 Fieldwork Tradition in India

The fieldwork tradition to study the tribes in India has been followed by two groups of scholars. The first group includes those who are outsiders to India, especially the colonial anthropologists and administrators. The second group includes the Indian scholars who have studied their own culture. In other words, the field study in India has etic and emic dimensions. We shall discuss the field tradition in India, its origin, nature and scope in the following sections.

Outsiders' Involvement in Fieldwork in India

During the 18th century, the British government felt the need of having an ethnographic account on different tribes of India with a view to rule them easily. They were not anthropologists by training and profession but their accounts provided ample description on the tribal history of India. A number of foreign anthropologists visited India during that period to record the customs and traditions of Indian tribes. British anthropologist W. H. Rivers visited India and conducted a field study among the Toda tribe in the Nilgiri Hills of South India for about six months in 1901-02. He published a monograph entitled *The Todas* in 1906. Scholars maintain that his fieldwork among the Todas set the trend of anthropologists visiting the cultures they are interested in to conduct a field study. Malinowski later declared Rivers to be his 'patron saint of fieldwork'. Another anthropologist, Radcliffe-Brown, came to India to study the Onge tribe of Andaman Islands in 1906 and 1908. He published a monograph on Onge in 1922 under the title, *The Andaman Islanders*.

We also have material available on the tribals which were actually administrative reports of British administrators. On the tribes of East India, we have accounts of E. T. Dalton, H. H. Risley and L. S. S. O'Malley. Russel had written on the tribes of Middle India and E. Thurston on the tribes of South India. On the tribes of West India, we have the accounts of W. Crooke. In fact, their accounts were not tribe specific; rather these were reports covering both tribes and castes. Most of the publications available by then were in the form of Handbooks, Census Reports, District Gazetteers and a few articles. Only two full length works were available on the people of Chota Nagpur and on the Saurias of the Rajmahal Hills before the publications of S. C. Roy. F. B. Bradley-Birt, a British Officer, wrote a book entitled *Chota Nagpore: A Little Known Province of the Empire* in 1903 where he provided a full length account of the land and people of the region. Four years later, in 1907, R. B. Bainbridge, another British officer, published *The Saurias of the Rajmahal Hills*.

In North-East India, the colonial administrators have produced few important works on tribes based on fieldwork. Mention may be made of W. W. Hunter's *A Statistical Account of Assam* (1879), R. Brown's *Statistical Account of Manipur* (1873) and B. C. Allen's *Gazetteer of Naga Hills and Manipur* (1905). These works were field based accounts. However, there were some ethnographic works by some administrators. These are T. C. Hudson's *The Meitheis* (1908) and *The Naga Tribes of Manipur* (1911), W. C. Smith's *The Ao Naga Tribe of Assam* (1925), J. H. Hutton's *The Angami Nagas* (1921), J. P. Mills' The *Rengma Nagas* (1937) and Alexander Mackenzie's *Memorandum on the North-East Frontier of Bengal* (1869) which later developed into a book entitled *The North-East Frontier of India* and was published in 1884. Some other works during this period are W. Robinson's *Notes on the Dophlas and the Peculiarities of their Language* (1851), T. T. Cooper's *The Mishmee Hills* (1873), E. T. Dalton's *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal* (1872), G. W. Dun's *Preliminary Notes*

on *Daphlas* (1897) and C. V. Haimendorf's *Ethnographic Notes on the Tribes of the Subansiri Region* (1946) and *Notes on Tribal Justice among the Apatanis* (1946). C .V. Haimendorf was an anthropologist who was appointed by the government for preparing ethnographic account of the Apatanis. Later, he kept visiting the Apatanis and published *The Hidden Land* (1953), *The Apatanis and their Neighbours* (A primitive civilization of the Eastern Himalayas) (1962) and *A Himalayan Tribe from Cattle to Cash* (1980). Ursula Graham Bower, also published a book entitled *Himalayan Barbary* (1955) based on fieldwork.

Even today, scholars take interest in field studies in India. They study both tribal and non-tribal cultures. Lidia Guzy from Ireland, Nel Vandekerckhove from Amsterdam, Robin Oakley from Canada, Bengt G. Karlsson from Sweden, Vanessa Cholez from France, Stuart Blackburn from United Kingdom, Nicolas Laine and Philippe Ramirez from France, Skoda Uwe from Denmark, Stephen Morey from La Trobe University, Australia, Emile Parent from Canada, to mention a few, have selected tribal areas for their field study.

Indian Scholars in the Field

The Indian tradition of fieldwork began with the publication of 'The Mundas, Their Country, Their Character and Their Poetry' in 1908 by S. C. Roy. It was not an administrative account, but an ethnographical account based on Roy's field experience. The history of tribal studies in India took a turning point with the publication of this article.

Period of S. C. Roy

The beginning of field tradition in India is attributed to Sarat Chandra Roy. He is regarded as 'The Father of Indian Ethnography'. Roy was a lawyer by profession. He settled in Ranchi to establish his practice as a pleader. He started his career in 1898. He came in contact with the tribal people of Chota Nagpur. The region of present Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh and around was known as Chota Nagpur. Gradually, Roy developed an interest in the life and culture of the tribal people of this region. His interest in tribal ethnography developed in the course of his visit to the interior areas of the region because of his professional requirement as a lawyer. He became acquainted with the problems of the tribal people and came to know that they were oppressed and exploited owing to their ignorance of administrative and judicial matters. His great compassion for tribal people initiated him to plead in favour of the tribals against the exploitation of their landlords. He took deep interest in their customary laws in view of his profession as a lawyer and learnt their languages.

The simple beginning of the Indian tradition of fieldwork with the publication of an article by S. C. Roy in 1908 made a benchmark in 1920. In that year S. C. Roy published a detailed monograph entitled *The Mundas and their Country*. This is the first field based full length ethnographical account on the Mundas, a major tribe in the then Chota Nagpur, by an Indian ethnographer. This was highly acclaimed, acknowledged by the High Court of Patna and Calcutta (Kolkata), as authoritative for conducting legal cases for proper justice to the tribals.

S. C. Roy's ethnographic works were based on in-depth field studies through the participant observation method. He was very much accepted by the tribals as a man of their own society, who shared their joys, hopes and sorrows of life with them. Rapport establishment is an important quality of an investigator in anthropology and tribal studies.

S. C. Roy had that quality because of his compassion for the tribal people, his efforts to bring them legal justice against exploitation, and his ability to communicate with them in their own languages. It is not surprising when he spent much of his time and energy to conduct field study in the thickly forested areas of Birhor settlements, scattered and secluded, to write on the Birhors. Fieldwork tradition to S. C. Roy was not a method of producing ethnography; it was a road map for good governance, both on the administration and development fronts.

Field tradition is not competitive with the other methods of data collection. Rather, the method of fieldwork could be used to complement the other methods of data collection. It is not a surprise to find Roy combining historical methods and ethnography in his first monograph on the Mundas. In describing the history of the Mundas, he dealt with the tribal history of Ranchi to trace the origin and history of the Munda tribe from different sources including folklore, linguistics and prehistoric evidences. He has provided a historical background on the advent of Christian Missionaries, institution of Zamindars and their exploitation and the Birsa movement against the British.

The use of other sources is also evident in his book *The Kharias* (1937), published in two volumes, which he co-authored with his son Ramesh Chandra Roy, a trained anthropologist. With the help of his son, he incorporated the anthropometric data available on the Kharias and got the data analysed with the help of P. C. Mahalanobis, a renowned statistician.

Evidently, the field work tradition does not display exclusiveness in writing ethnographical accounts based only on field data. Therefore, Roy's ethnographical works are forerunners of interdisciplinary studies of our time. In other words, the history of field tradition in India by the Indian nationals marks the history of interdisciplinary perspectives in the pursuit of knowledge.

Field tradition is vast in its scope. It is not limited only to ethnographic studies. Scholars of pre-history and archaeology also conduct fieldworks. Roy himself presented a paper in 1915 entitled 'A Note on Some Remains of the Ancient Asurs in the Ranchi District' based on field study. He explored about 45 sites and collected over hundred stone tools from different pre-historic sites of Ranchi. In the cited work, Roy had collected copper ornaments from a number of sites as evidences to prove the chalcolithic culture in Ranchi. The following year he also published another paper entitled 'Relics of the Copper Age Found in Chota Nagpur' on the basis of field data.

S. C. Roy was a strong advocate of anthropological training to administrative and judicial officers, forest and excise officers who were posted in tribal areas. He believed that such trainings would not only improve the quality of judicial and executive work, but would also help the cause of science through observation and investigation of tribal customs that might be recorded during the fieldwork. He visualized the training of fieldworkers as a means of capacity building of these workers to serve the tribal people better. No doubt, the fieldwork tradition includes the essence of understanding and working better particularly for the tribal people.

During this period, another scholar named J. K. Bose was engaged in fieldwork among the tribals of North-East India. His tenure of fieldwork was not long, but the contribution he made is outstanding. His fieldwork spanned a few years in early 1930s and a year in 1940-41. However, his works were published in the 1980s. The first one, entitled *Glimpses of Tribal Life in North-East India* is a collection of six papers, along with few papers of other scholars in the appendix section, which was published in 1980.

The collected papers are the result of fieldwork conducted by Bose in early thirties when he was a Research Fellow at the American Museum of Natural History. In about two years, he covered an extensive area and collected large quantities of field data on the social organization of Garo, Khasi, Chiru, Kuki and Nagas of North-East India.

In 1940-41, being appointed by the government of Bengal, he made a careful and systematic study of the Garo inheritance law conducting field study. Bose was already a trained anthropologist and a law graduate before he worked among the tribes of North-East India and particularly on the Garo laws of inheritance. His study became the official manual for deciding cases of land ownership and inheritance among the Garos.

Post Roy Period

During the post Roy period, we have scholars who were in contact with S. C. Roy or were trained or influenced by him. The works of these scholars have been labelled as 'Continuity of Roy's Tradition'. Also, there were scholars who were not trained by Roy, but contributed immensely to the field tradition in the country. Their fieldwork was not limited to tribal studies; rather they extended the field study method to study the caste societies. Therefore, a new trend was set in the field tradition. Nirmal Kumar Bose can be regarded as the forerunner of this trend because his fieldwork not only encompassed the tribes but extended to study the Indian civilization. The field method which was popular in ethnographic studies has crossed the disciplinary boundary. Its use has been comprehensive and it also encompasses development studies.

Continuity of Roy's tradition

After Roy, Nirmal Kumar Bose, S. S. Sarkar and D. N. Majumdar continued the field tradition having been inspired by Roy. These three scholars including A. Aiyappan and K. P. Chattopadhyay received primary training of fieldwork from Roy. D. N. Majumdar of Lucknow University undertook the monographic study of the Ho tribe of Seraikela under the guidance of Roy. The report from the field study appeared as a book in 1937. He was the first Indian anthropologist to study and write about the impact of non-tribal culture on the lives of Indian tribes. S. S. Sarkar of Calcutta University undertook an ethnological survey of the Maler. Sarkar's work, mostly on physical anthropology includes field study based papers on Jarwa and Onge tribes as well as Negritoid traces on the Indian mainland.

A. Aiyappan, a musicologist and also a Professor of Anthropology for a short period, has produced field study based ethnographic works such as *Nayada in Kerala* and *Social Revolution in a Kerala Village* (1965). Nirmal Kumar Bose began his field study among the Juangs of Odisha, but later he extended its scope to other fields and societies. His field interest encompassed art and architecture, the Indian society and culture. He played an important role in 'building an Indian tradition in Anthropology' including tribal studies.

New Trend

A new trend in field tradition emerged when scholars studied not only the tribes but also other communities and dimensions of the Indian civilization. One of the fieldworkers in the phase of new trend is M. N. Srinivas. He employed fieldwork methods in his research. Particularly, he followed ethnographic research based on participant observation. But his fieldwork was tied to the notion of locally bound areas. He did not conduct field studies with the notion of studying 'the others' like the anthropologists. Except his work

on the Coorgs, his other works were on the non-tribal caste societies. It is not a surprise that his papers on dominant caste and joint family disputes were largely inspired from his direct participation in the rural life of South India. His *The Remembered Village* (1976), considered a classic in fieldwork tradition is a study based on the 11 months he spent in the village (Rampura, a fictitious name) in 1948 and on subsequent visits until 1964. His book entitled *Religion and Society among the Coorgs of South India* (1952) is an outcome of his ethnographic research among the Coorg (Anglicized name of the Kodava) tribal people. On the basis of field studies, scholars have been able to formulate new concepts and a theoretical framework. He conducted field study among the Coorgs of Karnataka for a year and has coined the concept Sanskritization. Sociologist Andre Beteille's study of the Sripuram village (also a fictitious name) in Tanjore in South India provided a theoretical frame of understanding the caste system of South India. The point is that field tradition was not only limited to the study of tribes in the post Roy period. It has a vast canvass and tribal studies constitutes the major portion. Moreover, those who are trained in field studies among the tribals do better in other area.

In 1956, Nabendu Datta-Majumder produced a field study based monograph on the Santhals entitled *The Santhal: A Study in Culture Change*. Prabodh Kumar Bhowmick produced his Ph. D thesis on the topic *Lodhas of West Bengal* in 1961 which was later published as a book in 1963. After that he focused on applied and action anthropology for the welfare of the tribals, especially Lodhas, in situ. On the basis of field experience of scholars and activists involved in action based approach for the development of the tribals, he compiled a volume entitled *Applied and Action Anthropology* in 1990.

In the later part of 1950s and thereafter, L. P. Vidyarthi conducted field studies not only among the tribals, but extended it to study the Indian civilization. He began his field study in Gaya and submitted a field report in 1950 to the Patna University. He published his field study based book entitled *The Sacred Complex in Hindu Gaya* in 1961. His work along with Makhan Jha and Baidyanath Saraswati is entitled as *The Sacred Complex of Kashi: A Microcosm of Indian Civilization* in 1979. In 1961, he published an article entitled 'Sacred Complex in a Hilly tribal Village' on the basis of field study. He conducted field studies among the Malers who lived in Rajmahal Hills and published a monograph entitled *The Maler: The Nature-Man-Spirit Complex in a Hill Tribe* (1963). On the basis of his field work among the tribes he coined the concept of 'Nature-Man-Spirit Complex', and in Gaya he conceptualized 'Sacred Complex' as a frame of analysis which could be expended to study the scared space in tribal villages also.

Contemporary Tradition

Field study today is not limited among the academic scholars only. NGOs and non-academic institutions take interest in field methods to study the different aspects of tribal life in the changing context. Few individuals also have taken up field data to present tribal problems.

B. D. Sharma, an I.A.S officer has a long experience of working in the Bastar tribal region. The field data collected by him as an administrator in the course of his official work and later as an amateur scholar has been used by him to understand the development dynamics. He has used the field data as a critique of various government policies. *Besieged, Tribal Affairs in India, Against Imperialism, Forced Marriages in Bailadila,* and *Shifting Cultivation* are some of his critiques based on field data. As

an NGO activist, he has reported his field experience of atrocities on tribes in Kalinganagar of Odisha.

Recently, various NGOs have used field data for action and applied researches. In fact requirement of field data spreads beyond ethnography to participatory learning action, development studies, environmental conservation studies through Indigenous Knowledge System (IKS) and many others.

Post-Independence tribal research institutes/departments in states like Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Odisha, former Bihar, former Madhya Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh, and Rajasthan have been set up. These institutes have been undertaking ethnographic studies and collecting field data on development projects. Some of the ethnographic works produced by the Department of Research in Arunachal Pradesh are as follows:

Authors	Name of Monographs
B. K. Shukla (1959)	*The Dafla of the Subansiri Region* (The designation Dafla is no more in use. People call themselves Nyishi)
Sachin Roy (1960)	*Aspects of Padam Minyong Culture*
Raghuvir Sinha (1962)	*The Akas*
L. R. N. Srivastava (1962)	*The Gallongs* (The people call themselves Galos)
N. Sarkar (1974)	*Dances of Arunachal Pradesh*
Ram Kumar Deuri (1982)	*The Sulungs* (Sulungs are now called Puroiks)
L. R. N. Srivastava (1990)	*Social Organization of the Minyongs*

University departments, centres and institutes, in recent years are engaged in field studies in general and on tribal affairs in particular. Land Record Department of Guwahati High Court has recorded tribal customary laws by conducting field study. National Institute of Rural Development and its regional centres conduct field studies both in tribal and non-tribal areas to evaluate rural development schemes.

In some University departments, the field tradition is a requirement of the University degree of students, and career concern of teachers. Some teachers of the University, especially from the Anthropology departments, have studied the tribals in the course of their academic pursuits. Jagannath Dash of Utkal University has worked among the tribes of Shimilpal, A. K. Kapoor of Delhi University among the Sahariyas of Rajasthan and Jaunsar-Bawar of Uttarakhand, V. S. Upadhyaya and V. S. Sahaya who belong to the Ranchi tradition worked among the tribes of Andaman and Nicobar and Ashim Adhikari among the Birhors. The anthropologists of various centres of Anthropological Survey of India have worked among the tribes of their respective areas. S. N. Chaudhary, Professor of Rajiv Gandhi Chair in Contemporary Studies, Barkatullah University, Bhopal, is engaged in field based tribal studies.

It is to be noted that studying more than one tribe has been a trend in contemporary field tradition. Jagannath Dash has worked among the Ho (1981), Bathudi Santhal (1981), Paraja (1982), Dongria Kondh (1985) and many more. V. S. Sahay has worked among the tribes of Nicobar Islands and Khasa in Himalayas. Besides that, he has worked among the tribal communities of Jharkhand, West Bengal and Chhattisgarh. M. C. Behera has worked among the Khamptis (1986-88, 1988-90, 2001, 2007), Adis (Minyong: 1992,1994; Padam 2003-2004), Apatani (1992-94), Galo (1998-99), Mishmi—both Miju

and Digaru (1988-89, 2002), Nyishi (1997) Sulung—now called Puroik (2002-2003), Monpa (2005) and Bugun (2008) in Arunachal Pradesh. Besides he has studied the Paraja of Odisha (2002, 2010) and the Birhor of Jharkhand. Individual scholars working among a number of tribes is possible because of project works they undertake, selection of tribes for Ph. D work and the field study conducted by students during field training.

Presently, scholars belonging to their own tribe conduct field study as a requirement of their Ph. D work or project work they undertake. In Delhi University, most of the Ph. D and M. Phil scholars select their own tribe for field study. Avitoli Zhimo and Kanato Chophy of Delhi University have conducted fieldwork in their respective Naga communities for Ph. D degree. Similar trend is followed in other Universities as well.

Therefore, the contemporary trend in field study is a growing academic engagement of insiders studying their respective tribes. More and more tribal youths go for higher studies and pursue Ph. D and M. Phil courses. Besides these scholars, there are other scholars who study their own tribes for the project work undertaken by them. Malli Gandhi, himself a de-notified tribe has studied not only his own tribe but many other de-notified tribes like Dasaris, Sugalis, Woddars, Yerukulas and Yandis.

Elwin's Fieldwork

While S. C. Roy was working among the tribes of Chota Nagpur, another scholar was actively involved in fieldwork among the tribes of the present Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh and Odisha. He was Verrier Elwin, who came to India in 1927 as a Christian Missionary, but became a self-educated anthropologist. On the basis of his fieldwork, he came out with numerous books on various tribal groups of Central India, but he is best known for his work with the Baigas and Gonds. Later, he shifted his field interest to North-East India. He published *The Baiga* in 1939. His famous books based on fieldwork and some on participant observations in 1940s are *The Agaria* (1942), *The Aboriginals* (1944), *The Muria and their Ghotul* (1947), *Bondo Highlander* (1950) and *Maria Murder and Suicide* (1950).

Elwin was a British citizen, but later he took up Indian citizenship. On the basis of fieldwork, he became an authority on Indian lifestyle. His publication on intimate sexual life of Gods is based on what he calls participant observation. He married Kosi, a Gond girl whom he made the subject of his anthropological studies.

Elwin has his independent tradition of fieldwork. After coming to India he worked with Shamrao Hivale, an Indian from Pune. Their fieldworks on tribes and subsequent publications are some of the earliest field based studies in the country. Elwin's fieldwork is contemporary to that of S. C. Roy for a period of around two decades. But he continued his work after the death of Roy.

4.2.2 Significance of Fieldwork

Fieldwork is a method of data collection in a 'natural' world in 'natural' environments. Naturally, it involves collecting data outside an experimental or laboratory setting.

Largely, anthropologists employed field study methods to study tribal communities. As a method it has its own place in the research process. The fieldworker collects original or unconventional data using such methods as face-to-face interviews, surveys, or direct observation. Fieldwork enhances enumerator's personal experiences, improves his learning process, and increases his understanding and knowledge. It broadens awareness and establishes links between ideas and practical realities, for the field is not

limited to any disciplinary branch of knowledge. Fieldwork widens the frontiers of knowledge and it is not a surprise that scholars from other disciplines are increasingly using this method in their researches. It is only field experience that broadened the outlook of S. C. Roy beyond socio-cultural study of tribes. Sociologists like Pierre Bourdieu, William Foote Whyte, Erving Goffman, Harriet Martineau and economists like Wassily Leontief, Alan Blinder, Lawrence Klein and Jack Johnston have employed field methods in their respective disciplines. Henry Mintzberg, who is a pioneer in crystallizing management studies, has used and advocated the use of field study in management. Even Alan Lomax and John Peel have conducted field study in the discipline of music. Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) methods and techniques in rural development studies have emerged essentially as a refinement of traditional methods. In fact, field tradition pervades through Art, Photography, Forestry, Botany, Geology, Geography, Physics, Education, Ecology, History, Agriculture, Zoology and Political Science.

Tribal communities are pre-literate; these communities do not have written records of their life and culture. Moreover, there are no adequate literatures available on each and every community from the studies conducted on them. A large number of communities have not been studied properly. In recent years many tribal communities have been exposed to different forces of change. In these communities has emerged a syncretic cultural tradition along with an interactive process of adaptation and adjustment. No doubt, the perspectives of tribes on their ways of life are changing. Field methods provide an opportunity to study the response of people to the changes from their perspectives.

The field method is not a mere visit to the tribal settlements. It is a systematic and planned approach to understand the life and culture of people in a better way from their perspective through interaction over a long period of time. The planning also includes learning the language of the community that the fieldworker has studied. Therefore, it is not a surprise that Malinowski advises the fieldworkers to spend around a year in the field. The fieldworker lives with the community of people, in their natural habitat, collecting information about all social and cultural aspects, so that in the end he has a fair idea of typical annual activities. During the early years of field tradition Jean-Paul Dumont spent two years in Tamil Nadu. But practically his contact with Pramalai Kallar, the community he studied, was for eight months. Similarly, Rivers studied the Todas for about six months. Nevertheless, the depth and quality of ethnographies produced was superb. Thus, the time spent in carrying out fieldwork is in fact dependent upon the nature and scope of problem the researcher has chosen to investigate.

The significance of fieldwork lies in its principle of learning the vernacular language of the tribes. This requires the fieldworker to understand the systems of meaning on which the tribal culture operates. Tribal people too like other human beings live in a culturally constructed world of meanings. They interpret everything they live in with reference to culture and this interpretation takes different meanings in different cultures. Therefore, before embarking upon the field, the fieldworker is expected to learn the language. If the facility for a particular language is not available, the fieldworker is required to learn it by living with the people, engaging an interpreter in the beginning, and then gradually using it himself. A fieldwork conducted in vernacular is more reliable and authentic than carried out through an interpreter.

The fieldwork tradition does not believe in disciplinary rigidity. The fieldworker learns from the shortcomings and improves upon the nature of investigation. It is well

known that male anthropologists working in sexually segregated societies have often been shut out from participating in or observing female activities. Franz Boas was well informed about this problem and thus, encouraged women to take up a career in anthropology, carrying out fieldwork on those aspects that mainly concern women.

Advantages of fieldwork

Fieldwork is an important method in research. The following are the advantages of field study:

- A field provides scope for verification of information. The information from one informant can be verified through cross checking other informants. Moreover, as the enumerator lives in the field, he can clarify his doubts later if any doubt arises or ambiguity/inconsistency is noticed. The degree of reliability and accuracy thereby increases.

- Field study is progressively revealing. The data and work of a first enumerator on a tribe provides a base to subsequent enumerators who study the same tribe. Later enumerators may substantiate, modify or contradict earlier findings, and add to the existing stock of knowledge on the tribe by exploring new areas. It is not a surprise to find that earlier concepts of 'egalitarian', 'isolation', etc. have been challenged by later fieldworkers on tribes.

  Many misconceptions are gradually removed through subsequent studies. Today, tribal communities are not considered lacking religion or political organizations. One of the stereotypes regarding the tribes is that they do not have a sense of history. But a contemporary fieldworker among the tribes will not believe in such a stereotype. In fact, in recent years history of tribal communities and other pre-literate communities is reconstructed drawing on oral sources. Paul Thompson's *Voice of the Past: Oral History* is a methodological classic on the use of oral sources to reconstruct history of pre-literate people.

- Society is dynamic. It changes over time and space. Field study helps understand the nature and trend of social dynamics in tribal communities over years in the absence of written records.

- Field study is an effective method of scrutinizing the impact of development programmes on tribal communities. Assessment of the impact drawing on statistics from official sources is often misleading. These statistics do not reflect the impact on the cultural life of people. The provision of a swing machine under the self-employment programme may provide employment to a tribal lady. But her engagement in swing machine limits her time to attend to other activities like collecting firewood, cooking food, participation in social functions and collection of vegetables. Official data do not present a picture of her net gain from her employment in the swing machine business at the cost of gainful traditional activities in the tribal village.

  The intensity of problems of the tribal people is linked to the forces of development and exposure to the outside world. This intensity of problem cannot be captured without field study. The case of Jarwa is worth mentioning here. Survival, a London based worldwide organization supporting tribal peoples, gives an account of the plight of the Jarwa people due to their encounter with development forces. It reports,

Outsiders are invading the reserve of the isolated Jarwa tribe in the Andaman Islands, India… Despite a Supreme Court Order to islands' administration to close the highway which runs through the reserve, it remains open, bringing disease and dependency… The Jarwa are one of four 'Negrito' tribes who are believed to have travelled to the Andaman Islands from Africa up to 60,000 years ago… The Jarwa are hunter gatherers, and number around 270 people. They use bows and arrows to hunt pigs and monitor lizards, and catch fish and turtles. Now, hundreds of Indian settlers and Burmese poachers are hunting along the road and the coast, depriving the Jarwa of vital game. The problem has become so acute that in some areas the once abundant wild pigs and fish are now scarce… The main highway which runs through the Jarwa reserve, known as the Andaman Trunk Road, is also bringing exploitation of the Jarwa. There are numerous reports of poachers and other outsiders sexually exploiting Jarwa women, and outsiders are introducing alcohol, tobacco, and alien food items on which the Jarwa are starting to depend. Those entering Jarwa land also bring outside diseases to which the Jarwa have no immunity.

No doubt, statistical data on number of schools, number of enrolments, number of hospitals and people treated, length of road in tribal areas will not give the picture of tribal human resource evolved in true sense of the term.

- Tribal culture is a holistic worldview evolved over years in the course of their interaction with nature. A tribal person cannot perceive the holistic knowledge system in terms of specialized academic disciplines. Usually, specialized methodological renderings do not help appreciating the holistic tribal perspectives even in a changing context. Field study contains the potentiality of providing a holistic understanding of a phenomenon, as we have discussed, the field does not limit its scope to any disciplinary rigid frame.

- Field study provides first-hand information. The enumerators get wider scope to collect right information in consistent with objectives of the research. The scope is limited in secondary sources of information.

- Fieldwork is self-educative. University students obtain knowledge through texts on the topic. Often, it raises new research questions for further investigation. The horizon of knowledge expands. Gap between 'armchair' knowledge and 'field reality' reveals and narrows down. Field tradition provides an opportunity to appreciate diversity.

- Tribal culture is not a monolithic whole. It varies across the tribes and between the settlements of the same tribe. The enumerator being an outsider encounters a different culture. That diversity as a reality is understood and appreciated by the fieldworkers.

Limitations of fieldwork

There are some limitations in the field study method. But these limitations are scope to improve the efficacy of the method. The limitation of male enumerator to interview female respondents on some matter is the scope to employ female enumerators as anthropologists. The limitations discussed below are challenges to overcome for an effective field study method.

- It may not be possible for the solitary enumerator to observe everything that goes on in the community. Certain events may take place in certain part of the village when the enumerator is busy interviewing someone else. It is also possible that certain events may not take place during the time of fieldwork, or they may not form a part of the annual ritual cycle.

- The people of ethnographic investigation are treated as **other**. When their moorings are different from those of fieldworkers, they constitute the **other** both in an empirical and a methodological sense.

- Even when the subjects of study are one's own people, the investigator does not assume that he knows them fully well; rather he still considers them as 'others', about whom he will only come to know during the course of his study. As the insider researcher has an outlook different from his own people because of formal education he may interpret information differently or be selective in presenting information.

- There is a difference between the knowledge the investigator acquires by being a natural member of the society and the one he acquires by consciously undertaking its study. When the researcher undertakes a study of his society, he excitedly discovers many aspects of his society that he did not know beforehand.

When a field worker undertakes the task of fieldwork, he is taking on an overwhelming amount of obstacles, called cultural barriers. He must overcome the barriers in order to record accurate information regarding a specific civilization. He must overcome many obstacles such as language, race and culture in order to start a study on a specific culture. There are many advantages in conducting a fieldwork that makes for a very rewarding experience once the 'culture barrier' has been overcome. One advantage is that one gains a lot more from a culture when you are 'immersed' in the particular culture. You can study about a culture in books or watch a movie about an area but it is absolutely nothing like actually being there. You can talk to people living in that culture, attend their religious ceremonies, and see basically how they live on a day to day basis.

Fieldwork is not an easy venture. Fieldwork conducted in modern societies differs from the one that is conducted in tribal societies. In modern societies and institutions, permission to carry out fieldwork is required from the people who are considered to be 'the gatekeepers'. These gatekeepers control the flow of information. In tribal societies, there may not be 'gatekeepers' guarding information and if there are, they do not exercise the kind of surveillance on the fieldworker as is exercised in modern institutions. This gives an opportunity to unscrupulous enumerators to exploit the tribal knowledge system.

4.2.3 Ethics of Fieldwork

Ethics is concerned with **wrong** or **right** with reference to a standard. The standard may vary from discipline to discipline and over time and space. Hence, ethics are contextual. Research ethics involve the question of right or wrong in the process of research. Ethics in the fieldwork tradition conform to the research ethics in general.

An enumerator while conducting fieldwork experiences some problems. As a researcher, the enumerator also faces a set of related problems, for example, while planning the fieldwork and writing the research report. The researcher may face the following problems:

- Should the researcher inform the people about the nature of his study?

- If he should share the information, then how much of it should be revealed/ shared?

The researcher may also face other problems such as:

- Should he publish his findings notwithstanding the furore it may cause among the 'subjects' of study?

- Should he deliberately suppress those pieces of information and practices that people find embarrassing?

Each and every researcher may have his own way of addressing the problems. He may have to compromise between polarities. Sometimes, the researcher may ignore the interest of the informants or he may sacrifice the degree of accuracy to avoid a problem. But can the researcher do that?

The researcher may find himself in an advantageous position to ignore the interest of the informants once the fieldwork is complete. Then the balance of power shifts from the informants to the fieldworker/researcher. He may choose to use this knowledge in any desired manner. However, in reality, the fieldworker is caught in a dilemma. He may not reveal the information that might harm the people in the long run. Or, he may receive information from an informant with the explicit instruction of not using it ever in his writings. Therefore, the fieldworker does not have the kind of power that is generally assumed to exist because he is not supposed to use the information for any purpose that might harm the integrity, identity, and image of the people. If a fieldworker 'harms' the people in any way, he also jeopardizes the chance of future fieldworkers in that community.

Sometimes the fieldworker/researcher experiences the dilemma of using or not using the data at the time of analysis. Under such a situation he may choose to overcome this problem by not revealing the name of the community where he conducted his fieldwork or by using pseudonyms for the people who provided the sensitive and controversial information.

But a research is objective in nature and aims at finding the truth. It is but natural to think of a standard way of addressing these problems while looking at the interests of all who involve in the process of research. Normally, the parties involved in a fieldwork-based research are the researcher/enumerator, informants, community, sponsors of research, public and the readers. Each party has its own interest, short term or long term, to be guarded with. This is where ethical considerations get importance in research.

Ethics in research in general and in fieldwork in particular usually refers to well based standards of right and wrong that prescribe what the researcher ought to do. It includes rights, obligations, benefits to society and informants, fairness, or specific virtues. The standards may be **reasonable obligations to refrain** from any act that may harm the long term or short term interest of informants or community or the quality of research. It enjoins virtues of honesty, compassion, and loyalty. Precisely, the ethical standards relating to rights may be the right to life, the right to freedom from injury, and the right to privacy.

The following are some ethical principles which the researcher/fieldworker should be fully aware of and adhere to during fieldwork and thereafter.

1. **Honesty:** The enumerator should record the data honestly in field notes without any fabrication. He should be honest to the purpose of collecting data and his dealings with the informants.
2. **Responsibility:** The enumerator/fieldworker should consider the effects of his work, including the consequences of misuse. He should strive to promote social good and prevent social harms that may come along with his work. Therefore, he should be responsible to secure safety both for the individuals and groups among whom they conduct their fieldwork, and for their colleagues and for the wider society. The responsibility of the fieldworker demands that he should secure the actual permission and interest of all those who involve in the fieldwork process.

He should avoid discrimination against colleagues or members of the team on the basis of sex, race, ethnicity, or other factors. Responsibility demands that the enumerator should be familiar with, and respect, the culture of the people among whom he conducts fieldwork.

Responsibility demands that the enumerator should ensure human subjects protection. The enumerator should avoid taking interest in the lives of individuals or communities he studies. The welfare of the informants should be the highest priority; their dignity, privacy, and autonomy should be respected.

3. **Accountability:** The fieldworker should be accountable to his work in every field. He should be accountable to the accuracy of data, maintaining confidentiality, protecting privacy, timely completion of fieldwork and legality. The fieldworker should know and obey the relevant laws and policies on the subject/topic on which data are collected. The fieldworker should be accountable to the funding agency, and to general public and any damage caused in the process of data collection.

4. **Integrity:** The fieldworker should keep promises and agreements made with the informants and other participants. The fieldworker should act with sincerity and strive for consistency in thought and action.

5. **Objectivity:** The objectivity of research depends on the nature and reliability of data. Therefore, the fieldworker should avoid bias in methods of data collection. The fieldworker should conduct pilot survey before standardizing questionnaires. The fieldworker should ensure that the data collected conform to the research objectives.

6. **Trust:** The academic research as a whole is built on a foundation of trust. The fieldworker should be aware of this principle at the time of collection of data. He should ensure that the community has trust in his words and that the research results would reflect an honest presentation of the society and its people and culture.

7. **Carefulness:** The fieldworker should be careful to avoid errors and negligence while recording or reporting data.

8. **Confidentiality:** This refers to the participant's confidentiality—both individual and information. The fieldworker should ensure that the identity of the informant would be kept confidential and the personal information would not be shared with anyone. Sometimes it may so happen that the informant may share some information with the enumerator out of curiosity which would reflect on his personal dignity, if disclosed. The enumerator should practice restraint to keep it a secret. Otherwise, it will be a breach of trust.

9. **Respect for intellectual property:** The fieldworker should be aware of the local customs, norms and regulations. The fieldworker should give due respect and credit to the indigenous knowledge holder and indigenous rights. He is required to honour patents, copyrights, and other forms of intellectual property. He should not use community knowledge without proper prior permission.

Protection of Plant Variety and Farmers' Right (PPVFR) Act (2001), Biological Diversity Act (2002) and Indian Patent Act (1970 as amended in 2005), Protection for Handicrafts under Indian Intellectual Property Laws which includes Protection under Geographical Indications of Goods

(Registration and Protection Act [1999]), Combined Interpretation of Design Act (2000) and Copyright Act (1957) are some of the major legal instruments which the fieldworker should be aware of. These Acts would provide legal shields for tribal communities to protect their biodiversity and traditional knowledge (TK).

10. **Prior Informed Consent:** Prior Informed Consent (PIC) was incorporated in Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) Act, 1992. It is one of the important tools through which community opinion and willingness to share their TK knowledge with enumerators is obtained. PIC aims at protecting traditional knowledge (TK) which includes traditional cultural expression (TCE) and folklore and technology transfer.

An agreement format in language known to the informant is signed before the collection of data. This is essential if the informant has to share knowledge on traditional tribal medicine system or other form of knowledge which could be used to earn benefit. Prior Informed Consent (PIC) requires that the informant should be fully informed about the knowledge he would share and the prospective risk or benefit involved. The informant should give his consent willingly; he should not be forced to give consent. The informant also has the right to decline to sign the agreement or may withdraw at any time.

4.3 COMPARATIVE METHOD IN TRIBAL STUDIES

Comparative method is based on comparison and is the oldest method in social science. It is as old in tribal studies as is the study on tribes. The method has a 'common-sense understanding' in our day to day life and analytical perspective in social science research. You know that comparison is a phenomenon in our day to day life. We compare 'our dresses', 'marks secured in Field Tradition paper', 'the cost of mobile set' and so on. At another level, we also compare 'our religion' with another one or 'our culture with other cultures'. While comparing cultures, we give labels like 'more developed culture', 'less developed culture', or 'primitive culture'. These levels give us an idea of societies with different stages of cultural development, meaning some cultures are considered 'more developed' while some are 'less developed', and still others are considered 'undeveloped' or 'primitive'. In such remarks we find, consciously or unconsciously, an ordering of cultures from 'primitive' to 'more developed cultures'; each successive stage is superior to the preceding one.

4.3.1 Evolutionary Perspective on Comparison

The comparison involving ordering of elements or societies is known as evolutionary comparative approach, for the lowest order, it is argued, will evolve into the highest order in the course of time. That is what at least the European scholars thought when they encountered the non-European societies. They argued that the primitive cultures like tribal cultures would evolve over time to reach the standard of European societies.

This evolutionary perspective and comparative method of studies dominated the thinking of earlier social science theorists. Positivists like Auguste Comte called it a reliable and scientific method of enquiry. He felt that the comparative study of societies as a whole was a major subject for sociological analysis. Spencer also held that the

researcher must compare 'societies of different kinds and societies at different stages'. Durkheim, too, considered societies to be important units of sociological analysis. In his book, *The Rules of Sociological Methods*, he said, 'one cannot explain a social fact of any complexity except by following its complete development through all social species.' Durkheim's plan for comparative studies of societies was ambitious. The comparison that he made in his study of totemism (among the Australian Aborigines) dealt by and large with societies of a single type. In his study on suicide he compared different types of European societies and in *The Division of Labour in Society* (1933), he compared forms of solidarity among all human societies. Thus according to him, comparison can include facts borrowed either from a single and unique society, from several societies of same species, or from several distinct social species.

Among Durkheim's successors, Radcliffe-Brown took the lead in promoting the view that detailed empirical studies of particular societies must be combined with extensive and systematic comparison. He argued his case in the *Preface* he contributed to an influential collection of papers on African political systems. His argument was that the systematic comparison of **segmentary** and **centralized** political systems in sub-Saharan Africa was the first and essential step towards a better understanding of all political systems, simple and complex.

Even Max Weber has given importance to the comparative method, which treats societies as its unit of analysis and enquires into those factors, which accounts for similarities and differences between them, as they exist in different places and time. Echoing Durkheim, Evans-Pritchard in 33rd L. T. Hobhouse Memorial Trust Lecture, 1963 commented that, 'in the widest sense there is no other method. Comparison is, of course, one of the essential procedures of all science and one of the elementary processes of human thought'. In a similar tone, R. Lowie (1950) remarked, 'At the same time a phenomenon is understood only in relation to others: "He little knows of England who only England knows".'

The pioneers of the comparative method in social anthropology were all influenced to a greater or lesser extent by the theory of evolution. Indeed, it was the search for the stages of evolution that largely shaped the comparative method of Morgan and Spencer. This imposed certain limits on the extent to which they did in fact assign equal value to all societies and cultures. It was tacitly accepted that Western societies had reached the highest stage of evolution and that all other societies stood at graduated distances below them. Comparative method was extensively, if not always consciously, used by Western sociologists in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to reinforce their belief in the superiority of their own society and culture.

Hundred years ago, the practitioners of the comparative method in sociology and social anthropology were all Europeans and Americans. This is no longer the case. Not only are many different societies being studied throughout the world, but they are being studied by a variety of persons from many different angles. There are more facts available and more ways of looking at facts. Today, the comparative method has come to terms not only with diverse facts but also with diverse perceptions of the same facts viewed from different angles. It is no more a mere evolutionary understanding of cultural reality.

Comparison beyond Evolutionary Perspective

Cross-cultural studies: The first breakthrough came with the critique of the earlier evolutionary comparative perspective by Franz Boas. Earlier, the evolutionary theorists

used the comparative method to explain the similarity of cultural traits and thus the evolution of societies. These theorists, known as 'arm-chair scholars', used secondary data to break up cultural wholes into traits and compared them to evolve theories of evolution and diffusion.

Franz Boas, an American anthropologist, criticized evolutionary comparative method and emphasized on studying culture in the historical context. In other words, he emphasized on the use of historical data for comparative study of 'cultural relativism' rather than evolutionary theorization through comparison of cultural traits. Thus, the comparative method emerged as *cross-cultural studies*. Precisely, it explains 'why things are the way they are'. Scholars studied universal categories such as kinship, marriage, religion, political system in each culture to compare with other cultures and to understand the similarities and differences. Levi-Strauss used this cross-cultural comparison as the basis of conceptualizing structuralism in anthropology.

Cross-cultural comparison uses field data or secondary ethnographic data or both to study relationships or lack of relationships between cultures all over the world. The works of Edward Burnett Tylor and Lewis Henry Morgan could be considered as two earlier cross-cultural studies using secondary sources of data. Following Franz Boas, his students Ruth Benedict and Margaret Mead conducted cross-cultural studies using field data directly collected by them and relying upon other scholars. Benedict in her book entitled *Patterns of Culture* (1934) has compared the cultures of Kwakiutl of the Pacific North-West (based on field data of Franz Boas), the Pueblo of New Mexico (own field data) and the Dobu of New Guinea (based upon field data of Margaret Mead and Reo Fortunes). Mead in her work *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies* (1935) has made a cross-cultural comparison of sexuality from infancy to adulthood on the basis of her fieldwork conducted among three New Guinea tribes namely, Arapesh, Mundugumor and Tchambuli (now called Chambri).

Later, the cross-cultural studies standardized by George Peter Murdock (1940) was considered the modern version of comparative cross-cultural studies, which he prefers to call cross-cultural survey. He has compiled the *Ethnographic Atlas* using statistical techniques which has given a new dimension to his method. He employed *synchronic* and *diachronic* analytical frame in cross-cultural studies.

A *synchronic* study concerns itself to the study of a culture at a point of time. You can study a tribal culture or culture across tribal communities at a particular moment of time. You can also make a synchronic study of a culture with reference to a past period of time. In contrast, a diachronic study concerns itself to the study of a culture over a period of time. It concerns the process of evolution and change in the culture. In other words, a diachronic study is roughly historical in nature.

Let us take a concrete example. The study of, say the family system of the Nyishi tribe of Arunachal Pradesh as it exists in 2015 or the family system as it exists in Nyishi, Adi, Monpa, Khampti tribes simultaneously in 2015 is a synchronic study. Similarly, the family system of the Nyishi tribe as it existed in 1947 and as it exists in 2015 are both synchronic studies. But if you study the evolution and change of the family system in Nyishi tribe from 1947 to 2015, it will be a diachronic study. You study how the family system changed over the period from 1947 to 2015. This process of change is not present in your study of the marriage system at two particular points of time, namely in 1949 and 2015. Only the study referred to two points of time, but not the process during the period between two points of time.

Therefore, cross-cultural studies can be conducted with reference to time, same culture at one point of time or two points of time or over a period of time. The same temporal factor can also be employed to study across cultures. Secondly, the cross-cultural comparison can also be made over space. The same tribe living in two different environments can also be compared at a particular point of time. The tribe living in a new environment can be compared with its culture of the original place. Such a comparison involves both time and space. We can give an example of both a synchronic and diachronic study of the Garos living in two different environments from the study of J. K. Bose.

J. K. Bose in his book entitled *Culture Change among the Garos* (completed in 1977 based on field work conducted in 1930s and published in 1985) has studied the Garos who had migrated to the plains of Mymensingh in present Bangladesh adjacent to Garo Hills around 1891 and adopted plough cultivation. The cultural change of the Garos is analysed around a shift from the earlier shifting cultivation practice to the plough cultivation in a different ecological setting and in relation to their interaction with the Hindu Bengalis. In the process they had developed a competitive spirit and a new social situation as compared to their counterparts living in hills. He has studied the change by situating the culture of migrant Garos with that of the non-migrant ones in the hills when the former returned to their own ecological settings due to political reasons.

Bose has given us an account of the change, both in material and non-material aspects of culture. Precisely, he has discussed the change with reference to food and drink, dresses and ornaments, social organizations and institutions like inheritance, marriage, dormitory, agricultural practices, and religion. For example, he has informed us about the emerging practice of son's inheritance to plough land, absence of dormitory, evolution of economic individualism in place of community based economy, system of hiring cattle for ploughing, decline in the *katchi* (phratry, probably it was of the nature of moiety earlier) and *machong* (in nature of a lineage or extended family) system, change in cropping pattern from multi-cropping practice in jhum fields to mono-cropping in plough fields, change of the concept of residence after marriage, conversion to Christianity and other religious sects and many more among migrated plough cultivators.

4.3.2 Ideographic and Nomothetic Approaches to Cultural Studies

By 1960s the main aim of comparative method had shifted from attempts of universal generalizations to presentation of culture specific accounts. Because of the shifting emphasis on perspectives, we can categorize cross-cultural studies as **elemental** or **idiographic** and **generalizing** or **nomothetic studies.**

Idiographic (from the Greek term for one's own or oneself) studies concern with the detailed understanding of particular circumstances. An idiographic study accounts for the facts in a single case. It seeks to arrive at general rules from the study of individual cases. Hence, it uses the **inductive method** of reasoning. In tribal studies, ideographic approach would be employed to study a group, a clan, a village community for example, which is seen as an entity. The group should be an individual entity with distinct characteristics which set it apart from other groups of the category.

In contrast, a nomothetic (from the Greek term for law giving) study concerns with particular understanding with reference to many cases. A nomothetic study accounts for the facts in many cases. Julian Steward chose a handful of cases when he developed his theory of cultural change (1955). When an individual case is studied to verify the general rule it is also a nomothetic study. It uses the **deductive method** of reasoning.

The group is not studied as an individual entity, but with reference to general rules that could be applied to the study.

Thus, idiographic studies describe a single event, person, group or situation. In our example of clan as a group, the idiographic study will be interested in, say, the role of clan in the Adi tribe in labour organization. Whereas, the nomothetic study will try to understand the role of the Adi clan in labour organization with reference to the general law of labour organization by a clan in a tribe. It seeks to understand generality in specific cases. No doubt this generality is arrived at by studying many such cases earlier.

Characteristics

The following are some of the characteristics of comparative methods:

- It is a scientific method in which comparative data is collected with a specific purpose and analysed and specific conclusions are derived from its result. For the scholars of tribal studies comparative approach is one among many analytical tools available in their kit. He has to justify why a particular method is used, for what purpose and how best the method can be used.

- No hypothesis is formulated in the comparative method to mould the study in a particular direction.

- The units to be compared are as simple as is possible. These should be simple, symmetrical, similar, and small. The success of this method, therefore, depends on the units of comparison that could be comparable. You cannot compare the kinship relation of the Khampti tribe with the Igu dance of the Mishmis. Further, the smaller the units, the better the results. In big units, there is every possibility of external factors influencing it and thus, creating difficulty in arriving at an objective conclusion. The more certain the comparable units are, the more objective will be the conclusions.

- The method makes systematic comparison between cultural wholes of cultures of the world in different ways. You can compare, say relationships, in a single culture at a given period of time or at different periods, or you may compare relationships in a few contemporaneous cultures. You can also compare several cultures, which are widely different but share some identical features. In other words, you can employ synchronic and diachronic methods of study.

- It aims at answering questions about causes of cultural variations or similarities and complex problems across the cultures of the world.

- It recognizes the uniqueness of each culture compared.

- In this method both types of primary and secondary ethnographic data are used.

The researcher adopting comparative method for his study should possess deep observation power. All the facts will not emerge before him. He will have to possess deep insight into the cause and effect of different factors. He should be acquainted with all the aspects of the subject matter. The researcher should possess the critical power for discrimination. He should not leave any aspect untouched and unattended. He should also be able to interpret the facts in a logical way. The researcher uses figures and facts for explaining conclusions. These conclusions drawn from a comparative method must be reported in a convincing manner. It should be scientifically justified. This requires an objective reporting. The researcher should not be biased and try his best to present his findings in a logical and convincing manner.

The comparative method as a tool of investigation, designed consciously to discover the general features of all societies (or cultures) without losing sight of the distinctive features of each, has been a particular obsession of scholars of tribal studies across disciplines.

4.3.3 Etic and Emic Perspectives

The studies on tribes began as a study of the 'other' by European scholars during the colonial period till the middle of the 20th century. Unit 2 has already dealt with the emic an etic approaches to study the tribes. Here, we learn more about them. Scholars who study a culture other than their own are outside scholars, called **etics**. As a matter of fact, the discipline of social anthropology began with the study of the 'other' by the etics. The colonial anthropologists and administrators studied the culture of the people whom they considered as 'savage', 'primitive' and 'barbarous'. The sense of racial superiority of the European anthropologists is evident in their studies of artefacts, social institutions, religion and culture of 'others'. M. N. Srinivas informs us that in their studies they have 'invariably reinforced the Western assumption that the Western world stood at the apex while the other races occupied lower rungs of the ladder'.

During that time, none was present among the 'others' to study his own culture. Gradually, scholars from the 'other', i.e. tribes, became capable of writing about their own culture. They questioned the authenticity and bias-free presentation of etic views on culture of the 'others'. These writers who wrote about their own culture are called the insiders or **emics**. With a sense of racial superiority, the colonial anthropologists considered emic views as insider's 'preconceptions' and 'private prejudices'. Consequently, the debate on etic and emic views emerged.

In India, with the field research of M. N. Srinivas, the tradition of studying one's own culture became significant. But presently, the outsider studies a culture and the insider also engages in studying his own culture. The issue of the insider, i.e. emic perspective is not as clear as is an outsider's. It is because a member born to a culture can be a 'cultural outsider'. The term *dikku* of the Santhals, earlier used to designate non-Santhalees, is extended to include the Santhal elites as well. The community consider these elites as 'outside the culture'.

Understanding an insider as a cultural outsider is not specific to a particular culture. This is associated with the social process to which every culture and most of its members are exposed to. For example, the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh have been exposed to external forces of change especially through government interventions. Some members of a particular community have more exposure to the formal system of education or to religious conversion or both. This makes the person's perception different from the perception of a member of the culture who is not exposed to such forces and lives a traditional way of life in the village. Hence, a little caution is needed while considering this exposed person as 'an insider' to the culture. There are examples of how the formal system of education changes the outlook and thus the perception of people. M. N. Srinivas's candid expression in this regard is noteworthy. He confesses:

> It is only in the village that I realized how far I (and my family) had travelled away from tradition.

A person in a cultural space lives for a relatively short span of time but the culture is a process of accumulated experience through ages. Further, the researcher could be a social categorization even in tribal communities as among the Gonds, Bhills and Khamptis

or across gender as male and female. Being a woman there are certain expected roles in a patriarchal setup which limits the insider status of the researcher.

The outsider perspective is not free from bias either. The work of Malinowski, considered to be the founder of fieldwork tradition, is also found having male bias and his personal bias towards the people of the Trobriand islanders, his subject of study. Annette Weiner (1976) in a re-study of the same people found that Malinowski's account happens to be the account of the life of the Trobriand males. His account does not reflect the contribution of female members of Trobriand Islands. The publication of his field diary entitled *A Diary in the Strict Sense of the Term* (1967) reveals his personal bias towards the people he studied in spite of his apparent empathy in his works. This puts a question on the objectivity of etic study. However, the emic-etic issue has academic significance. The debate cannot be ignored altogether.

Even **emic** and **etic** terms are used by some scholars in the social sciences and the behavioural sciences to refer to two different kinds of data concerning human behaviour.

- An 'emic' account of behaviour is a description of behaviour or a belief in terms meaningful (consciously or unconsciously) to the actor; that is, an emic account is culture-specific, an insider's view.

- An 'etic' account is a description of a behaviour or belief by an observer, in terms that can be applied to other cultures; that is, an etic account is culturally neutral, it is an account of a scholar who does not belong to the culture he studies.

Scientists interested in the local construction of meaning, and local rules for behaviour, will rely on emic accounts; scientists interested in facilitating comparative research and making universal claims will rely on etic accounts. The terms were first introduced by linguist Kenneth Pike, who argued that the tools developed for describing linguistic behaviours could be adapted to the description of any human social behaviour. The terms **emic** and **etic** are derived from the linguistic terms phonemic and phonetic respectively.

The terms were also championed by anthropologists Ward Goodenough and Marvin Harris with slightly different definitions. Goodenough was primarily interested in understanding the culturally specific meaning of specific beliefs and practices; Harris was primarily interested in explaining human behaviour.

Harris is known for his support of the emic and etic idea. Harris advanced the idea that etic accounts were inherently better, as outsiders observing a culture would not be blinded by the biases that members of that culture carried. This was strongly influenced by Karl Marx's **theory of false consciousness.**

M. N. Srinivas has addressed the problems in the study of one's own society in several of his publications. Srinivas disagrees with the statement that social anthropologists do not study their society well. Ideally, one should begin with the study of a culture different from one's own. Whether it is one's own or a different society much depends upon the 'frame of mind' that the fieldworker adopts. One should look at one's own society as a stranger would, Srinivas notes, keeping aside one's preconceptions and the already-acquired understanding. Srinivas believed that the native anthropologist has a distinct advantage over the outsider-anthropologist: he has a mastery over the language. Because of this, he does not need to engage a research assistant.

The detached observer's (outsider's) view is one window on the world. The view of the local scene through the eyes of a native participant in that scene is a different window. Either view by itself is restricted in scope and leads to a kind of distortion—the first, since it ignores the concept of relevance, or purpose, or meaning, and the second because it distorts or moulds vision or experience so that one interprets what one sees, or hears, or understands, only through the rose-coloured glasses of one's own experiential structure.

Social scientists differ in their treatment and explanation of cultural reality primarily over the reasons or causes for general cultural, universal and specific cultural variations. However, there are other differences in theoretical schools that must be considered before directly investigating fundamental causal issues. These involve different approaches to how meaning is inferred from cultural data and whether culture can be grouped into wider categories for the purpose of generalization.

Researchers must record not only their direct observations of cultural phenomena but must also consider the meaning that informants explicitly or implicitly assign to objects and events in a cultural context. This strategy is called the **emic approach.** It may also so happen that the emic depiction may use concepts and clarifications from cross-cultural generalizations rather than from culture specific meaning system. This type of analysis is termed the **etic approach**. Thus, an outsider can be emic in approach and an insider can be etic in approach.

To some extent emic and etic approaches are complementary. The anthropologist starts with certain cross-cultural analytical principles to help identify a research issue and organize and interpret the data but also considers his observations within the informants' categorization and meaning system to provide an additional empirical dimension. After fieldwork the research proceeds to process the data in an etic framework of general analytical categories and theory. However, some anthropologists maintain that it is not legitimate to apply any cross-cultural terms and that the etic approach is invalid.

Differences between emic and etic approaches are closely related to issues of generalization. Anthropologists like Franz Boas argue that etic or cross-culturally valid terms and categories are not possible. They also maintain that cultures and their component traits and institutions cannot be subjected to comparative conclusions or generalizations. Each culture represents a particular configuration of elements and must be understood only in terms of its uniqueness. Boas first articulated this approach to culture and established an ethnological school, which is sometimes called **historical particularism** because it is critical of generalization. In contrast to particularism, many anthropological theories emphasize the need to draw general conclusions or laws on the basis of comparing individual cases. In other words, they suggest ideographic studies.

Researchers must decide whether their study will be approached from an etic or an emic perspective, and they must establish the way in which they will define or consider culture in the context of their research. The emic approach, as it applies to cross-cultural research, focuses on studying a construct from within a specific culture, and understanding that construct as the people from within that culture understand it. The etic approach, on the other hand, involves developing an understanding of a construct by comparing it across cultures using predetermined characteristics. Researchers have recognized the importance of both of these approaches.

From a measurement standpoint, criteria in an emic approach are relative to the characteristics of the particular culture being studied. Hence, differences or variability in one culture may not have the same significance as they would have in another one. The etic approach is more suited for broader analyses, usually involving two or more cultures. The main assumption in etic research is that there is a shared frame of reference across culturally diverse samples. This frame of reference can be applied to all the samples in the same way, ultimately allowing for more generalization. Since cross-cultural organizational research often involves comparative studies between two or more cultures, much of the research is conducted with an etic perspective. From a measurement standpoint, criteria in an etic approach are considered absolute or universal, with less attention being given to the internal characteristics of a particular culture. However, if etic frames of analysis are used to make cross-cultural comparisons, researchers risk not capturing all of the culture-specific (emic) aspects of the construct relative to a particular culture in the study. On the other hand, if an emic strategy is used, a more precise and thorough description of the elements within one culture is obtained, but the ability to make cross-cultural comparisons becomes more difficult.

When researchers fail to consider the emic aspects of the different cultures involved in their studies, and when they assume that the concepts being tested exist across all cultures, they are applying **imposed** or **pseudo etic** approach. This problem has been recognized as being fairly common in cross-cultural research. A best-practice suggestion for dealing with this problem is to use a combined emic-etic approach, or a **derived etic** approach. Rather than identifying emic dimensions from one culture and simply applying those dimensions to the other culture(s) in the study, a derived etic approach requires researchers to first attain emic knowledge (usually through observation, and/or participation) about all the cultures in the study. This allows them to put aside their culture biases, and to become familiar with the relevant cultural differences in each setting. When this is done, it may then be possible to make cross-cultural links between the emic aspects of each culture. While some emic dimensions will emerge in all cultures, some dimensions may emerge in only one of the cultures. Only where there are observed commonalities can cross-cultural comparisons be appropriately made. The comparisons here are considered derived etics since they are derived by first conducting emic research in each of the cultures, and not just one.

Conceptualizing as an insider is a problematic issue in contemporary field studies among the tribes. But the issue of the debate is not to define an insider or examine the bias of an outsider. As Appadurai (1988) maintains, the issue should be on the focus on authenticity of research.

4.4 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that,

- The tradition of fieldwork in tribal studies is as old as the interest in studying the tribal communities.

- Fieldwork is central to researches in tribal studies. It is the crowning jewel of anthropology. In studying the tribal communities of the Trobriand Islands of New Guinea, Malinowski is credited as being the most important figure in the development of the modern fieldwork tradition.

- The tradition of fieldwork is heavily credited to the American and British anthropologists. Bronislaw Malinowski, a Polish-British anthropologist, is a pioneer of the tradition of field research in tribal studies.

- The fieldwork tradition to study the tribes in India has been followed by two groups of scholars. The first group includes those who are outsiders to India, especially the colonial anthropologists and administrators. The second group includes the Indian scholars who have studied their own culture.

- The Indian tradition of fieldwork began with the publication of 'The Mundas, Their Country, Their Character and Their Poetry', in 1908 by S. C. Roy.

- The beginning of field tradition in India is attributed to Sarat Chandra Roy. He is regarded as 'The Father of Indian Ethnography'.

- Field tradition is vast in its scope. It is not limited to ethnographic studies. Scholars of pre-history and archaeology also conduct fieldworks.

- S. C. Roy was a strong advocate of anthropological training to administrative and judicial officers, forest and excise officers who were posted in tribal areas. He believed that such trainings would not only improve the quality of judicial and executive work, but would also help the cause of science through observation and investigation of tribal customs that might be recorded during the fieldwork.

- During the post Roy period, we have scholars who were in contact with S. C. Roy or were trained or influenced by him. The works of these scholars have been labelled as 'Continuity of Roy's Tradition'.

- A new trend in field tradition emerged when scholars studied not only the tribes but also other communities and dimensions of the Indian civilization. One of the fieldworkers in the phase of new trend is M. N. Srinivas.

- Field study today is not limited among the academic scholars only. NGOs and non-academic institutions take interest in field methods to study the different aspects of tribal life in the changing context.

- The contemporary trend in field study is a growing academic engagement of insiders studying their respective tribes.

- While S. C. Roy was working among the tribes of Chota Nagpur, another scholar was actively involved in fieldwork among the tribes of the present Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh and Odisha. He was Verrier Elwin.

- Fieldwork is a method of data collection in a 'natural' world in 'natural' environments. Naturally, it involves collecting data outside an experimental or laboratory setting.

- Fieldwork enhances enumerator's personal experiences, improves his learning process, and increases his understanding and knowledge. It broadens awareness and establishes links between ideas and practical realities, for the field is not limited to any disciplinary branch of knowledge.

- The significance of fieldwork lies in its principle of learning the vernacular language. This requires the fieldworker to understand the systems of meaning on which the tribal culture operates.

- A field provides scope for verification of information. The information from one informant can be verified through cross checking other informants.

- Field study is an effective method of scrutinizing the impact of development programmes on tribal communities.

- There is a difference between the knowledge the investigator acquires by being a natural member of the society and the one he acquires by consciously undertaking its study.

- Ethics is concerned with wrong or right with reference to a standard. The standard may vary from discipline to discipline and over time and space. Hence, ethics is contextual. Research ethics involves the question of right or wrong in the process of research.

- Ethics in research in general and in fieldwork in particular usually refers to well based standards of right and wrong that prescribe what the researcher ought to do. It includes rights, obligations, benefits to society and informants, fairness, or specific virtues.

- Prior Informed Consent (PIC) requires that the informant should be fully informed about the knowledge he would share and the prospective risk or benefit involved.

- Comparative method is based on comparison and is the oldest method in social science. It is as old in tribal studies as is the study on tribes. The method has a 'common-sense understanding' in our day to day life and analytical perspective in social science research.

- The comparison involving ordering of elements or societies is known as evolutionary comparative approach, for the lowest order, it is argued, will evolve into highest order in course of time.

- Among Durkheim's successors, Radcliffe-Brown took the lead in promoting the view that detailed empirical studies of particular societies must be combined with extensive and systematic comparison.

- Franz Boas, an American anthropologist, criticized evolutionary comparative method and emphasized on studying culture in the historical context. In other words, he emphasized on the use of historical data for comparative study of 'cultural relativism' rather than evolutionary theorization through comparison of cultural traits.

- By 1960s the main aim of comparative method had shifted from attempts of universal generalizations to presentation of culture specific accounts. Because of the shifting emphasis on perspectives, we can categorize cross-cultural studies as elemental or idiographic and generalizing or nomothetic studies.

- The studies on tribes began as a study of the 'other' by European scholars during the colonial period till the middle of the 20th century. Scholars who study a culture other than their own are outside scholars, called etics.

- Researchers must record not only their direct observations of cultural phenomena but must also consider the meaning that informants explicitly or implicitly assign to objects and events in a cultural context. This strategy is called the emic approach.

4.5 KEY TERMS

- **Fieldwork:** It is a method of data collection in a 'natural' world in 'natural' environments. Naturally, it involves collecting data outside an experimental or laboratory setting.

- **Research ethics:** It involves the question of right or wrong in the process of research.

- **Evolutionary comparative approach:** The comparison involving ordering of elements or societies is known as evolutionary comparative approach, for the lowest order, it is argued, will evolve into highest order in course of time.

- **Totemism:** It is a belief in which either each human, or each group of humans (e.g. a clan or tribe) is thought to have a spiritual connection or a kinship with another physical being, such as an animal or plant, often called a 'spirit-being' or 'totem'.

- **Emic and etic:** Emic and etic, in anthropology, folkloristics, and the social and behavioural sciences, refer to two kinds of field research done and viewpoints obtained; from within the social group (from the perspective of the subject) and from outside (from the perspective of the observer).

4.6 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. In studying the tribal communities of the Trobriand Islands of New Guinea, Malinowski is credited as being the most important figure in the development of the modern fieldwork tradition.

2. The fieldwork tradition to study the tribes in India has been followed by two groups of scholars. The first group includes those who are outsiders to India, especially the colonial anthropologists and administrators. The second group includes the Indian scholars who have studied their own culture.

3. Sarat Chandra Roy is regarded as 'The Father of Indian Ethnography'.

4. Fieldwork is a method of data collection in a 'natural' world in 'natural' environments. Naturally, it involves collecting data outside an experimental or laboratory setting.

5. Ethics is concerned with wrong or right with reference to a standard. The standard may vary from discipline to discipline and over time and space. Hence, ethics is contextual.

6. The comparison involving ordering of elements or societies is known as evolutionary comparative approach, for the lowest order, it is argued, will evolve into the highest order in course of time.

7. The pioneers of the comparative method in social anthropology were all influenced to a greater or lesser extent by the theory of evolution.

8. Researchers must record not only their direct observations of cultural phenomena but must also consider the meaning that informants explicitly or implicitly assign to objects and events in a cultural context. This strategy is called the emic approach.

9. Emic perspective is culture specific because the native scholar studies his own culture.

4.7 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. When did the tradition of fieldwork on the tribal communities gather momentum?

2. Briefly describe the tradition of fieldwork outside India.

3. State the contribution of S. C. Roy in the tradition of fieldwork.

4. 'S. C. Roy was a strong advocate of anthropological training to administrative and judicial officers.' Give reasons.

5. Write a short note on continuity of Roy's tradition.

6. What are the contributions made by Verrier Elwin in the study of tribes?

7. Is it necessary to learn the language of the people who are to be studied? How does one treat the people/culture of an ethnographic enquiry?

8. List the limitations of fieldwork.

9. What is the synchronic and diachronic analytical frame in cross-cultural studies?

10. Why did the debate on etic and emic views emerge?

11. Does fieldwork tradition suggest that it is always the outsider who should study a culture? Give reasons to your answer.

Long-Answer Questions

1. Discuss in detail the fieldwork tradition in India.

2. Evaluate the contribution made by the Indian scholars in fieldwork.

3. Describe the contemporary tradition of field study in India.

4. Critically analyse the significance of fieldwork.

5. Explain the advantages and limitations of the fieldwork method.

6. Assess the ethical principles which the researcher/fieldworker should be fully aware of and adhere to during fieldwork and thereafter.

7. Evaluate the evolutionary perspective on comparison.

8. Discuss the ideographic and nomothetic approaches to cultural studies.

9. Discuss the emic-etic debate in studying a culture.

4.8   FURTHER READING

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UNIT 5 COLLECTION OF DATA

Structure

NOTES

5.0 INTRODUCTION

There are five questions that relate to the topic 'collection of data'. The answers to these questions form the subject matter of discussion taken up in this unit.

What is data? In simple terms, we can say that data is quantitative and qualitative information. What is the need of collecting data? The answer to this question lies in the role data plays in research work. It speaks of the purpose of data collection. How to collect data? The answer to this question entails the methods and techniques of data collection. Lastly, you can ask, from where does one obtain data? In these questions, the reply is concerned with the sources of data.

Primary significance of collection of data is the purpose it intends to serve. Then follow other aspects of data collection. Data is collected because they help in addressing a research problem. Therefore, Simpson and Kafka (1952) have said, 'Data have no standing themselves; they have a basis for existence only where there is a problem.' In this unit, we shall discuss some aspects of collection of data for research.

5.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Describe the nature and significance of research and the importance of data in research
- Define concepts like method, methodology, tool and technique, census and sampling as used in research
- Explain the types of sampling
- Distinguish between primary and secondary sources, written and unwritten sources and published and unpublished sources of data
- Distinguish between qualitative and quantitative methods of research
- Assess the various field methods of collecting data for conducting a research

5.2 RESEARCH AND DATA

In the previous unit, we have learnt that research and data are inseparable. Data helps in understanding, analysing, interpreting and solving a research problem. A research can be a social science research or a physical science research. As the discipline of tribal studies belongs to the branch of social science, we shall try to understand research from the point of view of social science. Tribal studies like any other research study attempts at addressing and solving research problems. With the identification or conceptualization of a problem, the research process starts. Understanding the meaning of research will help us to know the need and type of data.

Research, as you know, is a human activity based on intellectual investigation and aimed at discovering, interpreting, and revising human knowledge on different aspects of the world. P. V. Young defined **social research** 'as the systematic method of discovering new facts or verifying old facts, their sequences, inter-relationships, causal explanations and the natural laws which govern them.' In social research we study the behaviour of human beings as members of society and their feelings, responses and attitudes under different circumstances.

Social science research is carried out with the aim of discovering new facts and verification of the old ones. The academic purpose of social research is the acquisition of knowledge. The goal of every research is the discovery of new facts, new relationships and new laws governing the phenomena. Besides this, the objectives of research also includes the constant verification of the old concepts and generalizations. For all these, researchers need qualitative or quantitative data.

Scholars of tribal studies visit the tribal areas and conduct research on the tribal people, their customs, attitudes, behavioural pattern and habits in their natural settings using various qualitative and quantitative research methods. Using the field data, they try to address various research problems. For example, they try to establish a causal connection between various human activities. They try to establish the laws that govern the various complex human activities. Or simply they describe the culture of the tribe to understand it as it is.

5.2.1 Planning Data Collection

Data is the heart and soul in the process of research work. Does any kind of data help in research work? Let us discuss.

A researcher sets his research objectives. Any kind of data cannot help research objectives set with a particular purpose. Data on political institutions cannot explain the objectives formulated to study the marriage system. Hence, data that conform to and are consistent with the objectives formulated is the required data for the purpose of research on marriage system. Hence, data must be appropriate, focused, authentic and reliable to conform to the objectives. Data must be relevant to the topic of research investigation. One must be very cautious while selecting the category of data. The categories relate to the sources, methods and nature of data.

Generally, data can be classified in the following ways:

- Quantitative and qualitative data
- Sample and census data
- Primary and secondary data

Quantitative and qualitative data: On the basis of nature, data can be quantitative and qualitative. Quantitative data are those which are quantifiable. In other words, they can be expressed in quantitative (numerical) terms. Data on number of houses or number of clans in a particular tribal village and age-group wise distribution of population of a tribe are examples of quantitative data.

Qualitative data, on the other hand, are not quantifiable. They refer to attributes—qualities, characteristics, etc. The colour of festival dresses, faith in supernatural power, bravery, dream and its interpretation, the quality of a girl that makes her an ideal wife, honesty, and many such attributes are examples of qualitative data.

Sample and census data: They refer to data collected either from a sample or a universe. Sample is a part of the universe or population. Universe or population refers to all units under study. Sample and census data also refer to methods of collection. Data collected through the sampling method are sample data. Similarly, data collected through the study of the universe, known as census survey, are called census data. Details on sample and universe are discussed later in the same unit.

Primary and secondary data: Data collected from primary sources are called primary data. On the other hand, data collected from the secondary sources are called secondary data.

While collecting data, one must be cautious about the selection of methods and sources, and be aware of the nature and scope of data to be collected. Like the nature and quantity of data, methods and sources are very important in the process of collection of data. Therefore, planning data collection and executing the plan are very important.

The researcher or investigator is required to consider the following preliminaries while planning data collection:

- Objective, nature and scope of data
- Source of data
- Choice of methods of data collection
- Area to be covered, i.e. sample, sample unit and sample frame
- Resources available—finance and human

- Time factor

- Desirable degree of accuracy—extensive or intensive enquiry

After planning data collection, the investigator must think of how to put the plan into action, i.e. how to execute the plan. This is also a stage before the real collection work begins. The stage comprises the following steps:

- Organization of human resources in carrying out collection, editing, coding, presentation, analysis and interpretation of data

- Allotment of supervisory duty to ensure fairness in work

- Training of members of research staff including enumerators

- Preparation of questionnaires and schedules including pilot survey

- Sending the enumerators to field

- Engagement in editing, coding, analysis and interpretation of data

The planning and execution of investigation is outlined through team research. However, an individual scholar has also to plan his data collection keeping the preliminaries outlined in view. The scholar may execute the collection by himself or hire some human resource.

5.3 SOME CONCEPTS USED IN RESEARCH

On seeing a piece of writing one can know if it is a journalistic writing or research writing. Through presentation one can distinguish between various writings. This is because each type of writing has its own way of presentation. The way of presentation differs, to a great extent, because of the differences in the concepts, vocabulary, etc. used. In research tradition too there are some concepts. Use of these concepts distinguishes research writings from other types of writing. The concepts are used as a frame or tool of analysis and explanation. They sometimes provide theoretical perspectives, a philosophical approach to research. Here, we shall discuss some general concepts used in research.

5.3.1 Methods and Methodology

Method and methodology are sometimes used as synonyms, when they are actually not. Methodology is the study of methods and deals with the philosophical assumptions underlying the research process, while a method is an approach to data collection under those philosophical assumptions. However, the word 'method' is used liberally to denote a number of things which we shall discuss in the following paragraphs.

> **Methodology = Method + Rationale that support the method's validity**

Methodology refers to more than a simple set of methods; rather it refers to the rationale and the philosophical assumptions that underlie a particular study. Methodology is defined as 'the analysis of the principles of methods, rules, and postulates employed by a discipline' or 'the development of methods, to be applied within a discipline' or 'a particular procedure or set of procedures'. Precisely, methodology is a body of practices, procedures and rules used in research investigation.

Methodology includes the following concepts as they relate to a particular discipline or field of inquiry:

- Collection of theories, concepts or ideas
- Comparative study of different approaches
- Critique of the individual methods

The term 'method' has a wide range of use. It is used to distinguish between the nature of research such as quantitative and qualitative research. Often, it refers to a broader approach of data collection. In this sense, we use the field study method and case study method. The field study method refers to an approach to collect data from primary sources and includes various methods like case study method, interview method, observation method and so on. Within the field study method, case study is also a method which refers to a technique of data collection. But the case study as a method includes interview, observation and so on. These are techniques of case study method. Separately, each technique is called a method, such as the interview method or the observation method. In the interview method, the way one collects data, say face-to-discussion, is known as technique. No doubt, the term 'method' has a wide range of use. We also use the term statistical methods or methods of analysis. Therein, we refer to statistical tools of data analysis.

Therefore, a method is the combination of several techniques plus something more i.e. it refers to the entire set of rules and procedures for collection and analysis of data. For example: qualitative method, historical method and comparative method are methods. Precisely, methods are the way one applies to the theoretical perspective(s) to explain the facts or the data collected. On the other hand, methodology is a broad philosophical framework or theoretical perspective which guides the research using the methods.

Most sciences have their own specific methods, which are supported by methodologies (i.e., rationale that support the method's validity). The social sciences are methodologically diverse, using both qualitative methods and quantitative methods, including case studies, survey research, statistical analysis, and model building among others. Interview is a method, face-to-face interaction or telephonic interaction is the technique. But in case of observation, it is the method and the technique at the same time.

> When we speak of methodology, it generally denotes a combination of: (i) 'technology' of data collection, namely *tools* and *methods* of research such as the questionnaire, schedule, interview guide, case study, life history, survey and participant observation methods and content analysis; (ii) analytical tools such as statistical tests and methods; and (iii) philosophy, theory and epistemology of social science guiding the conduct of research in the definition and understanding of the problem and logic of inquiry. —
>
> Partha Nath Mukherji, *Methodology in Social Research*

5.3.2 Tools and Techniques

Technique is defined as an apparatus or device, either verbal or physical, used to elicit information. It refers to the way one uses a tool to collect data. **Tool** is the simplest element, an instrument, in research. Examples include questionnaire and interview schedules, tape recorder, field notes, etc. Combination of several tools leads to the construction of a technique, like an interview.

Technique is a way through which one collects data, for example, interview and observation. Tools are the instruments with which data are recorded. Telephonic interview is a technique, but here telephone is the tool that facilitated the talk and hence the telephone is a tool. The instrument used to record the talk is also a tool.

The terms methodology, method, technique and tools are relative. In one situation, interview is a method and in another, it is a technique. Further, these four terms are also inter-dependent. Any one of the four terms has no meaning without the other three. For example, the use of tools for collection of data requires an adequate knowledge of the techniques of data collection. Without knowing the methods, the techniques cannot be properly applied to collect data. Similarly, one cannot select the methods without knowing the philosophy behind it. Conversely, the philosophical basis has emerged on the basis of the data generated and explained. Therefore, all these four terms are very much interdependent in the field of research.

5.3.3 Objectivity in Research

Objectivity in research ordinarily means ***value-neutrality***. In other words, the research shall be free from value judgment, it shall not focus on what *should/ought to be*; rather it shall focus on *what is*. Further, it shall be verifiable, predictable and applicable to similar situations. We can apply the research findings for generalizations.

Objectivity is contrasted with subjectivity in research. Subjectivity is value loaded and normative in nature. A simple distinction between the two is as follows:

Distinction between objective and subjective researches

Objective and subjective researches are two ways of finding truth. A simple distinction between the two is as follows:

- In objective research we focus on what the phenomenon is. For example, we may say, on the basis of research findings, that the literacy percentage among the tribes in a state is less than 50 per cent. But in subjective research, we focus on what the phenomenon should be. For example, we may say that the literacy percentage of the tribes in India should increase. The first one is a *statement of fact* while the second one is a *value-loaded statement*. In the second, we do not know what the phenomenon (literacy) exactly is, but approximate what it should be and not its magnitude.

- Objective research is usually a quantitative research, but the subjective research is qualitative in nature. Quantitative researches have numerical expressions while qualitative ones include words, pictures and visual materials, audio materials and so on.

- Usually researches in social sciences, especially in tribal studies, are qualitative researches. This does not mean that quantitative researches do not fit into social science researches. Data on tribal demography or consumption pattern of a section of people can be quantitatively represented.

Is qualitative research scientific?

It is a common belief that qualitative researches lack objectivity as they cannot be quantified and hence cannot be scientific studies.

Let us discuss the essence of science as a method. Keith F. Punch (1998) writes that science as a method has two parts. The first part concerns the vital role of *real-*

world data. In other words, science accepts the authority of empirical data and its ideas have to be tested against data. The second part is the role of *theory*, particularly theory which explains. The aim, therefore, is to explain the data, not just to collect the data and not just to use the data to describe things.

> A good way to understand what theory is about is to pick something that begs to be explained and look at competing explanations for it.
>
> Bernard, H. R. (2002), p.77

Science as a method gives us an idea that it is scientific to collect data about the world, to build theories, to explain the data, and to test those theories against further data. When we understand science as a method in the above sense, it is not necessary that science involves numerical data only. It puts emphasis on data which help in theory building and theory testing with further data. Both *qualitative* and *quantitative* data may also do so. In other words, qualitative researches can use the essence of science as a method and can have *objectivity* in presentation, analysis and interpretation.

The topics of objectivity in research in social sciences, choice between quantitative and qualitative methods are very complex and debatable issues. For a beginner's understanding, we can say that both qualitative and quantitative researches have differences and similarities. The similarities are the general logic of enquiry, the basics of designs and the empirical procedures which make the researches objective and produces valid knowledge.

Hence, we can say that qualitative researches (researches using qualitative methods) can also be scientific researches and thus objective researches. Science in terms of producing valid knowledge refers to a set of principles or a methodology that informs us how to produce valid knowledge.

Characteristics of scientific research

You know that the qualitative research is scientific because it follows scientific procedures. What are scientific procedures? Here we have listed certain postulates/characteristics which the scientific research follows:

- Relies on empirical evidence
- Utilizes relevant concepts
- Is committed to only objective considerations
- Presupposes *ethical* neutrality, i.e., they aim at nothing but making only adequate and correct statements about population objects
- Result into probabilistic predictions
- Aims at formulating most general *axioms* or what can be termed as scientific theories

Thus, 'the scientific method encourages a rigorous, impersonal mode of procedure dictated by the demands of logic and objective procedure'. Accordingly, scientific method implies an objective, logical and systematic method. In other words, scientific method is a method free from personal bias or prejudice, to ascertain demonstrable qualities of a phenomenon capable of being verified, wherein the researcher is guided by the rules of logical reasoning, and the investigation proceeds in an orderly manner, and that implies internal consistency.

Is tribal study research scientific?

Researches on tribes are usually qualitative studies. But the logic of enquiry, selection of a methodology, use of empirical procedures and sometimes building of theory are core to such studies. The researcher designs the research work with four main ideas: the strategy; the conceptual framework; the question of why, who and what will be studied; and the tools to be used for collecting and analysing empirical materials. The research recognizes an objective reality in the tribal way of life and in their belief system.

In other words, researches on tribes try to produce a valid knowledge of tribal culture. But such an exercise is possible only through the scientific approach to research.

5.4 METHODS AND TECHNIQUES OF COLLECTION OF DATA: SURVEY AND SAMPLING

Collection of data is not a haphazard process. It is systematic and hence emphasizes on the rules and procedures. These are known as the techniques of data collection. Here, we shall introduce some important but common techniques applied for the collection of data.

5.4.1 Census and Sampling Methods

Research requires information i.e. data. We find that there are two main sources of data—primary and secondary sources. Primary data is collected from the field. For the purpose of collecting primary data, surveys are conducted. While conducting a survey, there are two important considerations. The first one relates to the selection of items from which data is to be collected. The second one relates to the methods applied in collecting data from selected items. The issue of selecting items from which data is to be collected is a choice between census and sample survey. In other words, we can use the census or sampling method in selecting items for the purpose of survey. The second one relates to the use of methods or method for collecting data from the selected items.

Census and Sample Survey

Suppose a researcher selects a research problem related to female literacy in a tribal community for study. In order to collect information, the researcher has to interview all the female population of the community or a few of them depending on his research objectives, time factor and financial implications. Conducting an interview of all the female members is known as census survey while a few of them is known as sample survey.

Let us discuss what a census is and what a sample is. In order to understand the concept of census you should be aware of the meaning of *universe* or *population*. The universe is the totality of observation or items which are of interest to the researcher. The observation or items may be persons, households, firms, shops, farms and so on under study. When a researcher studies a students' achievement in tribal areas, his observation is the students in the community. If his interest is on the study of female workers in the tea industry of Assam, then the observation or item of study shall be the female working population in all the tea estates of Assam.

Check Your Progress

3. What is methodology?
4. What does objectivity in research mean?
5. What are the four main ideas with which a researcher designs the research work?

In the first example, all the students of tribal areas constitute the universe of the study. The universe is also referred to as **population** which constitutes all observations considered under study. Hence, population has a meaning different from the one we use in general sense. In the second example, all the female workers in the tea industry of Assam constitute the population or universe under study.

The universe is relative: This means that the universe or population under study varies from study to study. When the researcher studies the students' achievement of tribal areas, only the students of tribal areas of the country constitute the population. If the researcher studies the tribal students' achievement in tribal studies, then all the students studying tribal studies constitute the population. It is clear that in the second case the population i.e. only the tribal students studying tribal studies as a subject is a part of the total tribal students of first research problem under study. What may constitute a population in one study may be a part or sub-set of another study. Hence, the population varies from study to study and so is the relative concept.

The universe may be either finite or infinite: In a finite universe the number of items is determinable. For example, the number of students in Rajiv Gandhi University or in India gives the idea of finite universe. In infinite universe, for example, stars in the sky, the number of items is not determinable.

The information collected about each item of the universe is called a **census survey**. It is a complete enumeration method. A **census**, therefore, is the process of obtaining information about every member/unit of a population. In case of a census, each and every individual of the population is significant and counted. The term is mostly used in connection with national 'population and housing censuses'. In India census is undertaken in every 10 years to study the demography and other aspects of the country. Last census was undertaken in 2011. Census data are also commonly used for research and planning purposes. You will find that the Department of Agriculture also conducts Agricultural Census.

5.4.2 Sample and Sampling Methods

A sample is a part or subset of the universe selected for the purpose of collecting information. In some surveys it may not be required to investigate each and every unit/ item of the population. For example, one does not taste each grain of rice in the cooking pot to ascertain if the rice is cooked. One does not taste each drop of sea water to know its characteristic. One drop is representative enough as evidence for the salinity of sea water.

Census surveys are costly and time consuming. As has been said, census surveys may not be necessary to reach valid conclusions. Instead, we study a sample, which is a part of the population, to draw conclusions about the entire population. Of course, the sample should be representative of the characteristics sought to be investigated in the population. A **sample** is, thus, a portion of people drawn from a larger population. A sample should be representative of the population. Thus, a sample is a part of the population which is studied in order to make inferences about the whole population.

Most of the surveys, however, are sample surveys. In tribal studies, it is not necessary to draw information from each and every individual of the society to investigate the cultural life of a tribe. Folk tales, legends and myths need not be collected from each and every individual of the tribe to understand the tribal way of life. In the changing situation when tribes have been exposed to development processes, sample surveys

provide the insight that census survey could provide. Therefore, sample surveys are preferred because of a number of reasons. These are as follows:

- Ordinarily, a sample can provide reliable and useful information at a lower cost.
- We obtain information in a short span of time that can serve the purpose of data collection.
- In sample surveys, non-sampling errors can be controlled in a better way than in census surveys. This is because careful training and supervision form a part of the sampling method of data collection. While in a census survey, training and supervision exist more as routine work, because of the volume of work it involves. Hence, a sample often provides more accurate information. Moreover, the investigator gets an opportunity to conduct intensive enquiries on fewer items than on larger items usually carried out in a census survey. It is easy to manage fewer items efficiently than bulk items of a population.
- In some cases sample survey is the only method of conducting a study. To test the quality of gold in a necklace, the goldsmith conducts only a sample test.
- Though sample method of data collection is more popular, one must be cautious in selecting the sample. Unless the sample is representative of the population, the inference to be drawn from the sample about the entire population will be misleading.

Sampling

There often arises a confusion between the terms 'sample' and 'sampling'. Sample is simply a part of population, while sampling is the procedure of selecting the sample and knowing about the population on the basis of the sample. Here, sampling is considered as a method of knowing the characteristics of the universe by examining a small part of it. Sampling involves three elements:

(i) Selection of the sample

(ii) Collection of information

(iii) Interpreting the population

However, these three elements interdependently or together form the idea about sampling.

Sampling Unit and Sampling Frame

Sampling unit refers to individual items to be studied within the sampling frame. Sampling frame is the list of sampling units of the population from which random sampling is to be drawn. For example, while studying tribal female literacy in Arunachal Pradesh, the female population to be studied need to be clearly defined. It is because even a girl child aged one year comes under the female category, but she is not eligible for the study of female literacy. All the female population to be studied for the purpose constitute the population. Each of its constituent, that is the individual female member within the population, is known as the sampling unit. Then a list of the female population is prepared from which sampling can be drawn. This list is known as the sampling frame.

The frame may not necessarily be a list. It may also be maps showing the boundaries of area units. Thus, a frame may be broadly classified into two types: the first one is **list frame** consisting of sampling units and the second one is **area frame** or **map frame** consisting of geographical areas.

5.4.3 Types of Sampling and Sampling Errors

There are two important methods of sampling, they are:

- Non-probability
- Probability

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                    │ Sampling Methods │
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  │ Non-probability │           │   Probability   │
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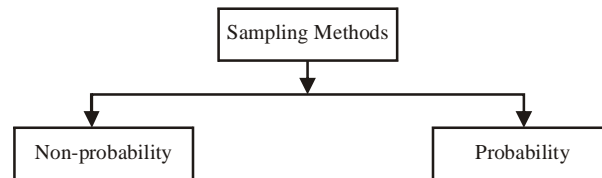
1. Probability Sampling

Probability sampling is one in which every unit of the population has an equal probability of being selected for the sample. In other words, every item in the population has a known chance of being included in the sample. It offers a high degree of representativeness. However, this method is expensive, time consuming and relatively complicated. Non-probability sampling makes no claim for representativeness, as every unit does not get the chance of being selected. It is the researcher who decides which sample units should be chosen.

Probability sampling can be mainly simple random, stratified, systematic, cluster or multi-stage sampling. Sometimes a distinction is made between cluster and multi-stage sampling also.

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                        Probability Sampling
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  Simple Random   Stratified   Systematic    Cluster    Multi-stage
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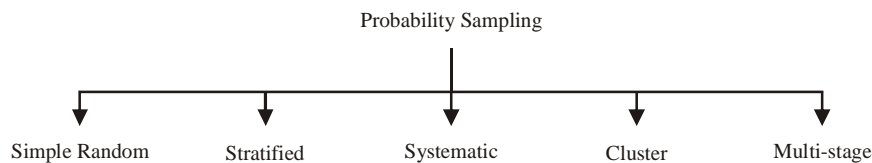
(i) **Simple Random Sampling**: This refers to the sampling procedure in which each and every item of the population has an equal chance of being selected in the sample. The researcher cannot influence the selection of a particular item. It purely depends on the chance factor.

In simple random sampling, the sample units are selected by means of a number of methods, like lottery method or table or random number method.

To understand the food habits of people in a tribal village, it may not be necessary to study all the households. Out of, say 50 households in the village only 10 can be studied. First, the households will be numbered from 1 to 50. Then chits for each number will be prepared and kept in a container. After reshuffling the chits, 10 chits can be drawn. The households against these 10 different numbers drawn will be the sample households for investigation.

There is no personal bias of the researcher in the simple random sampling procedure. If the size of sample increases, it becomes increasingly representative of the population.

However, it has also some limitations. It requires complete listing of the items of the population. This often becomes difficult. In case of large area coverage of population, the sample drawn by simple random sampling procedure is likely to be widely dispersed. Small size samples may not be

representative. For example, out of two male and two female members, it may so happen that two male members can be drawn by lottery method. Thus, simple random sampling may be technically unbiased, its representativeness is not always guaranteed. Nevertheless this method is widely used for scientific investigation.

(ii) **Stratified Random Sampling:** Stratified random sampling is also simply called stratified sampling. It is a probability sampling procedure wherein the entire population is divided into different sub-groups or strata on the basis of some non-overlapping attributes and from each stratum items are selected randomly. The division of the population into a homogenous strata is based on one or more criteria, for example, sex, age, educational level and so on. For example, Arunachal Pradesh can be geographically stratified on the basis of heights/elevation into high altitude regions, middle altitude regions and low altitude and plains regions. Tribal villages from each stratum can be selected for study. The Khampti (a tribe in Arunachal Pradesh) society can be stratified into royal families (*Phanchau*), commoners' families (*Paklung*), and families who do not belong to these two groups (*Phan-e-on*). It should be noted that sub-groups or strata must be non-overlapping. This procedure is used when the researcher wants to highlight a specific stratum or compare some characteristics among the strata.

Stratified sampling may be proportionate or disproportionate. In case of former, the sample in each stratum should be proportionate to the population size. For example, there are 100 families of *Phanchau* group, 1500 families in *Paklung* group and 1200 families in *Phan-e-on* group. The researcher wants to investigate 10 per cent of the families. Hence, the researcher can select 10 families from *Phanchau* group, 150 from *Paklung* group and 120 from *Phan-e-on* group. In case of disproportionate stratified sampling the researcher may select 50 families from each group.

Advantages: Stratified sampling has some advantages. They are:

- It is more representative than a simple random sampling.

- It is simple and convenient to apply.

- The variability within the subgroups is compared.

*Disadvantages***:** There are limitations also in this method of sample selection, they are:

- It may require more administrative planning than a simple random sampling method.

- It is difficult to ensure homogenous items in each stratum.

(iii) **Systematic Random Sampling:** Systematic random sampling is a probability sampling procedure wherein the random sampling method is applied to a systematic process of data collection. The systematic process provides an interval and units are collected after the given interval. The first unit is selected at random and other units at the given interval. Usually, this method is applied when the population is homogeneous. There are six steps in this procedure. These are: (a) defining the population, (b) determining the sample size, (c) listing the population assigning numbers to each unit/case, (d) calculating the interval, (e) selecting the first unit, and (f) selecting the sample.

Let the population consist of 20 tribal households in a tribal village. Let the sample size be five. The next step is to list the households assigning serial numbers from 1 to 20 like 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19 and 20. Since the number of units in the population is 20 and sample size is five, the interval shall be calculated as $20 \div 5 = 4$. Let the first unit selected from the list of 1 to 20 be the household numbered 3. Then every fourth unit beginning from unit 3 will be selected units in the sample. Therefore, other units will be the households against serial numbers 7, 11, 15, 19.

Advantages: The sample is representative of the population as the researcher's personal bias is not present in the process of selection. The sample units are evenly distributed as compared to simple random sampling.

Disadvantages: The systematic sampling also requires a complete list of the units in the populations. It is difficult to always obtain a complete list of the population when the size is large. This method does not allow capturing cultural traits.

(iv) Cluster Sampling: Cluster sampling implies dividing the population into clusters and drawing random samples either from all clusters or selected clusters. Initial clusters are called primary sampling units; clusters within the primary clusters are called secondary sampling units, and clusters within the secondary clusters are called multi-stage clusters. Suppose you have a population that is dispersed across a wide geographic region like the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh. This method allows you to divide this population into clusters (usually districts, circles, agro-climatic zones, or other boundaries) and then randomly sample everyone in those clusters. For example, you could randomly select five of Arunachal Pradesh's 16 districts, but you would have to make sure that almost every person in those five districts participated in your study.

Cluster sample and stratified sample apparently seem to be same. But they are different. According to stratified sampling principle, the population is divided into strata on the basis of some meaningful attribute. For example, the population can be divided on the basis of social hierarchy as is the example of the Khampti tribe. Each stratum is different from the other so that the member of one stratum cannot be a member of the other stratum. But individual members of the stratum are the same, each one belongs to the same social group. In *Phanchau* stratum, there will be only *Phanchau* members. In case of cluster sampling, the population is divided into clusters. Suppose the Khampti population is divided on the basis of circles. One circle (cluster) is same as the other, for each one is a circle. But the members of the sample are same as the members in the population and thus diverse. This means in every cluster there may be members of three social groups namely, *Phanchau, Paklung* and *Phan-e-on*. Thus, strata look different from each other, but their individual members are all the same in the sense of the group attribute. Clusters, on the other hand, belong to the same group, say district, or circle, etc. and look the same. But their members are diverse as the population, as a whole.

(v) Multistage Sampling: Multistage sampling is a complex form of cluster sampling. Constructing the clusters is the first stage. Deciding what elements within the cluster to use, is the second stage. The technique is used frequently when a complete list of all members of the population does not exist. For

example, after selecting five districts you could systematically sample within your clusters (the districts), and this is called multi-stage sampling. This method generally refers to any mixing of sampling methods. Finally, multi-phase sampling is defined as a type of sampling similar to multi-stage sampling i.e., primary selection, secondary selection, and so on. However, in a multi-phase sampling procedure, each sample is adequately studied before another sample is drawn from it. Consequently, while in multi-stage sampling only the final sample is studied, in multi-phase sampling, all samples are researched.

Let us take an example. To study the income of Arunachal people, we divide the state into five clusters, say five districts. From these five districts, by applying either simple random sampling or systematic sampling, we draw samples from our study. We can also take blocks of the state as clusters in place of districts. From the total blocks ten blocks could be the clusters from where we can draw samples.

But in multi-stage sampling, clusters are further divided and sub-divided at different stages. For example, we can randomly select five districts, from each district we can select two blocks, from each block we can select three circles and from each circle we can select ten villages. From each village we can also select households. This type of division of the population at different levels—district to blocks to circles to villages to households—is called multi-stage sampling. But in cluster sampling the population is directly divided into clusters like districts or blocks.

Sampling Error

When undertaking any sample survey, one may experience what is known as sampling error in statistics. Sampling errors arise because we do not estimate all items of the population. We only estimate a part of it, i.e. of the sample. Moreover, the sample may be the true representative of the population along a characteristic. Sample error is the difference between the results derived from the sample and the 'true' value of its population. There are no sampling errors in a census survey because the calculations are based on the entire population. The sampling error:

- Generally decreases as the sample size increases (but not proportionally)
- Depends on the size of the population under study
- Depends on the variability of the characteristic of interest in the population
- Can be accounted for and reduced by an appropriate sample plan
- Can be measured and controlled in probability sample surveys

Sampling errors may be of two types: **biased errors** and **unbiased errors**. Biased error arises from the faulty process of selection of samples, faulty methods of collection and faulty methods of analysis of data. When a respondent is absent, the researcher is tempted to interview any one available. This is likely to make the sample unrepresentative. As a result errors occur. Unbiased errors occur when the sample does not truly represent the population.

2. Non-probability Sampling

As the name suggests, there is absence of the probability factor in non-probability sampling. Non-probability sampling methods are procedures in which the rules of probability theory are not applied in the selection of a sample. In other words, every item

in the universe does not have the chance of being included in the sample. Hence, non-probability sampling procedures do not claim representativeness, and are usually used for qualitative exploratory analysis. Non-probability sampling can be convenient, purposive, quota, snow ball and volunteer samplings.

Non-probability Sampling

Convenience   Purposive   Quota   Snowball   Volunteer
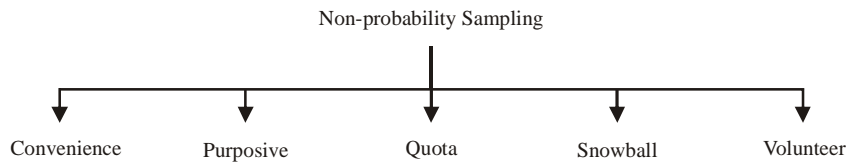
(i) Convenience Sampling: A convenience sampling is also known as 'accidental' or 'haphazard' sampling. It is a type of non-probability sampling procedure. In this sampling, the researcher studies all those persons who are most conveniently available or who accidently come in his contact during a certain period of time in the research. In other words, the sample is selected because of the convenience of its accessibility and proximity to the researcher.

For example, if a researcher wants to study the tribal village life, the researcher will select the one which he knows or which will be easy to access or which is located nearby. The researcher considers one or more of the above factors in selecting the village as his sample of study. The researcher does not apply any random sampling method. It is the convenience factor that determines his choice.

The convenience sampling procedure is useful in pilot survey. It is easy, time saving and less expensive. When the researcher wants to have the basic knowledge to plan further investigation this method is employed. However, it is criticized because it suffers from biases. Moreover, the sample is not a representative one.

(ii) Purposive Sampling: Purposive sampling, also known as judgemental, selective or subjective sampling is a non-probability sampling technique. The researcher purposely chooses people who are thought to be most relevant to the research topic and are easily available to him. Purposive sampling is significantly useful in tribal studies. The probability sampling methods may not be effectively followed in the exploratory qualitative study of tribal cultures. Students of tribal studies widely use purposive sampling method as it provides a wide range of choices. Hence, we shall discuss the different types of purposive sampling for the benefit of students of tribal studies.

Purposive sampling can be **maximum variation sampling**, also known as heterogeneous sampling. The researcher seeks maximum variation among the items in the sample. When a researcher wants to know the food habits of the tribal population in a village he would interview such diverse persons as men, women, rich, poor, children and old persons. He may also include persons from different occupations. Maximum variation among the items according to different traits, behaviour pattern, categories and experiences provides greater insight into the topic of research.

Purposive sampling can be **homogeneous sampling**. It is just opposite to maximum variation sampling. The researcher selects a homogenous group who share common characteristics. For example, to study the food habit of traditionally rich tribal persons in the village he will study only the rich people of that category.

The researcher selects such a sampling to address a research question pertaining to specific issues present in a particular group.

The purposive sampling can also be **typical case sampling**. The researcher selects such a sample of items/members whom he considers are typical/normal for the purpose of study. To study, for example, the normal food habits of tribal people he will select an average tribal traditional family, not the rich or educated or traditional elite family of the village.

There may be *extreme or deviant cases* of food habits in a tribal village. The habit may not be a normal food habit in tribal villages. For example, the food habit of a priest during some rituals may not be a normal food habit of the tribe. A pregnant lady may follow some food taboos. A tribe person of some tribes who kills a tiger observes food taboos for a certain period of time. Such examples are extreme of deviant cases of food habits. The researcher selects such a sample purposely to focus on individual behaviour, attitude or experience which is not normal. Such information provides significant insight into individual cases within a group.

The purposive sampling may also be **critical case sampling**. This procedure of sampling is useful in exploratory qualitative studies, where resources are limited and where a single case can be decisive and be used for a logical generalization. It is this decisive aspect of the sample that is important. In order to know whether the sample is decisive or not, the following statements will be useful: if it happens to a group, it may also happen to other similar groups; if it does not happen to a group, it may not happen to other similar groups. In our example of food habits, if a priest of a particular tribe has a different food habit at the time of performing rituals, priests in other tribes will have a different food habit too. The study of the case of the priest with a different food habit during a ritual is a critical case sampling as it can be logically generalized to other such cases. This differs from extreme case sampling in that in the former the study is tribe/group specific. But in the latter, the purpose is to make logical generalizations under similar cases.

Purposive sampling may also be **total population sampling**. Here, the researcher studies each member of the universe/population. This is possible when the population is very small. For example, to study the food habits of a traditional tribal elite family, the researcher shall study each and every member of the family that constitutes his population. For example, in a tribal village there are three families that suits to the purpose of his study. Hence, he will study each and every member in these three families of the village. This will give a significant insight into the issues studied.

The purposive sampling may be **expert sampling** also. In this situation, the expert in the field constitutes the item of sample. To study the work of a traditional tribal mid-wife at the time of child delivery, the researcher will select the women who are in this profession. This type of sampling is selected during an exploratory qualitative study where the researcher is interested to highlight new areas or opens up to include a new group of participants with a new area of knowledge.

Advantages: Purposive sampling has a wide range of techniques. This gives an opportunity to collect a huge amount of cross-section of information. The qualitative research becomes progressive in the field of gathering information by using various techniques. A researcher may start with critical case sampling to judge whether

the research is worth investigating or not. If he is affirmative then he may proceed to use expert sampling.

Disadvantages: The use of different techniques by the researcher implies that he wants to prove a specific point. In every sampling technique his judgement is used to select respondents. The procedure has high probability of the researcher's bias. Representativeness of the sample is often questioned because of the obvious research bias. Nevertheless, purposive sampling with its wide range of techniques is a significant sampling procedure in non-probability sampling. It is widely used in tribal researches.

(iii) **Quota Sampling:** This is a version of stratified sampling of the probability type. But it has a difference. Instead of dividing the population into strata and randomly choosing the respondents, it works on 'quotas' fixed by the researcher. Quota sampling is a non-probability sampling method. The sample of any sub-group shall have the same proportion of individuals as the entire universe selected for the study.

Suppose a researcher wants to study the opinion on career options of tribal students studying in a University. The researcher finds from the University records that 500 tribal students are on the roll. Hence, the researcher may decide to study 10 per cent of students. In other words he will study 50 tribal students in total. He cannot take any 50 students as respondents. There may be boys and girls, there may be students from urban setting and from rural setting. If the researcher considers rural-urban and male-female criteria he will have four groups—rural male, rural female, urban male and urban female. He will select respondents from each group in such a way that from each group 10 per cent of respondents are selected and in total they make up 50. Suppose there are 50 urban boys and 30 urban girls and 300 rural boys and 120 rural girls. Ten per cent of each group will come to 5, 3, 30 and 12 respectively; and the total comes to 50. However, within a sub-group the selection of sample items depends on personal judgment of the researcher.

Normally, there are three steps to be considered during quota sampling. These are:

- Choosing the relevant stratification of the population on the basis of some criteria (in our example we used rural-urban divide and male-female divide criteria, and divided/stratified the population into four groups)
- Fixing the quota (10 per cent in our example)
- Selection of respondents on the basis of quota fixed and considering representativeness

Advantages: Normally, this method is useful in the preliminary stages of research and when detailed accuracy is not required. Following are the advantages of quota sampling:

- It is easily and quickly administered, as it does not require a strict use of random sampling technique.
- It allows the researcher to compare the groups easily.
- It is relatively inexpensive.

- It is useful when it is not easy to get a probability sample and the intention of the researcher is to create a sample that is as representative of the selected population as possible. In this sense a quota sample is non-probability based equivalent of the stratified random sample.

Disadvantages: The disadvantages of quota sampling are:

- It is often difficult to find exact proportion of respondents. The 15 per cent of a sub-group of 23 persons will come about 3.45.

- It is difficult to select appropriate control categories.

- The sample, on the basis of quota of respondents from each sub-group may not be representative. Consider our example. In the urban tribal boys sub-group there may be students from higher income group and students from very low income group. Their career options may be different. Hence, the respondents in the sub-group may not be representative. Precisely, selected traits of population are considered, hence the quota method may not provide representativeness of the respondents.

(iv) Snowball Sampling: Snowball sampling is a type of non-probability sampling procedure. It is also known as chain referral, or referral or chain sampling. This method is employed when the target population is unknown or when it is difficult to approach the respondents in any other way. Moreover, such a technique is applied where other non-probability procedures are not useful much. It is more direct and purposeful. Convenience sampling, for example focuses on members of the sample which are easily accessible. But snowball sampling focuses on members who are difficult to identify and locate.

In **snowball** sampling, the researcher begins with the research with a few respondents who are known and available to him. Subsequently, these respondents give other names who meet the criteria of research, who in turn give few more new names. This process is continued until 'adequate' number of persons is interviewed or until no more respondents are discovered.

Snowball sampling uses the social network that exists between the members of the same group. In recent years, you will find a new social category as sex workers. But it is difficult to find sex workers as subjects for interview. Even most of the people in the community might not have known them except the user group. It is also difficult to identify the people who take the service of these sex workers. Under such a situation, the researcher aims at identifying one sex worker. As there exists a network between them, the researcher comes to know of the other sex workers from the first one.

Creation of sample using the snowball procedure has two steps: (i) identification of at least one respondent from the population in the beginning, and (ii) use of the first respondent to find other respondents and through every other respondent to find the required number of respondents.

Snowball sampling is named after snowball because once the snowball stars rolling it picks up more snow along the way and grows larger and larger. Similarly, the researcher starts will one respondent and gradually comes to know many other categories by asking more from every respondent he interviews.

Advantages: The advantages of this method are:

- Snowball sampling procedure is cheap, simple and cost effective.

- It needs less planning and human resource as compared to other sampling procedures.

- Snowball sampling is a type of chain referral process of identifying respondents. Hence, respondents who are normally not reached are accessible. It makes a study possible.

- The hidden/unreached respondents have a social network. This helps in reaching the other respondents through the first one or subsequent ones. Normally, sex workers, or drug abusers, or AIDS patients have a social stigma of opening up. But this barrier is eased out through snowball sampling, for the reference comes from one among their category.

*Disadvantages***:** The disadvantages of snowball sampling are:

- The researcher has little control over the procedure of selecting sample members.

- Representativeness in terms of coverage of different types of respondents cannot be ascertained.

- As selection of respondents depends upon the first and subsequent respondents, it is likely to carry the respondents' bias in selecting members.

- Members of the sample are not selected following the probability sampling procedure. Hence, sampling error cannot be determined.

- The previous respondents will name those people whom they know. There may be many unknown members in the population.

- As a corollary, generalization about the population cannot be made.

Nevertheless, the method is still a useful procedure of sampling when the researcher studies hidden or hard-to reach respondents.

(v) Volunteer Sampling: A volunteer sampling procedure is a non-probability sampling procedure. In this procedure, the respondent himself volunteers to give information he holds. No doubt, people volunteer their services sometimes for payment, or sometimes to gain self-importance, or for both. Sometimes they have a motive behind it, that something about the culture should not be disclosed. In many tribal communities, the elites have started interpreting a phenomenon differently in the light of newly acquired ideology. Some elites do not like to reveal a practice which they now feel wrong.

Therefore, this procedure is a weak procedure of selecting members of a sample. Nevertheless, it is useful when respondents are difficult to find by any other procedure.

5.5 QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITATIVE METHODS OF RESEARCH

From the viewpoint of presentation and analysis, research methods may be either quantitative or qualitative. Each method has its own distinguishing features; hence each method has its own tools and techniques. In this section, we shall discuss the above two methods and the tools and techniques associated with them.

Quantitative methods are research methods dealing with numbers and anything that is measurable. They are, therefore, to be distinguished from qualitative methods.

Check Your Progress

6. Define a census.

7. What do the terms sample and sampling mean?

8. What is systematic random sampling?

9. Why do sampling errors arise?

10. What happens in a volunteer sampling procedure?

Counting and measuring are common forms of quantitative methods. The result of the research is a number, or a series of numbers. These are often presented in tables, graphs or other forms of statistics.

An intelligent way of differentiating qualitative research from quantitative research is that largely qualitative research is exploratory, while quantitative research is conclusive. Quantitative data is measurable while qualitative data cannot be put into a context that can be graphed or displayed as a mathematical term.

In the social sciences, particularly in sociology, social anthropology, tribal studies and psychology, the use of one or other types of method has become a matter of controversy. On the other hand, advocates of quantitative methods argue that only by using such methods can the social sciences become truly scientific; advocates of qualitative methods argue that quantitative methods tend to obscure the reality of the social phenomena under study. These methods underestimate or neglect the non-measurable factors, which may be the most important.

Qualitative research is an important approach to research methodology in social sciences. The research involves methods of data collection and analysis that are non-quantitative. The methods used in qualitative research provide subjective information. There are different angles to define qualitative research. Historical-comparative researchers would argue that it always involves the historical context, and sometimes a critique of the 'front' to get at the 'deep structure' of social relations. Qualitative research most often is *grounded theory*, built from the ground up.

Qualitative research approaches began to gain recognition in the 1970s. The methods are designed to help researchers understand people and the social and cultural contexts within which they live. Qualitative research involves an in-depth understanding of human behaviour and the reasons that govern human behaviour. It seeks to describe the meanings of the central themes in the life of the respondents. The research depends more on personal interaction than on questionnaires. The investigator gets an opportunity to probe or ask follow-up questions. He gets details on the topic from the respondents.

Qualitative research relies on the reasons behind various aspects of behaviour. Simply put, it investigates the 'why' and 'how' of decision-making, as compared to 'what', 'where', and 'when' of quantitative research. Hence, the need is for smaller but focused samples rather than large random samples. No doubt, these methods are very much significant in tribal studies.

Data is not inherently quantitative, and can be bits and pieces of almost anything. They do not necessarily have to be expressed in numbers. Usage of frequency distributions and probability tables is not necessary. Data can be in the form of words, images, impressions, gestures, or tones which represent real events or reality as it is seen symbolically or sociologically. Qualitative research uses unreconstructed logic to get at what is really real—the quality, meaning, context, or image of reality in what people actually do, not what they say they do (as on questionnaires). Unreconstructed logic means that there are no step-by-step rules, that researchers ought not to use pre-fabricated methods or reconstructed rules, terms, and procedures that try to make their research look clean and neat (as in journal publications).

Methods of Qualitative Research

The methods of qualitative research are:

1. Participant-observation
2. Ethnography
3. Photography
4. Ethnomethodology
5. Dramaturgical interviewing
6. Sociometry
7. Natural experiment
8. Case study
9. Unobtrusive measures
10. Content analysis
11. Historiography
12. Secondary

A Comparison

Qualitative research involves analysis of data such as words (e.g., from interviews), pictures (e.g., video), or objects (e.g., an artefact).

Quantitative research involves analysis of numerical data. The following table gives a brief comparison between the two methods:

Table 5.1 *Difference between Qualitative and Quantitative Research*

Quantitative	Qualitative
Objective	Subjective
Deductive	Inductive
Generalizable	Not generalizable
Numbers	Words

We can understand better the difference between quantitative and qualitative aspects of a research asking the following two questions:

1. How many *mithuns* (*bos frontalis*) did you give to your in-laws as 'bride price' when you got married?
2. Why did your men give bride price that too in the form of mithuns to your in-laws at the time of marriage?

The answer to the first question comes in terms of quantitative information. But the answer to the second question comes in terms of descriptive information. The research that uses the first type of data for analysis and interpretation is simply called quantitative research. On the other hand, the qualitative research uses the second type of information for explanation and analysis.

5.5.1 Sources of Data

Research in social sciences is a methodical and systematic study of a subject. It is a search, an enquiry with the aim to generate new information, verify the existing knowledge in the subject of research and reach a new understanding.

Disciplines in social sciences are generally empirical in nature and therefore information is very important in the research activities. This is because on the basis of information and facts new information is generated or the existing knowledge is verified or the existing knowledge is understood in a new way.

Facts or data are very important to research, so also are their methods of collection. We know that research becomes meaningful with correct information. That is why the method of collecting information is very important. We use different methods to collect

data from different sources. On the basis of sources, data can be internal or external, primary or secondary, written or unwritten. In this section, we will discuss primary and secondary sources of data and written and unwritten sources of data.
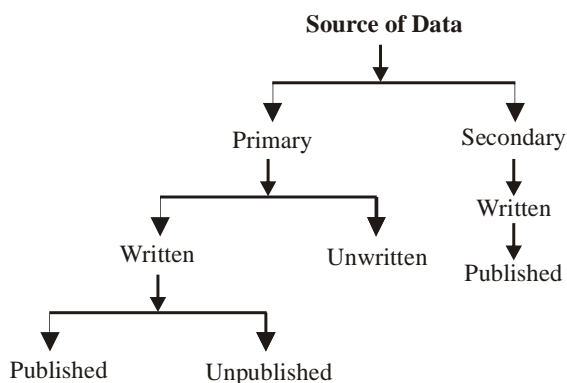
1. Primary and Secondary Sources of Data

Data for research are collected from various sources. But mainly there are two sources widely used by the researchers namely, primary sources and secondary sources. Data collected from primary sources are called primary data. Similarly, data collected from secondary sources are called secondary data. Primary sources may consist of published or unpublished materials or written or unwritten sources.

Field study is an important primary source of collecting data by the researchers. Internal records of the government department also constitutes the primary sources. These are also called internal data.

Primary Sources of Data

A researcher on social sciences in general and tribal studies in particular collects the **primary data** to have a better understanding on the community. The researcher collects the information about the people on his own. He visits the people and stays with them in their natural habitat over a long period of time. He observes them closely and sometimes even participates in their activities. If the scope of enquiry is such that observation is not possible then the researcher tries to obtain information through interviews. By doing so he collects data from primary sources.

Primary sources are the 'materials on a topic upon which subsequent interpretations or studies are based, anything from first-hand documents such as poems, diaries, court records, and interviews to research results generated by experiments, surveys, ethnographies, and so on.' Primary sources are records of events as they are first described, without any interpretation or commentary. There are also sets of data, such as census statistics, which have been tabulated, but not interpreted. Primary sources provide original materials. Some important primary sources are:

- Diaries
- Interviews (legal proceedings, personal, telephone, e-mail)
- Observation
- Case studies
- Letters
- Original documents (i.e. birth certificate or a trial transcript)
- Patents, treaties

- Photographs

- Proceedings of meetings, conferences and symposia

- Survey research (such as market surveys and public opinion polls)

- Works of Literature

Thus, primary sources are those sources from which original data are collected for the first time for a specific use. These may be from field studies whether on a sample or census basis, or from observation, or case studies. These may be from written and unwritten sources or from published and unpublished sources also.

Before deciding upon the use of primary sources, one should acquaint oneself with the work already done on the research topic. It is necessary because you can identify the data gap. In other words, by consulting the work already done by the researcher the researcher knows the problems studied, and the possible areas of investigation which he can objectively take up. This saves the researcher from repetition and thus saves time and money. Moreover, the researcher develops a perspective that helps him to focus on relevant data which he will collect. Needless to say, the researcher has to survey the available secondary sources before determining to go for primary source of data.

The nature of a primary source depends on the historical problem being studied. In political history, the most important primary sources are likely to be documents such as official reports, speeches, pamphlets, posters, or letters by participants, official election returns, and eyewitness accounts (as by a journalist who was there). In the history of ideas or intellectual history, the dominant primary sources are books, essays and letters written by intellectuals. A study of cultural history could include fictional sources, such as novels or plays. In a broader sense, primary sources also include physical objects like photographs, newsreels, coins, paintings or buildings created at the time. Historians may also take archaeological artefacts and oral reports and interviews into consideration. Written sources may be divided into three main types. As has been said written sources are also included in primary sources:

- **Literary sources** tell a story or message. They are not limited to fictional sources (which can be sources of information for contemporary attitudes), but include diaries, films, biographies, scientific works, and so on.

- **Diplomatic sources** include charters and other legal documents which usually follow a set format.

- **Social documents** are records created by organizations, such as registers of births, tax records, and so on.

In the study of historiography, when the study of history is itself subject to historical scrutiny, a secondary source becomes a primary source. For a biography of a historian, that historian's publications would act as primary sources. Documentary films can be considered a secondary source or primary source, depending on how much the filmmaker modifies the original sources.

Advantages of Primary Sources of Data

Being a source itself, the primary source is significant primarily in field research. The following are some of its advantages:

- Primary source provides data which is original and relevant.

- This source generates data which may not exist or may not be available for the specific purpose of research.

- The source, especially field investigation, is not limited by disciplinary boundaries. Hence, the data base is wide and thus widens the scope before the enumerator.
- Data collected is specific, focused and makes the study objective.

Disadvantages of Primary Sources of Data

Primary source is not an unmixed bliss. Some of its limitations are as follows:

- Collection of data from primary sources is expensive and time consuming.
- There is always the risk of enumerator's bias which influences the quality of data.
- Respondent's self-eulogizing or irresponsible information is likely to present an erroneous picture of the culture and society. Margaret Mead's findings on adolescent sexuality in Samoa has come under fire because she believed in witticisms of sexual fantasies of her female informants. Derek Freeman in his book entitled *Margaret Mead and Samoa* (1983) presents her belief in witticisms strongly.
- There may be distorted presentation of a fact due to language problems or interpreter's interpretation. The label given to many tribes comes from miscommunication. The people of the Shan race are known as Khamptis in Arunachal Pradesh; the reason is believed to be miscommunication.

Even if the enumerator learns the language, it may not be possible to understand the whole system in two or three years.

A classic example of misinterpretation is Max Muller's translation of *chhatis koti devata* as 'thirty-six crore gods'. He translated *koti* for crore though *koti* also means 'high standard', the top thirty six. Short duration of Sanskrit learning did not help him to understand the symbolic complexity in the language system.

There may also be a gap between what the enumerator means in his communication to the interpreter and what the interpreter understands. The same gap may arise between the interpreter and informant when the interpreter conveys the question of the enumerator to the informant. The reverse, i.e. informant's information, interpreter's understanding and his communication to the enumerator may not be free from communication lapse. The result will be unreliable data.

Despite the drawbacks, primary source has its own merit and necessity in tribal studies and in other disciplines.

Secondary Sources of Data

A **secondary source** is a study written by a scholar about a topic using primary sources and other secondary sources. Secondary sources are those sources which provide data collected through primary sources by another researcher for certain specific uses or for general presentation in summary form.

An example of a secondary source is the biography of a historical figure in which the author constructs a narrative out of a variety of primary source documents, such as letters, diaries, newspaper accounts, photographs, and official records. A scholarly secondary source is familiar with the existing secondary literature and seeks to engage it in terms of arguments and evidence. Most, but not all, secondary sources utilize extensive citation. Scholarly secondary sources are peer-reviewed by scholars before publication in book or article form, and books are reviewed and evaluated in the scholarly journals.

When a historian is writing about the historiography of a particular topic say XYZ, the primary sources used are secondary sources written by scholars about XYZ.

You should be clear that the distinction between primary and secondary sources is not always a matter of kind. In fact in many cases the distinction is a matter of degree. You will find an explanation in the following paragraph as to how Census Reports can be used either as a secondary source or a primary source depending on the nature of use. Here, we give another example. An evaluation report on the impact of tribal sub-plan may be a primary work for the researcher who conducted the study on the basis of field data. But to another researcher it may be a secondary source when he uses the report as a source of data for his study. Data which is primary in the hands of one become secondary in the hands of another.

Secondary sources offer an analysis or a restatement of primary sources. They often attempt to describe or explain primary sources. Examples of secondary sources include: Dictionaries, encyclopaedias, textbooks, biographies, commentaries, dissertations, indices, abstracts, bibliographies (used to locate primary and secondary sources), journal articles, monographs, and books and articles that interpret or review research works. Secondary sources are not evidences, but rather commentary on and discussion of evidence.

Sometimes we talk of **tertiary sources of data**. Tertiary sources consist of information which is a distillation and collection of primary and secondary sources. They can be:

- Almanacs
- Encyclopaedias
- Tribal atlas
- Fact books

However, distinction is not often made between tertiary and secondary sources. The tertiary source data are treated as secondary source data.

Table 5.2 Examples of Primary and Secondary Sources in Different Disciplines

Discipline	Primary Source	Secondary Source
Art	Original artwork	Article critiquing the piece of art
History	Slave diary	Book about the underground railroad
Literature	Poem	Treatise on a particular genre of poetry
Political Science	Treaty	Essay on Native American land rights
Theatre	Videotape of a performance	Biography of a playwright

Advantages of Secondary Sources of Data

The advantages of secondary sources of data are as follows:

- Collection of field based primary data is expensive. The researcher has to spend money on printing data forms and hiring enumerators. He has to incur other field expenses like engaging an interpreter. Such expenses are not incurred while using

secondary sources. Hence, it is economical to use secondary sources to collect data.

- Collection of data from secondary sources is time saving. It may take months to complete field work for obtaining primary data. Secondary data, if available, can be collected in a few days.

- Sometimes secondary source remains the only alternative from time, money and above all from the practical point of view. For example, a researcher may require data from diverse subjects pertaining to health, education, income, employment and population of tribal people at a macro level—national or international. These data cannot be generated by an individual researcher from field study for his research. Even individual research organizations may not create such a data base for general use. But these data are available in government publications in the form of census data and national income data. Moreover, international organizations like ILO and UNO also conduct field studies on tribes and indigenous people all over the world. Primary sources for these data cannot be the viable alternative.

  It should be kept in mind that Census Reports become a primary source if data from these reports are reconstructed and interpreted differently to substantiate to a specific research perspective. If used without any change then Census Reports become secondary sources.

- Secondary source often supplements data from primary sources. Secondary source may provide lots of usable information which can well be utilized by the investigator to develop new insights concerning the problems he is studying. It will save time and money, and also from the unreasonable work of repetition while conducting a survey by the researcher.

- Some of the field data are authenticated with reference to the available secondary information. Information collected from the field may be verified with historical data. Tribal people do not keep record of events. Suppose one informant informs the enumerator that the village was established in the year following the great earthquake. No doubt, the year of the occurrence of the earthquake will be available from secondary sources. This will help determine the year of establishment of the village. Secondary source, if available and cross-checked with, adds objectivity to subjective information.

- A comparative study of tribal cultures in general cannot be possible for a researcher on the basis of field study and primary data. Ruth Benedict wrote *Patterns of Culture* by using the data collected by her and other ethnographers. Franz Boas has also advocated to study a culture in the historical context along with field data.

1. Disadvantages of Secondary Sources of Data

The disadvantages of secondary sources of data are as follows:

- Secondary data is 'other's data'. It is difficult to find secondary data which exactly suits the objectives of the research problem.

- There are risks involved in secondary sources of data at four levels: reliability, suitability, adequacy and accuracy. Due to individual bias, small size of sample, selection procedure of sample and errors of definition, the secondary data may be erroneous.

- Secondary data are by definition old data. These data cannot be timely even on the same topic. Moreover, researches on tribal culture from new perspectives necessitate primary data. New perspectives may need current data which earlier studies may not provide. Data on social change collected ten years ago cannot be of any help to throw light on tribal women empowerment from rural development schemes. Therefore, secondary sources cannot present recent dynamics for better appreciation of changing tribal situation.

- Secondary source may perpetuate a wrong interpretation or may be inadequate in generalizing a culture. Malinowski's generalization of the Trobriand culture was later found to be male biased from the field study of Annette Weiner (1976). Reliance on secondary sources limits the scope of expansion of the horizon of tribal knowledge system over space and time. Ethnographic data will not be of much help to explain tribal perception in identity movements, though it may supplement it.

  Both primary and secondary sources have their own uses. One should not be used as an alternative of the other where it does not fit well. Both the sources have their advantages and disadvantages. A researcher has to select one or the other source depending upon time, cost and his objective. He can also select both the sources.

2. Written and Unwritten Sources of Data

Tribal societies do not have written records. But there are some references about a tribe available in personal diaries or in government records and so on. Thus, it is important to know both the written and unwritten sources so that a researcher can meaningfully conduct research in tribal societies. This source is also important to those researchers who study societies of similar nature.

Written document: Written sources include published documents and unpublished materials. Published materials may include printed documents, archival record, print media, statistics and so on. Unpublished materials may include personal letters, field diaries, field notes, travellers' diaries and so on. Printed documents may be official or unofficial. Official documents include the records of various governmental departments like Parliamentary documents, gazetteer, annual action plan, various Acts and laws and so on. Unofficial documents include auto-biography, books and journals, various pamphlets of non-governmental organizations, hand-outs, posters, personal letters, diaries and so on. Print media is a source of information of socio-economic life and changes of different communities and different places. They provide useful documentation to study public policies, development schemes of tribals and so on. Archival records also provide some information of interest to the researchers in tribal studies and other disciplines in social sciences. The researcher can also conduct field study and prepare his own written records.

Unwritten documents: Unwritten sources are very important in providing information to a researcher. It can be visual or audio. However, the following are some of the unwritten sources of data collection.

- **Folklores:** Tribal societies do not have a script and hence no written records. However, they have a treasure house of oral sources which are transmitted from one generation to another. This includes myths, legends, folktales, folk songs, jokes, riddles and performing arts.

- **Iconographic documents:** Iconographic documents provide valuable information about the time, the techniques and the social environments of the time when they were made. For example, the statues in Konark temple tell us about the tantric tradition and the artistic skill of that time.

- **Photographic and cinematographic documents:** Photography and films are the sources of information about social reality. It is because they reproduce scenes and events of social life which help the researcher to understand the society. Cinema provides an image of the society as a whole or a particular social environment. Photographic documents provide means of communication which the researcher can analyse thoroughly. A satellite image of the earth provides immense sources of material to analyse the resources of the earth.

- **Non-photographic documents:** This includes visual documents of specialists or artists. Some of the documents provide valuable information about the society in which they have been conceived. For example, the painting of Radha by a Rajasthani artist and by an Assamese artist differs in the dresses because artists conceive the image of Radha in their respective social setting. The painting of Radha by the Rajasthani artist is likely to wear a Ghagra while that by an Assamese artist a Meckhla or saree.

- **Phonetic documents:** These include all documents pertaining to communication by sounds. In modern times, they may be recordings of songs, music and speeches. But these phonetics also help in studying the non-literate society. For example, from the vocabulary used in a culture, one can thoroughly study the level of technology of that culture.

- **Objects/material culture:** These include material elements used by human beings. They may consist of pottery, implements, coins, beads, religious and magical objects, objects of games and entertainment or domestic objects like cooking utensils, basketry and clothes.

Published Sources

In recent years, field study has not been the only source to study the tribes. Tribes have been linked to the market economy. Central and state governments require data on them for proper planning of their development. These data are published for official use and for publicizing the achievements of the government. Census reports provide different types of statistics about population. There are also demographic data on tribes. These data help in understanding sex ratio of tribal population, literacy, occupation, health status, rural-urban variations and so on. A comparison with the previous data of census reports presents the dynamics of tribal demography. Annual Reports of line departments of the government are also published sources. A researcher can gather data on tribes from the publications of Labour Bureau, National Sample Survey Organization, Anthropological Survey of India, National Health Survey, etc. Various treaties, diplomatic records, social records, reports of ILO, UNO and other International Agencies, publications of indigenous and tribal groups also come under published sources.

Published sources are primarily secondary sources and include books on tribal issues, journal articles and so on.

Unpublished sources include materials such as diaries of administrative officers, travellers' diaries, personal letters, unpublished biographies and autobiographies. Unpublished data may also be available with scholars and research workers, trade associations, labour bureau and other private/public organizations and individuals.

Data available through electronic media (through internet) can be grouped under unpublished materials. The desired data can also be accessed from websites like Google, Yahoo and so on. These data can fall into the category of secondary sources.

5.6 SOME FIELD METHODS

In this section we shall discuss some of the methods widely used by the researchers during field study. These methods are quite important in the study of tribes because they capture the qualitative and quantitative aspects of tribal life. These are also known as primary sources of data collection.

5.6.1 Observation

The earliest method of field investigation in social research was observation. This is because, fieldwork involves, as DeWalt and DeWalt (2002) points out, 'active looking, improving memory, informal interviewing, writing detailed field notes, and perhaps most importantly, patience.'

There is no doubt that most of the ethnographers have employed this method while working among the tribes. Observation is a method that employs vision as its main means of data collection. The Concise Oxford Dictionary defines observation as 'accurate watching and noting the phenomena as they occur with regard to the cause and effect or mutual relations'. It is watching the other person's behaviour as it actually happens without controlling it. In this method, the required information is obtained directly through observation rather than through the reports of others. It is useful when the questioning method is restricted by some kind of communication problem and the informant's unwillingness to share information. The behaviour of a child who cannot speak can be studied better using observation.

Observation as a method is not simply watching; it is watching with a purpose. Thus, observation is more than the bare act of observing: To perform observation, a being must observe and seek to add to its knowledge. Observation is also defined as 'a planned methodical watching that involves constraints to improve accuracy'. It is a systematic field method. Goode and Hatt write, 'Science begins with observation and must ultimately return to observation for its final validation.'

Frank Hamilton Cushing lived among the Zuni Pueblo people for four and a half years, much before Malinowski, as a participant observer in a study for the Smithsonian Institution's Bureau of Ethnology during the first part of 1880s. He learned the language, participated in the customs, was adopted by a Pueblo, and was initiated into the priesthood. His case is so far the best known case of fieldwork. But Cushing did not publish his work for which he was criticized as having gone native (DeWalt and DeWalt, 2002).

Scientific observation involves three processes: (i) sensation, (ii) attention, and (iii) perception. Sensation is gained through the sense organs and depends upon the physical alertness of the observer, for he observes with a purpose. Erlandson, Harris,

Skipper and Allen (1993) maintains that observation enables the researcher to describe the existing situations using the five senses, providing a 'written photograph' of the situation under study. Attention is concerned with concentration and readiness to observe what the investigator wants to observe. Perception is the act of interpreting what is reported by sense organs. Through this process, observation serves the following purposes:

- Studying collective behaviour and complex social situations
- Following up of individual units composing the situations
- Understanding the whole and the parts in their interrelation
- Obtaining detailed information of the situation and information related to it

In other words, observation studies both the group and the individual in the group.

What does an observer observe?

An observer observes in detail everything the people do and the observer is permitted to observe. The observer can observe the proceedings of *Adi Kebang* (a village council of the Adi tribe) and during the proceeding may observe the following:

- What people discuss, how they discuss, who are the people
- Facial expressions
- Language used, voice modulation
- Patterns of communication, behaviour
- Sitting pattern—is it as per status?
- Status symbol, if any
- Gender dimension and so on

Characteristics of Observation

Observation as a method is not confined to tribal studies. It is used in other disciplines also. Observation differs from other scientific methods because of its distinct characteristics. Its difference from the other methods is understood by studying its characteristics. They are:

- As you know, observation involves sensation, attention and perception. In other words, it depends upon the physical and mental activity.
- Observation is always direct while other methods could be direct or indirect.
- Field observation takes place in natural settings.
- Observation tends to be less structured.
- It makes only the qualitative (and not the quantitative) study which aims at discovering subjects' experiences and how subjects make sense of them.
- Observation is purposive, not random. The observer goes to the field with certain objectives of study. He may observe everything he is permitted to observe, but he concentrates on those facts in details which fit into his objectives. At the end, observation becomes selective and purposeful.
- Observation needs efficiency. As you know, mere watching is not enough, there must be scientific thinking and use of tools of research which have been properly standardized.

- Observation studies the relationship between cause and effect of social events. Through observation you can know the reason behind many practices or happenings which exists in the society.

- In this method, the observer first observes the things and then collects data.

Aids in Field Observation

Tribal communities are not static as was considered in earlier researches. It is dynamic and is exposed to various forces. In most of the cases it is a part of society of the nation with its distinct characteristics. Therefore, the observer has to employ a wide range of tools to capture the ground reality objectively. We shall discuss here some of the tools which help in field observation. P. V. Young, Willim J. Goode and Paul K. Hatt have called these tools as 'Aids' in observation. Goode and Hatt emphasize that an observer 'must self-consciously apply a range of tools for systematizing and recording the data' keeping in view the 'the research problem itself'. The following are some of the aids in field observation:

- **Field experience log:** This may take the form of field notebook, or a diary, or it may be a daily record of each item written under appropriate headings and sub-headings. The observer may not carry his diary or record book to the field. But he must always keep a notebook for writing notes. These notes need to be compiled in the diary or record book daily at the end of the day, for memory may betray when one sits to read the notes after several weeks. The investigator may find it useful to record both observation and interpretation of the observation during the field work.

- **Cameras and photographs:** These are essential in field research. Photographs are used at a later stage to supplement interpretation. P. V. Young writes, 'Photographs tend to present accurately a mass of detail which is apt to escape the human reporter. The photographic "eye" views with authenticity and impartiality. It has not preconceived notions and selective interests.'

- **Voice recorder:** It is profitable for an observer to keep permanent record of various sounds of a phenomenon with the help of a tape recorder. Recording helps collect more detailed information at the time of observation than would be possible by an observer working alone. Sounds so recorded help in an in-depth analysis at a later stage.

- **Maps:** A map is a very important tool in field research. Its utility is not limited to the graphic presentation of facts, but these help in locating problems, verifying hypothesis, analysing data and discovering hidden facts and relationships. P. V. Young writes, 'Maps are in some respects much like photographs, since they also give "pictures" of various situations. Maps and particularly social base maps are more highly selective than photographs, since they give just those spatial relations upon which one wants to concentrate.' By using different base maps the data can be reflected against a variety of social backgrounds. Moreover, the social base maps, showing the relation of typological aspects of a community to its social organization will call for further investigation which perhaps would not have come to light otherwise.

- **Detailed observation plan:** Before field study, the observer should prepare a detailed plan of observation, which is often called 'observation design'. This will be the important tool to guide the investigator for precision and focus on relevant

aspects to be observed. In the plan, the necessity of training the investigator, tools to be used, aspects to be studied, place where study is to be conducted and time required, shall be considered.

- **Observation schedules:** To facilitate observation in the field, the researcher may make use of observation schedule. Observation schedule is a device used by an observer to systematically record observations. It is similar to interview schedule except that it employs observations instead of verbal questions. Questions in the observation schedule are answered not by talk but by observations. This helps the observer not to feel lost in a sea of data.

Use of observation schedule helps objectify the observation of complex situations. P. V. Young asserts that an observation schedule, 'aids in standardizing the recording of observed phenomena; it isolates individual elements, and thus facilitates concentration and measurement.'

Preparation of schedule is a task at the planning stage. However, an outline is prepared with the scope to revise it in the field. Goode and Hatt suggest that the schedule will be:

> ... drawn up in outline before the beginning of the work, and will be revised in the field. Often, these will contain such basis organizing data as age, sex, and numbers of individuals; occupational structure; religion; income; hierarchy of power; family pattern; etc. Even when these items are not the principal focus of the research, they will be essential for any description of the group, community, or organization.

> 'The construction of observation schedules involves many procedural difficulties. The schedule must be so devised as to provide an optimum of verifiable, quantifiable data and to avoid selective bias and misinterpretation of observed behaviour. The units of observation must be simple, minute, and meticulously worded, if they are to lend themselves to precise and uniform recording by several observers at different times'.–   P. V. Young

- **Checklist:** The observer has to prepare a check list of topics to be observed, tools to be used, and other details. He uses it to ensure that the observer looks every bit of evidence that he has previously determined as essential. It should be prepared in advance before observation, but should include a blank space for recording phenomena that were not anticipated while formulating the problem and deciding upon the topic.

- **Socio-metric scales:** Use of socio-metric scales quantify the observation and thus objectify the study. Random House Kernerman Webster's College Dictionary defines sociometry as 'a measurement of attitudes of acceptance or rejection through expressed preferences among members of social groupings'. The scales are used in social research to measure a wide range of social factors, such as attitudes, morale, status and home environment. The anthropologists also use it in field research to study the ethnic relationship and the way individuals identify with ethnic groups. For instance using sociometric scale James Page (1988-89) investigated intra-ethnic and inter-ethnic identification in Malaita province of Solomon Islands in the Pacific. In tribal studies this can be profitably used to study the attitude, morale, home environment, socializing process of tribal children and identity assertion of the tribal people.

Types of Observation

Before going to the field for observation, the observer plans his observational study. While planning he decides upon the way he will observe the phenomenon and record the information. He may also decide upon his role: whether to take active participation or watch the events passively. In other words he will decide upon the type of observation he will apply. These are important types of observation. In early stages of tribal studies, usually participant observation was considered to be most useful. However, non-participant observation was also widely used. In recent years, along with these two methods controlled observation is also gaining importance to study some events.

(i) **Participant Observation**: It is a method in which the investigator becomes a part of the situation he is studying. H. R. Bernard (2002) writes, 'Many phenomenologist's see objective knowledge as the goal of participant observation'. Danny Jorgensen, for example, advocates complete immersion and *becoming the phenomenon* you study. 'Becoming the phenomenon' Jorgensen says, 'is participant observational strategy for penetrating to and gaining experience of a form of human life. It is an objective approach insofar as it results in the accurate, detailed description of the insiders' experience of life' (1989:63) . 'In fact, many ethnographers have become cab drivers or exotic dancers... in order to do participant observation fieldwork.'

Observation method is the foundation of research in tribal studies. It involves establishing rapport in a new community, learning to act so that people go about their business as usual when you show up; and removing yourself from cultural immersion so that you can intellectualize what you have learned, put it into perspective, and write about it convincingly. For instance, the observer may participate in the activities of the people going for collection of vegetables or trapping animals or fishing in the river. This does not mean that he will merely accompany the people, but he will collect the vegetables, make the traps and place them as the trapper does, and do the fishing. He can actively participate in the agricultural activities or in festivals. Malinowski studied Trobriand Islanders by applying participant observation. In India, M. N. Srinivas had used this method in studying the process of 'Sanskritization' in Mysore.

P. V. Young writes, 'The participant observer shares, to lesser or greater degree, the life of the observed group. This sharing may be intermittent but active contacts at close proximity afford intimate study of persons'. However, the degree of participation depends upon the nature of study.

Participant observation ethnography relies on a few key informants rather than on a representative sample.-Bernard, H.R.

In all cases, an observer cannot be a genuine participant in many activities in which tribal people believe as taboos. He cannot be a genuine member in some of the institutions like boys' or girls' 'dormitories'. He cannot be a genuine member of a particular clan institution that may be hostile to other clan institutions of the village.

(ii) **Non-participant Observation**: Observation by the observer without actively participating in group activities or becoming a member of the group or community is called non-participant observation. In this the observer remains detached and does not participate or intervene in the activities of those who are being observed. He merely observes their behaviour. The observer may go with the people to the

agricultural fields, but only watch them working as an onlooker without participating in their works. In this method, the observer may not reveal his real purpose. The informants are not aware of the fact that their particular activities are observed by somebody. Hence, the observer goes in disguise, stating a different purpose, so that the behaviour of the informants is not influenced by their knowledge that they are being observed. However, there lies an ethical question in this kind of observation.

Purely non-participant observation is extremely difficult. It is most likely to make both the observer and the group uncomfortable. The observer actively participates in some of the ordinary activities while remains only a distant observer in others. A non-participant observation is, therefore, in practice only a **quasi-participant observation**.

(iii) Non-controlled Observation: When the observation is made in the natural settings and the activities are performed in their usual course without being influenced or guided by any external force it is known as non-controlled or natural observation. In the words of Goode and Hatt, 'Most of the knowledge which people have about social relations is derived from uncontrolled observation, whether participant or non-participant.' In this observation the observer visits the places of occurrences of phenomena in order to observe, no matter whether the observer uses participant or non-participant observation. P. V. Young emphasizing participant observation writes that many observers 'must of necessity identify themselves closely with the groups studied because the subject matter is so novel that it needs intensive study under close proximity.'

(iv) Controlled Observation: Non-controlled observation is generally not very reliable because observation itself may be biased and there is no check upon it. Various observers may observe the same thing but may draw different conclusions. That is why controlled observation techniques have been developed.

Controlled observation affords greater precision and objectivity and can be repeatedly observed under identical circumstances. The main aim of a controlled observation is, thus, to check any bias due to faulty perception, inaccurate data and influence of outside factors on the particular incident. In this the control is exercised: (i) over the phenomena and (ii) over the observation or observer.

To understand the reaction of tribal people to a new development scheme, the observer may discuss it with different groups and individuals separately. In this the phenomenon is put under the guided conditions. Since social research deals with social phenomena it is not easy to put it in a laboratory or under controlled conditions fully. In our example, the first person with whom the scheme was discussed may convey it to the others. Therefore, the reaction of the later persons to be studied may be different from the first one.

As the event cannot be fully guided or controlled, it is possible to exercise control over the observer only. Goode and Hatt remark that it is difficult for the observer 'to control the *object* under investigation, he must at least put control *on himself*'. In this sense, the observation schedule, maps, checklist, etc. are controls over the observer.

(v) Structured Observation: One of the most profitable bases of classification of observational procedure is the degree of structuredness. Accordingly, observation may be structured or unstructured.

Structured observation is organized and planned. It employs formal procedures, and is subjected to high levels of control and differentiation. It has a set of well-defined observation categories for systematic study. The units to be observed are carefully defined. The conditions of observation are standardized. This observation is used mostly in studies designed to provide systematic observation or to test casual hypothesis. Its use and construction presupposes the observer's knowledge in all aspects of the situation under study. Structured observation may take place in the natural field setting or in laboratory setting.

(vi) Unstructured Observation: On the other hand, observation method can also be unstructured. Unstructured observation is loosely organized and the process is largely left to the observer to define. Unstructured observation is mostly used as an exploratory technique. As the observer experiences the situation, his understanding is likely to change. This, in turn, may call for changes in what he observes. Such a shift in focus according to the demand of the situation is a characteristic of unstructured observation. Obviously, unstructured observation is flexible.

In practice, both structured and unstructured observations may be used for better results. Therefore, the focus should not be on the distinction between the structured and unstructured observations. It should be on the degree of structuredness so that the scope of observation is wide.

Advantages of Observation Method

Observation method is widely used in social research. It is a popular method of study because of certain advantages that it has. The advantages and merits of this method are enumerated below:

- Observation method is the most appropriate method when the informants are unable to provide information or are unwilling to give exact information.

- This method is useful for formulating **hypothesis**. Through observation the researcher is able to know about the sequence and causes and effect relationship. It is this sequence and the cause and effect relationship that forms the basis of hypothesis.

- It is a direct method in which the researcher himself collects data. Many other methods are indirect and so the researcher has no agency to check and test their validity. Observation gives ample scope to check the validity of data.

Disadvantages of Observation Method

Observation is an important method of social research. Although this method is widely used in social research and has its importance but it suffers from certain drawbacks. Its limitations may be listed as below:

- It is not possible to study every phenomenon. It means that the phenomenon in a social research is generally a human phenomenon and the people involved may not agree to be observed.

- The method is not suitable for large scale extensive studies.

- Many of the social events that form a part of social phenomena are uncertain as far as their occurrence is concerned. The observer cannot predict when the events occur. Some events may not occur during his field study also.

- Many social problems particularly those of abstract nature cannot be observed through observation method.

- Observation is likely to become faulty if the subject of study becomes conscious that he is being observed.

- Personal bias and the prejudices of the observer also make the observation faulty.

Observation is a popular method in the field of scientific study. It has limitations, but in spite of these limitations it is scientific and rightly can be called the classical method of scientific enquiry.

5.6.2 Interview Method

Social research has one fundamental advantage over physical research in the sense that the researcher can talk to his subject, know his feelings and reactions. This technique is known as interview, or personal interview. It is a direct method of enquiry and employs the verbal method of collecting data, especially in the field research connected with social problems. The interviewer in a one-to-one conversation collects detailed personal information from individuals using oral questions. We get both quantitative and qualitative data from this method as per the nature and objectives of the research.

C. William Emory defines the interview technique as 'a two-way purposeful conversation initiated by an interviewer to obtain information that is relevant to some research purpose.' According to Pauline Young, 'interview may be regarded as a systematic method by which a person enters more or less imaginatively into the life of a comparative stranger.' During an interview the past incidences, feelings and reactions are recalled by the subject in front of the interviewer. The interviewer listens to the subject with a scientific approach, always ready to find sequences of fundamental traits of human behaviour, underlying universal laws, guiding and motivating human actions and reactions. The researcher tries to penetrate deeply into the circumstances being narrated by the subject and realize the full significance of the feelings being expressed by him.

Interview is thus defined as 'a conversation with a purpose'. The conversation is focussed by the content specified by the research objectives of description and explanation. The information revealed during the interview provides insight into the nature of social reality. It provides insight into the unexplored dimensions of the problem.

Characteristics of Interview Method

The characteristics of interview method are as follows:

- Interview can be direct—face-to-face, or indirect—over phone or internet.

- It is a conversation with a purpose. The conversation is initiated by the interviewer for the specific purpose of obtaining research-relevant information.

- The conversation is focused in consistent with the objectives of research. Interview is a two-way process. It involves the interviewer asking questions to the interviewee (s) to get answers. The interviewee mostly answers the questions and also asks certain questions which the interviewer replies.

- The interview is mostly oral, though the gestures, glances, facial expressions, pauses, and modulation of voice mean a lot. It provides insight into the process of interview and information. Goode and Hatt, therefore, remark that interviewing is fundamentally a process of social interaction.

- An interview is planned before the actual interview takes place.

- Proper time and place of interview plays an important role in obtaining reliable data.

- Interview is non-experimental in design.

Considerations to Make the Interview Effective and Objective

Interview has a purpose and it seeks scientific information. Obviously, it demands pre-planning, a definite attitude and behaviour and the quality of the interviewer. Here are some considerations to be kept in mind.

- Interview is not a mere conversation. It includes observation and knowing things about the person interviewed. It is, therefore, necessary that before the actual interview takes place, it should be properly arranged and planned.

- It is necessary for reliable collection of data that the interview should take place at a proper time and place.

- Rapport establishment is the most important element in interview process. This helps the interviewer to get valid data. In order to establish a good rapport, the interviewer should consider the following:

  o The interviewer must be introduced to the interviewee.

  o He should explain the objective of the interview to the interviewees. This helps remove his misgivings if any with respect to the research.

  o In the beginning of any interview, generally the respondent is very cautious and comes only with the formal information. The researcher has to be tactful and should create a friendly atmosphere.

  o He must build up the confidence of the interviewee. One of the ways is to ensure confidentiality of identity of the interviewee. He should ensure that the data collected will be used for academic purpose only.

  o He should sound interested in listening to what the respondent is telling. This would create confidence in the respondent and encourage him to come out with the required information.

- Interviewer must be a patient listener. Sometimes it so happens that the respondent after narrating a particular thing becomes silent. The researcher like a patient listener should keep quiet and let the respondent begin again. He can also help the respondent recall the things correctly.

- The beginning of the interview is quite important and so is the closing. The interviewer should not close the interview abruptly or in a manner that the respondent should feel that because the job has been done, therefore the researcher does not bother about him. The closing of interview should be natural. The respondent should not fear that he has outspoken too many of his secrets to a stranger. He should in no way feel threatened and insecure.

- Training of the interviewer is very important. The interviewer should to be well acquainted with various interviewing processes and techniques. The interviewer should conduct a pilot survey, i.e. a preliminary practice of the interview plan and questions. By carrying out a pilot survey, the interviewer can check the accuracy and reliability that could be obtained from the interview. A preliminary practice or rehearsal will make the interviewer confident and focused.

Types of Interview

There are different ways of classifying an interview process. On the basis of formality, it can be either formal or informal. In a formal interview, questions are standardized unlike in an informal interview. The interviewer is allowed to make suitable changes in the question to suit a context. It can either be an individual or group interview depending on the number of persons to be interviewed at a time. On the basis of the nature of data to be collected, the interview can be qualitative or quantitative interview. Quantitative and qualitative data are obtained depending on the structure of the interview questions. Accordingly, we can have structured or unstructured interview. If we combine qualitative or quantitative methods, we get mixed interview or semi-structured interview.

1. **Unstructured Interview**: It is known as uncontrolled, unguided or undirected interview. No direct or predetermined questions are used in this type of interview. It is generally held in the form of free discussion or story type of narrative. In this there are no specifications in the wording of questions or the order of questions. The interviewer forms questions as and when required. In other words, in unstructured interview, the questions are unplanned and spontaneous. Spontaneous questioning is more responsive to participant, but it does not allow for generalization like the planned questions. Clearly, the structure of questions in an unstructured interview is flexible, being presented in the form of a guide. Usually we get qualitative information from unstructured interview. Precisely, in this interview, the interviewer has:

   - Only the general nature of questions in mind

   - No prior indication of the specific issues on which the questions are to be asked

   - No specific and ordered sequence of questions in mind

   - No time-limit for conducting the interview

   The biggest advantage of this type of interview is that the questions are asked spontaneously, there is greater possibility of exploring in an unrestricted manner. However, it has few limitations too. With no systematic control over asking questions, the reliability of data becomes doubtful.

2. **Structured Interview**: It is also known as controlled, guided or directed interview. In this kind of interview a complete schedule is used. The interviewer is asked to obtain answers to those questions only. He generally does not add anything from his own side. The language too is unchanged. He can only interpret or amplify the statement wherever necessary.

   The structured interview is based on the structured interview guide. Interview guide is a set of specific points and definite questions prepared by the interviewer. Structuredness determines the degree of quantitative data. The more structured or standardized the interview is, the more is the extent of getting quantitative data. Structuredness is standardization of questions. Standardization increases the reliability of the information and research findings. Structured interview allows little freedom to make adjustments to any of its element, such as content, wording, or order of questions. In this kind of interview, all dimensions, i.e., specifying the setting of the interview, regulating questions and range of responses, limiting the facet of the problem, are regulated.

3. **Semi-structured Interview**: Somewhere between the structured and unstructured interview, there exists **semi-structured interview**. It has characteristics of both. This method is used for both quantitative and qualitative research.

Table 5.3 Comparison of Types of Interview

Types of interviews	Advantages	Disadvantages
Structured	• Provides quantifiable data • Replication • Degree of reliability is more • Possibility of generalization	• Planned questions are restrictive, so answers are also restrictive • Less scope for the interviewee to open up beyond planned questions • Questions are not flexible to deal with the changing context
Unstructured	• Questions are spontaneous, hence flexible, responsive and sensible to participants • Informal element is more, so the atmosphere of interview becomes relaxed and natural • Provides qualitative data	• Difficult to replicate • Generalization for a wider population is not possible • Interviewer bias may be reflected in open and spontaneous questions
Semi-structured	• Includes standardized questions which can generate quantifiable data • Replication • More reliable than unstructured interview • The possibility of spontaneous questions makes the interview responsive, flexible to some degree	• Answers to spontaneous question are not quantifiable • Spontaneous questions may reflect interviewer's bias

4. **Individual or Group Interviews**: Some scholars make the distinction between the individual and group interviews. Individual interview is one in which the interviewer interviews only one interviewee at a time. But in a group interview, the interviewer interviews more than one interviewee simultaneously. The individual interview (also called personal interview) helps establish close contact between the interviewer and the interviewee. As a result, detailed knowledge about intimate personal aspects of the individual can be obtained. Group interview suits to collect routine information which may not reflect in a personal interview.

When the entire interview has been completed, one important question that emerges is how far the narrative and generalization drawn from it are valid from the research point of view. In order to achieve validity, the researcher should carefully try to avoid any bias being introduced. Even after the interview has taken place, it requires thorough screening and editing. Invalid parts have to be discarded.

Advantages of the Interview Method

Interview method has its merits and demerits too. It is a popular method and has its score over other methods when nature and purpose of the research is concerned. The following are some advantages of this method:

- Through interview we can gather information on topics which are not open to observation. Some events may not happen during the time of observation. Such information can be obtained from the method of interview. Thus, through the interview method it is possible to study the phenomena with the historical background.

- Face-to-face interview uses schedules and the interviewer himself interviews the interviewees. He can explain the questions to the interviewee. In case of

questionnaire method questions are sent to respondents/interviewees who may not be interested to return the questions. They may not sometimes understand the questions in the right sense.

- It is the best method for getting information about inner feelings, emotions and sentiments.

- It is applicable to a situation where interviewees are not able to read and write. On this account it also scores over the questionnaire method. Moreover, people feel convenient to speak than to write on different topics. It is very useful in tribal studies as many villagers may not be acquainted with the words and concepts and the meaning they imply.

- Face-to-face contact helps minimize interviewees' bias. The interviewer removes the doubt if any and understands many things from the body language of the interviewee.

- Rapport establishment is an essential part of interview method. It creates a friendly atmosphere. As such the interviewee is likely to cooperate more with the interviewer than through questionnaire method. The face-to-face contact brings more cordiality than contact through sending questionnaires by post or through persons other than the researcher. In tribal areas, the questionnaire method has its own limitation because of less postal service and most of the interviewees may not know how to read and write.

- The interviewer can interview a number of persons as per requirement. But in case of the questionnaire method the researcher may not get the required responses as all interviewees may not return filled in questionnaires.

Disadvantages

The interview method is also not free from limitations. Some of its limitations are as follows:

- The method is too much dependent on the memory of respondent.

- In this method there is no check upon the interviewee. The interviewee narrates stories and the interviewer has to listen to them. Every detail is not useful. If the interviewer is not able to remove irrelevant details, data is likely to become doubtful.

- There is a possibility of the influence of bias and the prejudices.

- It is not economical.

- Interviewer may not find his sample interviewee because of 'non-availability' or 'not at home'.

  Nevertheless, the interview method is useful for the study of social phenomenon which is abstract and complex in much respect. Through this method the researcher has a greater opportunity to appraise the accuracy and validity of replies.

5.6.3 Case Study

Pierre Guillaume Frédéric Le Play is said to have introduced the case study method into social science in 1829. He used it as a handmaiden to statistics in his studies of family budgets. But this method has been popular in social science disciplines like psychology, sociology and anthropology. Case study is defined as a method of exploring and analysing the life of a social unit, called as the subject (or the case) in-depth. Therefore, Carla Willig (2008) asserts that case studies 'are not characterized by the methods used to

collect and analyse data, but rather its focus on a particular unit of analysis: a case.' The case may be an individual, organization, event, action, a family, an institution, cultural group, a process, an episode, a community or any other unit of social life existing in a specific time and place. It is useful to understand what a unit means in a case study. In this context Robert E. Stake (2005) gives an example. He writes, 'A doctor may be a case. But his or her doctoring probably lacks the specificity, the boundedness to be a case.' The point which is important is that the topic of the case can be an individual, but not the means by which the individual engages in a particular practice.

Yin (2009) defines case study as an 'empirical inquiry about a contemporary phenomenon (e.g., a 'case'), set within its real-world context—especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident'. For P. V. Young, case study is a 'comprehensive study of a social unit-be that unit a person, a group, a social institution, a district, or a community'. To Goode and Hatt, case study is 'a way of organizing social data so as to preserve the unitary character of the social object being studied.'

From the above definitions we can outline the following characteristics of case study:

- The case study method involves the study of a unit in detail, both horizontally and longitudinally. In other words, case study is an intensive or in-depth study of the unit. In the words of Goode and Hatt, the case study is 'an approach which views any social unit as a whole'. As the unit is studied intensively by examining the context and other complex aspects related to the case, a wide range of topics to be covered is produced by any given case study.

- It usually deals with the knowledge of behavioural pattern—what and why—of the subject.

- The method is non-experimental because the researcher has no control over the unit under investigation.

- The relevant data is likely to come from multiple and not singular sources of evidence.

Types of Case study

The case study method is of three types. These are as follows:

- **Single case study:** Here, only a single case is studied. The single case study is sometimes used to test a theory. The case study may be either exploratory or descriptive or explanatory.

- **Deviant case study:** There may be a case that does not conform to the existing theory of knowledge. When such a case is studied in detail, it is known as deviant case study. The researcher tries to explore the reasons of difference.

- **Multiple/comparative case study:** The study of two or more cases is called multiple or comparative case study. If the purpose is to test a theory, then the researcher gets more than a case to test it.

Steps in Case study

The case study follows the following four important steps:

- **Choice of case:** The first step in the case study method involves a choice of the unit. The researcher has to decide the unit to be taken up for the study. Depending

upon the nature and objective of research he has to choose the unit as an individual or a group of individuals, an institution of a group of institutions. Then he selects the unit to be studied if there are many such units.

- **Collection of data:** The second step of this method involves collection of data using different tools and techniques. The researcher may use different tools and techniques for the different aspects to be studied.

- **Analysis of data:** Data collected has to be classified and analysed for interpretation. Analytical tools like ratio and percentage or advanced ones like variation may be used whenever necessary. Analysis can be descriptive like ethnographic studies.

- **Interpretation and reporting of data:** After analysis data is interpreted. Relations among aspects may be established. Cause and effect relations may be explained. But while interpreting the presentation shall be logically consistent. The interpreted data are finally presented in a report/thesis form.

When to use the case study method

Case study as a method has its own logic of use. This logic concerns three situations where the use of case study is profitable. The first situation is the one where choice of a method is determined on the basis of overall advantage of the method. It depends on the kind of research question that a study is trying to address. When research question is *descriptive* or *explanatory,* the case study method has a score over other methods. Other methods may not provide the rich descriptions or the insightful explanations that might arise from applying the case study method.

The second situation demands its application when the research proposes the study of a unit in natural settings. Case study provides original data which is qualitatively rich than derived data obtained from the use of other methods. Even observation method cannot be handy to capture some aspects which are not allowed by the interviewer for observation. As case study uses various instruments, it has greater scope to study more aspects relating to the unit in greater detail.

The third situation is a recent need of evaluating government programmes and schemes. Scholars and NGO activities commonly use this method for evaluation studies.

We apply case study method under three situations. But what benefit does it give? In other words, what benefit does the researcher get by using the case study method under the three situations? Precisely, what is his objective of employing the case study method? The researcher employs the case study method:

- To get intimate and detailed information about the structure, process and complexity of the research problem

- To formulate hypothesis

- To expand quantitative findings

- To test the feasibility of the quantitative study

- To refute a universal generalization

- To use the case study as a unique, typical and an interesting case in its own right

A single case can represent a significant contribution to theory building and assist in focusing the direction of future investigation in the area.

Designing Case Studies

Yin (2009) identified five components of research design that are important for case studies:

- A study's questions
- Its propositions, if any
- Its unit(s) of analysis
- Logic linking the data to the propositions
- Criteria for interpreting the findings

The **study's questions** are most likely to be 'how' and 'why' questions, and their definitions is the first task of the researcher. While developing the study's questions the researcher has to decide whether to use 'theory' or not. The study's **propositions** sometimes derive from the 'how' and 'why' questions, and are helpful in focusing the study's goals. Not all studies need to have propositions. An exploratory study, rather than having propositions, would have a stated purpose or criteria on which the success will be judged. The **unit of analysis** defines what the case is. This could be groups, organizations or countries, but it is the primary unit of analysis. Here, the researcher has to consider the selection of a single or a multiple of cases. **Linking the data to propositions** and the **criteria for interpreting the findings** are important components of case study for its validity and reliability. However, these components are, according to Yin, the least developed aspects in case studies.

Sources of Evidence

Case study does not depend upon any single source of data. Stake (1995), and Yin (2009) identified at least six sources of evidence in case studies. These are as follows:

1. **Documents:** Documentary sources consist of letters, memoranda, agendas, administrative documents, newspaper articles, or any document that is germane to the investigation.

2. **Archival records:** Archival documents can be service records, organizational records, list of names, survey data, and other such records. The investigator has to be careful in evaluating the accuracy of the records before using them. Even if the records are quantitative, they might still not be accurate.

3. **Interviews:** Interviews are one of the most important sources of case study information. There are several forms of interviews that are possible: Open-ended, focused, and structured or survey. In an open-ended interview, key respondents are asked to comment about certain events.

   The focused interview is used in a situation where the respondent is interviewed for a short period of time, usually answering set questions. This technique is often used to confirm data collected from another source.

   The structured interview is similar to a survey, and is used to gather data in cases such as neighbourhood studies. The questions are detailed and developed in advance, much as they are in a structured interview.

4. **Direct observation:** Direct observation occurs when a field visit is conducted during the case study and the researcher focuses on human actions, physical environments, or real world events. It could be as simple as casual data collection activities, or formal protocols to measure and record behaviours. This technique is useful for providing additional information about the topic being studied.

5. **Participant-observation:** Participant-observation makes the researcher an active participant in the events being studied. This often occurs in studies of neighbourhoods or groups.

6. **Physical artefacts:** Physical artefacts can be tools, instruments, or some other physical evidence that may be collected during the study as part of a field visit.

Disadvantages of Case Study Method

The case study method has been criticized on the basis of following limitations:

- The case study design is regarded with disdain because of the investigator's subjectivity in collecting data for supporting or refuting a particular explanation. Case study requires rapport building. The more the rapport, the more subjective will be the entire process of study rather than factual.

- Case study provides little evidence for inferences and generalizing theory.

- It is difficult to establish reliability in case study.

- One more argument against case study is that it has no representativeness, i.e., each case studied does not represent other similar cases.

- There are new developments in social science researches which provide better information than the researcher obtains from case study. According to Goode and Hatt, 'modern social research has attempted gradually to systematize and make precise the various special "qualitative" techniques which were once thought to be exclusive characteristics of the case study approach.'

- Herbert Blumer, as quoted by Young, is of the opinion that the case study method is not in itself a scientific method, but a first step in scientific procedure.

Advantages of Case Study method

The various criticisms levelled against the use of case study method have not discouraged social scientists to drop the method as unscientific, unsystematic and unfit for valid generalizations. On the other hand, they have made determined efforts to put the method on more scientific lines. The social scientists have adopted improved techniques of collecting, recording and processing the case study.

The method is still profitably used for the intensive study of subjective aspects and deviant cases. It widens the range of personal experiences and provides scope for further research.

5.6.4 Genealogy method

Genealogy is the study and tracing of family pedigrees. It is a well-established method in ethnography. Precisely, the genealogy method is used to study family origins and history. This method was used by early ethnographers to identify kinship relations as determined by marriage and descent. Hence, it involves the collection of the names of relatives, both living and deceased, and establishing the relationships among them based on primary, secondary and/or circumstantial evidence or documentation. Genealogists, therefore, use oral interviews, historical records, and other records, and recently genetic analysis, to obtain information. By collecting information from these sources, they build up a cohesive family tree.

The word genealogy comes from two Greek words; *genea*, meaning 'generation' and *logos*, meaning knowledge. Thus, the method means 'to trace the ancestry' and therefore, it is the science of studying family history.

The pedigree of the Japanese emperors has a divine origin which is easily recited and memorized. This pedigree is mainly a chain of names mixed with semi-fabulous legends which was first written down in the early centuries of the Common Era.

Genealogy is often also referred to as family history, although these terms may be used distinctly: the former being the basic study of who is related to whom; the latter involving more 'fleshing out' of the lives and personal histories of the individuals involved.

With the advent of the Internet, the number of resources available to genealogists has vastly increased. However, some of these sources must be treated with caution due to issues of accuracy. The classes of information that genealogists seek include: place names, occupations, family names, first names, and dates. Genealogists need to understand such items in their historical context in order to properly evaluate genealogical sources. Genealogists collect oral histories and preserve family stories to discover ancestors and living relatives. Genealogists also attempt to understand not just where and when people lived but also their lifestyle, biography, and motivations. This often requires or leads to knowledge of antique law, old political boundaries, immigration trends, and historical social conditions.

The history of genealogy method can be traced through three stages. The first one is oral tradition, the second one is written document in some cases and the third one is the efforts of Europeans approximately around 1500 and thereafter to trace their ancestry. No doubt, the genealogy method draws on primary sources of data. These include oral tradition, records made at the time of an event, say birth or death certificate. In some groups of people there is a tradition of keeping records of family history. In Arunachal Pradesh, the Galo people have the rich tradition of tracing their origin from the mythical ancestor Tani. In fact, all groups of Tani tribe follow the tradition of tracing their origin from Tani. The Khamptis maintain *cheteiu*, a family history that could be explored to prepare the genealogical tree of many families.

Genealogical study became important among the settlers of New Zealand, USA and Canada as they took interest in linking their ancestry with their European families. Therefore, it is not a surprise when George Washington's ancestry was traced to old English landed families. In USA, Canada, Denmark, New Zealand and Australia there are societies to study genealogy. The New England Historic Society in USA, International Confederation of Genealogy and Heraldry in Denmark are some examples.

In its original form, genealogy was mainly concerned with the ancestry of rulers and nobles, often arguing or demonstrating the legitimacy of claims to wealth and power. Genealogy, as a popular hobby, received a big boost in the late 1970s after the telecast of *Roots: The Saga of an American Family* by Alex Haley. It contained Haley's account of his family line.

In China, with its ancient system of ancestor worship, long, drawn-out pedigrees including claims to descent from Confucius are not unknown.

Information (or evidence) found in historical or genealogical sources can be unreliable and it is a good practice to evaluate all the sources with a critical eye. Factors influencing the reliability of genealogical information include: the knowledge of the informant (or writer); the bias and mental state of the informant (or writer); the passage of time and the potential for copying and compiling errors.

5.6.5 Participatory Methods

Participatory methods are non-conventional methods. In conventional methods like interview, observation and questionnaire method, interviewees mostly remain passive. But participatory methods in research are ways to ensure participation. The question arises: *Why participation*, *who to participate with* and *where to participate*? Obviously, the participation shall be in the process of conducting research and thus participation does not merely mean involvement in one stage or the other; it means participation in the entire research process. This takes care of the question *where to participate*.

Now the question is *who to participate with*. If we see, it is always the researcher who designs the research, collects data directly or through his investigators, analyses, interprets, draws conclusions and produces a research piece. The researchers and the investigators are external agents. They are called subjects. The objects, on the other hand, are people/respondents from whom data is collected. In fact, the research is about them (object), for it is their information which gives the 'subject' to learn. But the subject finally 'claims' ownership of 'knowledge' because of his research. The objects, however, remain passive and respond to the subject's requirements. As the knowledge belongs to the people, and the research is about them, it is but fair to think that they should participate in the research process. This roughly answers to *why* and *who to participate with*. However, this is not possible through conventional research methods of survey type by using questionnaires and schedules to collect data.

In conventional researches the researchers usually give importance to the male voices and among male population to the voices of the elites. Therefore, in conventional methods the understanding of the social reality happens partially. For example, when Annette Weiner (1976-77) re-studied Trobriand Islanders, she found that what Malinowski depicted to be true for the entire Trobriand society was only true for the world of men.

In development understanding, now, the focus is on people-centred development. It means people are at the centre of development unlike earlier times. In earlier times, the notion of development happened to be at the centre and people at the periphery. Planners and administrators were the one who thought of people's development and implemented development programmes. As a result, a section of people were deprived of the participation in their own development. In the new development process, people's role has been recognized in the process of their development. In other words, the voices of marginalized and local people, such as the tribal community, assumed importance in recent years. But these voices could not be rightly captured through conventional methods of research. The search for a new method evolved and we have what is called participatory methods. These methods have enabled participatory researches.

As Partha Nath Mukherji writes, 'Participatory research is thus a *process*, specifically directed towards ameliorative or transformative change/development in the conditions of life and living of the group/population, who themselves are participants in the research process.' He further enumerates three important considerations which form the bases of participatory research methodology:

- There is a target community/group which is in felt-need of changing its underdog (oppressed, marginalized, exploited) situation to a more favourable one.
- This target group in cooperation and conjunction with an acceptable, external interventionist-oriented researcher formulates research goals, participates in data collection and, as far as possible, also in analysis and drawing of conclusions, which directly feed into decision-making relating to community action for change/development.

- The ultimate aim of external researcher is to attempt to ensure complete *ownership of knowledge* (e.g. of the health system, technology, management techniques) by the target community.

Meaning of PRA

Participatory methods have formed into a body of methods called PRA (Participatory Rural Appraisal). A discussion of PRA will help you to understand participatory methods better.

PRA is a perspective, a method and a technique—all in one. It is a growing family of participatory approaches and methods that emphasize local knowledge and enables local people to make their own appraisal, analysis and plans. It is a method which allows the investigator to interact and understand the local people by learning from and with them. PRA involves a set of principles, a process of communication and a list of methods for empowering local respondents so as to enable them to put forward their viewpoint according to their participation of the social issue or the social problem.

Sources of PRA

PRA evolved from five sources namely:

- Activist participatory research
- Agro-ecosystem analysis
- Applied anthropology
- Field research on farming systems
- Rapid rural appraisal

These sources are the positive sides of the evolution of participatory methods. There are also negative sides which required a method alternative to conventional methods. This search was due to the non-involvement of people in conventional methods who formed the object of research. This is shown in the following figure.
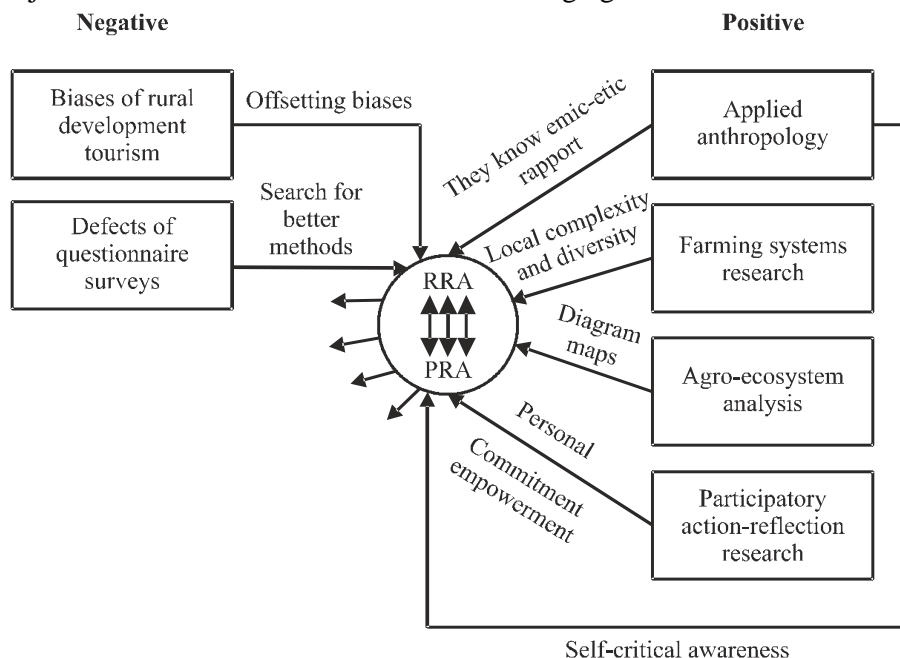
Fig. 5.1 Sources of PRA

Activist Participatory Research was associated with adult education movement and was mainly used by NGOs since early 1970s. Ivan Illich and Paulo Freire proposed de-schooling and an alternative—**pedagogy**—facilitating a horizontal dialogue between the teachers and taught (adult learners). The objective was to establish the control of the learner over his learning process. Participatory research was conceived within this framework. The term gained its coinage from a group of adult educators in 1974-75 and was conceptualized and adopted by the International Council for Adult Education. It has gained importance with the increasing non-governmental sector which undertakes developmental activities in rural areas.

Agro-ecosystem analysis was developed in Thailand from 1978 onwards. The studies drew on systems and ecological thinking. In applied anthropology, **participant observation** and importance of field study have been well established methods of data collection. The observation and importance of people and their knowledge have contributed to the growth of PRA. Many field researches were conducted on **farming systems** where the importance of farmers' knowledge was recognized. Farmers' participation in agricultural research became the focus and their ability to conduct their own analysis was recognized. This understanding contributed to the growth of participatory methods. The idea of **Rapid Rural Appraisal (RRA)** developed in some workshops conducted at the IDS (Institute of Development Studies), Sussex, on rural development tourism, IKS and RRA itself. From the discussion, RRA emerged as a method which later contributed immensely to the growth of PRA. Relation between RRA and PRA can be viewed from the table below:

Table 5.4 RRA and PRA Compared

Basis	RRA	PRA
Period of major development	late 1970s, 1980s	late 1980s, 1990s
Major innovators based in	Universities	NGOs
Main user	Aid agencies Universities	NGOs, Government field Organizations
Key resource earlier overlooked	Local people's knowledge	Local people's capabilities
Main innovation	Methods	Behaviour
Predominant mode	Elicitive, extractive	Facilitating, Participatory
Ideal Objectives	Learning by outsiders	Empowerment of local people
Longer-term outcomes	Plans, Projects, Publications	Sustainable Local action and institutions

The RRA-PRA Continuum

Nature of process	RRA ↔	PRA
Mode	Extractive-elicitive	Sharing-empowering
Outsiders' role	Investigator ↔	Facilitator
Information owned analysed and used by	Outsiders ↔	Local people
Methods used	RRA ↔	PRA

In RRA the outsider is an investigator whereas in PRA the outsider is a simple facilitator. The knowledge belongs to the local people but not to the investigator. It is the understanding of local people that provides a basis for the outside investigator to learn.

Principles of PRA

Following are the principles of PRA which guide the participatory researches:

A reversal of learning: In participatory method, the importance is given not to the investigator but to the respondent. It is the respondent who shares his knowledge with the investigator. The respondents do not remain passive. The investigator simply performs the role of a facilitator. He learns from face-to-face interaction with the people.

Optimal ignorance: This refers to knowing what is not worth knowing. The investigator is to collect accurate and necessary information for his purpose. In the conventional method, the investigator collects information more than required for his purpose. In the process he spends more time and money. But PRA promotes quick appraisal of data which is to the point. As a result, the data which is necessary are collected.

Seeking diversity: Conventional methods seek representativeness in the population to collect the data. But PRA seeks diversity i.e. all the groups, sections on the basis of caste, gender, religion, etc. so that the issue is understood in its totality.

Offsetting biases: There is always a difference between the mind-set of the investigator and the understanding of the respondents. Therefore, the investigator fails to understand the viewpoint of the respondents in the right perspective. Moreover, there are other biases. For example, the investigator tries to find the respondent with whom he can communicate. A male investigator usually and conveniently ignores female respondents. But in PRA, because of its principles of seeking the diversity, these biases are offset.

Triangulation: This is an important principle of PRA. Triangulation means checking the validity and reliability of data using different methods. Data collected using a single method may not be correct. Therefore, the data is checked and re-checked using different methods to improve the accuracy of the research.

Learning rapidly and progressively: As has been said the investigator has his individual mind-set. Hence, he does not fully understand the perception of the people. When he interacts with them and learns from them he accurately appreciates their knowledge. The local people have their own experience, their history and culture, their ideas and their priority. The more the investigator interacts with them the more he learns. His level of knowledge progressively increases as PRA is the least time consuming. He learns rapidly through interaction. Therefore, in PRA the investigator learns rapidly and progressively.

Investigator as facilitator: In PRA the role of investigator is to facilitate and motivate the respondents. He creates an enabling environment so that the respondents easily share their experience with the investigator.

PRA Methods

PRA methods are ever growing. There is no end to the discovery of participatory methods. PRA believes in flexibility and hence different research issues may need different methods for study. It also depends on the user, who uses the method. But there are some methods common to PRA literature. They can be divided into two methods: (i) methods directly or indirectly supportive of PRA; and (ii) methods which involve direct participation of the respondents. Supportive methods include primary and secondary sources of data, direct observation and other conventional methods. But methods of direct participation are diverse and situation-specific. Some important ones are as follows:

(i) Participatory mapping and modelling: The respondents are asked to draw a map even on the ground or build the model of the resource bases of the village. It is not necessary that the respondents should be literate. Therefore, it is useful in tribal villages with low level of literacy. Participatory maps include maps relating to social issues, resources, health, wealth, literacy, livestock and economic activities. Such maps can portray the image of dwellings in the village, farms and fields, water points and various soil varieties.

(ii) Transect walk: This refers to the walking of the investigator with the respondents from one end of the village to the other. The walk can be taken from north to south and from east to west. While walking, the investigator can observe soil conditions, crop varieties and vegetation types, which the respondent may explain. In this way, the investigator learns different aspects of land use, crops grown, and agro-ecological zones within a short time. While explaining, the respondents can also provide information relating to the past land use pattern or crop varieties.

(iii) Time lines: This refers to the sequence of events like construction of the road or establishment of school in the village. A list of events gives an idea of development of the village over a time period.

(iv) Seasonal diagram: In the villages different activities take place in different seasons. Moreover, different crop items available in nature depend on seasons. All these can be presented in what we call seasonal diagrams in which different activities in different seasons can be known. In other words, the annual calendar of the activities, along with the items available can be known.

(v) Venn diagram: This diagram is also known as *chapatti* diagram because it looks like a *chapatti*. The size of diagrams and their distance from each other inform about the importance of the subject discussed. However, overlapping diagrams represents interaction between two institutions or individuals. The diagrams are useful to study the relationship of institutions and individuals.

Participatory methods are more popular in action researches especially for rural development—both tribal and non-tribal villages. Field scholars also use it for quick generation of data with some degree of accuracy.

5.6.6 Focus Group Discussion

A focus group, also called 'focused interview' is an interview of a small group of respondents by a trained moderator in an informal way to know the perceptions, opinions and beliefs of the respondents on the research topic. The group is formed by interactive respondents having some common interest or characteristics. A moderator brings the interested respondents together with a view to elicit information through their interaction about a specific or focused issue. It is a form of qualitative research. An ideal focus group typically consists of 7-10 persons.

Focus group interviews were born in the late 1930's by social scientists who had doubts about the accuracy of traditional information gathering methods. It is defined as a research technique involving means to reach end. When it becomes a research technique it is different from group discussion. In focussed group discussion the researcher introduces the topic. Some kind of control is exercised and at the same time the researcher allows free and spontaneous discussion from participants. It is a mixture of control and freedom. It is a participatory method. It is a method in which stakeholders take part. It is interactive. It is empowering. It is a collaborative exercise. It is a method where the

researcher empowers people. People react forcefully to the conclusion drawn about them. Thus, the gap between the researcher and the researched is fading. The researcher has mainly three roles in focussed group discussions. He is a moderator, a note taker and is a participant too.

The focus group can be of the following types depending on the nature of conducting the interview:

- **Two-way focus group:** This consists of two sub-groups. One sub-group watches the other, discusses on the observed interactions and draws inferences.

- **Dual moderator focus group:** In this type, two moderators conduct the interaction. One moderator conducts the session while the other ensures that all issues are covered.

- **Duelling moderator focus group:** In this type, two moderators remain present during the discussion. But they deliberately take opposite sides on the discussion of the issue.

- **Respondent moderator focus group:** In this group one of the respondents is asked to act as a moderator.

Conducting a Focus Group

Focus group is planned and conducted for reliable information. The information collected from a focus group discussion is raw data. The researchers' task is to prepare a statement regarding the collected data. The first step is to transcribe the entire interview. This will provide a complete record of the discussion and will facilitate the analysis of data. The next step is to analyse the content of the discussion. The aim of this analysis is to look for trends and patterns that reappear within either a single focus group or among various focus groups. Some researchers suggest that content analysis begins with a comparison of the words used in the answer. Also, the researcher must consider the emphasis or intensity of the respondents' comments.

Krueger (1988) has identified three stages of conducting a focus group. These are conceptualization, interview and analysis and reporting.

Conceptualization: This stage includes defining the objective of research, justification of selection of focus groups over other methods, selection of issues, determining whom to study, planning the resource requirement and specification of procedure.

Interview: This phase includes formulation of adequate and appropriate questions, selection of moderator, understanding of group dynamics, introduction to the issues of discussion, responding to participants' comments, recording of discussion, and finally concluding the discussion with a thanking note.

Analysing and reporting: In this stage data is examined and reported. Krueger (1988) suggests three levels at which data is examined and reported. These are: at the level of raw data, descriptive statement level and the third one is the level of interpretation. Raw data needs to be ordered by natural levels or thematically. At the second level, respondent's comments are summarized. At this stage, data receives meaning to descriptions. The third level, i.e. the level of interpretation depends on the descriptive process or presentation of the meaning of data rather than the summary of data.

Focussed group is useful in describing and interpreting perceptions of group participants. It is not a top down approach. It is a research where people's need and

perspective matter. It is primarily useful in obtaining free information, probing concept and ideas, probing range of behaviour and depth. Focused group discussion is a rapid appraisal tool. It takes less time. Focused group discussion is useful before one starts a survey for developing relevant hypothesis. It can be used as an exploratory research design. The main purpose of focus group research is to draw upon respondents' attitudes, feelings, beliefs, experiences and reactions in a way which would not be feasible using other methods, for example observation, one-to-one interviewing, or questionnaire surveys.

Advantages of Focus Group

It can be concluded that focus group interviews can be used in a variety of settings. A review of the literature reveals that for successful data collection, focus group methodology must be employed in a manner to promote validity. The issues outlined above are essential elements for credible qualitative (action) research. The following are a few highlights about focus group discussion:

- Focus group research involves organized discussion with a selected group of individuals to gain information about their views and experiences on a topic.

- Focus groups can reveal a wealth of detailed information and deep insight. The benefits of focus group research include gaining insights into people's shared understandings of every day life and the ways in which individuals are influenced by others in a group situation.

- It has high face validity. Respondents in the group interact among themselves and each one in the group is also influenced by others.

- This method fits well to a situation where people do not know how to read and write.

- It is less expensive and time saving. Groups can be formed and assembled at a shorter notice. Data can be obtained at a shorter time from the interactions of the members.

- The researcher can get information from both verbal and non-verbal communication. Body language if observed properly can give a lot of information.

- The researcher can interact for clarification and ask follow-up questions.

- The focus group is a flexible method. A wide range of topics can be discussed, and a number of groups can be formed for interaction. Therefore, focus group interviewing is particularly suited for obtaining several perspectives about the same topic.

Limitations of Focus Group

Focus group technique is not free of shortcomings. Some of them are as follows:

- The moderator cannot have full control over the group

- As the group is small, and as convenience sampling is used to select respondents, there is the risk of generalization

- Moderator may knowingly or unknowingly feel biased for the group

- A dominating member in the group may also produce biased information

Nevertheless, focus group has its own advantage and is still used by social science researchers including scholars of tribal studies.

Check Your Progress

16. Define non-participant observation.
17. How does C. William Emory define the interview technique?
18. What is a deviant case study?
19. State the use of the genealogy method of data collection.
20. What is a focus group?

5.7 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that,

- Research and data are inseparable. Data helps in understanding, analysing, interpreting and solving a research problem.

- Research is a human activity based on intellectual investigation and aimed at discovering, interpreting, and revising human knowledge on different aspects of the world.

- Social science research is carried out with the aim of discovering new facts and verification of the old ones. The academic purpose of social research is the acquisition of knowledge.

- On the basis of nature, data can be quantitative and qualitative. Quantitative data are those which are quantifiable. In other words, they can be expressed in quantitative (numerical) terms.

- Qualitative data, on the other hand, are not quantifiable. They refer to attributes— qualities, characteristics, etc.

- Method and methodology are sometimes used as synonyms, when they are not. Methodology is the study of methods and deals with the philosophical assumptions underlying the research process, while a method is an approach to data collection under those philosophical assumptions.

- Technique is defined as an apparatus or device, either verbal or physical, used to elicit information. It refers to the way one uses a tool to collect data. Tool is the simplest element, an instrument, in research.

- Objectivity in research ordinarily means value-neutrality. In other words, the research shall be free from value judgment, it shall not focus on what should/ ought to be; rather it shall focus on what is.

- Researches on tribes try to produce a valid knowledge of tribal culture. But such an exercise is possible only through the scientific approach to research.

- Collection of data is not a haphazard process. It is systematic and hence emphasizes on the rules and procedures. These are known as the techniques of data collection.

- There often arises a confusion between the terms 'sample' and 'sampling'. Sample is simply a part of population, while sampling is the procedure of selecting the sample and knowing about the population on the basis of the sample.

- There are two important methods of sampling, they are:
  o Non-probability
  o Probability

- Probability sampling is one in which every unit of the population has an equal probability of being selected for the sample. In other words, every item in the population has a known chance of being included in the sample.

- Sample error is the difference between the results derived from the sample and the 'true' value of its population. There are no sampling errors in a census survey because the calculations are based on the entire population.

- Non-probability sampling methods are procedures in which the rules of probability theory are not applied in the selection of a sample. Non-probability sampling can be convenient, purposive, quota, snow ball and volunteer samplings.

- Quantitative methods are research methods dealing with numbers and anything that is measurable. They are, therefore, to be distinguished from qualitative methods.

- Qualitative research is an important approach to research methodology in social sciences. The research involves methods of data collection and analysis that are non-quantitative.

- A researcher on social sciences in general and tribal studies in particular collects the primary data to have a better understanding on the community. The researcher collects the information about the people on his own.

- A secondary source is a study written by a scholar about a topic using primary sources and other secondary sources.

- There are risks involved in secondary sources of data at four levels: reliability, suitability, adequacy and accuracy.

- The earliest method of field investigation in social research was observation. Observation is a method that employs vision as its main means of data collection.

- Scientific observation involves three processes: (i) sensation, (ii) attention, and (iii) perception.

- Participant observation is a method in which the investigator becomes a part of the situation he is studying.

- Observation method is the most appropriate method when the informants are unable to provide information or are unwilling to give exact information.

- Social research has one fundamental advantage over physical research in the sense that the researcher can talk to his subject, know his feelings and reactions. This technique is known as interview, or personal interview.

- There are different ways of classifying an interview process. On the basis of formality, it can be either formal or informal.

- Rapport establishment is an essential part of interview method. It creates a friendly atmosphere. As such the interviewee is likely to cooperate more with the interviewer than through questionnaire method.

- Pierre Guillaume Frédéric Le Play is said to have introduced the case study method into social science in 1829. He used it as a handmaiden to statistics in his studies of family budgets.

- The case study design is regarded with disdain because of the investigator's subjectivity in collecting data for supporting or refuting a particular explanation.

- Genealogy is the study and tracing of family pedigrees. It is a well-established method in ethnography. Precisely, the genealogy method is used to study family origins and history.

- In its original form, genealogy was mainly concerned with the ancestry of rulers and nobles, often arguing or demonstrating the legitimacy of claims to wealth and power.

- Participatory methods are non-conventional methods. In conventional methods like interview, observation and questionnaire method, interviewees mostly remain passive. But participatory methods in research are ways to ensure participation.

- Participatory methods have formed into a body of methods called PRA (Participatory Rural Appraisal).

- A focus group, also called 'focused interview' is an interview of a small group of respondents by a trained moderator in an informal way to know the perceptions, opinions and beliefs of the respondents on the research topic.

- Focus group research involves organized discussion with a selected group of individuals to gain information about their views and experiences on a topic.

5.8 KEY TERMS

- **Research:** It is a human activity based on intellectual investigation and aimed at discovering, interpreting, and revising human knowledge on different aspects of the world.

- **Quantitative data:** They are those data which are quantifiable.

- **Qualitative data:** They are, on the other hand, are not quantifiable.

- **Methodology:** It is the study of methods and deals with the philosophical assumptions underlying the research process, while a method is an approach to data collection under those philosophical assumptions.

- **Technique:** It is defined as an apparatus or device, either verbal or physical, used to elicit information. It refers to the way one uses a tool to collect data.

- **Tool:** It is the simplest element, an instrument, in research.

- **Census survey:** The information collected about each item of the universe is called a census survey.

- **Universe:** It is the totality of observation or items which are of interest to the researcher.

- **Census:** A census is the process of obtaining information about every member/unit of a population.

- **Sample:** A sample is a part or sub-set of the universe selected for the purpose of collecting information.

- **Sampling unit:** It refers to individual items to be studied within the sampling frame.

- **Sampling frame:** It is the list of sampling units of the population from which random sampling is to be drawn.

- **Sample error:** It is the difference between the results derived from the sample and the 'true' value of its population.

- **Case study:** It is defined as a method of exploring and analysing the life of a social unit, called as the subject (or the case) in-depth.

5.9 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. Research is a human activity based on intellectual investigation and aimed at discovering, interpreting, and revising human knowledge on different aspects of the world.

2. Generally, data can be classified in the following ways:
   - Quantitative and qualitative data
   - Sample and census data
   - Primary and secondary data

3. Methodology is the study of methods and deals with the philosophical assumptions underlying the research process.

4. Objectivity in research ordinarily means value-neutrality. In other words, the research shall be free from value judgment, it shall not focus on what should/ought to be; rather it shall focus on what is.

5. The researcher designs the research work with four main ideas: the strategy; the conceptual framework; the question of why, who and what will be studied; and the tools to be used for collecting and analysing empirical materials.

6. A census is the process of obtaining information about every member/unit of a population.

7. There often arises a confusion between the terms 'sample' and 'sampling'. Sample is simply a part of population, while sampling is the procedure of selecting the sample and knowing about the population on the basis of the sample.

8. Systematic random sampling is a probability sampling procedure wherein the random sampling method is applied to a systematic process of data collection.

9. Sampling errors arise because we do not estimate all items of the population. We only estimate a part of it, i.e. of the sample.

10. A volunteer sampling procedure is a non-probability sampling procedure. In this procedure, the respondent himself volunteers to give information he holds.

11. Qualitative research is an important approach to research methodology in social sciences. The research involves methods of data collection and analysis that are non-quantitative.

12. The advantages of primary sources of data are:
    - Primary source provides data which is original and relevant.
    - This source generates data which may not exist or may not be available for the specific purpose of research.

13. A secondary source is a study written by a scholar about a topic using primary sources and other secondary sources.

14. There are risks involved in secondary sources of data at four levels: reliability, suitability, adequacy and accuracy.

15. Unpublished sources include materials such as diaries of administrative officers, travellers' diaries, personal letters, unpublished biographies and autobiographies.

16. Observation by the observer without actively participating in group activities or becoming a member of the group or community is called non-participant observation.

17. C. William Emory defines the interview technique as 'a two-way purposeful conversation initiated by an interviewer to obtain information that is relevant to some research purpose.'

18. There may be a case that does not conform to the existing theory of knowledge. When such a case is studied in detail, it is known as deviant case study.

19. Genealogy is the study and tracing of family lineages. It is a well-established method in ethnography. Precisely, the genealogy method is used to study family origins and history.

20. A focus group, also called 'focused interview' is an interview of a small group of respondents by a trained moderator in an informal way to know the perceptions, opinions and beliefs of the respondents on the research topic.

5.10 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. Why should data be appropriate, focused, authentic and reliable to conform to the objectives?

2. State the differences between method and methodology.

3. How are the terms methodology, method, technique and tools interdependent in research?

4. 'While conducting a survey, there are two important considerations.' What are they?

5. Give reasons for the preference given to the sample surveys over census surveys.

6. Write short notes on:

(i) Simple random sampling

(ii) Sampling error

(iii) Purposive sampling

7. What are the differences between the quantitative and qualitative methods of research in tribal studies?

8. List the disadvantages of primary sources of data.

9. Name some published sources of data.

10. List the characteristics of the observation method of data collection.

11. What are the considerations to make the interview method effective and objective?

12. Why is the method of case study considered to be better than the other methods of data collection?

13. What is triangulation?

14. What is the role of interviewer in participatory method?

Long-Answer Questions

1. Discuss the relationship between research and data. Also, discuss the method of planning data collection.

2. Describe some of the major concepts used in research.

3. What does objectivity in research mean? Also, provide the distinction between objective and subjective researches.

4. Explain the concepts of census and sample surveys.

5. Critically analyse the two methods of sampling: Probability and Non-Probability sampling.

6. Evaluate the quantitative and qualitative methods of research in tribal studies.

7. Assess the primary and secondary sources of data.

8. Discuss the observation and interview method of data collection in field study.

9. Assess the case study and genealogy method of data collection in field study.

10. Explain the participatory and focus group discussion method of data collection in field study.

5.11 FURTHER READING

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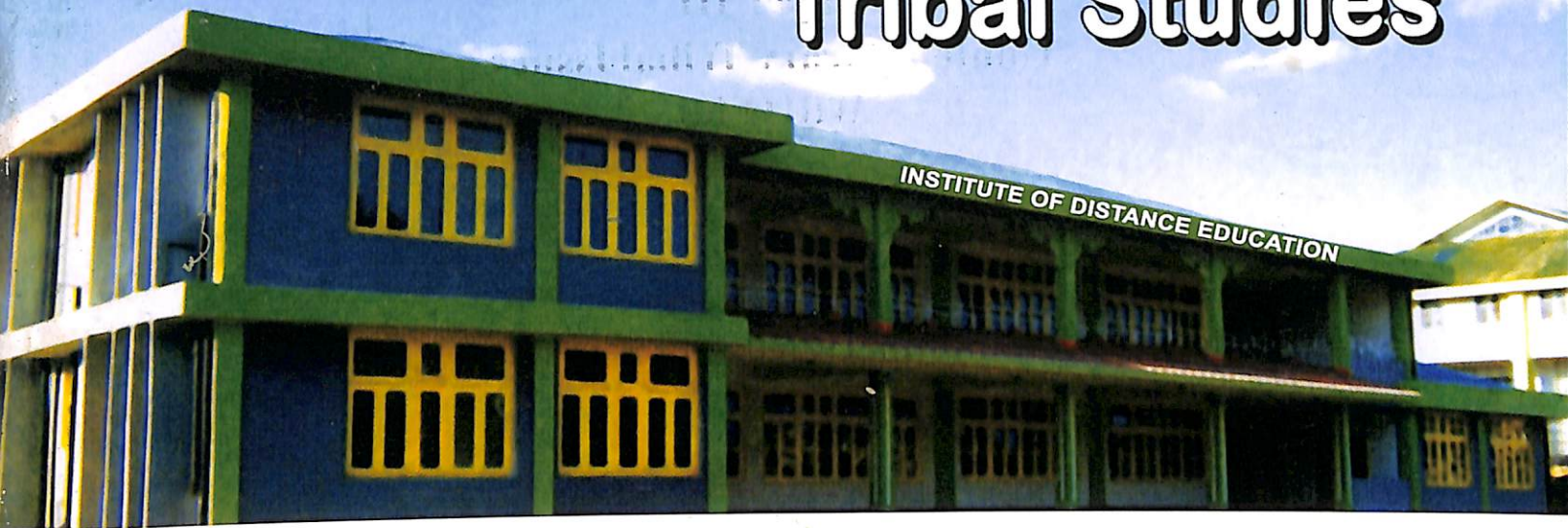
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B.A. COURSE
THIRD YEAR

PAPER-IV

CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS AND TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES IN INDIA

INSTITUTE OF DISTANCE EDUCATION
Rajiv Gandhi University
Rono Hills, Itanagar

Paper III
Contemporary Tribal Issues
WRITERS

Unit-I

Economic Problems
Tarun Mene, Rajiv Gandhi University

Unit-II

Issues of Identity
Tarun Mene, Rajiv Gandhi University

Unit-III

Tribal Rights
**Prof. K. K. Mishsra, Dept. of Anthropology
University of Hyderabad, Hyderabad**

Unit-IV

Emerging Social Problems
**Prof. K. K. Mishsra, Dept. of Anthropology University of
Hyderabad, Hyderabad**

Unit-V
Language Issues
**Prof. K. K. Mishsra, Dept. of Anthropology
University of Hyderabad, Hyderabad**

CONTENTS

UNIT- I
HISTORY OF TRIBAL POLICY AND APPROACH TO TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA

1.1 Objectives

The objective of this unit is to introduce students the very concept of tribal development in the context of India which is basically an induced developmental initiative. More over an attempt has been made to give a historical backdrop of tribal policy as well as various approaches evident in relation to Indian tribal people giving more emphasis on colonial and post-colonial legacies.

1.2 Concept of Tribal development

Before discussing and reviewing the tribal development approach, it is pertinent to know how the anthropologists view development and particularly their understanding of tribal development.

The term development is often used in the sense of growth indicating a quantitative increase or progress in production, income, consumption of food etc. and thus giving emphasis on quantitative aspect ignoring the qualitative part of man. Belshaw, however, gave equal emphasis on social, cultural, economic and other aspects of life. He observed, "sociologically speaking, development should be looked upon as an organized activity with the aim of satisfying certain basic needs and to psychologically orient the tribals to adopt new skills, attitudes and life styles, so that they built up the inner strength and appropriate social and cultural infrastructure to stand the pressure of the new situation and accrue benefits from the new programmes and maintain higher levels" (1972). He considered the development as a positive change and observed "development presents an increase in the capacities of a society to organize for its own objectives and to carry out its programmes more efficiently".

Development, as has been observed by Beals and Hoijer, may be considered as those changes which are required but have minimum disruptive effects on the concerned population.

Vidyarthi (1981) observed that development means growth and change which include both the material and human—the socio-cultural factors which are an integral part of the dynamics of growth. He felt, "while striving for the development of a group or an area, due emphasis has to be given to their traditional values and historical experiences". In fact economists like Schumacher has also observed, "development does not start with goods; it starts with people and their education, organization and discipline" (1977:157)).

With reference to development, Mahapatra has also observed that real development should consider the needs, values, and aspiration of the concerned population and local development are not likely to be in conflict with the national objectives, but at the same time, the local people's aspirations and potentialities should be honoured, respected and accommodated. To Roy Burman, development activities particularly in the context of tribals should be concerned with-

   (a) Satisfaction of minimum needs,

   (b) Control and management of productive resources,

   (c) Employment optimization,

   (d) Broad based participation of the population in development process and

   (e) Socio-cultural and political aspects of national integration (1986:133).

Thus, a number of issues may be suggested particularly in the context of tribal development.

   (1) Development includes both quantitative and qualitative change.

   (2) Social and cultural aspects of the concerned population should be considered.

   (3) Imposition of ideas and values, plans and programmes, and also priorities of work without considering the felt needs of the concerned population should not be made.

   (4) Development should promote participation of the concerned population in the development process.

   (5) Development should help in the elimination or at least reduction of various process of domination and

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cultural hegemony of ruling classes, equalization of distribution of development benefits (growth with justice) and redistribution of income.

(6) Development should not only prevent alienation of the tribals over productive resources, it should also not affect the physical environment to any appreciable extent and the traditional customary rights of the tribals over the productive resources.

(7) Development should not in any way affect the quality of life, but is expected to improve it.

Thus, if we compare and examine the broad approach and type of tribal development visualize by Pandit Nehru and that suggested by the social scientists, particularly Anthropologists and Sociologists; it is interesting that the major issues are common. Thus, broad based participation of the concern population in the development process and the development on the lines of their own genius have been suggested and it has been recommended that nothing should be imposed on them. Control and management of productive resources is another important issue and it has been advice that tribal rights over land and forest should be respected. Development is also expected to improve the quality of life.

The different measures taken or programmes initiated in the context of the tribal may be broadly classified in three groups; (a) protective, which include constitutional safeguards and also legislation restricting and regulating alienation of tribal over resources particularly land, (b) mobilization, which include reservation in academic institutions, services and legislatives and lastly (c) developmental which includes a large number of programmes covering social services, health, education, economy, etc. (Roy Burman:1989)

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Check your Progress
1.   What do you mean by Development?
2.   What is tribal development?
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1.3 Tribal policy and Approaches to Tribal Development in India

In the present context it is essential to know how these tribal people have been approached so far by the administrations. It is true that in the historical India the people considered the tribals living in remote forest and hilly areas part and parcel of Indian population. They had enjoyed a free life of their own. It was only in the immediate past in the British period of Indian history that these people were approached in quite a different way. The British rulers came in contact with them only with the entry of some missionaries in the beginning of the 19th century. Later the Indian national leaders who were fighting for the freedom of the country felt pity for the backward, poor and naturally isolated tribals and wanted to uplift and bring them in the broader framework of the Hindu culture. They never regarded them as a separate section of the Indian population. When the country achieved Independence the Government followed the stereotyped policy of the British administration in a modified way. Experience of a decade or so of the administration of Free India, constant thinking of social reformers, political leaders of the nation and the Indian anthropologists as experts on the tribal ways of life found out a most desirable course for the integration of the tribal people in their respective regional and national setting.

Thus, the approaches to the tribals may be separately considered in the context of pre-Independence and post-Independence period. Historically there have been three main approaches:

1. Policy of Segregation.
   In Pre-Independence Period.
   In Post-Independence Period.
2. Assimilation: A result of constant contact of the Tribes with the rest of Indian population and the efforts of Social Reformers.
3. Integration of the Tribes in Regional and National setting.
These approaches may be viewed in some detail.

1.3.1 Policy of Segregation: In Pre-Independence Period

The foremost policies which were adopted by the British rulers were to isolate these people fro the general mass and .separate the tribal areas from the purview of the no mal administration. This administrative segregative adjustment was not at all realized by the rest of their countrymen as they were either too subdued or too ignorant to understand what was happening. This isolation led to much exploitation by non-tribal moneylenders, contractors, zamindars and middlemen. In the segregated areas, however, only a few such people could enter through the administration. But they were not welcomed by the tribals. Also their contact with non-tribals added to their strain of fighting a lone battle against nature in the hilly and forest areas.

The policy of isolation by the British Government was largely effected by their deliberate efforts not to develop communication in' the tribal areas which, as a result, remained cut off from the rest of the population. A few roads that were constructed were for security purposes and to enable correctors to exploit the forest produce. Communication with the other groups of people, e. g., plain people, was also discouraged as the tribal areas were made secluded by the authority. The most burning example that can be cited in this respect is of the north-eastern Himalayan tribes. They had no communication with the rest of India and consequently a sense of separatism has developed in them.

In isolated tribal areas a very small number of people were allowed, i.e., some contractors, Government 'officials and a few businessmen. They grouped together and started business on their own terms. They were there to interpret the rule, and their terms of business swept in purchase and sale of the goods and thus exploitation of an extreme degree pervaded.

In some areas the British rulers also created "excluded" and "partially excluded" areas and gave them separate political representation. The feeling in the national field was that it was a wicked conspiracy to create a new separatist minority. And ultimately this precipitated the creation of Nagaland, a separate State, in 1960 with a population of a few lakhs.

In fact the area-wise isolation began with the enactment of the Government of India Act of 1870 and a few tracts were specified as "scheduled tracts", viz., in the Himalayan region the then Assam, Darjeeling. Kumaon and Garhwal, the then Tarai Paragnas, Jaunsar-Bawar, Lahaul and Spiti ; in middle India,- Chotanagpur and Santhal Pargana, Angul Mahal. Chanda, Chhattisgarh, Chhindwara, Manpur (Indore), Jhansi. Mirzapur,Ganjam ; in western India, Panch Mahals, Mewasi (Khandesh) ; and in south India, Vizagapatam (Visakhapatnam) Godavari, and Lakshadweep. In 1874 the Scheduled District Act gave effect to the Government of India Act 1870. A number of Acts were enforced from time to time till 1919. When certain territories were declared "Backward Tracts under the Government of India Act of 1919. The areas were, more or less the same as those of "scheduled tracts" and "scheduled districts" with certain additions and omissions. For instance, Sambhalpur Was included whereas the Mewasi. Chhattisgarh, Chanda, Chhindwara, Mirzapur and Jaunsar-Bawar were excluded. The "backward tracts" were the result of the reforms suggested by Montague and Chelmsford In their report. They considered certain areas to be backward, the people being primitive without political institutions· and so on. This drama of helping the tribals with ·special protections in these demarcated areas did not end. The British Parliament was eager enough to show that something had been done to help the tribals through special administration in the areas concerned. Again in 1936 two areas were created. "Excluded Areas" and "Partially Excluded Areas" under Sections 91 and 92 of the Government of India Act of 1935. The list of the are was embodied in the Government of India (Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas) Order, 1936. On the whole the list of excluded areas or partially excluded areas largely left the situation as it was in 1874 barring only certain areas on the then frontiers. The main features to distinguish an Excluded, Area from a Partially Excluded Area were: (i) the Governor functioned in his own discretion in an "excluded area" whereas he sought the advice of the Ministers in a "partially excluded area", (ii) the expenditure in regard to the former was non-votable while the demands in the latter case were subject to a vote of the Legislature. (iii) the discussion of' any matter regarding the excluded areas needed prior consent of the Governor. In 1939 Elwin advocated (1939: 511-519) for the "establishment of a sort of National Park" of the tribals and advised that their contact with the outside world should be reduced to the minimum. Again in 1941 he (Elwin: 1941) supported the idea of "isolationism" to a great extent.

1.3.2 Segregation in Post-Independence Period

In the early period of Independence, the Government of India too adopted the policy of isolation though in a slightly modified form. The partial exclusion of largely tribal areas was followed by special welfare measures. This greatly helped them to go ahead with a separatistic move, for instance the demand for an independent Naga State and an autonomous Jharkhand. Verrier Elwn, Adviser on tribal affairs to the Government of Assam recommended isolation of tribal groups in certain extreme cases.

His "National Park" policy of keeping the tribals as "museum specimens" became the model for the administration. Later, Elwin, in the second edition of his book (1959: 20), developed what he meant. He clarified. "We do not want to preserve the tribesmen as museum specimens, but equally we do not want to stop the clock of progress but we do want to see that it keeps the right time. We may not believe in the myth of noble savage but we do wan t to create a class of ignoble .."

The declaration of "a few particular areas of tribal concentration as Scheduled Areas and Tribal Area", is again an example of isolation. The sub-committee, with Shri A. V. Thakkar, a close associate of Mahatma Gandhi, as Chairman, constituted by the Constituent Assembly, had emphasized that the great need of the aboriginal was protection from expropriation from his agricultural land and virtual serfdom under the moneylender. It further recommended "considering the past experiences and the strong temptation to take advantage of the tribal simplicity and weakness it is essential to provide statutory safeguards for the protection of the land" (Elwin. 1963: 15-16). This clearly indicates that the Constituent Assembly had never recommended isolation of some area as specific area but had simply wanted the end of the exploitation. The implementation of the safeguard was made by declaring some areas as Tribal and Scheduled. The governmental machinery remained confined to the scheduled area. The tribals living outside the areas were not duly protected. This is clearly sounded in the report of the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribe Commission 1960. It notes, that if the Government is unable to accept this programme (i.e., programme of grouping of all the tribal areas under a Tribal- Development Block so that the bulk of the tribal population is brought under intensive development schemes) there is no alternative to declaring these areas as Scheduled Areas despite the complications involved (Elwin, 1963: 33).

The enlisting of the Scheduled Tribe also creates the wrong impression of the tribals being under a special law. The origin of the term "Scheduled Tribe" itself is the result of our Constitution coming into force on January 26, 1950. However, the first serious attempt to list these communities as primitive tribes was made during the census of 1931. In the Government of India Act (1935) a reference was made to "Backward Tribes" and again the Thirteenth Schedule to the Government of India (Provincial Legislative Assemblies) Order, 1936 specified certain tribes as backward in the then Provinces of Assam, Bihar" Orissa, Central Provinces, Barar, Madras and Bombay. In the 1941 census these' people were recorded as "Tribes" and separate totals were furnished only for a few selected individual tribes.

Here, again, the old British concept of "excluded area" was applied in a modified form where the ethnic groups were the basis rather than the area. Moreover, the Constitutional safeguards and the inclusion of tribes in the Fifth Schedule created Constitutional gaps between general population and tribal population.

In pursuance of the provision under Article 343 of the Constitution, the President made an order in 1950 specifying certain tribes or tribal communities as Scheduled Tribes. This list of Scheduled Tribes was revised as the need arose in 1953, 1954, 1956, 1959, 1960, 1962, 1966, 1967, 1968 and 1970. Here mention may be made of the advisory committee of 1965 which was set up for advising the Government on the revision of the list of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled *Tribes* and which also suggested the revised list, and the orders made in 1967, 1968 and 1970 are the result of the efforts made by this committee.

Again, in the different Five Year .Plans the tribal development faced financial segregation. The fund meant for "tribal welfare" was kept reserved for tribal development and the general fund was not utilized for the developmental work among them. They were not given the general benefit of being part of the general mass. At a meeting of the task force for tribal development which Rai attended as an invite found resentment by the task force over this segregation of tribal-welfare and general welfare funds and their utilization (Vidyarthi, 1973). It is good that .it has been felt and the Fifth Five Year Plan clearly laid down that major thrust of developmental efforts be provided by the general sector (Report: 1976, 3).

The intensity of isolation can well be grasped from a statement in the report of the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribe Commission. It says:

"The problem emanates from centuries of isolation. Only to this extent it is different from the problems facing the other section of Indian society. The most hopeful feature is that the tribal himself has awakened to the need of finding a solution and is responding."

1.3.3 The Assimilation

The assimilation of the tribal people with the rest of the population is another approach and is a continuous process and the culture contact with the neighbouring population is held responsible for it. Though this has also created some problems for them, partly because of their isolation and partly because of their limited world view. About assimilation, Kroeber (1948: 428) opines that "normally, we may expect assimilation only 'When the out look of one society is inclusive and when this society is definitely-the stronger and its culture is more advanced". In India, the tribal people have come in contact with different Hindu and other communities and situations have different degrees of culture contact leading to assimilation in different parts. Some tribals have gradually accepted the Hindu way of life and others have converted to Christianity. This culture contact has given rise to so many types of tribals and has created a set of different types of tribes on acculturation level. Ghurye (1963: 23) divided them into three classes: first, members of fairly high status within Hindu society, *viz.,* Raj Gonds; second, partially, Hinduized and, thirdly, hill sections. Assimilation of the tribals attracted a number of anthropologists. Majumdar (1947:131) held "Hindu influence;;" responsible and gave a threefold classification: (i) real primitive, (ii) primitive tribe with a degree of association With Hindu caste and (iii) Hinduized tribes whereas Elwin (1943) talked about it as the "external influence" and suggested four types of tribes-, *viz.,* (i) most primitive, (ii) individualistic and used to outside lire, (iii) detribalized and (iv) tribal aristocrats. In the Indian Conference of Social Work in 1952, four divisions of tribals were made: (i) tribal communities, (ii) semi-tribal communities, (iii) acculturated tribal communities and (iv) totally assimilated tribals. Dube (1960) classified into five categories considering the present habitation and behavior of the new communities which come in- contact. According to this classification they arc : (i) aboriginals living in seclusion, (ii) tribal group with some village folk association, (iii) tribals living in mixed villages, *(*iv) tribals who have been forced to live as untouchables, and (v) tribals enjoying a high social status.

These classifications reveal that the process of assimilation has been a part and parcel of the Indian tribal culture. Many anthropologists have explained it in their own ways. Sanskritization of Srinivas (1957) and tribe caste continuum model given by Sinha (1965) for the Bhumijs, by Srivastava (1966) for the Bhutias and by Sachchidananda (1970) for the Gonds explain the phenomenon. L. K. Mahapatra (1968) feels that there was an age-old process of cultural assimilation in Orissa especially among the -tribes like the Binjhal, Bhuiyan, Gond, Kond, etc. All this points to gradual assimilation into the Hindu peasantry at various levels as Kshatriya agricultural clean caste or even low castes. The process of assimilation has been propagated by the, tribals themselves, the Hindus and the tribal chief (Ghurye, 1963: 45). Among the Mundas and Oraons as accounted by Roy (1912 and 1915) a Hindu-Munda Chief's family first introduced Hindu officers and Brahmans in the latter half of the 17th century.

Ghurye characterized the tribals as backward Hindus (1963: 19) and argued that any attempt to isolate them from the mainstream of Indian life would be meaningless. While sections of these tribes are properly integrated in Hindu society, very large sections, in fact the bulk of them, are rather loosely integrated. Only very small sections, living in the recesses of hills and forests, have not been more than touched by Hinduism. He opines that the tribals are the imperfectly integrated classes or Hindu society. Though for the sake of convenience they may be designated the "tribal classes of Hindu society" suggesting thereby the social fact, as viewed by him, that they have retained much more of the tribal creeds and organization than many of the castes of Hindu society, yet they are, in reality, Backward Hindus. The Gonds are the best illustration of assimilation and the Raj Gonds rank with the Hindu cultivating castes; and the Brahmans take water from them, (Ghurye, 1963: 52).

The tribes of the north-west and central Himalayan regions have assimilated themselves into the frame of Hindu castes. The Gujjars, Pangewals, Lahaulis *(see* Census Monograph 1961), Khasas (Majumdar, 1962),

Tharus (Srivastava, 1958) have all adopted the Hindu way of life. In middle India the Mundas and Oraons (Sachchidananda, 1964) have felt the impact of the neighbouring Hindus and their way of life. The Hos (Majumdar, 1950 and Rai, 1967) have exclusiveness as an important character but much has been adopted from the *Dikkus* (the Hindu neighbours). In the *Dikku Andi* way of marriage, a Brahman presides over the ceremony. The Parhayas feel proud to be called Hindus. The Bhumijs are new Hinduized (Sinha, 1965).

The Kols not only call themselves Hindus but also claim ancient association with them 'and their religion is a tribal edition of Hinduism (Hasan, 1972: 146-174). The Korkus and Baigas have a Hinduized section as Raj Korkus and Binjhwars. The plain Bhuiyas are Hinduized. Roy expected (1935: 231) that within a few decades the Pauri Bhuiyas (Hill Bhuiyas) would hardly remain distinguishable from the Hinduized Plain Bhuiyas. The Khonds of Puri (O'Malley, 1912 were so Hinduized as to resemble the lower Oriya castes of the Hindus. The Saoras of Puri are considered good enough to serve as cooks in the temple of Jagannatha.

Some of the Bhils are Hinduized to the degree that they claim to be classed as Rajputs. Some of the advanced sections employ Brahman priests. The Katkaris tend towards the standard of the Kunbis, the cultivators. The Warlis' marriages are performed by the Brahmans. The Thakurs (Chapekar, 1960: 211) can hardly be distinguished from their agriculturist neighbours. When the Ma Thakurs began to employ a Brahman priest for some of their rites, their assimilation proceeded at a greater pace. The Dhankas have adopted various Hindu Gods and Goddesses. Shah (1964 285) opines that Gujarat tribal leaders are bringing about vast social changes to remove tribal backwardness and to adopt the prevailing folk ways of the majority community in the neighbouring areas. Rajasthan and Maharashtra tribes too are assimilated to a great extent with the folk population. The Minos consider themselves to be Kshatriyas.

The south India tribes also are not untouched by the process of assimilation. The Minos rapid Hinduization has been going on and the greater part of the Kerala tribes willingly proclaims Hinduism as its religion, uses Hindu names, celebrates Hindu festivals and visits Hindu temples. As regards the Lakshadweep people, 'Aiyappan never regarded them as tribes, but the inhabitants are as good as the Moplas of the west coast. Their coming to the mainland on different occasions (Roy Burman, 1973) and the historical account of Leela Dube (1969) about the people clearly indicate their close association with the coastal people.

It would be seen from the above that the tribal people of different regions have assimilated themselves in the neighbour folk people and have been in fairly intimate contact with them.

1.3.4 Integration of the Tribes in Regional and National Setting

The ultimate way in which the tribals were approached is the integrational one. The past experiences of the policies of isolation and assimilation (well defended by Ghurye, 1963:59) and their results forced the thinkers and social reforms to go a midway which might have been more fruitful. The base of the Indian culture, i. e., "unity in diversity" once again got its due importance. The social reformers, politicians, anthropologists as experts on the tribal ways of life and the administration combined their skills and adopted an integrated approach towards the tribals.

For the first time the late Jawaharlal Nehru (1958: xiii) gave a "Panchsheel", *i.e.*, five fundamental principles for the tribal upliftment, as an integrational approach which was later confirmed by the researches of anthropologists. The principles are:

(i) People should develop along the lines of their own genius and, we should avoid imposing anything on them. We should try to encourage in every way their own traditional arts and culture.
(ii) Tribal rights to land and forests should be respected.
(iii) We should try to train and build up a team of their own people to do tile work of administration and development. Some technical personnel from outside will no doubt, be needed, especially in the beginning. But we should avoid introducing too many outsiders into tribal territory,
(iv) We should not over administer these areas or overwhelm them with a multiplicity of schemes. We should rather work through, and not in rivalry to, their own social and cultural institutions.
(v) We should judge results, not by statistics or the amount of money spent. But by the quality of human character that is evolved.

From the experience of the "panchsheel" for the "Panchsheel" for the tribals we find: (i) that we should not force tribals to do things, that (ii) tribal rights aim at saving tribals from exploitation which can be possible only by integrating them with their neighbouring people, (iii) that only tribal officers may work in the area with some local bias, and in these conditions experienced non-tribal officers have proved themselves to be anthropological in approach. (iv) that tribal programmes be very simple, and (v) that one has to "serve the tribals in a dedicated spirit",

Dube (1968: 110) has reviewed the policy in the broader context of national unity and opines that in tribal India there is not one tribal culture but an admixture of so many tribal customs and traditions, and "unity", is not at all there, (The British administration and the free-India administration were previously of the view that there existed unity in tribal India.) The various all-India tribal Conferences organized by the Government or actively supported by it indirectly created solidarity in tribal India. But he found in this only additional' encouragement to the separatist move in some parts of the country. The most desirable course, therefore, he suggests, was to work for the integration of the tribes in the regional and national setting according to their genius.

The latest approaches, *i.e.* (i) single-line administration. (ii) Comparatively small districts due to communicational difficulties, (iii) area development approach (Vidyarthi, 1974) to develop the area in its totality in the Fourth Plan and drawing the Sub-Plans in the Fifth Five Year Plans are a clear reflection of the policy of integration with the regional and national setting. It is also a good sign that recently all the three districts of Nagaland have been bifurcated into seven districts and one big district of Madhya Pradesh, *i.e.*, Raipur, have been bifurcated into two districts. The single district, Bastar, has been put under a Commissioner and has been made a commissionary. In Bihar, too, the number of districts has been doubled to give better administration and to speed up development.

The discussion on how tribals are approached will; however remain incomplete unless we consider the approaches to tribal welfare.

1.4 Approaches to Tribal Development in India

Since India opted for plan development, special attention has been paid to the amelioration and uplift of tribals and tribal areas, by providing enhanced allotment of funds and evolving special development programmes to integrate the tribals with the larger society within the shortage possible time. Many constitutional safeguards have been provided and protective legislation enacted by various states to protect the tribal's interests in land and forest and to afford opportunities of employment and education.

A massive programme of integrated development was initiated by organizing 43 Special Multipurpose Tribal Blocks during the second five year plan in areas with tribal concentration. Such programme incurred an expenditure of Rs 6.42 crores which formed part of Rs 43.93 crores spent on tribal welfare during the second five year plan. Top priority was given to the promotion of education followed by communications, agriculture, animal husbandry and medical facilities. In the third five year plan the expenditure went up to Rs 53.40 crores and the integrated development have been made available to all the tribal areas through the 489 Tribal Development Blocks opened by the end of 1966-67 on the basis of the recommendations made by the Elwin committee and Dhebar commission. During the third five year plan economic uplift was given to priority followed by education and health, housing and communications. The expenditure figures indicates that although the amount spent on tribal welfare during the third five year plan increased by 21.56 per cent over the amount spent during the second five year plan, the per capita expenditure decreased from Rs 3.90 actually to Rs 3.58. This has to be attributed to the failure of the planners to visualize the expected increase in the schedule tribe population which rose from 25 million in 1951 to 30 million in 1961(these census figures were not finalized by the time of the formulation of the Third Year Plan). Further, the percentage of expenditure on tribal welfare to the total plan expenditure also decrease from 0.94 per cent during the second plan to 0.62 percent during the Third plan. Another interesting feature of the expenditure is that while according to the census the scheduled tribe population constituted nearly 7 percent of the population, the percentage of expenditure on tribal welfare programmes was low as 3.63 percent in the Third Year Plan period.

Even though enhanced allocation were made for tribal welfare in the fourth Five year Plan, the effect of these higher allocations must have been offset by the increase in population between 1961 and 1971.while the priorities continued to be almost unchanged during the Fourth Plan, certain special programmes like the crash

Special Nutrition Programme and crash Employment Programme were introduced as corrective measure to provide nutritious supplementary diet to the tribal infants in order to save them from malnutrition and to increase the employment opportunities for the educated unemployed tribal youth and also save them from the nefarious teaching of extremist political parties.

The most important feature of the Tribal Welfare Programme in the fourth plan period was the introduction of six pilot projects in the backward tribal areas covering about 40,000 tribal families under each project with an investment of Rs. 1.50 crores per project. The projects were agriculture-oriented with stress on providing improved agricultural inputs like implements, fertilizers, seeds, irrigation facilities, etc., besides developing veterinary services, fisheries, etc.

However it is essential to bear in mind that the term "region" in planning is defined as a geographically contiguous area or space with common resource potentialities and felt needs of the people inhabiting the area, so as to constitute a viable unit of development irrespective of its ethnic composition. Further, the development situation of the tribals living in such a region may be referred to as both "underdevelopment" and "backward". The former to emphasize the suboptimal utilization of resource and the latter for referring to the backwardness of a given area or region, as are the tribal areas, where resource utilization is not up to the desired level.

States like Mizoram, Nagaland, and Arunachal Pradesh besides certain tribal areas in Madhya Pradesh and Orissa fall under the first category. Almost all the tribal areas of Andhra Pradesh and other southern states and certain tribal areas of Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra and Orissa come either under one or the other area of the remaining three categories mentioned above. For the development of the areas falling under the first categories, the usual norms of planning like resource endowment, administrative viability, geographical contiguity etc. can be the criteria, whereas for the development of the second and third category areas, a new approach with stress on area planning is to be adopted. While undertaking this area planning, it is important to remember that we have in our country backward areas not only on account of being exclusively inhabited by tribals but even when the populations are heterogeneous. It is therefore, necessary to plan for the development of these tribals as part of the complex whole as the development of tribals and tribal areas is inextricably inter-link with the regional development. For these purpose the areas falling under the second and third categories are to be divided into a number of blocks with predominant tribal population and predominant non tribal population but with sizeable tribal component. Both these types of blocks constitute backward areas. At macro- level, area development schemes like laying of major communication facilities, higher education, marketing, industries, irrigation, etc. can be profitably undertaken by keeping in view the resource potentialities and felt needs of the area. However, at macro level a distinction can be made in resource allocation to these blocks as was done in Andhra Pradesh, where block have been classified into advanced, ordinary, backward and tribal- on the basis of certain indices of development, such as extent of irrigated area, number of schools length of roads, etc.

This brief review of the tribal welfare programmes indicates that though efforts have been made during the last twenty years to improve the lots of tribals, enough has not been done to bring them on a par with the advanced sections of society which has been the theme of the development programmes. Both programme planning and implementation have remained stereotyped and devoid of tribal bias. Consequently, even the little that has been invested on the tribal welfare could not percolate to the intended beneficiaries in its entirety. Inspite of the recommendations of the expert committees and commissions (e.g Elwin and Dhevar) the programme failed to give the expected results, due to the following reasons-:

1. Introduction of stereotyped programmes without relevance to the felt needs of the tribals.
2. Failure of the planners to take cognizance of variation in development from region to region and from tribe to tribe.
3. Varied levels of comprehension and mobilization of economic, natural and human resources.
4. Different levels of receptivity of the beneficiaries and variegated capabilities of tribal leadership.
5. Ill-suited administrative structure and incapable personnel, resulting in confused decision making and lack of initiative.

6. Ineffective implementation of protective measures due to lack of proper implementation machinery resulting in dilution of development effort.

The ultimate result of such effective planning and implementation is the emergence of an undulating socio-economic situation in which certain tribal groups and areas have progressed while others remained static. Thus, while certain groups of Nagas and Mizos achieved spectacular development, others like Chenchus, Samanthas, Hill Reddies, etc are yet to out grow the food gathering and shifting cultivation stage. Therefore, any strategy for the development of tribal groups should in future aimed at a) removal of disparities between one tribal group and an others and b) jumping the gap between the tribal and the non-tribal. For this purpose the development problem of the tribals is to be tackled at regional level by broadly categorizing the tribal areas into:

a) Areas which are exclusively inhabited by the scheduled tribes.

b) Areas predominantly inhabited by the tribals but with sizable non-tribal populations living amidst them.

c) Areas predominantly inhabited by non-tribals with a sizable component of tribals.

d) Area where tribals are found dispersed in small groups amidst non-tribal.

The development of tribals dispersed amidst plains populations and yet constituting sizable numbers at district level is to be tackled on a different footing. Fro such groups, amenity schemes like drinking water wells and medical facilities can be provided on a small group basis while school and similar other programmes are to be organized along with the needs of the other population with special provisions for the tribal students both in securing seats and providing teaching and residential facilities. However, programmes like agriculture and allied development activities are to be planned on a family basis. It is neither desirable nor possible to evolved area development schemes for these groups.

Paucity of funds is another serious drawback hampering the tempo of development which is sometimes resulting in incomplete works giving rise to doubt on the sincerity of the efforts of the government in promoting tribal welfare. It is imperative to take the general sector resources by specifically ear marking funds, especially for area development of dispersed tribal population living in plains areas as the meager funds of the weaker section sector cannot bear the huge burden. The weaker section resources may be exclusively harnessed for removing the constrains which are responsible for their slow progress. These is essential in view of the past experience of poor flow of general sector fund inspite of the directive that the weaker section sector fund are only supplementary to the funds ear marked from the general sector and not meant for supplanting the latter.

Further, the welfare programmes so far implemented at micro level by taking a block as development unit could not be geared up to the optimal utilization of the natural and human resources of the area as the block is too small unit to permit economic exploitation of the resources. Similarly the development of large scale infrastructural facilities is also stifled due to the meagre financial and technical resources of the block. It is, therefore, imperative to carve out larger unit of development comprising a number og blocks endowed with common mineral , water, agriculture, forest and other resources potentialities which could be profitably exploited for the benefit of the area and the people. However, the carving out of such development areas should be undertaken only after a thorough investigation into the resources potentialities and feasibilities of their economic exploitation besides working out the details of the infrastructural facilities required for the exploitation of these resources. However, the interest of the local population should receive their due attention in the programmes planning of the area.

Beside, availability of adequate funds and implementation of development programmes, it is also essential to strengthen the insulatory measures for preventing the tribals from outside exploitation and the consequences dilution of development benefits as they percolate to the tribals. Though the existing protective legislation in states like Andhra Pradesh is comprehensive and fool-proof on paper, the desired protection is not ensured to the expected level. Several factors like absence of initiative and zeal on the part of official machinery, vast political influence wielded by non tribals coupled with indifferent attitude of the tribals and ignorance of the existing protec-

tive legislation contributed for their ineffective in practice. The answer to this situation lies in involving the tribal leaders themselves directly and effectively in the implementation of these protective measures. Constituting area committees, consisting of trustworthy traditional leaders selected by the agent to the government with some statutory power delegated to them under the provision of the regulations, may be worth trying. Such a system was in vogue in the tribal areas of the erstwhile state of Hyderabad to implement the tribal areas regulation, which in essence embodied the salient feature of various protective legislation now being enforced in Andhra Pradesh. However, the official machinery will continue to act as catalyst in the deliberations of these committees in the capacity of advisers. Besides, these committees in turn can also supplement the decision making activities of the elected leaders of the statutory bodies like Panchayats and Panchyat Samithis by providing them the necessary moral base.

It is increasingly felt that the administrative machinery should be geared up to the development demand of the tribals. In view of the acceptance of the integrated approach with the block as the micro-level development unit, it may not be necessary to have separate administrative machinery at block level as the various subject-matter specialists have to participate. However, it is at he district level that the weakest link lies. Here, a tribal welfare officer, well versed in human engineering with adequate and technically qualified staff, is necessary to identify the bottlenecks and find suitable solutions to the tribal's problems. At state level the director of tribal welfare with similar staff as suggested for the district level should guide and supervise the development programmes. Further, a committee for tribal development comprising the heads of departments, the planning secretary, the finance secretary and the revenue secretary with a senior member of the Board of Revenue as the chairmen and the Director, Tribal Welfare, as its secretary and convener should be constituted for each state with the main object of finalizing districtwise, the tribal development programmes and periodically reviewing the progress of their implementation. At the district level also a similar body should be constituted with a few non official tribal member and other district level functionaries. This pattern which exists at the state level in Andhra Pradesh could be adopted to advantage by other state also. At all India level also iit si desirable to have an exclusive department of tribal welfare with a senior officer In-Charge. The general sector shouls provide the necessary fund for area development of programmes and to ensure proper channelization of the funds, it is logical to make the existing State Tribes Advisory Council more broad base so as to include the Planning Secretary, the Finance Secretary, the Chairman of the State Central Cooperative Bank and Central Mortgage Bank and representatives of various lead banks operating in each state. They should also be made responsible to submit a report on the progress of the release of funds. This pattern may also be profitably emulated at the all-India level with necessary modifications.

Finally, it is important to remember that it is the human element that makes or mars the development of any region or group. Steps, should therefore, be taken to improve the quality of the development functionary, both official and non official, working at various levels, by drawing special programmes of training so as to improve the performance of the official executive and decision-making capability of the tribal leader. For this purpose the training programmes of the various Tribal Research and Training Institutes are to be so evolved as to cater to the needs of both types of development functionaries. Further, the results of research by these institutions should be communicated to the planners and administrators to help them implement the Plans (Pratap, 1990, pp287-94).

Check your Progress

1. What do you understand by Policy of Segregation?
2. What do you mean by the Policy of Assimilation?
3. What is Policy of Integration?
4. In your view, which is the best policy for the tribal development and why?
5. Discuss the approaches to Tribal Development in India.

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UNIT –II

FIVE YEAR PLANS AND TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES

1.1 Objective

The objective of the unit is to provide students the various strategies of the Independent India's Government to streamline and uplift the Tribal population with rest of the general population of India. Various development programmes and five year plans have been discuss in the following unit for the benefit of the students to known the tribal situation in India.

1.2 Five Year Plans and Tribal Development Programmes

Independent India's tribal development can be understood properly if we begin with a very brief introduction of this phenomenon since British rule, which may be credited with having been the first to extent the arms of government to the inaccessible hill areas. This had been the special concern of administration right from the days of Warren Hastings, when the first governmental attempts were made to bring bandit "Hillmen" or Pahariyas of the Rajmahal Hills under the pale of civilization through an indefatigable Brooke, Brown and Cleveland during the later part of the eighteenth century (Rai, 1970). Introduction of Regulation and Non-Regulation provinces by the British Government during nineteenth century was also of great significance in this respect. It is to be noted that no civilian officer was deployed to the tribal areas. The criterion of deployment seemed to have been efficiency. As the military officers were found effective in suppressing the unrest of tribal rebellions, the then prevailing notion was that the military officers were the best suited for administration and relief in tribal areas. This attitude came in such a bold relief that the provinces where such military officers were deployed were generally known as Non-Regulation areas while civilians were employed exclusively in Regulation Provinces (Malley, 1965).

This system had certain merits which served the British cause in Arracans in 1828, when Blunt framed the famous Arracan Rules. In Chotanagpur in 1834, when Wilkinson's Rules were promulgated and when a separate Santal Parganas District under Yule Regulation was created; the British Policy in those Non-Regulation areas remained isolationist. As the time went on, the idea, that special arrangements were necessary for the isolated tribal regions, gained general acceptance.

The whole of the nineteenth century was punctuated by one tribal rebellion or the other. This compelled the British administrators to experiment with one measures or the other, legislative or executive, till such time that these areas were turned into practically "ethnographic parks"; protected and safeguarded by different tenurial steps and executive actions. Pax Britannica was meaningless without the religion of Christ being the major persuasion of the subject people, and therefore, a through and systematic induction of Christian missionaries started in the tribal areas. They were actuated by an "obligation to convert our erring brethren to the faith of Christ" (Duff: 1840). They thought "to make Government effectual to all the good purpose of it, there must be a religion" (Ibid.).

Emergence of 'Partially Excluded Area' and 'Excluded Area', served to a great extent the British purpose of keeping the tribal areas isolated, away from the mainstream of national life, so that the 'contagion' of the Freedom Movement did not affect the tribal people.

In spite of that the tribes responded in various times and in various ways to the call of our nationalist leaders (Sinha: 1970). Accordingly, the national leaders got first hand knowledge of their (tribal) conditions and became anxious to reintegrate the tribes with the main current of Indian life, from where they had been kept away all along by the British masters for reasons suited to their imperialist design. Protests were raised against the British policy of isolation through protection. After the formation of popular Ministries in 1934, committees were appointed in the provinces of Bihar, Orissa, Bombay and Madras (Chennai) to enquire into the condition of the tribes, but the resignation of the Ministries postponed adoption of any new policy for Tribal welfare until Independence (Ibid.).

After attainment of independence, tribal development as a topic of theoretical as well as practical consideration has assumed paramount significance. Initially' economic development' was considered as the prime goal for the overall development of the country. The distinctive nature of the tribal groups in respect to their socio-economic characteristics as well as the area of living was recognised by the national leadership from the very beginning. Accordingly, a number of special provisions has been made in the Constitution of India for safeguarding rights and interests of the Scheduled Tribes as well as for their accelerated rate of development so as to bring them up to the level of the general population of the society as early as possible. Provisions for safeguard can be traced back from the very first session of the constituent assembly in December 1946, when Jawaharlal Nehru moved the principal resolution on the declaration of objectives which, along with other matters were outlined as below.

Wherein adequate safeguard shall be provided for minorities, backward and tribal areas and depressed and other backward -classes.

The Nehru era laid the foundation of the tribal policy which was pivoted around what is often referred to as the *Panchsheel*. This emerged as the guiding principle of tribal policy towards the close of the 1950's, particularly in the North-East. Five fundamental principles are as follows:

(i)   People should develop along the lines of their own genius and we should avoid imposing anything on them. We should try to encourage in every way their own art and craft.

(ii)   Tribal right in land and forest should be respected.

(iii)   We should try to train and build up a team of their own people to do the work of administration and development. Some technical   personnel from outside will, no doubt, be needed, especially in the beginning. But we should avoid introducing too many outsiders into tribal territory.

(iv)   We should not over-administer these areas or overwhelm them with a multiplicity of schemes. We should rather work through and not in rivalry to, their own social and cultural institutions.

(v)   We should judge results, not by statistics or the amount of money spent, but by the quality of human character that is evolved.

In later days, specially in relation to the Nehru Centenary Celebrations a large number of scholars from different disciplines and some administrators critically scanned Jawaharlal Nehru's Tribal Policy from contemporary perspective (Tripathi 1992, Shanti 1922, Chowdhury 1989 and 1992, Pakem 1992, Ganguly 1992, Basu 1992, Chaube 1992, Banerjee 1992, Singh 1989, Mukhopadhyay 1989, Dutta 1989, Rumnny 1989, Krishnatry 1989, Pandit 1989 and Dasgupta 1989).

During the second session of the Constituent Assembly, that held in January 1947, a resolution previously moved by Nehru was adopted. This, of course, found adequate expression in Article 46 under the Directive Principles of State Policies in Part IV of the Constitution which reads as follows:

"The state shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections to the people and, in particular, of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation".

All the safeguards have apparently been provided to facilitate the implementation of the directive principles contained in the Article of the Constitution.

According to Sharma, (1984), tribal development programme can be reviewed in the backdrop of general development programmes in India. The First Five Year Plan was started in 1951. A comprehensive programme of community development, which aimed at all round development in the rural areas, was inaugurated in 1952. It may be noteworthy to mention that the concept of community development programme was not evolved in our country. It is a concept developed by some American Anthropologist and prescribed for third world countries. It,

however, became clear very soon that it may not be possible to cover the entire country by such an intensive programme within a reasonable period. Hence, a comparatively less intensive model of Community Development Blocks was adopted to cover the entire country by the end of the Second Five Year Plan. The Community Development Blocks (CDB) were expected to create a new thrust for development in the rural areas and engender a process of self-sustained growth. No aspect of community life, therefore, was kept outside the purview of this programme. Harmonious development of all facets of community life was envisaged as the main task in the programme. The various schemes in the Community Development Blocks covered a wide spectrum of activities in agriculture, animal husbandry, education, health, communications, social services, rural industries, panchayats, and so on. Since the socio-economic situation varies considerably from one region to another as also within the same region, it was envisaged that a plan should be prepared for each Blocks with reference to its resource potential and the problems faced by the local community. Detailed programme formulation was expected to be preceded by a survey of resources, assessment of the problems, etc. in consultation with the people. Block Advisory Committees and District Advisory Committees were also constituted to ensure a constant dialogue between the administration and the people and a pragmatic and critical review of the programmes and its implementation on a continuing basis.

Since the community development programme was comprehensive in its coverage, the same concept was accepted as equally applicable to the tribal areas. The task in these areas was, however, considered relatively more difficult as they comprise hilly and forest regions and are sparsely populated, with poor communications and availability of little institutional infrastructure. It was transparent that they needed a much better financial investment as well as a greater effort for successful extension programme. It was, therefore, decided to supplement the community development programme by forty-three Special Multipurpose Tribal Development Projects which started during 1954. This programme, when reviewed in 1956, revealed that it might not be possible to take up and sustain such an intensive programme for the entire tribal region within a short period. Naturally, a less intensive model of Tribal Development Block was evolved. The norms for a Tribal Development Block were kept as an area of 150-200 sq. miles and a population of about 25,000. A beginning was made with the establishment of such Blocks in different States in areas having the highest tribal concentration. This programme was gradually extended to areas with less tribal concentration. In this way, all areas with more than two-third tribal population were covered by the end of the Third Five Year Plan. There were thus, 500 Blocks covering about 40 per cent of the total tribal population in the country.

Sharma (1984) added that this programme was reviewed during the Third Five Year Plan which brought out that the programme did not have the desired impact. The Tribal Development Blocks, according to the original plan, comprised two phases of five years each. It was decided to add a third phase of five year's to the Blocks already started and desist from establishing further new Blocks. The only exception was made in Karnataka and West-Bengal where till then it was not found feasible to take up the Tribal Development Block programme because of the' highly dispersed tribal population. In Karnataka isolated tribal habitations were covered by ad-hoc tribal development projects. In West Bengal, Tribal Development Blocks were established temporarily for two years in each area having a sizeable tribal population. Specific programmes were drawn up in different tribal hamlets of the area during the period before the Block unit moved to other areas. The total coverage in these two states, however, was very limited. Thus, by and large, areas with more than two-third tribal population only get the benefit of this special development effort upto the end of the Fourth Five Year Plan. The remaining tribal population continued to be served by general developmental programmes.

He (ibid.) also said that the protective measures relating to various factor, of the transitional phase in the tribal economy, particularly regulation of the transfer of land, marketing and money lending, which were specifically provided for under the constitution, were not linked with the new developmental system under the Blocks. Some special laws or regulations were enacted by different states which proved rather inadequate. The adminis-

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trative aspects of tribal development, particularly in relation to the more backward tribal areas, remained largely unattended. The process of land alienation continued unabated and the economic base of the tribal community deteriorated. Thus, the Tribal Developmental Blocks could not emerge as the effective instrument for tribal development.

In the meantime many aspects of development in the larger national economy in relation to different sectors of her population were claiming attention of concerned authorities at the Centre and in the States. Many departments initiated intensive programmes of development for respective target sectors. Accordingly, numerous schemes were prepared from different sectors at the macro level. But during this phase little attention was paid to the micro units. Each department was rather keen to achieve results within its limited frame and investment decisions were accordingly taken largely in the isolation. While investments for different sectors in the State and the Central plans grew from plan to plan and from year to year, the outlay under Community Development Block and Tribal Development Block remained almost constant and in relative terms shrank to a small proportion of the total national developmental effort. The programmes under agriculture, education, and health particularly had outstripped the restricted frame of the Community Development Block even by the end of the Third Plan Period. Other sectoral activities were gradually withdrawn from their purview leaving the Block with an impressive outer shell but with a limited content of little significance (Sharma: 1984).

Check your Progress
1. Differentiate the Tribal perspectives of British and Independent Indian Government.
2. Discuss the various Five Year plans of the Government that have been initiated to uplift the tribal population of India.
3. In tribal development. What is Panchsheel? Discuss its significance.

1.3 Commissions' Report

The tribal development programmes were reviewed from time to time by the Planning Commission through the Social Welfare Division to examine the various welfare activities under operation and for their assessment and evaluation for future planning. The Commissions appointed were expected to examine the tribal problems and welfare situations in a perspective of reality and to suggest to the Government suitable remedial measures. A brief discussion of various Commissions' reports is given below:

The Committee on Special Multipurpose Tribal Block began to function under the Chairmanship of Verrier Elwin in 1959 to cover the following aspects:

(a) To study the working of Special Multipurpose Tribal Blocks. (b) To advise the Government of India on how to implement the intensive development programmes of the Blocks more effectively and give the programme a proper tribal bias.

The report elaborately discussed the details of the staffing pattern and made the suggestion for appointment of a Forest Extension Officer and more tribal representation in such schemes. It suggested not to make frequent transfers of staff. Considering the landless status of the tribal people, the Committee opined that more land should be given to them through 'Gramdan Movement' along with *patta* or legal deed. Cultivated lands in these areas should be surveyed and unoccupied lands should be distributed to the tribes. The committee suggested that every tribal family should have at least one and a half acres of wet land or five acres of dry land. Money should be spent specifically for animal husbandry and agricultural extension along with land reclamation, irrigation and soil conservation. Areas of shifting cultivation have also been thoroughly examined and the Committee suggested to improve the fertility of the *jhum* cultivation land to produce more food and for growing alternate crops that could be raised in a short time. The problems of communication, health services, drinking water, education, etc. were also examined and it suggested establishment of Ashram types of schools. The Committee

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critically evaluated the women's programme and suggested appointment of sensitive Mukhya Sevika and Gram Sevikas for implementation of social and educative programmes for the tribal women and their greater involvement in these programmes.

The Committee also identified poor performance in respect of arts and crafts, housing, and high indebtedness among the tribals. To overcome these problems, the Committee suggested to establish Co-operative Societies for providing them with loan and agricultural inputs at times of need. The Committee which making these suggestions took into due consideration the endeavors and research activities done by the Cultural Research Institute, Department of Anthropology of some Universities, and the Anthropological Survey of India.

Since the tribals, in general, are very poor most of their problems are intricate. As they live in the condition of backward technology, arrangements would have to be made with all seriousness by the State Governments on the above lines for their upliftment and proper rehabilitation. All the Departments entrusted with this work should tackle the problems in their proper perspective. Officers, specially the Block Development Officer, should know the major tribal languages for easy understanding of their problems and adopting appropriate administrative measures to solve them (Bhowmick, 1981).

The first comprehensive review of the tribal situation in the country was made in 1961 by the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission (Dhebar Commission) which was appointed under Article 340 of the Constitution. The Commission noted the slow pace of development and rather meager investments in the tribal areas. The protective measures were sporadic and inadequate. The Commission called for a comprehensive legislation to provide effective protection to all tribal living within the Scheduled Areas and outside. They recommended institution of a simple administrative system and extension of the schemes of Tribal Development Blocks so as to cover all areas with more than 50 per cent tribal population. The commission was of the view that if protective measures and developmental programmes were taken up as recommended, it would not be necessary to extend the Scheduled Areas.

The position with regard to tribal welfare programmes and administration of tribal remained largely unchanged when the Shilu Ao Committee was appointed in 1969 for reviewing the tribal development programmes. This Committee, while agreeing with the general conclusion and approach of the Dhebar Commission on the point of suitability of the Tribal Development Block, came to the conclusion that this scheme of the Blocks was inadequate for dealing with the complex problems of tribal development. A Tribal Development Block was too small to function effectively as a basic unit for planning and implementation. The main problems of tribal communities, according to them, were related to indebtedness, land alienation, educational backwardness, and inadequacy of communication which were not adequately provided within the frame of Tribal Development Block. They drew attention to non-implementation of the recommendations of the Dhebar Commission. They called for vigorous action to implement these recommendations and for preparing a comprehensive tribal development programme with large resources commensurate with the size of the problems and the overall national development effort (Sharma, 1984).

1.4 New Strategy in Fifth Five Year Plan

The Fifth Five Year Plan 1974-79 should be regarded as a watershed in the history of tribal development. Much thinking and preparation went into the concept of tribal development before the commencement of that Plan period. In 1972, a Task Force on "Development of Tribal Areas" was set up with Professor L.P. Vidyarthi

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as a Chairman to: (a) review the nature and level of development that had taken place so far, (b) suggest a perspective of development for a fifteen year period, and (c) formulate proposal for the Fifth Plan indicating priorities, policies, programmes and outlays in the light of the perspective. Based on the report of the five working groups, the Task Force observed (1972) that the problem of development of tribal areas was primarily linked to the backwardness of these areas, the poverty of the people and the integration of tribals with the rest of the population. They remarked that the tribes of different areas faced different problems. Those of the northern zones arising mostly out of remoteness of the habitat and difficult climatic condition; those of the northeastern zone on account of a disrupted economy following the formation of East Pakistan (Now Bangladesh); those of the eastern central and western zones related to pressure of population on land, land tenure, indebtedness and rights in forest along with a low level of productivity; those of southern zone based on shifting cultivation. They suggested that areas with a high concentration of tribal population should be identified and grouped, a combination of ecological, occupational and social parameters properly assessed for policy formulation and implementation and a steady flow of benefits assured to the Scheduled Tribes. In their view, the obvious emphasis would have to be on the primary sector of the tribal economy, i.e. agriculture and forestry; at the same time, there should be a frontal attack in the fields of alienation of land, indebtedness, credit and marketing, and excise policy.

Somewhat later, the same year an Expert Committee on Tribal Development headed by S.C. Dube, constituted by the Central Department of Social Welfare, Submitted its report (1972) defining the new strategy for tribal development in the Fifth Plan as follows:

(a) The problem of tribal development should be defined at the national level and national effort required for tackling it would be worked out.

(b) The precise part assigned to each State and to each department in this task should be fully defined and the central sector should play an important supplemental role.

(c) A review of important policies especially those covering forest, industry, minerals development and excise administration should be taken up.

(d) An integrated area development approach in consonance with the development of the people should be adopted. The development programmes should give high priority to programmes minimising the incidence of exploitation and helping local communities to build up their inner strength.
(e) Special schemes for extremely backward areas, neglected and isolated tribes and tribals affected by major projects should be formulated.

(f) Strengthening the streamlining of administrative and economic institutions should be taken up urgently and evaluation should become an integral part of the administrative structure (Singh, Bhupinder: 1981).

So it appeared that during the Fifth Five Year Plan, Integrated Tribal Development programme was adopted after delineating areas of tribal concentration at the levels of Blocks and Districts in the States and Union Territories having substantial tribal population. In addition Modified Area Development Approach was adopted for pockets of tribal concentration in respect of primitive tribes. To handle the problems of tribal population coming within purview of Integrated Tribal Development Programmes, Modified Area Development Approaches and Primitive Category, Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP) were drawn up from the respective states and Union Territories. But the states and union territories having a majority of Scheduled Tribes population were left out of the scope of Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP) (Ray Burman, 1986).

While continuing the Sub-Plan approach towards tribal development, the Sixth Plan attached primary importance to poverty alleviation among the Scheduled Tribes with a view to assisting economically at least 50% of the tribal families below the poverty line to enable them to cross that line. This effort was to be supplemented with adequate inputs by providing infrastructure, elimination of exploitation, and spread of education. During the

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Sixth Plan and major objectives in tribal development were (Report of the Commissioner of S.C. and S.T. 1986-87, 28th report) as follows:

(i) taking up family oriented beneficiary programmes through raising productivity level of the beneficiary families in the fields of agriculture, horticulture, animal husbandry, small industries, etc.;

(ii) elimination of exploitation of tribals in the spheres of alienation of land, money leading, debt-bondage, forest, etc.;

(iii) human resources development through education and training programmes;

(iv) Infrastructure development.

Some of the shortcomings observed in the implementation of the tribal development programmes during the Sixth Plan are mentioned below:

(1) Too much emphasis was laid on targets and concentrated efforts were neither made, nor necessary follow-up action taken to ensure that the families which were economically assisted were actually able to cross the poverty line.

(2) In the protective sphere legislations have been enacted or made more effective by pulling of loopholes in several states. But an ardent approach to institution, detection and disposal of cases is needed in several areas. The result has been that there is only marginal abatement of the problem, particularly in land alienation, money-lending and debt bondage in some areas.

(3) There is a feeling that the Tribal Sub-Plan is merely an agglomeration of the State Plan Schemes taken up in the tribal areas. There is a little attempt to formulate need based schemes in a integrated manner.

(4) Pooling of funds as required under the basic guidelines of the Tribal Sub-Plans (TSP) is not done except in a few states.

(5) The single line administration was not introduced in the Integrated Tribal Development Projects and this was a major cause for shortcoming in implementation of the programmes.

(6) Certain sections of tribal population like shifting cultivators and forest villagers have not received adequate attention under the plan programmes.

(7) Monitoring system in the States was not quite effective. The nodal Department had little say in this matter in relation to the other Departments and was obliged to accept whatever reports were furnished by the latter. There was not much evidence about the improvement brought about in the quality of implementation of the programmes as a result of monitoring.

(8) The primitive tribes forming the most backward section of Scheduled Tribes population did not receive adequate attention for planned development keeping in view the level of economic and cultural development and the need of each of these groups. Since most' of these groups are small, it should be possible to adopt a ' saturation approach' to their economic development by including within the programme fold all the families in a group or a substantial number of such families in case of bigger groups (Ibid.).

The following are the main objectives under Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP) strategy during the Seventh Plan:

(i) taking up family beneficiary oriented programmes through raising productivity levels of the beneficiary families in the fields of agriculture, horticulture, animal husbandry, small industries, etc.;

(ii) elimination of exploitation of tribals in the sphere of alienation of land, money-lending, debt bondage, forest, etc.;

(iii) human resources development through education and training programmes;

(iv) infrastructure development;

(v) development of vulnerable tribal areas and groups like forest villagers, shifting cultivators, displaced and migrant tribals including tribal women; and

(vi) upgradation of environment of tribal areas.

The Working Group has suggested the following levels of investment during the Seventh Plan:

(a)	State Plan Sector	Rs. 7,500 crore (3,550)
(b)	Central Plan and Centrally Sponsored Schemes	Rs. 1,750 crore (900)
(c)	Special Central Assistance	Rs. 1,500 crore (485.5)
(d)	Institutional Finance	Rs. 2,250 crore (800)
	Total	Rs. 1300,00 crore (5,735.5)

The figures in the brackets indicate investment during the Sixth Plan. While the total Seventh Plan size is estimated to. be of the order of Rs. 1,80,000 crore, the approved size of the Tribal Sub-Plan is Rs. 6955.63 crore (Rs. 6199.63 crore under State Plans and Rs. 756 crore under the SCA).

Check your progress

1. Discuss the aspects that were under the preview of the Committee on Special Multipurpose Tribal Block under the Chairmanship of Verrier Elwin in 1959.
2. Discuss the Report submitted by Expert Committee on Tribal Development headed by S.C. Dube.
3. Discuss the shortcomings of the Sixth Plan in the tribal development programmes.

1.5 Changes in the Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP) Strategy

There has been a change in the strategy of the Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP) during the Seventh Plan. Up to the Sixth Plan the ITDPs, the MADA pockets and the projects for the primitive tribal groups constituted the TSP. During the Seventh Plan clusters outside the TSP area were to be identified to further increase the coverage of the Scheduled Tribes population. The Ministry of Welfare clarified in their circular that the TSP would cover the entire tribal population in a State, that is:

(a) tribals coming within area specific projects like ITDPs, MADA pockets, Primitive Tribe Projects and identified cluster areas, and

(b) tribals living outside such areas/projects, wherever they be, in the State.

The Ministry further clarified that one of the objectives during the Seventh Plan was to cover vulnerable tribal groups living within the urban areas would also come within the scope of assistance. However, the following principles were to be borne in mind while allocating funds under family oriented programmes and infrastructure development relevant to the Scheduled Tribes:

1.6 Family Oriented Programmes

(a) While allocating the Special Central Assistance (SCA) care should be taken to earmark beneficiaries and amounts to be utilised for the Scheduled Tribes within the identified tribal area units like ITDPs, MADA pockets, Primitive Tribe Projects and clusters on the one hand and the rest of the scattered tribal population on the other

(b) For Family oriented schemes under the State Plan funds including Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP), National Rural Employment Programme (NREP), Sectoral allocations under State Plan schemes of different sectoral Departments, the above pattern of earmarking of funds and beneficiaries must also be kept in view.

1.7 Infrastructure Programmes

For quantification or specific exhibition of funds flowing to infrastructure development in the tribal areas the concept would, however, continue to hold its relevance. The funds of infrastructure both under the SCA and the State Plan should be shown as flow to the TSP when earmarked only for the identified I areas (ITDPs, MADA pockets, Primitive Tribe Project areas and clusters). Funds under infrastructure items shown as flow to the TSP should be utilised for these specific areas only. The infrastructure expenditure for scattered tribal population must necessarily be taken care of as a part of general infrastructure development programme and should not be quantified as flow to the TSP (Ibid., pp. 385-86).

Table 2.1 : Special Central Assistance Released for Primitive Trial Groups

State/UT	No. of Communities identified as Primitive Tries	No. of families (approx)	SCA released		
			Sixth plan	1985-86	1986-87
1	2	3	4	5	6
Andhra Pradesh	12	21,563	184.64	54.00	59.79
Bihar	9	11,809	207.08	56.00	62.00
Gujarat	5	12,101	72.30	10.00	10.07
Madhya Pradesh	6	103,362	439.62	110.00	121.79
Maharashtra	3	40,622	193.88	55.00	60.90
Orissa	12	36,144	224.08	55.00	60.90
Manipur	1	908	10.70	5.00	5.54
Karnataka	2	2,652	19.68	5.00	5.54
Kerala	5	251	39.24	8.00	8.86
Rajasthan	1	7,000	74.03	8.00	8.85
Tamil Nadu	6	4,000	49.38	12.00	13.29
Tripura	1	12,935	70.60	16.00	17.72
Uttar Pradesh	2	2,074	24.14	10.00	11.07
West Bengal	3	9,378	75.70	25.00	27.68
A & N Islands	5	102	119.55	18.00	25.00
Total	73	264,901	1804.62	447.00	500.00

Source: Report of the Commissioner of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (28th Report).

Check your progress
1.   What are the Changes in the Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP) Strategy?
2.   Discuss the Family Oriented Programmes and Infrastructure Programmes?

1.8 Summing up

The whole tribal development programme have heterogenous ramifications among the Indian tribes which can not be understood in monolithic way. There are huge numbers of studies, largely done by the anthropologists, to evaluate the impact of various developmental pragrammes in various states as well as evolution of tribal policy in post independent period. Intricacies of policies as well as basic provisions provided in the form of safeguards with in the Indian Constitution are discussed in other units to build up a comprehensive idea about the state sponsored developmental initiatives for the tribal population of India. However, it has to be kept in mind that today large number of NGOs are working in different parts of India focusing on various sectors, such as, education, health, economy etc., and addressing some of the key issues related to exploitation, displacement and marginalization of tribal population.It also has to be kept in mind that with the reorganization of the states and

emergence of tribal states inter-tribal as well as intra-tribal disparities are growing rapidly. There are instances where dominant tribes are failed to ensure the effective implementation of various tribal development programmes for the smaller tribes who hardly have access in the decision making process of the state. We can locate many such cases in North east India in general and arunachal Pradesh in particular. In a recent edited book, Rath (2006) discussed diverse arguments on the issues related to tribal development and argued that the mainstream development model has limited impact on the people living at the peripheries. According to him (ibid:57-58),"Over the past more than 50 years, the mainstream and welfare models of development together have brought very little to the tribes, but the overall performance is not at distressing as it was at the time of independence…Despite all such mismatches, welfare model of development remains relevant today for seeking development among the tribes, but its total success depends on the collective performance of the state, market, social activists and, of course, tribes themselves as the target group. It is noticed that the benefits of the welfare model of development are not equally distributed among the members of the groups, and in some cases even lead to intensification of the oppression of the less privileged members by the privileged members of the same tribe. In both the cases, it is necessary to restructure the development policy with the salient objective of equal dissemination of benefits and retention of earlier egalitarian values at the receiving end of the development".

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UNIT- III
CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS AND SAFEGUARDS

3.1 Objectives

An attempt has been made to introduce students with various provisions and safeguards which are given in the Indian constitution for the Scheduled tribes in an elementary way.

3.2 Backdrop

It is generally perceived that the tribes are very back- ward section of our society. This backwardness precisely relates to their technological efficiency linked with their production systems or livelihood patterns and obviously not liked with their mental capabilities. Any such discussion on backwardness need to be taken in to consideration that in the context of North East India or other newly evolved tribal states such situation is changing very fast. For instance, Mizoram is one of the most advanced states in terms of literacy status. However, many persons believe that this backwardness of the tribals is due to their long isolation from the general society. This is not a true assessment of the problem. While there is no doubt that the isolation of the tribals from the main community is responsible, to a great extent, for their backwardness, it cannot be forgotten that one major and very important factor that has led to this state of affairs, is the exploitation of the tribes, to which they have been exposed on account of their contacts with the so-called civilized society. In his report on the Aborginal and Hill Tribes of the partially Excluded Areas in the Bombay Presidency, submitted in March, 1938, to the govt. of the erstwhile Bombay State, Mr. D. Symington, I.C.S., has rightly pointed out: "Actually, the problem of the aboniginal and hill tribes lies not in their isolation from but their contacts with the main body of the community, where their geographical position keeps them beyond the reach of the outside world, as in the Akrani mahal, they are happy and independent; but in the places, now all too many, where they are in constant contact with more educated people, they are degraded; timid and exploited". What Mr. Symington has said about the tribals of Bombay, is equally true about the tribals in other parts of India. We know how these contacts have harmed the todas of the Nilgiri district of Madras and the Totos of the Jalpaiguri District of West Bengal. Similar is the case of the Andamanese of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands. In fact, in many other parts of the world also wherever the indigenous people came into contact with the so-called civilized people the results were generally disastrous. This type of contact of the innocent and ignorant aboriginals with their more advanced and clever neighbours, exposed them to exploitation of all types at the hands of the latter. It generally resulted in the tribals getting dispossessed of their lands and contracting dirty and dangerous diseases like V. D. and Yaws. Late Dr. B.S. Guha, a well-known Anthropologist, has stated:

"In the past, in those parts of the world where primitive tribes lived and later brought into contact with the civilized man, the results have not been very happy. They were conquered, dispossessed of their lands, their tribal life disintegrated and they were either brought under servitude or partially exterminated. To give only the most striking examples, the once proud and war-like Red Indian tribes of North America, living in Tipis and hunting the bison on horseback, were reduced to about one quarter of their total estimated strength. The figures published by the Bureau of Census of the U.S.A. show a total reduction; from the round figure of nine lakhs of people in 1860 to 237,000 in 1900. In Melanisia, Polynesia and New Zealand situation was even worse, they were virtually wiped out and are now confined to a few straggling bands in the central waste lands and deserts. From an estimated population of 7,000, the native Tasmanians were reduced to 120 persons in 1864, and soon after 1864 the last of that race passed away leaving a sad commentary on the white man's solicitude for the aboriginal."

It should not be misunderstood to mean that it is wrong to try for the assimilation of the tribals with the general community. In fact, our society has committed a great sin, in the past, by altogether ignoring the tribals in the various welfare programmes, and in thinking of them only for the purpose of exploitation them for the furtherance of our own selfish ends. There has, therefore, always is been a great and urgent need for tag suitable steps for the amelioration conditions—economic, social educational and political—of the tribals taking, at the same time, full care that their contacts with the so—called" civilised man, which is bound to occur' during this process, do not expose the tribals to exploitation at the hands of unscrupulous persons, or

account of "the penetration of the tribal country, the opening up of communications, the protection of forests and the establishment of schools". It was, apparently, due to the resentment on the part of the tribals to their open exploitation that there had been a number of uprisings and rebellions, in the past.

In the words, again, of Dr. B. S. Guha,"With the British occupation and rapid opening up of the country they came-closely in contact with the civilised 'Indian, from, whom, it is regrettable to say, they did not always receive a square deal. Several uprisings, of the tribal people took place beginning from Mai Paharia rising in 1772, the mutiny of the Hos of Singhbhum in 1831, the Khond uprising in 1846, to the Santal rebellion of 1855. In like manner a punitive expedition was sent to the Jaintia Hills in 1744 and in 1833 the Confederacy of the Khasi Chiefs was defeated by the British army. Other expeditions were sent, such as those to Chin-Lushai Hills between 1850-1890, the Naga Hills expedition of 1878, the Abor -expedition of 1912 and finally the column sent to the un-administered areas of the Naga Hills as late as 1939".

It appears that the British Government in India also never thought seriously of ameliorating the conditions of these people. Their policy had, generally, been of providing protection to the tribals through isolation, which resulted in their exploitation at the hands of landlords, moneylenders, contractors and also Christian Missionaries who were the supporters of the British administration. It was the result of this policy that in 1874 "Scheduled Districts" were carved out in accordance with the provisions of the Scheduled Districts Act, 1874, to administer the tribal areas. This Act provided for the appointment of officers to administer civil and criminal justice, to superintend the settlement and collection of public revenues and all matters relating to rent, and otherwise to conduct the administration within the Scheduled Districts. It also provided for the extension, by notification to the Scheduled Districts, of laws in force in any part of British India, with such special restrictions and modifications as were deemed fit. Thus, wide powers of legislation by simple executive order were vested in the Executive". Later, in accordance with the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935 areas predominantly inhabited by the tribals, came to be classified into the excluded and the partially excluded areas, on the recommendations of the Indian Statutory Commission— commonly known as Simon Commission. In drawing up the scheme of exclusion under Section 91 of the Government of India Act, 1935, the Secretary of State indicated that the areas to be placed in the category of "Excluded Areas" must be based upon strict necessity and be as limited as possible in scope consistently with the needs of the tribal population. In regard to areas to be classified as "Partially-Ex cluded" there should be no hesitation to include in the category any area containing a preponderance of tribals which was of sufficient size to make possible the application of special legislation and special administrative treatment. Keeping these principles in view, the Government of India recommended that the frontier and border regions in Assam, the Laccadive and Minicoy Islands, the Lahaul and Spiti areas in the Punjab should be declared Excluded Areas' and extensive tribal tracts in the Provinces of Madras, Bombay, Bengal, United Provinces, Bihar, Central Provinces and Orissa 'Partially—Excluded Areas'. All this was, however, done more with a view to having a smooth administration in these areas than to ameliorating the condition, of the tribals; and these conditions continued up to the attainment of Independence.

It will thus be seen that, all along, the poor tribals did not get a fair deal either at the hands of the Government or at those of their civilized neighbours and it was only after the attainment of independence that the welfare of the tribals, in its true sense, was made the responsibility of the State. There is no doubt that before the attainment of Independence, social reformers, like A.V Thakkar Bapa and Sarat Chandra Roy did pioneer work among the tribals. One cannot also ignore the efforts made by the Christian missionaries for the amelioration of the conditions of these people. However, it was only after the coming into force of the Constitution that efforts have been made for the welfare of the tribals, and it has been made a responsibility of the State to promote, with special care, the educational and economic interests of the scheduled Tribes" and to protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation, as laid down in article 46 of the constitution.

In order to ensure that the benefit of the various safeguards provided for them is derived by the tribals alone, the President has, in accordance with the provisions of article 342 of the Constitution, issued state-wise lists of the tribals as contained in the Schedules appended to the Presidential Orders published on the subject since 1950.

To help in the proper and smooth implementation of the Directive Principle contained in article 46, suitable provisions have been made in the Fifth and the Sixth Schedules of and also at other suitable places in the Constitution. The Constituent Assembly of India had set up two sub-committees; one of which examined the administration of the excluded and the Partially Excluded Areas in India (other than those in Assam) and the other examined the administration of the North-East Frontier Tribal and excluded Areas of Assam. The Fifth and the Sixth Schedules of the constitution was the result of the findings of these sub-committees and subsequent deliberations on their findings in the Constituent Assembly.

3.3 Relevance and Implications of Safeguards

In a valuable essay Raha (1982) categorically said that quite often a somewhat awkward question is posed by average individuals of non-scheduled population whether in a Welfare State like India where the Constitution is committed" ... "to secure to all its citizens: Justice social, economic, and political; Liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship; Equality of status and opportunity; and to promote among them all Fraternity assuring the dignity of the individual and unity of the Nations ... ", there exists further need for providing additional statutory safeguard to certain ethnic groups declaring them as "Scheduled Tribe"-the status which automatically entitles them to some special privileges in addition. Further, they argue that by bestowing the "Scheduled Tribe" status on a certain section of people who constitute barely 6.94 per cent of the Indian population" the Government itself, in a way, instead of guaranteeing "right of Equality, including prohibition of discrimination on the grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth ... " is deviating from the ideal cherished in the Constitution. Thus, they say that such an approach treats the "scheduled" groups as "more than equals" while the rest, that is, the majority of population, suffer from a kind of "benign neglect". And for this state of affairs they accuse the politicians, the administrators, the planners and such others. But, are they right? Is it really irrelevant to provide special constitutional protection to· the Scheduled Tribe? Is such a policy in any way damaging the basic ideals envisaged in our Constitution? These are some of the basic questions that recurrently stir even the educated mind, and hence require suitable clarifications. In order to appreciate the justifiability of proclaiming some groups as "Scheduled Tribe" we may try to look into the socio-cultural background of these groups from an anthropological view point which, it is felt, may provide satisfactory answers. And it is only in this perspective that one can realize best the relevance of the constitutional safeguards accorded to the Scheduled Tribes and may also know what kind of implications they have in the tribal life of India. With this end in view let us try to understand and reveal the usefulness of the constitutional provisions for the upliftment of the tribal population in order to bring them on a par with the general mass.

Check your Progress

1. Briefly examine the Tribal situation in India prior to the implementation of Constitutional Safeguards.
2. In your view, is it necessary to provide Constitutional safeguards to Tribal Communities? If yes, justify.

3.4 Socio-cultural background of the Scheduled Tribes: A general outline

Being a land of culture heterogeneity with an appreciable degree of variations, India presents a panorama of admirable contrast within broad canvass of unity in overall Indian culture and civilization. Any keen observer of Indian conditions would readily discover this complexity of the socio-cultural world which is obvious of both organizational and structural levels.

This, in effect, has made the task of anthropologists and other social scientists not only difficult but also challenging as treating any constituent system of the total cultural realm in isolation would perhaps be a futile exercise for the simple reason that the part can be fully understood only in relation to the whole; otherwise the significance of the part is automatically curbed to a great degree. And so the socio-cultural system of the tribal people has to be considered from this view point, that is, in relation to the total cultural whole with which the former is articulated.

It is an undeniable fact that the socio-cultural pattern of the tribal people displays a kind of characteristic

distinctiveness on account of which it constitutes a significant part of the total cultural fabric of the Indian society. Thus, in spite of the fact that tribal communities are within the social field of the great Indian tradition still they have managed to retain a significant distinctiveness unique to them. "Partly because of isolation and partly because of their limited world view, characterized by lack of historical depth (resulting in the early merging of history into mythology) and an overall tradition-orientation, they are integrated in terms of certain themes rooted in the past. These integrated themes coupled with a special cultural focus give them a separate cultural identity, and they often possess latent or manifest value-attitude and motivational systems which are remarkably different from those of the other people" (Dube, 1968). Basing on the above observations we may thus conceive the tribal societies as a unique kind of cultural system which, at a general level, distinguishes itself from similar other constituent systems of the overall Indian culture in terms of "habitat, economy, social structure, and ideological system" (Sinha, 1959). Although minor mutual differences among the tribal groups cannot be ignored still in general the tribal groups are found to live in forests or in geographically disadvantageous areas of our country which alone can account substantially for their isolation. And this isolation, though it may not be complete seclusion, can reasonably explain their still having a relatively simpler technological level of food-producing economy, a different type of social make-up and a distinct character of ideological systems. All these traits taken together impress upon the relative backwardness of the tribal world in contradistinction to the non-tribal societies. The distinctiveness as patent in the lack of socio-economic advancement, seclusion in remote areas and ideological specialty reflected in the primitive level of manifestation of core traditions and the like may have rendered suitable ground to put them under a common term, and many groups from among them were later on constitutionally marked as "Scheduled Tribe". Keeping this sketchy general background of the tribes in mind we may now pass on to the tribal policies of the Colonial Government and the present Independent Government, the exposition of which would automatically justify the usefulness of assigning safeguards to the Scheduled Tribes by the National Government.

At the outset it may be stated that to correctly appreciate the tribal policies followed by the British Government and the present Government as well, we are required to be conscious of the basic approaches of the two Governments which primarily oriented their policies. At the first instance, the approaches of these two administrative machineries show a striking difference in terms of deep motivational principles. While the approach adopted by the British Government was fundamentally political, being purely guided by their colonial interests, the present Government's attitude was prompted by a desire of welfare and an uncompromising concern for the socio-economic development of our tribal people. This basic difference in attitudes is, thus, an important point to note which should not be lost sight of while assessing the nature of their respective policies towards our tribal brethren.

By all accounts it is clear that the character of the tribal policy of the British Government was isolationist. "The British Government (was) inclined, on the whole, to leave the tribesmen alone partly because of the task of administration, especially in the wild border areas, was difficult and unrewarding, partly from a desire to quarantine the tribes from possible political infection, and partly because a number of officers sincerely held the view that the people were better and happier as they were" (Elwin, 1960). But the moot point here is that whether the British, throughout the years of their political hegemony over this country, remained entirely aloof from the tribals because of their generally adopted policy of "leave them alone"? Any careful reader of Indian history would agree to the fact that the -reverse is rather true. The British never hesitated to intervene or even to mop up whenever any untoward tendency, detrimental to their colonial interest, was sensed among the tribal folk. Sometimes, through brutal suppression and quite often through indirect involvement by the method of appeasement of tribal chiefs and other influential elite groups, they succeeded in deriving maximum political benefit. "The main purpose of the British policy was to secure peace and not necessarily to help the people to advance on the road to progress either by integration with the plains Hindus or otherwise ... consistently with keeping the peace, gradual survey settlement was carried out, and by slow stages regular land revenue was levied, wherever and whenever possible" (Ghurye, 1963).

Simultaneous with their general policy of isolation characterized by non-intervention or limited intervention under dire political need was their often covert and sometimes direct encouragement to the Christian mission-

ary activities in the tribal areas. It is, of course, an undeniable fact that the Christian missionaries had done something for the wellbeing of the tribes, the scope of which was wide. That was an activity of high-spirited social service and reforms as a result of which many of the tribal areas had schools, hospitals, etc. The missionaries, therefore, must be deemed as the pioneers who initiated the process of socio-economic transformation in the hitherto stagnant tribal life. Al though the "Service for the suffering humanity is considered to be a duty for the Christian missionaries but at the same time it is coupled with the right of conversion" (Sahay, 1968). This resulted in the large-scale, conversion of many tribal groups, especially of the States in Eastern India, which had far-reaching implications. With the passage of time it became more and more apparent to the· people here that the primary goal of the missionaries was conversion and "the opening of schools, hospitals and other welfare agencies (were) only bait in the trap of conversion" (Srinivas, 1962). Instances are not lacking about their resorting to unfair means of all sorts including material inducement, political favour, etc., for conversion. A careful analysis of the missionary activities thus leads to the conclusion that under the garb of humanitarianism, the obnoxious political motives of the colonial rulers were rampant. It was a sort of intellectual and moral aggression on Indian life strongly patronized by the British Government which aimed, gradually, to alienate a chunk of tile population from the main national stream by generating a king of "sentimental and emotional detachment" with the rest, of the people-a process which could be effectively carried out under the auspices of the Policy of Isolation. One can very well understand in this context as to why the British Government's creating the "excluded" and "partially excluded" areas and giving separate political representation to the tribes had invited criticism of the Nationalists who "viewed both these measures as part of a diabolic conspiracy to create a new separatist minority" (Dube, 1968). However, with the independence of the country, this policy had undergone a qualitative change.

Contrasted with the British policy, the present Government of India's foremost concern which moulded its policy was securing the welfare and socio-economic upliftment of the tribal people. The policy imbued with a high sense of respect for the tribal cultures and traditions is stoutly opposed' to any kind of interference by outside agencies which are likely to contribute to the destruction of the tribal art, culture and so on. This has amply been demonstrated in the five fundamental principles of tribal development by Pt. Nehru the former Prime Minister of India, who was directly concerned with the tribal policy of the North-East region. These are:

"People should develop along the lines of their own genius and we should avoid imposing anything on them. We should try to encourage in every way their own traditional arts and culture.

Tribal rights in land and forest should be respected.

We should try to train and build up a team of their own people to do the work of administration and development. Some technical personnel from outside will, no doubt, are needed, especially in the beginning. But we should avoid introducing too many outsiders into tribal territory.

We should not over-administer these areas or overwhelm them with a multiplicity of schemes. We should rather work through, and not in rivalry to, their own social and cultural institutions.

We should judge results, not by statistics or the amount of money, spent, but by the quality of human character that is evolved" (cf. Elwin, 1960).

In the Constitution of India various Articles have been provided with the object of promoting and safe-guarding the interest of the Scheduled Tribes. In many states there are Scheduled Tribes living within the "Scheduled Area". Of course, there are some tribal groups who reside outside the Scheduled Areas who also attract equal constitutional obligation in-so-far as their welfare and general development are concerned. Besides "Tribal Areas have been declared in States of Assam and Meghalaya and the Union Territory of Mizoram. These areas are administered according to the provisions of the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution" (Twenty-Fifth Report: 19). Some of the important specialties of the Sixth Schedule are discussed briefly below but elaborated in another unit (please see for basic ideas).

(1) There shall be a District Council for each autonomous district consisting of not more than twenty-four members, of whom not less than three-fourths shall be elected on the basis of adult suffrage.

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(2) There shall be a separate Regional Council for each area constituted as autonomous region under sub-paragraph (2) of paragraph I of this Schedule.

(3) The Regional Council for an autonomous region in respect of all areas within such region and the District Council for an autonomous district in respect of all areas within the district except those which are under the authority of Regional Councils, if any, within the district shall have power to make laws with respect to (certain aspects a few of which are):

   (i) The management of any forest not being a reserved forest;

   (ii) The use of any canal or water-course for the purpose of agriculture;

   (iii) The regulation of the practice of *jhum* or other forms of shifting cultivation;

   (iv) The appointment or succession of chiefs or Head· men;

   (v) The inheritance of property;

   (vi) Marriage;

   (vii) Social customs.

Thus, the above provisions related to the whole complex of what is called "the way of living". Besides,
(4) The District Council of an autonomous district may make regulations for the 'regulation and control of money-lending or trading within the district by person other than Scheduled Tribes resident in the district.

For the purposes of representation Articles 330 and 332 offer some special provisions to the tribals. A few important provisions of Articles 332 are:(1) Seats shall be reserved for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, except the Scheduled Tribes in the tribal areas of Assam, in the Legislative Assembly of every State, (2) Seats shall be reserved also for the autonomous districts in the Legislative Assembly of Assam, (3) No person who is not a member of a Scheduled Tribe of any autonomous district of the State of Assam shall be eligible for election to the Legislative Assembly of the State from any constituency of that district except from the constituency comprising the Cantonment and Municipality of Shillong.

The tribals who live in the Scheduled Areas receive special treatment through the areas where they are in majority. These Scheduled Areas which were treated as the Partially Excluded Areas during the British rule (Ghurye, 1963) get special grants for overall development, though, of course, these areas are treated with less importance than the tribal areas of Assam, but it is also true that these areas draw more attention of the Government than other non-Scheduled areas. As a result tribals of these Scheduled Areas enjoy more benefits than their brethren residing outside the Scheduled Areas.

Now we may come to the point of special treatment awarded to these people. There are three special provisions common to all the Scheduled Tribes living within the Scheduled Areas or outside. firstly, for political representation they are provided for together as one group, their representation both in the House of the People and in the State Legislative Assembly being proportional to their number in their State. Secondly, similar provision is made for reservation of services, posts in the State. Thirdly, in States where tribals live both in the Scheduled Areas and outside such areas, the compulsory Tribes Advisory Council is formed to advice on such matters pertaining to the welfare and advancement of the Scheduled Tribes in the State as may be referred to them by the Governor. Besides these, there are some other additional provisions for the Scheduled Tribes. They are: (a) The Scheduled Tribes have to be provided with a Tribes Advisory Council, if so enjoined by the President, in those States in which they are only the Scheduled Tribes but no Scheduled Areas; (b)'The Union Government is bound to make grants-in-aid from the Consolidated Fund of India to the States in which there are Scheduled Tribes in order to meet the cost of schemes. for promoting their welfare approved by the Union Government; and (c)The executive power of the Union extends to giving directions to a State for drawing up and execution of schemes specified by the Union to be essential for the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes in the State (op. cit. 308).

Thus, we are aware that the Constitution has provided numerous statutory measures to uplift these groups

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who are at a less advanced stage than the one reached by other sections of the national community. The range of these measures is wide which swings from the recognition of their social customs, customary rights over land and forest, etc., to their upliftment by educational and economic development. Without going into the minute details of these numerous facilities, we may briefly say that "the state shall promote with special care the: educational and economic interests of the Scheduled Tribes and protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation". Thus, at a general level, we may divide these safeguards as being of two kinds: 1. Protective and 2. Ameliorative and Concessional. Of the two, the first impresses upon the Government's concrete show of respect for the customary laws of the tribes concerned. Provisions are there not to intervene in their customary marriage and succession rules. The protection of tribal land by stopping its transfer to the non-tribal has also been a generally adopted policy in order to put an effective check on land alienation.

As regards the second, ameliorative and concessional type of measures, under Articles 330 and 332 of the Constitution has made provision for the reservation of seats for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in Parliament and also in the State Legislative Assemblies. Similar provisions have also been made for their representation in the local bodies, e.g. Municipalities, District Boards, Panchayats, etc. Apart from all these, they have the privilege of getting certain reserved quota in services, educational institutions of higher and specialized studies and so on including some concessions in age, qualifications, etc., as granted to them by the Central and State Governments.

Check your Progress
1. What are the five fundamental principles of tribal development provided by Pt. Nehru?
2. Discuss the distinguishing features of British Policy and Independent India Government Policy towards Tribal Communities.
3. What are the special provisions provided for the Scheduled tribe in the Sixth Schedule?
4. What are the provisions provided under Article 330 and 332 for the Schedule Tribe?

3.5 Other Safeguards

Other safeguards provided by the Constitution for the Scheduled Tribes are discussed, in brief, in the following paragraphs. As already stated above, all these safeguards have been provided to facilitate smooth implementation of the high Directive Principle contained in Article 46 of the Constitution, which reads as follows:

"The. State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and, in particular, of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation".

3.5.1 Safeguards for ensuring the political development of the Scheduled Tribes

Articles 330,332 and 334 of the Constitution provide for the reservation of seats for the Scheduled Tribes, in the Lok Sabha and the Vidhan Sabhas of the-various States. Originally, these reservations were made for a period of 10 years from the commencement of the Constitution, This period has since been extended by another 10 years, through an amendment to article 334 of the Constitution.

In accordance with the provisions of articles 81 and 330 of the Constitution, the Delimitation Commission have determined the, elective 'seats in the Lok Sabha for the various States, excepting Jammu and Kashmir and Nagaland, based on 1961 Census figures. The total number of such seats has been determined as 490, as against 481 determined on the basis of 1951 Census. The Commission has also allotted 27 seats for Jammu and Kashmir (6), Nagaland (1), Nefa (1) and the various Union Territories (19). The number of seats reserved for the Scheduled Tribes in the Union Territories has not yet been determined. In accordance with the 1951 Census, 6 seats had been allotted for Jammu and Kashmir, 1 for NEFA and 18 for the Union Territories; and out of the 18 seats allotted for the Union Territories 2 were reserved for the Schedule Tribes.

In so far as the Viddan Sabhas of the States are concerned, the Delimitate Commission have determined

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3,238 sea on the basis of the 1961 Census, as conpared to 3,102 seats determined earlier on the basis of the 1951 Census. Of the 3,238 seats, 227 (221 "on the basis of the 1951 Census) seats have been reserved for the Scheduled Tribes.

There is also a provision, in article 164 of the Constitution, for the appointment of a Minister in charge of Tribal Welfare, who may in addition be in charge of the welfare of the Schedule Castes and backward Classes or an other work, in the States of Bihar Madhya Pradesh and Orissa, In Assam also, clause (3) of para 14 of the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution empower the Governor to place one of the Ministers specially in charge of the welfare o the Autonomous Districts and Autonomous Regions in the State. The fact however, is that practically in all the States which have Scheduled Areas or scheduled Tribes, Ministers in charge tribal Welfare have been appointed.

3.5.2 Safeguards for securing adequate representation in the State Services

Article 335 of the Constitution props for the taking into consideration of claims of the Scheduled Tribes, consequently with the maintenance of efficiency of administration, in the making of appointments merits to ser- vices and posts in connection with the affairs of the Union a State. Article 16 (4) provides that this can be given to the above provisions, if necessary, by reserving posts in favour of the Scheduled Tribes.

In pursuance of these provisions, the governments of India have decided to reserve 5% of vacancies occurring after January, 1950, (i.e. after coming into force of the Constitution) and which arc filled / direct recruitment, on all-India basis, in favour of the Scheduled Tribes. In the case of local or regional recruitment for lass III and IV services and posts, made otherwise than through the U.P.S.C., the reservation has been made in direct proportion to the Scheduled Tribe population in the State concerned, subject to a minimum of 5%. Some of the other concessions allowed to the Scheduled Tribes in matters of employment in Central Government are:

(a) Relaxation of maximum age limit prescribed for appointment to the' posts, by five year, arid reduction to one-fourth of fees prescribed for admission to any examination or selection.

(b) In the case of direct recruitment by examination, full discretion to the ' Union Public Service Com- mission and other recruiting authorities to recommend for appointment Scheduled Tribe candidates who may.' obtain a low place in the examination.

(c) Where recruitment is made otherwise than by examination, discretion to the appointing authorities to select candidates from the Scheduled Tribes fulfilling a lower standard of suitability, so long as the candidate fulfils the prescribed minimum technical and educational qualifications.

Similarly, the various State Governments have also made reservations for the Scheduled Tribes, mainly corresponding to their population in the State. They also allow all or some of the other concessions indicated above, to the Scheduled Tribe candidates.

In order to increase the educational attainment of Scheduled Tribe Candidates and to prepare them for competitive examinations for All India and Central Services, the Union Government have also started a scheme for pre-examination training at Allahabad and Bangalore, through the local Universities.

Safeguards were proposed to ensure economic, education and general development of the Scheduled Tribes and the raising of the level of the administration of the Scheduled and the Tribal Areas.

In pursuance of the provisions of article 275 of the Constitution, funds were provided in the First and the Second Five Year Plans, for schemes for the Scheduled Tribes, with a view to bringing them to the level of the rest of the community and raising the level of administration of the Scheduled and the Tribal Areas to that of the rest of the areas.

In the First Five Year Plan, no planned programme had been drawn up for them. For that purpose, only a lump-sum of Rs. 25.00 crores had been made for the Scheduled Tribes. It was only during the Second Plan period that planned schemes were undertaken for their welfare. In that Plan, a sum of Rs. 50 crores was earmarked for the Scheduled Tribes. The Govt. of India and the State Government generally shared expenditure on these welfare schemes on 50:50 basis. During the Second Plan period, however, some important schemes undertaken for the amelioration of the conditions of the Scheduled Tribes were earmarked for cent per cent grants from the Central Government. Of the amount of Rs. 50 crores provided in the Plan

for the Scheduled Tribes, Rs. 28.98 crores were provided under the State Sector (shareable on 50:50 basis) and Rs. 21.01 crores under the Central Sector (cent per cent grant from the Centre). During the First Plan period, against an allocation of Rs. 25.00 crores, an expenditure of Rs. 19.83 crores could be incurred. During the Second Plan period, at expenditure of Rs. 43.00 crores was incurred on the Scheduled Tribes.

During the Second Plan periods a number of development schemes undertaken for the Scheduled Tribes. These included schemes for land settlement merit; land reclamation; distribute seeds and setting up of demonstra- tion farms; establishment of service co-operatives and forest labourers' co-operatives improvement of communi- cations; concessions in the form of stipends, free and scholarships (before and after Matriculation); establishment of new schools and Ashrm Schools; supply of drinking water; improvement of housing conditions setting up of dispensaries, maternity and child welfare centres, mobile health units, etc., etc.

Based on the experience grained during the first two Five Year Plans, a well thought out programme had been drawn up for the Third Five Year Plan. For that purpose, an allocation of Rs. crores (Rs. 22.00 crores under the Central Sector and Rs. 38.00 crores und State Sector) has been made for the Scheduled Tribes.

The programme drawn up for the Third Five Year Plan for the Scheduled Tribes includes schemes like economic rehabilitation of persons engaged in shifting cultivation; working of forest labourers' co-operatives composed of members of the Scheduled Tribes; forma multi-purpose co-operatives for meeting the credit re- quirements of tribal agriculturists and artisans; land improvement; and reclamation and soil conservation; irriga- tion; supply of improved seeds, manures, implements and bullocks; provision of facilities for training; demonstra- tion of improved practices; development of cattle, fisheries, poultry, piggeries and sheep-breeding; organization of training-cum-production centres and provision of assistance and advice to artisans engaged in cottage Indus- tries; assistance at all stages of education and stipends and hostels; scholarships for technical training; construc- tion of culverts, causeways and bridges needed for connecting inaccessible areas, approach roads and jeepable forest roads; repairs to existing communication connecting remote and accessible areas; preventive measures diseases common in various tribal areas provision of itinerant medical its; establishment of maternity and child welfare centres; provision of drinking water in difficult areas; etc.

The Plan also includes a very ambitious programme of Tribal Development Blocks which are being set up in the tribal areas, on the general pattern of the Community Development Blocks. During the Second Plan period, 43 such blocks had been started involving an outlay of Rs. 27 lakhs per block. The scheme has been slightly modified during the Third plan period in as much as Rs. 22 lakhs per block is now being provided in place Rs. 27 lakhs. This provision is intended to be spent during a period of five years. Thereafter, another Rs. 10 lakhs will be provided for each block for a period of 5 years again. The motivating force behind these blocks is to have an intensive and co-ordinated development in the tribal areas through these blocks. It is intended to set up 450 blocks during the Third Plan period. The expenditure on the blocks is being met under the Centrally Sponsored Programme, on cent per cent basis.

During the First Plan period, a sum of Rs. 0.42 crores was spent on post-matric scholarships for the Scheduled Tribes. During (he second Plan period, this expenditure increased to Rs. 1.10 crores. During the first two years of the Third Plan, as much as Rs. 0.81 crores have been spent on post-matric scholarships for the Scheduled Tribes.

In 1954, a scheme for giving stipends to the Scheduled Tribe persons for studies abroad was introduced. Since then, upto 1962-63, as many as 31 Scheduled Tribe candidates have been granted such stipends. In addition, a few Scheduled Tribe candidates were provided with funds to cover sea passage.

Quite a large number of non-official organisations are rendering social service in many fields to the Scheduled Tribcs. The organisations working in more than one State have been recognised by the Govt. of India for the purpose of grant-in-aid for specific schemes. During the Third Plan, an allocation of Rs. 1.25 crores has been made for being paid to these organisations as grant-in aid under the Centrally Sponsored Programme a portion of which will also be spent on the welfare of the Scheduled Caste and Denotified Communities. The organisations

which have been selected for such grant-in aid for work among the Scheduled Tribes are The Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh, Delhi, The Ramakrishna Mission, Cherrapunji, The Tata Institute of Social Sciences. Bombay, The Andhra Pradesh Adimjati Sevak Sangh, Hyderabad, The Indian Council of child Welfare, Delhi, The Ramakrishna Mission, Shillong and The Servants of India Society, Poona. The various State Governments also give suitable grants to non-official organisations working within the respective States amongst the Scheduled Tribes.

(d)   Protection of the civic rights of the Scheduled Tribes and saving them   from exploitation;

Article 15 of the Constitution prohibits discrimination of any citizen on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth or any of them, with regard to (a) access to shops, public restaurants, hotels and places of public entertainment; or (b) the use of wells, tanks, bathing ghats, roads and places resort maintained wholly or partly out of State funds or dedicated to the use of the general public. Under article 29 (2) no citizen can be denied admission to any educational institution maintained by the State or receiving aid out of Stale funds, on grounds only of religion, race, caste, language or any of them. The State has, however, been empowered to make any special provision for thy advancement, inter alias, of the Scheduled Tribes with reference to the above provisions of the Constitution.

Article 19 also provides protection to all citizens with regard, inter alias, to moving feely throughout the territory of India, residing and settling in any part of the territory of India and acquiring holding and disposing of property. In this case also, the State has been given power to make any law imposing a reasonable restriction on the exercise of any of these rights either in the interest of the general public or for the protection of the interests of any Scheduled Tribe.

Under article 23 of the Constitution, traffic in human beings and beggar, and other similar forms of forced labour, have been prohibited. Any contravention of this provision has been made an offence punishable in accordance with law.

The above provisions in the Constitution have proved very helpful in protecting the interests of the Scheduled Tribes. Being ignorant and backward they were being exploited by unscrupulous persons, including contractors, money-lenders and even petty Government officials. The Governments have now taken adequate steps to save them from such exploitation.

(e)   Provisions for the evaluation of the progress made in the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes.

Article 339 of the Constitution empowers the President to appoint a Commission to report on the administration of the Scheduled Areas and the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes- Such a Commission which was set up under the chairmanship of Shri U. N. Dhebar, has already submitted a very useful Report, which is under active consideration of the Government. It is understood that quite a large number of recommendations made in that Report have been accepted by the Government for implementation.

Article 339 also empowers the Union Government to give directions to a State government, for drawing up or executing of schemes considered essential for the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes. So there has been no occasion necessitating the issue of such a direction.

The President has further been' empowered, under article 338 of the Constitution, to appoint a Special Officer to investigate all matters relating to the safeguards provided, inter alias, for the Scheduled Tribes, under the Constitution, and to report to the President about the working of those, safeguards, are suitable intervals. The first appointment of this officer, designated as Commissioner for Scheduled Tribes, was made in November, 1950. Since then, the Commissioner is submitted twelve Annual Reports to the President.

Check your Progress

1. Discuss the Safeguards for ensuring the political development of the Scheduled Tribes.

Discuss the Safeguards of the Scheduled Tribes for securing adequate representation in the State Services.

3.6 The Plight of these Safeguards

After having an outline of the various types of statutory safeguards for the Scheduled Tribes, we may now try to see the kind of implications these have resulted in the life of these people. Although it cannot be denied that there is a long way ahead to reach the intended goal, still it is easily noticeable that a healthy growth has set in the life of the tribes. Today most of the tribal areas enjoy the basic amenities which were not so long ago beyond their reach. Hospitals and Primary Health Centres have been opened even in the remotest pockets, and -communication networks are being developed at a faster rate which would end the centuries-old isolation. Persistent efforts to improve their lot are going on in the shape of welfare schemes for socio-economic development. It is to be noted here that geographically and culturally speaking the Scheduled Tribes are at widely different stages of social and economic development and their problems differ from area to area and even within their own groups.

The new sub-plan approach for tribal development was evolved in the beginning of the Fifth Plan. In pursuance of this policy, areas with more than 50 per cent tribal concentration were identified and separate sub-plans prepared for them. In this way under the sub-plan formulation a substantial tribal population was covered. The tribal sub-plan consisted of four elements: (1) Outlays from State Plans, (2) Investments by the Central Ministries, (3) Institutional finance, (4) Special Central Assistance. Thus, an effort was made to have a total picture of the developmental efforts in the tribal areas and to give a suitable direction. The unit for planning and implementation in the tribal sub-plan has been taken as an Integrated Tribal Development Project. The significant feature of the sub-plan is that it has adopted a flexible frame so that specific needs of ·each area may be catered well. Besides, in the formulation of the Fifth Plan the problems of the more backward tribal -communities were also considered. As a consequence of these multi-pronged developmental activities, the stagnancy of the tribal life could be eliminated, and a gradual progress in various sectors can be achieved. For instance, "offering of scholarships, reserving technical institutions and quick employment after completion of study are some of the reasons which have put a premium on the fast spread of education among the Bhotia Scheduled Tribes of Uttar Pradesh. And today the Bhotias are found holding very high posts in different organizations" (Das. 1977). What is happening to the Bhotias is true to a certain degree for most of the Scheduled Tribes. On the agricultural front many of these groups are gradually being induced to sedentary cultivation.

Apart from all the material gains, a most significant one may be realized at the psychological level. Nehru's rational approach and respect for tribal culture along with the formal statutory recognition for it are bound to generate a positive feeling among the tribal people. With the increasing contact with the outsiders carrying a different kind of socio-cultural system a sense of cultural and political inferiority could have ravaged the tribal mind as analysed by Elwin quite convincingly. "This kind of 'inferiority complex' is a dangerous thing. It poisons the source of individual happiness, making a man abnormally sensitive, bitter and resentful. It is destructive of art and culture, causing people to despise their own ideas and customs and to regard their own creations as inferior. It can ruin the political relations between two communities and in the tribal areas it can disturb the friendly association of the hill people and the outside world" (Elwin, 1960). By providing these safeguards the framers of the Constitution wisely tried to block the sources of these undesirable feelings that might otherwise have crept into the tribal life and polluted the cordial atmosphere of the country. And, truly enough, such an approach is bound to contribute positively in the promotion of national integration, in terms of equality and self-esteem, precisely where lies the relevance of these safeguards (Raha,ibid).

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UNIT –IV
PROVISIONS IN FIFTH AND SIXTH SCHEDULES, AUTONOMOUS DISTRICT COUNCILS

4.1 Objectives

The objective of this unit is to make students aware of the context of various schedule and the various provisions given with in the Indian constitution to ensure rights and privileges of the tribal population of our country.

4.2 FIFTH SCHEDULE

Under the Fifth Schedule of the" Constitution, the President is empowered to declare any under-developed area having substantial population of the Scheduled Tribes, as a Scheduled Area,: Such areas have been declared in eight" States, viz., Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Gujrat, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Orissa, Punjab and Rajasthan.

Though the Scheduled Areas are administered as a part of the State in which they are situated, the Governor is given powers under this Schedule to (a) prohibit the application of any Central or State law, or direct its modification in its application, to these areas, and (b) frame regulations for the peace and good Government of the.. areas, inter alia, for—

    (i) prohibiting or restricting the transfer of land by or among members of the Scheduled Tribes,

    (ii) regulating the allotment of land to members of the Scheduled Tribes, and

    (iii) regulating the carrying on of business as money-lender by persons who lend money to members of the Scheduled Tribes.

The Governors of the States having Scheduled Areas are also required to make periodical reports to the President, regarding the administration of such areas. These reports which previously used to be made in respect of a calendar year, are now made in respect of a financial year.

The Fifth Schedule also provides-for the establishment in each State having Scheduled Areas, a Tribes Advisory Council, to advice on such matters pertaining to the welfare and advancement of the Scheduled Tribes in the State as may be referred to it by the Governor of that State. These Councils must consist of not more than 20 members, of whom, as nearly as may be, three-fourths must be the representatives of the Scheduled Tribes in the Legislative Assembly of the State concerned. If in a particular State, the number of representatives of the Scheduled Tribes in the Legislative Assembly of the State is less than the number of seals in the Tribes Advisory Council to be filled by such representatives, the remaining seats are required to be filled by other members of the Scheduled Tribes only. Tribes Advisory Councils have so far been set up in the States of Andhra Pradesh, Bihar. Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Orissa, Punjab and Rajasthan, all of which have , Scheduled Areas, and also in the States of Madras and West Bengal, which have Scheduled Tribes but no Scheduled Areas.'

In accordance with another provision of the Fifth Schedule the executive power of the Union has been extended to giving of directions to a State as to the administration of these Scheduled Areas. So far, no occasion has arisen for the issue of such a direction.

4.3 SIXTH SCHEDULE

The Sixth Schedule of the Constitution created to deal with the administration of the Tribal Areas in the then Assam.

1.3.1 Provisions as to the Administration of Tribal Areas in the States of Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura and Mizoram

1. Autonomous districts and autonomous regions

    (1) Subject to the provisions of this paragraph, the tribal areas in each item of Parts I, II and IIA and in Part

III of the table appended to paragraph 20 of this Schedule shall be an autonomous district.

(2) If there are different Scheduled Tribes in an autonomous district, the Governor may, by public notification, divide the area or areas inhabited by them into autonomous regions.

(3) The Governor may, by public notification-

(a) include any area in any of the Parts of the said table,

(b) exclude any area from any of the Parts of the said table,

(c) create a new autonomous district,

(d) increase the area of any autonomous district,

(e) diminish the area of any autonomous district,

(f) unite two or more autonomous districts or parts thereof so as to form one autonomous district,

(g) alter the name of any autonomous district,

(h) define the boundaries of any autonomous district:

Provided that no order shall be made by the Governor under clauses (c), (d), (e) and (f) of this sub-paragraph except after consideration of the report of a Commission appointed under sub-paragraph (1) of paragraph 14 of this Schedule:

Provided further that any order made by the Governor under this sub-paragraph may contain such incidental and consequential provisions (including any amendment of paragraph 20 and of any item in any of the Parts of the said table) as appear to the Governor to be necessary for giving effect to the provisions of the order.

2. Constitution of District Councils and Regional Councils

(1) There shall be a District Council for each autonomous district consisting of not more than thirty members, of whom not more than four persons shall be nominated by the Governor and the rest shall be elected on the basis of adult suffrage.

(2) There shall be a separate Regional Council for each area constituted an autonomous region under sub-paragraph (2) of paragraph 1 of this Schedule.

(3) Each District Council and each Regional Council shall be a body corporate by the name respectively of "the District Council of (name of district)" and "the Regional Council of (name of region)", shall have perpetual succession and a common seal and shall by the said name sue and be sued.

(4) Subject to the provisions of this Schedule, the administration of an autonomous district shall, in so far as it is not vested under this Schedule in any Regional Council within such district, be vested in the District Council for such district and the administration of an autonomous region shall be vested in the Regional Council for such region.

(5) In an autonomous district with Regional Councils, the District Council shall have only such powers with respect to the areas under the authority of the Regional Council as may be delegated to it by the Regional Council in addition to the powers conferred on it by this Schedule with respect to such areas.

(6) The Governor shall make rules for the first constitution of District Councils and Regional Councils in consultation with the existing tribal Councils or other representative tribal organisations within the autonomous districts or regions concerned, and such rules shall provide for

(a) the composition of the District Councils and Regional Councils and the allocation of seats therein;

(b) the delimitation of territorial constituencies for the purpose of elections to those Councils;

(c) the qualifications for voting at such elections and the preparation of electoral rolls therefore;

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(d) the qualifications for being elected at such elections as members of such Councils;

(e) the term of office of members of Regional Councils;

(f) any other matter relating to or connected with elections or nominations to such Councils;

(g) the procedure and the conduct of business (including the power to act notwithstanding any vacancy) in the District and Regional Councils;

(h) the appointment of officers and staff of the District and Regional Councils.

(6A) The elected members of the District Council shall hold office for a term of five years from the date appointed for the first meeting of the Council after the general elections to the Council, unless the District Council is sooner dissolved under paragraph 16 and a nominated member shall hold office at the pleasure of the Governor: Provided that the said period of five years may, while a Proclamation of Emergency is in operation or if circumstances exist which, in the opinion of the Governor, render the holding of elections impracticable, be extended by the Governor for a period not exceeding one year at a time and in any case where a Proclamation of Emergency is in operation not extending beyond a period of six months after the Proclamation has ceased to operate:

Provided further that a member elected to fill a casual vacancy shall hold office only for the remainder of the term of office of the member whom he replaces.

(7) The District or the Regional Council may after its first constitution make rules with the approval of the Governor with regard to the matters specified in sub-paragraph (6) of this paragraph and may also make rules with like approval regulating

(a) the formation of subordinate local Councils or Boards and their procedure and the conduct of their business; and

(b) generally all matters relating to the transaction of business pertaining to the administration of the district or region, as the case may be: Provided that until rules are made by the District or the Regional Council under this sub-paragraph the rules made by the Governor under sub-paragraph (6) of this paragraph shall have effect in respect of elections to, the officers and staff of, and the procedure and the conduct of business in, each such Council.

3. Powers of the District Councils and Regional Councils to make laws

(1) The Regional Council for an autonomous region in respect of all areas within such region and the District Council for an autonomous district in respect of all areas within the district except those which are under the authority of Regional Councils, if any, within the district shall have power to make laws with respect to

(a) the allotment, occupation or use, or the setting apart, of land, other than any land which is a reserved forest for the purposes of agriculture or grazing or for residential or other non-agricultural purposes or for any other purpose likely to promote the interests of the inhabitants of any village or town: Provided that nothing in such laws shall prevent the compulsory acquisition of any land, whether occupied or unoccupied, for public purposes by the Government of the State concerned in accordance with the law for the time being in force authorising such acquisition;

(b) the management of any forest not being a reserved forest;

(c) the use of any canal or water-course for the purpose of agriculture;

(d) the regulation of the practice of jhum or other forms of shifting cultivation;

(e) the establishment of village or town committees or councils and their powers;

(f) any other matter relating to village or town administration, including village or town police and public health and sanitation;

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(g) the appointment or succession of Chiefs or Headmen;

(h) the inheritance of property;

(i) marriage and divorce;

(j) social customs.

(2)   In this paragraph, a "reserved forest" means any area which is a reserved forest under the Assam Forest Regulation, 1891, or under any other law for the time being in force in the area in question.

(3)   All laws made under this paragraph shall be submitted forthwith to the Governor and, until assented to by him, shall have no effect.

4. Administration of justice in autonomous districts and autonomous regions

(1)   The Regional Council for an autonomous region in respect of areas within such region and the District Council for an autonomous district in respect of areas within the district other than those which are under the authority of the Regional Councils, if any, within the district may constitute village councils or courts for the trial of suits and cases between the parties all of whom belong to Scheduled Tribes within such areas, other than suits and cases to which the provisions of sub-paragraph (1) of paragraph 5 of this Schedule apply, to the exclusion of any court in the State, and may appoint suitable persons to be members of such village councils or presiding officers of such courts, and may also appoint such officers as may be necessary for the administration of the laws made under paragraph 3 of this Schedule.

(2)   Notwithstanding anything in this Constitution, the Regional Council for an autonomous region or any court constituted in that behalf by the Regional Council or, if in respect of any area within an autonomous district there is no Regional Council, the District Council for such district, or any court constituted in that behalf by the District Council, shall exercise the powers of a court of appeal in respect of all suits and cases triable by a village council or court constituted under sub-paragraph (1) of this paragraph within such region or area, as the case may be, other than those to which the provisions of sub-paragraph (1) of paragraph 5 of this Schedule apply, and no other court except the High Court and the Supreme Court shall have jurisdiction over such suits or cases.

(3)   The High Court shall have and exercise such jurisdiction over the suits and cases to which the provisions of sub-paragraph (2) of this paragraph apply as the Governor may from time to time by order specify.

(4)   A Regional Council or District Council, as the case may be, may with the previous approval of the Governor make rules regulating

(a) the constitution of village councils and courts and the powers to be exercised by them under this paragraph;

(b) the procedure to be followed by village councils or courts in the trial of suits and cases under sub-paragraph (1) of this paragraph;

(c) the procedure to be followed by the Regional or District Council in appeals and other proceedings under sub-paragraph (2) of this paragraph;

(d) the enforcement of decisions and orders of such councils and courts;

(e) all other ancillary matters for the carrying out of the provisions of sub-paragraphs (1) and (2) of this paragraph.

(5)   On and from such date as the President may, after consulting the Government of the State concerned, by notification appoint in this behalf, this paragraph shall have effect in relation to such autonomous district or region as may be specified in the notification, as if

(i) in sub-paragraph (1), for the words "between the parties all of whom belong to Scheduled Tribes within such areas, other than suits and cases to which the provisions of sub-paragraph (1) of paragraph 5 of this Schedule apply,", the words "not being suits and cases of the nature referred to in sub-paragraph (1) of paragraph (5) of this Schedule, which the Governor may specify in this behalf," had been substituted;

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(ii) sub-paragraphs (2) and (3) had been omitted;

(iii) in sub-paragraph (4)

(a) for the words "A Regional Council or District Council, as the case may be, may with the previous approval of the Governor make rules regulating", the words "the Governor may make rules regulating" had been substituted; and

(b) for clause (a), the following clause had been substituted, namely: "(a) the constitution of village councils and courts, the powers to be exercised by them under this paragraph and the courts to which appeals from the decisions of village councils and courts shall lie;";

(c) for clause (c), the following clause had been substituted, namely: "(c) the transfer of appeals and other proceedings pending before the Regional or District Council or any court constituted by such Council immediately before the date appointed by the President under sub-paragraph (5);"; and

(d) in clause (e), for the words, brackets and figures "sub-paragraphs (1) and (2)", the word, brackets and figure "sub-paragraph (1)" had been substituted.

5. Conferment of powers under the Code of Civil Procedure, 1908, and the Code of Criminal Procedure, 18981, on the Regional and District Councils and on certain courts and officers for the trial of certain suits, cases and offences

(1)   The Governor may, for the trial of suits or cases arising out of any law in force in any autonomous district or region being a law specified in that behalf by the Governor, or for the trial of offences punishable with death, transportation for life, or imprisonment for a term of not less than five years under the Indian Penal Code or under any other law for the time being applicable to such district or region, confer on the District Council or the Regional Council having authority over such district or region or on courts constituted by such District Council or on any officer appointed in that behalf by the Governor, such powers under the Code of Civil Procedure, 1908, or, as the case may be, the Code of Criminal Procedure, 18981, as he deems appropriate, and thereupon the said Council, court or officer shall try the suits, cases or offences in exercise of the powers so conferred.

(2)   The Governor may withdraw or modify any of the powers conferred on a District Council, Regional Council, court or officer under sub-paragraph (1) of this paragraph.

(3)   Save as expressly provided in this paragraph, the Code of Civil Procedure, 1908, and the Code of Criminal Procedure, 18981, shall not apply to the trial of any suits, cases or offences in an autonomous district or in any autonomous region to which the provisions of this paragraph apply.

(4)   On and from the date appointed by the President under sub-paragraph (5) of paragraph 4 in relation to any autonomous district or autonomous region, nothing contained in this paragraph shall, in its application to that district or region, be deemed to authorise the Governor to confer on the District Council or Regional Council or on courts constituted by the District Council any of the powers referred to in sub-paragraph (1) of this paragraph.

6. Powers of the District Council to establish primary schools, etc

(1)   The District Council for an autonomous district may establish, construct, or manage primary schools, dispensaries, markets, cattle pounds, ferries, fisheries, roads, road transport and waterways in the district and may, with the previous approval of the Governor, make regulations for the regulation and control thereof and, in particular, may prescribe the language and the manner in which primary education shall be imparted in the primary schools in the district.

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(2) The Governor may, with the consent of any District Council, entrust either conditionally or unconditionally to that Council or to its officers functions in relation to agriculture, animal husbandry, community projects, co-operative societies, social welfare, village planning or any other matter to which the executive power of the State extends.

7. District and Regional Funds

(1) There shall be constituted for each autonomous district, a District Fund and for each autonomous region, a Regional Fund to which shall be credited all moneys received respectively by the District Council for that district and the Regional Council for that region in the course of the administration of such district or region, as the case may be, in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution.

(2) The Governor may make rules for the management of the District Fund, or, as the case may be, the Regional Fund and for the procedure to be followed in respect of payment of money into the said Fund, the withdrawal of moneys therefrom, the custody of moneys therein and any other matter connected with or ancillary to the matters aforesaid.

(3) The accounts of the District Council or, as the case may be, the Regional Council shall be kept in such form as the Comptroller and Auditor-General of India may, with the approval of the President, prescribe.

(4) The Comptroller and Auditor-General shall cause the accounts of the District and Regional Councils to be audited in such manner as he may think fit, and the reports of the Comptroller and Auditor-General relating to such accounts shall be submitted to the Governor who shall cause them to be laid before the Council.

8. Powers to assess and collect land revenue and to impose taxes

(1) The Regional Council for an autonomous region in respect of all lands within such region and the District Council for an autonomous district in respect of all lands within the district except those which are in the areas under the authority of Regional Councils, if any, within the district, shall have the power to assess and collect revenue in respect of such lands in accordance with the principles for the time being followed by the Government of the State in assessing lands for the purpose of land revenue in the State generally.

(2) The Regional Council for an autonomous region in respect of areas within such region and the District Council for an autonomous district in respect of all areas in the district except those which are under the authority of Regional Councils, if any, within the district, shall have power to levy and collect taxes on lands and buildings, and tolls on persons resident within such areas.

(3) The District Council for an autonomous district shall have the power to levy and collect all or any of the following taxes within such district, that is to say —

(a) taxes on professions, trades, callings and employments;

(b) taxes on animals, vehicles and boats;

(c) taxes on the entry of goods into a market for sale therein, and tolls on passengers and goods carried in ferries; and

(d) taxes for the maintenance of schools, dispensaries or roads.

(4) A Regional Council or District Council, as the case may be, may make regulations to provide for the levy and collection of any of the taxes specified in sub-paragraphs (2) and (3) of this paragraph and every such regulation shall be submitted forthwith to the Governor and, until assented to by him, shall have no effect.

9. Licences or leases for the purpose of prospecting for, or extraction of minerals

(1) Such share of the royalties accruing each year from licences or leases for the purpose of prospecting for, or the extraction of, minerals granted by the Government of the State in respect of any area within an autonomous district as may be agreed upon between the Government of the State and the District Council of such district shall be made over to that District Council.

(2) If any dispute arises as to the share of such royalties to be made over to a District Council, it shall be referred to the Governor for determination and the amount determined by the Governor in his discretion shall be deemed to be the amount payable under sub-paragraph (1) of this paragraph to the District Council and the decision of the Governor shall be final.

10. Power of District Council to make regulations for the control of money-lending and trading by non-tribals

(1) The District Council of an autonomous district may make regulations for the regulation and control of money-lending or trading within the district by persons other than Scheduled Tribes resident in the district.

(2) In particular and without prejudice to the generality of the foregoing power, such regulations may—

(a) prescribe that no one except the holder of a license issued in that behalf shall carry on the business of money-lending;

(b) prescribe the maximum rate of interest which may be charged or be recovered by a money-lender;

(c) provide for the maintenance of accounts by money-lenders and for the inspection of such accounts by officers appointed in that behalf by the District Council;

(d) prescribe that no person who is not a member of the Scheduled Tribes resident in the district shall carry on wholesale or retail business in any commodity except under a licence issued in that behalf by the District Council :

Provided that no regulations may be made under this paragraph unless they are passed by a majority of not less than three-fourths of the total membership of the District Council:

Provided further that it shall not be competent under any such regulations to refuse the grant of a license to a money-lender or a trader who has been carrying on business within the district since before the time of the making of such regulations.

(3) All regulations made under this paragraph shall be submitted forthwith to the Governor and, until assessment by him, shall have no effect.

11. Publication of laws, rules and regulations made under the Schedule

All laws, rules and regulations made under this Schedule by a District Council or a Regional Council shall be published forthwith in the Official Gazette of the State and shall on such publication have the force of law.

12. Application of Acts of Parliament and of the Legislature of the State of Assam to autonomous districts and autonomous regions in the State of Assam —(1) Notwithstanding anything in this Constitution

(a) no Act of the Legislature of the State of Assam in respect of any of the matters specified in paragraph 3 of this Schedule as matters with respect to which a District Council or a Regional Council may make

laws, and no Act of the Legislature of the State of Assam prohibiting or restricting the consumption of any non-distilled alcoholic liquor shall apply to any autonomous district or autonomous region in that State unless in either case the District Council for such district or having jurisdiction over such region by public notification so directs, and the District Council in giving such direction with respect to any Act may direct that the Act shall in its application to such district or region or any part thereof have effect subject to such exceptions or modifications as it thinks fit;

(b) the Governor may, by public notification, direct that any Act of Parliament or of the Legislature of the State of Assam to which the provisions of clause (a) of this sub-paragraph do not apply shall not apply to an autonomous district or an autonomous region in that State, or shall apply to such district or region or any part thereof subject to such exceptions or modifications as he may specify in the notification.

(2) Any direction given under sub-paragraph (1) of this paragraph may be given so as to have retrospective effect. 12A. Application of Acts of Parliament and of the Legislature of the State of Meghalaya to autonomous districts and autonomous regions in the State of Meghalaya.—Notwithstanding anything in this Constitution,

(a) if any provision of a law made by a District or Regional Council in the State of Meghalaya with respect to any matter specified in sub-paragraph (1) of paragraph 3 of this Schedule or if any provision of any regulation made by a District Council or a Regional Council in that State under paragraph 8 or paragraph 10 of this Schedule, is repugnant to any provision of a law made by the Legislature of the State of Meghalaya with respect to that matter, then, the law or regulation made by the District Council or, as the case may be, the Regional Council whether made before or after the law made by the Legislature of the State of Meghalaya, shall, to the extent of repugnancy, be void and the law made by the Legislature of the State of Meghalaya shall prevail;

(b) the President may, with respect to any Act of Parliament, by notification, direct that it shall not apply to an autonomous district or an autonomous region in the State of Meghalaya, or shall apply to such district or region or any part thereof subject to such exceptions or modifications as he may specify in the notification and any such direction may be given so as to have retrospective effect.

12AA. Application of Acts of Parliament and of the Legislature of the State of Tripura to the autonomous districts and autonomous regions in the State of Tripura.—Notwithstanding anything in this Constitution,—

(a) no Act of the Legislature of the State of Tripura in respect of any of the matters specified in paragraph 3 of this Schedule as matters with respect to which a District Council or a Regional Council may make laws, and no Act of the Legislature of the State of Tripura prohibiting or restricting the consumption of any non-distilled alcoholic liquor shall apply to the autonomous district or an autonomous region in that State unless, in either case, the District Council for that district or having jurisdiction over such region by public notification so directs, and the District Council in giving such direction with respect to any Act may direct that the Act shall, in its application to that district or such region or any part thereof, have effect subject to such exceptions or modifications as it thinks fit;

(b) the Governor may, by public notification, direct that any Act of the Legislature of the State of Tripura to which the provisions of clause (a) of this sub-paragraph do not apply, shall not apply to the autonomous district or any autonomous region in that State, or shall apply to that district or such region or any part thereof, subject to such exceptions or modifications, as he may specify in the notification;

(c) the President may, with respect to any Act of Parliament, by notification, direct that it shall not apply to the autonomous district or an autonomous region in the State of Tripura, or shall apply to such district or region or any part thereof, subject to such exceptions or modifications as he may specify in the notification and any such direction may be given so as to have retrospective effect.

12B. Application of Acts of Parliament and of the Legislature of the State of Mizoram to autonomous districts and autonomous regions in the State of Mizoram.—Notwithstanding anything in this Constitution,

(a) no Act of the Legislature of the State of Mizoram in respect of any of the matters specified in paragraph 3 of this Schedule as matters with respect to which a District Council or a Regional Council may make laws, and no Act of the Legislature of the State of Mizoram prohibiting or restricting the consumption of any non-distilled alcoholic liquor shall apply to any autonomous district or autonomous region in that State unless, in either case, the District Council for such district or having jurisdiction over such region, by public notification, so directs, and the District Council, in giving such direction with respect to any Act, may direct that the Act shall, in its application to such district or region or any part thereof, have effect subject to such exceptions or modifications as it thinks fit;

(b) the Governor may, by public notification, direct that any Act of the Legislature of the State of Mizoram to which the provisions of clause (a) of this sub-paragraph do not apply, shall not apply to an autonomous district or an autonomous region in that State, or shall apply to such district or region, or any part thereof, subject to such exceptions or modifications, as he may specify in the notification;

(c) the President may, with respect to any Act of Parliament, by notification, direct that it shall not apply to an autonomous district or an autonomous region in the State of Mizoram, or shall apply to such district or region or any part thereof, subject to such exceptions or modifications as he may specify in the notification and any such direction may be given so as to have retrospective effect.

13. Estimated receipts and expenditure pertaining to autonomous districts to be shown separately in the annual financial statement

The estimated receipts and expenditure pertaining to an autonomous district which are to be credited to, or is to be made from, the Consolidated Fund of the State shall be first placed before the District Council for discussion and then after such discussion be shown separately in the annual financial statement of the State to be laid before the Legislature of the State under article 202.

14. Appointment of Commission to inquire into and report on the administration of autonomous districts and autonomous regions

(1) The Governor may at any time appoint a Commission to examine and report on any matter specified by him relating to the administration of the autonomous districts and autonomous regions in the State, including matters specified in clauses (c), (d), (e) and (f) of sub-paragraph (3) of paragraph 1 of this Schedule, or may appoint a Commission to inquire into and report from time to time on the administration of autonomous districts and autonomous regions in the State generally and in particular on—

(a) the provision of educational and medical facilities and communications in such districts and regions;

(b) the need for any new or special legislation in respect of such districts and regions; and

(c) the administration of the laws, rules and regulations made by the District and Regional Councils; and define the procedure to be followed by such Commission.

(2) The report of every such Commission with the recommendations of the Governor with respect thereto shall be laid before the Legislature of the State by the Minister concerned together with an explanatory memorandum regarding the action proposed to be taken thereon by the Government of the State.

(3) In allocating the business of the Government of the State among his Ministers the Governor may place one of his Ministers specially in charge of the welfare of the autonomous districts and autonomous regions in the State.

15. Annulment or suspension of acts and resolutions of District and Regional Councils

(1) If at any time the Governor is satisfied that an act or resolution of a District or a Regional Council is likely to endanger the safety of India or is likely to be prejudicial to public order, he may annul or suspend such act or resolution and take such steps as he may consider necessary (including the suspension of the Council and the assumption to himself of all or any of the powers vested in or exercisable by the Council) to prevent the commission or continuance of such act, or the giving of effect to such resolution.

(2) Any order made by the Governor under sub-paragraph (1) of this paragraph together with the reasons therefore shall be laid before the Legislature of the State as soon as possible and the order shall, unless revoked by the Legislature of the State, continue in force for a period of twelve months from the date on which it was so made: Provided that if and so often as a resolution approving the continuance in force of such order is passed by the Legislature of the State, the order shall unless cancelled by the Governor continue in force for a further period of twelve months from the date on which under this paragraph it would otherwise have ceased to operate.

16. Dissolution of a District or a Regional Council

(1) The Governor may on the recommendation of a Commission appointed under paragraph 14 of this Schedule by public notification order the dissolution of a District or a Regional Council, and

(a) direct that a fresh general election shall be held immediately for the reconstitution of the Council, or

(b) subject to the previous approval of the Legislature of the State assume the administration of the area under the authority of such Council himself or place the administration of such area under the Commission appointed under the said paragraph or any other body considered suitable by him for a period not exceeding twelve months:

Provided that when an order under clause (a) of this paragraph has been made, the Governor may take the action referred to in clause (b) of this paragraph with regard to the administration of the area in question pending the reconstitution of the Council on fresh general election:

Provided further that no action shall be taken under clause (b) of this paragraph without giving the District or the Regional Council, as the case may be, an opportunity of placing its views before the Legislature of the State.

(2) If at any time the Governor is satisfied that a situation has arisen in which the administration of an autonomous district or region cannot be carried on in accordance with the provisions of this Schedule, he may, by public notification, assume to himself all or any of the functions or powers vested in or exercisable by the District Council or, as the case may be, the Regional Council and declare that such functions or powers shall be exercisable by such person or authority as he may specify in this behalf, for a period not exceeding six months: Provided that the Governor may by a further order or orders extend the operation of the initial order by a period not exceeding six months on each occasion.

(3) Every order made under sub-paragraph (2) of this paragraph with the reasons therefore shall be laid before the Legislature of the State and shall cease to operate at the expiration of thirty days from the date on which the State Legislature first sits after the issue of the order, unless, before the expiry of that period it has been approved by that State Legislature.

17. Exclusion of areas from autonomous districts in forming constituencies in such districts

For the purposes of elections to the Legislative Assembly of Assam or Meghalaya or Tripura or Mizoram, the Governor may by order declare that any area within an autonomous district in the State of Assam or Meghalaya

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or Tripura or Mizoram, as the case may be, shall not form part of any constituency to fill a seat or seats in the Assembly reserved for any such district but shall form part of a constituency to fill a seat or seats in the Assembly not so reserved to be specified in the order.

19. Transitional provisions

(1) As soon as possible after the commencement of this Constitution the Governor shall take steps for the constitution of a District Council for each autonomous district in the State under this Schedule and, until a District Council is so constituted for an autonomous district, the administration of such district shall be vested in the Governor and the following provisions shall apply to the administration of the areas within such district instead of the foregoing provisions of this Schedule, namely:

(a) no Act of Parliament or of the Legislature of the State shall apply to any such area unless the Governor by public notification so directs; and the Governor in giving such a direction with respect to any Act may direct that the Act shall, in its application to the area or to any specified part thereof, have effect subject to such exceptions or modifications as he thinks fit;

(b) the Governor may make regulations for the peace and good government of any such area and any regulations so made may repeal or amend any Act of Parliament or of the Legislature of the State or any existing law which is for the time being applicable to such area.

(2) Any direction given by the Governor under clause (a) of sub-paragraph (1) of this paragraph may be given so as to have retrospective effect.

(3) All regulations made under clause (b) of sub-paragraph (1) of this paragraph shall be submitted forthwith to the President and, until assented to by him, shall have no effect.

20. Tribal areas

(1) The areas specified in Parts I, II, IIA and III in below shall respectively be the tribal areas within the State of Assam, the State of Meghalaya, the State of Tripura and the State of Mizoram.

(2) Any reference in Part I, Part II or Part III of the table below to any district shall be construed as a reference to the territories comprised within the autonomous district of that name existing immediately before the day appointed under clause (b) of section 2 of the North-Eastern Areas (Reorganisation) Act, 1971:

Provided that for the purposes of clauses (e) and (f) of sub-paragraph (1) of paragraph 3, paragraph 4, para-graph 5, paragraph 6, sub-paragraph (2), clauses (a), (b) and (d) of sub-paragraph (3) and sub-paragraph (4) of paragraph 8 and clause (d) of sub-paragraph (2) of paragraph 10 of this Schedule, no part of the area comprised within the municipality of Shillong shall be deemed to be within the Khasi Hills District.

(3) The reference in Part IIA in the table below to the "Tripura Tribal Areas District" shall be construed as a reference to the territory comprising the tribal areas specified in the First Schedule to the Tripura Tribal Areas Autonomous District Council Act, 1979.

PART I

1. The North Cachar Hills District.

2. The Karbi Anglong District.

3. The Bodoland Territorial Areas District.

PART II

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1. Khasi Hills District.

2. Jaintia Hills District.

3. The Garo Hills District.

PART IIA

Tripura Tribal Areas District

PART III

1. The Chakma District.

2. The Mara District.

3. The Lai District.

20A. Dissolution of the Mizo District Council

(1) Notwithstanding anything in this Schedule, the District Council of the Mizo District existing immediately before the prescribed date (hereinafter referred to as the Mizo District Council) shall stand dissolved and cease to exist.

(2) The Administrator of the Union territory of Mizoram may, by one or more orders, provide for all or any of the following matters, namely:—

(a) the transfer, in whole or in part, of the assets, rights and liabilities of the Mizo District Council (including the rights and liabilities under any contract made by it) to the Union or to any other authority;

(b) the substitution of the Union or any other authority for the Mizo District Council, or the addition of the Union or any other authority, as a party to any legal proceedings to which the Mizo District Council is a party;

(c) the transfer or re-employment of any employees of the Mizo District Council to or by the Union or any other authority, the terms and conditions of service applicable to such employees after such transfer or re-employment;

(d) the continuance of any laws, made by the Mizo District Council and in force immediately before its dissolution, subject to such adaptations and modifications, whether by way of repeal or amendment, as the Administrator may make in this behalf, until such laws are altered, repealed or amended by a competent Legislature or other competent authority;

(e) such incidental, consequential and supplementary matters as the Administrator considers necessary.

Explanation—In this paragraph and in paragraph 20B of this Schedule, the expression "prescribed date" means the date on which the Legislative Assembly of the Union territory of Mizoram is duly constituted under and in accordance with the provisions of the Government of Union Territories Act, 1963.

20B. Autonomous regions in the Union territory of Mizoram to be autonomous districts and transitory provisions consequent thereto

(1) Notwithstanding anything in this Schedule,

(a) every autonomous region existing immediately before the prescribed date in the Union territory of Mizoram shall, on and from that date, be an autonomous district in that Union territory (hereafter referred to as the corresponding new district) and the Administrator thereof may, by one or more orders, direct that such consequential amendments as are necessary to give effect to the provisions of this clause shall be made in paragraph 20 of this Schedule (including Part III of the table appended to that paragraph) and thereupon the said paragraph and the said Part III shall be deemed to have been amended accordingly;

(b) every Regional Council of an autonomous region in the Union territory of Mizoram existing immediately before the prescribed date (hereafter referred to as the existing Regional Council) shall, on and from that date, and until a District Council is duly constituted for the corresponding new district, be deemed to be the District Council of that district (hereafter referred to as the corresponding new District Council).

(2) Every member whether elected or nominated of an existing Regional Council shall be deemed to have been elected or, as the case may be, nominated to the corresponding new District Council and shall hold office until a District Council is duly constituted for the corresponding new district under this Schedule.

(3) Until rules are made under sub-paragraph (7) of paragraph 2 and sub-paragraph (4) of paragraph 4 of this Schedule by the corresponding new District Council, the rules made under the said provisions by the existing Regional Council and in force immediately before the prescribed date shall have effect in relation to the corresponding new District Council subject to such adaptations and modifications as may be made therein by the Administrator of the Union territory of Mizoram.

(4) The Administrator of the Union territory of Mizoram may, by one or more orders, provide for all or any of the following matters, namely:—

(a) the transfer in whole or in part of the assets, rights and liabilities of the existing Regional Council (including the rights and liabilities under any contract made by it) to the corresponding new District Council;

(b) the substitution of the corresponding new District Council for the existing Regional Council as a party to the legal proceedings to which the existing Regional Council is a party;

(c) the transfer or re-employment of any employees of the existing Regional Council to or by the corresponding new District Council, the terms and conditions of service applicable to such employees after such transfer or re-employment;

(d) the continuance of any laws made by the existing Regional Council and in force immediately before the prescribed date, subject to such adaptations and modifications, whether by way of repeal or amendment, as the Administrator may make in this behalf until such laws are altered, repealed or amended by a competent Legislature or other competent authority;

(e) such incidental, consequential and supplementary matters as the Administrator considers necessary.

20C. Interpretation.—Subject to any provision made in this behalf, the provisions of this Schedule shall, in their application to the Union territory of Mizoram, have effect—

(1) as if references to the Governor and Government of the State were references to the Administrator of the Union territory appointed under article 239, references to State (except in the expression "Government of the State") were references to the Union territory of Mizoram and references to the State Legislature were references to the Legislative Assembly of the Union territory of Mizoram;

(2) as if

(a) in sub-paragraph (5) of paragraph 4, the provision for consultation with the Government of the State concerned had been omitted;

(b) in sub-paragraph (2) of paragraph 6, for the words "to which the executive power of the State extends", the words "with respect to which the Legislative Assembly of the Union territory of Mizoram has power to make laws" had been substituted;

(c) in paragraph 13, the words and figures "under article 202" had been omitted.

21. Amendment of the Schedule

(1) Parliament may from time to time by law amend by way of addition, variation or repeal any of the provisions of this Schedule and, when the Schedule is so amended, any reference to this Schedule in this Constitution shall be construed as a reference to such Schedule as so amended.

(2) No such law as is mentioned in sub-paragraph (1) of this paragraph shall be deemed to be an amendment of this Constitution for the purposes of article.

Paragraph 1 has been amended in its application to the State of Assam by the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution (Amendment) Act, 2003 (44 of 2003),s. 2 , so as to insert the following provison after sub-paragraph (2), namely: "Provided that nothing in this sub-paragraph shall apply to the Bodoland Territorial Areas District."

Paragraph 2 has been amended in its application to the State of Assam by s. 2,ibid., so as to insert the following proviso after sub-paragraph (1), namely: - "Provided that the Bodoland Territorial Council shall consist of not more than forty-six members of whom forty shall be elected on the basis of adult suffrage, of whom thirty shall be reserved for the Scheduled Tribes, five for non-tribal communities, five open for all communities and the remaining six shall be nominated by the Governor having same rights and privileges as other members, including voting rights, from amongst the un-represented communities of the Bodoland Territorial Areas District, of which at least two shall be women." Paragraph 2 has been amended in its application to the State of Assam by the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution (Amendment) Act, 1995 (42 of 1995), s.2 so as to insert the following proviso after sub-paragraph (3), namely,- "Provided that the District Council constituted for the North Cachar Hills District shall be called as the North Cachar Hills Autonomous Council and the District Council constituted for the Karbi Anglong District shall be called as the Karbi Anglong Autonomous Council." *Paragraph 2 has been amended in its application to the State of Assam by the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution (Amendment) Act, 2003 (44 of 2003)s. 2 , so as to insert the following proviso after the proviso in sub-paragraph (3), namely: - "Provided further that the District Council constituted for the Bodoland Territorial Areas District shall be called the Bodoland Territorial Council."

Paragraph 3 has been amended in its application to the State of Assam by the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution (Amendment) Act, 2003 (44 of 2003), s. 2 , so as to substitute sub-paragraph (3) as under, "(3) Save as otherwise provided in sub-paragraph (2) of paragraph 3A or sub-paragraph (2) of paragraph 3B , all laws made under this paragraph or sub-paragraph (1) of paragraph 3A or sub-paragraph (1) of paragraph 3B shall be submitted forthwith to the Governor and, until assented to by him, shall have no effect." After paragraph 3, the following paragraph has been inserted in its application to the State of Assam by the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution (Amendment) Act, 1995 (42 of 1995), namely:

"3A. Additional powers of the North Cachar Hills Autonomous Council and the Karbi Anglong Autonomous Council to make laws.—(1) Without prejudice to the provisions of paragraph 3, the North Cachar Hills Autonomous Council and the Karbi Anglong Autonomous Council within their respective districts, shall have power to make laws with respect to—

(a) industries, subject to the provisions of entries 7 and 52 of List I of the Seventh Schedule;

(b) communications, that is to say, roads, bridges, ferries and other means of communication not specified in List I of the Seventh Schedule; municipal tramways, ropeways, inland waterways and traffic thereon subject to the provisions of List I and List III of the Seventh Schedule with regard to such waterways; vehicles other than mechanically propelled vehicles;

(c) preservation, protection and improvement of stock and prevention of animal diseases; veterinary training and practice; cattle pounds;

(d) primary and secondary education;

(e) agriculture, including agricultural education and research, protection against pests and prevention of plant diseases;

(f) fisheries;

(g) water, that is to say, water supplies, irrigation and canals, drainage and embankments, water storage and water power subject to the provisions of entry 56 of List I of the Seventh Schedule;

(h) social security and social insurance; employment and unemployment;

(i) flood control schemes for protection of villages, paddy fields, markets, towns, etc. (not of technical nature);

(j) theatre and dramatic performances, cinemas subject to the provisions of entry 60 of List I of the Seventh Schedule; sports entertainments and amusements;

(k) public health and sanitation, hospitals and dispensaries;

(l) minor irrigation;

(m) trade and commerce in, and the production supply and distribution of, food stuffs, cattle fodder, raw cotton and raw jute;

(n) libraries, museums and other similar Institutions controlled or financed by the State; ancient and historical monuments and records other than those declared by or under any law made by Parliament to be of national importance; and

(o) alienation of land.

(2) All laws made by the North Cachar Hills Autonomous Council and the Karbi Anglong Autonomous Council under paragraph 3 or under this paragraph shall, in so far as they relate to matters specified in List III of the Seventh Schedule, be submitted forthwith to the Governor who shall reserve the same for the consideration of the President.

(3) When a law is reserved for the consideration of the President, the President shall declare either that he assents to the said law or that he withholds assent there from: Provided that the President may direct the Governor to return the law to the North Cachar Hills Autonomous Council or the Karbi Anglong Autonomous Council, as the case may be, together with a message requesting that the said Council will reconsider the law or any specified provisions thereof and, in particular, will, consider the desirability of introducing any such amendments as he may recommend in his message and, when the law is so returned, the said Council shall consider the law accordingly within a period of six months from the date of receipt of such message and, if the law is again passed by the said Council with or without amendment it shall be presented again to the President for his consideration.".

After paragraph 3A, the following paragraph has been inserted in its application to the State of Assam by the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution (Amendment) Act, 2003, (44 0f 2003), s. 2 , namely: —

"3B. Additional powers of the Bodoland Territorial Council to make laws.—(1) Without prejudice to the provisions of paragraph 3, the Bodoland Territorial Council within its areas shall have power to make laws with respect to :-
(i) Agriculture, including agricultural education and research, protection against pests and prevention of plant diseases; (ii) Animal husbandry and veterinary, that is to say, preservation, protection and improvement of stock and prevention of animal diseases, veterinary training and practice, cattle pounds; (iii) Co-operation; (iv) Cultural

affairs; (v) Education, that is to say, primary education, higher secondary including vocational training, adult education, college education (general); (vi) Fisheries; (vii) Flood control for protection of village, paddy fields, markets and towns (not of technical nature); (viii) Food and civil supply; (ix) Forests (other than reserved forests); (x) Handloom and textile; (xi) Health and family welfare, (xii) Intoxicating liquors, opium and derivatives, subject to the provisions of entry 84 of List I of the Seventh Schedule; (xiii) Irrigation; (xiv) Labour and employment; (xv) Land and Revenue; (xvi) Library services (financed and controlled by the State Government); (xvii) Lotteries (subject to the provisions of entry 40 of List I of the Seventh Schedule), theatres, dramatic performances and cinemas (subject to the provisions of entry 60 of List I of the Seventh Schedule); (xviii) Markets and fairs; (xix) Municipal corporation, improvement trust, district boards and other local authorities; (xx) Museum and archaeology institutions controlled or financed by the State, ancient and historical monuments and records other than those declared by or under any law made by Parliament to be of national importance; (xxi) Panchayat and rural development; (xxii) Planning and development; (xxiii) Printing and stationery; (xxiv) Pubic health engineering; (xxv) Public works department; (xxvi) Publicity and public relations; (xxvii) Registration of births and deaths; (xxviii) Relief and rehabilitation; (xxix) Sericulture; (xxx) Small, cottage and rural industry subject to the provisions of entries 7 and 52 of List I of the Seventh Schedule; (xxxi) Social Welfare; (xxxii) Soil conservation; (xxxiii) Sports and youth welfare; (xxxiv) Statistics; (xxxv) Tourism; (xxxvi) Transport (roads, bridges, ferries and other means of communications not specified in List I of the Seventh Schedule, municipal tramways, ropeways, inland waterways and traffic thereon subject to the provision of List I and List III of the Seventh Schedule with regard to such waterways, vehicles other than mechanically propelled vehicles); (xxxvii) Tribal research institute controlled and financed by the State Government; (xxxviii) Urban development—town and country planning; (xxxix) Weights and measures subject to the provisions of entry 50 of List I of the Seventh Schedule; and (xl) Welfare of plain tribes and backward classes:

Provided that nothing in such laws shall—

(a) extinguish or modify the existing rights and privileges of any citizen in respect of his land at the date of commencement of this Act; and

(b) disallow and citizen from acquiring land either by way of inheritance, allotment, settlement or by any other way of transfer if such citizen is otherwise eligible for such acquisition of land within the Bodoland Territorial Areas District.

(2) All laws made under paragraph 3 or under this paragraph shall in so far as they relate to matters specified in List III of the Seventh Schedule, be submitted forthwith to the Governor who shall reserve the same for the consideration of the President.

(3) When a law is reserved for the consideration of the President, the President shall declare either that he assents to the said law or that he withholds assent therefrom: Provided that the President may direct the Governor to return the law to the Bodoland Territorial Council, together with the message requesting that the said Council will reconsider the law or any specified provisions thereof and, in particular, will consider the desirability of introducing any such amendments as he may recommend in his message and, when the law is so returned, the said Council shall consider the law accordingly within a period of six month from the date of receipt of such message and, if the law is again passéd by the said Council with or without amendments it shall be presented again to the President for his consideration."

Paragraph 4 has been amended in its application to the State of Assam by the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution (Amendment) Act, 2003 (44 of 2003)., s. 2 , so as to insert the following sub-paragraph after sub-paragraph (5), namely:—

"(6) Nothing in this paragraph shall apply to the Bodoland Territorial Council constituted under the proviso to sub-paragraph (3) of paragraph 2 of this Schedule."
See now the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1973 (Act 2 of 1974).

Paragraph 9 has been amended in its application to the States of Tripura and Mizoram by the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution (Amendment) Act, 1988 (67 of 1988), s.2, so as to insert the following sub-paragraph after sub-paragraph (2), namely:-

"(3) The Governor may, by order, direct that the share of royalties to be made over to a District Council under this paragraph shall be made over to that Council within a period of one year from the date of any agreement under sub-paragraph (1) or, as the case may be, of any determination under sub-paragraph (2).".
Paragraph 10 has been amended in its application to the States of Tripura and Mizoram by the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution (Amendment) Act, 1988 (67 of 1988), s.2, as under-

(a) in the heading, the words "by non-tribals" shall be omitted;

(b) in sub-paragraph (1), the words "other than Scheduled Tribes" shall be omitted;

(c) in sub-paragraph (2), for clause (d), the following clause shall be substituted, namely:-
(d) prescribe that no person resident in the district shall carry on any trade, whether wholesale or retail, except under a licence issued in that behalf by the District Council.".

*Paragraph 10 has been amended in its application to the State of Assam by the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution (Amendment) Act, 2003 (44 of 2003), s. 2 , so as to insert the following sub-paragraph after sub-paragraph (3), namely:

"(4) Nothing in this paragraph shall apply to the Bodoland Territorial Council constituted under the proviso to sub-paragraph (3) of paragraph 2 of this Schedule."

Paragraph 12 has been amended to its application to the State of Assam by the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution (Amendment) Act, 1995 (42 of 1995), s.2, as under,-

'in paragraph 12, in sub-paragraph (1), for the words and figure "matters specified in paragraph 3 of this Schedule", the words, figures and letter "matters specified in paragraph 3 or paragraph 3A of this Schedule" shall be substituted.';

Paragraph 12 has been amended in its application to the State of Assam by the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution (Amendment) Act, 2003 (44 of 2003), s. 2, as under, —

in paragraph 12, in sub-paragraph (1), in clause (a), for the words, figures and letter "matters specified in paragraph 3 or paragraph 3A of this Schedule", the words, figures and letter "matters specified in paragraph 3 or paragraph 3A or paragraph 3B of this Schedule" shall be substituted.

Paragraph 14 has been amended in its application to the State of Assam by the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution (Amendment) Act, 1995 (42 of 1995) , s. 2, as under,-

In paragraph 14 , in sub-paragraph (2), the words "with the recommendations of the Governor with respect thereto" shall be omitted.

Paragraph 15 has been amended in its application to the States of Tripura and Mizoram by the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution (Amendment) Act, 1988 (67 of 1988), s. 2, as under,-

(a) in the opening paragraph, for the words "by the Legislature of the State", the words "by him" shall be substituted;

(b) the provison shall be omitted.

Paragraph 16 has been amended in its application to the States of Tripura and Mizoram.

Discuss how District Councils and Regional Councils are constituted.

Summing up

Again in brief the powers of these District and Regional Councils under the sixth schedule includes the followings basic provisions:

(i) making of Regulations for the regulation and control of money-lending, or trading within the District by persons other than Scheduled Tribes residing in the District;

(ii) administration of justice in autonomous districts and autonomous regions,

(iii) establishment, construction or management of primary schools, dispensaries, markets, cattle pounds, ferries, fisheries, roads and water-ways, and prescribing of the language and the manner in which primary education should be imparted in the primary schools;

(iv) assessment and collection of land revenues and levying and collection of taxes :

(a) professions, trades, callings and employments;

(b) animals, vehicles and boats;

(c) entry of goods into a market for sale therein, and passengers and goods carried in ferries; and

(d) maintenance of schools, dispensaries ties or roads.

These powers also include the making laws relating to-

(a) the allotment, occupation or use, or the setting apart, of land, other than any land which is a reserved forest, the purpose of agriculture or grazing or for residential or other nonagricultural purposes or for any other purpose likely to promote the interests of the inhabitants of any village or town ;

(b) the management of any forest not being a reserved forest ;

(c) the use of any canal or water-course for the purpose of agriculture;

(d) the regulation of the practice of jhum or other forms of shifting cultivation;

(e) the establishment of village or town committees or councils and their powers;

(f) any other matter relating to village or town administration, including village or town administration, including village or town police and public health and sanitation ;

(g) the appointment or succession of Chiefs or Headmen ;

(h) the inheritance of property ;

(i) marriage;

(j) social customs.

Autonomous District Council

As mentioned earlier, the whole approach to the problems of tribal areas was radically altered in the post-constitutional period. The old British policy of separation and isolation was replaced by a policy of integration and development. The Sixth Schedule as incorporated in the constitution was based primarily on the recommendations of the Bordoloi Committee. The Bordoloi Sub-Committee was appointed by the Advisory Committee on the Rights of Citizens, Minorities and Tribal and Excluded Areas to make proposals for the administration of the tribal areas in Assam. Assisted by the well-known social anthropologist Dr. Guha, the Bordoloi Committee was of the opinion that attempts should not be made at assimilation of the tribal people but that the tribes should be allowed to promote and regulate their way of life according to their own free will and choice.

The formation of District Councils in the Hill Districts is the cornerstone of the entire report of the Bordoloi

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Committee. To mention some of the recommendations here, the Bordoloi Committee recommended that the District Council should have the legislative power over the occupation and use of land, other than land comprising reserved forests; the nature of cultivation of land should be left to the tribe themselves; the tribal people should have full powers of administering their own social laws, codifying and modifying them; primary education should be manage by the District Councils; certain taxes and financial power to the councils should be allocated; the establishment of regional councils in autonomous districts where there are distinct sub-tribes etc. What was remarkable about the Bordoloi report was the manner and the political skill through which it sought to reconcile the hill people's demand for political autonomy with the Government of Assam. It was proposed that the instrument to protect the hill people from the exploitation of the plainsmen would be the introduction of the District Councils. Despite some opposition in the constituent Assembly to the introduction of the district and regional councils, the drafting committee and the constituent Assembly accepted the recommendations of the Bordoloi Committee with some modifications. The Sixth Schedule was thus introduced and accordingly hill districts were classified into autonomous and non-autonomous areas. The autonomous district may be sub-divided into autonomous regions if there are different Scheduled tribes in it. The Governor was empowered to include any area in the list of autonomous areas, create a new autonomous district, increase and /or diminished the area of any autonomous district, unite two or more autonomous districts or parts thereof so as to form one autonomous district, define the boundaries of any autonomous district and finally exclude any area from the list of autonomous district.

The Sixth Schedule to the constitution of India allows for the formation of Autonomous District Councils to be run by the persons from within the tribal communities themselves. The strength of the District Council was fixed at the maximium of the 24 members. Members to be directly elected on the basis of adult franchise for a period of five years. The Governor was however empowered to nominate certain number of pwersons and the members so appointed by the Governor shall hold office during the pleasure of the Governor. Each District Council shall have a chairman and a deputy chairman, to be elected by trhe council itself. The Sixth Schedule and the reframed thereunder extended the legislative power of the district council to allotment, occupation or use of land for agricultural and non agricultural purposes, other tan land classed as reserved forests; management of unclassified forests; the use canal or water courses for the purpose of agriculture; control of Jhumming or other forms of shifting cultivation. Besides that the council have the power to make laws regarding the appointment of chiefs or headmen, their successor, inheritance of property, marriage and all other social customs. The Distirct Councils derived their income from land revenue, forests, administration of justice, taxes on animals, vehicles and boats, professions, trades, and grants in aid form the Government etc.

General

The constitutional safeguards described above, lay down the framework within which our tribal policy has to operate. The most important fact about their condition today is that they present wide range of socio-economic conditions, from a near-isolated tribalism to varying degree of modern forms and even compete assimilation into the national community. The growth of industrialization, particularly in the tribal areas, urgent needs for border defence and steps taken that connection, general development, communication, etc., are the factors which are the main agents of these ranges. Under these conditions, any policy, if it has to be fruitful and beneficial, should allow a good deal of latitude differential treatment to the groups at various stages of development. Further, its implementation should be done through machinery which is sensitive to all these factors and elastic enough to allow all sorts of adjustments that the changing scene of tribal life may warrant. The makers of our Constitution were sagacious enough to lay down a system of safeguards that allows for a cautious treatment of the tribals to ensure noninterference in whatever good is found-in their culture. These safeguards also open out best opportunities of higher education; government positions, etc., for those who arc ready to take time. At the same time, they get all facilities of life to which they are entitled and they are given every aid to light successfully against poverty and ignorance, unemployment and disease, exploitation and absence of better techniques. Full care has, however, to be taken to ensure that the Scheduled Tribes are developed according to their own genius, without imposing anything on them. The late Shri Jawahar Lal Nehru has given a lead-in this respect, in his speech delivered at the Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Areas Conference, held in Delhi in 1952. Speaking about the Scheduled Tribes, he said:

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"We must approach the tribal people with affection and friendliness and come to them as a liberating force. We must let them feel that we come to give and not to take something away from them. That is the kind of psychological integration India needs".

Check your Progress

1. Discuss the historical background of Autonomous District Council.
2. What is the power and Function of Autonomous District Council?
3. In which part of our Constitution that the provision for ADC is provided?

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Sixth Schedule of Indian Constitution-*Google search*

CRITICAL REVIEW OF SOME TRIBAL POLICIES

5.1 Introduction

Democratic decentralization in the Indian context is not an end itself. It is a process for harnessing, channelising, and realizing the energies of the people with a view to bringing about social transformation where every member of the society gains his or her rightful place in the social, economic, and political life the country. Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs) are expected to play a multifaceted role. They are vehicles for political education and training in leadership. They have to be responsive to the needs of the community, impart values of equality and liberty, be transparent, accountable, and efficient to provide opportunities for mass participation in the process of development.

Democratic decentralization and involvement of people in decision-making process was recognized by the Constituent Assembly, which enshrined it in the Constitution as one of the Directive Principles of the State Policy. Several initiatives were taken in the 1950s and 1960s to promote democratic decentralization. However, the 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendment Acts mark a watershed in the history of governance in the country. PRIs were introduced as a distinct third tier of government. At the time of the formulation of the Ninth Five Year Plan, the 73rd & 74th Amendment Acts were in the process of being operationalised. It was expected that PRIs that come up under the new Acts would be devolved functions, finances and the functionaries to enable them to emerge as institutions of self-government.

5.2 Objectives:

After reading this part of the unit you should be able to:

- To trace in brief concept of Panchayat.
- Some historical developments of the Panchayati Raj.
- Applicability of Panchayat System.
- An explanation as to why it should once again have assumed importance in the present state of affairs.

5.1 Provisions of the Panchayats (Extension To Scheduled Areas) Act, 1996

5.1.1 Concept of Panchayati Raj

'Panchayat' literally means assembly (*yat*) of five (*panch*) wise and respected elders chosen and accepted by the village community. Traditionally, these assemblies settled disputes between individuals and villages. The philosophy of Panchayat Raj is deeply rooted in tradition and culture of rural India and is by no means a new concept. Panchayati Raj Provided a system of self-governance at the village level, however, it did not have a constitutional status. The Constitution (Seventy-third Amendment) Act, 1992 provided this ancient political institution a framework on which to build the third level of governance.

Panchayati Raj is a system of governance in which gram panchayats are the basic units of administration. It has 3 levels, village, block, and district. At the village level, it is called a Panchayat. It is a local body working for the good of the village. It can have its members ranging from 7 to 31. However, in exceptions, it can have members above 31 but not below 7.

Panchayat refers to a council of elected members taking decisions on issues key to a village's social, cultural and economic life: thus, a panchayat is also a village's body of elected representatives. The council leader is named sarpanch in Hindi, and each member is a panch. The panchayat acts as a conduit between the local

government and the people. Decisions are taken by a majority vote (Bahumat). It is said that in such a system, each villager can voice his opinion in the governance of his village. Decisions are taken without lengthy legal procedures and the process remains for the most part transparent. In ancient India Panchayat meant Five Persons (Headman). Since then Panchayat system has come a long way. Today it is approved by Government of India by constitution. Now in almost every state there is Panchayati Raj.

5.3.2 The Historical Evolution of Panchayati Raj in India:

References to *panchayats* and *ganapadas* in ancient Vedic texts, translated into English for the first time by oriental scholars in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, played a part in persuading British officials that here was to be found an elemental unit of Indian society and politics. Its most succinct and influential expression however lay in Charles Metcalfe's defense of the *mahalwari* system of revenue settlement adopted in the territories of the then North-Western Province (now U.P.). Describing the fortified villages which sprung up around Delhi in the years after the collapse of Mughal power in 1761 Metcalf wrote to the 1832 Select Parliamentary Committee on the East India Company's charter in brilliantly evocative terms:

'The village communities are little republics, having nearly everything they can want within themselves and almost independent of any foreign relations. They seem to last where nothing else lasts. Dynasty after dynasty tumbles down; revolution succeeds to revolution; Hindoo, Pathan, Mogul, Mahratta, Sikh, English, are all masters in turn; but the village community remains the same... This union of the village communities, each one forming a separate state in itself, has, I conceive, contributed more than any other cause to the preservation of the people of India through all the revolutions and changes which they have suffered, and is in a high degree conducive to their happiness, and to the enjoyment of a great portion of freedom and independence'.

The same description was next picked up by **Karl Marx** and used to describe what he saw as one of the characteristic features of the societies that existed under 'Oriental despotism'.

The idea of the Village Community, and of the Panchayat or village council, then went on to assume enormous importance in the writings of **Henry Maine**, who, in an effort to contradict the Roman school of law, represented by Austin, sets out to describe in his influential *Ancient Law* (1861), the historical evolution of legal systems, linking these systems to what he saw as the various stages in the progress of Civilization. This theory was later underlined in the writings of **Baden-Powell** and others (*The Indian Village Community*) and became one of the backbones of the theory of indirect rule developed in India in the second half of the nineteenth century and extended elsewhere into other British colonial territories.

In the hands of these later colonial administrators, the main purpose of the idea of the village community and of its Panchayat, or council of elders, was that it purported to be a natural and customary source of authority upon whom the government could legitimately devolve certain responsibilities, thus avoiding the costs of a minute and detailed system of policing and of law, whilst at the same time avoiding the time-consuming and controversial business of holding elections and setting up local authorities to deal with matters such as street cleaning and petty theft. In time, a measure of democratic local government was also introduced, beginning with Municipal Boards in 1882, which were set up to administer towns which were also large enough to have a magistrate. However, **the village community and its panchayat remained a first resort in case of dispute over large parts of rural India.**

The problem was of course that lineage, locality and caste were the main determinants of traditional village tribunals, and the so-called village panchayats were often no more than caste panchayats (which were and still are widespread). This was a poor apparatus upon which to heap the burden of jurisdiction and the legal standards expected within a British-style system of justice. Furthermore, British district collectors were always reluctant to

devolve much of their power to a lower level. At the same time, the parallel development of the British court system meant that villagers were becoming increasingly reluctant to submit their disputes to the informal jurisdiction of a group of elderly high caste peers, and when they did so, would often then turn to the local British magistrate to overturn a judgment they had just received if it were not to their liking. **The real authority of the village Panchayat therefore, where it existed, was thus steadily eroded.**

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. **What was the traditional method of constituting the "Council of Elders" for local governance?**

5.3.3 Panchayat System before Independence

In 1920 however, following the report of the Royal Commission on decentralization, and the Montagu-Chelmsford report of 1918, village Panchayats were formally vested with legal powers in no less than five provinces, including the Punjab, Central Provinces and U.P. The reasons for doing this were of course purely practical.

Nonetheless, the various provincial administrations went ahead and formally invested village committees with a combination of administrative and judicial powers, for a variety of reasons: one being the obvious grounds of economy as it was hoped that they might relieve pressures on the overstretched district and provincial courts. There was also the hope that by conferring powers upon villages, and cutting out the over-educated (and increasingly troublesome) class of collaborators upon whom the British depended for much else in their administration, the white rulers might further cement the bond between themselves and their loyal subjects.

The composition of these village committees and the powers they exercised varied enormously from Province to Province. Most were democratically elected, although in the U.P. all elections by the *gaon sabha* had to be approved by the local magistrate. In Punjab, Bombay and the Central Provinces the Panchayats covered about one-tenth or one-fifteenth of the countryside; in U.P. a quarter of the province was brought under their jurisdiction; and in Bengal and Madras presidencies panchayats were set up throughout the length of the country. Whilst initially the village committees set up by the 1920 act enjoyed some measure of success (the Bengal panchayats disposed of some 122,760 cases in 1925), the picture thereafter was one of steady decline, probably partly because, as previously stated, their jurisdiction was all too easily subverted by resort to a British court.

5.3.4 Gandhi's Concept of Gram Swaraj and Panchayat

Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of the Nation once stated, "Independence must reach the bottom ... it follows, therefore, that every village has to be self-sustained and capable of managing its affairs Gandhi was strongly influenced by his reading of Sir Henry Maine, using Maine's *Indian Village Communities* as one of the principal items of evidence in a petition to the Natal Assembly in 1894, in which he argued that the franchise should be extended to members of the Indian community. A key passage in the Petition reads as follows:

The Indian nation has known, and has exercised, the power of election from times prior to the time when the Anglo-Saxon races first became acquainted with the principles of representation... In support of the above, your Petitioners beg to draw the attention of your Honourable Assembly to Sir Henry Summer Maine's Village Communities, where he has clearly pointed out that the Indian races have been familiar with representative institutions almost from time immemorial.

Gandhi in a speech delivered before the East Indian Association in London, in which 'the East' was described as 'the parent of municipalities' and it was said that 'local self-government in the widest acceptation of the term' was 'as old as the East itself'. Gandhi himself then insisted, somewhat imaginatively, that:

Every caste in every village or town has its own rules and regulations, and elects representatives. He further said that to say that the Indian does not understand the Franchise is to ignore the whole history of India. Representation, in the truest sense of the term, the Indian has understood and appreciated from the earliest ages. That principle - the Panchayat - guides all the actions of an Indian. He considers himself a member of the Panchayat, which really is the whole body civic to which he belongs for the time being.

His argument was tow-fold: firstly that the Indian people were as civilized as any other and therefore entitled to vote, secondly that they were long accustomed to the concept of representative democracy and indeed enjoyed the powers of voting.

In later years Gandhi's supporters saw in village based action not only the means to swaraj, in a personal sense, but also the means towards a national awakening and wholesale programme of social and economic reconstruction. Gandhi himself though was rarely so radical in his own writings on the subject, indeed he does not even mention the idea of village self-government at all in *Hind Swaraj*, his erstwhile nationalist manifesto, published in 1910. He nonetheless insisted that it was a good Indian tradition to subordinate self-interest to the collective decision of a Panch, and often described the Indian National Congress central working committee as one such Panch: a sort of elected oligarchy to which unquestioning obedience was expected.

5.3.5 Gandhi's Dilemma:

However, at the same time, he freely admitted that the practising institution of the Village Panchayat was rarely if ever likely to be found in effect. And although he expressed the hope that it might be revived, he clearly did not expect it to happen in a hurry. When asked in 1925 what should be done with those who borrowed funds from khadi boards and then failed to return it, he answered that in an ideal world they would submit themselves to the judgment of a Panchayat, but that since the idea of the Panchayat is 'as good as non-existent now' it would be best just to take them to court.[1] And in 1931 he wrote in *Young India* as follows:

...we may not replace trained judges by untrained men brought together by chance. What we must aim at is an incorrigible, impartial and able judiciary right from the bottom. I regard village panchayats as an institution by itself. But thanks to the degradation of the caste system and the evil influence of the present system of government and the growing illiteracy of the masses, this ancient and noble institution has fallen into desuetude, and where it has not, it has lost its former purity and hold. It must, however, be revived at any cost, if the villages are not to be ruined.

5.3.6 Rabindranath Tagore and C R Das on Panchayat:

Gandhi was thus a believer, but hardly an unequivocal champion of village self-government, and he fully accepted the practical limits to such a scheme. Others however were more enthusiastic. The idea of village development through self-regulated councils was in fact first deployed politically in India, not by Gandhi, but by Rabindranath Tagore as early as the 1900's and it became a major issue during the Swadeshi movement in Bengal between 1905 and 1910[2] C.R. Das, the Bengali swadeshi campaigner, was amongst those who supported it. Like Gandhi, Das was a student of law, cognisant of the writings of Maine and Baden-Powell, and he shared the same thoroughly orientalised and idealistic view of rural India, but in many ways though he was more radical and politically ambitious. Thus in 1918 Das spoke on the issue during his Presidential Address to the Bengal Congress in 1918, advocating the growth of village councils as a means of economic development.

In 1922 Das became President of the Indian National Congress, and in his Congress Presidential

address he again urged, as a requisite of Swaraj, the 'organisation of village life and the practical autonomy of small local centres'. Village communities must not exist as disconnected units' he argued, but 'held together by a system of co-operation and integration'. He concluded: 'I maintain that real Swaraj can only be attained by vesting the power of government in these small local centres', and he advised the Congress to draw up a scheme of government based upon these proposals.[1]

As a result of this an *Outline Scheme of Swaraj* was drawn up by C.R. Das and Bhagavan Das and presented to Congress in 1923 and was adopted as party policy. This plan recommended a massive decentralisation of government after independence, the higher centres of governmental power being reduced, and the organ of administration becoming the panchayat, organised into village, town, and district, provincial and all-India units of government. The purpose behind this idea was the upliftment of India's villages, and as the memorandum put it, the 'spiritualising of India's politics by changing the whole culture and civilisation of society from its present mercenary to a missionary basis'.[2]

5.3.7 Change in Gandhi's Stance:

As the nationalist struggle progressed, Gandhi became more ambitious for the idea of village self-government. His clearest and most often quoted exposition of the idea dates from 1942, when he wrote of 'village swaraj', in words that closely echoed those of Metcalf:

'My idea of village swaraj is that it is a complete republic, independent of its neighbours for its own vital wants and yet interdependent for many others in which dependence is a necessity...As far as possible every activity will be conducted on the co-operative basis. There will be no castes such as we have today, with their graded untouchability. Non-violence with its technique of satyagraha and non co-operation will be the sanction of the village community... The government of the village will be conducted by a Panchayat of five persons elected annually by the adult villagers, male and female, possessing minimum prescribed qualifications. ..Since there will be no system of punishments in the accepted sense, this Panchayat will be the legislature, judiciary and executive combined to operate for its year of office... Here there is perfect democracy based upon individual freedom. The individual is the architect of his own government. The law of non-violence rules him and his government. He and his village are able to defy the might of a world. For the law governing every villager is that he will suffer death in the defence of his and his village's honour...'

Later on, Gandhi described his vision more poetically still in an interview given just two years before his death:

'In this structure composed of innumerable villages, there will be ever widening, never-ascending circles. Life will not be a pyramid with the apex sustained by the bottom. But it will be an oceanic circle whose centre will be the individual always ready to perish for the village, the latter ready to perish for the circle of villages, till at last the whole becomes one life composed of individuals, never aggressive in their arrogance but ever humble, sharing the majesty of the oceanic rule of which they are integral units.'

5.3.8 Nehru on Village Panchayat:

Jawaharlal Nehru also warmed to the idea, asserting in *The Discovery of India* that in ancient times 'the Village Panchayat or elected council had large powers both executive and Judicial and its members treated with great respect by the Kings officers.' For Nehru though this was nothing but a fit of historical imagination, with few

practical implications as far as Congress policy was concerned. Soon after writing it he was indeed engaged in discussions with P. Thakurdas, G.D. Birla, J.R.D. Tata and others, which led to the drawing up of the famous Bombay Plan of January 1944, which set the framework for India's social and economic development post independence: a world of industry, urbanisation and of partnerships in development between government and the national bourgeoisie.

5.3.9   Panchayati Raj after Independence

The concept of Panchayati Raj, for a while in the years after Indian independence, seemed to have disappeared permanently into the mists of India's romantic past. In the late twentieth century however the notion has returned once more to the political agenda, for a variety of reasons: strategic, practical, economic, and ideological.

5.3.10 The Resuscitation and Revival of Panchayati Raj

Following Gandhi's death the possibility of a continuing judicial and administrative role for the village Panchayat was considered, criticized, and rejected from the deliberations of the Indian Constituent Assembly: the view being held, as by the British previously, that they were all too prone to corruption. Ambedkar's experience of the suffering of his Mahar community gave him particular insights into this problem. Consequently, the only reference to Panchayats at all in the Indian Constitution adopted in 1951 is in Part IV (in the Directive Principles of State Policy), which is non justifiable, and which merely stated that 'The state should take steps to organize village panchayats and endow them with such power and authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as units of self-government'. The same fate befell upon the co-operative movement. After a brief flurry of enthusiasm in the 1950's, co-operation was found more often than not to be sham in practice, and the co-operative ideal, together with the panchayati ideal was shelved by most government departments.

The shortcomings quickly became apparent in the Community Development and the National Extension Service programmes, both of which became the subject of an enquiry by a national planning committee study team led by Balwantrai Mehta, a Member of Parliament, in 1957. The study team concluded that if these programmes were to be effective, affordable, and repeated interventions by officials were to be avoided, there was a desperate need for an agency at the village level 'which could represent the entire community, assume responsibility and provide the necessary leadership for implementing development programmes.' The case for governmental

decentralization was also subsequently affirmed by the National Development Council, and once again panchayats came back onto the political agenda and the phrase 'panchayati raj' came into fashion: zealots even claiming that the phrase was coined by Jawaharlal Nehru although it had obviously been previously used by Gandhi and many others.

Rajasthan was the first State to pass legislation authorising the constitution of a new style of Panchayat, the first such Panchayat, assuming largely administrative powers, being established at Naguar, about 260 kms from Jaipur, the state capital in October 1959. Another was soon set up at Shadnagar in Andhra Pradesh, and by 1959 every State had passed a Panchayati Act and some sort of Panchayat was thereafter established, in theory at least, in nearly every village.

It seems likely that the idea of Panchayati raj was not only a response to financial exigencies, but also the emergent conflicts between the Congress government's espousal of equality and welfare for all, and its heavily urban and industry biased development planning. The conflict in this area was not only causing social but also

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political tensions, and it is likely that Jawaharlal Nehru espoused the Panchayat ideal for the same reason that in 1963 he espoused the so-called Kamraj Plan - which called upon Congress politicians to resign from office and devote themselves to grass-roots work in the rural areas. Both could be seen as an attempt to undermine the influence of powerful and reactionary landed and bourgeois state level politicians and to reaffirm his party's links with the rural masses - just as the British had sought to do some forty years earlier. There was also strong support in favour of the Panchayati ideal coming from opposition groups. Jai Prakash Narayan, for example, was a great advocate of Panchayats in the late 1960's and early 1970s - his vision being quite a radical one, championing the notion of party less democracy.

The problem was of course, that these Panchayats were set up largely, as already stated, for developmental reasons, and although Panchayats were constituted at village level (including always a certain number of women and SC/STs), most often the executive powers lay at block level, where a block Samiti was constituted by delegates from a number of villages. Executive powers here were effectively shared with the government block development officer, and of course above the block there were also Zilla Parishads playing a supervisory and co-ordinating role.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS:

1.   What are the similarities between the Gandhi's concept of Gram Sabha and the Panchayati Raj?

2.   Go to nearby village to trace the post-independence development of village council.

5.3.11   Constitutional Amendments in Panchayati Raj

The term 'panchayat raj' was adopted by state governments during the 1950s and 60s as laws were passed to establish Panchayats in various states. It also found backing in the Indian Constitution, which was amended in 1992 to accommodate the idea. April 24, 1993 is a red-letter day in the history of Panchayati Raj in India as on this day the constitution (73rd Amendment) Act, 1992 came into force to provide constitutional status to the Panchyati Raj institutions. The provisions of the 73rd Amendment Act were extended to the Schedule V areas of nine States i.e. Andhra Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Gujarat, Himachal Pradesh, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Orissa and Rajasthan under Central Act 40 of 1996 i.e. The Provisions of the Panchayats (Extension to the Scheduled Areas) Act, 1996. The Act is intended to enable tribal communities to assume control over their own destiny to preserve and conserve their traditional rights over natural resources. All States barring Jharkhand have enacted State Legislation to give effect to the provisions contained in Act 40, 1996. States other than Jharkhand have also amended most of the subject laws to bring them in conformity with the provisions of the Central Act, 40.

5.3.12 73rd Constitutional Amendment, 1992

The salient features of the Act are:

- To provide 3-tier system of Panchayati Raj for all States having population of over 20 lakh.
- To hold Panchayat elections regularly every 5 years.
- To provide reservation of seats for Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and women (not less than 33%)
- To appoint State Finance Commission to make recommendations as regards the financial powers of the Panchayats.
- To constitute District Planning Committee to prepare draft development plan for the district as a whole.

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Powers and Responsibilities

According to the Constitution, Panchayats shall be given powers and authority to function as institutions of self-government. The following powers and responsibilities are to be delegated to Panchayats at the appropriate level:

- Preparation of plan for economic development and social justice.
- Implementation of schemes for economic development and social justice in relation to 29 subjects given in Eleventh Schedule of the Constitution.
- To levy, collect and appropriate taxes, duties, tolls and fees.

Gram Sabha

In the PRIs set up, the Gram Sabha, the general assembly of villagers has a key role for effective functioning of Panchayats. In the Gram Sabha meeting, the rural poor, the women, and the marginalised people would now get an opportunity to join in decision making on matters affecting their lives. Active functioning of the Gram Sabha would ensure a participatory democracy with transparency, accountability, and achievement.

- Gram Sabha should meet at least in each quarter preferably on Republic Day, Labour Day, Independence Day and Gandhi Jayanti.
- Decide developmental work to be undertaken by Panchayats based on needs assessment.
- Suggest remedial measures for economy and efficiency in the functioning of the Panchayats.
- Question and scrutinize the decisions of Panchayats in the meeting of Gram Sabha.
- Discuss the Annual Financial Statement of Gram Panchayats.

73rd Amendment Constitution of India

THE CONSTITUTION OF INDIA

"PART IX * THE PANCHAYATS 243. Definition -In this Part, unless the context otherwise requires:

a) "district" means a district in a State;

b) "Gram Sabha" means a body consisting of persons registered in the electoral rolls relating to a village comprised within the area of Panchayat at the village level;

c) "Intermediate level" means a level between the village and district levels specified by the Governor of a State by public notification to be the intermediate level for the purposes of this Part;

d) "Panchayat" means an institution (by whatever name called) of self-government constituted under article 243B, for the rural areas;

e) "Panchayat area" means the territorial area of a Panchayat;

f) "population' means the population as ascertained at the last preceding census of which the relevant figures have been published;

g) "Village" means a village specified by the Governor by public notification to be a village for the purposes of this Part and includes a group of villages so specified.

243-A.Grama Sabha - A Gram Sabha may exercise such powers and perform such functions at the village level as the Legislature of a State may, by law, provide.

243-B.Constitution of Panchayats -(1) There shall be constituted in every State, Panchayats at the village, intermediate and district levels in accordance with the provisions of this Part. Notwithstanding anything in clause (1), Panchayats at the intermediate level may not be constituted in a State having a population not exceeding twenty lakhs.

243-C.Composition of Panchayats -(1) Subject to the provisions of this Part, the Legislature of a State may, by law, making provisions with respect to the composition of Panchayats :

* Inserted vide Constitution 73rd Amendment Act, 1992 and came into force on 22.04.1993.

Provided that theratio between the population of the territorial area ot a Panchayat at any level and the number of seats in such Panchayat to be filled by election shall, so far as practicable, be the same throughout the State.

(2)   All the seats in a Panchayat shall be filled by persons chosen by direct election from territorial constituencies in the Panchayat area and, for this purpose, each Panchayat area shall be divided into territorial constituencies in such manner that the ratio between the population of each constituency and the number of seats allotted to it shall, so far as practicable, be the same throughout the Panchayat area.

(3)   The Legislature of a State may, by law, provide for the representation –

a)   Of the Chairpersons of the Panchayats at the village level, in the Panchayats at the intermediate level or, in the case of a state not having Panchayats at the intermediate level, in the Panchayats at the district level;

b)   Of the Chairpersons of the Panchayats at the intermediate level, in the Panchayats at the district level;

c)   Of the members of the House o! the People and the members of the Legislative Assembly of the State representing constituencies which comprise wholly or partly a Panchayat area at a level other than the village level, in such Panchayat;

d)   Of the members of the Council of States and the members of the Legislative Council of the State, where they are registered as electors within –

(i)   A Panchayat area at the intermediate level, in Panchayat at the intermediate level;

(ii)   A Panchayat area at the district level, in Panchayat at the district level.

(4)   The Chairperson of a Panchayat and other members of a Panchayat whether or not chosen by direct election from territorial constituencies in the Panchayat area shall have the right to vote in the meetings of the Panchayats.

(5)   The Chairperson of –

a)   A Panchayat at the village level shall be elected in such manner as the Legislature of a State may, by law, provide; and

b)   A Panchayat at the intermediate level or district level shall be elected by, and from amongst, the elected members thereof.

243-D. Reservation of seats - (1) Seats shall be reserved for-

a)   The Scheduled Castes; and

b) The Scheduled Tribes in every Panchayat and the number of seats so reserved shall bear, as nearly as may be, the same proportion to the total number of seats to be filled by direct election in that Panchayat as the population of the Scheduled Castes in that Panchayat area or of the Scheduled Tribes in that Panchayat are a bears to the total population of that area and such seats may be allotted by rotation to different constituencies in a Panchayat.

(2) Not less than one-third of the total number of seats reserved under clause (1) shall be reserved for women belonging to the Scheduled castes or, as the case may be, the Scheduled Tribes.

(3) Not less than one-third (including the number of seats reserved for women belonging to the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes) of the total number of seats to be filled by direct election in every Panchayat shall be reserved for women and such seats may be allotted by rotation to different constituencies in a Panchayat.

(4) The offices of the Chairpersons in the Panchayats at the village or any other level shall be reserved for the Scheduled Castes, the Scheduled Tribes and women in such manner as the *Legislature of a State may, by law, provide:*

Provided that the number of offices of Chairpersons reserved for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the Panchayats at each level in any State shall bear, as nearly as may be, the same proportion to the total number of such offices in the Panchayats at each level as the population of the Scheduled Castes in the State or of the Scheduled Tribes in the State bears to the total population of the State 'Provided further that not less than one-third of the total number of offices of Chairpersons in the Panchayats at each level shall be reserved for women.

Provided also that the number of offices reserved under this clause shall be allotted by rotation to different Panchayats at each level.

(5) The reservation of seats under clauses (1) and (2) and the reservation of offices of Chairpersons (other than the reservation for women) under clause (4) shall cease to have effect on the expiration of the period specified in Article 334.

(6) Nothing in this Part shall prevent the Legislature of a State from making any provision for reservation of seats in any Panchayat or offices of Chairpersons in the Panchayats at any level in favour of backward class of citizens.

243-E.Duration of Panchayats etc. –

(1) Every Panchayat, unless sooner dissolved under any law for the time being in force, shall continue for five years from the date appointed for its first meeting and no longer.

(2) No amendment of any law for the time being in force shall have the effect of causing dissolution of a Panchayat at any level, which is functioning immediately before such amendment, till the expiration of its duration specified in clause.(1).

(3) An election to constitute a Panchayat shall be completed –

a) Before the expirty of its duration specified in clause (1):

b) Before the expiration of a period of six months from the date of its dissolution: Provided that where the remainder of the period for which the dissolved Panchayat would have continued is less than six months, it shall not be necessary to hold any election under this clause for constituting the Panchayat.

(4) A Panchayat constituted upon the dissolution of a Panchayat before the expiration of its duration shall continue only for the remainder of the period for which the dissolved Panchayat would have continued under clause (1) had it not been so dissolved.

243-F. Disqualifications for membership - (1) A person shall be disqualified for being chosen as, and for being, a member of a Panchayat –

a) If he is so disqualified by or under any law for he time being in force for the purposes of elections to the Legislature of the State concerned : Provided that no person shall be disqualified on the ground that he is less than twenty-five years of age, if he has attained the age of twenty-one years;

b) If he is so disqualified by or under any law made by the Legislature of the State.

(2) If any question arises as to whether a member of a Panchayat has become subject to any of the disqualification mentioned in clause (1), the question shall be referred for the decision of such authority and in such manner as the Legislature of a State may, by law, provide.

243-G. Powers, authority and responsibilities of Panchayats - Subject to the provisions of the Constitution, the Legislature of a State may, by law, endow the Panchayats with such powers and authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as institutions of self government and such law may contain provisions for the devolution of powers and responsibilities upon Panchayats at the appropriate level, subject to such conditions as may be specified therein, with respect to:

a) The preparation of plans for economic development and social justice;

b) The implementation of. schemes for economic development and social justice as may be entrusted to them including those in relation to the matters listed in the Eleventh Schedule.

243-H-Powers to impose taxes by and Funds of the Panchayats-

The Legislature of a State may, by law, -

a) Authorize a Panchayat to levy, collect and appropriate such taxes, duties, tolls and fees in accordance with such procedure and subject to such limits;

b) Assign to a Panchayat such taxes, duties, tolls and fees levied and collected by the State Government for such purposes and subject to such conditions and limits;

c) Provide for making such grants-in-aid to the Panchayats from the Consolidated Fund of the State; and

d) Provide for constitution of such funds for crediting all moneys received, respectively, by or on behalf of the Panchayats and also for the withdrawal of such moneys there from as may be specified in the law.

243-1-Constitution of Finance Commission to review financial position.

(1) The Governor of a State shall, as soon as may be within one year from the commencement of the Constitution (Seventy-third Amendment) Act, 1992, and thereafter at the expiration of every fifth year, constitute a Finance Commission to review the financial position of the Panchayats and to make recommendations to the Governor as to –

(a) The principles which should govern:

(i) The distribution between the State and the Panchayats of the net proceeds of the taxes, duties, tolls and fees levi able by the State, which may be divided between them under this Part and the

allocation between the Panchayats at all levels of their respective shares of such proceeds;

(ii) he determination of the taxes, duties, tolls and fees which may be assigned to, or appropriated by, the Panchayats;

5.3.13 Provisions of the Panchayat (Extension to Scheduled Areas) Act, 1996 (PESA)

PESA extends Panchayats to the tribal areas of eight States, namely Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Gujarat, Himachal Pradesh, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and Rajasthan. This has come into force on 24th December, 1996. Except Rajasthan and Bihar all States have passed laws to give effect to the provisions contained in the Act, 40 of 1996.

Salient Features

Under the Act, Gram Sabha has been vested with powers for:

- Ownership of Minor Forest Produce
- Development plans approval
- Selection of beneficiaries under various programmes
- Consultation on land acquisition
- Manage minor water bodies
- Control mineral leases
- Regulate/Prohibit sale of intoxicants
- Prevent alienation of land and restore unlawfully alienated land of STs
- Manage village markets
- Control money lending to STs
- Control institutions and functionaries in all social sector

Training and awareness generation programme

The Ministry of Rural Development extends limited financial assistance to the States in their effort to train and create awareness among the elected members of Panchayats and functionaries. The State Governments are being asked to conduct such training courses. The Ministry has also been providing financial assistance through the Council for Advancement of People's Action & Rural Technology (CAPART) to the non-governmental organisations for conducting training and awareness generation programmes on Panchayati Raj. This Ministry also commissions research and evaluation studies related to Panchayati Raj from voluntary organizations/institutions.

No. 40 of 1996

THE PROVISIONS OF THE PANCHAYATS
(EXTENSION TO THE SCHEDULED AREAS) ACT, 1996

An Act to provide for the extension of the provisions of Part IX of the Constitution relating to the Panchayats to the Scheduled Areas. BE it enacted by Parliament in the Forty-seventh Year of the Republic of India as follows:

1. This Act may be called the Provisions of the Panchayats (Extension to the Scheduled Areas) Act, 1996.

2. In this Act, unless the context otherwise required," Scheduled Areas" means the Scheduled Areas as referred to in clause (1) of Article 244 of the Constitution.

3. The provisions Part IX of the Constitution relating to Panchayats are hereby extended to the Scheduled Areas subject to such exceptions and modifications as are provide in section 4.

4. Notwithstanding anything contained under Part IX of the Constitution, the Legislature of a State shall not make any law under that Part which is inconsistent with any of the following features, namely:

(a) A State legislation on the Panchayats that may be made shall be in consonance with the customary law, social and religious practices, and traditional management practices of community resources;

(b) A village shall ordinarily consist of a habitation or a group of habitations or a hamlet or a group of hamlets comprising a community and managing its affairs in accordance with traditions and customs:

(c) Every village shall have a Gram Sabha consisting of persons whose names are included in the electoral rolls for the Panchayat at the village level;

(d) Every Grama Sabha shall be competent to safeguard and preserve the traditions and customs of the people, their cultural identity, community resources, and the customary mode of dispute resolution;

(e) Every Grama Sabhas shall:

(i) Approve the plans, programmes, and projects for social and economic development before such plans. Programmes and projects are taken up for implementation by the Panchayat at the village level;

(ii) Be responsible for the identification or selection of persons as beneficiaries under the poverty alleviation and other programmes;

(f) Every Panchayat at the village level shall be required to obtain from the Grama Sabha a certification of utilization of funds by that Panchayat for the plans, programmes, and projects referred to in clause.

(g) The reservation of seats in the Scheduled Areas at every Panchayat shall be in proportion to the population of the communities in that Panchayat for whom reservation is sought to be given under Part IX of the Constitution; Provided that the reservation for the Scheduled Tribes shall not be less than one-half of the total number of seats: Provided further that all seats of Chair-persons of Panchayats at all levels shall be reserved for the Scheduled Tribes;

(h) The State Government may nominate persons belonging to such Scheduled Tribes as have no representation in the Panchayat at the intermediate level or the Panchayat at the intermediate level or the Panchayat at the district level: Provided that such nomination shall not exceed one-tenth of the total members be elected in that Panchayat;

(i) The Grama Sabha or the Panchayats at the appropriate level shall be consulted before making the acquisition of land in the Scheduled Areas for development projects and before re-setting or rehabilitating persons affected by such projects in the Scheduled Areas; the actual planning and implementation of the projects in the Scheduled Areas shall be coordinated at the State level;

(j) Planning & management of minor water bodies in the Scheduled Areas shall be entrusted to Panchayats at the appropriate level;

(k) The recommendations of the Grama Sabha or the Panchayats at the appropriate level shall be made mandatory prior to grant of prospecting licence or mining lease for minor minerals in the Scheduled Areas;

(Scheduled Castes) Orders (Amendment) Act, 1990 which pertains to modification in paragraph 3 of the Constitution (Scheduled Castes) Order, 1950, was strictly followed for the purpose of enumeration of SCs population in the country. The State/UT wise SCs and STs list used at the time of census operations is at Annex.

At the 1991 Census, two questions were included in each of the Household Schedule and Individual Slip. While through question 10 of Household Schedule and question 9 of Individual Slip, inquiry was made in regard to SC/ST status of the person, the name of the SC/ST was enquired through question 11 of the Household Schedule and question 10 of the Individual Slip. Against this, at the 2001 Census, information on the SCs & STs was ascertained through question numbers 8 & 9 of the Household Schedule. The question 8 enquired, "If Scheduled Caste, write name of the SC from the list supplied. It was clarified that the SCs can be only among Hindus, Sikhs, and Buddhists. Whereas question 9 enquired, "If ST, write name of the ST from the list supplied". It was clarified that the STs can be from any religion. There was thus a major departure from the past in respect of designing/formatting of questions in the census schedule to elicit information on SCs/STs as well as the procedure followed for determining their population. One of the reasons for it was the adoption of advanced technology to scan the census schedules through high speed scanners and create ASCII records by converting the handwritten data from the schedules into digitized form through Intelligent Character Reading (ICR) software for further processing of census data.

Under the constitutional order, 1950 as amended in 1990, SCs can be only from Hindus, Sikhs and Buddhists while STs can be from any of the religions. The question on religion of each individual was canvassed through question no.7. The SC/ST status of each member of household was ascertained by asking whether she or he belonged to SC or ST. If the reply to either of this question was in the affirmative, the name of caste/tribe to which the individual belonged was recorded, provided the name of caste/tribe returned featured in the approved list for the State/UT. The enumerator was supposed to record faithfully in the Household Schedule, the name of SC/ST as revealed by the respondents.

Specific instructions were given to the census enumerators to tally the name of caste/tribe returned by the Household Schedule. In spite of all this, in many Household Schedules, the name of SC or ST was recorded in generic terms like 'Harijan', 'Adivasi', or surnames like Ramteke (generally used by Mahar) and Banjare, Miri, Kureel (generally used by Satnami, a sub entry under Chamar in Chhattisgarh) etc. In several cases, spelling or phonetic variations of scheduled caste/tribe names were also returned.

Such census returns were all considered by the Task Force which was specially constituted for this purpose before finalization of the SCs and STs population.

Finalization of Scheduled Castes (SCs) & Scheduled Tribes (STs) population :

Based on the information returned in response to questions 8 and 9 of the Household Schedule, the population of SCs & STs for each of the State/UT has been compiled. In the earlier censuses, total population of SCs & STs was finalized at the time of the manual compilation of the Primary Census Abstracts (PCAs) by the Regional Tabulation Offices which were specially set up for this purpose. This was done, based on response to question no.10 of the Household Schedule – whether the person belongs to SC/ST. The individual SC/ST population for each state was finalized later. In 2001 Census, the SC and ST returns have been coded directly on computers based on information recorded in column nos.8 & 9 of the schedule. The response on 'Religion' wherever required, was considered along with the processing of PCA.

Two 'Special Task Forces', one on 'Religion' and the other on 'SCs/STs' were set up under the chairmanship of RGI with officials drawn from the Social Studies Division, Census Division and each Census Directorate for scrutiny and appropriate classification of the responses.

The task of the 'Special Task Force on Religion' was to appropriately merge or group the new responses and code them into the appropriate religious community based on available literature and local knowledge. The Task Force on SCs/STs examined the different SC and ST entries and classified them into appropriate category based on the Presidential Notification as well as the available literature. Thus, systematic and scientific approach was adopted to firm up both the religion of each individual and the scheduled caste/ tribe status of each one of them. The total population of both SCs & STs in 2001 Census has been finalized by aggregating the population data of individual SC and ST at the appropriate geographical levels.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. In what ways 1976 order differed from the 1950 order?

5.4.2 Scheduled Tribes Order Amendment Bill, 2006.

THE CONSTITUTION (SCHEDULED TRIBES) ORDER AMENDMENT BILL, 2006

A   BILL

Further to amend the Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) Order, 1950 to modify the list of Scheduled Tribes in the State of Bihar.

BE it enacted by Parliament in the Fifty-seventh Year of the Republic of India as follows:—

1. This Act may be called the Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) Order Amendment Act, 2006.

2. In the Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) Order, 1950, as amended by the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Order (Amendment) Act, 1976, in the Schedule, in Part III relating to Bihar, for item 22 (since renumbered as item 21), as appearing in the Hindi version of the said Act, the following shall be substituted, namely:— "21. Lohara, Lohra".

TO BE INTRODUCED IN THE RAJYA SABHA

Bill No. LXX of 2006

STATEMENT OF OBJECTS AND REASONS

The Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes Order (Amendment) Act, 1976 (108 of 1976) made certain amendments in the Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) Order, 1950. Prior to this amendment, item 20 of the list of Scheduled Tribes in the State of Bihar stood as "Lohara or Lohra". Subsequently, on account of the passing of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes Order (Amendment) Act, 1976, item 20 underwent change, wherein "Lohara, Lohra" appeared at item 22. Inadvertently, the word "Lohara" appearing in the English version was misspelt as "yksgkj" in the Hindi version of the said Amendment Act.

2. Due to this mis-spelt word, there has been consistent attempt by Lohar (yksgkj) in Bihar, who fall under the category of Other Backward Classes, to be treated as the Scheduled Tribe and to obtain the constitutional benefits meant for genuine Scheduled Tribes by taking benefit of the Hindi version of item 22 "yksgkj" occurring in the Hindi version of the said Amendment Act of 1976. It may be added that "Lohar" is a distinct group and can not be treated as identical to "Lohara, Lohra". It has, therefore, become necessary to amend the Hindi version of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Order (Amendment) Act, 1976 so as to rectify the error occurred in item 22 by substituting the word "yksgkjk" in place of the existing word "yksgkj".

3. The Bill seeks to achieve the aforesaid objective.

1. How far the Bill 2006 has been effective? Furnish it with the examples from your own locality?

5.5 DRAFT SCHEDULED TRIBES (RECOGNITION OF FOREST RIGHTS) BILL, 2005

5.5.1 History of Forest Policies in India

In India, around 1927, the forest management, so long a central matter was transferred as a part of the revenue department to become a provincial subject. Soon the forest section became independent of the revenue department. The forest organization since then consisted of a Chief Conservator of Forests (CCF) located at the provincial headquarters, his deputies called Conservators of Forests, at regional levels. The next layer of Divisional Forest Officers was posted usually at the district headquarters, and his deputies Forest Rangers at the block levels. **The set-up is almost similar to the general administration but with some basic differences.** *The most important variation is that de-concentration in forestry never went down to the village cluster level as it did in general administration and in legislative wings.* Sometimes, a forest guard was entrusted with an independent responsibility of a small forest block but the forest guard was simply a watch and wards man and had no proper authority in any other forest duties. The most important variation however was that the forest department had always taken the stand of doing away with the private or communal ownership of land containing the forest in contrast to general administration which has championed the cause of private agriculture. In other words, in spite of an apparent de-concentration, the forest management continued to be a centralized system, which was mainly the result of state coercion. The local revolts were not powerful enough to confront or force a change of the policy of coercion.

The logic presented behind this centralization in forestry has been many. **First,** it was believed that the forest is a national resource, which should therefore be utilized for the nation/state. That particular sections of the people inhabit the land adjoining the forest is an accident of history and can not be accepted as a sufficient reason to allow them to manage it either for subsistence or profit. The analogy presented is that of mining. Coal, gold, petroleum etc. belong to the state which exploits it, no matter where they are found. Forests can not be an exception. **Secondly,** forests have effects that transcend the local environs. The local people will manage a resource keeping in mind its own local interests which may have disastrous effects on the outside areas. For example, the local interests may like to use it for fuel wood production while the particular forest may be a storehouse of biodiversity. Similarly, the people may use a forest area for grazing when it may be required to be protected from all uses being catchments of a dam reservoir. **Thirdly,** the colonials and later the national government wanted the forest areas to be a source of revenue. For example, teak was extensively exploited by the British colonial government for ship construction, sal and pine in India for railway sleepers and so on. The revenue earned by the Indonesian government annually is second to the money earned by the country from petroleum, which is the largest money earner. In parts of India, the forest contracts, such as that of biri pata (leaves of Diospyros melanoxylon), earns so much revenue that it is often used by the people involved in this business as a leverage for political power. **Fourthly,** some forests were earmarked by the government or the rulers with the sole purpose of using them for hunting and rest for the royalty and the colonial officials. **Fifthly,** the control of such large forest areas provided political power to the centre. **And last but not the least,** the government thought wrongly, an idea still held by many, that the local people are ignorant of forests, their indigenous forest management unsustainable and unscientific. Thus the forest management should continue to pursue a policy of centralization. Only in the recent past, a number of initiatives in several countries have been taken more as an adjunct to the main policy of centralization. These initiatives however are certainly significant departures from centralization worth separate discussion.

5.5.2 Pre Colonial Times

Before the advent of the colonial powers in different parts of Asia and the Pacific, which happened around the beginning of the 16th century, the forest land was mostly under the use of the local communities. The nature of use to which the forest land was put varied from place to place, depending on the characteristics of the people who inhabited the local areas. Some used it as the hunting and gathering ground for subsistence. The gathering included fruits, vegetables, cereals for food, fibre for clothing, timber, fibre and grasses for homes and materials for daily use and medicine. Some other groups who have already been initiated into agriculture practiced shifting cultivation, which developed different forms in different areas. But there are some commonalties between them. An individual household chooses a certain area of a forest, cuts it down, burns the wood for the ash to add nutrients to the soil, cultivates the area for a year or two and then moves to another forest leaving the first one to fallow and thus to naturally reforest. The household comes back to the first area after a fallow period for re-cultivation. The fallow time used to be around 15-20 years, now in places diminished to 3-5 years. Besides the hunting and gathering and shifting cultivation categories, there were two other forms of forest use. In one, the forests were permanently felled for sedentary agriculture. In the other, home gardens were introduced. In home gardens, the original forest vegetation near the home was disturbed and replaced by species of trees more useful to the householders. The garden simulated the forest in having a number of artificially grown canopies of trees, shrubs, herbs and grasses.

Whatever the form of use, the forest area was under the control of one or a group of households, except in the case of hunting and gathering where the entire community was in control of the whole forest. The households did not have the ownership of the land which vested with the community or sometimes in a very vague manner with the sovereign. The management however rested with the household/s. In other words, the forest administration was de-concentrated to the household or a group of households or to the community level but the authority lay with the community. It has to be kept in mind that this devolution is not an introduced or imposed process but is a step in the naturally developing human society, which we have classified as traditional.

5.5.3 Policies during British Raj (Colonial Times)

Except in a few countries, the equation between households, groups of households and community and the forest land changed dramatically with the advent of the colonial powers and consolidation of their hold on the countries concerned. The change was towards concentration i.e. the ownership was usurped by the colonial powers which took over as the sovereign power.

One of the earliest of such a change happened in **Sri Lanka. In 1840,** the British Administration promulgated an ordinance called Crown Land (Encroachment) Ordinance by which all forests, wastes, unoccupied and uncultivated lands were vested in the crown. The shifting cultivation land was considered as uncultivated and therefore came under the aegis of the ordinance. In Java of Indonesia, the proprietary rights of land in Java were vested to the sovereign by the British Administrator in 1811. By the Agrarian Act of 1870, the government accepted the local ownership only of continuously cultivated land which by implication excluded all shifting cultivation lands as not owned by the local community and thus subject to acquisition. **In India, by the Forest Act of 1878,** the British Administration acquired the sovereignty of all wastelands which by definition included forests. This Act also enabled the administration to demarcate reserved and protected forests. In the former, all local rights were abolished while in the latter some existing rights were accepted as a privilege offered by the government to the local people which can be taken away if necessary. **Similar stories can be told of Nepal, Philippines, Malaysia and other countries.**

The net outcome of the changed circumstances during the colonial period was that the forests came under the sovereignty of the state, which means a move towards centralization. The de facto situation was however different. Where the forest produces were immediately useful and valuable such as Teak in

India, Burma or Thailand or Pine (for railway sleepers) in Garhwal Himalayas, the arm of the administration reached the forest for exploitation. Where however the forests were distant, needing large investment or the products were not marketable or the area was malarial, (e.g. Nepal terai) the local people, continued to use the forests as they used to do traditionally. For such areas therefore the de facto and the de jure situation were different which created a lot of tension between the people and the sovereign at a later stage of history. **The perception of the users was that the forests belonged to them while the government functionaries believed that the forests were allowed to be used by the people either by default or as a gesture of goodwill.** As the countryside opened up, as the demand of all types of timber developed in the local and in the international markets, and as the state realized the potential monetary and other values of the forests, stricter rules were enforced by coercion to bring all these forests under the state control.

With the departure of the colonial administration and attainment of independence, the noose of state control around the forests was further tightened and the traditional users were more and more left out. Only around 1970s and thereafter some initiatives in devolution were taken.

Before the close of 19th century the tribal enjoyed absolute right over the forests of their respective areas. **The first national Policy on forest was formulated in 1894.** Thereafter, the state began to manage the affairs of the forest. At the same time the commercial exploitation of the forest also began. Secondly, the Indian Railways began expanding for which huge amount of timber was needed to lay the Railway Tracks. All this had a very adverse effect in life of the tribesmen. The Indigenous Rights and privileges of the tribals and the forest resources were curtailed due to the forest policy.

5.5.4 Policies after independence (India)

In 1953, which is a few years after the attainment of independence, the government took over the forests which were earlier with the zaminders. Even as late as 1980, the Conservation Act stipulated that the central permission is required to change the legal status of any forest, which is a concurrent subject. It has been ensured in the Act that even the practice of agro-forestry in a forest area will need central permission or else attract punishment. The moves towards centralization was intended amongst others, to keep deforestation under check, to earn revenue from the forests for using it in the country's developmental work, to conserve certain areas for ecological purposes such as biodiversity and soil and water conservation, to put a break to the fast dwindling animal life and so on. *However, the intention was not matched by performance. Whether by design, inefficiency, lack of political will or centralization being a wrong policy, none of the intended objectives was attained in a significant manner. The states had faced obstacles to indiscriminately dereserve forests for ostensible development work, but overall deforestation went on increasing, the animal life dwindled further and the erosion of the forest land accentuated to clog the river valleys with more sediments.*

The exact impact of National Forest Policy, 1894 was not realized till independence. As there was plenty of forest, however, the tribals on many occasions resented, which is reflected in different tribal revolts. After independence the industrialization and urbanization in India started at an unprecedented rate. This had a very adverse effect in the life of the tribals. On the one hand, large scale deforestation took place causes ecological imbalance on the other, the tribals were prevented from making use of forest even for domestic purposes. **In 1952 a new forest policy was introduced,** which recognized 6 vital needs:

1. Evolution of a system of balanced and complementary land use (with regard to shifting cultivation).
2. Checking of soil erosion.
3. Establishment of free land.
4. Creation of small woods for grazing and collection for fuel and for domestic purposes (for the tribals).
5. Supply of the timber for National needs.
6. Realization of maximum annual revenue.

The new forest policy drew the concessions granted to the tribals for free grazing in the forest. Instead it introduced grazing free. It brought private forest under state control and it also discouraged the traditional practice of shifting cultivation of some tribes.

After the introduction of this policy the tribals who considered themselves to be the Master of Forest became their subject. The traditional rights of the tribals over forest were reduced to mere concessions. As a result there was much hue and cry against this policy. The curtailment of the rights and the concession of the tribals very often resulted in conflict between them and the forest officers.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. List the major drawbacks in the Forest Policy of India before independence?

5.5.5 National Forest Policy 1988

Sensing the mood and the resentment of the tribal people in different part of the country government announced a new forest policy in 1988, which is given as below:

The Government has been taking a consistent view on this central theme of integrating Forest Dwelling Scheduled Tribes (FDSTs) living in and around forests in to every aspect of managing forests. All policy statements, including the Forest Policy, 1988, circulars, guidelines, Government Orders issued by the Ministry of Environment and Forests (MOEF) have been espousing the cause of tribal communities and emphasizing the need for putting these communities at the centre of any conservation measures. Relevant excerpts of some of the important policies of MOEF are as under:

- **The Forest Policy, 1988** stresses that forests are a first charge to the tribal communities and their domestic and livelihood needs are paramount and superior to any other commercial needs.

- **The National Forest Policy of 1988,** while recognizing the symbiotic relationship between tribal people and forests, also safeguards the customary rights and interests of the tribal people and forest dwellers on forest lands.

- **This policy provided** for the association of tribal people closely in the protection regeneration and development of forest with a view to provide gainful employment to the people living in and around the forest, with special attention to:

   (i) Replacement of contractors by tribal cooperatives,

   (ii) Protection, regeneration and optimum collection of Minor Forest Produce (MFP) along with institutional arrangements for the marketing of such produce,

   (iii) Development of forest villages on par with revenue villages, family oriented schemes for improving the status of the tribal beneficiaries, and

   (iv) Undertaking integrated area development programmes to meet the needs of the tribal economy, but the fact remains that most of the high value minor Forest produce are monopolized by the State Forest Corporations and the tribal are just employed as daily wagers.

In order to fulfill the commitments as enshrined in the National Forest Policy, 1988, the Central Government in the Ministry of Environment & Forests had issued 6 circulars on 18.9.1990 for settlement of disputed claims. As per these Circulars, the pre-1980 encroachments on forest lands were considered eligible for regularization provided the State Governments had evolved certain eligibility criteria in accordance with the local needs and conditions and had taken a decision to regularize such encroachments but could not implement their decision either wholly or partly due to enactment of the Forest.

(Conservation) Act, 1980. These circulars provided for:

- Appointment of joint teams of Revenue, Forest and Tribal Welfare Deptt.;

- Involvement of Gram Sabhas;

- Banning agricultural practices only on certain slopes ;

- Restoration of titles to the claimants once the bonafides of the claims are established through proper inquiry;

- Demarcation of land to be restored to the claimant – no ceiling on the size of holding.

- Proposals for de-notification of forest lands along with the proposal for compensatory afforestation;

- Elimination of intermediaries and replacement of contractors by institutions such as tribal cooperatives, etc;

- Protection of tribals and non-engagement of outside labour in forestry activities;

- Conversion of forest villages which were set up in remote and inaccessible forest areas with a view to provide uninterrupted manpower for forestry operations into revenue villages.

- Accepted that it would not be appropriate to deny the inhabitants of forest village's legitimate rights over such lands which were allotted to them decades ago for settlement and have been continuously under their occupation since then.

- Restricting admissible evidences mainly to First Offence Report and thus in practical terms denying recognition.

The Draft National Environment Policy-2004 states that "give legal recognition to the traditional rights of forest dwelling tribes. This would remedy a serious historical injustice, secure their livelihoods, reduce possibilities of conflict with the Forest Departments, and provide long-term incentives to the tribal to conserve the forests".

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. What were the major provisions made in favour of tribals in the National Forest Policy of India, 1988?

5.5.6 Draft Scheduled Tribes (Recognition of Forest Rights) Bill 2005

In continuation to the aforesaid bills, acts and policies, the Draft Scheduled Tribes (Recognition of Forest Rights) Bill 2005, is discussed below:

FORMULATION OF THE SCHEDULED TRIBES (RECOGNITION OF FOREST) RIGHTS BILL, 2005:

It is in this background that the historical rights of the FDSTs had not been recognized despite all the done to tribal community and for clear assertion of their legal rights on land. With the help of the Technical Support Group (TSG), a draft Scheduled Tribes (Recognition of Forest Rights) Bill, 2005 was formulated by the Ministry of Tribal Affairs and circulated amongst the Ministries concerned for their comments.

The draft Bill has by and large been accepted with suggestions by concerned Central Ministries, except by the Ministry of Environment & Forests.

THE MAIN FEATURES OF THE PROPOSED SCHEDULED TRIBES (RECOGNITION OF FOREST RIGHTS) BILL, 2005 ARE AS FOLLOWS:

Objective:

The objective of the Bill is to undo the historical injustice by recognizing and vesting the forest rights and occupation of forest land to forest dwelling Scheduled Tribes who have been residing there for generations and who are integral to the very survival and sustainability of the forest eco-system, including wildlife, but whose rights could not be recorded.

1. **Rights of Forest Dwelling Tribes:** The Bill in Section 4 seeks to recognize and vest Forest Rights to forest dwelling Scheduled Tribes where they are scheduled.

Such forest rights, as defined in Section 3, are in respect of recognition of occupation of FDST on forest land and their habitat, where they have been living for generations and include:

- To hold and live in the forest land under the individual or common occupation for habitation or for self cultivation for livelihood by a member or members of a forest dwelling Scheduled Tribe;

- Rights such as nistar, by whatever name called, and uses in erstwhile princely States, Zamindari or such intermediary regimes;

- Right of access to, use or dispose of minor forest produce;

- Other rights of uses or entitlements such as grazing (both settled and transhumant) and traditional seasonal resource access of nomadic or pastoralist communities;

- Right of habitat and habitation for primitive tribal groups and pre- agricultural Communities;

- To be exercised for bonafide livelihood needs and not for exclusive commercial purposes;

- Not to exceed 2.5 ha per nuclear family of the forest dwelling Scheduled Tribe;

- To be heritable but not alienable or transferable:

- To include the responsibility of protection, conservation and regeneration of forests:

- To be registered jointly in the name of the husband and wife when it is in respect of land where a title is vested or recognized.

- To include traditional and customary rights

Further provides that no forest dwelling Scheduled Tribes shall be evicted or removed from forest land under their occupation till the recognition and verification procedure is complete.

2. **Duties of Forest Right holders** have been defined in Section 5 of Chapter III of the proposed Bill which include responsibility of not carrying out any activity that adversely affects the wild life, forests and biodiversity.

3. **The Authorities,** including their functions, have been defined in Chapter IV of the proposed Bill which includes Gram Sabhas. Sub-Divisional Level Committees, District Level Committees having forest tribal welfare and revenue officials as Members.

4. **Offences under the Act**

Detailed provisions for penalty for contravention of the provision of the Act and also the offences by

Government authorities under this Act have been provided in Chapter V of the proposed Bill. A simple imprisonment up to 30 days with or without a fine of Rs.5000/- has been considered appropriate as the proposed Bill also, in addition, provides for de-recognition the forest rights in case the offence is committed more than once. The penalties provided under other legislation including Indian Forest Act, 1927, the Forest Conservation Act, 1980 are in any case not barred by this Act.

5. **Nodal Agency**: The Ministry of Tribal Affairs or any other officer or authority authorized by the Central Government in this behalf shall be the Nodal Agency and shall be responsible for implementation of the Act.

THE SCHEDULED TRIBES (RECOGNITION OF FORESTRIGHTS) BILL, 2005

A   BILL

To recognise and vest the forest rights and occupation in forest land in forest dwelling Scheduled Tribes who have been residing in such forests for generations but whose rights could not be recorded; to provide for a framework for recording the forest rights so vested and the nature of evidence required for such recognition and vesting in respect of forest land.

WHEREAS the recognised rights of the forest dwelling Scheduled Tribes include the responsibilities and authority for sustainable use, conservation of biodiversity and maintenance of ecological balance and thereby strengthening the conservation regime of the forests while ensuring livelihood and food security of the forest dwelling Scheduled Tribes;

AND WHEREAS the forest rights on ancestral lands and their habitat were not adequately recognized in the consolidation of State forests during the colonial period as well as in independent India resulting in historical injustice to the forest dwelling Scheduled Tribes who are integral to the very survival and sustainability of the forest ecosystems;

AND WHEREAS it has become necessary to address the long standing insecurity of tenurial and access rights of forest dwelling Scheduled Tribes.

BE it enacted by Parliament in the Fifty-sixth Year of the Republic of India as follows:—

1. (1) This Act may be called the Scheduled Tribes (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act, 2005.

   (2) It extends to the whole of India except the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

   (3) It shall come into force on such date as the Central Government may, by notification in the Official Gazette, appoint.

2. In this Act, unless the context otherwise requires,-

   (a) "bonafide livelihood needs", in relation to forest dwelling Scheduled Tribes, means the use of forests and forest based products for subsistence of such Tribes or for their own consumption and includes barter and sale of such forest based products for their household needs;

   (b) "Commercial purpose" includes a forest based activity where such activity is used for profit or for large scale trade or mercantile purposes;

   (c) "Forest dwelling Scheduled Tribes" means the members or community of Scheduled Tribes who primarily reside in and around forests and includes the Scheduled Tribes pastoralist communities and who depend on the forests or forest lands for bonafide livelihood needs;

   (d) "Forest land" means land of any description falling within any forest area and includes unclassified forests, existing or deemed forests, protected forests, reserved forests, sanctuaries and na-

tional parks;

   (e) "Forest rights" means the forest rights referred to in section 3;

   (f) "Forest villages" means the settlements which have been established inside the forests by the forest department of any State Government for forestry operations or which were converted into forest villages through the forest reservation process and includes forest settlement villages, fixed demand holdings, all types of taungya settlements by whatever name called for such villages and includes lands for cultivation and other uses, permitted the Government;

   (g) "Gram Sabha" means a village assembly, which shall consist of all adult members of a village whose names are included in the electoral rolls for the Panchayat at the village level and in case of State having no Panchayats, the traditional village institutions;

   (h) "Minor forest produce" includes all non-timber forest produce of plant origin including bamboo, brush wood, stumps, cane, tussar, cocoons, honey, wax, lac, tendu or kendu leaves, medicinal plants and herbs, roots, tubers and the like;

   (i) "Prescribed" means prescribed by rules made under this Act;

   (j) "Scheduled Area" means any Schedule Area as referred to in clause (1) of article 244 of the Constitution;

   (k) "Village" means–

      (i) A village referred to in clause (b) of section 4 of the Provisions of the Panchayats (Extension to the Scheduled Areas) Act, 1996;

      (ii) Any area referred to as a village in any State law relating to Panchayats, other than a Schedule Area;

      (iii) Forest villages, old habitation or settlements and unsurveyed villages, whether notified as village or not; or

      (iv) In the case of States where there are no Panchayats, the traditional village, by whatever name called; 40 of 1996.

CHAPTER II

FOREST RIGHTS

3. For the purposes of this Act, the following rights shall be the forest rights of forest dwelling Scheduled Tribes, namely:-

   (a) Right to hold and live in the forest land under the individual or common occupation for habitation or for self cultivation for livelihood by a member or members of a forest dwelling Scheduled Tribe;

   (b) Rights such as nistar, by whatever name called, and uses in erstwhile princely States, Zamindari or such intermediary regimes;

   (c) Right of access to, use or dispose of minor forest produce;

   (d) Other rights of uses or entitlements such as grazing (both settled and transhumant) and traditional seasonal resource access of nomadic or pastoralist communities,;

(e)   Right of habitat and habitation for primitive tribal groups and pre- agricultural communities;

(f)   Rights in or over disputed lands under any nomenclature in any State where claims are disputed;

(g)   Rights for conversion of Pattas or leases or grants issued by any local authority or any State Government on forest lands to titles;

(h)   Rights of conversion of forest villages into revenue villages;

(i)   Rights of settlement of old habitations and unsurveyed villages, whether notified or not;

(j)   Right to access to bio-diversity and community right to intellectual property and traditional knowl-edge related to forest biodiversity and cultural diversity;

(k)   Right to protect, regenerate or conserve or manage any community forest resource which they have been traditionally protecting and conserving;

(l)   Rights which are recognised under any State law or laws of any Autonomous District Council or Autonomous Regional Council or which are accepted as rights of tribals under any traditional or customary law of any State;

(m)   Any other traditional right customarily enjoyed by the forest dwelling Scheduled Tribes which are not mentioned in clauses (a) to (l) but excluding the right of hunting.

CHAPTER III

RIGHTS OF FOREST DWELLING SCHEDULED TRIBES

4.   (1)   Notwithstanding anything contained in any other law for the time being in force, and subject to the provisions of this Act, the Central Government hereby recognises and vests forest rights in the forest dwelling Scheduled Tribes, where they are scheduled, in respect of forest land and their habitat including right to collect, utilize or transfer minor forest produce in such manner as may be prescribed.

(2)   The recognition and vetting of forest rights under this Act to forest dwelling Scheduled Tribes in relation to any State or Union territory in respect of forest land and their habitat shall be subject to the condition that such Tribes or tribal communities had occupied forest land before the 25th day of October, 1980 or such other date as the Central Government may, by notification in the Official Gazette, specify.

(3)   A right conferred by sub-section (1) shall be heritable but not alienable or transferable.

(4)   Save as otherwise provided, no member of a forest dwelling Scheduled Tribe shall be evicted or removed from forest land under his occupation till the recognition and verification procedure is completed in such manner as may be prescribed.

(5)   Where the forest rights recognized and vested under sub-section (1) are in respect of land, –

(i)   such land in no case exceed an area of two and one- half hectares per nuclear family of a forest dwelling Scheduled Tribe;

(ii)   the title to the extent given shall be registered jointly in the name of the male member and his spouse;

(6)   The forest rights recognized and vested under sub-section (1) in the forest dwelling Scheduled Tribe shall –

(i)   Be exercised only for bonafide livelihood purposes and not for exclusive commercial purposes;

(ii)   Include the responsibility of protection, conservation and regeneration of forests.

(6)   In case any forest right recognized and vested under sub-section (1) is disputed by any State Government or local authority, the Competent Authority appointed by the Central Government shall consider the records prepared at the time of declaring the area as a Scheduled Area, and while notifying any tribe to be or deemed to be a Scheduled Tribe under article 342 of the Constitution, along with evidence and then pass an appropriate order in the matter:

Provided that no order denying or refusing to grant any forest right shall be passed unless the aggrieved member or members of the community are given an opportunity of being heard.

The holder of any forest right under this Act shall ensure that, –

(a)   save as those activities that are permitted under such rights, no activity shall be carried out that adversely affects the wild life, forest and the biodiversity in the area including clearing of forest land or trees which have grown naturally on that land for any non-forestry purposes including reafforestation;

(b)   Catchment areas, water sources and other ecologically sensitive areas are adequately protected;

(c)   The habitat of forest dwelling Scheduled Tribes is preserved from any form of destructive prac-tices affecting their cultural and natural heritage;

(d)   Any activity that adversely affects the wild life, forest and the biodiversity is intimated to the Gram Sabha and to the forest authorities;

(e)   Appropriate measures taken in the Gram Sabha to regulate access to community forest resource and stop any activity which adversely affects the wild life, forest and the biodiversity are complied with.

CHAPTER IV

AUTHORITIES AND PROCEDURE FOR VESTING OF FOREST RIGHTS

6.   (1) The Gram Sabha shall be the authority to initiate any action for determining the extent of forest rights that may be given to the forest dwelling Scheduled Tribes within the local limits of its jurisdiction under this Act.

(2)   Every action under sub-section (1) shall be initiated in such manner and subject to such proce-dure as may be prescribed.

(3)   A Sub-Divisional Level Committee shall examine the decision taken by the Gram Sabha.

(4)   The composition and functions of the Sub-Divisional Level Committee and the procedure to be followed by it in the discharge of its functions shall be such as may be prescribed.

(5)   Any person aggrieved by the decision of the Gram Sabha may prefer an appeal to the Sub-Divisional Level Committee in such manner as may be prescribed and the Sub-Divisional Committee shall con-sider and dispose of such appeal:

Provided that no such appeal shall be disposed of against the aggrieved person, unless he has been given a reasonable opportunity to represent his case.

(6)   Every appeal under sub-section (5) shall be preferred within sixty days from the date of decision of the Gram Sabha.

(7)   There shall be constituted a District Level Committee with such composition and functions as may be prescribed to consider the record of forest rights prepared by the Sub-Divisional Level Committee for its final approval.

(8)   Any person aggrieved by the decision of the Sub-Divisional Committee may prefer an appeal to the District Level Committee in such manner as may be prescribed and the District Level Committee shall consider and dispose of such appeal:

Provided that no such appeal shall be disposed of against the aggrieved person, unless he has been given a reasonable opportunity to represent his case.

(9)   In discharging the functions under this Act, the District Level Committee shall follow such procedure as may be prescribed.

(10)   Every appeal under sub-section (8) shall be preferred within sixty days from the date of decision of the Sub-Divisional Level Committee.

(11)   The decision of the District Level Committee shall be final and binding and the Gram Sabha shall maintain the records accordingly.

7.   (1)   The State Government shall constitute a State Level Monitoring Committee with such composition and functions as may be prescribed.

(2)   The State Level Monitoring Committee shall examine the record of recognised and vested rights of forest dwelling Scheduled Tribes submitted by the District Level Committee and conduct periodic inquiry into the process of recognition and vesting through random selection of sites.

(3)   The State Level Monitoring Committee shall submit to the nodal agency such periodic returns and reports as may be called for by that agency along with the recommendations of the Committee for appropriate action.

CHAPTER V

OFFENCE AND PENALTIES

8. If any holder of any forest right conferred by or under this Act or any other person –

(i)   Contravenes or abets the contravention any of the provisions of this Act, or

(ii)   Commits a breach of any of the conditions of the forest right vested or recognised under this Act; or

(iii) Engages in unsustainable use of forest or forest produce; or

(iv)   Destroys wildlife, forests or any other aspect of biodiversity; or

(v)   fells trees for any commercial purpose, he shall be guilty of an offence against this Act and be punished with a fine which may extend to one thousand rupees and in case of the offence is committed more than once, the forest right of the person who has committed the offence shall be derecognised for such period as the District Level Committee, on the recommendation of the Gram Sabha may decide.

9.   Where any authority or officers or member of such authority contravenes any provisions of this Act or any rule made thereunder shall be deemed to be guilty of an offence under this Act and shall be liable to be proceeded against and punished with imprisonment which may extend to thirty days or with fine which may

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extend to five thousand rupees, or with both:

Provided that nothing contained in this sub-section shall render any member of the authority or head of the department or any person referred to in this section liable to any punishment if he proves that the offence was committed without his knowledge or that he had exercised all due diligence to prevent the commission of such offence.

10. No court shall take cognizance of any offence under section 9 of this Act unless any forest dwelling Scheduled Tribe in case of dispute relating to a resolution of a Gram Sabha or the Gram Sabha through a resolution against any higher authority gives a notice of not less than sixty days to the State Monitoring Committee and the State Monitoring Committee has not proceeded against such authority.

CHAPTER VI

MISCELLANEOUS

11.   Every member of the authorities referred to in Chapter IV and every other officer exercising any of the powers conferred by this Act shall be deemed to be a public servant within the meaning of section 21 of the Indian Penal Code 45 of 1860.

12.   (1)   No suit, prosecution or other legal proceeding shall lie against any officer or other employee of the Central Government or the State Government for anything which is in good faith done or intended to be done under this Act. (2) No suit or other legal proceeding shall lie against the Central Government or the State Government or any of its officers or other employees for any damage caused or likely to be caused by anything which is in good faith done or intended to be done under this Act.

(3)   No suit or other legal proceeding shall lie against the Authority as referred to in Chapter IV including its Chairperson, members, member secretary, officers and other employees for anything which is in good faith done or intended to be done under this Act.

13.   The Ministry of the Central Government dealing with Tribal Affairs or any officer or authority authorised by the Central Government in this behalf shall be the nodal agency for the implementation of the provisions of this Act.

14.   In the performance of duties and exercise of powers by or under this Act, every authority referred to in Chapter IV shall be subject to such general or special directions, as the Central Government may, from time to time, give in writing.

15.   Save as otherwise provided in this Act, the provisions of this Act shall be in addition to and not in derogation of the provisions of any other law for the time being in force.

16.   (1)   The Central Government may, by notification in the Official Gazette, make rules for carrying out the provisions of this Act.

(2)   In particular, and without prejudice to the generality of the powers, such rules may provide for all or any of the following matters, namely:-

(a)   The procedure and for manner of recognition and verification of forest rights under sub-section (4) of section 4;

(b)   The manner in which action may be initiated to determine the extent of forest rights to be recognised and vested in a nuclear family of a forest dwelling Scheduled Tribe and the procedure to be followed in such proceedings under sub-section (2) of section 6;

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(c)   The composition and functions of the Sub-Divisional Committee and the procedure to be followed by it in the discharge of its functions under sub-section (4) of section 6;

(d)   The manner of preferring an appeal to the Sub-Divisional Committee under sub-section (5) of section 6;

(e)   The composition and functions of the District Level Committee under sub-section (7) of section 6;

(f)   The manner in which an appeal may be preferred to the District Level Committee under sub-section (8) of section 6;

(g)   The procedure to be followed by the District Level Committee under sub-section (9) of section 6;

(h)   The composition and functions of the State Level Committee under sub-section (1) of section 7;

(i)   The periodic reports and returns to be submitted to the nodal agency by the State Level Committee under sub-section (3) of section 7;

(j)   Any other matter is required to be, or may be, prescribed.

(3)   Every rule made under this Act shall be laid, as soon as may be after it is made, before each House of Parliament, while it is in session, for a total period of thirty days which may be comprised in one session or in two or more successive sessions, and if, before the expiry of the session immediately following the session or the successive sessions aforesaid, both Houses agree in making any modification in the rule or both Houses agree that the rule should not be made, the rule shall thereafter have effect only in such modified form or be of no effect, as the case may be; so, however, that any such modification or annulment shall be without prejudice to the validity of anything previously done under that rule.

Specific Section wise Comments on the Draft Scheduled Tribes (Recognition of Forest Rights) Bill 2005

1. Chapter II Section 3 (k) says that scheduled tribes would have a "right to protect, regenerate and/or conserve or manage any community forest resource which they have been traditionally protecting and conserving,.....". What is meant by "Community Forest Resource"? Is this a legal category? Does it include RF/PFs and other categories of government forests? Would the forests being protected by many villages across India but are legally Reserved Forests fall under this category? Would the conserving villages be able to use this provision to acquire a legal right to manage these forests?

2. Chapter 4 Section 5 (c) mentions that "the habitat of forest dwelling Scheduled Tribes is preserved from any form of destructive practices affecting their cultural and natural heritage". However, for this to happen it is important that there is a corresponding right of Prior Informed Consent having to be taken from the right holders, in the case of development and conservation projects coming up on lands to which they have been conferred rights under this Act".

3. In general, there are several measures built into the Bill, regarding conservation and sustainable use in chapter III, and the "responsibility of protection, conservation and regeneration of forests" (Chapter 3 Section 4 (6ii). However, there remains a lack of clarity on what prevails in the event of "rights" causing wildlife/forest/biodiversity loss. Chapter 3 Section 5 (a) talks about activities that should not be done by any right holder

which would be harmful for forests and biodiversity, "save for those activities that are permitted under the terms of such rights....". So what happens if the rightfully granted activities are not sustainable and are causing harm to biodiversity? For instance, if the collection of a medicinal plant that has now become threatened is considered a traditional right, would the Act restrict it? It is not clear whether the Act explicitly restricts granting of rights if these rights are harmful to forests/ wildlife/ biodiversity....such a process has to happen *before* the granting of the rights, and could perhaps more explicitly be built into the Rules where the process for granting rights is elaborated.

4. Chapter 3 Section 5 (d) "any activity that is harmful to the forest, wildlife,... should be intimated to the gram sabha and the forest authorities". The same question as above holds true for this as well. What if these activities have been granted as rights? Chapter 3 Section 5 (e) "appropriate measures are taken in the gram sabha to regulate access to community forest resources and stop any activity that adversely affects the wildlife.....".....this is again confusing. What right would a gram sabha have to stop someone who is doing something which is rightfully allowed? Also what if the village or the Gram Sabha doesn't take on this responsibility of regulating use? Who, under the Act, is to ensure that this happens? However, neither the Act nor the rules elaborate on a process by which this would be done.

5. Chapter 5 Section 8 (iii) specifies penalty for unsustainable use. However, no where in the Act has "unsustainability" been defined. Who decides that the use is sustainable or not and on what basis?

6. **The relationship with other related Acts is not absolutely clear.** For instance:

(i)   Many of the area where such offences are happening will also fall under the jurisdiction of the Forest Conservation Act and the Wildlife Protection Act. How do the penalties under this Act relate to the ones under FCA and WLPA? Does this come under the purview of Chapter 6 Section 15 which says "the provisions of this Act shall be in addition to and not in derogation of the provisions of any other law..."? However, it is not clear if penal provisions (or provisions regarding jurisdiction of the Forest Dept) of the IFA, FCA, and WLPA "contravene the provisions of this Act"?

(ii)   In this Act the gram sabha has been given the responsibility to decide on the penalty for an offence. This means that all the offences such as unsustainable use, illegal felling of trees, destruction of wildlife will be dealt by the gram sabha. Is this in conflict with the Wild Life (Protection) Act or other relevant Acts which does not give any such rights to the gram sabha? The intention here is good but needs to take into account the existing provisions of WLPA and other relevant Acts. In situations where the gram sabha may not be very active, or where the species of wildlife involved have very high trade value, there need to be explicit provisions for checks and balances?

(iii)   In general, if the gram sabha fails to deal with instances of wildlife/biodiversity destruction, when and how do the other Acts become operational? Is it expected that the powers of the sub-divisional level committee and the district level committee, in which the Forest Dept is involved, would be adequate to provide for checks and balances? This perhaps needs to be made more explicit, while clarifying the precise relationship between this Act and other Acts.

7.   In PAs where settlement of rights may have happened already, without taking into account the people who have been denied rights because of lack of clarity, will the process be opened up again under this Act? How does this process relate to the process of settlement of rights in intended and finally notified PAs? Will this be part of the Settlement of Rights process?

8.   Chapter 2 Section 3(j) is about right to intellectual and traditional knowledge; potentially this is a powerful provision, but it needs to be elaborated in the Rules. What does such a right mean in operational terms? How is it to be enforced, and by whom? There is considerable debate and work on community intellectual rights, which needs to be built on to enable this provision to become effective.

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9. The composition of the Sub Divisional, District, and State level committees should have included NGOs and individual experts working on wildlife, both to provide information and knowledge inputs to the decisions taken, and to add another layer of checks and balances. The inclusion of the FD in these committees is not sufficient for this purpose!

10. Chapter 1 Section 2(d), the definition of "forest land" should also include Conservation Reserves and Community Reserves, the two new protected area categories in the WLPA.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Enlist the Forest Rights entitled to FDSTs in the Scheduled Tribes (Recognition of Forest Rights) Bill, 2005?

5.6 Present Scenario/Conclusion

The forest policy of India is based on the principle that sustainability is not an option but an imperative (Planning Commission 2001). While maintenance of the ecological balance remains an important objective of forest management, contributions that forests make to the livelihood needs of the rural poor, especially tribal communities, are a primary consideration (MOEF 1988). Forest management in India must address biodiversity and environmental conservation, assist in meeting the livelihood needs of around 350 million rural poor, expand forest cover, and increase productivity in accordance with national and international commitments. Since the mid-1980s, the forest area has increased (FSI 2000). Conservation efforts are based mainly on collaboration among forest departments, local communities, people's representatives and NGOs (MOEF 2001a). Although the National Forest Policy (1988) is the primary policy statement regarding forest management, various policy statements on environment and wildlife management also guide the management of the forestry sector.

The draft Scheduled Tribes (Recognition of Forest Rights) Bill 2005 spells out 12 rights to tribals ranging from inheritable rights to forestland, rights of ownership to minor forest produce, and rights to traditional knowledge.

Major highlights of the Bill are as follows: 1) The Bill proposes giving 2.5 hectares of land to each tribal family occupying forestland since or before October 25, 1980. 2) The Gram Sabha be fully empowered to determine the extent of forest rights to the inhabitants. 3) Convert forest villages into revenue villages to bring modern development. 4) Access to traditional seasonal resources.

However, the Bill in its present form is dogged by controversy, with many social and conservation groups, as also the Ministry of Environment and Forests (MoEF) opposing it. The most contentious issue being that the Bill leaves out many forest dwellers, such as tribes not scheduled in the Constitution, dalits and backward communities, creating circumstances for their eviction from notified areas. The Ministry of Environment and Forests (MoEF) has objected to the Bill, saying it will hinder efforts to conserve India's dwindling forest cover and subsequently its biodiversity. Quoting a clause from the draft bill, the MoEF says that if 2.5 ha of land is given to each tribal family then going by this calculation 20 per cent of India's land (68 million hectares) is forested; 8 per cent of India's population is tribal, which adds up to more than 50 million hectares! The land, the Bill states clearly, is for livelihood purposes only, not for commercial cultivation. The right to allot this land to be registered jointly in the name of a male member of the family and his spouse rests with the Gram Sabha of the village concerned, which is also empowered to punish wildlife crimes and any action that leads to the destruction of the forest. Here, the opposition expresses a lack of confidence in the ability of the Gram Sabhas to carry out this mandate. They feel that without adequate levels of literacy, it would not be possible to expect a Gram Sabha to understand the rules/ provisions and at the same time feel bold enough to take action. It fears that Gram Sabhas will fall prey to the local traders and mafias. The conservation lobby feels strongly that protected areas in particular will be jeopardized as a result of this Bill and should not be considered within its purview. It is certainly not a holistic

policy approach for addressing tribal issues, and seems to be made in haste without consideration to the other relevant issues that affect tribals. The draft in its present form only caters to the tribal groups mentioned in the schedule of the Constitution. The procedure of including more tribal groups in the schedule list is a lengthy procedure and was last done in 2002 after amendment to the 1950 Act. A number of tribes are yet to be listed. The draft if implemented will do gross injustice not only to tribal groups but also to people who are dependent on the forests for their livelihood. On the other hand, proponents of the Bill feel it is a remedy to the grave historical injustice that has been inflicted on tribals from time immemorial. They feel that tribals need land to sustain their culture, and by giving them their rights this is an attempt to undo the injustice done to them. Moreover, it is felt that as tribals know their surroundings well, they are better equipped to safeguard and protect their flora and fauna. They also argue that the legislation only seeks to recognize and regularize ground reality by granting legal entitlement to those millions of families who are today seen as encroachers and thus empower and improve livelihood chances of a historically marginalized people. This, they point out is already a part of the existing government orders and that bringing them under a central legislation will ensure that these orders will be implemented.

The policy formulation process in the forest and wildlife sectors has moved away from the domain of bureaucracy and experts to consultations with many stakeholders from the public and private sectors and civil society. Gradually, policy changes have expanded the role of local committees in terms of functional areas. Communities are increasingly involved in forest protection and the implementation of forestry schemes at the local level. The need to strengthen capacities of local committees and village leaders remains. The requirements of the forestry sector seldom appear on the priority list of the state exchequer, and budget allocations to the sector have remained low. External assistance has become important for implementing long-term structural changes. The mobilization of adequate resources for forestry programs and the inordinate delay in translating policies into statutory provisions require immediate attention.

Until recently, policy assessment was the exclusive domain of top-level bureaucrats and national experts, and assessments tended to be subjective. The participation of more stakeholders in monitoring and assessments has increased objectivity, although coordination remains a challenge.

The new approach for preparing, implementing and monitoring site-specific plans provides an opportunity for local communities to participate in decision-making. The new approach also requires institutions to strive for the right balance of effectiveness, efficiency, equity and sustainability. The changes in the policy process require problem-oriented forest policy research.

5.6 Present Scenario

5.7 Let Us Sum Up

In this part of unit we have learnt about conceptual and historical development of PRIs. How it applied since pre-independence and post-independence era. Beside these the discussion precedes with presentation of 73rd amendment and extension to schedule area act, 1996 and their salient features, which ended with situation of present scenario.

5.8 Key Words

Panchayat: *bhaiband* or 'brotherhoods' (in the villages of the Bombay Deccan) the *nurwa* and *patidar* (in Gujarat), the *gana, sabha, samiti* and *parisad* (in the north), the *nadu, brahmadeya* and *periyanadu* (in southern India), Gram Swaraj/Sabaha: Village self governance, PRIs: Panchayati Raj Institution, democratic decentralization of decision making process. **Minor Forest Produce:** "Minor forest produce" includes all non-timber forest produce of plant origin including bamboo, brush wood, stumps, cane, tussar, cocoons, honey, wax, lac, tendu or kendu leaves, medicinal plants and herbs, roots, tubers and the like; **Indigenous Rights:** The rights inherited by the native people of any area, **Forest Dwelling Scheduled Tribes:** The communities residing in and

around the forests and chiefly dependent on forests for their livelihood, e.g. hunter-gatherers and shifting cultivators. **Amendment:** To correct, to alter in detail, bill before Parliament with view to improvement.

5.9 Check Your Learning

1. Discuss the reasons behind the centralization of forests in India
2. How was forest used during the pre-colonial period?

5.10 Suggested Readings

Gandhi, M.K.	*Collected writings of Mahatma Gandhi,* c. 86 vols. (New Delhi: 1958 -)
Government of India	*Report of the Committee on Panchayati Raj Institutions* (New Delhi: GOI, Ministry of Agriculture and Irrigation, Dept. of Rural Development, August 1978)
Institute of Social Sciences	*Status of Panchayati Raj in the States of India, 1994* (Institute of Social Sciences, Delhi: 1995)
Pal, Mahi	'Panchayats in Scheduled Areas', *Economic & Political Weekly*, 35, 9 (May 6 2000), pp 1602-1606.
Sahay, V.S. and P.K. Singh	"Indian Anthropology", K.K. Publication, Allahabad. (1998)
Srinivas, M.N.	*Caste in modern India and other essays* (London: Asia Publishing House, 1962)
MOEF	1988. *The National Forest Policy, 1988.* New Delhi, Government of India.
Planning Commission.	2002.http://planningcommission.nic.in/about.html

Paper IV
Constitutional Provisions and Tribal Development Programmes in India

Unit-I History of Tribal Policy and Approach to Tribal Development in India

(a) Concept of Tribal development

(b) Tribal Policy during; (i) Pre-British Periods; (ii) British Period; and (iii) Post-Independence Period

(c) Approaches to tribal development in India

Unit-II Five Year Plans and Tribal Development Programmes

Unit-III Constitutional Provisions and Safeguards

Unit-IV Provisions in Fifth and Sixth Schedules, Autonomous District Councils

Unit- V Critical review of some tribal policies

(a) Provisions of the Panchayats (Extension to Scheduled Areas) Act, 1996,

(b) Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) Orders (Amendment) Bill, 2006

(c) Draft Scheduled Tribes (Recognition of Forest Rights) Bill, 2005.

TRIBES IN INDIA
AND
ARUNACHAL PRADESH

BA [Tribal Studies]
Second Year
Paper II

RAJIV GANDHI UNIVERSITY
Arunachal Pradesh, INDIA - 791 112

About the University

Rajiv Gandhi University (formerly Arunachal University) is a premier institution for higher education in the state of Arunachal Pradesh and has completed twenty-five years of its existence. Late Smt. Indira Gandhi, the then Prime Minister of India, laid the foundation stone of the university on 4th February, 1984 at Rono Hills, where the present campus is located.

Ever since its inception, the university has been trying to achieve excellence and fulfill the objectives as envisaged in the University Act. The university received academic recognition under Section 2(f) from the University Grants Commission on 28th March, 1985 and started functioning from 1st April, 1985. It got financial recognition under section 12-B of the UGC on 25th March, 1994. Since then Rajiv Gandhi University, (then Arunachal University) has carved a niche for itself in the educational scenario of the country following its selection as a University with potential for excellence by a high-level expert committee of the University Grants Commission from among universities in India.

The University was converted into a Central University with effect from 9th April, 2007 as per notification of the Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India.

The University is located atop Rono Hills on a picturesque tableland of 302 acres overlooking the river Dikrong. It is 6.5 km from the National Highway 52-A and 25 km from Itanagar, the State capital. The campus is linked with the National Highway by the Dikrong bridge.

The teaching and research programmes of the University are designed with a view to play a positive role in the socio-economic and cultural development of the State. The University offers Undergraduate, Post-graduate, M.Phil and Ph.D. programmes. The Department of Education also offers the B.Ed. programme.

There are fifteen colleges affiliated to the University. The University has been extending educational facilities to students from the neighbouring states, particularly Assam. The strength of students in different departments of the University and in affiliated colleges has been steadily increasing.

The faculty members have been actively engaged in research activities with financial support from UGC and other funding agencies. Since inception, a number of proposals on research projects have been sanctioned by various funding agencies to the University. Various departments have organized numerous seminars, workshops and conferences. Many faculty members have participated in national and international conferences and seminars held within the country and abroad. Eminent scholars and distinguished personalities have visited the University and delivered lectures on various disciplines.

The academic year 2000-2001 was a year of consolidation for the University. The switch over from the annual to the semester system took off smoothly and the performance of the students registered a marked improvement. Various syllabi designed by Boards of Post-graduate Studies (BPGS) have been implemented. VSAT facility installed by the ERNET India, New Delhi under the UGC-Infonet program, provides Internet access.

In spite of infrastructural constraints, the University has been maintaining its academic excellence. The University has strictly adhered to the academic calendar, conducted the examinations and declared the results on time. The students from the University have found placements not only in State and Central Government Services, but also in various institutions, industries and organizations. Many students have emerged successful in the National Eligibility Test (NET).

Since inception, the University has made significant progress in teaching, research, innovations in curriculum development and developing infrastructure.

SYLLABI-BOOK MAPPING TABLE

Tribes in India and Arunachal Pradesh

Syllabi	Mapping in Book
Unit-I **Tribes and their Habitat** (a) Tribes in India: Geographical Distribution and Demographic Composition (b) Tribal Ecology: Knowledge System (Health Practices, Resource Conservation, Beliefs and Practices)	**Unit 1:** Tribes, Habitats and Characteristics **(Pages 3-68)**
Unit-II **Socio-Political Organisations** (a) Family, Marriage and Kinship (b) Types and Function of Tribal Polity (c) Customary Laws and Social Sanctions (d) Religion: Faiths, Beliefs and Practices	**Unit 2:** Socio-Political Organizations **(Pages 69-121)**
Unit-III **Economic Organisation** (a) Types of Economy: Hunting and Gathering, Pastoralism, Horticulture and Agriculture (b) Distribution, Consumption and Exchange (c) Property and Inheritance	**Unit 3:** Economic Organizations **(Pages 123-169)**
Unit-IV **Tribes in Arunachal Pradesh** (a) Demography, Geographical Distribution and Linguistic Classification (b) Politico-administrative Growth of Arunachal Pradesh (c) Tribal Studies in Arunachal Pradesh: An Overview	**Unit 4:** Tribes in Arunachal Pradesh **(Pages 171-201)**
Unit-V **Society and Emerging Issues in Arunachal Pradesh** (a) Social Organisation (b) Emerging Issues: Land Relations, Occupational Diversification and Modern Polity (c) Women and Society: Inheritance; Women and Empowerment	**Unit 5:** Society and Emerging Issues in Arunachal Pradesh **(Pages 203-236)**

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

A tribe is essentially a group of distinct people who are dependent on land for their livelihood, who are largely self-sufficient, and who are not integrated into the national society. India is the home to a large number of tribal or *adivasi* people, who are still untouched by the lifestyle of the modern world. Estimates put the number of tribal people in India to be around 84 million. These people are the poorest in the country and are still dependent on hunting, agriculture and fishing for their livelihood. Some of the major tribal groups in India include the Gonds, Santhals, Khasis, Angamis, Bhils, Bhutias and the Great Andamanese. All these tribal people have their own culture, tradition, language and lifestyle. The north eastern part of India especially is considered to be one of most culturally diverse regions in the world and is inhabited by more than 200 tribes.

This book – *Tribes in India and Arunachal Pradesh* - has been designed keeping in mind the self- instruction mode (SIM) format and follows a simple pattern, wherein each unit of the book begins with the Introduction followed by the Unit Objectives for the topic. The content is then presented in a simple and easy-to-understand manner and is interspersed with Check Your Progress questions to reinforce the student's understanding of the topic. A list of Questions and Exercises is also provided at the end of each unit. The Summary, Key Terms and Activity further act as useful tools for students and are meant for effective recapitulation of the text.

This book is divided into five units:

Unit 1: Discusses the habitats and characteristics of tribes in India. It also discusses how tribes are classified and how the ecology influences tribal knowledge systems.

Unit 2: Examines tribal social organizations as well as customary laws and faith and belief systems among tribes.

Unit 3: Describes the tribal economic in detail. It also discusses property and inheritance among tribes.

Unit 4: Discusses the different tribes in Arunachal Pradesh, describing their demography, language and political divisions.

Unit 5: Describes the emerging issues in Arunachal society such as land relations, women's empowerment and social life.

UNIT 1 TRIBES, HABITATS AND CHARACTERISTICS

Structure

1.0 INTRODUCTION

In the present unit the focus will be on the term 'tribe', tribes in Indian context, their characteristics and habitats. You will learn (i) *what/who is a tribe*, (ii) *why a community or a person is called a tribe*, (iii) *where do they live*? and (iv) *how are they distinguished*? As an answer to the first question you will learn that tribe is a social categorisation. The second question will answer the definitional and conceptual issues relating to the term tribe. Answer to the third question will inform you about tribal habitats in India. You will also learn about the concept of tribal ecology and its importance in healthcare and resource conservation practise. The fourth question will provide an outline of characteristics that have evolved from the study of tribes.

1.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Define a tribe in general and in the context of India in particular
- Define a tribe academically and as a constitutional category

- Understand the scope of tribe as a social category

- Explain the concept 'Tribal India'

- Describe the evolution of the term 'tribe' in India in a historical perspective

- Classify tribal habitats from different angles

- Identify the distribution of tribes in regions, states and Union Territories

- Enumerate the characteristics of tribes

- Explain learn how ecology influences tribal knowledge system

- Understand tribal health care and resource conservation practices in terms of their ecological knowledge

1.2 WHAT/WHO IS A TRIBE?

You know that we divide human population into various groups on the basis of some criteria. The grouping of people as *tribal* and *non-tribal* is one of such divisions of human beings. In this sense, a 'tribe' is a group of human population designated differently in different countries of the world. In Australia and Canada this group is known as 'natives'. Many scholars also use the term 'aborigines' to designate them. In Africa, India and in many Asian countries the group is known as 'tribe'.

During the concluding decades of 20th century, particularly in 1990s, the use of the term 'indigenous' to designate this group came in a big way. This trend still continues. However, there is disagreement over the use of the term 'indigenous' for 'tribe' in many countries. Therefore, the International Labour Organization (ILO) has accepted the use of a compound term 'tribal and indigenous people' to designate this group of people in general.

You have already learnt that the group which is designated as a tribe has its own *community name* such as Oraon, Munda, Monpa, Khampti, Baiga, Santhal, Birhor, etc. All of them have been brought under an umbrella term, namely tribe by the people who wanted to create a distinct identity for these communities.

The nomenclature for this group of population as native, aborigine or tribe originated during colonial period. Even the term 'indigenous' has a colonial overtone.

The European colonisers distinguished themselves from the people of the land they occupied by using the terms as mentioned. This was not the case in India. You will learn that the term tribe in India was used in Census record after a long period of colonial contact. Moreover, the term was not used to designate all Indians, the entire population of the territory they colonised, as they did in other countries. In fact, it was the colonial mindset of 'divide and rule' which guided the British motive of dividing Indian population on various grounds. On the basis of caste factor, based on occupation, they divided the Indian population into ***tribe*** (people without caste system) and (caste) ***non-tribe*** (people having caste system).

Gradually, anthropological studies helped in perpetuating these divisions. After Independence, the Constitution of India scheduled (listed) a number of communities under Scheduled Tribe Category following some criteria of anthropological studies. So in India, a tribe is not fully an anthropologically

identified group; rather it is a social category administratively identified and termed as Scheduled Tribe (ST). For academic purposes, a tribe is both an administrative social category (ST) and non-administrative social category (non-ST).

By now you have learnt that in independent India a tribe is a community scheduled in the Constitution (administrative category). You will also find tribe as a non-Constitutional (non-administrative) category following the tradition of anthropological perspectives. In both cases a tribe is a group consciousness with reference to a distinct community identity. This identity got a separate status in colonial strategy and continued in anthropological studies and through constitutional recognition. Obviously, while categorising a community as 'tribe' in India historical process has played an important role. You can also notice that in other countries the tribe formation has a historical context.

However, a tribe also refers to an individual when we say he is a tribe or he is, say, a Gond. This means the person belongs to a tribal community. Tribe as a person represents the collective consciousness of belonging to and sharing with other members of the same group a code, rules, regulations, belief system, social customs, practices and norms which determine their actions both at individual and group levels.

1.2.1 Scope of a Tribe as Social Category

A tribe as a social category is not homogenous. It does not represent one category or the other. The category has bio-genetic variability, language diversity, different levels of cultural contact, varieties of livelihood options, different faiths and practices and distinct systems of governance within and without. You will learn the scope of tribes as a social category with reference to these dimensions.

Bio-genetic Variability

J.H. Hutton (1931), B.S. Guha (1935) and D. N. Majumdar (1961) in their study of racial classifications have presented bio-genetic variability of Indian tribes. Among these, B. S. Guha's classification which he summed up in 1955 is scientifically sound. According to him the tribal population of India belongs to three major bio-genetic groups as follows:

1. *Proto-Austraoids*: People belonging to this group are found mainly in central and eastern India. They are characterised by dark skin colour, sunken nose and lower forehead. The Munda, the Santal, the Bhil, the Oraon, the Ho, the Kondh, the Gond, etc. belong to this group. There are tribes in South India like the Chenchu, tribes spread over many regions like the Bhil also exhibit the characteristics of this group. The Kurku tribe of western India is considered to be of Australoid origin.

2. *Mongoloids*: We find people belonging to this group in the Northeast and Himalayan region of North India. The people of this group are characterised by yellowish skin colour with straight and dark hair, flat nose, prominent cheek bones and almond shaped eyes with epicanthic fold. Tribal groups like the Naga, the Adi, the Nyishi, the Bhoti, the Lepcha, the Chakma, etc. belong to this group. The Khasis of Meghalaya and Nicobarees of the

Check Your Progress

1. State whether the following statements are True or False:
(a) A tribe is also used to address an individual.
(b) All tribal people in India are indigenous people.
(c) ILO did not make any distinction between tribes and indigenous peoples.
(d) In India tribe is only an administrative category.
(e) Historical process is the right approach to study of tribes in India.

Car Nicobar also belong to this group though their languages belong to a different group.

The Mongoloids are divided into two groups: *Palaeo-Mongoloids* and *Tibeto-Mongoloids.* The Lepcha of Sikkim is an example of the Tibeto-Mongoloid group. The Mongoloid tribes of Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, etc. belong to the Palaeo-Mongoloid group.

3. *Negrito***:** This group of people spread over many regions of the country. The people of this group are characterised by short stature, dark skin colour, black curly hair, thin lips and broad nose. The people of this group are found in Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Bihar and even in Nagaland. The Kadar, the Irula, the Paniyans, the Jarawa, the Onge, etc. belong to this group.

The classification of tribes on the basis of bio-genetic characteristics cannot be applied strictly in India. Since time immemorial the population groups in India have been in the process of migration and social interaction. As Majumdar (1961) remarks, India as being the 'melting pot of races'. Therefore, you will find mixed characteristics to a fairly large extent. You will learn from various works that many ethnic groups have sprung from intermarriage between different groups. Edward Balfour (1885) in *The Cyclopaedia of India and of Eastern and Southern Asia* writes that in Mewar the Grasia is of mixed Bhil and Rajput descent. R. K. Sinha (1995) in his work entitled *The Bhilala of Malwa* also mentions about the mixed origin of the Bhilala from the marriage alliances of the immigrant male Rajputs and the Bhil women of the central India.

Language diversity

India has four linguistic families, namely:

1. Austro-Asiatic family
2. Tibeto-Chinese family
3. Dravidian family
4. Indo-European (Aryan) family

This is shown in Figure 1.1.
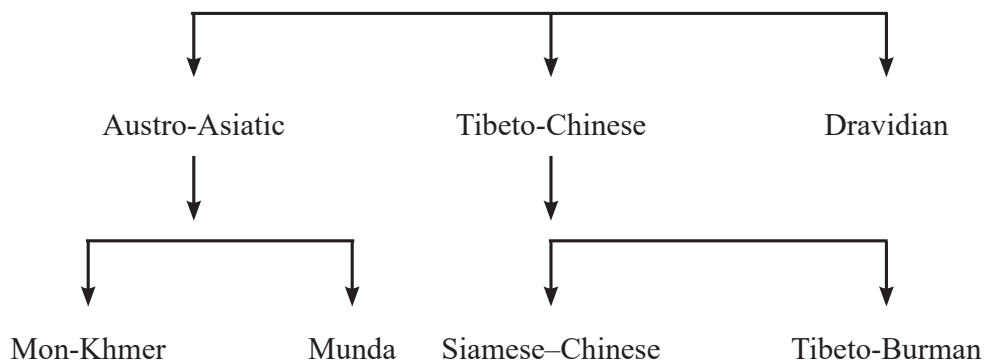
Fig. 1.1 *Linguistic Family of Tribes*

There is no disagreement on the nomenclature of Austro-Asiatic and Dravidian group of languages. But we do not have an agreeable designation for Tibeto-Chinese family. Linguists like Kun Chang, Austin Hale suggests Sino-Tibetan designation in which Tibeto-Burman group is a sub-family. G. A. Grierson in *Linguistic Survey of India* suggests eight major divisions of Tibeto-Burman group. These are:

   (i) Tibetan

  (ii) Himalayan

 (iii) North Assam

  (iv) Burma

   (v) Kachin

  (vi) Naga

 (vii) Kuki-Chin

(viii) Baro or Bodo

Another linguist, Paul Benedict, suggests seven divisions. Even today, different linguists use different classificatory term for these groups of language. The classification shown above is taken from Vidyarthi and Rai (1976).

The ***Austro-Asiatic*** family is classified into the Mon-Khmer branch and the Munda branch. The Khasis in Meghalaya and the Nicobarees in Nicobar Islands speak languages belonging to the Mon-Khemer branch. The Austro-Asiatic family, which sometimes called the Austric family, is different from the Dravidian family of languages. In India, the Munda speech family belongs to this group. The Munda speech family is mainly spoken by tribals of Central and Eastern India. Languages used by the Santal, Ho, Kharia, Bhumij, Savar, Khond, Gadaba, etc., belong to this group.

The ***Tibeto-Chinese*** family has two main sub-families:

  (i) Siamese-Chinese branch

 (ii) Tibeto-Burman branch

The Tibeto-Burman branch further has five sub-branches. The speakers of languages of this branch spread in the Himalayan and the Northeast regions of India. The sub-branches and the speakers in each branch are mentioned as under:

  (a) *Siamese-Chinese sub-branch*: The Tai group of people use this speech family. They are the Khamptis, the Phakials, the Ahoms, the Khamyangs, etc.

  (b) *Tibeto-Burman sub-family*: As has been said the languages of this sub-family are spoken in the Himalayan region and among tribes of the Northeast India. The speakers of Himalayan region are divided into as follows:

   1. *Tibeto-Himalayan Branch*: The Bhotias of Darjeeling in West Bengal use language of this speech family.

   2. *Western sub-group of pronominalized Himalayan group*: Tribes, such as Laamba, Lahaula, Swangla, Kinaura, etc. mainly living in Himachal Pradesh speak languages of this family.

   3. *Non-pronominalized Himalayan group*: Toto in West Bengal and the Lepcha in Sikkim use language of this family.

4. *Arunachal branch*: The tribes like Adi, Apatani, Nyishi, Aka, Mishmi, etc. use languages of this branch.

5. *Assam-Burmese Branch*: This branch has four sub-branches.

   (i) *Bara or Bodo group*: Kachari, Garo, Tripuri, Dimasa, etc. belong to this language family.

   (ii) *Naga group*: People belonging to Naga sub groups like Ao, Angami, Sema and Naga-Bodo sub-group like Kacha Naga, Rongmei Naga and Kabui Naga use languages of this family.

   (iii) *Kachin group*: The Singphows of Arunachal Pradesh and Assam use Kachin branch of language.

   (iv) *Kuki-Chin group*: The language is spoken by Kuki group of tribes, and Thadou, Ralte, etc. in Manipur. Mizo tribes in Mizoram and Manipur also belong to this language group.

The ***Dravidian*** family of languages is spoken by tribes living in Central and Southern India. The speeches of the Toda, the Paniyan, the Korwa, the Chenchu, the Irual, the Oraon, the Yerukula, etc. belong to this family.

Out of these four groups, scholars believe that the tribes belong to first three linguistic families. Tribes do not belong to Indo-Aryan family of languages. The adoption of Indo-Aryan family of languages by some tribes is however, due to cultural contact.

The Santal, for example, is a large Proto-Australoid tribe found in West Bengal, northern Odisha, Bihar, Jharkhand, Assam and also in Bangladesh. The compactness of the tribe having been broken, they have gradually adopted languages of the areas inhabited, like Odia in Odisha, or Bengali in West Bengal and Bangladesh.

The language group and the bio-genetic group are not coterminous. For example, the Khasis of Meghalaya and the Nicobarees of the Car Nicobar belong to Mongoloid genetic group, but they speak languages that belong to Austro-Asiatic language family. It is found that Mundas and Santals who belong to Australoid bio-genetic group speak languages of Austro-Asiatic family. On the other hand, the Bhills and the Gonds belong to Australoid bio-genetic group. Interestingly, the Bhills speak languages which do not belong to any of the language families of the tribes. Their language belongs to Indo-European (Aryan) family while Gondi, the language of the Gonds belongs to Dravidian family.

Different Levels of Cultural Contact

As you know tribes in India do not exist in complete isolation. They have been part and parcel of Indian civilisation even during Ramayana and Mahabharata periods. Even many tribal groups have taken part in state formation. In recent years the tribal communities form a part of Indian nation state. Obviously, you will not find tribes in an *ideal state*. Tribes have been integrated with different forces at different level of cultural contacts. Verrier Elwin (1943) with reference to different dynamics of cultural contact has classified the tribes of India into four groups in his seminal work on *The Aboriginals*. The first group is considered to be the purest of tribal groups. Geographical factors have largely protected them from the debasing contact of the plains. The Jarawa tribe can be said belonging to this category.

The second category has been experiencing contact with the plains and consequently has been undergoing changes. This group though retaining their tribal mode of living exhibits the following characteristics in contrast to the first group:

(i) Instead of communal life, this group lives a village life which has become individualistic. Their communal life and traditions are only preserved through their village dormitories (institutions).

(ii) In contrast to first group the members in this group do not share things with one another.

(iii) Axe cultivation has ceased to be a way of life for them.

(iv) The members of this tribe are more contaminated by the life outside. They come in contact with the group living on the periphery, who live a more complex, viz. civilised life.

(v) The members of these groups are less simple and less honest than members of the tribes belonging to first group.

The tribes who belong to the third category constitute the largest section of the total tribal population, about four fifths of it. Members of this class of tribal groups are in a peculiar state of transition. According to some investigations, they are tribal in name but have become 'Backward Hindus' constituting a sizeable section of the lower rung of Hindu society; one section is described as Christian. These tribes have been appreciably affected by external contacts. They have been exposed to the influence of economic and socio-cultural forces of Hindu society.

The tribals of fourth category according to Elwin consist of the old aristocracy of the country represented by great Bhil and Naga Chieftains, the Gond Rajas, a few Binshevar and Bhuniya landlords, Karku noblemen, wealthy Santhals and Oraons and highly cultured Mundas. They retain the old tribal names and their clan and totem rules and observe elements of tribal religion though they adopt the full Hindu faith and live in modern and even European style. Obviously, levels of cultural contact do not present tribes as a homogenous social category.

Varieties of Livelihood Options

Tribes live in different eco-habitats. They interact differently with different natural environments and eco-habitats therein. Primarily, they interact with natural environment — forest, land, etc. to secure livelihoods. As eco-habitats in a natural environment differ, you will find difference in ways that people follow to secure their livelihoods. Securing a livelihood depends on the strategy of economic pursuits. Many scholars have categorised the tribes on the basis of different livelihood options depending on their diverse economic pursuits.

You will find that Nirmal Kumar Bose (1967) has divided the tribal people into three principal categories on the basis of their economy. These are (a) hunters, fishers, and gatherers; (b) shifting cultivators; and (c) settled agriculturists using plough and plough bullocks. He also lists two other categories, viz. nomadic cattle keepers, artisans and labourers and workers in plantation and industries. Among these groups settled agriculturists using plough and plough bullocks account for the overwhelming majority of the tribal people. The workers in plantations and industries are also recruited from these groups.

Vidyarthi (1976), however, has presented seven types of economic pursuits among the tribes. These are (i) forest hunting type; (ii) hill cultivation type; (iii) plains agriculture type; (iv) simple artisan type; (v) the pastoral and cattle herder type; (vi) the agricultural and non-agricultural labour type; and (vii) the skilled and white collar-job type working in offices, hospitals, factories and so on.

You will learn details of livelihood options in Unit-III of this Paper. The point which is clear is that different livelihood options do not disqualify tribal status of a tribe or a section of it. Tribe as a social category is neutral to differences in ways of pursuing economic activities.

Another point merits mention here. A tribe can be categories as hunting-gathering tribe or agriculturist tribe. But you cannot categorise a tribe as non-agricultural or agricultural labour tribe or skilled worker tribe or white collar-job tribe. This is because these types of economic engagement exists in all the tribes in different degrees and a tribe is not organised on the basis of social activities as is around hunting-gathering, agriculture or pastoral activities.

Different Systems of Governance

The tribes do not have a uniform system of governance. Broadly you will find two types of systems-cephalous and acephalous. The former is a system with a centralised authority which may vary from tribes to tribes. The central authority or the chief may be at tribe or village level or at both levels. You will learn about it in details in unit-II. Similarly, in acephalous system of governance, there is no centralised authority. Village councils or tribal councils are examples of acephalous system of governance.

Different Religious Faiths and Practices

Religion is not a qualification for acceptance or rejection of tribal status. The Constitution of India also does not put any restriction. You will find tribes belonging to different religious denominations. A large number of tribes like Dimasa, Kinnaur, Juansari, etc. have been recorded as Hindus. You will find 17 tribes of Lakshadweep, Sidhi tribe of Gujarat, and Gaddi and Bakriwal of Jammu and Kashmir professing Islam. In the Northeast tribal groups like the Khasi, the Mizos, the Nagas profess Christianity. Some sections of the Oraon, the Santhal and the Ho also profess Christianity. The Monpas and Khamptis of Arunachal Pradesh and the Lepchas of Sikkim profess Buddhism. In recent years there is a movement of revivalism. Many tribes or sections within identify religious affiliation with traditional faiths and practices. The Adis, the Nyishis, the Apatanis, etc. believe in Donyipoloism, the Oraons believe in Sarana faith and the Zeliangrong group of Nagas believe in Hereka faith. These are clubbed under indigenous religions. Now you must have understood that the religious denominations do not restrict the scope of tribe as a social category. You will find tribes whose members follow different faiths and practices.

By now you must have understood that a tribal community may belong to any biogenetic group, language family, religious faiths, economic pursuits, level of cultural contact or/and system of governance. The scope of the tribe as a social category is wide and is not restricted on the basis of any of the above criteria.

1.2.2 Terms of Address of Communities Before Designated as Tribe

The tribal communities existed before they were designated as tribes. Did they have any identity as a community or as a group? This means how these communities were addressed. In early times the communities who are now called tribes were known by their community names like the Baigas, the Oraons, the Saoras. Over the years, for the term 'tribe' in India, a number of synonyms have evolved. These are *Adivasi* (original settlers), *Girijan* (forest dwellers), *Vanyajati* (forest caste), *Adim jati* (primitive caste), *Jana jati* (folk people), *Vavavasi* (inhabitants of forest), *Pahari* (hill dwellers) and *Anusuchit jati* (Scheduled Tribes). David Hardiman (1987) notes that in Gujarat, terms like, *kaliparaja* (the 'black people') is used to refer to the tribal people. Persian terms like *qabila*, *qabilewale* were also in vogue to refer to tribes. There are empirical evidences which suggest that the term 'jati' was used as a suffix to tribal communities. Mention may be made of the appellations *Adivasi jati, Vanyajati,* and *Jangli-jati* (the 'kind of forest dweller'). Denis Vidal (1997) writes,

> "In Sirohi [Rajasthan]… the same generic term (jati) was often used to refer indiscriminately [to] the castes or tribe".

You know that the term *jati* is used as a synonym for the term caste. This is a use in a rather restricted sense. In fact, this synonymous use is a borrowing from writings of western scholars during colonial period. Hence, we understand Indian *jati* system with reference to the conceptual frame of 'the caste'.

But the fact remains that the term 'jati' does not bear the connotation of its English equivalent 'caste'. The word connotes to 'kind or type' rather than 'caste'. In India it is used in a variety of other contexts such as *manushya jati* to mean humankind, *devta jati* and *danav jati* to mean gods and demons respectively, *stri jati* to mean women, *pashu jati* to mean the 'category' of animals or *vanaspati jati* to mean plants.

Many tribal communities were also designated through fictitious names, sometimes a common nomenclature. Often the designations by which tribes are known are outside constructs. Therefore, most of them are not known to outside world by their respective indigenous names. Contrary to the terms that the outsiders have improvised for them, tribes refer to themselves by their respective community names like Munda, Santhal, Gond, Baiga, Sahariya, Gaddi, or by the generic term *jati*, or the hybrid term '*Adivasi jati'*. The outsiders may also be neighbouring tribes or clans. The Laju Nocte, known to outsiders and to other clans of Nocte by this name, refer themselves as Olo. The Khamptis address themselves as Tai, though the term Khampti has meaning in their language system.

It becomes difficult to decipher the meaning of some names, even by the people to whom it is labelled. For example, the Tagin and Nyishi tribes of Arunachal Pradesh were designated as Dafla whose origin and meaning are still a matter of speculations. Nihar Ranjan Ray (1972) has suggested the term 'Jana', used earlier to denote tribal communities like Savaras, Bhils, Nagas, Kirat, Pulindas, Kols, etc., in place of the term 'tribe'. He argues that 'Jana' and 'Jati' are both derived from the root 'Jana' meaning 'to be born', 'to give birth to' and hence has a biological connotation. Their inhabited territories are known as 'Jana Padas' in ancient India. G. S. Ghurey, however, uses the term 'Backward Hindus' for the tribes. This connotation is in conformity with the

'nation building' project, which requires the national identity, essentially of a Hindu nation, through amalgamation of all peoples in a common bracket. However, Indian nation state does not believe in amalgamation; it rather believes and practises celebration of diversity.

1.2.3 Tribes and Tribal India

The terms *Tribal India* convey two meanings: apparent and conceptual. Apparently and literally it refers to tribes living in particular states and Union Territories of India. This meaning has a restricted territorial sense. In this sense its scope is narrowed down to include 30 states and Union Territories where Scheduled Tribe population is enumerated. In this sense you will understand tribal India in relation to the existence of tribal habitats in Indian states and UTs. You know it very well that a tribe is a state subject. Tribal India therefore, does not comprise India's whole geographical boundary as states and UTs such as the Punjab, Haryana, Delhi, Chandigarh and Puducherry do not have ST population (2011 Census). Moreover, in terms of existence of habitats tribal India presents a fragmented picture, as you already know a tribe in one state or UT is not a tribe in another.

Tribe being a state subject and some states/UTs having no ST population do not mean that tribe persons confine themselves to their habitats. In fact, you will find migrant tribal population in educational institutes and jobs of central government in states/UTs with no ST population. They are also found in institutes run or funded by central government in other states/UTs where they do not enjoy tribal status. In there a tribe person enjoys educational concessions, recreational service and promotional benefits and social safeguards. Obviously, tribal India has a meaning wider than the apparent one.

In wider sense, tribal India is a concept. The national character of many *tribal safeguards* in central government concerns extends the dimension of tribal India beyond the state/UT boundary. Moreover, there are non-ST communities in states/UTs where STs have not been enumerated. These non-ST communities are the ones who possess characteristics that enable a community to be scheduled in the Constitution. A few of these communities were also enumerated as criminal tribes during British rule. The Bangal and Nat in the Punjab belong to such groups, but not scheduled. In terms of STs and Non-STs Tribal India is coterminous with geographical and political India. Conceptually, therefore, tribal India is not a mere presentation of ST habitats; it is rather a geographical spread of both STs and Non-STs, a cultural expression of interaction and identity formation and also a national commitment.

A tribe in India is a part of the *nation state* unlike many other countries and earlier time. The concept of *nation state* is mainly a post-Independence phenomenon. Before Independence tribes existed in two periods- colonial and pre-colonial. In pre-colonial period, though they lived within a kingdom they enjoyed territorial autonomy and autonomy in the management of their internal affairs. During colonial period there were interferences to an extent in the field of encroachment of their resources and through appointment of administrative representatives in their areas. Many tribal revolts against the British were result of such interferences. Nevertheless, tribal areas were either excluded or partially excluded from the direct administrative interferences. They enjoyed

their autonomy to a large extent. But after Independence the tribes are a part and parcel of Indian nation state. In fact, during freedom struggle the tribes have contributed a lot to the Independence of the country and making of the nation state. Economically and politically a tribe is integrated with the Nation. Whatever autonomy they enjoy is guaranteed by the Constitution of India. Tribal India does not limit itself only to states/UTs where communities have been scheduled as STs in the Constitution.

1.3 WHY A COMMUNITY OR PERSON IS A TRIBE?

By now you know that a tribe is a social categorisation, may be a community or a person and has different terms of address. It was first the colonisers who noticed different social habits and cultural traits among the people whom they colonised. In order to distinguish these people having different life styles from their own, the colonisers put them under a different social category, called 'tribe'. This distinction has been continuing since then under different contexts. The Constitution of India recognises this distinction and designates the communities as Schedule Tribes (STs) with a welfare concern. A social group is considered a tribe because the people in it live differently from what we supposedly believe to be a *standard*, be it in social or economic or political or cultural front.

This difference is reinforced during academic pursuits. Studies of these groups generated information which is used to define and conceptualise the category already made. This distinction subsequently provides the basis of their integration and welfare in the nation state. You have already learnt about the definition of the term tribe, its variant like PTGs and the terms of reference. Here you will study these topics further to understand why a community is a tribe.

1.3.1 Background

In this section, you will have background knowledge of the term tribe and its use in India. You will learn how the term originated, and why, when and where the term is used in India. You will come to know that the term is used in census records, Government acts and other documents including the Constitution of India and academic works.

Origin of the term

There are different sources from which the term 'tribe' is believed to have originated. However, it was used by the Portuguese to designate the colonised people in Africa. Other colonisers used the term for the same purpose.

The term's origin might be found with the Latin word '*tres*' for three. The dative and ablative case forms of this word are both *tribus*. The word tribus could therefore mean "from the three" or "for the three".

The English word tribe occurs in 12th-century Middle English literature and refers to one of the twelve tribes of Israel. The word is from Old French *tribu*, which is in turn from Latin word '*tribus*'. In Latin the term 'tribus' refers to the threefold ethnic divisions of the ancient people of Rome: Ramnes (Ramnenses), Tities (Titienses), and Luceres, corresponding, to the Latins, Sabines and Etruscans respectively. The Ramnes were named after Romulus, leader of the

Latins, Tities after Tatius, leader of the Sabines, and Luceres after Lucumo, leader of an Etruscan army that had assisted the Latins.

Colonial Creation

Before the British rule no community in India was designated as tribal community. The term was used first in Census report of 1981 to designate a group of people. However, the communities designated as tribes have/had their own terms of reference and reference by the outsiders. As the communities have their own terms of reference and you will not find any community designated as tribe, nor was there any generic social category of the sort before the colonial rule. It is therefore deduced that the term is a colonial origin. In other words, the British administrators improvised and used it for making distinctions between population in India. This is also evident when different terms were used in successive Censuses because the enumerators could not understand the prevailing Indian dynamics within their theoretical construct when they attempted to fit some section of population as tribe in it. K.S. Singh (1998) writes:

> The tribe is a colonial concept, and Anglo-Saxon word, defined for the first time in the Census of 1901, in contradistinction to caste. The notion of tribe has evolved over the censuses, from a hill and forest tribe, to a primitive tribe, to a backward tribe, and finally, to the scheduled tribe.

Susana B. C. Devalle (1992) from her study of Jharkhand tribes concluded that 'tribe is essentially a construct', and is a 'colonial category'. The characteristics attributed to tribes, such as egalitarianism, subsistence economy, little or no external control, autonomy and isolation of such a unit, Devalle argued, are not found among Jharkhand people, known as *Adivasi*. There are no evidences found to prove that these characteristics existed in the past. Needless to say, according to her, there were no tribes in Jharkhand until the European understanding of the Indian reality constructed them. The category, thus devised later, evolved into an administrative concept.

1.3.2 Evolution of the Term

The use and evolution of the term tribe has two stages — census records of colonial India and the Constitution in Independent India. Of course, the term was used in an Act in 1871 before it appeared in census records in 1891. It was an arbitrary use, and the term did not evolve from its sense of use in Criminal Tribes Act,1871. You have studied the motive behind such an Act in Paper-I, unit-I. The said unit also reasons out the arbitrariness in grouping communities as criminal tribes and fixes the responsibility in colonial polices that forced some people to resort to theft, looting, etc for livelihood.

Criminal Tribes Act

You will learn that tribe as a social category is characterised in contrast to the caste. In other words, the Indian society is divided into *tribe* and *caste*. This broad division of society was administratively recorded in the Census Report of 1891. But before it the colonial government has used the term 'tribe' to create a category from law and order point of view. The name of the Act is ***Criminal Tribes Act of 1871*** of the British Government in India.

The purpose of using the term 'tribe' to people in other colonised countries does not fit in the context of some communities only as colonisers confronted all the communities in India on their arrival.

Denotified Communities and Criminal Tribes

The denotified communities were earlier known as criminal tribes. After they were denotified they were also known as ex-criminal tribes. It is to be mentioned that ex-criminal tribes are those tribes who were earlier listed under the British Government's Criminal Tribes Act of 1871 and in subsequent amendments. The only difference is the term denotified communities is an administrative cum social category, while ex-criminal tribe is a social category.

The term tribe has already been in the mind of colonial administrators and academics. It is evident when Mayhew (1862) used the phrase 'nomad tribes' in Indian context in the book *The Criminal Prisons of London and Scenes of Prison Life*. It was a thoughtless use of the term which the colonisers had in mind to categorise communities other than theirs. The absurdity continues through census reports till date.

You will find the use of the term for the communities even after the repeal of the Criminal Tribes Act. The Government of India repealed the Criminal Tribes Act and replaced it with Habitual Offenders Act 1952. The Habitual Offenders Act is a state Government legislation. With the repeal of Criminal Tribes Act, the communities notified under this Act as 'Criminal Tribes' were denotified and were recognised as recognized as 'Denotified Communities'. The Act being repealed, the tribes were denotified and designated as ex-criminal tribes or denotified communities (*Bimukta Jati*). In academic writings, however, you will find use of the term 'denotified tribes'. The colonial hangover, the familiarity with the term, the idea it conveys and an attitude of superiority feelings of a section, even in unconscious state of mind does not distinguish the implication of replacing communities for tribes.

Census Records

The term appeared second time in a government document, the Census Report of 1891. In the first Census Report of 1891, Baine, the then Commissioner for Census of India, classified some groups of people as 'Forest Tribes' under the sub-heading of Agricultural and Pastoral Castes'. Their number was enumerated at 16 million. In subsequent Census Records the nomenclature underwent successive modifications. In the 1901 Census, Risley classified them as 'Animists'. In 1911, E. Gait further classified them as 'Tribal Animists' or people following 'Tribal Religion'. Hutton categorized them as 'Hill and Forest Tribes' in the 1931 Census. By this time, these people were numbering 22 million. The term 'tribe' or 'tribal religion', however, does not have any definitional note in the above Census Reports. In the Government of India Act, 1935 these people came to be recorded as 'Backward Tribes' without a definition of the term. Similarly, in the Census of 1941 they were designated as 'Tribes' accounting for 2.47 crore people. After Independence, some of these people were listed in the Constitution of India and designated as Scheduled Tribes (STs). You shall know more about the concept of Scheduled Tribes subsequently. The preconceived notion in the mind of the enumerators of what people of a section could be called was the factor of not defining the term.

Check Your Progress

8. Write *True* for correct statements and *False* for wrong ones:

(a) Each tribal community has its own term of address.

(b) The term tribe existed in India before the British rule.

(c) The first reference of the term tribe in government records is found in 1871.

(d) In the Census Report of 1891 some group of people were classified as 'Forest Tribes' under the sub-heading of 'Agricultural and Pastoral Caste'. These people were classified as 'Tribes' in Census Report of1941.

(e) Ideally a tribe is a social category in contrast to caste.

Though the definition of the tribe was not clear, it was more the less considered in contrast to caste which are occupational groups. In caste system the principle of caste endogamy is strictly followed, which was in Risley's opinion not the case with the tribes. Contrary to Risley's definition, the tribes in India even during that time had an occupation or set of occupations; they spoke many languages. They were mobile and had migrated to different parts of the country. For example, Santals who are the native of Chotanagpur plateau are also settled in Assam for occupational reasons for a very long time.

By now you must have understood that the term tribe has evolved from *a hill and forest tribe*, to *a primitive tribe*, to a *backward tribe* in census records and finally, to the scheduled tribe in the Constitution of India. Over the Censuses during colonial period the nomenclature referring to tribes underwent successive modifications, involving primarily changes in the *descriptive adjectives* like hill and forest tribe, a primitive tribe or a backward tribe. The Constitution of India has dropped the qualifying adjectives and has adopted the notion of Schedule Tribe for this category.

1.3.3 Academic Perspectives

This section will list a few definitions which emerged from studies of tribal communities from academic perspectives. You will able to understand the characteristics of tribes better in section 1.4 outlined with reference to these definitions. Besides, you will also learn other terms used in different contexts to address the communities who are now designated as tribes.

Definitions

This section presents some definitions of the term tribe drawing on the study of different scholars.

Imperial Gazetter

> A tribe is a collection of families bearing a common name, speaking a common dialect, occupying or professing to occupy a common territory and is not usually endogamous though originally it might have been so.

J. Lewis Gillin and J. Philip Gillin

> Any collection of preliterate local group which occupies a common territory speaks a common language and practices a common culture, is a tribe.

Budhadeb Chaudhuri in the introduction to a set of five volumes entitled *Tribal Transformation in India* provides the following definition of a tribe:

> Anthropologically, a tribe is a social group, the members of which live in a common territory, have a common dialect, uniform social organization and possess cultural homogeneity having a common ancestor, political organization and religious pattern.

Paul Hockings

> … a tribe is a system of social organization which embraces a number of local groups or settlements, which occupies a territory, and normally carries its own distinctive culture, its own name and its own language.

John Milton Yinger

> …it is small, usually preliterate and pre-industrial, relatively isolated, endogamous (with exogamous sub-tribal divisions), united mainly by kinship and culture, and in many places also territorial boundaries, and strongly ethnocentric ('We are the people').

D.N. Majumdar

> A tribe is a collection of families or groups of families bearing a common name, members of which occupy the same territory, speak the same language and observe certain taboos regarding marriage, profession or occupation and have developed a well assessed system of reciprocity and mutuality of obligations.

George Peter Murdock

> It is a social group in which there are many clans, nomadic bands, villages or other/ subgroups which usually have a definite geographical area, a separate language/a singular and distinct culture and either a common political organization or at least a feeling of common determination against strangers.

It is evident from these definitions that a tribal community possesses some characteristics which we shall discuss in 1.5. It should be made clear that all the characteristics may or may not be found in a particular community.

You will not come across a tribal community having all the above characteristics which are advanced to define a tribe. There is a gap between the conceptualization of the term tribe and the empirical evidences. As Anthropology usually studies individual communities, the definitions would apply to the individual tribes at large. Its cross cultural implication therefore becomes weak and so there is no agreement on a universal definition of the term tribe.

Conceptual Perspectives

Academicians have tried to understand 'tribe' from different perspectives. You will learn the following three perspectives.

a. *Evolutionary perspective*: This perspective has three dimensions, namely 'tribe' as
   (i) Stage in the Process of Social Evolution
   (ii) Primitive Social Formation
   (iii) Segmentary Society
b. Tribe-Caste-Peasant Continuum
c. Tribe in Transition

a. Evolutionary Scheme

The definition of the term tribe in empirical situation deviates substantially from the ideal definitions because the tribes are in the process of transformation. Moreover, the tribes and civilizations also coexist. In such a situation due to the process of interaction the definition of the tribe would be substantially different from the one living in relatively isolation. The ideal type definition informs us about the tribes living outside the state and civilization. Therefore, André Béteille in his articles written in 1960, 1980 and 1992 has argued that the definition of the term tribe should be historically approached to understand the gap between the ideal type definition and the deviations. He suggests considering, while defining a tribe in historical

perspective, 'a particular mode of human grouping' in which many tribes were living in different parts. According to him mode of human grouping reminiscent of a stage in social evolution appeared to be the two essential elements in a definition. Obviously, he suggests for a definition of tribe situating tribe as a stage in the scheme of evolution of society.

(i) **Tribe as a Stage in Social Evolution:** Earlier anthropologists like Lewis Henry Morgan (1818-81), Edward Burnett Tylor (1832-1917) and other evolutionists defined tribes as type of society and regarded them representing a particular stage of evolution. Morgan attempted to demonstrate the stages of social evolution by the comparison of contemporary primitive societies. Tribe was seen as primitive social formation; primitive because they were supposed to represent the earlier stages through which the contemporary western civilization has evolved.

The evolutionary explanation is also evident in the writings of Marshall Sahlins (1961) and Elman Service (1962). Service defined four stages of social evolution which are also the four levels of political organizations: hunter-gatherer, tribe, chiefdom, and state. According to their scheme, socio-politico development has occurred through four stages and the tribe represents the second level in the pre-state social organization. Their scheme was:

Band → Tribe → Chiefdom → State

Band: It is a small group of people related through the ties of common descent. Members have face to face interaction and migrate together within a specific locality. Bands are generally exogamous and other than marriage partner each band is self-sufficient and independent of the other.

Tribe: For certain strategic significance like conflict or exploitation of resources some bands are believed to have come together to form a tribe. A tribe represents more than a mere collection of bands; it differs from bands in terms of nature of integration of society. Other than kinship affiliation, association was based on age groups, religious congregation and ceremonial parties. In the absence of any centralized authority, social order was maintained through the relative differences of statuses and roles. This perspective on tribe puts chieftain type communities outside the group. But tribes with chieftain type of authority are considered as tribes beyond evolutionary frame. This marks the existence of chiefdom as a distinct stage in social evolution redundant.

Chiefdom: A third stage of pre-state social organization was marked by emergence of a ruler. In the initial stages the chiefdoms were theocracies, with the ruler or the member of his family also serving as a high religious official. When the chief died the role was filled by someone from a particular line of descent.

State: It is a system of social organization marked by stratification with separation of political power from religious power. The centralized government bestowed with political power, i. e. the State, had the right to collect taxes, drag citizens for work and for war, and enact and enforce law.

(ii) **Primitive social formation:** Godelier (1977) also argues that the tribe is a type of social organization which can only be understood if we view it as a stage in social evolution. The 19th century evolutionists readily believed that the development of a more complex or a more advanced type of society would automatically lead to the effacement of the tribal type. For these scholars of tribal studies, it is a truism that tribes have preceded states and civilizations on the broad scale of social evolution. That is why Godelier and his associates placed tribes as opposites to civilisations. Ideally, they saw a tribe as an isolated, self-contained primitive social formation, but not part of civilization by force or by choice. It was defined on the basis of absence of those characteristics which we associate with civilization.

In the study of the tribes; the concept of civilization has its own connotation. Henry Lewis Morgan's work of 1877 (1944) emphasises on the 'practice of reading and writing'. It is also understood in the presence of 'great tradition' as defined by Robert Redfield in 1947 (1956). Naturally, the tribes do not have a 'great tradition', but have their local specific cultural behaviour, i.e., the 'little tradition'. In the sense of absence of the 'practice of reading and writing' they are not illiterate, but are 'preliterate'. So while putting the tribes in the scale of civilization they would not feature in the binary oppositions of 'civilized' and 'literate', i.e. they should not be designated as 'uncivilized' and 'illiterate'. Rather they should be designated as 'non-civilised' or 'preliterate'. Therefore, Béteille has suggested for a flexible attitude towards the definition of the term tribe.

(iii) **Tribe as a Segmentary Society:** Marshall Sahlins (1968) places tribe as a stage of evolution. But he associates the term tribe, i.e., the stage with Segmentary lineages as distinguished from centralised chiefdoms. According to him, a tribe is a segmental organization. It is composed of a number of equivalent, unspecialized multifamily groups, each being the structural duplicate of the other - a tribe is a congeries of equal kin group blocks. The segments are the residential and proprietary units of the tribe. It is held together principally by likeness among its segments and pan-tribal institutions, such as system of intermarrying clans, of age grades, or military or religious societies, which cross cuts the primary segment.

b. Tribe-Peasant-Caste Continuum

As has been said, tribes in India have never lived in isolation. So a tribal community is not static. In other words, the community is in transition. There is another dimension to understand the tribal interaction with non-tribals (caste-based societies). Tribes learned from caste-based societies and castes also learned some aspects of life of the tribals. Due to this process of interaction assimilation, acculturation and adaptation have taken place between tribals and non-tribal communities in different degrees.

This interaction has been a feature of Indian society from early period and can be traced back to the days of *Ramayana* and *Mahabharat*. The groups were referred to as *Jana* in *Ramayana*. When Rama reached the borders of the forests of central India during his exile, the land was introduced to him as *Jana-sthan*, the land of tribal people. His meeting with Guha and the Bhil woman *Savari* is a popular episode in *Ramayana*. In *Mahabharat*, there are references to *kiratas*, Bhim's marriage with a

tribal girl, Hidimbika, Krishna's fight with Banasura, etc. These in fact point to the prevalence of contact between tribes and non-tribes during that period.

Thus, in the process of this interaction the tribals have adopted some aspects of non-tribal ways of life. The converse is also true.

> There is a legend in Odisha about the incorporation of a tribal god into the Hindu tradition which evolved into 'Jagannath Cult'. The Badaga of the Niligiri Hills were influenced by neighbouring tribes. The Karma festival of the Oraons has also become a festival of many neighbouring communities in Jharkhand and Odisha.

We do not have sound logic to put tribal communities at one end of a pole and the non-tribal peasant communities at the other end. If we place tribal and peasant communities at opposite ends of a pole, there will be many tribal communities displaying characteristics of peasant and caste-based communities and many caste-based communities displaying characteristics of tribal communities at different degrees. There will not be a vacuum between tribal and caste-based societies place at the end of opposite poles. That is why it is said that there is a continuum between tribal and caste-based societies, known as tribe-caste and tribe-peasant continuum.

We can cite some examples of such continuum. Anthony Walker (1998) working among the Toda of the Niligiri Hills for several years, arrived at the conclusion that in comparison to 'tribe', the term 'caste' has a 'considerable value', for it helps in placing them in the context of the south Indian cultural matrix, to which they actually belong. He finds it confusing when the Toda are designated as a 'tribe' in the sense in which this term has been used in anthropological and sociological literature. In a similar methodological perspective Hockings (1998) after working among the Badaga of the Nilgiri Hills finds that the Badaga have been called 'tribe', 'caste', and 'Hindu race' in the literature on them starting from 1922. He argues like Walker that instead of focusing on a unit and labelling it, the entire system of which the unit is a part needs scrutiny. The Badaga had migrated to the Niligiri Hills from the plains to the north. Theirs is an example of a caste group which adopted a tribal model through its regular interaction with the Toda, the Kurumba, and the Kota, the Scheduled Tribes of the Nilgiri Hills. Hockings considers the Nilgiri peoples as a 'case of a caste society' displaying 'several distinct indigenous cultures' which have their 'respective origins in pre-caste social formation'.

F. G. Bailey (1961), proposed this continuity in his concept of Tribe-Caste continuum, where he showed there are societies with both characteristics of tribes as well as caste. Surjit Sinha (1965), similarly proposed a continuum between the tribe and peasant societies in India. Further, with several changes occurring among them in independent India because of government programmes of planned change, many of the tribes have undergone rapid transformation.

c. Tribe in Transition

As it is repeatedly expressed, tribes in India were never in isolation. The communities at different levels of civilisation have co-existed with non-tribal communities since time immemorial. Because of this co-existence, the tribal communities have been interacting with non-tribals (caste societies) at different levels. Needless to say, tribal communities in India are not static; they are always in the process of adoption and

Check Your Progress

9. Answer the following in brief:

(a) What are the sources of origin of tribe as a social category?

(b) Who are denotified communities?

(c) What are four stages of social evolution?

(d) What do you mean by tribe-caste continuum?

change. The process is more visible when these communities, whether scheduled or non-scheduled are integrated to the Nation's development agenda. A.R. Desai (1969) has, therefore, aptly remarked that the tribes in India are in transition. According to A. R. Desai (1969), in India majority of tribes should be viewed as 'tribes in transition'. To define them as tribe one has to take a historical perspective. Beteille (1992: 76) advocates a historical perspective to define a tribe. According to him, only by going into antecedent of a group we can say whether or not it should be considered as tribe.

The transition concept can also be understood with reference to syncretism or adaptation to different livelihood strategies. This concept portrays tribal society against the background of self-contained and static nature as was attributed in earlier writings on tribes.

Among the Khamptis of Arunachal Pradesh one would find a syncretic tradition of Buddhism and indigenous practices. They belong to the *Theraveda* cult of Buddhism, but also believe in the deities of mountains, forests and many other of animistic traditions. Ancestor worship is a practice of their curative system. Such a syncretic tradition is noticed in the study of Subhadra Mitra Channa on the Jad of Harsil (one of the five ST groups of Uttarakhand included within the generic category of Bhotiya). The people do not subscribe to any clearly bounded social or religious category; rather display a tradition betwixt and between the Hindu and Buddhist tradition. Tribe as a 'closed cultural group' is not evident in Khampti or Jad communities. Subhadra Mitra Channa further writes that Jad, being the pastoralists, shifts with their animals from one location to another as an adaptive strategy to different ecological niches. Obviously, they do not follow a singular adaptive strategy for themselves and their animals. Appropriately, she labels them as a 'mode of adaptation', a way of life with adjustment to different ecological conditions rather than a bounded unit as a tribe is understood in conventional scholarship.

Changes have been occurring in 'tribal' communities of India at different perceptible levels. Tribes do not stick to one locality. They migrate when the resource base is depleted. Against this background 'tribes in transition' is one of the characteristics to explain the tribal communities in India.

1.3.4 Tribe and its Constitutional Categories in India

The Constitution of India accepted the term 'tribe' to designate a social division. While scheduling the communities it used terms like 'caste' and 'tribe'. However, you will come to know that there is no definition of the term tribe in the Constitution, though it has accepted the communities earlier listed as tribes in its Scheduled Tribe category following the parameters laid down by Lokur Committee.

In India the tribe is largely an administrative concept. It refers to Scheduled Tribes, i.e. the tribes and communities listed in the Constitution of India. Other than the Scheduled Tribe we come across another term, namely Particularly Vulnerable Tribes. Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups (earlier known as Primitive Tribal Groups; both abbreviated as PTGs) is a sub-category of STs. In this section we shall discuss the concept of tribe with reference to Scheduled Tribe and Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PTGs).

Scheduled Tribes

With the attainment of independence, a large number of communities enumerated in census records were found backward in terms of development indicators like literacy, access to health care, nutrition, income and poverty. These communities came to be known as Scheduled Tribes as per Art.342. Certain pockets in India are largely dominated by these ST communities. These pockets were known as 'excluded area' during the colonial rule and later designated as Scheduled Area. The tribes and other communities, especially in 'scheduled area' were listed in Indian Constitution in order to provide them special assistance.

There was a debate on the use of a term for these communities. In the debate of Constituent Assembly, Jai Pal Singh, a tribal leader, favoured the term *Adivasi* in place of Scheduled Tribe. But Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, who was the Chairman of the Drafting Committee of the Constitution, argued that *Adivasi* is a general term, which has no special legal *de jure* connotations. On the other hand, the term Scheduled Tribe has a fixed meaning, because it enumerates the tribes, and so he favoured its use.

The Constitution of India, Article 366 (25) defines Scheduled Tribes as "such tribes or tribal communities or part of or groups within such tribes or tribal communities as are deemed under Article 342 to the scheduled Tribes (STs) for the purposes of this Constitution". It is to be noted that only those tribes which have been included in the list of Scheduled Tribes are given special treatment or facilities envisaged under the Constitution. The Scheduled Tribes are specified by the President under Article 342 by a public notification. The Parliament may, by law, include or exclude from the list of Scheduled Tribes any tribal community or part thereof in any State or Union Territory. In Article 342, the procedure to be followed for specification of a Scheduled Tribe is prescribed.

Article 342 of our Constitution states that:
The President may with respect to any State or Union Territory, and where it is a State, after consultation with the Governor on… thereof, by public notification, specify tribal communities or parts of or groups within tribes or tribal communities which shall for the purpose of this Constitution be deemed to be Scheduled Tribes in relation to that State or Union Territory, as the case may be.

In exercise of the powers conferred by Clause (1) of Article 342 of the Constitution of India, so far ***nine*** orders specifying the Scheduled Tribes in relation to the state and union territories have been promulgated. Out of these, eight are in operation at present as mentioned in table 1.1 in their original or amended form.

Table 1.1 Orders Specifying the Scheduled Tribes

S. No.	Name of Order	Date of Notification	Applicability to States/ UTs
1	The Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) Order 1950 (C.O.22)	6-9-1950	Andhra Pradesh, Arunanchal Pradsh, Assam, Bihar, Gujarat, Goa, Himachal Pradesh, Karnataka, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Orissa, Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu, Tripura And West Bengal.

2	The Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) (Union Territories) Order, 1951 (C.O.33)	20-9-1951	Daman & Diu, Lakshdweep
3	The Constitution (Andaman AndNicobar Islands) Scheduled Tribes Order, 1959 (C.O. 58)	31-3-1959	Andaman and Nicobar Islands
4	The Constitution (Dadra & Nagar Haveli) Scheduled Tribes Order, 1962 (C.O. 65)	30-6-1962	Dadra & Nagar Haveli
5	The Constitution (Uttar Pradesh) Scheduled Tribes Order, 1967 (C.O. 78)	24-6-1967	Uttar Pradesh
6	The Constitution (Nagaland) Scheduled Tribes Order, 1970 (C.O.88)	23-7-1970	Nagaland
7	The Constitution (Sikkim) Scheduled Tribes Order, 1978 (C.O.111)	22-6-1978	Sikkim
8.	The Constitution (Jammu & Kashmir) Scheduled Tribes Order, 1989 (C.O. 142)	7-10-1989	Jammu & Kashmir

No community has been specified as Scheduled Tribe in relation to the States of Haryana and Punjab and Union Territories of Chandigarh, Delhi and Pondicherry.

One order namely the Constitution (Goa, Daman & Diu) Scheduled Tribes order 1968 has become defunct on account of reorganization of Goa, Daman & Diu in 1987. Under the Goa, Daman & Diu reorganization Act 1987 (18 of 1987) the list of Scheduled Tribes of Goa has been transferred to part XIX of the Schedule to the Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) Order, 1950 and that of Daman & Diu II of the Schedule of the Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) (Union Territories) Order, 1951.

The criteria followed for declaring an area as Scheduled Area are preponderance of tribal population; compactness and reasonable size of the area; under-developed nature of the area; and marked disparity in economic standard of the people. The Orders, by which communities have been scheduled as tribes, do not contain the criteria for the specification of any community as Scheduled Tribe. These criteria are not spelt out in the Constitution of India either. However, these criteria have become well established. It subsumes the definitions contained in 1931Census, the reports of first Backward Classes Commission 1955, the Advisory Committee (Kalelkar), on Revision of SC/ST lists (Lokur Committee), 1965 and the Joint Committee of Parliament on the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes orders (Amendment) Bill 1967 (Chanda Committee), 1969.

However, the criteria laid down were not very precise and it would have been difficult to go about identifying tribes with it. For example, what is meant by primitiveness was nowhere defined. The Draft National Policy of Tribals, 2006 admits, "The criteria laid down by the Lokur Committee are hardly relevant today. For instance, very few tribes can today be said to possess 'primitive traits'." The Presidential Order, 1950 declared 212 tribes located in fourteen states as Scheduled Tribes. In fact the list was more or less similar to the list prepared in the 1931 census. Their number increased to 427 in 1971, 437 in 1981, and

to 621 in 1991. Communities can be excluded or included in the list based on the recommendation of the President. The National Tribal Policy, 2006 puts the figure around 700 while in the First Draft, 2004, the number of ST communities was given 698.

According to V.K. Srivastava (2005), today when the anthropologist uses the term tribe in the context of India, they include all the communities included in the list of the Scheduled Tribes although some of them may not be in accordance with the anthropological conception of tribe.

Ambiguity in ST category

Scheduled Tribe is an administrative and political concept and applies to individual communities and to territories as is the case of Kinnaur, Jaunsar-Bawar and Pangwal. In these territories people irrespective of their social categories have been declared as Scheduled Tribes.

The territorial dimension of the concept of Scheduled Tribe needs an explanation. Though Kinnauras are a territorial group which forms their socio-cultural identity, the Constitution of India has treated them differently unlike the Jaunsar-Bawar. T.S.Negi (1976) writes, originally there was the Kinnaura tribe, by legendary belief as well as some historical evidences and deduction, to be the descendant of the Kinnera Tribe of Hindu Mythology. But the tribe is stratified on caste basis as Khashia, Chamang and Domang on the basis of specialised occupation. Those who followed the profession of shoe making are called Chamang, and those who followed the profession of iron works are called Domang. Khasias are equated with Rajput. Consequent of these occupational divisions, the Rajputs are known as 'Sawarn'- the high caste, and Damang and Chamang as 'Harijan'. Interestingly, all these groups have their socio-cultural identity as Kinnaura. Strangely, in Indian Constitution the Khashias are enumerated as Scheduled Tribes and the Damang and Chamang as Scheduled Castes.

Some of the areas like Jaunsar Bawar in Pithoragarh district of Uttrakhand were declared Scheduled Area in 1967. As such the communities living there were scheduled as Jaunsar Bawar. Jaunsar is derived from the name Jamunasar meaning Jamuna tract of the District. The communities living there have three distinct social divisions. These three divisions are Khasa, which includes Rajput and Brahmins. The second one is the middle division under which Luhar, Sunar, Badi, Ode, Bajigi—the artisan communities are included. The third division is catergorised as *harijans* and includes such communities as Dom, Koli, Kolta, Koior, Angi, etc. The Jaunsar Bawar tribe in fact has a complete social categorization, in addition to it being a territorial construct. The territorial dimension of the tribal status is also reflected in case of many other tribes. The Malai Kuravar is a Scheduled Caste community in Tirunelveli district and ST community in Kanya Kumari district of Tamilnadu. Another interesting case of territorial dimension of identification of a tribe is the Bharia which is a primitive tribal group in Patalkot valley of Chhindwara district of Madhya Pradesh. Outside the valley but within the district they are recognized as ST community. Further, outside the district the community is not scheduled. Similarly, Rabari community enjoys Scheduled Tribe status in Gujarat but Other Backward Class in Rajasthan.

The territorial dimension also emerges from the fact that ST is a state concept. The tribe of one state does not enjoy the same status in another state. The Adivasis of Central India who belonged to Munda, Santhal, Saura, and other tribal communities were brought as tea plantation labourers to Assam during British period. They are designated as Adivasis in Assam, the place to which they migrated, but without the status of ST. This ambiguity stems from the Constitutional provision as is read in Article 342 (1).

Article 342 (1): The President may with respect to any State or Union Territory, and where it is a State, after consultation with the Governor thereof, by public notification, specify the tribes or tribal communities or parts of or groups within tribes or tribal communities, which shall for the purposes of this Constitution be deemed to be Scheduled Tribes in relation to that State or Union Territory as the case may be.

Article 342 (2): Parliament may by law include in or exclude from the list of Scheduled Tribes specified in a notification issued under clause (1) any tribe or tribal community or part of or group within any tribe or tribal community but save as aforesaid a notification issued under the said clause shall not be varied by any subsequent notification.

In early anthropology literature tribe is depicted as a community outside the state. But in India there are tribal communities scheduled in the Indian Constitution which participated in State formation. Raj Gond, Jaintia, Tripuri and Bhuyan are examples.

Hugh Chisholm (1910), informs us in The Encyclopaedia Britannica,

"... The 16th century saw the establishment of a powerful Gond kingdom by Sangram Sah, who succeeded in 1480 as the 47th of the petty Gond rajas of Garha-Mandla, and extended his dominions to include Saugor and Damoh on the Vindhyan plateau, Jubbulpore and Narsinghpur in the Nerbudda valley, and Seoni on the Satpura highlands ...".

It is to be mentioned that the tribal chiefs were not the rulers of their own communities only. There are 'non-tribal' communities which were also ruled by them. The Khamptis of present Arunachal Pradesh were rulers of Sadiya outpost of the Ahom kingdom some times during first half of 19th century. Interestingly, Sadiya was not the inhabited land of the Khamptis.

R. Singh (2000) in his book entitled *Tribal Beliefs, Practices and Insurrections* writes,

…The Gond rajas of Chanda and Garha Mandla were not only the hereditary leaders of their Gond subjects, but also held sway over substantial communities of non-tribals who recognized them as their feudal lords ...

Raji, a small primitive tribe in central Himalaya claims to be the rulers of northern half of Pittoragarh district. They are descendents of Eskt's dynasty. Similarly, the history of Jaintia kingdom of Meghlaya is an example of participation of the Jaintia tribe in state formation. The Tripura state is named after the Tripuri tribe who once ruled the land through Debabarman clan.

During British period the construct of tribe was basically in contrast to caste which is a construct of occupational groups. But there are scheduled tribal communities within which occupational diversification is clearly visible. Kolcha, a *primitive* tribal group in Valsad and Panchmahals districts of Gujarat are basket makers, agriculture and forest labourers. But traditionally, this community was handling carcass.

The ST group also includes communities with class formation. The Bhoksa tribe of central Himalayas lives in two territorial divisions. Dehradun Pauri Gharwal and Bijnor districts constitute the first zone, while Nainital district constitutes the second one. The Bhoksas of second zone are economically better off as compared to those in first zone and consider themselves superior. The territorial dimension of ST is also reflected in their nomenclature. You will study about it in unit-IV of this paper. The Khampti tribe of Arunachal Pradesh has derived its name from a place full of gold (*Kham*-gold; *ti*- land). The Tangsa tribe of the same state derives its name from a place called *Tang*, Tangsa meaning the children of *Tang*. The Nyishi tribe identify themselves as the people living in a territory lying between *Nyeme* (Tibet) and *Nyipak* (plains). The Scheduled Tribe communities do not exist in all the states of India. In states of Punjab, Delhi and in Union Territory of Chandigarh there are no communities identified as STs. This does not mean that there is no ST population in these places. Thousands of students and members from ST communities come to these places for study and work. It is to be mentioned that ST category is not synonym of the social category called tribe in anthropological literature.

By now you have learned the following:

(i) ST communities include societies with social hierarchy;

(ii) they do not have only social dimension;

(iii) these communities include societies which have participate in the process of state formation; and

(iv) accommodate communities displaying occupational divisions;

Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PTGs)

The Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PTGs) is not a Constitutional category different from the Scheduled Tribes. It is a category within the ST category. The distinction between PTGs from within the STs is a matter of degree of development. The Shilu Ao Committee constituted by the Planning Commission in 1969 had observed that the impact of planned 'change and development' has not been uniform on all the tribal communities. Within the Scheduled Tribes, conditions of some of the communities have not improved. They remained extremely backward and some of them continued to be in the primitive food gathering stage. In view of this, in 1973, the Dhebar Commission created Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs) as a separate category, who are less developed among the tribal groups. In 2006, the Government of India renamed the PTGs as Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups but retained the abbreviation PTGs.

> The Ministry of Tribal Affairs use the abbreviated form of PTGS and PVTGs interchangeably for Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups.

In view of this, in 1975, the Government of India identified 52 most vulnerable tribal groups as a separate category called PTGs. Further, in 1993 an additional 23 groups were added to the category, making it a total of 75 PTGs out of 705 Scheduled Tribes, spread over 17 states and one Union Territory (UT), in the country (2011 census). Table 1.2 below provides information on distribution of PTGs in states and UTs.

Table 1.2 *State and Union Territory-wise Distribution of PTGs, Census,2011*

Name of States/UT	Name of PTG with population in parentheses
Andhra Pradesh & Telengana	1.Chenchu (64227), 2. Bodo Gadaba (38,081, This includes the Gadaba Group), 3.Gutob Gadaba, 4.Dongria Khond (103290 Includes Khond grpuo except Khon Porja)), 5. Kutia Khond, 6. Kolam (44912), 7. Konda Reddi (107747) 8. Kondasavar (139424), 9. Bondo Porja, 10. Khond Porja, 11. Parengi Porja (36502), 12. Thoti (4811) *(Population figures of Bono Porja and Khon Porja not avialble)*
Bihar	13.Asur (4,129), 14. Birhor (377) 15.Birjia (208) 16. Hill Kharia (11,569), 17. Korwa (452), 18. Mal Paharia (2,225), 19. Parhaiya (647), 20. Sauria Pahari (1,932), and 21. Savar (80)
Jharkhand	13.Asur (22,459) 14. Birhor (10,726) 15.Birjia (6,276) 16. Hill Kharia (196,135), 17. Korwa (35,606) 18. Mal Paharia (135,797) 19. Parhaiya (25,585) 20. Sauria Pahari (46,222), and 21. Savar (9,688)
Gujarat	22. Kolgha (67,119), 23.Kathodi (13,632), 24.Kotwalia (24,249), 25.Padhar (30932), and 26.Siddi/Sidhi (8661)
Karnataka	27. Jenu Kuruba (36,076), and 28. Koraga (14,794)
Kerala	29. Cholonaikaqyn(124), 30. Kadar (2,949), 31. Kattunayakan (18,199), 32.Koraga (1,582) & 33. Kurumba (2,586)
Madhya Pradesh & Chatishgarh	34. Abujh Maria (5,093,124), 35. Baiga (414,526), 36. Bharia (193,230), 37. Birhor (52), 38. Hill Korwa (*not available*), 39. Kamar (666), & 40. Sahariya (165)
Maharashtra	41. Kathodi (285,334), 42. Kolam (194,671), & 43. Maria Gond (1,618,090)
Manipur	44. Maram Naga (27,524)
Odisha	45.Chuktia Bhunjiya (2378), 46.Birhor (596), 47. Bondo (12231), 48.Didayi (8890), 49. Dongria Khond (6306), 50. Juang (47095), 51. Kharia (222844), 52. Kutia Khond (7232), 53. Lanjia Saura (5960), 54.Lodha (9785), 55. Mankidia(2222), 56. Paudi Bhuyan (5788), & 57. Soura(534751)
Rajasthan	58.Saharia (1,11,377)
Tamil Nadu	59. Irular (189,661), 60. Kattunayakan (46,672), 61. Kota (308), 62. Korumba (6,823), 63. Paniyan (10,134), & 64. Toda (2,002)
Tripura	65. Riang (1,88,220)
Uttar Pradesh	66. Buksa (4,710), & 67. Raji (2,241)
Uttarakhand	66. Buksa (4,710), & 67. Raji (1,295)
West Bengal	68. Birhor (2,241) , 69. Lodha (1,08,707) &70. Toto (66,627)
Andaman & Nicobar Islands	71. Great Andamanese (44), 72. Jarwa (380), 73. Onge (101), 74. Sentinelese (15), & 75. Shom Pen (229)

According to Census 2001 the total population of PTGs in the country is 2,768,322. The figures for 2011 census are not available due to non-availability of population in three tribes. But the total population figure of PTGs excluding these three tribes stands at 10,709,967.

The Abhuj Maria tribal group in Madhya Pradesh has the highest population which stands at 5,093,124 and the Sentineles the lowest at 15. Similarly, the population of PTGs in Madhya Pradesh is 5,701,763, highest among the states, and in Andaman & Nicobar Islands it is the lowest at 769. Further, Odisha has

recorded the highest number of PTGs at 13 followed by 12 in Andhra Pradesh (Telengana was not created by then). States like Manipur, Rajasthan and Tripura have one PTG each.

PTG is an administrative category used for those Scheduled Tribe communities who were identified as more isolated from the wider community and who maintain a distinctive cultural identity. These hunting, food-gathering, and some agricultural communities, have been identified as less acculturated tribes among the tribal population groups and that is why these are in need of special programmes for their sustainable development. In these communities the development indicators are most vulnerable. Understandably, these groups are more vulnerable to hunger, starvation, malnutrition, and ill health. Some groups like the Andamanese, Shom Pan, Cholanaiakan and Sentineles are on the verge of extinction.

1.3.5 Beyond Constitutional Category

There are tribal communities which are outside the Constitutional category. Further, the shifting nomenclature of the communities designated as tribe has not got a place in the Constitution. These communities adopt the name of a dominant tribe (see Unit-IV). What we will discuss here is about two terms address - Non-ST for communities who are not scheduled and 'indigenous' which does not have Constitutional approval as a synonym for the term 'tribe'.

Non-Scheduled Tribes

As has been discussed, in India the tribe is an administrative and political concept. The concept whether we accept or reject, has both administrative and political overtone. ST, Denotified Tribe, and PTG are examples. Though the term indigenous is not accepted administratively, its origin and debate on it has colonial shadow. All these concepts do not cover all the communities which anthropologists designate as tribe. There are communities possessing all the characteristics which have been the criteria to enlist a community as ST. But still they are not scheduled in the Constitution. These communities are called Non-Scheduled tribes and unfortunately are deprived of the benefits which accrue to STs according to Constitutional provisions. Members of these communities feel that they are tribes. At the same time, they feel that they are deprived of what their counterparts enjoy having been scheduled in the Constitution. It is not a surprise that the Gujars in Rajasthan and Koch Rajbanshi in Assam claim for ST status. The Dhankuts of Bahraich district of Uttar Pradesh have all the characteristics of a tribe but are not scheduled in the Constitution. Similar is the case with Badaga of Nilgiri Hills who do not enjoy ST status. However, in Census 2011, many such communities including earlier SCs have been enumerated under ST category.

Indigenous People

You have studied already that native people of many countries did not like to continue the use of the term 'tribe'. The communities whom the blanket term 'tribe' is applied in fact have their own appellation. Moreover, they are designated differently in different countries in contrast to colonial settlers. In Australia these people are recognised as 'Aborigines', in New Zealand as 'Maaori', in Canada, as 'First Nations' and in Americas as 'Indigenous people'. All these appellations point

to their original/earlier settlement. This originality again is related, as you will know, to the colonial contact. These people existed in their countries before the colonisation of their territory. Therefore, they are indigenous. Indigenous movement has been a global phenomenon. In countries like India, China and some other Asian countries different groups lived together before colonial contact. Nevertheless, some groups of people from these countries who somewhat resemble to the original people of Australia, Americas, Africa in social, cultural and economic life also have become a part of indigenous movement.

Historical Background: The issue of indigenous people was almost non-existent in the Indian academic as well as political world before 1993. The United Nations declared 1993 as the 'International Year of the Indigenous People'. Arguments against and in favour of considering tribes in India as indigenous people have come up with the same degree of intensity Many of those who defended the term 'indigenous' for tribes happened to be activists. The slogan – 'The adivasi of the world unite' – acquired popularity. This slogan was printed on the cover of the booklets that the Indian Conference of Indigenous and Tribal People brought out in 1993 on the occasion of the UN Year of the Indigenous Peoples of the World.

However, the indigenous movement that culminated in 1990s can be traced back to 1923. During this year, the Cayuga Chief Deskaheh, a representative of the Iroquois of Ontario in Canada went to the League of Nations to represent the "Six Nations of the Great River". He carried a passport issued by the "authority of his people". However, two years before this event in 1921, the General Body of the International Labour Organization (ILO) had showed concern for indigenous workers, who were among the most exploited. In 1926 its Governing Body adopted Convention No.50 "Concerning the Regulation of Certain Special Systems of Recruiting Workers". In 1939 it adopted Convention No.64 "Concerning the Regulation of Certain Special System of Recruiting Workers".

It is to be noted that the real indigenous rights movement began only with decolonisation after World War II. Autonomy movement began in several independent countries. Most such movements were in Latin America whose indigenous populations were feeling doubly exploited. On one side foreign companies controlled their wealth and on the other the national elite collaborated with those foreign corporations. Many indigenous communities of the Americas asked question about the genocide of their own ancestors Additionally, European indigenous peoples began to become more aware of their rights.

These movements created heightened awareness in some international organizations, especially ILO whose mandate is protection of workers' rights. The result was ILO Convention 107 of 1957 "Concerning the Populations in Independent Countries". In this Convention term 'indigenous people' came in. The convention used the term as a 'population of special category analogous to the tribal and semi-tribal population'. Later, the ILO adopted a revised Convention 169, where the concept of indigenous has been overtly de-linked from the concept of tribe. By implication, however, they have been treated as synonyms.

The General Assembly of the United Nations also accept the term indigenous in the sense of tribal people in relation to colonial contact. Later it has modified the definition to include tribes of every country because the State structure incorporates national, social and cultural characteristics alien to theirs.

NOTES

Indigenous People in contrast to colonisation: The term 'indigenous' to designate original people of a territory was born in the Americas, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand where a clear line divides them from the colonial conquerors. In Australia and Africa for example, the natives who inhabited the land before colonial contact and the new migrants including the colonisers live together in post-colonial period. Obviously, the population is divided into earlier settlers and new migrants. In countries of South Asia, however, different ethnic groups lived for millennia. As a result, there is difference of opinion on who is indigenous to these countries.

The use of the term 'indigenous' as synonym of 'tribe' lacks definitional clarity when its universal applicability is concerned. Because of this ambiguity the ILO Convention 169 (Article 1) recognises both indigenous and tribal people. This means those who live in a way that sets them apart from the national community, whether or not they are descended from "first inhabitants." For instance, in several Central American countries, garifunas (or maroons, or other terms) are descendants of escaped African slaves, and thus are not indigenous in the literal sense, but they are tribal and are covered by the Convention.

It is to be noted that the definition of Daes on indigenous is taken as unofficial UN definition of the term indigenous people. However, Miquel Alfonso Martinez (1999) does not agree to the universality of its application.

While working on a UNESCO report entitled *Study on Treaties, Agreements & Other Constructive Arrangements between States, and Indigenous Populations* he has questioned the usage of the term indigenous people in Asian countries in general and in India in particular. We know that in India not only tribal communities but all the communities which form into Indian nation state in post-colonial era were inhabitants even before the colonial contact. Needless to say, the parameter of colonisers contact put all the communities in India including the tribals under indigenous category.

Tribe and Indigenous Interface in India

In India, the use of the term 'tribe' as synonymy to 'indigenous' is contested. In India those who live in post-colonial state also lived together during pre-colonial period.

But some scholars apply the concept to tribal communities considering their domination by nation state. The state power is considered to be dominating the marginalised people including the tribals. It is often highlighted that these peoples are reduced to a colonial situation and are dominated by a system of values and institutions maintained by the ruling groups of the country.

However, this type of explanation of the relations between the power of the state and the marginalised communities is too partial an understanding. The dominating role of the state as 'colonial invasion and domination' does not hold to the principles of welfare commitments of the nation state like India. Policies and programmes are formulated for the general welfare of marginalised people with compensatory discrimination and affirmative action to raise their level of development at par with national level.

The definition of the term 'indigenous' by applying the ideological principle of colonisation, in which 'intent of dominance' is inherent, to include the tribal people of India does not have a stand.

There are other concerns which need scrutiny when one addresses the issue of the 'indigenous'. The moot issue is whether to consider tribes that includes ST, non ST and denotified tribes as indigenous people or only the ST category under it. If we consider ST category, it becomes problematic. There are migrants from plains to hills like some communities of Jaunsar Bawar and Gaddi of Himachal Pradesh who are included in the ST category. Moreover, the ST being a state specific category, the same community across the political boundary may not be considered as indigenous. As we have discussed earlier, the Rabari community enjoys Scheduled Tribe (ST) status in Gujarat but Other Backward Class (OBC) in Rajasthan. Similarly, the Malai Kuravar is a Scheduled Caste (SC) community in Tirunelveli district and a Scheduled Tribe (ST) community in Kanya Kumari district of Tamil Nadu. If the tribe is called indigenous, then that indigenity is lost if they migrate to other places. The Santhals and Mundas, who are called Adivasis in their respective earlier settlements and in Assam to which they migrated, belong to tribal category in an Anthropological sense. These people migrated to Assam which was then inhabited by the Assamese people. So in comparison to them, the Assamese population are early settlers in Assam. Being Adivasis they could not be indigenous while non-tribe Assamese would come under the definition of indigenous as they are early settlers.

Many ethnographical studies on tribals point to the migratory nature of Indian population in general and tribes in particular at different points of time. The *Tani* groups of tribes in Arunachal trace their migration in different batches from a place in Tibet over centuries till they came to their present habitation with short sojourn en route. This context's the remarks of Ludwig Gumplowicz and Irving Louis Horowitz (1980) in their work entitled *Outlines of Sociology* is worth mentioning. They inform us that,

> ... The Negritos were the earliest inhabitants of India ... The Proto-Australoids who followed them had their type more or less fixed in India and therefore may be considered to be the true aborigines. Thereafter the Austro-Asiatic peoples came ... the Indo Aryans came and settled in India; so, too, did the Dravidians... This being the state of our knowledge regarding the peopling of India, it would be hazardous to look upon one particular section of the population as the aborigines of India ...

On the basis of the findings of the People of India Project, K.S. Singh (1997) writes:

> Four hundred and nine tribes (64.3 per cent) claim to be migrants to their present habitat. In fact, all our tribal people have been migrants. Their migration is recorded in oral tradition and historical accounts. About eight per cent of the tribes record their migration in recent years.

The migration has led to various levels of interaction of different communities. In this context S.C. Dube (1998:5) notes:

> The Kol and Kirda of India have had a long association with later immigrants. Mythology and history bear testimony to their [tribals'] encounters and intermingling.

It is a known fact that the indigenous debate is a recent origin. It has political overtone and colonial intention. So the point is that the tribal world should be understood in

the context of its cosmology and the thoughts of the people. In this context Andre Béteille observes:

> Where historical records are scarce and historical memory is short, the idea of 'indigenous people' provides abundant scope for the proliferation of myths relating to blood and soil.

Does it then mean that the term 'indigenous' does not have any use in the Indian context? The term *Adivasi* is analogous to the term indigenous. The *Adivasi* concept was accepted by the communities much before the indigenous issue emerged. Whereas, the term indigenous has international dimension that of *Adivasi* has India specificity. When two communities co-exist in a particular place there is the possibility that one community could be the earlier settler. If this earlier settler is a so called tribal community, then the *Adivasi* appellation has some meaning. If two communities are so called Aryans, for example, the *Adivasi* identity does not have any meaning for the earlier settlers. For all practical purposes *Adivasi* word was used to refer to the tribal groups, who identified themselves in their community names like Gond, Bodo, etc. To bring all of them to one category the generic *Adivasi* term has been coined. In this sense indigenous as an equivalent to the term *Adivasi,* perhaps will have a meaning in India. On the other hand, the term indigenous with its international connotation is a misnomer.

To conclude, in India, the term tribe is essentially a politico-administrative concept. Certain techno-economically backward communities, mostly inhabiting forests, hilly and remote interiors, have been administratively determined as such for uplifting them to higher standard of life in consonance with provisions of Indian constitution. But, in academic parlance the concept signifies socio-cultural homogeneity, a lower stage in the techno-economic parameter, practice of animism, lack of recorded history and literary tradition, Segmentary social structure and a lack of elaborate division of labour other than these based on age and sex criteria. (Behura,1997).

1.4 HABITATS

Habitats ordinarily refer to natural environments and therefore, are physical environments. In this sense tribal habitats refer to ecological base of tribal settlements and tribal way of life. However, information on tribal habitats and dependent life style is not available for all tribes in India. There are micro studies, but for tribes as a whole a comparative presentation of habitats and life style is not available in details. You will have an idea of tribal habitat with reference to the following:

- Tribal village
- Scheduled and Tribal Areas according to the provisions of Vth and VIth Schedules of the Constitution of India.
- Physical divisions
- Regional distribution
- Distribution of tribal population
- Concentration in districts

1.4.1 Tribal Village

As you know the habitat of a tribe has a territorial boundary. This boundary is notional according to tribe's perception. However, often natural objects like streams, rivers, big trees, or boulders mark the boundary. In this sense the smallest territorial unit of tribal habitat is a village with its own spread. The territorial spread or the physical dimension includes all the available resources-forests, hills, rivers, lands, etc. Resources are common property and individual ownership is defined within the frame of community ownership based on customs and practices. Resource perception is an important characteristic of understanding a habitat. Each tribe has its own perception. For example, the Galo tribe of Arunachal Pradesh use the term *Gida-isi* or *Kode-isi* to mean all the natural resources in Galo area and in village territory. *Gida* literally means land and forest, whereas '*Kode'* means land and '*isi'* means water. In general, '*Kode-isi'* includes land including hills, water and forests.

The tribal habitat has also a cultural dimension. The village territory is dotted with sacred places and objects. Caves, big trees, deep gorges, etc. are revered as abode of spirits. Myths, legends, tales and associated heroic deeds and migration stories attach a sense of belonging to the territory. The village territory has social and political dimensions also. The members of the village have well defined ways of social interaction as individuals and in groups. The tribal system of governance, whether cephalous or acephalous, decides upon development works, hunting and fishing, raids and settles disputes.

A tribal habitat also is an extension beyond village to include adjacent villages of the same tribe or different tribes. In this case a tribal habitat is the sum total of individual village territories while in a chieftainship tribe the habitats present the sum total of individual village territories and territorial tracts under the direct control of the chief. Such tracts do not fall under the jurisdiction of any village. For example, the Khampti tribe of Arunachal Pradesh is a chieftainship type of society. Traditionally they claimed a vast area in the foot hills of Lohit district even though they lived in some 20 villages. They claimed the eastern boundary of their territory from Diban to Parshuramkund, northern boundary from Pashuramkund to Sadiya along the river Lohit, the western boundary from Sadiya to Lajum and the southern boundary from Lajum to Diban. But at present hundreds of villages of non-Khamptis, both of tribes and castes have been set up within this perceived territory of the Khamptis.

In such large tribal habitats, in recent years, other groups have settled. You will not find the continuity of a tribal habitat with tribal villages and land tracts outside village boundary. In Jharkhand you will find Oraon villages within the traditional Munda territory. The Oraons who migrated from Rohtasgarh some 300 or more years ago; established settlements in the territory which was inhabited by the Mundas. The tribal habitat then is a sum total of Oraon and Munda habitats. Besides the Oran and the Munda tribes, will be found settlements of other caste communities in the territory. Census of India 2011 does record tribal villages, but, with the habitation of people from non-tribal communities. Therefore, it is found that 110118 villages consist of tribal population more than 50 per cent and 35504 villages consist of tribal populations between 25 and 50 per cent. In 124114 villages tribal population is less than 100 per cent.

By now you have come to know that a tribal habitat cannot be understood in exclusive sense. In recent years, Constitutional recognition of tribal and scheduled areas in India would be of much help to understand tribal habitat administratively.

1.4.2 Scheduled and Tribal Areas

The Vth & VIth Schedules of The Constitution of India have defined and identified scheduled and tribal areas. Administratively these areas can be called as tribal habitats.

Fifth Schedule and Scheduled Areas: The term 'Scheduled Areas' has been defined in the Indian Constitution as "such areas as the President may by order declare to be Scheduled Areas." Paragraph 6 of the Fifth Schedule of the Constitution prescribes procedures for scheduling, rescheduling and alteration of Scheduled Areas. So, specification of Scheduled Areas in relation to a particular State/Union Territory is by a notified Order of the President, after consultation with the concerned State/UT Governments.

The criteria followed for declaring an area as Scheduled Area embody principles followed in declaring Excluded and Partially-Excluded Areas under the Government of India Act 1935. These embody principles followed in Schedule B of recommendations of the Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas Sub Committee of Constituent Assembly and the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission, 1961.

The Fifth Schedule covers Tribal areas in 9 states of India namely Andhra Pradesh, Jharkhand, Gujarat, Himachal Pradesh, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Odisha and Rajasthan. The scheduled areas in these states have been shown in Table 1.3.

Table 1.3 *List of Scheduled Areas in Nine States*

State	Areas
Andhra Pradesh	Visakhapatnam, East Godavari, West Godavari, Adilabad, Srikaku- lam, Vizianagaram, Mahboobnagar, Prakasam (only some mandals are scheduled mandals).
Jharkhand	Dumka, Godda, Devgarh, Sahabgunj, Pakur, Ranchi, Singhbhum (East & West), Gumla, Simdega, Lohardaga, Palamu, Garwa, (some districts are only partly tribal blocks, such as Rabda and Bakoria Panchayats of Satbarwa Bolck in Palamu district, Bhandaria Block in Garhwa district and Sunderpahari and Boarijor Blocks of Godda district).
Chhattisgarh	Sarbhuja, Bastar, Raigad, Raipur, Rajnandgaon, Durg, Bilaspur, Sehdol, Chindwada, Kanker.
Himachal Pradesh	Lahaul and Spiti districts, Kinnaur, Pangi tehsil and Bharmour sub- tehsil in Chamba district.
Madhya Pradesh	Jhabua, Mandla, Dhar, Khargone, East Nimar (khandwa), Sailana tehsil in Ratlam district, Betul, Seoni, Balaghat, Morena.
Gujarat	Surat, Bharauch, Dangs, Valsad, Panchmahl, Sadodara, Sabarkanta (parts of these districts only).
Maharashtra	Thane, Nasik, Dhule, Ahmednagar, Pune, Nanded, Amravati, Yavat- mal, Gadchiroli, Chandrapur (parts of these districts only).

Odisha	Mayurbhanj, Sundargarh, Koraput (fully scheduled area in these three districts), Raigada, Keonjhar, Sambalpur, Boudhkondmals, Ganjam, Kalahandi, Bolangir, Balasore (parts of these districts only, Khondmals tahsil of Khondmals sub-division, and Balliguda and G. Udayagiri tahsils of Balliguda sub-division in Boudhkhondmals district).
Rajasthan	Banswara, Dungarpur (fully tribal districts), Udaipur, Chittaurgarh, Siroi (partly tribal areas).

You know that the President of India by Orders called the Scheduled Areas (Part A States) Order, 1950 and the Scheduled Areas (Part B States) Order 1950 set out the Scheduled Areas in the States. Further by Orders namely the Madras Scheduled Areas (Cesser) Order, 1951 and the Andhra Scheduled Areas (Cesser) Order, 1955 certain areas of the then east Godavari and Visakhapatnam districts were rescheduled.

Later these Scheduled Areas were extended to be coterminous with Tribal Sub-Plan Areas in some states. At the time of devising and adopting the strategy of Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP) for socio-economic development of Scheduled Tribes during the Fifth Five Year Plan (1974-79), certain areas besides Scheduled Areas, were found having preponderance of tribal population. Therefore, in August 1976 it was decided to make the boundaries of the Scheduled Areas co-terminus with the Tribal Sub-Plan areas. Accordingly, the President has issued from time to time Orders specifying Scheduled Areas afresh in relation to the States of Bihar, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Odisha and Rajasthan. Areas in Himachal Pradesh were scheduled on 27.11.1975. Thus, presently the Tribal Sub-Plan areas (Integrated Tribal Development Projects/Integrated Tribal Development Agency areas only) are coterminous with Scheduled Areas in the States of Bihar, Gujarat, Himachal Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Odisha and Rajasthan. However, in Andhra Pradesh the Scheduled Areas are not coterminous with the Tribal Sub-Plan Areas.

The Sixth Schedule and Tribal Areas: Tribal areas mean areas where provisions of Sixth Schedule are applicable. The Constitution of India refers tribal areas within the States of Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura and Mizoram. Tribal Areas of these states as specified in Parts I, II, IIA and III are as under:

Part I	Part II	Part IIA	Part III
1. The North Cachar Hills District 2. The Karbi-Anglong District	1. Khasi Hills District 2. Jaintia Hills District 3. The Garo Hills District	Tripura Tribal Areas District	The Chakma District The Mara District The Lai District

Check Your Progress

11. State whether the following statements are True or False:
(a) Lepcha is an example of Tibeto-Mongoloid group.
(b) Khasis are Mongoloids but speak a language that belongs to Austro-Asiatic family.
(c) Tribal villages have only territorial sphere.
(d) The designation 'indigenous people' has a colonial context.
(e) You can also study distribution of tribal habitats on the basis of rural-urban divide.
(f) A Scheduled Tribe in Odisha is also Scheduled Tribe in Arunachal Pradesh.
(g) Tribal dominated states have more total population than non-dominated states like Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Odisha, etc.

1.4.3 Physical Divisions, Regions and States/UTs

In a general sense, tribal habitats are areas where tribes live. These areas are found across the physical divisions of the country. Further, these areas are located in different states. You will study tribal habitats with reference to distribution of tribes in different physical divisions and political units of India. This will give an understanding of the location of tribal areas which tribes inhabit.

Tribes normally inhabit hills and forests. You will also find some tribal habitats in the plains. The tribal habitats in the plains, for example, are found in Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal, Bihar etc. Similarly, the habitat of a tribe may be found in more than one state. To cite an example, the habitats of Bhils belong to Rajasthan, Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat, Chhattisgarh, Tripura and Madhya Pradesh. On the other hand, the habitat of Khasi tribe belongs to the state of Meghalaya only. Often, India is divided regionally on the basis of its directional spread. You already know about South India, North India, Western India and so on. Moreover, the tribal areas which include tribal habitats are constitutionally defined. Therefore, we will discuss tribal habitats with reference to physical, political and regional divisions along with constitutionally defined areas. As a result, you will be able to understand tribal habitats from different angles. For example, you will understand that the political territory of a tribe is not co-terminus with cultural territory. The habitat of a tribe across two or more states has a cultural territory which is divided politically. Further, the cultural territory of a tribe is not always in continuity when the habitat spreads in many states like that of the Bhils. The tribe lives along with other cultures, even in a *cultural territory* and develop micro cultural habitats.

In recent years the political economy of a state affects the life of tribal communities. If a state government allows MNC activities in tribal areas of the state; then quite naturally the life of the tribal communities is greatly affected. Tribal habitats in different geographical areas influence occupation, food, dress, house type and even the culture in general. The interaction with the natural environment defines a culture to a great extent. In different geographical areas the strategy of interaction differs. The tribes living in hills practise shifting cultivation or cattle herding or hunting and gathering. But tribes living in plains practise settled cultivation or pursue activities drawing on available resources. The Khamptis of Arunachal Pradesh practise settled cultivation while the Mishmis living in the same district in the hills practise shifting cultivation. The tribes, living in Netrahat area in Jharkhand pursue blacksmithy. The staple food of tribes living in the Himalayas is traditionally maze, millet and roots. Speaking of the types of houses especially in the Northeast part of India, the houses are built on raised platforms unlike tribal houses in the Deccan plateau. The dress pattern of tribes living in desert region also differs from that of cold Himalayan region. That is why we have discussed tribal habitats under physical divisions, political divisions, etc.

You know that tribes do not exist in an ideal state. You will not find a tribe that fulfils all the characteristics. They live in diverse conditions and in recent years they have been exposed to development forces. Tribals migrate to urban areas for livelihood options. Further, you will not find a compact territorial area for a large tribe. Under the habitat section a discussion on tribal concentration will be useful to understand that the tribes are in the process of integration with national territory.

Check Your Progress

12. State whether following statements are True or False:

(a) A community living in two states is enumerated as ST community of the said two states.

(b) Definition of the term 'tribe' differs as tribal communities are homogenous.

(c) Tribes in India live in isolation.

(d) Any tribe is in India is a stateless society.

(e) STs having declining or stagnant population are grouped as PTGs.

Geographical or Physical Divisions

The Commission for Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes (The Dhebar Commission) has divided the tribal settlements in India under three geographical divisions. These are:

(i) The tribes living in the Himalayan Region including North-Eastern zone in the mountain valleys and Eastern frontiers of India;

(ii) Those occupying the central belt of the older hills and plateaus along the dividing line between peninsular India and Indo-Gangetic plains; and

(iii) Those scattered over extreme corners of South-Western India and converging lines of the Western Ghats.

Here you will understand the physical divisions according to geographical features as follows:

India is divided into six physical divisions, namely the Himalayas and other Mountain Ranges, Great Plains, Plateau, Desert, Coastal Plains and Islands. You will find tribal habitats in all these six divisions. In fact, in all these divisions there are mountains and hills inhabited by tribes. We have included them within the broad physical division. For example, we have considered the tribes living in Nilgiri Hills as tribes in plateau region.

The Himalayas and other Mountain Ranges: The Himalayas extend from Kashmir in the west to Arunachal Pradesh in the east. The tribal communities living in Jammu and Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh, Uttarakhand, Sikkim and in Arunachal Pradesh share Himalayan habitats. Important tribal communities living in the Himalayas are Gaddi, Lahaula, Beda, Brokpa, Mon, Purigpa, Gujjar, Tamang, Bhutia, Lepcha, Buksa, Juansari and many others.

As you know, the Himalayas run from west to east. But there are mountain ranges from north to south that runs almost as a continuity of Himalayan ranges. These are the Naga Hills, Mizo Hills, etc. which form parts of Patkai ranges. Quite a number of tribal communities live in these mountains. Beside Nagaland and Mizoram, other states such as Manipur, Meghalaya and Tripura are also mountainous states. In these mountains a large number of tribes have been living from time immemorial. Some of them are Chakma, Jamatia, Tripuri, Riang naga, Kuki, Mikir, Garo, Khasi, Hajong, Hmar, Paite, Synteng, Dimasa, Anal, Angami, Ao, Gangte, Chothe, Thangal, Kom, Ralte, and Vaiphei.

Great Plains: The plains formed by the Gang and the Brahmaputra along their tributaries are known as Great Plains. Assam is an extension of this Great Plains. In Assam the Barmans in Cachar, Bodo, Bodo-Kachari, Deori, Hojai, Miri (Mishing) Kachari including Sonowal, Lalung, Rabha and Mech are plains tribes. In Uttar Pradesh tribal communities like Buksa in Balia and Gazipur districts, Juansari in Varanasi, and Gond in Deoria, Balia, Varanasai and Basti districts live in plains.

Plateau: The region is triangular in shape. Its northern side stretches from the Aravallis in the west to the Raj Mahal Hills in the east. Its eastern and western sides form boundaries of coastal plains and terminate almost on a point in Cardamom Hills. The Vindhyas, the Anaimalai Hills, the Nilgiri Hills, the Satpuras are hill ranges in the plateau and home to a number of tribal groups. The Chotanagpur plateau that consists of a large area in Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Odisha, Jharkhand has a large concentration of a number of tribal communities. The tribal communities in

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NOTES

Check Your Progress

13. Fill in the blanks:

(a) There are --- PTGs

(b) Tribe is the ---stage in the scheme of social evolution.

(c) Tribal Sub-Plan and Scheduled Areas are not coterminous in the state of ---.

(d) --- Schedule defines Tribal Areas and --- Scheduled Areas.

(e) --- recommendations are behind the creation PTGs.

(f) Scheduled Tribe is a ----- subject.

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a plateau habitat are Gond, Bhil, Baiga, Munda, Oraon, Lohar, Yenadi, Yerukula, Bonda, Gadba, Nagesia and many others.

Desert: Deserts are found in Rajasthan. Bhil, Lambadi, Gadia, Lohar, Garasia and Rabari are tribal communities in desert habitats.

Coastal Plains: The plains starting from West Bengal to the Kutch of Gujarat via Kanyakumari are coastal plains and include famous Coromandel Coast, Malabar Coast, and Kankan Coast. Santhal habitats are found in the coastal plains of West Bengal. In the western coastal pains you will find Kokna, Dhodia, Varli and Nayaka tribal groups.

Islands: India has a group of islands in the Bay of Bengal and in the Arabian Sea. The Andaman and Nicobar group of Islands in the Bay of Bengal is the home of Andamanese, Jarawa. Onge, Sentinelese and Shompen tribes. In the Lakshadweep group of islands in Arabian Sea, all the 17 communities living there have been scheduled as tribes.

Regional divisions

In earlier works tribal habitats in terms of settlement of tribal communities and their population have been divided region wise. In these works, we do not have the distribution of tribal communities on the basis of physical or geographical divisions of India, though regional divisions are often equated with geographical divisions. You know that a region may have different geographical features or a geographical feature may appear in more than one region or zone. You will see that the regional or geographical divisions include physical features unevenly. But divisions suggested by B. S. Guha include plains and partially plateau region while grouping the states of tribal habitats. B.S. Guha (1955) has classified Indian tribes into three zones as follows:

(i) **The Northern and North Eastern Zone:** This consists of the sub-Himalayan region and the mountains and valleys of the eastern frontiers of India. The tribal people of Assam, Manipur, Tripura, and other states of North East India were included in the eastern part of this geographical zone. In Northern zone tribes of Jammu and Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh and present Uttarakhand were included. Guha's classification draws on data available around Independence. In Post-Independent India organization and reorganization of states have affected state-wise distribution of the tribal habitats.

(ii) **The Central or the Middle Zone:** This zone consists of plateaus and mountain belts between the Indo-Gangetic plain to the north and roughly the Krishna River to the south. Diverse physical features have been clubbed together in this classification. Moreover, the South India which forms a part of this region was dealt separately.

(iii) **The Southern Zone:** This zone consists of that part of the southern India which falls south of the river Krishna stretching from Wynaad to Cape Comorin, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Coorg, Travancore, Cochin, Tamil Nadu, etc. are included in this zone.

Guha did not include the Island region in his classification. A new classification considering the political and regional factors became due. In Independent India two more scholars attempted such classifications. One is that of B. K. Roy Burman's

(1971). He divided the tribal communities living in different region into five territorial groups, taking into consideration their historical, ethnic and socio-cultural relations.

(i) North-East India comprising Assam, Meghalaya, Nagaland, Manipur, Arunachal Pradesh, Mizoram, and Tripura.

(ii) Sub-Himalayan region of north and north-west India comprising the northern submontane districts of Uttar Pradesh and Himachal Pradesh.

(iii) Central and East India comprising West Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, and Andhra Pradesh.

(iv) South India comprising Tamil Nadu, Kerala, and Karnataka.

(v) Western India comprising Rajasthan, Gujarat, and Maharashtra.

In B. K. Roy Burman's division the Island region is absent. Sub-Himalayan region has taken geographical criterion while other divisions have political dimensions.

L. P. Vidyarthi (1976) classified the tribes of India into five regions as follows:

(i) The Himalayan Region, with three sub-regions, viz. 1) North-eastern Himalayan region, 2) Central Himalayan region, and 3) North-western Himalayan region. Assam, Meghalaya, the mountainous region of West Bengal (Darjeeling area) Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, Manipur, Mizoram and Tripura fall in the North-eastern Himalayan region whereas the Tarai areas of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar come in the Central Himalayan region. Himachal Pradesh and Jammu and Kashmir constitute the North-western Himalayan region.

(ii) Middle India Region: It comprises Bihar, West Bengal, Odisha and Madhya Pradesh.

(iii) Western India Region: It includes Rajasthan, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Goa and Dadra and Nagar Haveli.

(iv) South India Region: It comprises Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka and Kerala.

(v) The Island Region: The islands of Andaman and Nicobar in the Bay of Bengal and Lakshadweep in the Arabian Sea constitute this distinct sub-region.

In his classification the Northeast is grouped with sub-Himalayan regions. The Northeast however, stands out as a category in itself as at least six states are predominantly tribal. Moreover, the Fifth and Sixth Schedule areas have been overlapped in this division. This classification also does not mention the territory of Daman and Diu. In the meantime many former states have been bifurcated and data are available for the newly constituted states.

A fresh classification of regions is made taking into consideration the contemporary situation. The guidelines of Roy Burman and Vidyarthi have been followed and updated. Besides, the region is delineated considering the locational position of states and union territories. The confusion of earlier classification clubbing geographical and political features has been removed.

A 'Region' generally conveys the idea of a geographical zone with physical characteristics. It can also mean an administrative zone. In earlier works and in our present discussion the region is defined combining states and union territories in terms of their locational position. Needless to say, a region or zone has a political

dimension. You will learn state and UT-wise distribution of tribal population and thus their habitats.

Table 1.4 shows tribal regions in India. As you know these regions are classified on the basis of locational position of states and union territories. We have five regions in the mainland according to directions and another off the main land lying to its east and west.

Table 1.4 *Distribution of Tribal Population in Regions, States and UTs (2011 Census)*

Region (State/UT)	Total Population (In State/ UT)	Total Tribal Population (In State/ UT)	Rank	% of Total Tribal Population to Total Population	Rank	% of Total Tribal Population to Tribal India
North India	**229,915,114**	**3,517,961**	**V**	**1.5**	**VI**	**3.4**
Jammu & Kash-	12,541,302	1,493,299	14	11.9	17	
miri	6,864,602	392,126	23	5.7	25	
Himachal	199,812,341	1, 134,273	17	0.6	30	
Pradesh	10,086,292	291,903	24	2.9	26	
Uttar Pradesh	610,577	206,360	25	33.8	08	
Uttarakhand						
Sikkim						
Central &						**46.0**
Eastern	**368,509,926**	**48,009,010**	**I**	**3.0**	**III**	
India	41,974,218	9,590,756	03	22.8	12	
Odisha	104,099,452	1,336,573	15	1.3	28	
Bihar	32,988,134	8,645,042	06	26.2	11	
Jharkhand	25,545,198	7,822,902	07	30.6	10	
Chatishgarh	72,626,809	15,316,784	01	21.1	13	
Madhya	91,276,115	5,296,953	09	5.8	24	
Pradesh						
West Bengal						
Northeast	**44,876,207**	**12,208,694**	**III**	**27.2**	**I**	**11.7**
India	1,383,727	951,821	19	68.8	05	
Arunachal	31,205,576	3,884,372	10	12.4	16	
Pradesh	2,570,390	902,740	20	35.1	07	
Assam	2,966,889	2,555,861	12	86.1	04	
Manipur	1,097,206	1,036,115	18	94.4	02	
Meghalaya	1,978,502	1,710,973	13	86.5	03	
Mizoram	3,673,917	1,166,813	16	31.8	09	
Nagaland						
Tripura						
Western India	**243,407,959**	**29,009,123**	**II**	**11.9**	**IV**	**27.8**
Rajasthan	68,548,437	9,238,534	04	13.5	15	
Gujarat	60,439,692	8,917,174	05	14.8	14	
Maharashtra	112,374,333	10,510,213	02	9.4	19	
Goa	1,458,545	149,275	27	10.23	18	
Dadra & Nagar	343,709	178,564	26	52.0	06	
Haveli						
Daman &Diu	243,243	15,363	30	6.3	23	

South India	**251,229,165**	**11,446,596**	**IV**	**4.6**	**V**	**11.0**
Andhra Pradesh & Telangana	84,580,777	5,918,073	08	7.0	21	
Tamil Nadu	72,147,030	794,697	21	1.1	29	
Karnataka	61,095,297	4,248,987	10	7.0	22	
Kerala	33,406,061	484,839	22	1.5	27	
Indian Islands in the East & West	**445,054**	**89,650**	**VI**	**20.1**	**II**	**0.1**
Anadaman & Nicobar Islands	380,581	28,530	29	7.5	20	
Lakshadweep	64,473	61,120	28	94.8	01	

1. *North India*: This region includes five states namely Jammu & Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Uttarakhand and Sikkim. These states were earlier included under the Sub-Himalayan Region along with the Northeast region. Moreover, even the Darjeeling area of West Bengal was a part of it. This region records 3,517,961 tribals who constitute 1.5 per cent of total population in the region. Clearly, tribal habitats are significantly less as compared to total habitats. Tribal habitats in this region belong to Bhot, Bhutia, Jad, Lamba, Khampa Bakarwal, Jannsari, Bhotia, Lepcha, Buksa, Raji, Tharu. Bot, balti, Borkpa, Changpa, Gaddi, Gujjar, Kanaura, Kinnara, Lahaula, Pangwala, Swangla and some other tribes. Some tribes are found in more than one state while others are state specific. For example, the Lahaula tribe is found in Himachal Pradesh while Gujjar in both Himachal Pradesh and Jammu and Kashmir.

2. *Central and Eastern India*: Odisha, Bihar, Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh and West Bengal form the regions of central and eastern India.

3. *Northeast India*: This region is also known as Seven Sisters and includes Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland and Tripura.

4. *Western India*: Four states and two union territories namely Rajasthan, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Goa, Dadra & Nagar Haveli and Daman & Diu form this region.

5. *South India*: The region includes Andhra Pradesh, Telangana, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka and Kerala. On 2nd June 2014, the former Andhra Pradesh was bifurcated into Andhra Pradesh and Telangana. By that time census enumeration was over and so the figures relate to Andhra Pradesh and Telangana combined together.

6. *Indian Islands in the East and West*: Two union territories off the mainland namely Andaman & Nicobar group of islands to the east in the Bay of Bengal and Lakshadweep group of islands to the west in the Arabian Sea form the island regions.

The Table 1.4 shows both region wise and state/UT wise distribution of tribal population. The Central and Eastern India region records highest concentration of tribal population, 46.0 per cent of total tribal population of the country. This is followed by Western India. This region records 27.8 per cent. The third concentration is noted at 11.7 per cent in the Northeast India. The concentration in South India

trails behind the Northeast with a record of 11.0 per cent. The island region has the lowest concentration. In this region the tribal population constitutes only 0.1 per cent of the total tribal population of the country. The second lowest concentration is noted at 3.4 per cent in the North India Region.

This variation is mainly due to the variation in tribal habitats and number of tribal population in states which form the region. For example, in Madhya Pradesh, which lies in Central and Eastern India the total tribal population is recorded 15,316,784 as against a total of 12,208,694 in seven states of Northeast India put together. Another factor of such variation is the number of states/UTs included in a region. This mainly holds for island regions consisting of two small union territories.

By now you have learnt that tribal habitats are found in mountains, plains, plateaus, deserts and in islands. Even in plains, plateaus and in islands they live in mountains and forests.

1.4.4 Distribution of Tribal Population

The Scheduled Tribes are notified in 30 States/UTs and the number of individual communities notified as Scheduled Tribes is 705. The ST population of the country, as per 2011 census, is 104.3.43 million, constituting 8.6 per cent of the total population. The ST population has increased from 30.1 million (6.9%) in 1961 to 104.3 million (8.6%) in 2011. Notably, the decadal population growth from Census 2001 to 2011 has been 23.66 per cent against the 17.69 per cent of the entire population.

Over the years, the ST population has migrated to urban areas. In other words, tribal habitats are located in urban areas too. Obviously, the tribal habitats display rural urban divide. You will find that 89.97 per cent of them live in rural areas and some 10.03 per cent live in urban areas. Population in the Rural Areas has increased from 10.4 per cent to 11.3 per cent whereas the Urban Tribal Population has increased only marginally (from 2.4% to 2.8%). With respect to districts, Kurung Kumey district of Arunachal Pradesh has the highest concentration of Scheduled Tribes (98.58) and Kanauj in Uttar Pradesh has the lowest concentration of Scheduled Tribes (0.0009).

You will learn the distribution of habitats of the STs with reference to the distribution of population and number of ST communities inhabiting a state/ UT. You will find instances of a community living in two or more states but scheduled in only one or two or in all the states. The community enjoys ST status only in the state for which it is scheduled. Despite having more than one entry corresponding to more than one state, the community is enumerated as one. For example, Raji is an individual community, but is enumerated as STs in Uttar Pradesh and in Uttarakhand. You have also read that an individual community inhabiting different states has different status. The Munda for example is an ST in Jharkhand, but not in Assam.

The distribution of tribal population and thus their habitats is concentrated in Central and Eastern India Region accounting for 46.0 per cent of tribal population with regard to total tribal population in the country. This is followed by Western Region accounting 27.8 per cent. The Region of Indian Islands in

the East & West has the lowest concentration accounting 0.1 per cent only. However, Lakshadweep, the UT, in the island region has 94.8 per cent of total tribal persons which is the highest in the country. But among the states, Mizoram has highest concentration of tribal population accounting for 94.4 per cent. In fact the states of Mizoram, Nagaland, Manipur and Arunachal Pradesh have more than 60 per cent tribal populations. These states are tribal dominated states. In spite of the lower concentration of tribal population in Assam (12.4%) and Tripura (35.1%) the Northeast India region has highest concentration of tribal population accounting for 27.2 per cent, though it accounts for only 11.7 per cent of country's tribal population.

In terms of concentration of tribal population the Island Region stands second accounting for 20.1 per cent followed by 13.0 per cent in the Central and Eastern India Region.

On the other hand, in terms of total tribal population in the country, the Central and Eastern regions in India rank first with a population record of 368,509,926 followed by 251, 229,165 persons in the Southern Region. Islands Region records 445,054 persons, lowest among the regions, and less than the total tribal population in any of the mainland states. In terms of total population, states having first (Madhya Pradesh with 15,296,953 persons) to seventh (Chhattisgarh with 7,822,902 persons) ranks fall in the Central & Eastern and Western Regions of the country. Already you know that the number of communities in a state and number of states/UTs included in a region accounts for this variations. If you consider distribution of habitats in terms of number of STs inhabiting a region you will find the Central and Eastern Region ranks first with 255 ST groups followed by the South India Region with that of 195. Islands Region occupies the bottom rank with 23 ST groups followed by 47 such groups in the Northeast Region.

You will also be interested to know the distribution of habitats according to economic backwardness of STs. As you know, PTGs were created as a category on the basis of vulnerability and backwardness. So knowledge of the distribution of PTGs will be useful to understand the distribution of tribal habitats of economically backward ST groups.

The PTGs, 75 in numbers, inhabit 17 states and one Union Territory, according to census, 2011. As you know, an individual tribe is scheduled more than once in different states. Asur is an individual tribe, though it is scheduled both in Bihar and Jharkhand, as a community it is one but in terms of ST groups it presents two groups in two states. That is why number of communities and state and UT-wise scheduled communities differs.

The PTGs vary in terms of population figures, from 15 of Sentinels in Andaman and Nicobar Islands to 5,093,124 of Abhuj Maria in Madhya Pradesh. You will find 16 PTGs having less than 1000 persons in five states and one union territory. Interestingly, in the UT out of six tribes, five tribes are PTGs with a total of 769 persons, less than even 1000. Further 17 PTGs, 22.7 per cent of total PTGs, in 10 states have been recorded with a population of one lakh and more. In other words, more than 50 per cent (58.8% to be exact) of states have PTGs with a population of more than one lakh.

Table 1.5 *State-wise Largest & Smallest PTGs in terms of Population*

State	Name of the PTG		Total Population	
	Largest	Smallest	Largest PTG	Smallest PTG
Andhra Pradesh	Konda Savar	Thoti	139,424	4811
Bihar	Hill Kharia	Savar	11,569	80
Gujarat	Kolgha	Siddi	67,119	8,661
Jharkhand	Hill Kharia	Birjia	196,135	6,276
Karnataka	Jenu Kuruba	Koraga	36,076	14,794
Kerala	Kattunayankan	Cholonaikayan	18,199	124
Madhya Pradesh & Chhattisgarh	Abhuj Maria	Birhor	5,093,124	52
Maharashtra	Maria Gond	Kolam	1,618,090	194,671
Manipur	Only One PTG, Maram Naga with a population of 27,524			
Odisha	Saura	Birhor	534751	596
Rajasthan	Only One PTG, Saharia with a population of 111,377			
Tamil Nadu	Irular	Kota	189661	308
Tripura	Only One PTG, Riang with a population of 188,220			
Uttar Pradesh	Buksha	Raji	4710	2241
Uttarakhand	Buksha	Raji	4710	1295
West Bengal	Lodha	Birhor	108707	2241
Andaman& Nicobar Islands	Jarawa	Sentinels	380	15

You will see from Table 1.5 that 15.1 per cent of tribal persons in the Central and Eastern Region is recorded under PTGs followed by the Western (8.1%) and Sothern (7.6%) Regions. In the Northeast Region only two STs have been recorded as PTGs constituting 1.8 per cent of total tribal population in the region. The Northern India has only 0.4 per cent of STs as PTGs. In terms of total population; the Central and Eastern Region records 7,255,529 persons, the highest among regions, followed by 2,354,065 in the Western Region. The island region records, as you know, only 769 persons under PTGs.

In terms of number of PTGs, 32 groups inhabit the Central and the Eastern Region, 25 Southern Region and 9 Western Region. The belt, covering part or complete regions of Kerala, Maharashtra, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Odisha, Bihar, Jharkhand. West Bengal, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Gujarat and Rajasthan accommodate 66 PTGs accounting for 88 per cent of the groups. The large PTGs are found in this belt. You can say that the tribal habitats of this belt are comparatively economically backward. Interestingly, no PTG is listed in tribal dominate states like Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, Mizoram, Meghalaya and Lakshadweep.

You can sum up the above discussion as follows:

1. In India you will find ST habitats in twenty-six states and four UTs according to the Census of India, 2011. Two states, namely Punjab and Haryana and three UTs such as Delhi, Chandigarh and Pondicherry/Puducherry do not have any ST habitats.

The habitats of PTGs, however, are located mostly in Fifth Scheduled areas. The tribal dominated and Sixth Scheduled areas of the Northeast account for two PTGs, one in Manipur and the other in Tripura.

2. The Central and Eastern Region has highest tribal population accounting for 368,509,926 persons in the country and Island Region has the lowest, which accounts for 445,045 persons.

3. Among the states, Madhya Pradesh has the highest population, 15,316,784 and Daman & Diu the lowest, recording 15,363 persons.

4. In terms of the number of habitats of tribes Odisha ranks first followed by Karnataka. There are 62 tribes inhabiting Odisha and 50 in Karnataka. In each of Uttarakhand, Nagaland and Daman & Diu five tribes have been recorded, but no PTGs. The PTGS have been recorded more in the regions having more ST groups. You will find 32 PTGs in the Central and Eastern region.

5. In terms of tribal (ST) concentration, i.e. percentage of tribal population with reference to total population, Mizoram ranks first (94.4%) from among the states (Lakshadweep, a group of Islands and a UT ranks first in the country accounting for 94.8 per cent) in the country followed by Nagaland (86.5%). Uttar Pradesh has the lowest concentration accounting for 0.6 per cent. You will find that except island region, the Northern Region has the lowest concentration of ST population accounting for 1.5 per cent.

6. Tribal dominated states in the Northeast (11.7%) and UTs in the Island Region (0.1%) have less population as compared to states in the Central and Eastern Region (46.0%) and Western Region (27.8%).

7. State total of STs accounts for 744; in terms of tribal communities the number stands at 507. This means some STs in two or more states have been considered one community. This is also the case for PTGs. For example, the Buksas are two ST communities in Uttar Pradesh and Uttarakhand, but in terms of community they form one identity.

8. The population of PTGs varies between 15 and 5,093,124 in the country. However, in each state the variation between the large and small group is quite noticeable as is shown in Table 1.5. Siddi, Birijia, Cholonaikayan, Raji, Birhor, Kota in main land have very less population. You will also find three PTGs in Island Region having population figure less than 100.

9. Though recorded in a zone, some tribes are practically confined to a state, as for example Sugalis to Andhra Pradesh; Boros to Assam; Koli Mahadev to Maharashtra; and Tripuri to Tripura. Some ethnic groups spread over many states but they may not be ST population in all the states. The Khamptis of Assam do not have ST status in Assam though they are STs in Arunachal Pradesh. The Bharias in Madhya Pradesh have different constitutional status. In Patalkot valley of Chindwara they are enumerated as STs, while beyond Patalkot, but in the same district and in the same state, they are Non-STs. Munda group of people is recorded in the Central and East India and Northeast India regions. Except in Tripura; the Munda people in Assam do not have the ST status.

1.4.5 Concentration in Districts

Out of 640 districts in India, in 50 districts of Punjab, Chandigarh, Haryana, Delhi and Puducherry, there is no Scheduled Tribes population, as no Scheduled Tribe is notified there. As per the Census of India, 2011, there are 640 districts in the country out of which 631 are rural districts. There are 5879 sub districts, (Tehsils), 597483 villages, 8398 towns and 82251 wards.

At the district level, The Census of India, 2011, reveals that there are 90 districts where ST population is 50 per cent or more (Table 1.6). As per Census 2001, this number was 75 districts. Out of these 90 districts, 48 districts are in seven North Eastern States. All the districts in Mizoram, Meghalaya and Nagaland have more than 60 per cent of ST Population.

You will also find tribes with more than five lakh population along with their habitat distribution in table 1.7 as per 2001 census enumeration. The table also shows male female distribution of these major tribes. Table 1.8 shows habitat distribution and concentration of tribes in each zone. Table 1.9 shows state-wise districts where the ST population constitutes more than 50% and between 25% and 50% according to Census 2011. In table 1.10 you can compare PTGs with reference to STs and total population in different regions.

Table 1.6 Concentration of ST Population Across Districts

Sl. No	Percentage of ST population	No. of Districts
1.	Less than 1 per cent	55
2	Between 1 and 5 per cent	282
3.	Between 5 and 20 per cent	134
4	Between 20 and 50 per cent	79
5	50 per cent and above	90

Table 1.7 List of Tribes with more than 5 Lakh of Population and their usual Place of Habitation per Census 2001

Tribe name	Population			Zone & State of Residence
	Person	Male	Female	
Bhil	12689952	6428757	6261195	***Central & Eastern India***: Madhya Pradesh & Chhattisgarh; ***Western India***: Rajasthan, Gujarat & Maharashtra; ***South India***: Andhra Pradesh, Telangana & Karnataka; and ***Northeast India***: Tripura
Gond	10859422	5441476	5417946	***Central & Eastern India***: Odisha, Bihar, West Bengal, Jharkhand , Chhattisgarh & Madhya Pradesh; ***Western India***: Gujarat; and ***South India***: Andhra Pradesh & Telangana and Karnataka

Santal	5838016	2945209	2892807	*Central & Eastern India*: Bihar , West Bengal, Odisha & Jharkhand; and *Northeast India*: Tripura
Mina	3800002	1976425	1823577	*Western India*: Rajasthan; and *Central & Eastern India*: Madhya Pradesh
Naikda, etc.	3344954	1696530	1648424	*South India*: Karnataka; and *Western India*: Maharashtra , Rajasthan, Gujarat, Goa, Daman & Diu, and Dadra & Nagar Haveli
Oraon	3142145	1580607	1561538	*Central & Eastern India*: Bihar, West Bengal, Chhattisgarh Madhya Pradesh, Odisha & Jharkhand; and *Western India*: Maharashtra
Sugalis, etc.	2077947	1071589	1006358	*South India*: Andhra Pradesh
Munda	1918218	966070	952148	*Central & Eastern India*: West Bengal, Jharkhand, Odisha, Chhattisgarh, Bihar & Madhya Pradesh; and *Northeast India*: Tripura
Naga, etc.	1820965	937444	883521	*Northeast India*: Nagaland
Khond	1397384	689330	708054	*Central & Eastern India*: Bihar, West Bengal, Jharkhand, Odisha
Boro, etc.	1352771	682710	670061	*Northeast India*: Assam
Koli Mahadev etc.	1227562	625019	602543	*Western India*: Maharashtra
Khasi, etc.	1138356	564412	573944	*Northeast India*: Mizoram, Meghalaya, Assam
Kol	991400	508920	482480	*Central & Eastern India*: Odisha, Chhattisgarh & Madhya Pradesh; and *Western India*: Maharashtra
Varli	974916	484893	490023	*Western India*: Gujarat, Daman & Diu, Dadra & Nagar Haveli, Maharashtra, & Goa; and *South India:* Karnataka
Kokna	926763	466087	460676	*Western India*: Dadra & Nagar Haveli, Rajasthan, Gujarat, & Maharashtra; and *South India*: Karnataka
Kawar	812770	405524	407246	*Central & Eastern India*: Odisha, Chhattisgarh, & Madhya Pradesh; and *Western India*: Maharashtra
Ho	806921	401913	405008	*Central & Eastern India*: Bihar, West Bengal, Jharkhand, Odisha
Gujjar	799344	418655	380689	*North India*: Jammu & Kashmir & Himachal Pradesh

Korku, etc.	774196	395334	378862	***Central & Eastern India***: Chhattisgarh, & Madhya Pradesh; and ***Western India***: Maharashtra
Bhumij	765909	387336	378573	***Central & Eastern India***: West Bengal, Jharkhand, Odisha
Garo	725502	366629	358873	***Northeast India***: Nagaland, Mizoram, Meghalaya, & Assam, Tripura; and ***Central & Eastern India***: West Bengal
Koya	692435	345040	347395	***Central & Eastern India***: Odisha; ***Western India***: Maharashtra; and ***South India***: Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka
Any Mizo (Lushai) Tribes, etc.	667764	334983	332781	***Northeast India***: Manipur, Mizoram, Meghalaya, Assam
Halba, etc.	639094	319254	319840	***Central & Eastern India***: Chhattisgarh, & Madhya Pradesh; and ***Western India***: Maharashtra
Dharua	630469	316877	313592	***Western India***: Gujarat , Daman & Diu, Dadra & Nagar Haveli, Maharashtra, & Goa; and ***South India***: Karnataka
Dubla, etc.	627599	316502	311097	***Western India***: Gujarat , Daman & Diu, Dadra & Nagar Haveli, Maharashtra, Goa
Mising/ Miri	587310	299790	287520	***Northeast India***: Assam, Arunachal Pradesh
Tripuri, etc.	543848	275784	268064	***Northeast India***: Tripura
Rathawa	536135	273754	262381	***Western India***: Gujarat, & Maharashtra; and ***South India***: Karnataka
Saharia, etc.	527015	271471	255544	***Central & Eastern India***: Chhattisgarh & Madhya Pradesh; and ***Western India***: Rajasthan

Table 1.8 Zones & Tribes

Zone	Inhabited Tribes
Central & Eastern India:	Bhil, Santal, Mina, Oraon, Munda, Kol, Kawar, Ho, Korku, etc., Bhumij, Garo, Koya, Halba, etc., Saharia, etc.
Western India	Bhil, Gond, Mina, Naikda, etc., Oraon, Koli - Mahadev, etc., Kol, Varli, Kokna, Kawar, Korku, etc., Koya, Halba, etc., Dharua, Dubla, etc., Rathawa, Saharia, etc.
South India	Bhil, Gond, Naikda, etc., Sugalis, etc. Varli, Kokna, Koya, Dharua, Rathawa,
Northeast India	Bhil, Gond, Santal, Naga, etc., Munda, Khasi, etc., Garo, Any Mizo tribes, etc., Mishing/Miri, Tripuri, etc.
North India	Gujjar

Table 1.9 *State wise Districts where the ST Population is more than 50% and between 25% to 50 % as per Census 2011*

State	Name	Total Population	ST Population	Percentage of ST	More than 50% ST Population	Between 25% to 50% ST Population
01	Jammu & Kashmir	12541302	1493299	11.9	2	3
02	Himachal Pradesh	6864602	392126	5.7	2	1
08	Rajasthan	68548437	9238534	13.5	3	3
11	Sikkim	610577	206360	33.8	1	3
12	Arunachal Pradesh	1383727	951821	68.8	13	3
13	Nagaland	1978502	1710973	86.5	11	0
14	Manipur (Excl. 3 Sub-Divisions of Senapati Dist.)	2570390	902740	35.1	5	0
15	Mizoram	1097206	1036115	94.4	8	0
16	Tripura	3673917	1166813	31.8	1	3
17	Meghalaya	2966889	2555861	86.1	7	0
18	Assam	31205576	3884371	12.4	2	5
19	Jharkhand	32988134	8645042	26.2	5	8
20	Odisha	41974218	9590756	22.8	8	6
21	Chhattisgarh	25545198	7822902	30.6	7	6
22	Madhya Pradesh	72626809	15316784	21.1	6	13
23	Gujarat	60439692	8917174	14.8	5	4
24	Dadra & Nagar Haveli	343709	178564	52.0	1	0
25	Maharashtra	112374333	10510213	9.4	1	3
26	Andhra Pradesh	84580777	5918073	7.0	0	1
27	Lakshadweep	64473	61120	94.8	1	0
28	Andaman & Nicobar Islands	380581	28530	7.5	1	0
	Total				90	62

Table 1.10 *Comparative Region wise Distribution of STs and PTGs*

Region	Total ST population	Total Population of PTGs	% to Total ST Population	State Total of PTGs in the Region	PTGs – Community-wise
North India	3,517,961	12,956	0.4	47	4
Central & Eastern India	48,009,010	7,255,529	15.1	255	32
Northeast India	12,208,694	215,744	1.8	114	2

Western India	29,009,123	2,354,065	8.1	110	9
South India	11,446,596	870,904	7.6	195	25
Indian Islands in the East & West	89,650	769	0.9	23	5
Total	104,281034	10,709,967*	10.3	744**	75

* This is figure excludes population of three tribes which is not available. So, the percentage is just indicative.

** Figure is calculated by adding total numbers of STs in each state/UT. But the communities are 507 as ST groups in two or more states with the same name is considered as one community.

1.5 CHARACTERISTICS OF VARIOUS TRIBES

We have already discussed that the concept that a 'tribe' is a colonial construct and does not fit well into Indian context. Nevertheless, the concept of 'tribe' has its contribution to the growth of academics.

You know that academics and academic administrators studied communities which were listed as tribes in census reports. These were heterogeneous communities and included such communities as hunter-gatherers, pastoralists, shifting cultivators, artisans and many others. These groups also inhabit different topography. Definition of a tribe therefore, differs from one tribe to another. Obviously, their culture is not homogenous. But within the heterogeneity there are some commonalities that give a meaning to the concept 'tribe'. As you know there are two visible interests on tribes—one is for academics, and the other for development imperatives. Both are combined to understand the characteristics of tribe in Indian context. So we have presented the characteristics both from general and Indian contexts. The general context presents academics view point more in an ideal situation.

In ideal situation the characteristics of tribes have been enumerated with reference to some criteria. These criteria are definite territory, sense of unity, common language, kinship bond, endogamy, common culture, faiths and practices, age sets, rites of passage, emblems of allegiance, common name, and political organization. The criteria to characterise tribal communities are in the process of change. Moreover, these criteria were never accepted completely even in earlier days.

In India a tribe is always in the process of interaction and we have a constitutional nomenclature for it. Though the tribes are in the process of interaction, still they differ in respect of their level of interactions, place of habitation and so on. You can outline the characteristics of Indian tribes in three different categories- as ST, as PTG and as Non-ST. If you combine the features of these three categories, you will have an idea about the characteristics of Indian tribes in general.

Characteristics of STs

As you know, criteria are not specified in the Constitution to declare a community as ST. You also know that Lokur Committee has evolved some criteria for declaring a particular community as ST. Obviously, at an ideal level these criteria are characteristics of STs. The characteristics of tribes which enable them for

recommendation of state governments for scheduling in the Constitution are as follows:

- *Geographical isolation* - they live in cloistered, exclusive, remote and inhospitable areas such as hills and forests.
- *Backwardness* - their livelihood is based on primitive agriculture, a low-value closed economy with a low level of technology that leads to their poverty. They have low levels of literacy and health.
- *Distinctive culture, language and religion* - communities have developed their own distinctive culture, language and religion.
- *Shyness of contact* – they have a marginal degree of contact with other cultures and people.
- *An ensemble of primitive traits*.

Characteristics of PTGs

PTGs are special groups within the ST category. They display the characteristics present in STs along with some additional traits. These groups are regarded as the poorest of poor amongst the STs. The criteria fixed for identification of such PTGs are:

(i) Relatively physically isolated;

(ii) Homogenous with a small population;

(iii) Economic and social backwardness;

(iv) Absence of written language and a very low level of literacy;

(v) Declining or stagnant population; and

(vi) Relatively simple Pre-agricultural level of technology and slow rate of change.

Characteristics in the frame of academic generality

Indian scholars have their schema of characterising a community as tribe. All characteristics may or may not be present in a community but these are general features for our understanding of what a tribe stands for.

S.C. Dube (1990) has listed the following characteristics which we have discussed here with reference to present situation:

1. Their roots in the soil date back to a very early period. If they are not original inhabitants, they are among the oldest inhabitants of the land. However, their position is different from the American Indian, Australian aborigines and the native African population. They were there much before the white settlers arrived in these countries. There is no doubt of their being the indigenous population of these places.

   However, this cannot be said so in the case of tribes in India. Tribes have been living in close interaction with the non-tribals for centuries. Some tribes like the Mizos and Khamptis are even late comers to their place of habitation.

2. They live in the relative isolation of the hills and the forests. This was not always so. There are evidences of their presence in the Gangetic plains. It is only because of subordination and marginalization that they have been forced to retreat to inaccessible places.

3. Their sense of history is shallow, for among them, the remembered history is restricted to three to four generations. Beyond that it tends to get merged in mythology. But in recent years the oral tradition which was considered as a weak source of history is accepted as the source material to reconstruct the history of the pre-literate people.

4. They have a low level of techno-economic development.

5. In terms of their cultural ethos-language, institutions, beliefs, worldview and customs, they are different from the others.

6. By and large they are non-hierarchic and undifferentiated. There are some exceptions like the Gonds, the Ahoms and the Cheros who had a ruling class or the landed aristocracy.

T.B. Naik (1956) has given the following features of tribes in Indian context:

- A tribe should have least functional interdependence within the community.
- It should be economically backward (i.e. primitive means of exploiting natural resources, tribal economy should be at an underdeveloped stage and it should have multifarious economic pursuits).
- There should be a comparative geographical isolation of its people.
- They should have a common dialect.
- Tribes should be politically organized and community panchayat should be influential.
- A tribe should have customary laws.

Naik argues that a community should possess all the above mentioned characteristics to become a tribe. A very high level of acculturation with outside society debars it from being a tribe. Thus, the term tribe usually denotes a social group bound together by kin and duty, and associated with a particular territory.

General Characteristics of Indian Tribes

The society is changing and so the concept shifts to accommodate changes over the period to understand the dynamics. Today, in India, a tribe is characterised as a social category scheduled in the Constitution. Moreover, they display dynamic characteristics, often different from the ideal types. You cannot find a tribe completely in isolation. You can enumerate the characteristics of PTGs to understand a tribal community in particular and the characteristics of STs to understand a tribal community in general. Moreover, you have Non-STs which to a lesser degree agree to the ideal type of remote habitation. The characteristics below will give you an idea of heterogeneous tribal communities in India.

(a) A tribe is both a broad social category to include STs and Non-STs;

(b) When confined to the category of STs, it is a social category in an administrative sense within the frame of the Constitution;

(c) It was relatively isolated at one time and later had its integration with the outside world, but has continued to call itself tribe because of vested interests;

(d) A tribe is a community that still dwells in remotely situated forests and hills and is backward in terms of the indices of development, although the community may not have yet found a place in the list of the scheduled tribes; it belongs to Non-ST category;

(e) A tribe does not exist as a stage of social evolution;

(f) A tribe as ST is state specific status; the same community having no ST status in other states if not given the same status according to the Constitution;

(g) As a corollary, a tribe is not always a community specific status, the same community may be ST in one state and a Scheduled Caste or Other Backward Caste or General Caste in another;

(h) A tribe is category in contrast to caste, but it is not always so; some caste based communities in Himachal Pradesh and Uttarakhand also have ST status; and

(i) A tribe is not ideally a stateless society, there are some tribes like Garo, Gond, Bhumija who participated in statecraft as rulers.

1.6 TRIBAL ECOLOGY

In section 1.3 you have learnt the meaning of **habitat** and its classification on the basis of physical and political divisions. You have also learnt about the habitats of tribes and tribal concentration in India. This section deals with how a habitat influences the way of life of people living in it and how it shapes its culture. This is what we call Tribal Ecology. In general, you can say that the ecology or habitat has influence on the knowledge system of people, which is the dynamic aspect of culture. Precisely, you will learn two aspects, namely health care and resource conservation beliefs and practices of tribal knowledge system.

Ecology and Habitat

The term ecology has several connotations. It may refer to the scientific study of interactions among organisms and their environment. In this sense it is a branch of knowledge that includes Biology, Geography and Earth Science. It also refers the natural world, as a whole or in a particular geographical area, especially as affected by human activity. An ecological area inhabited by a particular species of animal, plant or any other type of organism is known as its Habitat. The two concepts, Habitat and Ecology have diverse uses in different disciplines. Here we will use habitat and ecology as synonym terms. While the former manifests the physical characteristics in a wider sense, the latter reflects the interaction between physical and mental aspects in relation to the knowledge system evolved in a local habitat i.e. in a particular ecology.

In section 1.4 we have presented a broad category of habitats. But within this broad division you will find local variations. For example, forest habitat is a very general idea about tribal habitats. It includes forests of all types. You will find forests like desert type, mangrove type, bamboo forests, mountainous forests, plains forests and so on. Each forest type defines interaction among organisms in a particular way and thus has its distinct influence over people living there. As you know mangrove forests have swampy floors and so houses are constructed on raised platforms which are characteristic of all swampy areas. But where forest is not swampy and the ground is plain and there is no water logging, houses are constructed on the floor like the houses of Savaras, Santhals, Birhors, etc. in plains forests. The materials used for house construction also differ from one forest type to the other. Livelihood sources also depend on the nature of the habitat. Forest tribes living near rivers or sea coast depend on fishing while in deserts they depend on hunting. Tribes in mountainous forests normally practise shifting cultivation in contrast to permanent cultivation

<table>
<tr><td colspan="1">Chck Your Progress</td></tr>
<tr><td>19. Who said/ proposed?

(a) Tribe is a Backward Hindu.

(b) Tribe is a Segmentary society.

(c) Tribe-caste continuum

(d) Tribe-peasant continuum

(e) Tribe in transition

(f) *Adivasi* is a general term which has no special legal de jure connotations.</td></tr>
</table>

in plains. Plants and animals also vary from forest type to the other. While forest is defined as habitat, each forest type is considered ecology for our present discussion.

Tribal ecology is the small habitat of a tribal community where interaction with nature shapes a distinct culture and way of living for them.

In this section you will learn about tribal ecology in both general and specific senses. We separately discuss ecology to focus on interactions among organisms to explain knowledge system. So, you will learn tribal knowledge system in course of tribal people's interaction with natural resources—plants, animals, land, water, air and other natural objects like the Sun, the sky, etc. Precisely, we will discuss tribal people's faiths, beliefs and practices as a part of their knowledge system.

Knowledge system

Tribal knowledge system is known as traditional knowledge, indigenous knowledge, folk knowledge, traditional ecological knowledge, community knowledge, etc. This knowledge is greatly based on long tribal experiences of interactions with their immediate ecology consisting of *biotic* (living) and *abiotic* (non-living elements).

As you know tradition refers to a 'long-established custom or belief that has been passed on from one generation to another'. The statements, beliefs, legends, customs, information, etc. pass on from generation to generations, especially by word of mouth or by practice. This system of knowledge and its transmission does not exist exclusive among the tribes. There are rural communities in which knowledge is also transmitted and is traditional. Traditional knowledge has a wider meaning than tribal knowledge system. Similarly, folk, people or community has also wider meaning.

Indigenous knowledge is the knowledge of indigenous people, the people who are native to a locality or ecology. In this sense, it seems that tribal knowledge system is indigenous knowledge. As you have learnt, in India tribal people are not considered indigenous people because of their history of migration. It is not easy to establish nativity of a community to a particular place. Without going into the controversy of who are indigenous and who are not, there is another way of defining indigenous knowledge. The knowledge is not created in formal institutions like research laboratories, Universities or research institutes. So, indigenous knowledge is defined in contrast to formal scientific knowledge. But this knowledge is not community specific or confined to tribes only. You will find the knowledge of weaving or basket making not only among tribal groups in Northeast India but also among non-tribal groups also. Obviously, tribal knowledge is indigenous knowledge but indigenous knowledge is not a synonym of tribal knowledge. The former is broader in meaning, content and context.

What you have learnt is tribal knowledge system as a part of indigenous, folk, people, ecological or community knowledge system preserved from generations to generations through oral transmission. It is a generic term and includes the knowledge of all the tribes of all the ecological settings. It covers all aspects of life, including management of resources, health care practices, faiths and beliefs, agriculture, food preparation, weaving, education, communication, technology, cattle herding, hunting and gathering, fisheries, mode of production, ethics of consumption, institutions, language, customs, arts, paintings, etc. which people of an ecology have generated and preserved as survival strategy. The

knowledge is based on experience, often tested over centuries, adapted to the ecology and cultural life of people.

Tribal knowledge like any traditional knowledge system is stored in people's memories and activities. It is expressed in the form of myths, legends, tales, stories, songs, proverbs, riddles, dances, values, beliefs, rituals and other practices.

You have learnt that knowledge system has two components: physical (visible) and mental (invisible/intangible). The two components however do not exist separately; they often exist together. While a tribal man constructs a house (a visible action) he is aware of the taboos and beliefs (invisible aspect) associated with his actions. He will not violate, say, the rule or belief associated with erecting the first pillar.

In short tribal knowledge is the generalisation of specific knowledge system of a tribal culture, existing within and developed in the habitat ecology of the people.

As you have learnt knowledge system has both visible and non-visible (mental) components. We will discuss these two aspects of knowledge with reference to health care and resource conservation of tribal people.

1.6.1 Healthcare

Clements (1932), Lewis (1954) and many other have studied health care system of traditional communities. The notion of 'health' in these communities is ordinarily perceived as an opposite to 'disease' or 'sicknesses'. In other words, health is a condition of the 'absence of disease'. We can cite an example to illustrate the point. The Miju (Kaman) Mishmis of Arunachal Pradesh, for example, use the term 'naat' to mean the condition of disease or sickness. They use the term 'ma-naat', meaning no disease, for a person who enjoys a 'normal' condition. In fact, they use this term to answer to any query like: Is s/he sick? Or how is she? In a tribal community the condition of 'health' is perceived as bipolar opposite to the condition of sickness or disease.

The idea of disease is also based on subjective judgement. Disease or sickness is a condition of deviation from normal life. A person is considered sick, i.e. 'not in good health' if s/he shows signs of pain or discomfort while performing normal works. You will learn from the studies of many scholars that the condition of sickness arises due to supernatural or physical reasons. Supernatural reasons are attributed to the wrath of deities (spirits), evil eye, witchcraft and sorcery, breach of taboo, failure to perform rituals, violation of social norms like committing adultery or incest, violation of culturally approved norms to be obeyed while interacting with natural objects like rivers, sacred places and so on. The reasons for supernatural punishment may be due to mistakes committed by human beings or even without them. The reason of sickness caused due to breach of a norm is attributed to human mistakes. But sickness due to an evil eye, for example, is caused without the mistake of the sufferer. Physical injuries of a person also may cause him/her discomfort or pain to carry out normal work and obviously, s/he is considered sick in tribal notion of health. However, the cause is not normally attributed to supernatural factors. The tribal people also believe that a wicked shaman, sorcerer or witch may send supernatural force into a person's body through black magic and cause sickness.

Thus, from the above discussion we know that sickness is caused by three factors. These are supernatural agency like spirits, human agency like sorcerer and natural causes responsible for physical injuries. In addition to these three disease causing factors, scholars have also classified two ways of understanding disease and the concept of health in tribal communities, namely - subjective and objective. Subjective ways refer to sickness due to supernatural causes while physical injuries are objective perception of sickness.

Ecological Knowledge and Health

It will be interesting for you to know that the notion of health as opposed to the condition of sickness has developed in ecological knowledge system of the tribal people.

First, the trees, segment of a river, a cave, or any natural object which is considered sacred appears in the habitat ecology. There are cultural norms of how people would behave with these objects. Violation of norms relate to disobedience of relational behaviour of cultural prescriptions. Such violations invoke the wrath of supernatural power which inhabits the ecological place. It is to be mentioned that a tribe may live in different ecological space and its knowledge about the perception of supernature in material objects of that space is created. The *Hirek t*ree in the ecology of Yomcha area of Galos in West Siang district of Arunachal Pradesh is considered sacred. Anybody shouting or urinating near it invokes supernatural punishment. But the tree is not found in the ecology of Lika Bali plains of the tribe in the same district or in Nari –Telam area of the Galos in East Siang district.

In Damro village of the Adi Padams, the *Siri-Rine* tree was considered to be a wish-fulfilling tree. Any act of defilement near it was considered sacrilegious as long as the tree existed. But such a belief is not attributed to any tree of other Padam villages like Mebo or Dambuk.

The important think which you learn here is that the material objects which have connection with the notion of health are ecology-specific.

Second, supernatural curative practices prescribe taboos or use of objects for offerings which are available in the ecology. Monkey meat is a taboo during pregnancy in the hills of Arunachal Pradesh, but not among the tribal groups living in Lakshadweep or Konkan ecological zone. In fact eating of some varieties of fish like *shingada* and *kolambis* is prohibited at least for six months after delivery in Kuli community of Konkna region. Coconut is invariably used as an offering in Kerala while it is not the case in Arunachal Pradesh where ecology is not suitable for coconut cultivation.

Third, materials used in curative practices also occur in the ecology. In Kerala, for example, *neem* leaves are used in curative rituals or as medicine by many tribes. You cannot find this item among the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh or Meghalaya or Nagaland, as *neem* is not endemic in the ecology.

For the same disease in different ecology the plant medicine used are different. In case of diarrhoea and stomach disorder people in different ecological setting use different plants available. The Adis of East Siang district use *Aoeratum Conyaoides,* a weed, the Nyishis of Papum Pare district use *Arigiopteris evecta* (a type of fern called commonly as King fern –looks like the matured leaves of

Dhekia in Assamese whose botanical name is *Diplaziumesculentum* and the Kuli in Konkan region use Chariamilo (*Oxalis corniculata*, in Sanskrit it is called *ambastha*).

Occurrence of disease has a link with ecology. The same disease does not occur among the members of a tribe living in different ecological setting. For example, Adis living in foot hills and plains suffer from malaria frequently while those living in Tuting, a clod region, have very rare cases of malaria.

The ecological knowledge is not uniform with regard to different medicinal plants available in the same ecology. You will find that the Gond medicine men of different wards in Pathai village of Betul district in Madhya Pradesh use different plant species for the cure of jaundice. In one ward, the traditional medicine man uses mixed juice of *Cuscuta reflexa* (in Hindi it is *amar bel*) and *Curcuma aromatic* (in Hindi -*jangli haldi*) while in another ward a concoction of *Hathikan leea macrophylla* (in Hindi-Hathikan leaves) and *aamras* (a mango dessert) is used.

One important point about tribal health is occurrence of new diseases with changing ecology. In mining areas of Odisha tribes suffer from diseases like black lung disorder, tuberculosis; noise induced hearing loss, irritation to eyes, pneumoconiosis, severe cough and cold, skin infections, bronchitis, ulcer muscular pains, back pains, wearing out of joints, arthritis, spondylosis, numbness, fatigue and lack of stamina and so on. The traditional ecological knowledge does not have curative methods for these diseases though often they adopt to traditional practices before medical treatment. Treatment in hospitals could be an addition to their knowledge system as these institutions are located in their ecology.

1.6.2 Resource Conservation

Do you know 80 per cent of biodiversity on this earth is found in areas inhabited by tribal and indigenous peoples?

World Resources Institute (WRI), Washington, D.C. reports this fact in *World Resources Report 2005: The Wealth of the Poor – Managing Ecosystems to Fight Poverty*. It is reported that

> 'many areas inhabited by Indigenous Peoples coincide with some of the world's remaining major concentrations of biodiversity. Traditional indigenous territories encompass up to 22 per cent of the world's land surface and they coincide with areas that hold 80 per cent of the planet's biodiversity'.

Do you know why?

The reason is that these peoples are carriers of traditional knowledge and wisdom about biodiversity resources. These peoples have inextricably linked the natural resources in which they depend on to their identities and cultures. For them biodiversity resource is not an isolated and compartmentalized concept, but an integrated part of their lives. That is why it is not a surprise that these people make up only 4 per cent of the world's population, but represent 95 per cent of the world's cultural diversity. Scholars have found that traditional knowledge provides for intricate resource management systems that have sustained indigenous societies for millennia. In other words, tribal and indigenous communities survive due to the

survival of the resources and therefore their knowledge of biodiversity conservation is a survival strategy.

Coming to India we find that tribal people do not involve in wasteful consumption and sell or purchase biodiversity resources like a commodity. In their belief system nature or natural resources are free gifts. A tribe considers nature as *giving environment* or preserver and feeder (*thow-gew* in Aka language). In their belief, the nature has a supernatural (spirit) realm and its use requires propitiatory rituals for the presiding deities. In this belief system land, water, plants, animals are related to human beings, their identities and way of life. A tribe does not feel some one different from the Nature. S/he considers her/himself as a part of it.

Totem as a strategy of conservation

It is not a surprise to find many tribal clans or lineages trace their origin from animals and plants. In other words, they possess totem of animals and plants for their ancestry. The clans in Ho tribe have their respective totems. The totem, for example of Purti clan *(kili)* is crocodile, of Hasda wild goose, of Tiu jackal, of Bage tiger, of Jamuda spring and of Hembram clan the totem is a tree bearing berries. Among the Santals the Murmu clan has a wild cow as its totem, Chande has a lizard and Boyar has a fish and so on.

> A totem is a being, object, or symbol representing an animal or plant that serves as an emblem of a group of people, such as a family, clan, group, lineage, or tribe, reminding them of their ancestry (or mythic past). In kinship and descent, if the ancestor of a clan is nonhuman, it is called a totem. Normally this belief is accompanied by a totemic myth. The term totem belongs to Ojibwe tribe of North America.

You know that an ecology has its own species of plants, animals or land forms. The totemic names come from these species, not from any other which is not endemic to the ecology. The totems mentioned above are all found in the ecology in which the tribe lives. We can also cite the example of Oraons who live in Chotanagpur plateau in the states of Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh and Odisha. The species found there are linked to totems of their respective clans. The Karkha clan has cow, Tirki has a young mouse, Lakra has the tiger, Kindu has the 'Saur' fish, Toppo has a small bird, Kerketta has the quail, Ekka has the tortoise, Gidhi has the eagle, Tiga the field mouse, Hartu has the monkey, Tatenga has the lizard, Minz has Eel , Xaxa has crow, Xess corn, Godo has a water creature as their totems. During the common lineage festival known as Dharm puja, every lineage member has to undergo rituals of fast to worship his own totem. You will find that the Kharwars of South Lohardaga regard the Khar grass as the totem of their tribe, and so they never cut or injure it while growing. In fact, totemic clans do not kill or injure totems nor allow others to do so; these are very sacred to them.

The idea and concept behind Totemism is that people have a spiritual connection or kinship tie with creatures or objects in nature, making the practice very similar to Animism. Animism is a belief based on the spiritual idea that the universe, and all natural objects within the universe, has souls or spirits. It is believed that souls or spirits exist not only in humans but also in animals, plants, trees, rocks and all natural forces. Tribes consider themselves as a part of the Nature.

Sacred Groves

If you read the history of human interaction with immediate ecology you will find a variety of human strategies to preserve the resources. One of the strategies is the demarcation of special areas of the natural environment which have connection with cultural needs. Such areas are diverse and range from the common resource areas for livelihood purposes to sacred trees and groves to meet cultural needs. You will find sacred grove as a resource conservation strategy still existing in India including areas inhabited by tribes.

Sacred Grove is a traditional example of community based resource conservation strategy. This age-old traditional conservation practice appears in all religions throughout the world. In India, sacred groves are scattered all over the country. They have different names in different parts of the country. These groves are called as 'Sarna' or 'Dev' in Madhya Pradesh and Chhattisgarh, Devrai or Devrahati in Maharashtra, 'Sarnas' 'Jaherthan' in Jharkhand,'Orans' in Rajasthan, 'Devarabana' or 'Devarakadu'or 'Rulidevarakadu' or 'Nagabana' etc. in Karnataka, 'Kovilakadu' in Tamil Nadu 'Kavu' in Kerala, 'Dev van' in Himachal Pradesh, 'KI Law Lyngdoh' or 'Ki Law Kyntang' etc. in Meghalaya, Dumbang among the Adi Padams of Arunachal Pradesh and 'Lai Umang' in Manipur.

Dumbang is an enclosure situated on the way to forest. The Papdam hunters perform rituals before and after a hunting expedition to propitiate *Gamik*, the presiding deity and owner of all kinds of wild animals.

The phrase sacred grove is combined from two words –sacred and grove. Sacred is considered to be holy or 'connected with a god' and the word 'grove' refers to a small area of land with trees of particular types grown on it. So sacred grove means a small area of land with particular types of trees grown on it and that are considered to be holy by the local community. Such groves are associated with the notion of a "presiding deity". In many cases these trees are dedicated to local deities or ancestral spirits. The local community preserves the trees through cultural traditions and taboos.

The Sacred Groves of Meghalaya

As you have learnt, in Meghalaya sacred groves are known as – and found in every village. Among them two large groves are Mawphlang and Mausmai. The Mawphlang grove close to Shillong town is one of the best preserved groves. The Mawsmai grove in Cherrapunji is about 6 km^2 of protected mixed broad-leaved rain forest area. The traditional religious belief is that the gods and the spirits of the ancestors live in these groves. In early time ceremonies were performed in all the groves regularly to propitiate the ruling deity. But due to influence of Christianity these rituals have been stopped in many groves. Nevertheless, cutting of trees or removal of plant parts is still considered to offend the ruling deity, leading to local calamities.

Beliefs and Practices in Day-to-Day Life and Conservation

Tribes dependence on resources is for subsistence living. Their wants are less; they do not put resources into multiple uses and do not use in large scale. The tools and weapons they use are appropriate to the worldview of their needs and so do not do large damage to the resources beyond their needs. Subsistence community based

needs, rudimentary technology, belief in life of every natural object, linking human welfare to less damage to plants and animals, use of local resources only to meet their local community needs and so on form the bed rock of their ecological knowledge system. This knowledge puts restraints on indiscriminate use of resources.

The Nyishis profess 'animism' and believe in *wiyus* (spirits) –both benevolent and malevolent. There are *wiyus* in the jungle, on the lofty hills, in shadowy recesses and inaccessible caves on the top of the tall trees, in the rivers, and inside and outside the house. The Nyishi have developed a relationship of mutuality or avoidance with objects believed to have belonged to wiyus. In their belief system tiger happens to be the brother of *Abo Tani*, their anscestor; so they avoid killing of tigers. This belief is also there in Galo culture, another tribe in Arunachal Pradesh.

As the legend goes*, Abo Tani* and *wiyus* were contemporaries. *Wiyus* were jealous of *Abo Tani's* supernatural power and always were in search for the opportunity to harm him. *Tu Tungung* as *Bingdarbo* (Mediator who settles disputes, presently *gingdung*) settled the dispute by demarcating area for their dwelling. *Abo Tani* was allotted areas suitable for human settlement and *wiyus* were given inaccessible places, trees and hills, rivers and marshy land for their dwelling. So, the Nyishi do not cut nor use trees like *domrang, sangrik (ficus species), tara posi sangkang* because they are believed to be the dwelling places of the *wiyus. Sanda dumbangbo* (any tree with a special structure), *osso dumbangbo* (cane with special structure), *hatek hanek* (knotted bamboo) etc. are believed to be the dwelling place of *wiyus*. Nyishis do not use leaves of *kamyar* plant, for *wiyus are* believed to use it. *Sangne netebo* (very big trees), *aleng patebo* (peculiar shaped big stones), *senyik* (marshy land), *sele koibo* (deep river with dark-colour water) and distant and inaccessible forest and mountains are believed to be the shelters of *wiyus. Tab* (snakes) and birds like *pup* (owl), *puwa* (crow) are dreaded as *wiyus*.

That the belief system of the Nyishis puts restraint on resource use could be comprehended from the following example. *Peagaa* (horn bill) is a much sought after bird among the Nyishis. Its *hibu* (beak) is decorated on the top of the *gopiya/bopiya* (hat) that gives a social status to its user. But still, they do not go for its indiscriminate killing in the belief that one who does so will never prosper. They use the term *Khumom-ho/who* to mean misery of all sorts for the present and future. Nest-killing is practised but silently, lest the *shewu/swng* (the protecting spirit in the jungle) would harm the hunter. This belief stops indiscriminate killing because the killing expedition in a particular nest breaks silence and checks further killing. They do not kill all members of its family in the fear that the killer's family would be subject to supernatural punishment. In the same line of thinking, Nyishis do not kill a male *peaga* flying alone as they know that it carries food to the female bird that hatches egg in the hole-nest. Its killing, as the people believe, amount to the destruction of its family of starvation that would bring bad-luck to killer's family.

There are some specific trees having specific uses. For example, trees like *kora, karsing, porio*, *tai* are used as house building materials and trees like *kora, ninch* and plants like *tajar* are used for constructing *ugang* (ritual structure). After major rituals with mithun sacrifice, such as *ganda wiyu panam, himi panam*, entire community observes taboo for five days when outside works including

felling of trees are prohibited. The Nyishi also observe restraint in the matter of harvesting trees during flowering and bamboos during shooting period. They strictly observe taboos because of the fear of supernatural punishment consequent upon their violation.

Use of land resource for shifting cultivation is not indiscriminate; rather it follows norms consistent to their belief system. The selection of new jhum plot is based on the ritual *wiyu kokanam* in which chicken lever or egg yolk is examined. Sometimes, dreams also play significant role in selecting a jhum plot. The jhum cycle is limited to particular fields for a number of decades and fallow period is at least above ten years. Moreover, jhum fields are selected in places where *tajar* plant and *kokam* leaves grow abundantly, for such fields are believed to be fertile.

You will find that the Khamptis another tribe in Arunachal Pradesh have developed the practices of restrained resource use. For example, *Ton Mei Hung* (peepal tree), trees having seven or more branches (believed to be the abode of spirits) are wholly protected. Some trees have specific use, eg. *tonliu* (simul)-used in making bier, *kamko* (nahar) branches used during *Sangken* festival, and thus are protected. The Khamptis have the belief that *Ariyanitya* (the future incarnation of Lord Buddha) will get enlightenment under *kamko.*

There are restrictions on the harvest of trees in certain seasons. At the time of flowering, harvesting is prohibited because of the belief that trees will yield soft wood prone to insect-infection. Same belief prohibits bamboo harvesting during *Nuen Napi* (fortnight preceding full moon day) and when shoots are tender. Harvesting of bamboo and trees are prohibited during festivals such as *Nawa* and *Sangken.*

In earlier days, the Khamptis followed a practice called *Tang Ton Mei* (to put a new tree in place of old one) to appease *phinoy*. Perhaps this was the traditional way of forest conservation, which in later years has been diluted to the practice of putting a branch in place of the felled tree. Any violation of traditional practice of resource use is linked to supernatural punishment like *maa* (madness), *khom tuk* (soul loss), etc.

The rationality behind taboos, beliefs and practices associated with restrained resource use is the prudence which seemingly contributes towards ensuring long term sustainability of resource use.

1.7 SUMMARY

- In this unit we have discussed the origin of the term tribe, its academic and administrative nature and particularly, the characteristics of tribe in changing perspectives. In India, tribe constitutes a large portion of its population constituting 8.6 per cent of only constitutional category. The population is distributed in 30 states and UTs of the country. You have read the nature and extent of distribution with reference to geographical regions and political divisions based on regions, states and districts.

- By reading this unit you are expected to learn details on the concept of tribe, characteristics and the distribution of their habitats.

NOTES

Check Your Progress

21. State whether the following statements are true or false:
    (a) Faiths and beliefs put restraints on resource use.
    (b) Any item, whether available or not in the ecology can be prescribed as a taboo for people living in it.
    (c) Traditional knowledge system has clues of resource conservation.
    (d) Sacred grove is a strategy of religious belief.
    (e) People do not violate social norms knowing that it will help in resource conservation.

- You have studied that the term 'tribe' is a colonial creation. But the communities designated as tribes during colonial period had their terms of address and outsiders' designation for them.

- The term tribe largely denotes to social category and includes both ST and Non-ST communities in India. ST category includes its variant i.e. PTGs. The ST category though refers to a broad social group its basis is socio-economic backwardness. Being a social category it deals with social institutions and organizations. But in a narrow and implicit sense the term is used to distinguish a tribal individual from its non-tribal counterpart. Further, being a social category the concept of tribe is not confined to the boundary of any socio-cultural characteristics. Tribes are heterogeneous in terms of bio-genetic traits, language, levels of cultural contact, economic pursuits, religious faiths and beliefs and in the field of governance system.

- You have further studied that the term tribe though originated in colonial vocabulary it continues to stay consequent upon its use in academics and government documents. However, a tribe does not exist in its ideal state; it is in transition. The characteristics of tribes, therefore, present not only an ideal state but also the changing perspectives.

- The habitat of tribe is finally explained in terms of ecology. The ecological habit, as you have learnt, influences knowledge system of a tribe. In turn the knowledge system helps in resource conservation. You have also learnt that ecological knowledge relates to the notion of health and health care practices in tribal communities.

1.8 KEY TERMS

- **Aborigine:** The original or native or earliest known inhabitants of a country or region in relation to colonisers or other migrants.

- **Acephalous:** Literally, 'headless', meaning without any centralised authority.

- **Bio-genetic variability:** The phenotypic variance of a trait or the genotype in the population of a group or many groups due to genetic difference amongst individuals.

- **Census:** Complete enumeration of something. In India, the total population is enumerated once in 10 years, called Population Census.

- **Cephalous society:** A society with centralised authority like a chief.

- **Colonial:** Relating to the subjugating policy and power of a country over another independent country**.**

- **Concept:** A generalized form of abstract or generic idea of what something is or how it works; it is wider than in the meaning or definition of something.

- **Cultural Territory:** A geographical space generally across the political divisions where a community of a homogeneous or at least undifferentiated culture lives.

- **Divide and Rule:** The policy of gaining and maintain power over a population by creating small divisions within and causing rivalries and creating discord among them.

- **Evolution:** A gradual process through which something changes into a different and usually more complex or improved form.

- **Evolutionists:** Those who believe in the idea that things change through a gradual process from simple to complex forms.

- **Great Tradition:** The tradition based on the idea contained in epics, purans and other classical sanskritic texts and shared as a common cultural consciousness by the people.

- **Habitat:** Place or environment that is natural for the normal life and growth of plant or animal including human beings.

- **Ideal category:** The category that is expected to conform to the idea considered to be perfect and thus a model.

- **Interface:** The meeting point or area of different communicating ideas.

- **Little Tradition:** The tradition that is the local version of the great tradition which exist among folk artists, medicine men, tellers, stories , bards and in a region or village.

- **Livelihood:** Activities undertaken for the purpose of securing the basic necessities life such as food, water, shelter and clothing.

- **Non-literate:** Absence of the ability of reading and writing.

- **Perspective:** A particular way of viewing a phenomenon independently or in relation to another.

- **Political Territory:** A geographical area having a well-defined political boundary like that of a country or state or district.

- **Pre-literate:** Absence of the practice of reading and writing.

- **Scheduled Areas:** 'Excluded' or 'partially excluded' areas identified by the British Government and later declared in Indian Constitution as Scheduled Areas as per the provisions of Fifth Schedule, these are Fifth Schedule Areas in nine states at present with predominance tribal population.

- **Scope:** With regard to a discipline it refers to subject matter and its relation with other disciplines.

- **Seven Sisters:** The seven states, namely Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland and Tripura.

- **Theraveda:** Literally it means 'words or wisdom of the elders', it refers to the Buddhist School of Hinayana Cult that draws its scriptural inspiration from the Pali texts, or Tipitaka.

- **Tribal Areas:** Tribal inhabiting areas where provisions of Sixth Schedule are applicable.

- **Tribal Sub-Plan:** An integrated strategy of development of tribals in Fifth Schedule Areas of India introduced during the Fifth Five Year Plan.

- **Ecology:** Scientific study of interactions among organisms and their environment.

- **Traditional knowledge:** Knowledge that passes on orally from generations to generations.

- **Supernatural:** That does not exist in natural form and that cannot be explained in natural ways.

- **Sacred grove:** An enclosure with trees which is considered holy and linked to supernatural being(s).

- **Resource:** Resource has different meaning in different disciplines like Economics, Geography, etc. In natural resource it means natural materials used for human welfare.

- **Conservation:** Preservation, protection and promotion.

- **Totem:** Natural objects like plants or animals which are considered to be mythical ancestors of a clan or lineage.

1.9   ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. (a) True, (b) False, (c) False, (d) False, (e) True

2. Occupation

3. Divide and Rule

4. Proto-Australoids, Mongoloids, Negrito

5. Hunting-gathering, shifting agriculture, herding

6. Austro-Asiatic, Tibeto-Chinese, and Dravidian

7. Cephalous and acephalous

8. (a) True, (b) False, (c) True, (d) True, and (e) True

9. (a) Colonial mindset of divide and rule, evolutionary scheme of society, Criminal Tribes Act, 1871, Census Reports.

   (b) Communities who were notified as Criminal Tribes under Criminal Tribes Act,1871

   (c) Band, tribe, chiefdom and state

   (d) Between tribe and peasant there are many tribal communities displaying characteristics of peasant and many peasant communities displaying characteristics of tribal communities at different degrees

10. (a) Sts and PTGs

    (b) Articles 342 and 366 (25)

    (c) The Punjab, Haryana, Delhi, Chandigarh and Puducherry

    (d) Non-Scheduled Tribes and Indigenous people

11. (a) True, (b) True, (c) False, (d) True, (e) True, (f) False, (g) False

12. (a) False, (b) False, (c) False, (d) False (e) True

13. (a) 75, (b) 2nd, (c) Andhra Pradesh, (d) Sixth Schedule, Fifth Schedule, (e) Shilu Ao Committee, (f) State

14. 1. Bhil, Gond, Mina, Naikda, Oraon, Koli - Mahadev, Kol, Varli, Kokna, Kawar, Korku, Koya, Halba, Dharua, Dubla, Rathawa, and Saharia

15. Kurung Kumey in Arunachal Pradesh

16. The Northeast India

17. Arunachal Pradesh, Meghalaya, Mizoram and Nagaland. The concentration of tribal population is more that 60%

18. Dhebar Commission in 1973

19. (a) G.S. Ghurye, (b) Marshal Sahlins, (c) F.G Bailey, (d) S.C.Sinha, (e) A.R.Desai, (f) B.R. Ambedkar

20. (a) False (b) True (c) False (d) False (e) True

21. (a) True (b) False (c) True (d) False (e) False

1.10 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. Do you think Indian tribes lived in isolation before British rule? Give examples to justify your answer.

2. Write any five characteristics of tribes in ideal state. Do you think tribes in India live in ideal state? Why or why not?

3. Do you think defining tribes in India has a territorial dimension? Support your answer with examples.

4. Distinguish between the concepts of Political Territory and Cultural Territory with reference to tribal communities of India.

Long-Answer Questions

1. 'Tribe as a social category is a colonial legacy'. Explain why or why not.

2. What is the basis of classification of Indian population in tribes and caste? Do you think the basis is correct? Support your answers with examples.

3. In India the term 'tribe' can be replaced with 'indigenous people'. Justify your answer with suitable examples.

4. Do you think concentration of tribal population correlates to the percentage of Country's tribal population? Support your answer with examples.

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UNIT 2 SOCIO-POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS

Structure

2.0 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit, you have learnt the definition and evolution of the term 'tribe.' You have also learnt about the categories of tribes in India, terms of reference, distribution of habitats and their characteristics. By now you are aware that tribal communities are heterogeneous. But in the community itself the aspects of life show a harmonious blending through interconnectedness in terms of culture. In other words, the culture presents a holistic understanding; it means that aspects of life do not exist as separate domains. There is one domain, the cultural domain of all aspects of life, and each aspect, therefore is an integral part of that single domain, integrated and interconnected.

We can take an example for clarification. Economics as an aspect of life does not exist as a separate domain as in modern societies. It is instituted in social process and interconnected with other aspects such as social, political and religious life. Similarly, social aspect of life is interconnected with political, economic and

religious aspects of life, and all together form the culture of the community. In this unit you shall learn social and political aspects of life and their interconnectedness from the study of socio-political organizations.

Each and every society believes in stability, solidarity and harmonious living. In view of this a society evolves its mechanisms to ensure social harmony. Political organizations help enforcing these mechanisms. However, these mechanisms may vary from formal system to informal way of living, but the essence remains the same to maintain harmony and ensure stability. In tribal communities, customary laws and sanctions are such mechanisms which you will learn in this Unit.

You have already learnt that religion is a component of holistic tribal life. It is integrated with other aspects of life and plays a significant role in many ways. Its ethical component puts checks on unwanted social behaviour; beliefs and practices influence understanding disease and curative system; and faiths, beliefs and practices present the cultural identity of the members of the tribe in a holistic sense. You will learn about all these aspects in this unit also.

2.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Explain the meaning of various tribal social organizations
- Discuss institutions like kinship, marriage and family in the context of tribal social organizations
- Describe the working of tribal political organizations
- Examine the customary laws and social sanctions followed in tribes
- Discuss the tribal religious faith, belief and practices

2.2 MEANING OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS

You already know the meaning of *social organization*. The meaning has been compared with the meaning of *social structure*. Briefly but clearly a distinction between social structure and social organization is made by Brown and Barnett (1942). They state:

> Social organization refers to the systems of obligation-relations which exist among and between groups constituting a given society, while social structure refers to the placement and position of individuals and of groups within that system of obligation-relations.

The clan displays obligation-relations among members. Families within the clan, for example, reciprocate labour exchange. At the same time, clan is also a social structure because of its distinct position in the schema of lineage, clan, phratry etc.

You will learn that different communities display different organizational schemes. The scholars study these schemes from different perspectives also. We present here definitions of social organizations advanced by leading scholars in the field.

You must be aware that in any given society collective life involves methods of grouping and grading people for effectively carrying out various types of activities required for survival existence. In view of this Malinowski (1992) has defined social

organization in terms of the manner in which humans combine to act upon their environment in order to satisfy their needs. Along Similar lines, Lowie (1969) refers to the significant grouping of individuals as social organization.

Raymond Firth (1951), however, presents the notion of social organization with reference to a scheme of three analytical levels namely, **social structure, function, and social organization**. According to him, *social structure* is the set of rules or principles governing social action. These rules or principles are social relations and how these relations serve individual or collective ends refer to *function.* Social organization on the other hand refers to the dynamic, situational and decision making aspect of social relations which serve individual or collective ends. Radcliffe-Brown (1952), who is also a structural functionalist, holds that social organization is an arrangement of roles associated with the statuses which constituted the social structure. Redfield (1955) emphasises kinship relationship and holds that three relations – consanguineal (blood relations), affinal (marriage relations), and ritual relations form the scheme of social organization in a village.

By now you must have an idea of the *dynamic nature* of social organizations from different perspectives of scholars. With this idea you can understand and relate social organizations of tribes in India.

2.2.1 Socio-Political Organizations-Framework of Discussion

Normally, a few questions may come to your mind when you look at the compound word 'socio-political'. Why not study *social* and *political* organizations separately? Do they mean same thing as socio-political organizations? Why at all do we should study these organizations?

As you know all aspects of life in a traditional tribal community are interconnected. There are organizations which predominantly display characteristics of both social and political organizations. It will not be useful to study such organizations from either social or political points of view. You will learn that traditional political organizations are based on kinship relations and as you know, kinship is an institutional social organization. Therefore, we study **socio-political organizations**, not social or political organizations separately. The study of this type is known as interdisciplinary study, the approach to study two aspects of life as they exist interconnected.

Recent studies recognise that each discipline has linkages with a number of disciplines. The approach to study such linkages between two disciplines is interdisciplinary and among three or more disciplines is multi-disciplinary.

The essence of a political organization is authority, the power to take decision. The authority does not exist independent of social or religious norms of tribal communities. For example, a family is a social organization where the authority may lie in father (male head) or mother (female head). In the family, if father has the authority it is a patriarchal family; if the mother has the authority it is matriarchal family. The family, whether patriarchal or matriarchal, display features of both social (family) and political (authority) aspects of life. However, we will discuss socio-political organizations under *two separate sections* on the basis of the feature which is crucial. We will include such organizations in which social relations are crucially significant under social organization section. Similarly, organizations with focus on political aspect of life will be discussed under the section of political organizations.

We will classify **social organizations** under three types: (i) village, (ii) kinship and non-kinship organizations, and (iii) kinship based institutional social organizations.

You will learn that a tribal social organization is based on both kinship and non-kinship relations. In kinship relations members of a tribe have a common ancestry through blood relations or marriage relations. But in non-kinship relations type of social organization members have different ancestral origin with no inter-organizational marriage relations. A tribal organization also may have features of both. You will study that the Sherdukpen tribe has two social divisions *Thong* and *Chao,* not related in kinship bonds at the beginning. Similarly, the Koro and Hrusso sub-tribes of the Aka tribe of Arunachal Pradesh are not kinship based. The kinship based social organizations namely, family clan, sub-tribe, etc. are based on the foundation of institutional social organization like marriage. You will learn that family as a social organization may be monogamous or polygamous depending on marriage practices.

Needless to say, you will learn social organizations like family, lineage, clan, etc. and related institutional organizations like kinship and marriage.

Under the section **political organizations** you will study organizations with reference to classification of societies on the basis of authority and supernatural means of punishment. In many tribal communities a few persons derive their authority from community's faiths and beliefs of supernatural connection with 'crime and punishment'. So oath and ordeal have been discussed within political organization. In particular, you will study various traditional tribal councils and family types on the basis of authority along with a few individual cases.

Let us come to the third question: why to study social organizations?

You are aware that the term society is an abstract concept; it is not visible by itself. But it manifests through its various institutions and organizations. In other words, the study of its institutions and organizations make the concept of society meaningful and comprehensive.

Charon (1986) informs us that social organization basically refers to patterns of social interactions. It is society specific and precisely includes how people interact, the kinship systems they use, the marriage, pattern of residence, division of work, who has access to specific resources and knowledge, the strategy of social ranking and so on. There are different approaches to an understanding of social organization. Some scholars have used linguistic and cultural affiliation of tribes made up of bands (for predominantly mobile groups) or villages. The others have based their study on kinship and included nuclear families, clans, phratries and moieties. A society is also organised on political basis.

2.3 TRIBAL VILLAGE

A tribal village is normally a social organization. It displays a network of interconnectedness of relations among kinship groups and non-kin families. It also reflects all aspects of life as instituted in social, economic and political organizations. This means village as a social organization does not reflect social dimensions alone. It is a cultural space, an identity marker, an economic organization and a frame of governance. We can very well say that the tribal village is also a socio-political organization in terms of interconnectedness of its social and political functions.

A tribal village is **a microcosm** of tribal society. Social organization of families, for example, in the village is a part of the family organization of the tribe spread in many villages. The institutions in a village, to cite another example, constitute a part in the domain of such institutions of the tribe. When we say 'tribal village' it logically follows that 'tribal village' is a category by itself within the tribe. Though tribe is a social category the tribes are heterogeneous groups across region, religion, race, level of development and language affinity. Similar is the case with tribal villages. The notions of village, for example, for pastoralist tribes like Brokpas, Bhutias, Gaddis; and hunting gathering tribes like Birhor and Sulungs (Puroiks) are different. Further, the village has a different notion for permanent cultivating tribes like Oraons, Khamptis, and the like.

By now you must have understood that a tribal village gives the idea of a social category and a territorial space.

Village as Social identity: A sense of identity goes with a person having belonged to a particular village. That is why the villagers of a particular village are identified with certain attributes and characteristics. A village may also feel superior to other villages of the same clan because of its specific tradition. The people of Riga, the cradle of the Adi Minyong villages, display a sense of superiority in the process of interaction with other Minyongs. Interior Nyishis similarly show a sense of superiority because they believe their tradition is not polluted. The people of Hong Village of the Apatanis are called *Subu Hangu*, meaning Mithun (*bos frontalis*) Hong, by people of other Apatani villages. According to one version, the Hong people had a large number of *mithuns* and so, people from other villages call them Mithun Hong. There is another version which tells that the people of Hong are fond of eating like a *mithun*. The people of Bula Village are known as *Bula tuda yari betu*, meaning short tempered. So a village carries with it an identity as perceived by other villagers.

You can understand the significance of village as a social identity from the writings of N. Talitemjen Jamir and A. Lanunungsang about the Ao society. They write:

> In Ao society, they do ask *koyimer*, 'whose village' /*shir chir*, 'whose son'? *kechi kidong*? Which clan? The identity of a person is known better through these answers that start from the village and clan hold followed by tribe's name. Generally, the character of a person is well read even by the name 'village' in Ao society because every village has peculiar traits of its own…

Territorial and social dimensions of villages: Tribal villages differ in terms of territorial occupation with reference to number of households. They also differ in terms of number of clans settled within the territory and marriage norms. You will find Ao villages in Nagaland with several hundred households, whereas a Mishmi village in the hills may consist of one long house. Usually, the villages of any tribe in the plains are large in size while those in the hills are comparatively small.

The villages may be a *clan based village* or a *multi-clan village*. Traditional villages of the Nyishi and Galo are clan based, though in recent years some of them have become multi-clan. On the other hand, the Khamptis, Adis, etc. live in multi-clan villages. Multi-clan villages are often endogamous. The clan based villages are mostly exogamous; the village exogamy binds all men and women born in the same village in the same generation as brothers and sisters. So marriage is an important factor of interaction with other villages. Even marriage takes place

between two neighbouring tribes. Needless to say, tribe exogamy is not universal. We have examples of the Akas and the Mijis tribes of Arunachal Pradesh who have marital relations between them from time immemorial.

You will also find some cases of non-tribal families living in tribal villages. These villages have a greater social sphere beyond tribe. Sachidanada (1968) reports that in tribal villages of undivided Bihar some households belonged to a few Hindu castes. But they were found not making their influence felt and did not keep themselves apart as distinct entities. As a result, separate caste Panchayats did not operate for them in the tribal villages where they lived.

Villages of some tribes have social organizations in the pattern of satellite settlements as among the Adi Padams of Damro. In satellite settlements which are clan based; the Padams use the term *Dolung* not only for the clan settlement but also for the village itself. So Damro is Damro *Dolung* and the satellite settlement, for example of the Pertin clan, is Pertin *Dolung*. The Ho villages in Jharkhand, however, have a number of satellite settlements called *tola*.

Village as a shifting social organization: Usually the concept of village is associated with settled life, precisely with practices of agriculture - settled, shifting and wet rice cultivation. But the hunter-gatherers like Bonda, Birhor also have a village life. N. Patnaik (1987) informs us that the nomadic Birhors distinguish three seasons, namely rainy, winter and summer and in each season they change their *tanda* (settlement/village). The location of a *tanda* depends on livelihood concerns. For example, in rainy season the *tanda* is located in a place which is close to the market centre and also to the forest covered mountains. The *tanda* is a multi-clan structure with a distinct small hut for each clan to house clan deity. The *kumbha* (house) is leaf thatched conical structure for living of individual families, though there are two other *kumbhas*, *dhingla*-dormitory of unmarried boys and *kudi ada* - dormitory of unmarried girls in each *tanda*.

Professor A. C. Bhagabati, former Vice Chancellor of the then Arunachal University often narrates the replica of Shedukpen villages when they migrated to the plains of Assam in winters during colonial days. Therefore, you can say that some tribal villages are shifting in nature.

Interacting Tribal Villages: Tribal villages in India do not present the picture of an isolate. In the area of social relations, the village is closely connected with other villages of the same tribe or of other neighbouring tribes. In central India, tribal people of different villages used to meet in weekly markets. In the Northeast India, tribes from different villages and different communities used to visit the trade fairs of Sadiya and Udalguri. The Adis, Mishmis and Khamptis were important among the visitors to Sadiya fair.

Villages of a tribe interact not only through marriage relations, but many of them also interact through political institutions.

For example, tribes like Adi, Khasi, Jaunsar Bawar, Oraon, Gond Bhils and Jaintia have a structure comprising three different levels. The Jaintia, for example, had tribe level chief (*Siem*) at the top, provincial governors (*Dollois*) in the middle at the level of *Raids* i.e., group of villages and village head (*Wahehchanong*) at the village level. In some tribes there is chiefdom. The point is that in such systems the village does not exist as an isolate. In chieftaincy vertical interaction or satellite interaction of villages with the chief takes place. You can also come across a group

of villages under a territorial chief as is the case among the Noctes. When there is a tribe level chief like that of the Khamptis the issue of village as an isolate does not arise. A Khampti village is a well-defined structural unity with its *Chauman*, the village head, but linked to the tribe level chiefdom. In contemporary tribal villages both traditional and Panchayati Raj institutions exist side by side and thus, the village has become a part of the institutional arrangement of the nation and the provincial state. Not only in the present times, but also in earlier periods as well; a tribal village displayed the characteristic of *an extension* beyond its territorial and social boundary.

Organization of Institutions of socialisation: There are distinct organizations in the villages of some tribes which play a crucial role in the process of socialisation. In fact, it is not only significant in socialising process, it also teaches cultural norms. These institutions are better called social cultural institutions than dormitories. You will find such institutions among the Oraons which is called *dhumkuria*, among Konyaks called *murung* and among Ao Nagas which is called *arju*. Verrier Elwin's excellent study on Muria Gonds' *ghotul* (dormitory) presents its functions that relates to different aspects of social life. Among the Wanchos, the *paa*, (dormitory) is such an institution. It is divided along the Chief and commoner line and is both sacred and a secular place. The *mushup/dere* (dormitory) of the Adis is a cultural space where both sacred and secular activities take place.

2.4 TRIBAL SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS

You already know that social organizations are kinship or non-kinship based. Information on formation of a tribe by non-kinship groups for marriage purpose is not available yet. But within the tribe, even having a common ancestry, marriage rules such as endogamy and exogamy among the groups culturally evolve.

A tribe is also formed by members genealogically unrelated. The *Man* community in Meghalaya is formed by Burmese soldiers who settled in India and married native women. The Siddis of Gujarat are of African origin, who came as porters of Portuguese but settled as a community. The community formation is not obviously based on the consideration of genealogical relations. Similarly, the Khampti tribe is not based on blood relations. Members of the constituent clans migrated under the leadership of a chief. The members were not genealogically related to the chief which formed a distinct clan namely *Namchum*, in India. The Sherdukpen have two social divisions, namely *Thong* and *Chao*. The clans in the *Thong* group are the descendants of the chief who migrated and established the community. On the other hand, the clans in the *Chao* group are formed by the descendants of the people who came along the *Thong*. Though the Sherdukpen tribe is not kinship based, the clans are. In a tribe there may be both kinship based and non-kinship based organizations.

We normally discuss social organizations of a tribe as they exist in different segments like family, lineage, etc., but arranged in ascending order, i.e. vertically. The individual is the base of any society. But family is the segment at the bottom and the tribe at the top of the arrangement order of organizations. In between you may find lineage, sub-clan, clan, sub-tribe, phratry, and moiety. However, all tribes do not have the same sequence of the Segmentary organizations.

Check Your Progress

1. Choose the correct answer:
 (a) A tribal village is a social/religious organization in a territorial space.
 (b) A village ensures a sense of identity/conflict among its members.
 (c) Tanda is a permanent/temporary settlement of the nomadic Birhors.
 (d) In India the village is an isolate/extension.
 (e) Your village is your social/religious identity.
 (f) The essence of political organizations lie in power/oratory skill to take decision.
 (g) The compound word 'socio-political' points to interdisciplinary/separate branch of knowledge.

2.4.1 Schema of Social Organizations

As you know units/segments of organizations vary in tribes. All the units are not present in every tribe. Obviously, the scheme varies depending on the number of units in a tribe. On the basis of study of different tribes, scholars have presented different schemes found in social organizations of tribes in India.

T. C. Das (1953) presents seven schemes of social organizations existing among tribes of India. Each scheme is based on the number of units in social organizations of a tribe. According to him, you will find any one of the following schemes of social organization in a tribe:

1. Family → Local Group → Tribe
2. Family → Clan → Tribe
3. Family → Moiety → Tribe
4. Family → Clan → Phratry → Tribe
5. Family → Clan → Phratry → Moiety → Tribe
6. Family → Clan → Sub-tribe → Tribe
7. Family → Sub-clan → Orthogamous clan → tribe

S. C. Dube (1971) on the other hand, presents a general scheme such as Family → Clan → Phratry → Tribe. According to him social organizations of a tribe in India include four units or segments. The units are families formed by individuals, clans or local groups formed by families, phratries formed by clans and tribe formed by phratries and in some cases by clans.

Vidyarthi and Rai (1985) have advanced the scheme in a more elaborated way. They have listed eight common schemes found among the tribes in India. They have presented the schemes *from tribe/tribal groups to individual* unlike Das's scheme of *family to tribe*. The schemes based on the number of units in a tribe's social organization are as follows:

1. Tribal groups → Tribe → Sub-Tribe → Phratry → Clan → Family → Individual
2. Tribal groups → Tribe → Moiety → Phratry → Clan → Sub-Clan → Lineage → Family → Individual
3. Tribal groups → Tribe → Territorial group → Social class→ Clan → Lineage → Sub-lineage → Family → Individual
4. Tribe → Sub-tribe → Clan → Lineage → Family → Individual
5. Tribe → Territorial group → Clan → Sub-Clan or Lineage group → Lineage → Family → Individual
6. Tribe → Clan → Lineage → Family → Individual
7. Tribe → Local group → Lineage → Family → Individual
8. Tribe → Clan → Family → Individual

2.4.2 Kinship-Based Social Organizations

We have not distinguished between social organizations based on blood relations and marriage relations. But you will find a connection between the two in following discussions. Sometimes you will find a common designation for a group of tribals. This grouping is hardly based on kinship relations. Nevertheless, they exist in the scheme of tribal social organizations.

Tribal group: Designations like Naga, Gond, Bill, Gadaba, etc. are common name of a group of tribes; they do not refer to a single tribe. Such designations are generic names. For example, Naga is the generic name for tribes like Ao, Angami, Konyak, Rengma, Sema, etc. Similarly, Bhil is the generic or group name for tribes like Bhil Garasia, Dholi Bhil, Dungri Bhil, Dungri Garasia, Mewasi Bhil, Rawal Bhil, Tadvi Bhil, Bhagalia, Bhilala, etc.

Tribe: As you know, tribe is a social group/social category that includes other units of organizations. This organization is common in all tribal communities. In evolutionary sense, it is the second intermediate stage in social evolution from band to state. In this sense also, a tribe is a social formation. However, the tribe as a social organization displays some characteristics that situate it as a distinct category. You have defined a tribe and learnt its characteristics in Unit-I of this paper entitled *Tribes, Habitats and Characteristics*. The important point which you have to keep in mind is that *tribe* is the apex social organization in the scheme based on kinship and non-kinship relations.

Sub-tribe and ***territorial group***: We have discussed about the Noctes of Arunachal Pradesh. The Noctes have territorial divisions, Borduria and Namseng noctes. The Nocte villages are grouped under the Chief of Borduria or the Chief of Namseng or other Chiefs. Accordingly, they are designated as Borduria Noctes or Namseng Noctes. These divisions are sub-tribes of the Noctes. The Monpas have also been territorially divided into Dirang Monpa, Tawang Monpa and Kalektang Monpa. In this sense, the Monpa has three sub-tribes. Ordinarily, a sub-tribe is a division of the tribe identified on the basis of economy or ecology or geographical isolation. A tribe may have two or more sub-tribes. The Korwas of Palamau, for example, has two divisions based on geographical isolation. The two divisions are Hill Korwas and Plain Korwas. These groups are also called as territorial groups when culturally or economically much difference is not found. Nocte sub-tribes, Aka sub-tribes, Monpa sub-tribes could be good examples of territorial groups.

Moiety: When a society is divided only into two halves, each half is called a moiety or dual organization. Thus, a moiety is in simple terms a half tribe. Each moiety consists of several phratries, clans and lineages. A Moiety is different from sub-tribe in the sense that in sub-tribe territorial factor is the basis while in moiety it is social factor. There is often a sense of superiority and inferiority feeling between two moieties of a tribe. Moiety organization is normally endogamous. But examples of exogamous moieties are also found. In traditional Minyoun group of the present Adi tribe the society was divided into Kuri and Kuming moieties. The social division of the Apatanis into *Gyuchi* and *Gyutii* presents the features of moiety organizations.

Social class: The Tharus living in Uttarakhand and Uttar Pradesh have two social divisions distinguished by the use of titles such as *Rana Thakur* and *Thakur*. In the social hierarchy the former enjoys a higher status than the latter. You also know the Thong and *Chao* divisions of the Sherdukpen. These are two social classes. Similarly, the Khamptis have three social divisions namely *Phanchau* (royal families), *Paklung* (commoners) and *Phan-e-on* (other than the two groups). Often the line of division of a tribe as moiety or social class is overlapping. However, a moiety may have kinship relations from the beginning while a social class, with high and low status, may not have such relations.

Phratry: It is larger than clan, because such a kin group includes various clans. It is a combination of brother clans. It is the immediate higher grouping of clans in

the scheme of tribal social organizations, but a lower grouping than moiety and social class. All the tribes may not have this organization. However, these organizations are common in many tribes of the Northeast India. You will find phratry organization, for example among the Rabhas. In the community, a *bar* is clan equivalent. Two or more *bars* unite to form an organization called *hur*, which is a phratry equivalent. You will also find four phratries, such as *yerwen saga, sarwen saga, siwen saga* and *nalwen saga*, among the Raj Gonds who mainly live in Odisha, Maharashtra, Karnataka, Gujarat, Andhra Pradesh and Telangana.

Clan: A clan is a kin group that consists of members who are the unilineal descendants of a common ancestor whose identity is forgotten and therefore fictitious. A clan is a large kin group than lineage, and includes members belonging to many generations and also many lineages. A clan is distinguished from a lineage in that a clan merely claims common ancestry; a lineage on the other hand traces its origin from a common progenitor. A clan may have several lineages.

Majumdar and Madan (1970) consider *sibs* as clans. According to them, a *sib* or a clan is the combination of a few lineages and descent ultimately traced to a mythical ancestor who may be human, human like, animal, plant or even inanimate. The clan of a tribe is an exogenous social group and regards marriages among their members as incest. It is formed by the members who hold the view of descent from a common ancestor, possession of a common totem or habitation of a common territory.

The clans among Indian tribes can be a totemic clan, a genealogical or territorial clan, or a clan based on *rishis*. The Santal, Bill, Munda, Ho, etc. have totemic clans. As K. K. Misa (1987) notes, the Hos have 90 clans with totems. The totem of Purti clan *(kili)* is crocodile, of Hasda wild goose, of Tiu jackal, and of Hembram clan the totem is a tree bearing berries. The Gonds have clans whose members believe *rishis* like Bashistha, Kashyap as ancestors. The clans of Arunachal tribes are mostly genealogical in their claim of ancestry. However, some of the Khampti clans are based on habitation in a common territory. The group that inhabited upper course of the river are designated as Mannow and that inhabited the lower course are designated as Mantaw. However, the Mannow and the Mantaw combine together to form an exogamous group.

Sub-clan: A sub-clan is a part of the clan. Among the Hos for example, the Purti clan has seven sub-clans. Majumdar and Madan (1970) state that the division of a clan into sub-clans is the result of either migration or adoption to new cultural traits or both by different sections of the clan. The Parmer clan of the Bhils have sub-clans like Dhararya, Devodia, Pipria, etc. based on the places of their habitation such as Dhar, Devod, Pipre, etc.

Lineage: You will find a number of families (of ego generation) related because these families are formed by brothers born to a father. In the generation of the 'father', i.e. the second generation, there may be families of his brothers. In third generation, i.e. grandfather's generation, there may be families of his brothers. In the fourth generation, i.e. great grandfather's generation there also may be families of grandfather's brothers. In the fourth generation, i.e. great-great grandfather's generation, he may be the single person. So all the families from great-great grandfather to the families of first (ego) generation form one group in terms of blood relations and recognise him as a common ancestor. This group is called a lineage. A lineage is, therefore, a kin group that consists of members who are the unilineal descendants of a common ancestor whose identity can be traced. The lineage is also called unilineal descent group. The lineage can be patrilineal

or matrilineal depending on whether the descent is traced from a male or female ancestor (Firth,1956). Generally, members of five to six generations are included in a lineage. In this regard Lowie (1969) states that 'the lineage is made up exclusively of provable blood relatives, i.e., all members are demonstrably descended from a common ancestor or ancestress'.

Sub-lineage: It is a subordinate division of the lineage. When the population grows the group who believe in the same lineage settle in different locations. The families of each location form a sub-lineage. Nath (1960) states that the Bhils of western India live in a few villages; the families in these villages believe in the single lineage group with a depth and extension of five to six generations. The families who claim descent from Kadla are found living in four villages. The families of each village that belong to different generations form sub-lineage groups as they feel that they all form a single lineage of families descended from Kadla.

Family & Individual: You already know that family is the basic social unit in the scheme of social organization. However, an organization is formed by individuals, and therefore, an individual seems to be the basic element in social formation. An individual, on the other hand, is not a social organization by itself. You have learnt from the definitions of social organization that a social organization always begins with a group and therefore, family is the first basic group in the scheme of social organizations.

By now you have learnt that individuals form the smallest group such as family or household. Families of five to six generations combine together to form lineages; lineages form sub-clans or sub-local groups; sub-clans form clans or village or local groups; clans form phratries or territorial groups; phratries forms moieties or sub-tribes; and finally sub-tribes form a tribe.

With the growth of population, the lineage may grow into a clan and a clan into a phratry and so on. So, study of social organizations of a tribe is a continuous process. However, once a tribe is identified and recorded, it and its organizations remain static in spite of the fact that many internal dynamics change over the years.

2.4.3 Non-kinship Based Social Organizations

We have given the example of non-kin based social organizations of a tribe when two organizations do not have kinship relations, such as *Thong* and *Chao* of the Sherdukpen. In course of time there may emerge a kinship bond in terms of marriage relations.

In addition to this type of non-kinship organizations Indian tribes also have another such organization in the form of age-grades and age-sets. The age-based groups among the tribes are termed as age-grades by the anthropologists. For example, in the youth dormitories of the Oraon of Jharkhand, known as *Tur*, there used to be three grades of members: *Puna Jokhar* or novices entering at the age of 11 or 12, *Majh Turia Jokhar* or the middle class members, and *Koha Jokhar* or the oldest members. While the first two age-grades are of three years, duration each the last grade continues until the member is married, and sometimes until he has a child. Among the Padams of Arunachal Pradesh, *musup* is a male institution similar to youth dormitory in other tribes to some extent. The members in a *musup* are graded as *Musup ko*, *Minil, Ruutum* and *Pator Mijing*.

In many tribal societies of India, social groupings are made on the basis of gender also. This differentiation is more visible in the tribal youth dormitories.

Among the Oraon of Jharkhand and the Juang of Odisha, the youth dormitories were divided on gender lines, which means that there used to be separate dormitories for unmarried boys and unmarried girls. Among the Padams of Arunachal Pradesh, there is *musup* and *raseng* for boys and girls respectively. Among Ao Nagas *Ariju* existed for boys and *Tsiiki* for girls. Similarly, the girl's equivalent of the boys' dormitory (*pa*) among the Wanchos is called *haam*. Of course, many of these dormitories are now extinct among the tribes of India.

Some cases: You know that tribes in India have different schemes of social organization. Here you will find the difference with reference to three tribal communities.

Rengma Naga: The Rengma Naga comes under the generic Naga tribe. The tribe is territorially divided into the Eastern Rengmas and the Western Rengmas. J. P. Mills writes that the Western Rengmas are further divided into six exogamous groups or phratries. Each of these six phratries is further divided into a number of clans. The Eastern Rengmas have no such phratries, but are divided into three clans. The clans have sub-clans, which are divided into families and families into individuals.

Kondh: The Kondhs in Odisha are territorially divided into Kutia Kondhs, Desia Kondhs and Dongria Kondhs, which are the sub-tribes of the main tribe. Each sub-tribe is further divided into many exogamous totemic clans, constituted by a number of families. Each family is again constituted by many individuals.

Toda: The Toda tribe is endogamous in nature. It is divided into two exclusively endogamous dual organizations i.e. moieties. The higher and the major moiety is known as *Tarthar* while the lower one is *Teivali*. Each moiety is divided into a number of exogamous, totemic and patrilineal clans. A *Tarthar* comprises of twelve clans, whereas a *Teivali* consists of only six. Each clan is territorial in nature and possesses a number of villages. Further, each has two types of sub-clan divisions. A sub-clan is divided into a number of families. A Toda family is based on fraternal polyandry. A sharp division of labour is observed in a Toda household which is based on sex. The family consists of individuals.

The scheme of social organizations of the above three tribes is given below:

Rengma Raga	Kondh	Toda
The generic tribe (Naga, for example) ⇩	Tribe (Kondh) ⇩	Tribe (Toda) ⇩
Tribe (Rengma, for example; others could be Ao, Angami, etc.) ⇩	Sub-tribe (e.g. Dongria) ⇩	Moiety (Tarthar & Teivali) ⇩
Territorial group ⇩	Clan ⇩	Clan ⇩
Phratry ⇩	Family ⇩	Sub-clan ⇩
Clan (Khinzonyu/Apungza, etc. for example) ⇩	Individual	Family ⇩
Sub-clan (Tsclanyu, for example) ⇩		Individual
Family ⇩		
Individual		

2.5 INSTITUTIONAL SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS

Kinship, marriage and family are institutional social organizations. These institutions are established relations that govern the social organizations in tribes. A discussion of these institutions will help you to understand the social organizations we have already discussed. We will study these institutions from organizational point of view.

2.5.1 Kinship

Kinship is a social institution. It includes the classification of relatives, the formation of kin groups and rules of marriage. Rodney Needham's (1960,1971) definition of kinship is important in this regard. He defines kinship as following:

> The study of kinship is the investigation of how social ties of descent and marriage are established, elaborated, fabricated, modified, forgotten, suppressed; how these ties are related to other manifestations of personal and social action.

So, kinship is the recognition of the ties with other human beings by descent, marriage or adoption. The ties need to be expressed in words, by using different terminologies. For example, children born to same set of parents are recognised through the uses of terms like brothers or sisters. There are practices, verbal or non-verbal, which are either avoidance between relations or a kind of nearness like joking relations. Such practices are kinship usages in day to day life.

As you know, kinship includes the classification of relatives, the formation of kin groups and aspects of marriage. Marriage is also associated with residence rules, meaning the settlement practice of married couples among the relatives. Scholars who study kin groups are called *descent theorists* and those emphasise on relations of groups through marriage are called *alliance theorists*.

You will learn the following aspects of kinship:

- Types of kin
- Rules of residence
- Descent
- Kinship terminology
- Kinship usages

Types of kin

Kin is of several kinds. The kinds of kinship are based on different criteria. We shall discuss them as follows:

1. ***Blood and Marriage***: Kin can be through blood or social (marriage) relations. The kin groups believed to have been formed biologically related to blood are *consanguineous kin* while those formed through marriage alliance are called *affinal kin*. The bond between parents and children, and that between children of the same parents is *consanguineous* in nature. On the other hand, there is a bond between spouses and their relatives as a result of marital relationship which is called *affinal kinship*.

2. ***Nearness of members***: On the basis of the nearness of members in the group and beyond, the kin can be *primary*, *secondary* and *tertiary kin*

   (a) A ***primary*** kin is a person who is directly related to the ego either through blood or through marriage alliance. One's father is one's primary kin

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through blood (primary *consanguineous* kin) and while one's wife is one's primary *affinal* kin.

(b) A ***secondary*** kin is a person related to ego through his/her primary kin. For example, the brother of ego's father is ego's secondary kin as it is through blood relation. The brother of ego's father is related to ego through his/her father who is a primary kin. The step mother of ego is his/her secondary *affinal* kin; the relation is through marriage alliance of ego's father, the primary kin.

(c) A ***tertiary kin*** is the primary kin of the secondary kin or secondary kin of the primary kin. We know that the brother of ego's father (uncle) is ego's secondary kin. Ego's aunt from the marriage alliance with ego's father's brother (uncle) is an example of tertiary kin.

3. ***Direct and Indirect relationship***: On the basis of direct and indirect relationship the kin can be *lineal* or *collateral*.

   (i) ***Lineal*** kins are those persons who are related to each other directly through descent, such as father, father's father, son and son's son. On the other hand, **Collateral** kins are persons who are related to each other indirectly through the mediation of another relative such as father's brother, mother's sister and so on.

   (ii) ***Real and Fictive***: Kinship can also be *real* or *fictive*. The distinction between the two, however, has the notion of 'blood group'.

   The **real** kin members are born out of a biological relationship. The children of the same set of parents are real kin. Even a collateral kin like father's brother is a real kin. So a person, whose descent is either patrilineal or matrilineal, belongs to the group of real kin. In some societies social recognition of a father gives the status of real kin. For example, an adopted child is treated everywhere as if one's own biologically produced off spring.

   Fictive kinship entails relationship which are quite like real kinship ones in some way. These relationships often have the same emotional and obligatory force as those between blood relatives. However, the relationship does not fulfil the requirements of the real kinship. The metaphorical use of kinship terms such as 'sisters' in the feminist movements or 'fathers' for priests are examples of fictive kinship.

Rules of Residence

You will understand nature of organization of some family types on the basis rules of residence. The types of family on the basis of these rules are as follows:

1. ***Patrilocal residence***: When married couple resides in or near the parental home of the bridegroom it is called patrilocal residence or *virilocality*. Tribes such as Oraon, Adi, Nyishi, Kharia and Ho are patrilocal.

2. ***Matrilocal residence***: This system is the opposite of the patrilocal residence. In the system of matrilocal residence married couple resides in the parental home the bride. This type of residence is also called as *uxorilocality*. The Khasis of Meghalaya have matrilocal residences.

3. ***Bilocal residence***: This system of residence permits the married couple to reside in or near the house of parents of either of the spouse.

4. ***Matri-Patrilocal residence***: This is a system of residence in between the matrilocal and patrilocal types. It is a special combination of matrilocal and patrilocal residences that alternate periodically throughout the married life of a couple.

5. ***Avunculocal residence***: This system requires the married couple to live with bridegroom's maternal uncle. This rule invariably involves an initial period of matrilocal residence when the baby stays with its mother in his/her maternal uncle's home.

6. ***Neolocal residence***: In the system the married couple establishes their own residence independent of the location of the parental home of either spouse. The residence can be located even at a considerable distance from both bride's and bridegroom's parental homes. Many of the highly industrialised societies follow this rule. Societies in which there is food shortage, as in the Tundra region, also adopt this rule for obvious economic reasons.

Descent

On the basis of descent kinship relations can be unilineal or non-unilineal.

1. ***Unilineal Descent Systems***: Unilineal descent systems recognise only one line of descent either along father's line or mother's line or along both father's and mother's line. The last one is called double descent. In addition to this, the descent can also be cognatic i.e. bilateral descents.

   (a) *Patrilineal*: This is a descent in male line; group membership is determined by descent through father. This line of descent is also denoted by the term ***agnatic***. In this system of descent an individual is affiliated with a group of kin who are related to him/her through the father alone. Thus, in patrilineal systems, the children in each generation regardless of child's sex belong to the descent group of their father: their father, in turn, belongs to the descent group of his father and so on.

   (b) *Matrilineal:* This is a descent along female line; particularly through mother and the system is denoted by the term ***uterine***. In this system of descent, the individual is affiliated with a group of kin who are related to him/her through the mother alone. Thus, in matrilineal systems, the children in each generation belong to the descent group of their mother; their mother, in turn, belongs to the descent group of her mother and so on. This system of descent does not necessarily imply that authority is in the hands of the mother or female; it only means that one traces membership in the group through female links.

   Both patrilineal and matrilineal rules of descent are unilineal rules because an individual recognises descent through linkages with either males or females exclusively.

2. ***Unilineal Descent Groups***: Unilineal descent groups in a tribe form into different groups beginning with a group of families called lineage. This group identity expands through clan, sub-clan, etc. till it merges into the greater identity that is tribe. You have already learnt these groups earlier.

3. ***Complex Unilineal Systems***: In complex unilineal systems the descent is traced in varying directions. For example, the directions could be both patrilineal and matrilineal. We shall discuss the systems as follows:

(a) *Double descent*: In this system every one belongs to two lines of descents: one patrilineal and the other matrilineal. A double descent system is thus a discrete combination of unilineal affiliations.

In double-descent system both matri-group and patri-group are simultaneously operative. The Herero tribe of Namibia and the Yako tribe of Nigeria have double descent systems. Each Herero, for example, belongs both to an *oruzo* (patrilineal clan) and an *eanda* (matrilineal clan). We have not come across such a system among the tribes of India.

(b) *Cognatic/Bilateral:* This is the opposite of double descent. In a fully cognatic society, there are no patrilineal or matrilineal groups. The kinship is determined on the basis of mother and father; the person is reckoned to be equally related to kinsfolk on either side of the family. This type of kinship is found especially among hunter gatherer tribal communities. The descent does not go beyond five to six generations. As descent is not traced directly, the bilateral kinship is known collateral kinship.

Kinship Usages

In every kin group, there are certain types of behaviour patterns which define relationships between relatives. The behaviour, verbal and non-verbal, constitutes kinship usages. Some of the universally found usages are as follows:

(a) *Avoidance:* In many societies persons or groups who stand in a particular relationship avoid each other. As a mode of behaviour, avoidance always expresses respect. Although the prohibitions are binding on both, it is usually the duty of one party specifically to avoid the other, e.g. it is the duty of a man to avoid his wife's mother. The extent of avoidance varies from society to society. It may include such prohibitions as not eating from the same dish to not entering the other's village. Avoidance is universal phenomenon and exists in all known societies.

According to Frazer, the purpose of avoidance is to prevent such sexual intimacy as would amount to incest. Frazer's notion of avoidance is based on sexual intimacy between various kinds of relatives. Incest is technically a sexual act between individuals prohibited from engaging in such acts because of their relationship. All societies have incest prohibitions. In many tribal communities everyone is classified as 'kin'; there are categories of kin whom it is especially permissible to engage in sex and to marry. For example, in some communities, mother's brother's daughter is a potential bride and the ego can engage in sexual act, while in others this could lead to incest.

(b) *Joking Relationship*: The reverse of the avoidance relationship is joking relationships. A joking relationship involves a particular combination of friendliness and antagonism between individuals or groups in certain social situations. In these situations, one individual or group is allowed to mock or ridicule the other which is not taken as offence. A. R. Radcliffe Brown in his *Structure and Function in Primitive Society* distinguished between symmetrical joking relationships where each party has the right to tease and asymmetrical relationships where only one party is so privileged.

The joking relationship may be indicative of potential sexual relationship and the marriage sphere. Such a relationship between a man and his wife's

younger sister or of a woman and his husband's younger brother is indicative of potential mates. They are in the marriage sphere.

The joking relationship may also occur between men or women of alternate generations, e.g. grandfather and grandson. There are instances where joking relationships between grandparents and grandchildren lead to marriage between the two. Verrier Elwin also reported an instance from the Baiga community where a grandson married his own grandmother.

(c) *Teknonymy*: Sir Edward Burnett Tylor had coined the term Teknonymy to describe the custom of naming parents after the birth of a child. In many tribal communities and in rural India the father and mother are called as the father and mother of his/her child. For example, a mother may be named 'mother of x'. Thus, Teknonymy is a term which covers both cases. This practice occurs in Khasi tribe of Meghalaya.

(d) *Avunculate*: This term designates the special relationship existing in some societies between a man and his mother's brother i.e. the maternal uncle. If the maternal uncle comes first among all male relatives, then this kinship usage is called *Avunculate,* and the maternal uncle's authority as *avuncupotestality.* If nephews and nieces are brought up in their maternal uncle's family, the condition is referred to as *avunculocal* residence. This is a common usage in matrilineal communities.

(e) *Amitate*: It is the relationship between a man and his father's sister. The sister is designated as *Amitate*.

(f) *Couvade*: It is the practice which requires a husband to lead the life of an invalid along with his wife whenever she gives birth to a child. He refrains from active life, goes on sick diet and observes certain taboos. Such a practice has been reported among the Khasis and the Todas.

Kinship Terms

Human beings use different terms to designate kinsfolk. However, no language has terms for all biological relatives. For example, we do not have a term to designate, say the 10th ancestor of the 'father' of a man.

In the English language we speak of brothers and sisters, but, social scientists use the term *sibling* to designate brothers and sisters together. Other kin of the same generation besides bothers and sisters are designated as *cousins*. If we want to signify sex, then we specify as girl cousin or boy cousin. Similarly, if we want to specify the side of the family, we refer to as cousin on my father's side and so on. When we say *father* or *mother* we recognise sex. However, for other persons of the same generation we use *uncle* or *aunt* but do not recognise the side of the family except sex. Father's brother is as much an uncle as is mother's brother.

These are the relations for which we have designated terms. We have classified the relations into some categories. At the same time there are relations for each of whom we use single term. The two interrelated issues of designating kinsfolk have been conceptually distinguished by Morgan as classificatory and descriptive systems of kinship terms. The classificatory system designates several people, lineal as well as collateral, and often even affinal, by the same term. In other words, in this system two or more kin are grouped together and each group is assigned one single term. We have given the instance of uncle which is a classificatory term. A wide

range of relations is expressed in one term. The classificatory terms refer more to relationship rather than to kin.

Opposite to classificatory terms there are descriptive terms which describe an exact relation directly. One may use this term to address and refer to a relation. For instance, the word father is a descriptive term. Descriptive terminology provides a specific kin term for each person. Rivers refers to a third *family system* of terms. Such terms refer to members of a single biological family individually.

The whole ensemble of kinship terms - classificatory, descriptive and family system—is referred to *Kinship Terminology* or *Relationship Terminology*.

In tribal communities the same term is used to address a wide number of relations of various generations. Among the Kukis, for example, the term *hepu* is used for father's father, mother's father, mother's brother, wife's father, mother's brother's son, wife's brother and for wife's brother's son. In the Angami community *shi* is used for elder brother, wife's elder sister, husband's elder brother, elder sister's husband, elder brother's wife, mother's brother's wife, and father's brother's wife. Clearly the same term is used even for members of opposite sexes.

2.5.2 Marriage

Marriage is the most fundamental of all social institutions. This institution is both culture universal and culture specific. This means the marriage institution exists in all the known cultures of the world, but there are variations of marriage rules, forms, modes of obtaining a bride or marriage rules from one culture to another.

As marriage is culture specific, it is difficult to get a universal definition which can adequately cover all types of human marriage despite the fact that marriage is also culture universal. As an important social institution, marriage has different implications in different cultures. That is why Edmund Leach (1961) argues that a universal definition of marriage is not possible. However, some eminent sociologists and social anthropologists who have studied different societies and tribes have tried to define marriage in their own ways. Some of the important definitions of marriage are mentioned below:

E. Westermarck in his *History of Human Marriage* (1921) says that the marriage is "a relation of one or more men to one or more women which is recognised by custom or law and involves certain rights and duties both in the case of the parties entering the union and in the case of the children born of it."

Gillin and Gillin (1953) define marriage as a 'socially approved way of establishing a family of procreation'.

Johnson (1970) defines marriage as 'a stable relationship in which a man and a woman are socially permitted without loss of standing in community, to have children'.

R. H. Lowie (1969/1948,1933) remarks that marriage is 'a relatively permanent bond between permissible mates.' He further states, 'Marriage denotes those unequivocally sanctioned unions which persist beyond sexual satisfaction and thus come to understand family life'.

Malinowski (1927) is of the opinion that marriage is "a contract for the production and maintenance of children."

All these definitions of marriage make it quite clear that it is nothing but a socially and legally/customarily recognised union of one or more males with one or more females. These people, tied in marital relationship, play the roles of husband and wife in society. For them, the marriage is the means through which they satisfy their sexual appetite and it imposes on them mutual rights and obligations.

Forms of marriage

The forms of marriage simply give the idea of the number of marriage partners of one person from the opposite sex. Scholars have noticed following forms of marriage in tribal communities:

1. **Monogamy:** Monogamy is an important form of marriage. Under this form a male or a female cannot have more than one spouse at a time. During the life time of the husband, his wife cannot marry another man. Similarly, the husband also can not marry another woman while his wife is alive. Only death of a life-partner makes the acceptance of a second spouse possible. There is a wrong notion that tribal men marry many wives. But ethnographic studies show that monogamy prevails among the tribal people on a wide scale. The Kamar tribe of Madhya Pradesh and the Ho of Jharkhand, Barmans of Cachar in Assam for example, practise monogamy. Even in tribes labelled as polygynous, monogamy prevails on a large scale. The incidence of monogamy is noticed more in Adi, Khampti and Singpho communities of Arunachal Pradesh though polygyny is socially approved. Among the Hmars of the North Cachar Hills, Sonowal Kacharis of Dibrugarh, Jorhat, etc., Rengma Nagas of Karbi Anglong in Assam monogamy is the prevailing practice although polygyny has social approval.

2. **Polygamy:** It is the marriage practice in which one person marries two or more persons of opposite sex. In other words, polygamy permits a man to marry more than one woman and a woman to marry more than one man. The practice is fairly widespread all over the world. Murdock reports 78 per cent polygamous families in a sample of 250. This practice prevails in many tribal communities in India. Polygamy has two forms: polygyny and polyandry.

    (a) **Polygyny:** In this form of marriage one man marries several women. In other words, under the system of polygyny a man is eligible to marry more than one woman. Polygyny, once again, is sub-divided into two types, namely, *sororal* polygyny and *non-sororal* polygyny. This type of marriage is prevalent among the tribes like Gond, Baiga, Lushai, Nyishi, etc. The Naga tribes also practise this form of marriage. The sororal polygyny is a form of marriage in which co-wives are sisters; the man marries to the sisters of first wife. The sorrorate marriage can be *junior sorrorate* or *senior sorrorate*. In the former case after the death of the wife a man can marry his deceased wife's younger sister. The Bodo Kacharis of Assam practise junior sorrorate but not the senior sorrorate marriage, i.e. on the event of death of one's wife, one cannot marry the elder sister (if unmarried then) of the deceased wife. On the contrary, non-sororal polygyny implies the marriage of a man to women who are not sisters to one another.

    As a widower can marry the sister of the deceased wife, so also a widow can marry to the brother, younger or elder or both depending on the

custom, of the deceased husband. This practice is known as ***levirate*** which can be either ***junior levirate*** or ***senior levirate***. Junior levirate is prevalent among the Bodo-Kachari and Rengma Naga of Karbi Anglong in Assam where the younger brother can marry the wife of deceased elder brother. Marriage of one's wife (during life time of the husband) with the brothers also takes place in polyandrous communities like the Toda, Kota, Khasa, etc. This is also a form of levirate.

(b) Polyandry: The system of polyandry allows a woman to marry two or more men. The practice of polyandry is rare these days. In some pre-literate communities, the practice is still prevalent. It is usually a marriage with two or more brothers. While discussing polyandry in India, K.M. Kapadia (1966) describes polyandry as 'a form of union in which a woman has more than one husband at a time or in which brothers share a wife or wives in common'. The word 'polyandry' has been derived from the Greek word 'polyandria' meaning thereby a woman having many husbands (poly = many; *aner, andres* = man). *Note and Queries on Anthropology* defines it as a custom 'by which a woman is permitted to have more than one husband at the same time.' Sangree and Levine (1980) refer the term 'polyandry' to any 'situation in which a woman is married to two or more men simultaneously' and assert that 'it does not apply to circumstances in which women are permitted or encouraged to engage in extra-marital liaisons of the sort which may be termed cicibeism, a form of polykoity.' Radcliff-Brown (1952) also feels that 'it is not sexual Intercourse that constitutes marriage' for 'marriage is a social arrangement by which a child is given a legitimate position in the society, determined by parenthood in the social sense.' According to him, marriage establishes a relationship between off springs and social father but not between off springs and biological father in communities where extra marital sexual relation is permitted.

The Khasas of Jaunsari Bawar, the Kotas of Nilgiris and the Monpas of Arunachal Pradesh practise polyandry. Earlier writers put the Galo community as polyandrous. But with more empirical evidences, the Galo practice can at best be called cecibeism. Polyandry is of two types: adelphic or fraternal polyandry and non-fraternal polyandry.

(i) *Fraternal Polyandry:* When a woman is shared by all the brothers living in a family, polyandry becomes fraternal. Her children are regarded as the children of their eldest brother. The Todas of Nilgiri Hills practise fraternal polyandry.

(ii) *Non-fraternal Polyandry:* The non-fraternal polyandry is a form of marriage which allows a woman to marry many men as her husbands who are not necessarily brothers. This practice is not recorded among Indian tribes.

Marriage rules and regulations

After reading this section you will learn (i) Sphere of marriage (ii) Modes of obtaining a bride, (iii) The practice of settlement of marriage discords, and (iv) Marriage exchanges.

(i) Sphere of marriage

A person of a tribe cannot marry any person of opposite sex. There are prescribed rules which determine the sphere of marriage. In this sphere marriage cannot take place within a category and marriage is preferred within the other category. This can be explained with reference to the terms like endogamy, exogamy and preferential marriages.

Endogamy: This means that an individual *can marry* within a culturally defined social group in which s/he is a member. Usually a tribe is endogamous, as one is required to marry within the tribe one belongs to.

Exogamy: This means that an individual *cannot marry* within a culturally defined social group in which s/he is a member. In tribal communities the clans are exogamous. The family is exogamous as in no circumstances one can marry from one's family.

Preferential Marriages: Sorrorate and levirate are preferential marriages. We have explained about these two forms. There are different forms of preferential marriage like Uncle-niece marriage, and cousin marriage. Cousin marriage can be patrilateral (parallel cousin marriage) or matrilateral (cross cousin marriage). Cross cousins are children of *brothers* **and** *sisters*, while parallel cousins are children of *brothers* **or** *sisters*. In patrilateral marriage a man marries his father's sister's daughter (FZD), while in matrilateral marriage the first preference of a bride is mother's brother's daughter (MBD). The Bigas, Garos, Kadars, etc. practise FZD form of marriage, while the Gonds, Birhos, Mikirs, Todas, etc. practise MBD form.

(ii) Modes of obtaining bride

Tribal culture prescribes different approved ways of obtaining a bride. Interestingly, no single way is specific to any community. More than one way is adopted by every tribal community though one of the ways may be considered ideal. Every community considers negotiated marriage as ideal. Other important ways of obtaining a bride are as follows:

Marriage by Trial, Marriage by Capture, Marriage by Exchange, Marriage by Service, Marriage by Purchase, Marriage by Elopement, Marriage by Intrusion and Marriage by Probation.

(iii) Settlement of marriage discords

The marriage rules and regulations also extend to the settlement of marital discords like divorce. Normally, divorce is not so common in traditional tribal communities. However, this practice is not totally absent. The elders first try to reconcile between husband and wife. If the attempt fails divorce procedure is initiated. The clan or village council or mediator takes decision of the divorce. Marriage exchanges and sharing of children are also discussed.

(iv) Marriage exchanges

Marriage exchange plays a crucial role in tribal marriages. This practice is wrongly recorded as bride price. Exchanges during marriage take place on different grounds as bonding relations between two families. A few scholars are of the opinion that there is a future security concern in such exchanges. In case of divorce from husband's side the items brought by the wife is returned. The items are given from both bride

and groom families. In majority of the tribes the items given by the groom's family have two components. One component is reciprocated and the other, given either in the name of the bride or her mother or father or to three of them, is not counted for reciprocation. For example, among the Kaman and Taraon Mishmis, one mithun (*bos frontalis*) is given to mother which is not reciprocated, for it is considered to be *rak-tantong* the 'price' of her breast milk. The same practice also prevails in Galo and Nyishi communities.

The items which are exchanged are bargained and agreed upon by both the sides. The bargain also takes place for the items which the bride would bring. Demand from the bride's family, bargaining, obligation to meet the demand, as it leads to the practice of marriage by service, and corresponding reciprocation are more indicative of the commitment to cultural prescriptions, social status, and relations than mere consideration of bride price. The strength of bargain from bride's family depends on its ability to reciprocate the items it would receive. In cross-cousin system of marriage the bargain takes place between the relatives and is a method of reinforcing the relations associated with the practice of preferential marriage.

2.5.3 Family

Family is a basic social organization. It is is a universal institution found in every human society. The term family has been derived from the Roman word, 'Famulus' which implies servant. The servants, slaves and such other persons enjoyed the status of members of a household in ancient times. Therefore, the term family is derived from the word, 'Famulus'. In order to have a comprehensive idea of the concept of family it is essential to describe some to its important definitions given by eminent scholars. These definitions are mentioned here:

Ogburn and Nimkoff (1960) define family as 'a more or less durable association of husband and wife with or without children, or of a man or a woman alone with children.'

Maclver and Page (1974) in their book '*Society: An Introductory Analysis'* remark that family is 'a group defined by a sex relationship sufficiently precise and enduring to provide for the procreation and upbringing of children.'

According to Elliott and Merrill (1950), 'The family may be defined as the biological social unit composed of husband, wife and their children. The family may also be considered as a social institution, a socially approved organization for meeting definite human needs.'

According to Burgess and Locke (1963), family is 'a group of persons united by the ties of marriage, blood or adoption, constituting a single household, inter-acting and inter-communicating with each other in their respective social roles of husband and wife, mother and father, son and daughter, brother and sister, creating a common culture.'

Davis (1949) thinks that 'family is a group if persons whose relations to one another are based upon consanguinity and who are, therefore, kin to another.'

The American Bureau of Gensus, U.S.A. defines family as a group of two persons related by blood, marriage or adoption and residing together.

The family, in short, may be described as a group or an association of a body of persons such as father, mother and one or more children. In other words, it is

used to mean the body of persons such as parents and the children who live in one house under one head. Among all the above mentioned definitions, the definition given by MacIver and Page seems to be quite adequate.

Types of Family

As you have studied, family is a social organization. It is also an important institution of culturally prescribed relations. We will discuss the types of family to understand the organizational aspect. There are different criteria on the formation of families. These criteria are based on kinship and marriage. We will discuss them below:

1. *Family on the Basis of Family Circle*: The family circle/sphere is the basis of a family. The division of the family circle is as follows:

    (a) *Conjugal or nuclear family:* The nuclear family is a type of family which develops around the nucleus of a man, his wife and their children. It is regarded as the most dominant form of family in the modern industrial societies.

    (b) *The extended family:* The joint or, as it is called consanguineous family is organised on blood relationship and comprises a father, his children, brothers, sisters, etc. It is different from a nuclear family which is organised on the basis of marital ties between a husband and his wife. The members of the extended family belong to several generations. Usually, they live together under this family system. The bond binding the member of a joint family is very strong and therefore, is described as 'a nucleus of blood relations surrounded by a fringe of spouses.' There is another view which says that 'an extended family consists of two or more nuclear families affiliated through an extension of parent-child relationship i.e. by joining the nuclear family of a married adult to that of his parents.' The Nyshis and the Mishmis of Arunachal Pradesh live in long houses which accommodate a number of nuclear families.

We call that household a joint family which has greater generation depth (i.e. three or more) than the nuclear family and the members of which are related to one another by property, income and the mutual rights and obligations.

I.P. Desai, 1956.

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2. *Family based on residence*: You can learn the organization of a family by its residence of location. The nature of residence has led to the division of family into three kinds. They are as follows:

    (a) *Matrilocal family:* The Matrilocal residence is the basis of the family to which the husband goes over and joins his wife after his marriage. Under this family system, the residence of the wife is all important and here the husband occupies a secondary position. The children live with the mother at her residence. The Khasi tribe in Meghalaya follows this system.

    (b) *Patrilocal Family:* The Patrilocal family, as opposed to the Matrilocal one, is the residence where the wife leaving her father's home, joins her husband to live with him in his house permanently. The family system based on Patrilocal residence exists in most parts of the world.

3. ***Family based on marriage practices***: On the basis of marriage practices the family is divided into following types:

   (a) *Polygynous Family:* A polygynous family is a type of family which allows a man to marry more than one wife simultaneously and to live with them and their children in the same house. This kind of family system exists among the Gond, Baiga, Nyishi and many other tribes in India.

   (b) *Polyandrous Family:* A polyandrous family is a kind of family system which allows a woman to marry more than one man. She lives with them and is shared by them or she lives with each of them by turns. A few tribal communities like the Toda, Khasa, etc. follow the system of polyandrous family.

   (c) *Monogamous Family:* A single husband and single wife living together with their unmarried children form a monogamous family. Under this family system a man can not have more than one wife at a time. The women also cannot have two husbands simultaneously. Today, the whole world has accepted it as an ideal type.

4. ***Family based on descent or ancestry***: There is a kind of family which is based on descent or as we call it ancestry. The term descent is used to mean the accepted social relation between a person and his/her ancestors. This family is of two kinds, namely matrilineal and patrilineal. The description of the two types of family is given below:

   (a) *Matrilineal family:* In this family type, the mother or the female line is the basis of the lineage. The rights and privileges of the family go along female line. The Khasis and the Garos are examples of matrilineal family.

   (b) *Patrilineal family:* In this type of family the lineage is determined on the basis of male line. The father hands down his rights and privileges to his sons as per cultural norms. Among the Apatanis, according to traditional norms, the eldest son inherits the ancestral property.

   (c) *Bi-lineal family:* If the descent is reckoned both through the father's and mother's line it is known as the bi-lineal family.

5. ***Family based on authority***: The various forms of family fall into two broad categories, the matriarchal or the maternal and the patriarchal or paternal family. This division is made on the basis of authority and power of the father or the mother in the family.

   (a) *Matriarchal family:* The matriarchal family is also known as the Mother-Right family or Maternal family and in such a family the power rests in the woman head. She owns all the property and rules the family. In her family the name, status, inheritance, etc. are transmitted matrilineally. The lines of descent are traced on the basis of matrilineal principles. The Khasi tribe of Meghalaya has adopted this system of family.

   (b) *Patriarchal family:* The patriarchal family has a number of forms. Its significance, great as it is, has been realised at all stages of human civilization. Essentially, it is a joint family ruled over by the eldest married male member. The 'patriarch' or father is the centre of power and authority and exercises his unchallengeable authority in the family.

There is no one to question his decision regarding the rights and property of his family. The ancestry of the patriarchal family is determined on patrilineal basis and the family is Patrilocal in respect of residence. Under this system, the eldest son succeeds to the position of his father after the latter's death.

2.6 POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS

Political organizations of Indian tribes are varied in nature. The evolutionary scheme of socio-political organizations from *band* to *tribe* to *chiefdom* and finally to *state* will not be of much help to understand the political organizations of tribes in the Indian context. Nevertheless, the scheme will be useful to understand the nature and scope of political organizations in pre-state communities like the tribal communities.

Therefore, at the outset we will briefly discuss the various stages of political organizations with reference to their evolutionary schemes. Then we will classify the political organizations of Indian tribes with examples of a few individual tribes. And finally, we will discuss the supernatural means of establishing evidence to find the culprit. As you know, power and authority are the underlying principles of a political organizations, hence, oath and ordeal by invoking supernatural power have some sort of connections with authority, for the supernatural means are pronounced and obeyed.

2.6.1 Political Organizations-Evolutionary Scheme

You have studied in unit I and also in this unit that [Marshall Sahlins (1961) and in Elman Service (1962)] advanced stages of social evolution which are also the four levels of political organizations: hunter-gatherer, tribe, chiefdom, and state. In India we do not have a state corresponding to a tribe. In other words, at tribe the level the state as defined by the evolutionists did not emerge among Indian tribes. But there are tribes like the Khampti, Jaintia, Gond, Bhumija who once took part in the process of state formation. Their jurisdictions were beyond their respective tribes.

Band: Birhors and other hunting gathering tribes like those in Andaman and Nicobar Islands are believed to have the band form of political organization. A band acts as a political unit and is autonomous in operations. Political decision making is generally informal and taken by the band head. The decisions mainly relate to shifting of camps or settling any dispute if any arises among the band members.

Tribe: In a tribe political organizations are informal and also include organizations based on age grades and sex. Normally the society does not have centralised authority. The entire society does not act as a unit. Organizations based on kinship groups rather provide basic framework of political organizations.

Chiefdom: This is the third stage of pre-state socio-political organization and is marked by emergence of a ruler. It displays some formal structure, because in some societies the position of chief is hereditary. Chiefdom usually has a council, for example *mukchum* of the Khamptis, which is headed by the chief. In the initial stages the chiefdoms were theocracies, with the ruler or the member of his family also serving as a high religious official. When the chief died the position was occupied by someone from a particular line of descent. In India we have the chieftainship form of society but these societies *are not a stage* after the tribe.

2.6.2 Types in Indian Tribes

A political organization is embodied with power and authority. This power and authority is distributed in various ways. It may lie on an individual or on a group of individuals. The power and authority along with the individual or individuals form political organizations. You will find these organizations at various levels, from family to tribe.

You have already learnt about the types of families such as matriarchal and patriarchal families based on authority in one of the previous sections and the head (male or female) who takes decision. Similarly, decision making capacity also lies at the level of the lineage and clan. However, from our present discussion you will learn political organization not from multi-functional social organization point of view, but with reference to specific organization like councils as decision makers.

In India, tribal communities are broadly classified on the basis of cephalous and acephalous characteristics of societies. Accordingly, you will find councils with centralised and without centralised authority. These councils may exist at the village level, at the level of territory or group of villages and at tribe level. However, all the tribes may not display a uniform scheme of political organizations.

In the centralised forms of political organizations you will find a chief, whose position is normally hereditary, as the head of the council. In case of the non-centralised forms you will find a range of organizations when authority lies with the council of members equally or in varied degrees, or on an arbiter or on a group of elders. You can also find members elected or selected to the council.

Among the Kaman Mihsmis of Arunachala Pradesh, usually the clan or lineage head is the decision maker. In such communities, the role of arbiter is also important. The Gindu/Gindung (middleman, arbiter) in Nyishi and Tagin communities of Arunachal Pradesh has the important role to play in organising Nyele/ Dupam, a council of elders when the need arises. Even arbiter(s) can mediate between two disputing parties. In multi-clan villages with a sort of stratification the members of a higher social division (gerontocracy) form into the body politic. The *Buliang* of the Apatani or the *Jung* of the Sherdukpen can be taken as examples. Among the Adis, Jaintias and many central Indian tribes the councils exist at village, territory and often at tribe levels. You will also find an exception among the Todas who invite members from neighbouring tribes. In case of Sulungs (Puroiks), the Nyishi/Miji masters play the decisive role in settling the dispute. Sulungs are predominantly hunter-gatherers and subordinate to the neighbouring Nyishi and Miji tribes who are agriculturists.

We will present hereunder the political organization of a selected few individual tribes.

1. Parhaiya Political System

The *Parhaiyas* of Jharkhand have political organizations both at village and inter-village levels. The village level organization, called *Bhaiyari,* is presided by a hereditary headman called *Mahato* assisted by *Kahato*. The *Baiga*, the religious leader is an important member of the council. Besides, there are other 5-6 elderly and experienced people as members in the *Bhaiyari*. Usually the *Bhaiyari* is a lineage (*khut*) based organization. The inter-village council, called *Kara-Bhaiyari* or *Khut Bhaiyari* represents several villages. The head is called *Pradhan* and there are representatives from each *Bhaiyari* to this council.

The *Bhaiyari* deals with cases arising out of breach of social norms like adultery, divorce, sexual offence, marital conflict, etc. If the cases are of inter-village nature the *Kara-Bhaiyari* looks into it. Usually the Councils try to reconcile the disputing parties. But in cases of severe offence they impose fines depending on the nature, magnitude and gravity of the crime committed by the accused. In extreme case the accused is ex-communicated.

2. Monpa Village Council

The Monpas of Arunachal Pradesh have evolved a self-governing village institution to maintain law and order so that social, religious and economic activities are carried out smoothly. Tawang, the present district was traditionally divided into six regions, which were further sub-divided into *Tso* or *Ding*. Each *Tso* or *Ding* was more or less a distinct self-governing unit headed by a man called *Tso-Tsorgan*. He is usually elected by the influential members of the society. During the selection of a *Tso-Tsorgan* the knowledge of the individual in traditional conventions, customary laws, oratory skills, integrity, social status, ability to handle cases and experience are considered. Once he is selected, the meeting of the *Mangma* (totality of the inhabitants) is called upon for its approval. Although the *Mangma* is the supreme authority over the *Tsorgan*, it does not interfere in day to day affairs of the *Tso-Tsorgan*. Occasionally, when the opinion of the *Mangma* is required, the meeting of the *Mangma* is convened to decide the matter.

The Tsorgan can be from among the Lamas or from *Khraimi* (those who own taxable land). *Surmi/Naamtang*, those who do not own taxable land are not eligible for the post of *Tso-Tsorgan*. The post is not hereditary, but if the son of the *Tso-Tsorgan* is otherwise found capable, he stands a better chance of being elected/ selected. In principle, there is no restriction on woman becoming a *Tso-Tsorgan*, but in practice no woman ever had occupied this office. The normal term of office of a *Tso-Tsorgan* is three years, but some capable ones have had continued in office quite a longer term, more than 20 years. He is not paid any salary, but it is mandatory for all the *Khraimi* of that *Tso* to contribute in form of food grains twice in a year as remuneration (*Tso-khrai*) for the services he renders.

The *Tso-Tsorgan* is vested with judico-administrative and development functions. He is authorised to settle most of the civil and criminal cases within his jurisdiction. In discharging his normal duties, the *Tso-Tsorgan* is assisted by other functionaries. These functionaries are known by different names at different places. During a field study in 2009 it was observed that Lhou village is divided into six *Kachungs* on the basis of geographical settlement and each *Kachung* is headed by an official known as *Gomi* who is assisted by *Thumis*. At the lowest of the hierarchy is a functionary known as *Shi-Tza*.

3. The Tangsa Chieftainship

The political and social life of the Tangsa is maintained and regulated by *Ruung,* the village council with *Lungwang*, the chief who is assisted by *Kengsalang* (village elders), *Ngongwa/Lukhap* (advisor), *Kamwa* (messenger) and the *Shamma* (priest). The *Lungwang* being the final decision maker is also called *Khaphongwa* or *Phongwa* - the decision maker. The *Kengsalang,* usually elderly persons with oratory skill and knowledge in customary laws are the representatives of each clan in the village to the *Ruung*. *Ngongwa/Lukhap* (advisor) is selected by the chief from among the knowledgeable persons who always accompanies him. The *Mamwa* (messenger)

NOTES

Check Your Progress

24. Choose the Correct word.

(a) Tribe is a pre-state society in the scheme of evolutionary/ revolutionary perspective.

(b) Authority/ Heredity is the basic consideration is a political organization.

(c) Village council does not exist in chiefdom/state.

(d) In traditional village councils, membership is hereditary/ gender discriminatory.

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typically comprises of two or more individuals and they mediate between the *Ruung*, the plaintiff and the accused. The one who assists the chief during the settlement of dispute with information is given membership in the *Ruung*. The *Shamma* predicts success or failure by performing rituals and reading omen before going for any community hunting, waging raids against the enemy and searching for the suitable land for new settlement.

Ruung tries the cases like theft, adultery, murder, seduction of a girl, assault, simple injury, house trespass, non-payment of bride wealth, land encroachment, marital discord, etc. The Council seats in the chief's house as and when needed. The village council is always instrumental in selecting the site for shifting cultivation, burial place, etc. The council also decides, the date for agricultural operation, fixation of date for celebration of festivals, organization of hunting expedition, fishing, etc.

4. Sherdukpen Gerontocracy

According to Sherdukpen mythology it was a descendent of a Tibetan chief who established the community. The Sherdukpen community has two social divisions, namely *Thong* and *Chao*. The clans in the Thong group are the descendants of the chief who migrated and established the community. In a Sherdukpen village the body politics is called *Jung* which has a member from the *Thong* group of clans as the chief. The position of the chief is not hereditary in the family or in a particular clan but is hereditary in the upper division of the community, i.e., the *Thong*. There are also members with specific assignments. The village body politics of the Sherdukpen is gerontocratic in nature.

5. Kharia Panchayat

The Hill Kharias, who prefer to call themselves Sabar, mostly live in West Bengal, Odisha and Jharkhand states. The traditional political system of the Kharia is a village *Panchayat* with *Pradhan* as its head. A traditional Hill Kharia village consists of households ranging from 5 to 30, though the size of rehabilitated villages may run even up to 100 households. Traditional villages are not practically lineage based as a man either before or after marriage can settle in another village. However, the households in the villages or in adjacent villages belong to near kin groups. The *Pradhan* heads the village Panchayat; his post is hereditary in the family along the male line. The eldest son if otherwise normal and capable inherits the post. The *Pradhan* is assisted by *bhandari* (messenger), *loya* (a religious functionary) and *dehuria* (who performs magico-religious rituals) along with family elders in the village. Usually the *Pradhan* settles disputes in a social gathering in consultation with the members present. The council can excommunicate or impose fines depending on the nature of the offense. The Panchayat of the Kharia not only settles disputes but also decides on the rituals to eradicate epidemics, natural calamities, etc., along with rituals relating to economic activities like hunting. An adopted son gets inheritance rights only after the approval of the council. Naturally, the Hill Kharia Panchayat is more of a socio-cultural institution than a mere politico-judicial body.

6. The Kora Council

The Kora tribe has its village council which is called *Kulhi-Dhurup*, meaning the Panchayat in session. Obviously, the people do not have a permanent body though its head *Mahato* is a hereditary post and thus permanent. He is assisted by *Gorait,*

Charidar and other village elders. Every session is attended by at least one member of each and every family of the village. The function of the council includes social, economic and cultural aspects of Kora life along with the politico-judicio and administrative responsibility.

Now it is clear that tribal political systems are of various kinds. Vidyarthi and Rai (1985) have outlined three characteristics to which we can add one more feature. These are: (i) Political Association Based N Clan/ Lineage; (ii) Political Association Based on the Village as a Unit; and (iii) Political Association of a Group of Villagers of a Territory and (iv) The Political Association at Tribe Level.

From the above characteristics the structure of the Tribal Political System can be outlined. Vidyarthi and Rai (1985) have provided the following structure of the political system exiting in the tribal world of India (some examples are added):

- The Council of Elders, a temporary body of selected villagers, generally coincides with clan elders to look into cases brought before them. (Sometimes all village elders in principle are members of the village council as is the case with the Adis).

- The Village Headman, a hereditary post and/or subject to villagers' opinion if and when required. (The Khampti village chief or the Tangsa village chief is a hereditary head).

- The Village Panchayat: a body of the *Panchs* headed by the village Headman. The panchs are elected by the villagers directly. (There can be also a village council with elected head. For example, traditionally each Khasi village has its Village Council called *Durbar Shnong* headed by *Rangbah Shnong*).

- The Union of Villages, a regional panchayat headed by the regional head (can also be a body of selected members from village councils like the *Bango Kebang* of the Adis. It can also be a territorial council with elected head as is the case of the Khasi. The territorial organization called *Durbar Raid* has elected head called *Basan* or *Lyngdoh*).

- The Tribal Chief, a hereditary post of supreme judicial authority at the tribal level. (The tribe level chief can also be an elected head like the *Syiem* in Khasi state, the tribe level political organization of the Khasis).

2.6.3 Traditional versus Modern Organizations

The tribal village councils do not exist in traditional forms. The traditional role of the councils has declined due to introduction of village Panchayats. The developmental works are now in the sole domain of the Panchayat bodies. In many tribes the head of the council used to be hereditary in nature, but in Panchayats, all the members including the head (Sarpanch, Anchal Samilti Member, etc.) are elected ones. Whereas the village councils in Chieftainship type of societies had chiefs as heads, the Panchayats in such societies have elected representatives including the head. The village Panchayats are gender sensitive whereas in traditional councils women were deprived of active participation or membership. These modern village councils do not have religious advisors as members; in other words, the present councils, i.e. the Panchayats are secular in character.

In traditional tribal communities, the village councils were either democratic or monarchic. The compositions and functions varied across the tribes. Some

village councils were clan or lineage based. But the modern democratic Panchayats are uniform across both the tribal and non-tribal villages of the country and in composition and function. In Panchayats all the members of the village can participate if otherwise eligible without clan or other social considerations. We know that in Sherdukpen community the *Chaos* do not have the right to membership in Jung. Similarly, a person who does not own taxable land cannot be elected/selected to the post of *Tso-Tsogrgan* in Monpa community.

In some tribes, the jurisdiction of functioning of both traditional and modern councils is distinct. The Adis take up all the traditional matters in *Kebang* while those of developmental works in village Panchayats. In Hill Kharia tribe, matters other than those involving social secrecy are decided in the Panchayat. The cases of conflict and quarrel between non-tribals or with other tribals and Hill Kharias are represented in the modern village Panchayat. Both the traditional and modern councils coexist harmoniously. We also see from field experience that the traditional and present political head happen to be the same person. But in some tribes, even in some villages of the same tribe there is conflict and the role of the traditional leaders is on decline.

2.7 CUSTOMARY LAWS AND SOCIAL SANCTIONS

Human beings live in societies and forge individual, interpersonal and institutional relationships with other members of the society. Particularly in traditional societies such relations extend beyond human sphere to include *nature* and the *super-nature* as well. These relations define and get expression through different pattern of behaviours. It has been known that relations along with patterns and expressions of behaviours are culture specific which generally vary from one culture or community to the other. In a matrilineal society, for example, the relation of sons with the institution of property inheritance would differ from that of a patrilineal society. Accordingly, a son's behavioural relation towards maintenance of parents or practice of inheriting father's surname would also differ in the two systems. You will study about this difference in Unit-III of this paper in the section of Property and Inheritance.

The sphere of relations and pattern of behaviours are known to each and every individual of a community and one knows one's position in it. In other words, relations and associated behavioural patterns of a community which are perceived in its totality are its customs. Disobedience and violation of customs invoke sanctions.

In this section you will read about *customs* or *customary laws* and *sanctions* with a few examples from tribal communities of India. There are mechanisms through which customary laws are enforced for the maintenance of equilibrium, social order, peace and tranquillity. These mechanisms are taboos, social sanctions, ritualistic faiths, obeisance to super-natural powers and adherence to ethics and traditional values.

2.7.1 Customs

Custom normally refers to a long-established practice based on the values, mores, and norms of a tribe and is expressed in its beliefs, traditions, and practices. M. Chanock (1985) defines customs or customary laws as a body of rules, values, and traditions, more or less clearly defined, which were accepted as establishing

standards or procedures to be followed and upheld. Customary law is not simply about law, but it is about ways of conceiving the past and therefore, the present. As J.S. Bhandari (1995) writes customary laws are sustained by moral and ethical values of the members of a community and have implicit sanction of the people and may be enforceable by the collective coercive force of the people. In the tribal societies, the goal is to maintain the continuity of social relations based on primal ties. Therefore, customary laws can be understood more from the functions that it performs- the functions of inter personal relations and the maintenance of overall social order. According to L. Pospisil (1971), customary law is a law that is internalized by a social group which considers it to be binding. If such a law is broken, the culprit has a bad conscience that he has behaved improperly. Conformity to such law is not usually affected by external pressure. It is produced by an internal mechanism, which can be conscience in some cultures and fear or shame in others.

Customs or Customary Laws: Sometimes a difference is made between customs or customary laws. E.S. Hartland (1924) maintains that 'Law and customs are not one; it is wrong to identify law with custom'. The customs recognised by formal legal system are often called by some scholars as customary laws. In that sense customary laws have a formal legal sanction and a formal enforcing authority.

The customs of Munda tribe documented by S. C. Roy in 1912 or the Garo inheritance practices recorded studied by J. K. Bose in 1930s have subsequently got recognition of formal legal institution. The Baliapara/Tirap/Sadiya Frontier Tracts Jhum Land Regulations,1947 recognises traditional land tenure practices of tribes of present Arunachal Pradesh. Assam Frontiers (Administration of Justice) 1945 has introduced the system of village head (Gaon Burha) and the post of *kataki* to maintain law and order which continue and have become a tradition in tribal communities of the region. Enforcement of customs by these authorities obviously has legal sanction. In contrast to it, there are many customs in tribal communities which are informal but still continue and do not have a legal sanction. For example, we can cite the custom of the type of bridal dress in a tribal marriage. Logically, a distinction is noticed between a set of customs which are recognised in legal system and the other which is not and yet continues in practice.

From above explanation you must have understood that there is a distinction between customs and customary laws. However, customs are sources of customary laws which have formal recognition in a wider system. For a tribal community both do play the role of maintaining social solidarity, cohesion and harmonious living through approval and disapproval of behaviours. For a particular community the traditional authority enforces both customs and customary laws within the community until and unless the need of intervention by formal outside authority is felt. In our contemporary time tribes are citizens of the country and have constitutional position which recognises their rights, particularly their uncodified customs and practices. L. Pospisil (1971) is of the opinion that without the authority's consent, customary law can never be called law; it would only be custom. He has made a distinction between *law* and *customary law* and equates the latter with custom.

Needless to say, the customs in general have approval in the formal system through recognition to their autonomous existence and in the absence of provisions to replace them. So, we use *customs* and *customary laws* interchangeably, for these are community specific at the core and customs exist within a greater system of formal authority, i.e. the State

NOTES

Check Your Progress

26. According to which perspective socio-political organizations have four stages?

27. Do you think that village councils perform only political functions? Why or Why not?

28. Do you think that there is the practice of exclusion of members of a village in village councils? Give reasons.

29. Who said, 'social organization is an arrangement of roles associated with the statuses which constituted the social structure'?

30. In which tribe the head of the council is elected?

31. According to whom 'family is a group if persons whose relations to one another are based upon consanguinity and who are, therefore, kin to another'?

Characteristics

By now you have got some idea about customary laws. From the definition and its scope the following characteristics of customary laws in general and tribal customary laws in particular can be enumerated:

- Customary laws are a body of established mode of social behaviours within tribal or traditional community. The laws are community based and thus confined to a particular tribe.

- In this sense tribal customary laws are universal. This means that there is no tribal community in the world where customs are not found.

- The body of customary laws refers to the totality of behaviour patterns.

- It is broad and all encompassing. Custom can relate to use of and access to natural resources, rights and obligations relating to land, inheritance and property, conduct of spiritual life, maintenance of cultural heritage and knowledge systems, and many other matters.

- These laws are long established and do not have any authorship. Nobody remembers who frame the law.

- As a corollary, the laws are uniform and continuous, meaning these have been followed continuously and uninterruptedly for a long time. In other words, these are group accepted techniques of control mechanism, taken for granted and are passed along from generation to generation.

- Customary laws are certain and definite as these are observed as a matter of rights.

- Customary laws do not oppose community morality and value system.

- A custom is formed on the basis of habit gaining the sanction over time. But it is not an individual habit. Customs are social habits which through repetition become the basis of and order of social behaviour. So customary laws are contrasted with mere random personal.

- Customary laws are generally unwritten. But in recent years many tribes have documented their customs which they follow and produce in the court while settling a dispute. The Nyishis of Arunachal Pradesh and the Darlongs of Tripura for example have codified their customary laws which they use to solve the problems arising in the society. Even the land record department of Gauhati High Court has documented the customary practices of land inheritance of more than 35 tribes in the northeast.

2.7.2 Sanctions

Sanctions are social control mechanism in every type of society. As you know a society is a harmonious organization of human relationships and associated pattern of behaviours. You also know that there are customs that guide these relationships to maintain harmony. But these customs are often violated by individuals due to one or the other reason. Such violation disturbs the social harmony. However, every society has developed sanctions which help in maintaining society solidarity. Sanctions are thus a means of controlling human behaviour. In general, social sanctions are means by which a moral code or social custom is enforced, either positively in the form of rewards or negatively by means of punishment. In tribal communities, sanctions

are not formal like the non-traditional industrial societies. These are in conformity with tribal morality and value system.

The word sanction has two nearly opposite meanings. In its first meaning it is used to refer to *approve of something* while in its second meaning it is used in the sense of disapproval and action taken or punishment given for disobedience or violation of rule or custom. The incidence of divorce is not considered normal custom; it is a disruption in social life of married couples. Obviously, for breaking the custom of marriage union the society has its sanctions in terms of fine. Among the Darlongs of Tripura, a husband has to pay *maktha* for initiating divorce, and the wife has to pay *hamanpui* if she initiates the process. The sanction is a negative enforcement for disruption of a socially approved bond.

Characteristics

Sanctions are social control mechanisms. These sanctions are community specific and exist in all types of societies. The following are the characteristics of sanctions in tribal communities.

- Sanctions may be positive or negative, i.e. rewards or punishments. Positive sanctions are used to encourage a particular behaviour. But negative sanctions are invoked when a particular behaviour is sought to be discouraged.
- Sanctions in tribal communities are social and supernatural in nature.
- These sanctions are informal and based on customary laws.
- Therefore, sanctions are comprehensive and relate to customs of the community in general.
- Members of the whole community are aware of sanctions prevalent for violation of customs and like customs these are repeated and broadly continue from generation to generation.

Some Examples

You will understand customary laws and sanctions along with their characteristics in tribal communities better through examples. Some examples are produced below:

1. Tobdan (2000) informs us about an interesting tribal custom, called *Zang-Zang*, which is prevalent among his people of Lahuli in Himachal Pradesh. *Zang-Zang* is a behavioural relationship between a guest and member (s) of the host family at the time of offering food to the guest. The guest vehemently refuses to accept the food, but the host persuades and offers the food. Even for any additional help the situation of refusal and persuasion continues till the guest eats to his heart's content. Later, the host ridicules the guest with the remark that he was pretending to eat, though he was really starving and the guest keeps on putting his stand that the food was not necessary. Tobdan does not know the origin of this practice and there is no folklore about it. But he believes that it originated sometime in bygone days when people did not have enough to eat. However, the practice continues as a custom even though people have enough to eat now-a-days. Its absence during meal time is not considered in good taste and the relations between the guest and the host is not considered normal. Now you see that the practice of *Zang-Zang* shows its past origin, long continuity as a tradition passing on from generation to generation.

2. The Munda and the Oraon tribes of Jharkhand believe in tribe endogamy. The violation of this custom invokes the sanction of excommunication till the non-Mund/non-Oraon partner is given up. The violation of social custom of endogamy also invokes purification ritual for re-entering into the tribe. In other words, social and spiritual mechanisms are adopted to rectify any wrong committed in the society. Witchcraft is not a socially approved practice among the Mundas, and the one who practises it is severely dealt with. The woman found guilt is thrashed, driven out of the village and sometimes even beaten to death. For adultery and theft the culprit is thrashed and fined as well.

3. The Munda and the Oraon practise avoidance between relations. Even touching of a man to his younger brother's wife or wife's elder sister is tabooed. Such a breach of custom is expatiated for through some observances prescribed by elders in the family. Utterance of name of husband, father-in-law or mother-in-law by a woman is tabooed. Violation is socially disapproved; the violator is scorned. There is no other punishment from society as the offender is liable to fall into bad time one day for disobedience of the custom.

4. The custom of silent trade once prevailed between the Raji tribe and its neighbouring communities in Kumaon region of Uttarakhand. Even though the two parties did not meet face-to-face the behavioural relation is an interesting example of a custom and nature of disapproval.

   The Rajis normally left their articles, mostly roughly manufactured wooden bowls at the door step of the Kumaoni villagers along with some symbols including the items the Raji desired to have in exchange, under the dark cover of night when whole village was fast asleep. Next morning the family concerned, on finding the bowls would know that they were left by the Raji previous night and would know the motive behind the action. The concerned Kumaoni family would fill the bowls with the desired items, usually cereal grains as per the indication. The bowls were on the same spot where these were initially left by the Raji. At night the Raji visited the place and collected the grains offered by the Kumaoni villager leaving the bowls as barter exchange for the grains received. In case they are not satisfied with the quantity or item they would not touch the bowls and leave it as they were. The family would understand that some more quantity of grains is required. Accordingly, the family would supply the grains to be lifted by the Rajis.

5. Among the Adi Padams movement taboo is observed after the performance of certain rituals. As per custom, villagers are discouraged to work in agricultural fields. Even the *Musup kos* (a particular group of Dormitory boys) organise *bedang-duubom*, meaning act of sitting on the way to block the path. Despite precautions if someone is found working in the field on that day a fine, equal to his one days labour, is imposed on the violator. Without coming to terms if the person refuses to pay, then *Musupkos* inform to the senior *Mushup* group called *Ruutum,* who also try to persuade the person to pay the fine. In case of failure they resort to *kumsung saanam* (forcible collection of grains from granary) and intimate their action by putting branches inside the basket used to carry grains. This act of the *Musup* boys is not reacted; rather it is accepted in the society. The practice has both positive and negative enforcement of sanctions.

6. Many tribes believe in the custom of not urinating near/in the place considered to be the abode of spirit. Violation invokes fever, madness or any such punishment. This is the example of a supernatural sanction which could affect remedial sanctions. In order to avoid supernatural punishments remedial measures like performance of rituals are organised. Rituals are socially approved cultural enforcements which are performed to rectify the wrong of violating the custom of right interaction with supernatural beliefs. The relations between customs and sanctions are not one-to-one, it is rather a multi-dimensional.

7. All types of violations of custom do not invoke sanctions. In Garo tribe, except youngest daughter, all other daughters are to leave the house after marriage. In the event of two daughters, the eldest daughter may stay in the family, though authority would lie with the youngest one. Such a violation of the custom of residence after marriage does not invoke any sanction.

8. In matrilineal community it is the custom that the youngest daughter has to stay in the home, look after parents and carry forward the family tradition. So she inherits the family property. But in case of her desire to build a separate household she is deprived of inheritance rights. The custom has the reward of according inheritance rights and the punishment of depriving it on violation of the custom.

9. In rituals human and supernatural relations are defined and behaviour pattern is established. For example, members observe taboos like food taboo or movement taboo or both in connections with some rituals. Any intrusion is a violation of customary norms. That is why visit of an outsider is considered a taboo. Outsiders are not allowed to the ritual sphere, may be a family or village territory. Disobedience leads to imposition of fine or confinement of the outsider till the taboo period is over. In case of non-compilation by the outsider the people are believed to incur supernatural sanction. In this regard Verrier Elwin's example given in *A Philosophy for NEFA* will be useful.

   An Agricultural Inspector once arrived at a certain place one morning when the people were engaged on a special sacrifice and it was strictly taboo for anyone to enter the village. The headman and others came to the visitor and begged him to camp outside, as it was against their rules and would be sure to lead to an outbreak of disease if he came in. To the Inspector, however, this seemed absurd and he insisted on making his camp in the headman's house. A week later an epidemic broke out and no fewer than twenty people died...the villagers are convinced that these deaths were caused by official ignorance and scorn of local custom.

10. In some tribes the custom of pre-marital sexual freedom prevails. But extra-marital relations are strictly prohibited. Violation of this custom is considered as a crime of adultery and the culprits are imposed fine. Even the husband can divorce the wife on this ground. Among the Darlongs, if married man commits adultery, his wife charges a fine of ₹ 50 from the woman with whom her husband has affairs. But in case of a woman, the husband reacts on his wife but not on the man committing adultery. The customary laws of punishment in case of extra-marital affairs and approval to pre-marital affairs conform to the community morality on the matter of sex. Moreover, relaxation for the man is inconformity with patriarchal values in a patriarchy. You have understood

how customs and sanctions confirm to the ethical and moral perception of a community.

11. In Birhor tribe a young man has to show his skill of building a water proof *kumbha* (hut) in order to prove his eligibility for marriage. The display of skill is a positive enforcement where he gets silent social approval to begin his marital life. Before that if he expresses his desire for marriage he is ridiculed which is a negative enforcement for not achieving the eligibility as per the custom of the community.

12. Among the Bhils of Rajasthan, *mautana* (a type of compensation) is a sanction against the crime of committing physical injuries or death. The man who causes death of another person has to pay *mautana* to the relatives of the victim. His family or clan members may also come to his rescue by paying the compensation. *Mautana* is a negative sanction in order to discourage the crime and establish a normal social order. Among the Darlongs also a similar practice prevails in the event of injury caused accidentally. The culprit has to bear all expenses for his cure or the funeral rites in case of death.

2.8 RELIGION: FAITHS, BELIEF AND PRACTICES

In this section you will study about the religion of the tribal people in India. We shall begin our discussion with two important but interrelated questions. The questions are:

- Does a tribe have a religion?

- What are the components and features of a tribal religion?

You have to keep in mind that a tribe in India is not always outside the framework of organised religion. One shouldn't be surprised to see tribes like Gond, Riyang, etc. professing Hinduism; tribes like Khampti and Monpa professing Buddhism; tribes like Gadi, Siddi and tribes living in Lakshadweep professing Islam and tribes like Khasi, Ao, Mizo and many others professing Christianity. There are also several tribes like Raji, Onge, Jarwa which follow their own traditional system of faiths, beliefs and practices. On the other hand there are tribes like Adi, Mishim, Zeliangrang, etc. which follow traditional faiths, beliefs and practices but with reforms. In other words, they follow a revived and evolved form of traditional religious life.

There are two things one must bear in mind while studying these tribes. The first one being that all members of a tribe who are identified by the name of a particular religion may not necessarily follow that religion in totality. For example, in a Christian tribe, there may be families/individuals professing their traditional faiths, beliefs and practices. The second aspect is that almost all tribal religions have had exposures to forces of organised religions in various degrees. However, these influences are either negligible or nil among tribes of Andaman and Nicobar Islands owing to their isolation. So, when you study a tribal religion you may find features belonging to different times and common to other religions. In other words, tribal religions have become syncretic in nature, meaning displaying characteristics of two or more religious traditions. With reference to the Khampti and Monpa tribes, Buddhism could be better understood as a syncretic tradition.

Check Your Progress

32. Write whether the following statements are true or false:

(a) Customs and social sanctions in tribal communities are formal in nature.

(b) Social sanctions are punishments to wrong doers and are generally negative in nature.

(c) A few customs and practices have been recognized by formal legal system.

(d) Customs have been framed by intelligent people in the society and thus have know authorship.

(e) Customary laws are followed as a matter of rights.

(f) Sanctions in tribal communities are also supernatural in nature.

(g) Customs are generally unwritten.

Does a tribe have a religion?

What does a religion mean? Is there any definition of a religion?

There have been many attempts at defining religion, but what J. Z. Smith reminds us is that "The moral… is not that religions cannot be defined, but it can be defined, with greater or lesser success, in more than fifty ways'. In other words, there is no single definition of religion. But all the definitions agree on its three components: faiths & beliefs, practices (rituals, for example) and transcendental experience (mysticism). In a community all these components may exist in different degrees.

As you know religion does not have an isolated entity as it is for the members of the society. It may be a personal experience or affair but the experiences manifest in the socio-cultural setting. Religion is believed to have evolved as a human endeavour to link the natural and the supernatural worlds in order to understand the phenomena she/he experiences. A human being perceives the natural and the supernatural differently and tries to adjust between them. The ideas and the means he/she applies fall under the domain of religion. The ideas through which man perceives his different natural and supernatural worlds may 'evolve into a belief system' or may be the 'belief system itself'. The realm of ideas takes expression through rituals. The belief system also extends to the belief in Transcendental Experience with which the members of the community communicate through intermediaries like priests. If any member of the community experiences the supernatural being he/she is called a mystic. Hence, mysticism, supernatural experience or altered status of consciousness is also a question beyond the realm of the natural world and hence deemed religious.

By now you would have understood how one could interpret and understand a religion. In other words, it may be understood that a religion has three main components. With respect to tribal studies one may ask if these components are also present in a tribal religion?

2.8.1 Tribal Religion

The dictionary meanings of 'faith' and 'belief' are almost synonyms to one another. Both refer to acceptance of or trust in something. Further, faith is also used in the sense of religion such as the Hindu faith. Obviously there is confusion in the use of two synonym words such as 'faith' and 'belief' to understand religion.

People believe in what is natural, i.e. normally visible or logically understandable. But to believe in something which is not natural one must have feelings for it, an acceptance about its existence. Faith is the first step towards an understanding of religion and it is based on the foundation of feelings, an idea and an acceptance of its existence. When the feelings are strong and acceptance is understandable it becomes a belief. As you know there is a saying: *seeing is believing*. Religion cannot be seen despite it being based on impersonal ideas at its core, it only can be speculated through imagination and contemplation.

So, first one must have faith before one begins believing in it. Faith may be just a beginning of an idea and when that faith becomes strong it becomes a belief. Hence, faith is a belief. But faiths and beliefs are not two separate words that form a combination of different things. The two things give one single impression as expressed in phrases like 'bread and butter' or 'slow and steady'. In the same analogy

'faith and belief", express the singular idea about religion. Religious traditions, however, are different among the tribes and faiths and beliefs rightly represent the diverse traditions existing among tribes. It is 'faith' that sustains belief and the emotional element in faith leads to practices such as rites and rituals, all religious activities in general. Emotional elements are present in human-nature-supernature relations.

Religion in tribal communities' expresses through an integrated process. As you know all aspects of life in a tribe are instituted in cultural process. Culture is an integrated whole. The aspects of life are so integrated and instituted that they present overlapping ideas. Therefore, you cannot distinguish an independent domain each for economic life, political life, social life or religious life. In economic life you will find components comprising of social, political and religious aspects. In other words, each aspect reflects in other aspects and vice versa. It is therefore, natural to find religious aspect of life pervading all other aspects of life. Precisely, faiths, beliefs and practices are all encompassing and so reflect in social relations, economic pursuits, resource perceptions and management practices, healthcare, artefacts and so on.

The belief system can be understood in terms of human-nature-supernature relations. Human beings relate themselves with supernatural beings in different ways. These beings are considered to be creator, protector and destroyer. There are benevolent spirits who help in the welfare of humans and animals. They protect them from misfortunes. On the other hand there are malevolent spirits who wait for the opportunity of harming human beings and animals which they use. The Nyishis, for example, believe in *Jengte, Pamte*, etc. as fever causing deities. *Rintum, Purtum, Rine Chine* etc. are domestic *Wiyus* (supernatural power) which look after progress and prosperity of the inmates of a house.

These supernatural beings, often spirits dwell in natural objects like trees, rocks, water bodies caves, etc. So human is related to supernatural through nature. If human relation with nature is disturbed supernatural sanctions are release forth in the form of disease or loss of crops or natural calamity. In most of the tribes there is the belief of a supreme creator, who often creates not only human being but also other living and non-living beings.

As human beings cause disturbance in relations, it is natural for them to remedy it. For that they have to appease or compensate the loss. Rituals are the media to restore the harmony of relations. In between humans and supernatural religions priests play a significant role in the process restoring normalcy. Many of their priests are known to have the power of communion with supernatural beings. In other words, they have transcendental experience.

You will understand tribal religion not only in terms of faiths and beliefs, practices and transcendental experience, but also in terms of its all encompassing nature. We will confine our discussion to a few examples from different tribes.

2.8.2 Faiths & Beliefs, Practices and Transcendental Experience

Among the tribes of India, faiths, and beliefs, practices and transcendental experience are embedded in culture. They vary from tribe to tribe. However, these can be understood as follows.

Animism: Tribes are believed to follow animism. E.B. Tylor used this term to refer to 'belief in souls' and 'supernatural beings'. These beliefs include belief in

ghosts, nature spirits, doctrine of spirit possession, the presence of witch doctors, the practice of magic, the worship of dead, belief in the supernatural causation of disease, the presence of taboos, the performance of ceremonial dancing, worship, and the like.

All tribes of India believe in supernatural beings. Verrier Elwin mentions that Muria Gonds worship nature, mountains, rivers, trees animals, etc. Even he has mentioned that men possess life as an animating substance as per Muria's belief.

Supernatural force

The core of a faith and belief centres round supernatural forces and beings. Supernatural force is an impersonal force. A place, for example, possesses that power and therefore, can be considered a taboo. After ritual, for example, some food items are tabooed; some animals are not to be killed, places not to be entered or works not to be done. For a Galo Nyibu (religious specialist) local wine, flesh of wild animals, wild fruits, etc are tabooed before ritual. A newly married couple in Galo tribe observes taboo on meat of wild animals, ginger, garlic, onion and thorny vegetables for a year. It is because there is impersonal force in them and such forces need to be avoided. The Aos believe that a power, called *Tiar* or *Tiyer*, is inherent in man, which often withstands the evil power of ghosts.

Supernatural Beings

Supernatural beings can be of human and non-human origins. Supernatural beings of human origin are ghosts and ancestral spirits while non-human origin are spirits, gods, godlings, presiding deities of natural objects and human activities. The Adi Padams believe for example in the spirit of hunting (Galling Gojo) presiding deity of a house (Gumin Soyin) and so on. The spirits can be benevolent or malevolent. The Aos believe in a host of supernatural powers (Tsungrems) who are traditionally supposed to cause illness and other misfortunes. Temsula Ao reports that they live in small springs, lakes, lowland, stagnant waters and deserted sites, bamboo groves and deep jungles, and also in certain trees.

You will find that tribal faiths and beliefs recognise a host of supernatural beings. Their belief system can be termed as polytheism, meaning belief in many gods, none having subordinate relations. In other words, they do not have the notion of a hierarchy of them in their belief system; they know a deity for its work. Temsula Ao informs us that among the Aos the term *Tsungrem* is used in a non-discriminatory way to denote several gods who are associated with mountains, big stones, rivers, forest etc. For the Ao *Lijaba* (creator of the earth) is a *Tsungrem* and so is *Meyutsungba* (the keeper of the land of the dead). There is no status differentiation among the gods.

Nevertheless, in many tribes there is a hierarchy of gods and deities. Elwin finds such a hierarchy in Muria tradition. Moreover, the gods exist at different levels. For example *Hana duma*, believed to be an ancestral spirit is presiding deity at home, *Tallurmutte*, goddess earth at village level and *Anga* is presiding deity at *progona* level.

Totem: Tribes like Ho, Oraon believe in totem which could be normally an animal or tree. The animal in itself is not sacred but something inherent in it makes the animals sacred. Emile Durkheim considers this as a symbolic perception. This means the totem animal is a symbol of a clan. Each clan of a tribe believing in

totem has its own totem animals. The totem distinguishes one clan from another. So according to Durkheim the totem occupies an important place in the clans' religious rituals. It symbolises both the clan and the clan's spirits.

Life after Death

In tribal communities the notion of 'after life' is a part of faith and belief system. Many tribes like Muria Gond, Ranglong also believe in rebirth. The Adi priest narrates different stages that a soul passes through after death. Loss of soul is considered to be cause of disease which if not brought back results in death of the person. The notion of life after death differs in the belief system of tribes. For example, they have different notions about the status of the soul of people on the basis of accidental or normal death.

The Bongchers of Tripura believe that the soul of a person after death goes to *Rih Li* (a lake in Mizoram and Myanmar Border) and from there enters *Mithi Khua* (the abode of the dead). However, the soul of a wrong doer turns into butterfly after it passes *Rih Li*. The soul after the death of butterfly is born as pig, after the death of pig as goat, then a cow, and after the death of the cow it is born as monkey and finally it is reborn as human.

Omen and Dreams

Faiths and beliefs in omens and dreams are important aspects of tribal religion, though these exist in non-tribal world also. The number 13 (thirteen) is not considered auspicious even today in many non-tribal traditions. Omen and dream are culture specific. What is bad in one culture may not be so in another and the event that is considered as a sign of good or bad happenings in future has a cultural context. The same event may not exist in another culture.

You will learn a few omens believed by the Darlongs of Tripura.

Good Omens: A sick person sneezing twice uninterruptingly – Quick recovery. Two persons accidentally speaking out same thing simultaneously – The elder one would receive a message.

A swinging spider in front of an unmarried girl - sign of receiving a marriage proposal soon

Coming out of ants from holes and moving around during a rainy day – Indication of a sunny weather,

Bad Omens: A dog climbing the roof of the house – Indication of misfortune or death of owner.

A tortoise crossing the path of hunter – sign of unsuccessful hunting.

Stumbling at the door while beginning a journey – a sign of uncomfortable or unsuccessful journey

Sudden and intermittent twitching of right eye brow or shoulder – sign of serious illness or death of a near one.

As you know dream has a significant place in the belief system of tribal people. By interpreting dream they predict future course of event. Elwin (1959) has recorded a case of dream in the then Siang division of Arunachal Pradesh, which led to the discovery of a hidden corpse and the subsequent conviction of the murderer. B.K. Shukla (1965) has also recorded the belief of the Nyishis on dreams. The Nyishis

believe that the soul leaves the body while a person is asleep and goes out wandering. What it sees or experiences is recollected by the person on awakening. When a Nyishi hunter is bitten by a snake in dram or sees a pigsty with open day he is sure of hunting a wild boar. But, if it is a closed door pigsty in dream the indication is about failure is bagging any game.

The Nyishis believe that an article of decoration seen in a dream is a bad omen indicating the death of a near one. L.R.NB. Srivastava (1962) also has explained about the belief in dream by the Galos. The Galo people believe in a successful hunting if the hunter dreams of a tooth knocked out. Similarly, a dream of broken legs is an indicating of death of a child or wife of the dreamer. When a herd of *mithun* (bos frontalis) enters the village it indicates heavy rain.

Dream is considered an indication of things to happen and guidance for solving problems like sickness. When a dream is an indication of bad omen the effects are countered by rituals and sacrifices identified through the process of divination by the priest.

Magic and witchcraft

Magic and witchcraft are important elements in many tribal religions. These elements together present a combination of beliefs and practices. Magic involves manipulation of supernatural force to for good or bad The Monpa monk is believed to stop rain by invoking supernatural power. Magic also involves some action where supernatural power is not manipulated. A Darlong turns his/her pillow while dreaming about his/her love so that s/he can have the same dream. Traditional rituals of Mishmis are believed to be magico-religious practices. When a person suffers from *Miknat* (conjunctivitis) a curative magico-religious ritual called *pachu-takap* is performed. The affected eye is covered with any cup-tumbler-like container to which a bow-man hits with an ordinary arrow made of bamboo-splint. The bow-man faces towards the east, while the patient to the west and the container covering the eye is hit nine times with the arrow. Each time the bow-man chants:

Pachu ahul than ki lo lo... (I kill the male of this disease.)

Next, the act is repeated with the bow-man facing to the west and the patient to the east. This time the bow-man hits the container eight times chanting.

Pachu kamia mu than ki lo lo... (I kill the female of this disease)

Some Galo Nyibus (religious specialists) also know the art of magic (*tarum-tago*). They can induce natural objects such as pebbles or beads into a person's body and remove the same.

Witchcraft is a practice carried out through thought process. This differs from sorcery. In sorcery materials and medicines are used to invoke supernatural evil action. In many tribal communities, witchcraft and sorcery are practised. The Baigas are known for practising sorcery. In traditional Munda and Santal belief system witchcraft is widespread.

Practices

As you have studied, magic and sorcery are both beliefs and practices. However, there are beliefs on the basis of which practices like rituals, festivals, etc. are performed. Anthony Wallace has listed a number of practices which broadly include prayer

(asking for supernatural help), physiological experience (doing things to the body and mind), simulations (manipulating imitations of things), feast and sacrifices.

Among the tribes of India incantation forms a part of many rituals. Religious specialists, common people, medicine men involve in chanting during a curative session. Chanting by a priest is a normal scene while invoking supernatural force. The Adi people pray Almighty Donyi-Polo to be the witness to the judgement process in the Kebang (village council). Through rituals people pray for good harvest, good health, etc.

During a ritual performance religious specialists of many tribes observe food taboo, consume wine or opium, perform priest dance to commune with supernatural power. The *Igu* dance of the priest in Idu Mishmi tribe is a famous priestly dance. During Yaalo *Lonam* (the ritual of calling back lost soul), some Galo Nyibus fall into trance by performing *Nyigre dance*. In the process they establish communion with supernatural power. Such practices refer to doing things to body or mind.

Simulation like voodoo is not a popular practice among Indian tribes. However, there are instances when a symbol of a person is maltreated. The belief is that the person will also feel the same pain. Simulation is also employed at the time of divination. Among the tribes of Northeast India chicken lever reading, egg-yolk testing, etc., are carried out to understand the supernatural cause of disease or predict general welfare, good harvest, etc.

Feasts are organised on ceremonial occasions like marriage, death ritual and other rituals. Community feasts are organised as a part of dispute settlement process and atonement of sin.

Sacrifices and offerings are common features in tribal belief system. Offerings may include food items, drink and other items like ginger, turmeric, etc. Animal sacrifice is also a practice among the tribes. In Arunachal Pradesh tribes sacrifice poultry birds, pigs and *mithun* (bos frontalis), etc. Human sacrifice was prevalent among tribes like Kondh in Odisha.

Oath and Ordeal: Oaths and ordeals are practices organised to invoke supernatural interference in detecting the wrong doer. A guilty person is punished by the council when he/she owns up the guilt. But there are instances when no one owns up the crime and evidences do not suffice to identify the guilty. Then the council takes recourse to oaths and ordeals to detect the culprit. An oath is a swearing taken by both complainant and accused in the name of supernatural being to prove innocence in a public gathering. The tribal people in general believe that the God /Supreme Being watches everything. An ordeal is on the other hand a prescribed torture to prove innocence. It is believed that the innocent person escapes injury.

Usually the process of ordeals is initiated by the priests with rituals. In many tribes of Arunachal Pradesh and in Central India this traditional practice still prevails. Among the Oraons, when a person is suspected of guilt his hands are dipped into boiling water mixed with cow dung. There is the practice of putting burning charcoals over palms. The belief is that an innocent person is not hurt.

Mundas and Oraons also administer oath. The suspect takes oath of his/her innocence by placing a lump of paddy, cow-dung and clod of earth on his head. If one takes a false oath it is believed that he/she will suffer from the loss of crops, cattle or land.

In Adi community a person accused of theft declares him/herself innocent by cutting one of his fingers in a public place. The cut of the innocent simply bleeds, but the blood rushes out from the corresponding part of the body of the culprit. These types of ordeals are practised in many tribes of Arunachal Pradesh.

Transcendental Experiences

This experience is an altered state of consciousness one feels when one is possessed. This consciousness arises when a *shaman* (religious specialist) is in communion with supernatural force. He embodies the supernatural consciousness. The shaman enters into a trance and makes a journey to the world of spirits. He gets help form spirits to cure illness or gets news of impending disaster or answers to people's queries about their problems. Dreams are also used by the shaman to commune with spirits. A person becomes a shaman after long rigorous training under a master or with the help of supernatural power. In the latter case the shaman is inborn.

In Galo tribe a person to become a *Nyibu* (shaman) shows signs deviant behaviours from early life. S/he would have unique dreams and show deviant behaviour. Pennya Potom in 2004 narrated a case of Shri Dibo Potom who had a dream before he became a Nyibu. In his dream he saw a door which opened up, he travelled across and saw mountains, rivers, forests, villages, fields and everything that exist in the physical world. As he journeyed further these panoramas became invisible and he entered into broad day light where he could see the Sun rising. He remained in this state and unconscious for some days and during this period supernatural power dawned in him. When signs indicate that a person is a Nyibu in making, *Nyibu Goal* (a ritual) is performed by a senior Nyibu as a mark of recognition. Sometimes one has to prove his supernatural power for acceptance. On one occasion when people asked such a person to show his power, he uttered some chants and threw away rice grains. He showed his empty hands. But next moment people saw these grains in his fist. This miracle established him as a Nyibu.

2.8.3 Belief System of Selected Tribes

The Garo and the Khasi

In recent years the Gaors and Khasis have largely adopted Christianity. However, their traditional faiths and beliefs have rich content. The creator in Garo religion is Tatara-Rabugs. He as the Almighty, created the world and all the creatures. He also protects the world against the most dreaded diseases that afflict making. His worship demands elaborate rituals and expensive sacrifices i.e. the sacrifices of a bull, a goat and a cock. Less important gods include Chorabudi, the protector of crops; Saljong, the god of fertility who blesses man's labours in the fields. The god is represented by the sun, and the annual festival, Wangala, is held in his honour. He is also worshipped with sacrifices of cock and offering of liquor before the beginning of the festivities. The god Kalkame is invoked to protect the people of the village from the evil intentions of the spirits of the forests. He demands the sacrifice of a goat or a cock, the blood of which is smeared on the *asong* (the sacrificial stone) erected in his honour. Among the evil spirits which are worshipped, Nawang, the monster that could even swallow the sun and the moon, causing eclipses is greatly feared. This spirit can also waylay their souls on their way to the purgatory.

The corporate worship is there in other tribal religions. The priest plays an important role in all the worships. The Supreme God of the Khasis is called U Blei

Nongthan or U Blei Nongpynlong. The deity is addressed a Ka Blei (Goddess) which exposes the matrilineal characteristics of the society of the Khasis. Minor deities include U Lei Long iing who is the household deity and U Ryngkew U Basa and U Phan-U kyrpad, venerated as village deities.

The Khasis also venerate the spirits of their ancestors as it is believed that they protect their descendants. The spirits responsible for creating diseases like malaria and cholera are believed to be malignant. Khasis also have their institutions of priesthood. Their priest who performs higher ceremonials is called U Lyngdoh. The priests who perform rites for the cure from the illness of the people are called U NongKhan (Diviner) or U Nongknia (Sacrificer). For divination, the Khasis resort to the breaking of eggs or sacrifice of a cock. The cock plays a vital role in the Khasi religion. It is a mediator between God and man. According to the folk myth, at the beginning of time, sin had become rampant among men so much that even the sun refused to appear. It was cock which sacrificed to bring sun to the sky. At its crowing the sun came out of his hiding.

Nocte

Tirap Distric Gazetteer has included the belief system of the Noctes of Arunahcal Pradesh in brief. The Noctes believe in the existence of a Supreme Being whom they variously call *Jauban, Jongban* or *Tesong*. This Supreme Being is ambivalent as he embodies both good and evil. He causes miseries and troubles as well as he brings happiness and prosperity to human beings. They also have a belief in a number of spirits and deities. These deities are both malevolent and benevolent. The benevolent deities dwell in houses and protect human beings from sorrows and miseries. They are propitiated regularly with the offerings of food and other things in order to get their continued support and protection from the malevolent spirits.

'They believe that, after death, the soul substance, called *mang* or *ja khang*, repairs to *ulim* or *balum*, a place in the sky. It may take the shape of a kite and appear the day when the dead body is disposed of. So when a kite is seen flying over the house, the relations of the dead pour water on the ground for the departed soul. In case of abnormal death, they believe that the soul turns into an evil spirit.

Tiger-soul of the Ao belief system

Tiger-soul is a fascinating aspect of the Ao belief system. The people believe in tiger soul, meaning the tiger as being the other soul of a person. Temsula Ao informs us that according to Ao belief system certain persons are also believed to reside in rats, snakes, wild cats, etc. However, this belief is different from the belief in totem where animals are symbolically regarded as ancestors. According to Ao belief system some persons have more than one soul and souls of these person also reside in tigers. The tiger that embodies the person's spirit is like any other normal tiger except that a strong attachment to the person concerned. When a person acquires the tiger soul, there is no replacement. In other words, if the tiger is killed the person whose soul is in the tiger will also die. In case of illness, the animal's symptom of illness, pain, etc. are believed to be felt by the person also.

A person which embodies the soul of a tiger is believed to possess certain supernatural powers like curing illness, mending broken legs, etc. by prescribing the right rituals. However, there are notorious person who with such supernatural power avenge their enemies by threatening, killing or destroying their crops.

Khampti System

The Khamptis believe in supernatural powers and Khampti Buddhism views the world full of ghosts (*phi*), demons (*phi phai*), evil spirits (*pik-ta*). One is constantly and unpredictably in danger of being harmed. Moreover, they are concerned with health, illness, drought, rain etc. Khamptis believe that devotions, rituals, ethics, scriptures, etc. act as a protective shield against harms and dangers from spirits and ghosts. Illness, natural calamities are believed to be the effect of supernatural displeasure. The existence of this belief system is the remnants of pre-Buddhist animism which the community, probably, practised. Present Buddhism in the Khampti society is a mix of Buddhism and extra-non-Buddhist beliefs and practices. In extra-non-Buddhist practices monks do not play a direct role except that they offer their blessings. However, they preside over some rituals like worship of household deity. The spell *mangala sutta* in Pali and traditional *Chas-sere* spell (Tai traditional hymns). *Paritta* (*pilik*) spells consisting of various books of canon (*pitakat*), *sutta* (*suk*) are chanted for protection against danger. These *parittas* give protection from misfortune as well as positive blessings. For curing illness, for granting a long life, for the protection of a new house from the evil spirits of the land on which the house is constructed, *mangala sutta* is recited. According to Khampti Buddhism, *paritta* is effective only if the person leads moral life following Buddhist tenets.

The Khamptis believe in the presence of the spirit (a super power) in inanimate objects around them. All the objects around them are as animate as the people themselves. So they have their non-Buddhist ways of propitiation or appeasing this superpower which is believed to direct and control the human life. Rituals associated with forest activities or agricultural activities go with the belief in a non-Buddhist super natural power. These rituals are performed by villagers but not by Buddhist monks.

Phinoy (the spirit of jungle / hills) is propitiated before forest activities like hunting, elephant catching, etc. for safety and success. Before ploughing the field and before harvesting, the Khamptis worship *phimung* (also called *Pang-ci-mung*), the village deity. *Phimung* is propitiated to save the village from any type of disaster, calamity like epidemic, drought, etc. and to grant a good yield and provide a good harvest. He is worshipped in a hut/alter near jungle, away from the settlement area. Sacrifices, though against Buddhist tradition, are made to the *Phimung*. The Khamptis also perform rituals like *kin-khao-mao* (eating of new rice) and *hong-khan-khao* bringing home the goddess of wealth i.e. paddy which relate to their agricultural life.

Loss of the soul is believed to be the cause of illness. So, *Pap hong khon* (village seer for the purpose) prescribes the method of calling back soul through *hong kon* ritual. *Chao-mo*, the village poet/chanter, who composes hymns/song about the ancestors or deliberation of soul, worship *Nang Sulasati*, the Khampti version of goddess Saraswati. The Khamptis believe in charms and both monks and ordinary villager prepare amulet or tie threads around the wrist to ward off evil eyes. They also believe in the ancestors (*philan*) and worship them in houses when someone falls ill or for the prosperity of household.

Monpa System

Monpa, a Buddhist tribe of Mahayan cult, inhabits the West Kameng and Tawang districts of the Western part of Arunachal Pradesh. They believe in the *Gelukpa* sect of the Mahayan division of the Tibetan Lamaist form of Buddhism.

Check Your Progress

33. State whether the following statements are true or false:
    (a) Many tribes profess organized religions also.
    (b) Tribal religions are syncretic in nature.
    (c) Faiths & beliefs, practices like rituals and supernatural experiences are components of non-tribal religions only.
    (d) Tribal belief system is an expression of human-nature-supernature relations.
    (e) A tribe has faiths and beliefs but not a religion.

Prior to their conversion to Buddhism they followed the religion of *Bon*. Black magic, a feature of *Bon* religion, still exists among the Monpas. The disposal of the dead by cutting the body into hundred and eight pieces and throwing them into stream was a practice in their traditional religion. The Monpa Buddhism in fact, is found as a safety valve against the harmful effects from the spirit world. In their *Bon* religion, there were means and ways to encounter the doings of malevolent spirits, but it seems that Buddhism was implanted and accepted as more effective means in place of their traditional ones. They still believe in *Shein*, *Geapu*, *Tchan* (name of spirits) who dwell in big trees and harm those who violate traditional norms by cutting the trees or making loud noise in the jungle. Apparently, spirits punish those who disturb them. The Monpas believe that the spirits appear in the form of snake with three or nine heads. Anyone who sees them falls ill; his or any of his relatives might face death consequently. Lama performs *khurom* if such tragedy befalls upon any individual or family. Any villager or lama reads through 'mo' (a Buddhist scripture, horoscope) and prescribes for rituals. *Luth* is an important ritual where *luth* (balls of flour) are offered to cure the person possessed by *Shein* (Spirit of the dead).

The Monpas observe movement taboo and do not visit Sela or Bangajang on the occasion of death or birth in the family. Onion, garlic, etc. are prohibited to these places. They worship *Tso* (lakes), *Gangri* (snow fields) and make offerings like *Sha Chow* (replica of animal made of flour paste) to forest and mountain deities. In order to avoid theft by *Thipreng* (the mythical thief) they put magic spells like suspending egg shells/other ritualistic symbol in the front door of the house. Undoubtedly, worship both *Bon* gods and Buddhist deities and thus maintain the continuity of the features of their traditional religion even after they were converted to Buddhism.

Buddhism in different countries and among various communities display a wide range of variation because of its 'tendency of localization'; each Buddhist tradition being an amalgamation of Buddhism and indigenous religion. 'Tendency of localization' in Buddhism and its various forms in different countries and communities refuse to attach exclusiveness to the Buddhist tradition. Buddhism is not absolute as a religious doctrine like other religions.

Witchcraft in Manipur

Happy Baglari informs us about the tradition of witchcraft, known as Postam Jadoo, practised in some communities in Manipur. This particular witchcraft is performed by Maiba (males who perform good or bad rituals for the community / shaman) or Maibis (females who perform the same). They perform this practice when a person seeks for something which would benefit with their lives. Another practice is Mingsel KanglonYengba, here a Maibi uses a mirror and utters chants in order to find a thief or someone has lost something / goods, and then she will inform them the place where the goods may be kept. Thaoda Yenga is again a different practice performed by Miabis. They use oil, utter chants and during this she can describe physical features of the culprit and can also tell the thief / place where the things have been lost would be found from.

2.9   SUMMARY

- In this unit we have discussed society, social organizations and political organizations with reference to tribal communities. We have found that social organization, as the members of a society are grouped, are of two types.

(f) The practice of suspending egg shells in front of the door to avoid theft is known as animism.
(g) Religious tradition of a tribe displays features belonging to different time periods and common to traditions of others.
(h) Rituals are media to restore the harmony in human-nature-supernature relations.
(i) Belief in tiger soul among the Aos is a belief in totem.
(j) Hierarchy of gods and deities is a feature in tribal religion.

The first one is kin-based. It includes kinship organization and its functional components like marriage and family. The second one is non-kin-based and includes the village, age gradation, territorial division and cultural practices reinforcing social order of a tribe. We have focused on these points under four thematic divisions, namely the village, kinship, marriage and family.

- Marriage and family are universal in all know tribal communities. But the forms vary from tribe to tribe. There is a relationship between forms of marriage and forms of family. Though the rules and regulations of marriage are tribe specific, they display broad features of uniformity. Similarly, family types vary from tribe to tribe. But they also have broad common features.

- Under marriage rules and regulations, we have discussed who can marry whom. This depends largely on kinship relations. We have discussed consanguineous and affinal kinships and how kinship determines the rules of residence of married couple in different tribes. The kinship has also a significant role to play through family organization. Under kinship we have also discussed incest taboo and joking relations — the behaviour patterns which define relationships between relatives.

- The political organizations of the tribal communities present a contrast. We find both democratic and chieftain type societies and political organizations. In recent years, the tribal villages have modern panchayats. Both traditional and modern village institutions coexist and in many cases the functionaries of both the institutions are one and the same.

- In tribal communities, the political life is not distinct from other aspects of life. It is instituted in social process. Therefore, socio-political organization is a befitting term to understand interconnectedness of social and political organizations.

- Like any other communities, tribes also maintain social harmony and therefore adopt different mechanisms. In this unit we have discussed customary laws and social sanctions which are mechanisms to ensure social stability and maintain harmony. In addition, we have discussed tribal religion which constitutes an important aspect of tribal way of life like social and political organizations. Whether it is social organization, political life, economic pursuits or faiths and beliefs, all are integrated into a cultural whole in tribal communities.

2.10 KEY TERMS

- **Acephalous:** Literally, 'Headless', meaning without any centralised authority.
- **Agnate:** A kinsman whose connection is traceable exclusives through male ine.
- **Avunculocal Residence:** Residence with the man's mother's brother.
- **Cephalous society:** A society with centralised authority like a chief.
- **Chief:** The person of highest authority in the political organization of a community, often hereditary.
- **Chiefdom:** The political unit with a chief as its head.
- **Cognate:** Related by birth, of the same parentage, descent; **cognates**- words that are similar in sound and meaning.

- **Cognatic descent:** Descent from both sides of the family equally, opposite to double descent; there are no clans or lineages.

- **Cross-cousins:** The children of a brother and a sister.

- **Culture:** Everything which is socially learned and shared by members of a society.

- **Double descent:** Descent in both the male line and female line; Everyone belongs to two lineages-patrilineal and matrilineal simultaneously.

- **Ego:** The reference person; person from whom kinship relationship is traced. It is from the Latin meaning 'I' or 'myself'.

- **Endogamy:** Marriage practice within the group.

- **Incest taboo:** The prohibition of sex with a category of persons, such as brother and sister, mother and son, etc.

- **Kula:** A ceremonial exchange of shell ornaments in the Trobriand Islands.

- **Moiety:** One of two basic sub-divisions of tribe.

- **Monogamy:** Marriage between one man and one woman.

- **Oath:** The act of calling upon a supernatural power to stand witness to the truth of what one says.

- **Ordeal:** A culturally approved torture to identify guilt or innocence of a person.

- **Parallel-cousins:** The children of two brothers or two sisters.

- **Polygamy:** Marriage to more than one person.

- **Polygyny:** Marriage between one man and more than one woman.

- **Potlatch:** A ceremony by peoples of the Northwest Coast of North America in which feasts, giving away of goods and sometimes destruction of goods take place to earn social prestige.

- **Product based division of labour:** The same labour engaged in the production of a commodity from the beginning to end.

- **Reciprocity:** Exchange without the use of money.

- **Sacred:** Relating to faiths and beliefs, something set apart from normal world, having the notion of forbiddances.

- **Secular:** Relating to normal world, opposite of sacred.

- **Sib:** Clan.

- **Social father:** Socially recognised husband of the mother of a child.

- **Social Organization:** Significant grouping of members of a society.

- **Subsistence:** Obtaining living for survival needs.

- **Supernatural:** Not subject to natural laws.

- **Totem:** Normally a plant or animal from which a clan traces origin. In Ojibwa tribe's belief it is the spirit of a patrilineal clan represented by an animal. It may mean a similar spirit among any people.

- **Animism:** belief in the existence of soul in physical-living and non-living things.

- **Customs:** accepted and long established beliefs and ways of behaviour and practices in a culture.
- **Revivalism:** religious reformation movement with the intention of saving the tradition and culture by infusing it with new purpose and meaning.
- **Sanctions:** reinforcements to encourage good deeds and discourage unwanted behaviour.
- **Syncretism:** a display of amalgamation of features of two or more cultural traditions.

2.11 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. (a) social   (b) identity   (c) temporary
   (d) extension   (e) social   (f) interdisciplinary
   (g) power

2. (a) institutional   (b) real   (c) socialization
   (d) kinship   (e) microcosm   (f) non-kinship

3. A person directly related to the ego either through blood or through marriage alliance

4. Marriage

5. The prohibition of sex between certain relations

6. To address a priest 'father'

7. Lineal and collateral

8. Consanguinal, affinal and ritual

9. Social structure, function and social organization

10. Band, tribe, chiefdom and state

11. Cephalous (centralised) and acephalous (with centralised authority)

12. (a) sorroate   (b) endogamous   (c) institutional
    (d) secondary   (e) descent   (f) parallel
    (g) polygamy   (h) tertiary

13. The marriage practice between one man and more than one woman and vice versa

14. the Khasa and the Kota

15. Khasi

16. marriage within a culturally defined social group, not outside of it.

17. The basic unit of the family formed by the married couple with their unmarried children.

18. No. The term patrilocal refers to the practice of residence in or near the parental home of the bridegroom. Patrilineal refers to descent along male line

19. Woman as the source of power and authority in the family.

20. The marriage between groom's sister bride's brother

21. Cross-cousin marriage, the practice of marriage with mother's brother's daughter

22. (a) False   (b) True   (c) False   (d) False   (e) False   (f) False
    (g) False   (h) True   (i) True

23. (a) False   (b) False   (c) False   (d) True   (e) False   (f) False

24. (a) evolutionary   (b) Authority   (c) state
    (d) gender discriminatory

25. (a) true   (b) false   (c) true   (d) false   (e) false

26. Evolution perspective,

27. No, there are functionaries who also look after religious aspects of life. The functionaries also play important roles in the selection of jhum plot, consignment of dead body, etc.

28. Yes, the women do not participate in councils like meal members. Among the Sherdukpens, the Chao section of community does not have the right to membership.

29. Radcliffe-Brown,

30. The Monpa

31. K. Davis

32. (a) False   (b) False   (c) True   (d) False   (e) True   (f) True   (g) True

33. (a) True   (b) True   (c) False   (d) True   (e) False   (f) False   (g) True
    (h) True   (i) False   (j) False

2.12   QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. Define social organization. Discuss how the tribe is divided and sub-divided into different kin and non-kin groups.

2. Define family and discuss the types of family.

3. Distinguish between patriarchal and matriarchy family.

4. Define marriage and discuss its various forms in brief.

5. Discuss the forms of marriage and their corresponding family types.

6. What is polygamy? Discuss its forms and causes.

7. Describe the nature and types of tribal political organizations.

8. Write a note on oaths and ordeals? What are its objectives? Give your comments.

Long-Answer Questions

1. Discuss the types of political organizations with reference to selected tribes.

2. Which types of family are socio-political organizations? Why?

3. Modern panchayats in tribal villages are new forms of traditional village council. Do you agree? Give reasons to your answer.

4. Distinguish between customs and customary laws?

5. Define customs and sanctions. How do they help in maintaining social harmony? Give your answer with suitable examples.

6. Do tribes have religion? Give reasons to your answer.

7. What are various forms and components of tribal religion? Discuss.

2.13 FURTHER READINGS

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NOTES

UNIT 3 ECONOMIC ORGANIZATIONS

Structure

3.0 INTRODUCTION

In Unit I you have learnt that tribes are heterogeneous groups and they inhabit different geographical areas in different zones and states/UTs of India. Obviously, their interaction with diverse natural surroundings to satisfy their material needs would be different. Such interactions to satisfy material needs are studied in Economics.

In Unit 2 you have learnt that human beings as individual or in groups enter into relations with the purpose of achieving social or political objectives. Such relations are social or political organizations. While interacting with nature, to achieve economic ends, tribes also enter into such relations which are essentially the economic organizations of tribes.

In this unit we will discuss tribal economic organizations. As you know tribes are in transition, as also are economic organizations. We will focus our

discussion on economic organizations predominant in tribes. In a tribe, members may pursue different economic activities and for each one of these one may not find an organization. For example, in a hunting-gathering community you may notice wage labourers in recent years, but without an organization in the tribe. So, we will discuss hunting-gathering as an economic organization of the tribe, though some members may be found engaged in other activities.

Economic organization is also linked with the institution of property inheritance. But the institution reflects distinctly through different types of societies. Broadly we have patrilineal and matrilineal societies. The patrilineal societies can also be polyandrous and polygynous. Societies, as you know, are pastoral, hunter-gatherer or agricultural according to organization of economic activities. We shall discuss different rules of property inheritance in selected tribes belonging to different social types as mentioned above.

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3.1   UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Explain the meaning, nature and scope of economy of the tribes
- Distinguish the concept of tribal economy from the conventional economy
- Discuss the meaning and nature of division of labour in tribal economic organizations
- Identify the types of economic activities and corresponding social types among the tribes
- Explain the trend of change in economic organizations in contemporary tribal societies
- Describe the rules of property inheritance in patrilineal and matrilineal tribal communities

3.2   TRIBAL ECONOMIC ORGANIZATIONS

We pursue various activities to satisfy our economic needs. However, there are many that we cannot perform alone. So we enter into relations with others at the individual level or at the group level and in so doing organise ourselves into groups. For example, in a tribal community, people collectively engage in the extraction of food from natural resources. You know that technology cannot replace human beings fully. Nature of physical environment and the level of technology available determine how people should organise themselves in order to engage in economic activities successfully. In other words, we form economic organizations which in general refer to person to person, family to family, group to group, and country to country relations in the matter relating to economic activities, policy making, strategy

formulation, etc. to achieve economic ends. South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation, Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation, Association of Southeast Asian Nations, and European Union are examples of economic organizations of countries at regional level. These are formal organizations based on set written laws.

But tribes, by definition, are self-reliant groups. So, tribal economic organizations at inter-tribe level are conspicuously absent and hence you cannot find regional economic organization in traditional tribal societies. Tribal economic organizations are informal in nature as these are interlocking social structures guiding how people work together to achieve economic ends. So, economic organizations of tribes refer to person to person and kinship group to kinship group relations while organising economic activities. Family to family relationship in a lineage is an example of kinship group relations. However, families from different lineages living as a village community also enter into relations to organise economic activities.

Some families organise labour on the basis of mutual reciprocation. This means, members of a family work for another family and in turn the members of second family work for the first one as and when necessary. This type of labour organization of mutual reciprocity is frequent in the fields of agriculture and house construction. As you know, tribes are also classified into hunter-gatherers, pastoralists, agriculturists, etc. on the basis of dominate economic pursuits at tribe level. Within such an organization, labour organization can be studied as a characteristic of economic organization of the tribe. However, in itself labour organization or division of labour is an economic organization. As labour organization draws on social relations, the organization is also a social organization. In general, economic organization, especially of a tribe, is a part of social organization which is directed to achieve economic ends.

The phrase *economic organization* presupposes the existence of an economy. Obviously, an understanding of tribal economy is a prerequisite to understand tribal economic organizations. You will learn about the nature and characteristics of tribal economy, and of economic organization in a tribe in sections 3.3.5 and 3.4.

3.3 TRIBAL ECONOMY AND ECONOMIC ORGANIZATIONS

Before discussing tribal economy let us understand the use of terms like economy, economic, economics, and economic systems. *Economy* is a system relating to principles of production, consumption, distribution and exchange of goods and services with reference to cost and market. *Economic* is the adjective form of economy usually meaning *judicious use relating to economics*. *Economics*, on the other hand, is the name of the subject; it is the science on the principles governing an economic system that evolved after industrial revolution. *Economic system* refers to the activities of production, consumption, distribution and exchange of goods and services along with their governing principles. The definitions mainly relate to conventional economics.

3.3.1 Economics as a Discipline and Economy as a System

Economics, which is also known as conventional economics, is a discipline in social sciences. This discipline is a specialised branch of knowledge like political science, history, sociology, social anthropology, etc. From the study of economics,

Check Your Progress

1. State whether the following statements are True or False:
(a) Organizations are formations of relations.
(b) Economic organizations are formal in nature.
(c) European Union is a country level Economic organization.
(d) A tribe is a self-reliant group.
(e) You will find inter-tribe economic organizations of tribal communities.

we learn the nature and scope of economics, underlying principles and assumptions governing the discipline, economic systems and their types and so on. Under nature and scope, you study subject matter and different branches of economics, relation with other disciplines, approaches to study economics, etc. Under various economic systems you will study about capitalist economy, socialist economy, mixed economy, rural economy, urban economy, developed economy, developing economy, regional economy, national economy, global economy and many others of the kind. You will study institutional framework of business enterprise with its machine technology, impersonal labour market, profit orientation; limited liability companies, international trading, banking and credit systems, globalisation of finance, policies of privatisation and liberalisation, monetary policy, tax structure, etc. Admittedly, conventional economics will not cover the subject matter of a tribal economy.

3.3.2 Tribal Economy or Economies

The term tribal economy apparently refers to the economic system of the tribes at a macro level. In this sense it seems that the tribes are homogenous and so the economy represents a system common to all the tribes. In real world situation this is not so; the tribes differ from one another on several counts, and you will experience a wide range of micro contrasts. For example, economically, you will find agriculturists like Apatanis, Khamptis, Oraons; pastoralists like Brokpas, Todas; hunter-gatherers like Puroiks (Sulungs), Birhors; and traders like Sherdulpens, Bhutias, Ahirs and so on. You have already studied classification of tribes with reference to political typology, levels of cultural contacts, etc. in unit I of this paper. Necessarily, the pastoralist economy and its principles are different from the economy of the tribes practising shifting cultivation. So, you cannot have a blanket term like *tribal economy* to cover all types of economic activities pursued by the tribes. Admittedly, the concept *tribal economy* does not give us an analytical category of economic system common to all the tribes, for example, scheduled tribes in India. This variation is also present among the tribes all over the world.

Then should you reject the use of the term *tribal economy* from academic discussion? Or is there any other interpretation for it?

Practically, there is no single economy of the tribes; rather there are many economies which are quite heterogeneous. The economies of tribes differ in terms of nature of production system, distribution pattern and consumption norms. The phrase that would better present the economic life of diverse tribal communities is 'tribal economies'. When you see the phrase 'tribal economy' you will understand it as a collective noun that stands for all its categories. In other words, tribal economy is a general notion for all types of economic systems existing in tribal communities. Let us discuss what the term **economy** means.

3.3.3 Economy as a System of Activities

In a simply way economy is a system of economic activities, namely production, consumption and distribution and exchange. But the nature of economic activities and the underlying operating principles vary from one system to the other. When we refer to 'economics' we mean the body of specialized knowledge dealing with the systems of production, consumption and distribution and exchange which evolved with Industrial revolution during the late 18th and early 19th centuries. In other words,

economics as a discipline took its birth with industrialisation and began studying economic life of industrial or modern societies and principles governing it.

3.3.4 Definitions of Economy and its Nature in Tribal Economy

There are three main definitions to understand economics as it evolved after industrialisation. The first one is by Adam Smith, regarded as the Father of Economics, who defined economics in terms of the 'wealth of the nations'. The publication of his book, entitled *An Enquiry into the Nature and Causes and of the Wealth of Nations* (1776) or simply *The Wealth of Nations* has been described as 'the effective birth of economics as a separate discipline.' In Smith's view, the ideal economy is a self-regulating market system that automatically satisfies the economic needs of the populace.

J. B. Say (1803) defined economics as the science of production, distribution, and consumption of wealth. He distinguished the subject from its public-policy uses which was emphasized by earlier economist like Sir James Stuart (1767) and Adam Smith (1776). But the central focus of the definition remained on the use of money like his predecessors. The earlier term for 'economics' was political economy which was adapted from the French Mercantilist usage of *économie politique*. This extended *economy* from the ancient Greek term for household management to the national realm as public administration of the affairs of the state.

From the title of Adam Smith's book, it is clear to you that economics studies *the wealth* of nations, not any organizations other than the nations. Therefore, the discipline was named as *Political Economy*, implying a branch of statecraft, and continued till the end of the 19th Century when *Political Economy* was renamed as *Economics*. In India also economics was understood as a branch of statecraft which is evident in Kautilya's *Arthashastra*.

Moreover, the economy operates in a self-regulating market system according to Adam Smith. But the fact of the matter is that 'nation' as concept and organization did not exist among tribes then and subsequently. Similarly, the concept and working of a self-regulating market system was conspicuously absent even in tribal worldview. Obviously, economics could not incorporate the study of 'wealth of tribal communities' as tribal communities did not confirm to the notions of *a nation* and *self-regulating market mechanism.*

The second representative definition came from Alfred Marshall (1890). In his book entitled *Principles of Economics* (1890) he defined economics in terms of a 'science of material welfare'. His definition extended Smith's analysis beyond wealth and from the societal to the microeconomic level. According to him, Economics is 'a study of man in the ordinary business of life. It enquires how he gets his income and how he uses it'. Thus, it is on the one side, the study of wealth and on the other and more important side, a part of the study of man and his material welfare.

As you know, a tribal person destroys 'material possession', for example as in *potlatch*, not to gain material welfare, but to attain social status. Non-material considerations form an important component in the perception of *welfare*, especially of tribal people.

The third one is an improvement over the earlier two definitions of economics. This definition became the philosophical basis for understanding economics and

economic activities. The definition, known as *scarcity definition*, came from Lionel Robbins (1932). He defined economics as 'a relationship between ends and scarce means which have alternative uses'. His definition is based on the assumption that human wants are unlimited and the resources to satisfy them are limited and have alternative uses.

To understand economics in a scarcity sense is opposite to how a tribal person views his/her wants and resources. To a tribe person resources have much more meaning than a mere sense of physical entity and the basis of securing material means of existence. Primarily, resources are interwoven into whole aspects of tribal life and define the cultural identity. A tribe person nourishes few wants in a cultural perspective and exploits nature minimally for these few wants. To him/her, the resources are 'unlimited', bountiful, 'giving', 'ever nourishing', and are 'free gifts' of the Nature. Resources are not considered in terms of money value; nor used to maximise revenue or energy consumption as in conventional economic system. Many scholars, therefore, label tribal communities as *Affluent Society* (Sahalnis, 1972). Obviously, the economic life and underlying principles of tribes do not confirm to the underlying assumptions of the scarcity definition.

As you know, the society is not static; its material needs keep changing. Inventions and innovations make new consumable things available. Consequently, new issues crop up. Obviously, the nature and scope of economics, underlying principles and perspectives need adjustment to accommodate changes. Mention may be made of the definition Paul Samuelson (1948) that has introduced *time element* to Robbins definition, focused on distribution of whatever is produced and has considered '*men and society... with or without the use of money*'. In his definition there is a scope to consider barter economy, but within the frame of scare *productive resources which could have alternative uses*. The definition does not provide a clear cut outline of economic principles to include both barter and money economies within the scope of economic discipline. As you know, the underlying principles in both the economies are different on many grounds. His consideration of future consumption has implication of sustainability. But the tribal ways of resource use, without the assumption of 'scare resource' already provide a sustainable strategy. Obviously, extension of the scope of economics to include barter economy is not just what understanding of a tribal economy in contrast to conventional economy demands.

> Economics is the study of how men and society choose, with or without the use of money, to employ scarce productive resources which could have alternative uses, to produce various commodities over time, and distribute them for consumption now and in the future among various people and groups of society.
>
> *- Paul Samuelson, 1948.*

Beside the use of money, another underlying principle of conventional economics is rationality. This means a consumer must maximise his/her satisfaction from consuming a commodity in terms of money spent. The producer will act in order to maximise his/her profit. Maximisation is considered in money terms. In other words, rationality is based on *optimising principle* and in terms of money value. While optimising, subjective factors like impact of personal relations are kept neutral; non-paid services like nourishing of a mother to a child does not have a place in the frame of optimisation principle. But tribal rationality is not based on such criterion. A tribe person's rationality is not partial; it is a holistic perspective based on cultural norms.

By now you must have understood that all these definitions of economics emerged when the economic behaviour of the people and the State was governed by the price mechanism. This was the characteristic of economics after industrialisation. The demand and supply of goods and services determined the quantity to be produced. Under such a situation market played a significant role. But this situation does not exist in pre-industrial non-monetised societies to which we give the appellation of 'tribal societies'. In this context Herskovits (1952) merits mention. According him

> …in no conventional treatise on economic theory is primitive man depicted in a manner either in harmony with the facts of non-literate societies as known to anthropologists or in line with the anthropological theory concerning the nature of interaction between man, his environment and his traditions.

It is clear that the definitions of the economists do not provide an understanding of tribal economics which are non-monetised and mostly based on non-industrial mode of production. These people largely depend on their immediate natural environment. Normally, people consume what they produce or sometimes exchange from others. To put it in a simple way every society on the basis of its available resources evolves its economic system. So we can conclude that different societies have different economic systems, that is, the system of managing the process of production, consumption and distribution.

There are other ways, by looking at which you can understand the areas of difference between conventional and tribal economies. You already know that a tribal community displays holistic understanding of events and aspects of life. To a tribe person, an aspect of life does not exist independently. All aspects of life are integrated. You cannot study economic aspect of life in isolation, for it is instituted in the whole social process. In other words, all aspects of life are integrated and interconnected. You will find that the economic life is connected with faiths and beliefs of people. That is why, while selecting a plot for shifting cultivation or before hunting people perform rituals to appease presiding deities. Kinship relation plays an important role in labour organization, for there is not practice of wage labour in a tribal community. Mutual reciprocity within kinship relations determine labour exchange.

Let us take another example. Gift exchange during marriage is an important feature. This involves the exchange of material goods and hence falls within the purview of economics. But what goods are to be given, in what quantity and to whom are determined not by any market mechanism but by the cultural norms. As the gifts materialize a social bond and sometimes reinforces the kinship relations the practice of gift exchange is very much the subject matter of sociology. That is why an activity or phenomenon cannot be isolated from other activities or phenomena in such societies. These are interrelated and instituted in the social process. Needless to say, economic activities depend on social appropriation of labour. Therefore, in a tribal community economy reveals through interconnectedness as instituted in social process which is conspicuously absent in convention economic systems.

You also know that conventional economics took birth in the process of industrialisation. In this process factory production played the leading role. The place of production and the place of residence became separated as production was organized in a factory. Prior to it, production was organized at household level within the community frame for the subsistence needs of household members. In tribal community, production takes place at household and community space by members of the household and community. In the factory system, production was

organized in a large scale for the consumption of those who are even not distantly involved in the process of production. We consume, for example, mobile or computer. But most of us are not involved in the process of production of these items. In the factory system there was surplus production which required a mechanism to reach the ultimate consumers far away from the place of production. The consumer and the producer did not meet face to face. In between there were intermediaries. Further, barter exchange became irrelevant. The producer usually would not require all types of the goods which consumers might like to exchange. Again for the intermediaries it became difficult to gather various goods from the consumers to pay the producer. The goods which the consumers would like to exchange were of different types, quality and quantity; and so did not have a commonly accepted standard value. There was also the problem of transportation and storage. Hence, a common medium of exchange, i.e. money was used in the process of distribution and exchange of goods produced in a factory system. As a matter of fact, the economic activities evolved a system of production, consumption and distribution and exchange consequent upon the emergence of factory system of production which was different from the household system and which still continues in our time.

In household system the production was meant for self-consumption. This does not mean that there was no surplus production at all. There was in fact surplus production at household level. The household had to produce more during a year when a marriage ceremony was planned or a house was to be constructed. Besides, if there was surplus due to good crops, it was used not for accumulation but for earning prestige. In chieftain type societies, the chief's household had to produce more to feed others. The concern to meet present needs was considered more important than future. A social status was enhanced not by keeping wealth but by giving it away. The surplus items were used to organise feasts for the community members to raise one's social status. Even the surplus households, like a chief's family used to compete in organising feasts. In some Melanesian societies, for example, the pig feasts contain an element of competition. 'Big men' would try to enhance their status and prestige by the size of their feasts. A similar situation existed among many Native American groups. The chiefs attempted to enhance their prestige by organising feasts called *potlatches*. At a potlatch, a chief and his group would give away blankets, pieces of copper, canoes, and large quantities of food to the guests.

As the community was not producing surplus, there was no exchange beyond the community. But in some communities' exchange took place in prestige goods. Bronislaw Malinowski (1961/1922) mentions of a type of exchange among the communities known as Trobriand Islanders of the eastern coast of New Guinea. The items of exchange were *red shell necklace* and *white shell armbands*. The possessors of the former would travel to other islands in a clockwise direction, while the possessor of the later in anticlockwise direction. That is why the exchange tradition is called *kula ring*. With the trade in these items the members in the party also traded in food and other necessities. It is in fact the men who did possess the necklace and armbands would initiate the exchange expedition following the tradition. However, the movement of goods was limited within a defined territory, meaning long distance trade was not carried.

The sharing was a predominant mode of ensuring future security. A person with a good catch of fish would usually share it with his clan/community members instead of preserving the surplus against rainy days. If in the following day he did

not get any catch, he would not go hungry; for he knew that he would share the catch or edibles with some other member of his community.

3.3.5 Division of Labour

An individual cannot fulfil all his/her wants working alone hence the need for bonding relations arises. Such bonding relations among a group of individuals refer to cooperation. As you know people form groups and cooperate with one another to satisfy their wants, of which material wants are predominant. Material wants are also called economic needs. In other words, people work together to satisfy economic ends. People organise in different ways while working together. This type of organization in economic activities is called *Division of Labour*. You can understand division of labour using two concepts. The first one is popular in conventional economic systems and relates to *specialisation*. The second one relates to *Social Solidarity*; though it has social concerns, it clearly explains the nature of division of labour.

Division of Labour Through Specialization

In the conventional economic system, an output is produced at different stages. For example, the stages of production of bread can be procurement of materials including firewood, making the dough, preparing the oven, putting the dough in moulds and then into the oven for baking, slicing, wrapping the sliced bread and then eventually marketing the finished product. In industrial processes of large scale production a different worker or set of workers are engaged in different stages/processes of production. Hence, the division of labour is *process based*.

There is another way of labour engagement in the production process. The work at each stage in the production process carried out either by an individual worker or a group of workers is combined to produce bread. This type of labour organization is called a *product based* division of labour. In tribal communities specialisation of labour is product based, not process based as it is in the conventional economy.

Division of Labour Through Social Solidarity

Émile Durkheim has explained the nature of division of labour with reference to the analytical concept of social *solidarity*. You can understand the nature of division of labour in tribes with reference to his above concept. His primary concern, however, was sociological rather than economic. Nevertheless, it gives an idea of understanding of division of labour in the economic activities of tribes, for these organizations are part of social organizations and economy is instituted in social process.

Social solidarity is of two types: *Mechanical* and *Organic* and it was Durkheim who introduced the concepts of *Mechanical Solidarity* and *Organic Solidarity* in his book entitled *The Division of Labour in Society* (1893) to correlate society types with the degrees of social cohesion. He emphasised on ways in which individuals are connected to each other and how they identify with the groups and societies in which they live. Depending on the degree of cohesion and the level of integration, the division of labour would be simple or complex. In other words, by looking at division of labour one can identify whether the society is simple or complex. According to him, as the society moves from simple to a complex stage, corresponding social solidarity changes from *Mechanical Solidarity* to *Organic Solidarity*. He attributed

Mechanical Solidarity to simple societies like the tribes and Organic Solidarity to complex industrial societies like ours. Division of labour is in the nature of Mechanical Solidarity in simple societies and of organic nature in complex societies.

Let us take two analogies to understand the terms *Mechanical* and *Organic*. In a machine different constituting parts do not have independent functioning. All the parts combine and cooperate in a way that the machine functions as a unit.

On the other hand, let us consider our body. The functioning of the body is the sum total of distinct functioning of its constituents like hand, legs, eyes, ears etc. The hands have their own functions and the legs have theirs. When we consider the functioning of the body we take into account the distinct functioning of all its parts. But in a machine, constituent parts do not have distinct ways of functioning like legs or eyes; they cooperate in the functioning of the machine only. The internal energies generated by the parts become the energy of the machine as a unit. In body parts each constituent part's functioning is distinct and together they make the functioning of the body possible. Different parts are distinct but interdependent unlike in a machine.

In simple societies, social cohesion and integration comes from the homogeneity of individuals. For example, people of a tribe feel connected through customs, feelings of obligation to others, shared set of values and beliefs and so on. These are handed down from generation to generation and they exhibit homogeneity of character. In such societies solidarity is based on kinship ties of familial networks. All the above forces in a tribal community work together to generate 'Collective Conscience' and cause them to cooperate like parts of a machine. They carry on the same kinds of thoughts when working to attain economic ends. There is resemblance in the nature of their works and hence, their works also exhibit resemblance with the nature of cohesion and the division of labour corresponds to mechanical solidarity.

In complex societies population size is huge and people are spread over larger areas. They display different characteristics and heterogeneity. They seldom feel connected through customs, feelings of obligation to others, shared set of values and beliefs, and so enjoy greater individual freedoms. Nevertheless, they are linked to other people and consequently the society through dependency in order to fulfil their economic functions. People become specialized in one particular area. Since people are only able to do one particular thing, they depend much more on the rest of society to do other things. In organic solidarity some people would produce one kind of goods and the others different kinds. These are often reciprocally exchanged in conformity to laws and contracts.

Division of labour becomes complex and specialised. Social solidarity therefore is maintained through the interdependence of its component parts much like the interdependent but differentiated organs of a living body. Society relies less on customs, shared faiths, uniform rules on regulating the relations but more on formal contracts and laws. The division of labour corresponds to the complex nature of organic solidarity. Division of labour in terms of organic solidarity is conspicuously absent in tribal societies.

Specialisation and Solidarity Interface

According to Durkheim different members work independently but produce to meet the requirements of the whole community. This type of division of labour, according

to Durkheim, is *Organic Solidarity*. This is a division of labour that ensures social solidarity in an organic sense. Here division of labour and bonding among them lies in individual or group specialisation. One or a few workers produce one kind of goods and the others produce different kinds. These are reciprocally exchanged so that like constituent organs of an organism everyone is dependent on each other. In a community, for example, the blacksmith depends on potters and farmers, framers on potters and blacksmith, and potters on blacksmith and farmers. All three groups produce what the community requires and meet this requirement by reciprocal exchanges. The exchange takes place not in terms of formal contract or law, but in recognition to customary practices and norms, as binding in tribal communities as the formal law. This type of specialisation in noticed in caste based societies. As you know, tribe by definition is positioned in contrast to caste. In other words, division of labour in terms of organic solidarity could not be found in tribal communities.

However, this example of specialisation is not complex like the ones we see in industrial societies. You will notice from this example that division of labour is more or less product based. The potter for example, normally attends to all the states of work in pot making. Similarly, a farmer by himself or with the cooperation of others attends to all stages of work in agriculture. The specialisation is product based, but not mechanical as the potter does not do the work of blacksmith or the blacksmith of the farmer. The works of the three do not resemble one another.

In addition to the product based division of labour you can also see process based division of labour in terms of Organic Solidarity. We have already given the example of making bread. In view of this you can state with certainty that *process based* division of labour is not a characteristic of tribal economic organizations.

In tribal communities a person or a group of persons undertake works and attend all the stages of production without specialising in any work. Of course there is age and sex difference in their organization of labour. But the product does not come from reciprocal exchange of male and female specialisations. This means the works of both male and female are not combined to produce one commodity like the bread in our example. They together produce or independently produce the commodity if the production is governed by sex differences. This is called *Product Based* Division of Labour. Durkheim calls it *Mechanic Solidarity*. In the community everybody, individually or as a group, performs similar types of works, involving themselves in all the processes in the work like producing bread. In other words, product based division of labour is noticed in tribal communities. Obviously, social cohesion reflects through Mechanical Solidarity.

3.3.6 Tribal and Conventional Economics Interface

By conventional Economics we understand the economic system in industrial societies. In contrast, Tribal Economics refers to the economic system of pre-industrial societies. We will find disagreement between scholars as to the relation between the two. Some scholars believe that the two economic systems are essentially different, while others believe that in both of them, the governing principles are similar. The latter school believes the difference *in degree, not in kind*.

Difference in Degree

Some economic historians view tribal economics by applying conventional principles. They assume resource management to be common both in conventional

and tribal economics. Accordingly, economy is a system concerned with the way people manage mainly their resources, but not entirely material, whether in tribal or industrial societies. To cite an example, management of human resource in the process of production is an example of non-material resource. The management is also concerned with choices to be made between different uses of resources when these resources are scarce. Economics, therefore, studies the allocation of scarce resources having alternative uses in the process of production, consumption and distribution. Raymond Firth (1967) who studied Polynesian economy has called it,

> "…that broad sphere of human activity concerned with resources, their limitations and uses, and the organization, whereby they are brought in a rational way into relation with human wants."

This is what Leone Robbins (1948/1932) has emphasised in his scarcity definition of economics. The tribal people due to their subsistence needs use the resources in a minimal way and so they do not face scarcity. But, when they face it, by any chance, they migrate to another place. However, there are instances when the scope of migration is limited, people make the best use of their resources. The land management system of the Apatanis can be cited as an example for such a case. In recent years due to population rise and in the absence of earlier fear of feuds with other tribes, the Apatanis have also migrated to different places in the state. But the facet of the matter is that scarcity, as we understand, in an industrial system of production does not arise in pre-industrial tribal communities. We cannot study tribal economics in right perspectives by applying analytical frame of conventional economics.

Those who believe that much of the laws of economics are applicable to study all types of economics are called *formalists*. They hold that the differences between conventional and tribal economic systems are only in *degree*, but not in *kind*. The point of focus is that the biological and social wants are universal and hence the operational principles can be generalized. This stand is clearly explained in the words of Herskovits (1952) who writes,

> "The basic problem is universal: not only to have enough to eat to keep alive, but also to satisfy the demands of personal tastes, religious rules and a multitude of social obligations, all as important to life of the group as mere subsistence is to life of the organism."

In general, the formalists follow Robbins' (1948/1932) scarcity definition of economics which you have already studied. You have already learnt how the definition of Robbins is inadequate in explaining tribal economics in its totality.

Difference in Kind

Many economic historians and anthropologists are of opinion that the differences between two economic systems are in kind. These scholars and academics are called *Substantivists*. They believe that culture affects economic attitudes, and therefore also to the working of economic systems. They have advanced Substantivists approach to study tribal economics which differs from formalist approach.

The Substantivists approach to study tribal economics owes its origin to the writings of economic historian Karl Polanyi (1957). He and his disciple George Dalton (1967) argued that the differences between conventional and tribal economics are more fundamental. Their stand is also supported by Paul Bohannan, and Marshall Sahlins. Polanyi (1957) takes a position that economics is

"an institutionalized process of interaction between man and his environment, which results in a continuous supply of want satisfying material means."

Dalton considers this meaning of economics as a substantive one, because in substantive sense

" … economics refers to the provision of material goods which satisfy biological and social wants."

Biological and social wants are often culture specific. The Substantivist approach takes the position that economics is institutionalized in culture. Hence, they maintain that no general law can be applied across the cultures. The tribal economics therefore differs in kind.

If you analyse the assumptions behind substantive and formal economic systems, you will find two ways of looking at economics. Cook (1973) following Godelier (1972) distinguishes these two ways. In the first sense, economy is viewed as a field of specific activities and as such not related to other aspects of socio-cultural life. This is an understanding of economics in its formal sense. In other words, this is the nature of conventional economics.

In the second sense, economy is viewed as a field encompassing a specific aspect of human activities in totality. Economic aspect does not exist independent of social, political or religious aspects of life. All these aspects are integrated and interconnected. This is what embeddedness means. In other words, economy is instituted in social process. This nature of economics exits in substantive economy which is usually tribal economy.

By now you must have understood that what conventional economics says is not what the economic life and underlying principles in it mean to a tribal person. Before the birth of *Political Economy*, there was *Economy* different from economy as statecraft. Naturally, tribal economy is different from that of political economy. This difference is viewed by some as a matter of *kind*, while others see it as a matter in *degree*. But tribal economy displays characteristics which contrast with conventional economics.

In short, tribal economy

(i) Is not a political economy;

(ii) Does not give the notion of the political nation;

(iii) Considers both material and non-material wealth and welfare;

(iv) Does not deal with choices between unlimited wants and scarce means; and

(v) Division of labour is instituted in social process and hence not purely economic in nature.

N. K. Behura (1997) has summed up tribal economy in following terms:

"Economy of the tribe is the projection of its socio-cultural system. It demonstrates the level of technology a tribe possesses, and the manner in which the tribe has responded to the ecosystem in which it is placed. Family is the unit of production which is based on the exploitation of locally and easily available resources with a simple technology. Distribution of goods and services is regulated by considerations of right, obligation, reciprocity and mutuality. The state of tribal economy has been described to be at the level of subsistence or below it."

This ideal definition does not display the nature of many tribal economies in contemporary India. They are at different levels of integration with national economy,

though the ideals of tradition exist in different degrees among different tribes. Tribal economy is thus a system encompassing a range of practices in between substantive outlook and formal economic practices, but with an irreversible trend of moving towards conventional economics.

3.3.7 Underpinning Ideals

In modern economy activities like production and exchange are governed by formal contracts and laws. For example, a producer enters into contract with labourers according to labour laws of the country. Profit motive is a determining factor of production. But, in a tribal economy, labour appropriation in production is not governed by formal contracts and laws; rather cultural norms and social factors guide appropriation of labour. In other words, the ideals behind tribal economy do not corroborate to many ideals of conventional economy. As you know, profit in terms of money is not the ideal behind production activities in a tribal society. Similarly, production of marketable surplus is not a characteristic of such an economy.

We will discuss some ideals behind economic organizations of tribal economy. The ideals are attitude, perception and in general, the world view of tribal people. Ideals are culture specific and have ethical considerations. These ideals often appear as characteristics of a tribal economy. But both are different because ideals determine the activities and organizations for these activities. Characteristics, on the other hand, reflect structural and functional aspects of economic activities and organizations drawing on the ideals.

Ethically, the tribes believe in *sharing*. The sharing practices in economic activities and their organizations designate tribal economy as a sharing economy. The practices, necessarily, are based on the ideal of sharing. The practice of mutual reciprocation of labour in economic activities, for example, has sharing ideal at its back. A hunter while kills a big animal usually shares the game with other families. He does not preserve for future. Sharing is a type of insurance for future. Though there is technological reason, the primacy is the ideal of sharing. Had there been the tendency to accumulate, the people would have developed technology for preservation. The ideal of *non-accumulation* is behind production *for self-consumption* without marketable surplus. It is not a surprise that tribal economy is rightly characterised as a subsistence economy because of the ideal of non-accumulation.

The ideals are interlinked and so also characteristics of tribal economy. However, a few interconnected ideals are outlined as follows:

   (i) Sharing attitude;
  (ii) Subsistence tendency;
 (iii) Perception of economy in socio-cultural sense;
 (iv) Community sense and mutuality;
  (v) Sense of community of being, human being considered as a part of living and non-livings beings;
  (v) Non-futuristic attitude, concern for present issues; and
(vii) Restraints in resource use within socio-cultural norms.

3.3.8 Characteristics of Tribal Economy

In the earlier sections you have learnt about the differences between conventional and tribal economic systems. You have also studied definitions forwarded by different

scholars. So you are aware of the characteristics of a tribal economy to some extent. The differences and the characteristics discussed above are ideal ones. In reality, contemporary tribal societies do not exist in the ideal stages. We will discuss some of the characteristics of tribal economies in India so that you can have better insight into economic organizations of tribes.

The tribal communities of India display several stages of economic development. As we have discussed, there are food gathering, hunting and fishing, farming, pastoralist etc. communities among the Indian tribes. Their economic activities depend on the ecological settings they inhabit and thus are diverse. Nevertheless, the economic pursuits of different tribes in different ecological setting display some common characteristics. Some important ones are as follows:

1. Simple Organization of Labour and Technology

The production process in tribal communities is based on the use of simple tools and implements. In hunting-gathering economies bows, arrows, traps, etc. are the main hunting implements. Fishing techniques are also not sophisticated. They use handmade traps of different varieties and divert river channels manually by piling up stones from whose cavities they catch the fish. Some communities use drag nets and herbal poisons to intoxicate the fish. For collection of bamboo, cane, poles etc. for house construction the tribal people use axes, *daos*, knives, etc. The shifting cultivators use dibbling stick, spade, axe, baskets and some locally produced iron implements like crow-bar, *khurpi*, etc. In transportation they generally use human energy. In addition to these implements the plains agriculturists use plough and bullock for cultivation and also use animal energy in transportation.

The division of labour is based on sex and age. It is a product based division of labour, i.e., the total process of production of a good is not divided into different stages with specialised labour in each stage.

2. Mixed Economic Activities

The tribes do not pursue any single activity for their sustenance. The plains agricultural community also combines gathering and hunting with agriculture to supplement food requirements and thus, the tribes depend on a number of sources for livelihood.

3. Economic Backwardness

The tribal economy is synonymous with the backward economy. It is difficult to quantify their activities in monetary terms. Even if we quantify their income we will find that their per capita income is very low. Even today, the lowest per capita income is attributed to the tribal people. The production process is carried on using simple tools and implements. The economy operates around the primary sector activities. The consumption is conspicuous in nature and the choice between goods and services is limited. There is no capital formation and the market forces do not determine resource allocation.

4. Barter and Non-Monetised Economy

The traditional tribal economy is designated largely as a barter economy, wherein goods are exchanged for goods. Money as a medium of exchange, store or measurement of value has little or no role to play in a traditional tribal economy.

NOTES

Check Your Progress

3. Who said the following lines?

(a) A self-regulating market system automatically satisfies the economic needs of the populace.

(b) Economics is 'a study of man in the ordinary business of life. It enquires how he gets his income and how he uses it.'

(c) Tribal communities are Affluent Society.

(d) Specialisation is an aspect of division of labour.

(e) Division of labour is in the nature of organic solidarity in tribal societies.

(f) The sharing ethics is insurance for future uncertainty.

(g) *Red shell necklace* moves in a clock-wise direction in *kula* exchange.

(h) Formalists believe that conventional and tribal economics differ in degree.

The notion of property is closely related to the display and spending of wealth rather than accumulation. In recent years the situation is changing and the barter economy is giving place to a market economy.

5. Subsistence Economy

The tribal economy by definition is a subsistence economy. The production and consumption level is of bare minimum type. This means production is meant for self-consumption. However, one should not think that there is no surplus in tribal economy. There is surplus at individual level. When a family thinks of constructing a house or organising a marriage ceremony it produces surplus by engaging community labour which it reciprocates later. However, there is no marketable surplus with a commercial motive.

As the economy operates at the subsistence level, the production is organised on a small scale.

6. Marketless Economy

The tribal communities are exposed to weekly markets; they sell and exchange their goods in the market places. But the tribal economy does not exhibit the trends of a market economy. Their social, economic, political and religious needs are satisfied within their system itself. These needs are embedded in their culture and it is this culture that influences their economic activities. As the economic affairs of a tribe are not determined by the general market forces, hence, the economy is called a *marketless economy*.

7. The Economy of Mutual And Reciprocal Cooperation

The economic activities are carried on the basis of mutual cooperation. Lineage, clan or community based labour is appropriated when family labour supply falls short of demand. The labour engaged is usually not paid any wage; rather the employment of labour is reciprocated in some future date. Thus, the appropriation of community labour is mutually reciprocated. In addition to this, hunting, fishing, food gathering, and all such activities need cooperation because of the nature of the work.

8. Less Diversified Economy

The tribal people depend on several activities for their livelihood. As has been said, no single pursuit meets up their material means of existence. For example, hunting is supplemented by fishing and gathering; the shifting cultivators depend on fishing, gathering and hunting to supplement their food requirements. But all these pursuits are based on land, forest and water resources. Even manufacturing of utilitarian objects like baskets and wood crafts depend on forest resources. Though some tribes manufacture iron and other metal products, they quarry the minerals primarily from the surface of the soil. In other words, the activities are related to the primary sector activities. There is no entrepreneur class in a tribal economy; and the secondary and tertiary sector activities virtually do not exist.

9. Domestic Mode of Production

The production is organised for the consumption of family members by employing the family labour itself. Each and every family normally produces what they require using their material means of existence. Any shortage is fulfilled through

exchange within the lineage, clan or village community. Inter village exchange takes place within a known circle or kin group. There is *face to face relation* between the exchanging parties. Since production takes place in the household and within the village, there is no difference between the place of residence and the place of manufacturing as in the case of the factory system of production.

10. Sustainable Resource Use

The subsistence nature of economy is characterised by small scale of production and thus minimisation of needs. As a result, the resources were not used to a critical limit posing a threat to natural regeneration. In addition to small scale of production, the resources were not put to diversified uses. For example, the forest resources were not used for making furniture in traditional community. Besides, the resources were not either used or used in a very limited scale to meet the demand beyond the community which owned the resources. As a result, the resources were sustainable.

11. Embedded Economy

The tribal economy is embedded in nature. The economic activities cannot be isolated from other activities, say social or religious. The forests are not cleared for shifting cultivation before the performance of a ritual. Rituals are performed for good harvest and good catches during hunting. Many tribal people observe taboos after the hunting of big animals. The division of labour is based on social criteria like sex and age. As a matter of fact, the economy is institutionalised in the culture.

12. Sharing Economy

Tribal economy is not an accumulated economy. Sharing plays a major role in such an economy. Whenever one hunts a big animal he distributes it among the fellow villagers keeping his own share. In a tribal economy, sharing is a type of insurance for the future as a family is not sure of getting an animal every day from hunting. Moreover, the animal one hunts cannot be preserved or consumed by the family if it is big. So, if one shares today, he holds a claim tomorrow over the meat of the animal hunted by other. By sharing his product, a tribal insures his future that is vulnerable to uncertainty.

Besides the above characteristics, the tribal economy is marked by the absence of profit motive as it is normally designated as the self-sufficient economy. This is because the material means of existence are mostly produced within the system. As far as ownership of resources is concerned it is community based and the individual rights operate within the community frame as per customary prescriptions. When a family migrates from the village, he ceases the right to use the resources. Normally, the individual rights are 'use rights' (*usufructuary* rights).

It is a known fact that tribes in India have been a part and parcel in the process of nation building since Independence as they are integrated in the policies and programmes of development. Obviously, the economy displays characteristics different from the tribal economy in an ideal stage. Majumdar and Madan (1970) have identified nine different traits of tribal economy in India which emerged within two decades of its development planning. The features of integration are visible but fluid. These traits are also found in contemporary tribal economy. Taking the cue from Majumdar and Madan we can outline the following features of tribal economy:

1. There is an absence of technological aids in the tribal economy resulting inefficient, inadequate and even wasteful exploitation of nature. Consequently, the bare minimum necessity for sustenance is raised with great difficulty. An economic surplus is rare in their community.

2. The economic relations among the tribes themselves are mostly based on barter and exchange. Money as a store and measure of value, and medium of exchange is not used widely. Institutions like banking and credit are used only in dealing with non-tribal groups which depends upon the nature and frequency of contracts with them. The use of money is also linked with development projects and schemes. Money as a medium of exchange among tribes is found in urban areas and to some degrees in rural areas. Barter is still predominant and exchange of traditional items is still prevalent.

3. The profit motive in economic dealings is generally absent. The role of an incentive is fulfilled by a sense of mutual obligation, sharing and solidarity.

4. Co-operative and collective endeavour is a strongly developed feature in tribal economy.

5. The rate of innovation, internal and induced, is very low and consequently the economy is relatively static.

6. The regular market as an institution along with its conditions of market like perfect competition and monopoly is absent. What comes nearest to is the weekly market of festival or seasonal meets. In urban centres market for tribal items, including vegetables are coming up. Production, consumption and distribution have opened up to market linkage to some extents.

7. The manufacture of consumer rather than capital goods is common. In fact, production of goods for subsistence is still the practice in tribal villages.

8. Specialization based on specially acquired specific technical abilities is very low. In some areas weaving, iron works, etc. are being specialised for market. However, division of labour, based on factors other than specialization like sex, age, is widely present.

9. The notion of property is closely related to display and expenditure of wealth rather than to its accumulation. Property includes both movable goods like cattle, ornaments, utensils, etc. and immovable goods such as land. Notion of inheritance of property is traditional though in some areas new norms like a girl inheriting landed property is coming up. Both types of ownership, collective and individual, are known.

3.4 DOMAIN OF ORGANIZATION OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

There are three economic activities fundamental to all types of economic systems. These are production, consumption and distribution & exchange. However, the nature of these activities varies between industrial and pre-industrial communities. Here we shall focus on the basic economic activities in pre-industrial, precisely the tribal communities.

3.4.1 Production

The process of production, whatever form it takes, is the beginning of the economic activities of a community. In hunting-gathering and fishing communities, human beings exploit nature for satisfaction of material needs without transforming it. But in agricultural communities, material necessities are produced by transforming nature. Maurice Godelier (1972) defines it as the "totality of operations which supplies a society with material means of existence". In a tribal economy, production refers to utilisation of natural resources for livelihood sustenance with a well-defined organization of technology and labour. These resources are not available uniformly everywhere. Some areas have one type of resources in abundance than the others. . Naturally, the available resources engage people in a type of production different from other areas with different resource base. In short, production primarily depends on the natural environment and is specific to that environment particularly for subsistence people. To cite an example, the natural environment of Assam is suitable for tea plantation while that of Kashmir for apple cultivation. In this section we shall outline the ownership of resources, organization of technology and labour in production process.

In tribal societies, resources are community owned and individuals exercise *usufructuary* rights over them. Hence, individual ownership exists only in the community frame of ownership, where the community is either a lineage or a clan or a village or tribe. However, private ownership exists in cases of personal belongings such as in the case of tools and ornaments etc. The production takes place in a private (family) sphere. In pastoralist economies, pastures and water sources are owned by the community in the customary frame, but the animals are owned individually. Private individual ownership is usually associated with intensive agriculture. But this may not be always the case. Till the 1970s the Khamptis and the Apatanis, who traditionally practice intensive agriculture in Arunachal Pradesh, enjoyed individual rights within customary frame.

People in every society have a technology which consists of the cultural knowledge and the information that people possess about manufacture and use of tools. It also includes the practice of extraction and refinements of raw materials. Precisely, in tribal communities the technology is simple and includes handmade tools and implements, constructions (such as animal traps) and required skills (such as how and where to fix the animal traps). It helps carrying out small scale economic activities for subsistence, whether it is in agriculture, hunting, or fishing. Practically, technological knowledge consists of the technique of weaving, making looms, construction of traditional houses, basketry, wood carving, iron smithy, etc. It extends to the practice of agriculture and use of forest resources. You have learnt the nature of technology in tribal economy in section 3.3.8.

The division of labour is based on age and sex. Some activities like hunting are exclusively meant for male members while weaving for female. Similarly, the old and children are not given hard works. The division of labour as we have discussed is *product based*. There is no specialisation in different stages associated with the process of production of a commodity. An individual does not have any specialisation; an expert hunter also takes part in constructing a house or in agricultural activities. An iron smithy does not carry on the iron works exclusively for his/his family's livelihood; he also makes basket and involves in agriculture and forest activities. A tribal woman weaves cloth, cooks for the family members,

collect vegetables and firewood, goes out fishing and works in the agricultural field. Each one, whether a male or female, is engaged in a number of assignments, which together fulfil the material needs of the family members in general.

In forest hunting type, hill cultivation type and even in some plains cultivation type communities there is little formal organization of labour. The labour group is organised when there is a need at the time of production. The *patang*, a labour corps of the Apatanis, is active mainly during house construction, collection of house building materials from frosts, transplantation and harvesting. During other parts of the year it stands dissolved. The number of members in the *patang* may vary from season to season and new members may join in it. Obviously, the labour organization has changing composition and leadership; the membership is voluntary and depends on individual's willingness.

3.4.2 Consumption

The unit of production and unit of consumption in tribal communities are normally homologous. For example, the family is generally the unit of production; and it is the family which is largely a unit of consumption. Occasionally, it differs when surplus goods are bartered against some goods which a family does not produce but require fulfilling material needs. A widower may not produce cloth, but he gets it from others for his use through barter exchange or otherwise. The position we take here is that the consumption is direct when the units of production and units of consumption are homologous. But it could be also indirect when the units differ and consumption takes place through barter exchange.

In fact, consumption refers to the utilisation of goods and services to satisfy both material and non-material needs of the individual and the group. At individual level one consumes material goods like food, clothes, shelter; and non-material goods like the service of a priest who performs rituals as curative measure when he/she falls sick. Traditional tribal communities were prone to epidemics. These were thought to be caused by supernatural beings and hence supernatural curative practices like rituals at village/community level were organised.

The tribal people are not individualistic, for they are community people. Community commitment, for them, has greater significance than individual concern. As you know, the smallest unit of production is family, and this family is also the unit of consumption. The surplus if any in the family is shared by community members on different occasions. Obviously, the consumption has a community dimension.

The consumption has both sacred and secular dimensions also. The services of the priest rendered through the performance of rituals to cure a sick person has sacred dimension. It relates to the faiths and beliefs of the people. The Apatnais do not share sacrificial pig blood even with their married daughters as after marriage daughters belong to the other clans. Obviously, the consumption of pig blood by clan members has sacred dimension. But all types of consumption are not sacred. Normal dietary intake, daily use of clothes and so on have secular or profane dimension as they do not relate to the faiths and beliefs of the people and no restrictions are imposed in the process of consumption. Wearing a particular type of dress during a ritual has a sacred consideration. The priests use specific dresses for performing specific rituals as is considered sacred. On normal occasions his dressing pattern does not have any sacredness attached to it.

As discussed, consumption has a social dimension. The male and female dresses are different in all the tribal communities. The dressing pattern of the chiefs and the commoners are different in chiefdoms. In Buddhist tribes, the monks wear maroon or yellow dresses. In some Tani group of tribes a competition is held to ascertain the social status by sacrificing *mithun* (*bos frontalis*). One who kills more *mithuns* is considered to have the highest social status. It is not accumulation but consumption that determines the status of an individual in the society.

3.4.3 Distribution and Exchange

Distribution refers to sharing of the output of production by those who have helped in its production. In a tribal community distribution is simple and mostly guided by cultural norms. When a productive activity like hunting is undertaken on cooperative basis, output so produced is divided according to cultural norms among the number of families or working hands participated in it. Even the meat of the hunted animals is distributed among the old persons, priests, widows, etc. who did not participate in the hunting. The distribution of goods and services in traditional tribal communities is one of the three main types of reciprocity: *generalised*, *balanced* and *negative*. These are exchanges without the use of money. However, there is market exchange where money plays an important role of distribution. But we will discuss the exchange without the use of money. Exchanges are made with the expectation of a return or without any apparent return. When goods and services are given to others without the apparent expectation of a return we call it generalised reciprocity. The parents give their children food, clothes, etc. for which they do not expect any return. The chiefs often organise feast for the commoners without any expectation of returns. The dormitory boys render their services at the time of agriculture. They get food and drinks, but not in lieu of their labour. These are examples of generalised reciprocity. In *balanced reciprocity* the equal amount or value of the goods or services rendered is expected to be returned. The return may take place immediately or in a future period. The so-called bride price given to the bride's parents is reciprocated equally with the gifts of beads and other ornaments by the bride's family in many tribes in Arunachal Pradesh. This is an example of balanced reciprocity. If the return is not equal or of equivalent value it is called a negative reciprocity. This happens when the tribal people are cheated by the traders in a market situation.

Further, there is the system of redistribution especially in communities with a centralised authority. The people pay rent, tributes, etc. to the chief which he redistributes among the people as gifts, rewards, etc. In fact every society has the incidence of redistribution at least within the family. The members of the family pool the products of their labour together, may be under the custodian of the family head, which they use later for common good. But our point of focus on redistribution as a means of exchange is beyond the level of family.

There are two classic examples of distribution and exchange: *potlatch* and *kula*.

Potlatch: The word *potlatch* comes from Chinook jargon which simply means *giving* in the sense of giving a gift. This is a practice among the tribes in Northwest Pacific coast including the Kwakiutl. In their territory there is abundance of resources, though variable across regions and seasons. For example, the salmon fishing may be good in one area while poor in another. Such variations can be seasonal, but they can be also for a long period. Traditionally, each area was owned by a kin group with its chief as the designated owner of the kin group's resources. When one kin

group had more food than the neighbouring kin groups, it would hold a potlatch. The chief would collect food and other goods from members of his kin group and then distribute these to neighbouring groups. This is also a case of redistribution.

In the following years when any of the neighbouring kin groups had enough goods they would hold a potlatch. This always adds to the prestige of the chief who holds potlatch. The process went on till the end of the 19th century when instead of giving, the chiefs decided to destroy the wealth.

In some communities the destruction practice led to the rivalry potlatch. Rivalry potlatch took place because of the competition between two men for a specific social status. A chief would destroy great quantities of valuables, break coppers, smash canoes and slay slaves in order to humiliate his rival. However, in recent years this practice exists only in social occasions like the marriage ceremonies.

Kula: The *Kula* was first described in Malinowski's *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* as the system of exchange between the Trobriand Islanders and neighbouring seafaring peoples. The system of exchange has three spheres, *kula, wasi* and *gimwali*. Of these spheres *kula* is the most prestigious one which is practised by chiefs and other powerful men to gain status.

Kula is the exchange of valuable white armshells for equally valuable red necklaces. The possession of one or more of these items requires a man to organise an expedition to the house of his trading partners on another island. Trobrianders and neighbouring islanders exchange these valuables in a never-ending circle called the *kula ring*. It takes the shape of the ring because necklaces move in a clockwise direction and armshells in an anti-clock wise direction from one island to the other. The trading partners know the history of each item which is discussed during exchange. In a formal sense, the *kula* comprises ceremonial exchange of non-utilitarian goods. Trobrianders only exchange items in the *kula* sphere, armshells and necklaces, at the time of *kula*. They cannot exchange these for yams or fish or anything else which have their own spheres such as *wasi* and *gimwali*. *Wasi* is the exchange of fish from lagoon villages for yams from inland villages. It is based on standing partnerships and obligations to give and receive, but of utilitarian goods. On the other hand, *gimwali* is a barter exchange carried out between villages at the time of *kula*. It comprises non-ceremonial exchange of utilitarian goods except fish and yams which come under *wasi* sphere.

3.5 COMMUNITY AND OCCUPATION BASED ECONOMIC ORGANIZATIONS

You have already studied that 'tribal economy' is a general notion for all types of economies or economic systems existing in tribal communities. In other words, economy is tribe specific. To put it differently, a tribe is designated, for example, as a pastoralist tribe or hunting and gathering tribe depending on predominant activities its members pursue for survival needs. Accordingly, a tribe is a pastoralist tribe if its members engage in cattle herding for sustenance. In this sense the type of major economic activity of a tribe is synonym of economic organization of that tribe. Needless to say, economic organization can be tribe specific.

As you know tribes do not exist in ideal stage. Almost all tribes have exposures to various forces, particularly development forces of the nation. Obviously, the tribes are in transition and members of a tribe do not depend on one type of economic

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Check Your Progress

Answer the following in brief:

4. Why are tribal economic organizations informal?

5. Why is the welfare definition of Marshall not applicable to tribal economic system?

6. What is rationality in conventional economics?

7. What is the difference between factory and household system of production?

8. Who are formalists?

9. What do you mean by technology is a tribal community?

10. What is a barter economy?

11. What is consumption?

12. What do you mean by production in a tribal society?

13. What do you mean by sacred dimension of consumption?

activity for survival needs. In addition to traditional practices members of a tribal community are found working in government and private sectors.

Within tribe, there is no economic organization for these members. There are also no inter-tribe economic organizations of persons engaged in similar type of works outside. But, their engagement in various occupations marks a change in the division of labour in the family and community. However, these workers fall in the domain of greater economic organizations of the nation. Despite the fact that emerging occupational groups in a tribe do not have tribe based organization, still we have discussed the emerging occupation categories among the tribes. As the tribe is in transition and in the process of integration with national economy, so also are tribal economic organizations. We can argue that members of tribes are organised around both traditional economic pursuits and non-traditional occupations.

3.5.1 Elements of Economic Organizations

You will find some elements common to all types of economy. A discussion of these elements will be useful to understand an economic organization better. In fact differences in the characteristics of these elements distinguish among economic organizations. These elements are production, consumption, distribution and exchange, ownership, inheritance rules, technology and division of labour.

We will discuss production, consumption, distribution and exchange as a separate section. Similarly, we will attempt a general discussion of other elements. In community based economic organizations we will advance a general type of discussion on the nature of economic activities with occasional reference to elements of economic organizations.

There are several ways in which tribal people secure their livelihoods. The ways presently can be broadly of two types: traditional and non-traditional. The traditional type includes the age old practices of securing material means of existence. On the other hand the non-traditional one is the emerging trend consequent upon their encounter with external forces including development interventions. However, the economic activities of the tribes cannot be put into this or that type; there are always mixed activities. In fact they have more choices available to them. Of course one of the activities may be the main pursuit of the group and this characterizes their typology. Even within the tribe different sub-groups may specialise in different occupations. For example, the different sub-groups of the Mahali are found practising different occupations. The *Bansphod* Mahali has basket making as its main occupation; the Patar/Ghasi Mahali practise both basket making and cultivation; the Solanki Mahali are cultivators and labourers ; and the Tanti Mahali are palanquin bearers.

N. K. Behura (1997) following Nash's (1966) classification of economic system has mentioned of five typologies which would explain the social categories of the tribes on the basis of economic activities. These are: (i) hunting-gathering type, (ii) pastoral type, (iii) simple artisan type, (iv) shifting or jhum cultivation type, and (v) settled agriculture type.

Though these types happen to be the core of economic activities pursued by the tribes, there are certain variations and additions in the case of Indian tribes. There are regional classification of economic activities and also inclusion of emerging trend mainly due to development interventions. For example, Vidyarthi (1963) has proposed a threefold classification of economic activities for the south Indian

tribes, namely (i) hunters and food gatherers, (ii) plough cultivators, (iii) tribes engaged in business centres, mines, factories, etc. He has also classified the tribes of Odisha into (a) hunting and food gatherers, (b) forest or shifting cultivators, and (c) settled agriculturists on the basis of their economic pursuits. Majumdar and Madan (1970) have provided a six fold classification of economic activities pursued by tribes of India which includes (i) food gathering, (ii) agriculture, (iii) shifting axe cultivation (iv) handicraft, (v) pastoralism, and (vi) industrial labour. But Vidyarthi's classification (Vidyarthi and Rai,1985) is more comprehensive, includes a wide range of activities and presents a grading from hunting and food gathering to the industrial phase. His typology includes (i) forest hunting type, (ii) the hill cultivator type, (iii) the plain agricultural type, (iv) the simple artisan including the forlk-artist type, (v) the pastoral and cattle herder type, (vi) the agricultural and non-agricultural labour type (traditionally they belong to the tribes of plain agricultural and simple artisan categories), (vii) the skilled and white-collar-job type working in offices, hospitals, factories, etc.

3.5.2 Community Based Economic Organizations

The community and its economic organization are coterminous. In other words, the tribal community is characterised on the basis of predominant economic activities which its members pursue. As such the tribal community is classified on the basis of its predominant economic activities. Accordingly, you will find the following community/tribe-based traditional economic organizations in India.

The Forest Hunting Type

This group of tribes live in and around the forests and largely depend on forests for their livelihood. They are mostly hunter gatherers and regularly resort to collection, gathering and hunting in the forests near and far. These forest hunting type tribes use forest and water resources which vary according to season, cycle and area. Their main activities are (a) food gathering, (b) hunting, and (c) fishing. The individual as well as community life of these tribes is organized to secure livelihoods by hunting, fishing, collecting roots, tubers, fruits, nuts, leaves, fibres, bamboo, cane, honey, wax, etc. Usually they collect leaves, roots, fruits and honey as survival strategy, and other raw materials for clothes and for exchange. The Birhors, for example, collect raw materials to make ropes which they sell in the market. Similarly, as Elwin (1948) informs us, the Juang's of Odisha used to collect leaves traditionally for their dress purpose.

The tribes belonging to forest hunting type are distributed all over India in different States. We have Rajis in Uttarakhand; the Birhors in Bihar, Jharkhand and Odisha; the Hill-Khariyas, the Parahiyas, the Birjias and the Korwas in Bihar and Jharkhand; the Juangs and the Bondas in Odisha; the Hill Maria Gonds in Madhya Pradesh and Chhatishgrah; the Chenchus and Yanadis in Andhra Pradesh; the Kadars and Mala-Pantarams, the Arandans and Kurumbas in Kerala; the Paliyans in Tamil Nadu and the Onges, Jarawas, Sentinalese, Shompen and Nicobarese in Andaman and Nicobar Islands who fall in this group.

It is to be mentioned that most of these tribes are not to be found in their ideal state in recent years. Many of them have taken to agriculture, wage labour and other occupations consequent upon development interventions. Nevertheless, they are still hunter-gatherers at heart and perceive their identity as such.

Check Your Progress

14. State whether the following statements are true or false:

(a) Consumption is the starting point of all economic activities.

(b) Paul A. Samuelson's definition of Economics is known as scarcity definition.

(c) Face to face interaction between buyers and sellers is a characteristic of market economy.

(d) In balanced reciprocity the value of the goods and services rendered is not expected to return soon.

(e) Division of labour in tribal economy is process based.

Even in ideal state there are examples when the hunter gather communities had relation with neighbouring communities. The Sulung of Arunachal Pradesh presents a singular case in the state where they were subordinate to their neighbouring tribes like the Miji and the Nyish who had superior technology to secure their livelihoods. The Nyishs and the Mijis were hill cultivators whereas the Sulungs were hunter-gatherers. They had entered into an informal agreement of labour appropriation which is called 'slavery' in earlier writings. The Sulungs worked for the Nyishis and the Mijis in their agricultural fields, carried their loads and made iron implements which they did not use. The appropriation of Sulungs' labour continued through a social arrangement. The Nyishis and the Mijis used to look after their material needs during marriage and other occasions and to repay these obligations the Sulungs worked for them. This patronage to meet the material needs became a mechanism to perpetuate the system of labour appropriation. Once the Sulungs entered into such obligations it renewed with every marriage, sickness, etc. which are recurring events in a family. The arrangement is more like a bonded labour system than that of slavery. In spite of their exposure to better technology through their interaction with the neighbouring Nyishi and Miji tribes they remained primarily hunter-gatherers for their livelihood.

Behera (2009) informs us that the Sulungs used to practise traditionally both organized group hunting and individual hunting. Individual hunting is more frequent and common then the group hunting. In group hunting all the villagers take part and get equal share of the game. The actual hunter of the animal however, gets a larger share such as fore leg, a hind leg and a portion of meat from the chest, in addition to his normal share with others. The hunter must give meat to his 'master' (the head of the family in either Nyishi or Miji community for whom he has bonded his labour), otherwise the master would beat him or inflict any torture upon him and might even forcibly take away the share of his meat. There is another type of sharing of games. Every Sulung village has its own hunting territory divided among its individual households. The hunting territory of individual household is known as *Houng*. When a wounded animal dies in another's *Houng* then a share of the game has to be given to the owner of the land. But usually among the hunter-gatherer people common rather than community ownership of hunting and gathering territory is the rule.

There is a distinct, but not rigid, division of labour even in forest hunting type tribes. It is found in Birhor tribe that the women are responsible for childcare, food preparation and gathering. The women usually collect roots, jungle fruits and leaves for vegetables. However, both male and female collect firewood. The menfolk engage themselves in hunting, rope-making and house construction. The Birhor men play important role in hunting, chiefly of monkeys and in collection of honey. A part of the meat is distributed among the members of the group as per customs. Thus, men have a greater involvement in production and distribution outside the family; while home remains essentially the sphere of women's production and distribution (feeding of family members) works. In the field of exchange, the women have a role. The sale or barter of rope in the neighbouring non-Birhor villages, for example, is entirely carried on by women.

The tools and implements used by hunter-gatherer people are simple. Except iron products like axe, knife, arrow-head, they make other implements like digging sticks, rope or bamboo traps from raw materials available in the surroundings. They also make pit traps to catch big animals.

These people use dogs during hunting. For fishing they have a variety of traps made of rope, yarn and bamboo. Diversion of the river, use of herbal poison, etc. are some of the techniques of fishing. Fishing is also done by hand. In fishing both male and female take part.

The Hill Cultivation Type

The hill cultivation type tribes are those who practise shifting and terrace cultivation. The practice of hill cultivation among the tribes is widespread in our country. The Tenth Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, 1960-61 mentions that 26 lakhs of tribal population belonging to 109 different tribal communities of the country practise shifting cultivation. It is estimated that 618 thousand hectare land was under shifting cultivation during 1960-61 and 1326 hectares thousand in 1974-75. Presently, it is practised on a large scale in the states and union territories of Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh, Odisha, Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, Mizoram, Manipur and Tripura and to a smaller extent in States of Gujrat, Kerala, Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Uttar Pradesh, Uttarakhand and West Bengal.

In various regions of India, shifting (swidden) cultivation is known by different terms. In Assam, Meghalaya, Nagaland, Mizoram, Manipur and Arunachal Pradesh, Swidden cultivation is widely known as *Jhum*, though each tribe has its own term for it. The Adis of Arunachal Pradesh call it *Adi-arik*, whereas among the Rang of Tripura, it is known as *Hooknismong*. In some parts of Nagaland, it is known as *Teknaglue*. In Madhya Pradesh among the Baiga, it is known as *Bewar* whereas among the Abhujmaria Gonds of Bastar it is known as *Penda* and among the Korku of Melghat forest it is known as *Dahya*. In Tamilnadu, South Kanara of Karnatak, it is called *Kumari;* among the Sologa of Karnatak and in Andhra Pradesh and the Kondah, the Koya and other Dravidian speaking tribes in Odisha it is known as *Podu*; the Soura call it *Buguda*. It is known as *Angwal* among the Lanjia Soura. Some divisions of the Kondha of Odisha call it *Rama* and the Kutia Kandha of Phulbani name it *Berenga*. In northern Odisha, among the hill Bhuyans, it is known as *Komanchas*.

Definition and Characteristics: Shifting cultivation is a land use practice in the hills. There are different definitions. Pelzer in 1958 defined it,

> …as an agricultural system which is characterised by a rotation of fields rather than of crops, by short period of cropping (one to three years) alternating with long fallow periods (upto twenty and more years, but often as short as six to eight years) and by clearing by means of slash and burn.

Conklin in 1957 had given a similar definition, but in 1961 simplified it as

> …any agricultural system in which fields are cleared by firing and are cropped discontinuously.

Generally, the shifting cultivation has some distinct features. These are community ownership of land, community-basis of appropriation of labour on mutual reciprocity, production for subsistence needs, rotation of fields, multiple cropping, sex-based division of labour and fallow period. Sachchidananda (1989) provides a detailed account of the features of shifting cultivation; some important ones are as follows:

1. Shifting cultivation practised chiefly in simple cultures or where the size of population is small; but it is practised by almost anyone for whom there is no alternative;

2. The practice uses human labour and normally few hand tools like dibbling stick, axe, dao, etc.;

3. Labour organization is reciprocal, though involves variation in working group structure (may be of only female population or of male population of different age groups);

4. It involves clearing of forests by felling, cutting, slashing and burning and using fire to dispose of dried debris;

5. Under this system the cropping fields shift after a certain period of cultivation which may be of one year also;

6. Multiple cropping pattern is followed;

7. The crops are short-term and long-term varieties;

8. Primarily, crops are produced for subsistence needs though sale of part or the whole product is not altogether absent;

9. In this practice traditional techniques like vegetative cover, leaving stumps of big trees, preparation of hedges with half burnt debris on deep slopes are followed to prevent soil erosion;

10. It is operative chiefly in regions where more technologically advanced systems of agriculture have not become economically or culturally possible;

11. It is also operative in regions where land has not been appropriated by people with greater political or cultural control; and

12. This practice is destructive of natural resources when operated inefficiently and to meet market demands where it is possible.

Stages of Shifting Cultivation

The shifting cultivation is not a mere economic pursuit; it is a practice institutionalised in culture. So the different stages include both economic activities and ritualistic performances. Right from the selection of forest land to storage of grains there are certain distinguishing stages of activities. The stages vary from region to region and tribe to tribe. However, some common stages are as follows:

(i) Selection of site and ritual performance for its suitability (in some tribes the suitability is ascertained by dreams);

(ii) Clearance of forest for cultivation, drying of felled trees and burning;

(iii) Rituals for good harvest (in some tribes);

(iv) Demarcation of plot for various crops and construction of a field house;

(v) Sowing/broadcasting the seeds;

(vi) Weeding – for two to three times;

(vii) Watching for the protection of crops;

(viii) Rituals (by some tribes);

(ix) Harvesting;

(x) Transportation and storing in granaries which are constructed away from the dwelling houses (some performs rituals in granaries); and

(xi) Fallowing (after one or two years' cultivation).

Traditionally the fallow period used to vary from 12 to 20 years and even more, but in recent years the recuperative period has been minimised to three to four years due to population growth. Moreover, large plots are cultivated as products are now linked to the market. People produce not only for subsistence needs but also for the market demand to earn money income. The land is also put into other uses for developmental works, plantation, industries etc. As a result, there is a shortage of land and so the *jhum* cycle has reduced to three to four years.

The Plain Agriculture Type

As recorded in the Census of India 1961 all the major tribes of India, which includes 68.18 per cent of the total tribal working population, practise agriculture as their primary source of livelihood. These figures have not changed much over the years. According to the Census of India, 2011, records 797 (79.7 %) persons ST workers in primary sector, 132 (13.2%) in secondary sector and 71 (7.1 %) in tertiary sector out of a sample of 1000. The Khasas and Tharus of Uttarakhand ; the Kinnauras, Pangwalas and Swanglas in Himachal Pradesh; the Bhumij, Koras, Bhuiyas, Santals, Mundas, Oraons, Hos, Kharwars, Baigas, Gonds, etc. in central India; the Bhils, Minas, Garasias, Damarias, Koli Maldadevis, Varlis, Thakurs, Korkles, Dubla, etc., in western India; the Koyas of Andhra Pradesh; the Malayalis of Tamil Nadu in south India, the Apatanis and the Khamptis in Arunachal Pradesh, the Bodos, Lalungs of Assam and so on belong to plain agriculture type groups.

The agriculturist tribes generally follow hill and plain type cultivations, mainly shifting and wet rice cultivation respectively depending on the topography which they inhabit. A single tribe may pursue two types of agriculture due to topographical variation of their habitats. The Galos and Adis of Arunachal Pradesh who live in the hills practise the hill type of agriculture, while those living in plains practise the plain type cultivation. The tools and implements they use are simple. However, they use animal power for ploughing their fields. Their implements include the sickle, spade, *khurpi*, axe, pick, crow-bar, long wooden plank, leveller, small and big baskets, earthen pots, etc. However, the production only meets their subsistence needs. The agricultural implements are made by local iron-smiths or obtained through barter exchange from the neighbouring people. A few tribes are recorded by scholars using cow-dung as manure.

Stages of cultivation: Like the shifting cultivation the plains cultivation also has different phases. Right from preparation of the land and nursery bed to storage of produces there are different sequences of activities. Some of the activities relate to rituals and entertainment. The plains agricultural tribes grow both *kharif* and *rabi* crops. *Kharif* crops are grown during the period from May to November. The *rabi* crops are winter crops and mainly include pulses of several varieties and some vegetables. Vidyarthi and Rai (1985) have outlined the following stages of *kharif* crops in plains agriculture of Indian tribes.

(i) Ploughing the land which begins from May with the collection, repair and purchase of implements;

(ii) Rituals to worship plough, bullocks and gods;

(iii) Ploughing the field following the first shower in June;

(iv) Sowing using the broadcast seeding technique in the uplands in June and preparation of plant nursery for transplantation;

(v) Transplantation in July or early August;

(vi) Weeding by hand after a fortnight or light ploughing when crops grow to a height of about 25 to 30 cm;

(vii) Watching-guarding against the herbivorous inhabitants;

(viii) Use of some magical device in plots with diseased crops;

(ix) Regular watch to clear weeds and to maintain the required level of water;

(x) Harvesting, firstly of upland land and then of late variety crops;

(xi) Threshing in renovated threshing floor by cattle or by beating the shears of paddy and watching the threshing floor;

(xii) Winnowing;

(xiii) Worshipping;

(xiv) Husking and storing by November.

Vidyarthi and Rai (1985) have also outlined seven phases of *rabi* crops as

(i) ploughing to clear the field,

(ii) manuring,

(iii) sowing,

(iv) weeding,

(v) watching,

(vi) harvesting, and

(vii) cleaning and storing grain.

In plains cultivation mono-crops are raised. The system of plains cultivation is associated with the emerging private ownership of land. However, in some tribes both community and private ownerships exist side by side. The labour organization is mainly based on community consideration with mutual reciprocation. Some families also engage wage labour from neighbouring villages or tribes.

The Simple Artisan Type

A number of tribes practise certain crafts such as basket making, spinning and weaving, mat-making, iron-smithy, etc. The Kanjars are engaged in basketry and rope making; the Birhors also make a part of their livelihood from basket making. The Monpa tribe of Arunachal Pradesh is famous for its carpet making. The Chik-Baraiks make hand-woven clothes which they supply to the Mundas, Oraons, etc. The Kotas of Nilgiris depend on carpentry, tool making and pottery. The Muria of Chhattisgarh and Kurumbas of Tamil Nadu manufacture several wooden objects. The Asurs in Jharkhand are good iron smelters. The Bondo, the Gadaba and the Dangaria Kondha are good embroidery workers.

Even the tribe or a clan is designated on the basis of its craft in which it is specialised in. For example, one of the sub-groups of the Mahali tribe are named *Bansphod Mahali* because of their specialisation in basket making. With their simple

tools and traditional skills, making use of the locally available raw materials the tribal people make several objects for their own use and for local markets as well. For instance, the Kamars, whose occupation is iron smithy, use simple technology like hand bellows, big iron hammer, short shaft hammer, small hammer, anvil, chisel, earthen bucket, etc.

The Pastoral and Cattle Herder Type

The pastoral tribes are another social category whose sustenance depends on cattle herding. The cattle wealth varies from tribe to tribe depending on the ecology they occupy. In plains people keep buffalo and cow while in high mountains tribal groups like the Brokpas keep yaks. The pastoral people use the animals either for milk products or meat or for both. A number of tribal communities in the central India raise cattle for meat and use them as draught animals.

A tribe may be fully or partly depend on cattle herding for its sustenance. The Todas of Nilgiris, the Gujjars of Kashmir, the Gaddis and Jads in Himachal Pradesh, the Brokpas of Arunachal Pradesh depend on cattle herding as their only source of livelihood. However, tribes like the Kisan in middle India or the Nagesias of Bihar and Madhya Pradesh cling to cattle herding as a part of their total livelihood strategy. The Bhotiyas of Uttarakhand are midway between pastoral economy and agriculture.

The pastoralist community which depends on cattle herding as the only source of livelihood is normally a nomadic community, who move from place to place in search of green pastures for their cattle. In some communities, however, some male members move with their cattle in different seasons. The population size of individual pastoral communities is small as compared to agriculturist tribes.

The pastoral communities also depend on forests for fodder and collection of minor forest products to supplement their pastoral economy. However, in recent years the pastoral communities have also responded to the winds of change in modern times. Here are examples of two pastoralist tribes in India:

The Toda Tribe of Nilgiri Hills are pastoral people. However, they are not nomads. They rear buffaloes and produce different milk products, like ghee, cheese, butter, curd etc. which they sell or exchange with different products of the neighbouring tribes to procure the things of their day-to-day use.

The division of labour is sex based. The dairy works such as looking after buffaloes, milking, churning, etc. are absolutely in the domain of male members. Females are prohibited from entering the dairy house. Domestic chores such as fetching of drinking water and fuel wood from the jungle, cooking and rearing of children are in the domain of female tribe members. Previously, cooking was in the domain of male jobs. The exchange of milk products with the neighbours is normally carried out by male members, though it is not taboo for women to get involved in it. In recent times, the Todas are also engaged in other economic activities like agriculture to subsidize their pastoral economy.

Ownership of buffaloes is both individual and clan based. The Todas classify their buffaloes into ordinary and sacred herds. The former type is being owned by individual Toda family while the latter type is considered to be the property of the clan.

The Gaddi tribe in Himachal Pradesh is also a pastoral tribe. These people settled in villages, and so they are not nomads. Like the Todas, the division of labour

in the Gaddi tribe is also sex based. Male members go with their goats and sheep to different regions of Himachal Pradesh during the summer season. The men feed the animals, milk them and take care of them. The females do the house keeping along with weaving. They make long coats, caps, *dhoru*, pyjamas and shoes from wool and goats' hair. They also use the wool of their sheep to make carpets, shawls and blankets. As the Gaddi women are fond of jewelleries they also make gold, silver and precious stone jewellery. The animals are individually owned and inherited among the sons.

The Folk – Artist Type

This includes the tribal communities whose members depend on songs, dances, snake charming, acrobatics, etc., as their main occupations. Normally, these people economically depend on their art. The Nats and the Spaeras of south-eastern Utter Pradesh, the Kelas of Odisha, the Pardhans and Ojhas who are bards of the Gonds, the snake-charmer Pamulas, the Garadis, the acrobat Dommaras and Bynollus, the conjuring Palukumuggulas and Paddintigollas, the Bahuroopas, etc., of Andhra Pradesh, a few Kotas of Nilgiris and the snake-charmer Kalbelias of Rajasthan come under folk artist type. Vidyarthi and Rai (1985) have described the performance of the Nats as under:

> "The Nats perform their shows of singing and dancing or acrobating, etc., lasting 15 minutes to an hour at one place before the local gathering and earn inam (gift) to subsist on. Apart from a few Muslims, they are generally Hindus by religion. They move from place to place and from village to village... they work in a group of two to seven persons comprising one or two child artists, one or two boys or girls between 9 and 14 years; one or two persons, may be. Generally, a drum-beater and an expert child acrobat accompany each other. The drum-beater attracts and collects a gathering, erects the rope or trapeze base. There is a dance to a local tune, rope-dancing or acrobating, at times with iron rings, or daggers. Sometimes they show balancing feats or play with fierce flames and so on. It is very interesting to note the imitating young Nat child of two to four years of age. As the show draws to an end the other fellow Nat goes around collecting inam, in the shape of money or cereals, and the show comes to an end with the most common wording, *khel khatam paisa hazam* (the play is over, the money gone)."

3.5.3 Occupation Based Economic Organizations

The fact is that you will not find community based economic activities or any formal or informal organization in tribal communities under the activities mentioned below. But these activities in a wider sphere involve labour participation and production. The organization is there at a different level, but not tribe based. As tribal people participate in it and it is an emerging trend we have discussed these activities as occupation based economic organizations. The following activities come under this category:

Labour Type: Agricultural and Non-Agricultural

In most of the tribal areas of middle and eastern India a number of industries have been established. Mining operations have taken place to a large extent. In the process of industrialisation and mining operations lots of tribals have been uprooted from their habitat and have lost their traditional source of livelihood. These people have turned to wage earning as an alternative source of livelihood in urban centres and are particularly involved in industries and mining activities. Those who are not fortunate to work in urban centres turn to agriculture and work in other's field on daily wages

basis. The agricultural work is mostly available in the locality itself within a radius of a few kilometres. During the agricultural off season, tribals also migrate to urban centres to work as labourers, at railway and road construction, forestry, construction work like civil work in emerging factories, houses, dams, bridges, etc. You will find among the Hos an emerging trend of agricultural and non-agricultural labour.

We learn from Misra (1987) that the Ho economy is organised around cultivation and wage labour. Most of the Hos practise shifting and sedentary cultivation depending on topography. You will find agricultural labourers in the tribe also. The first iron ore mine in India was started in 1901 at Pansira Buru and subsequently in Chiria, Gua, Noamundi, Kiriburu in Ho territory. These areas developed into small mining towns. A chunk of Ho population is found working in the mines of these areas.

Similarly, engagement in diverse activities is noticed among the Siddis. The Siddis living in Gir area of Gujarat are engaged in a number of jobs including farming, forest conservation and as wage labour and as tourist guide.

The Skilled, White-collar Job & Traders Type

Tribes in India are no longer pursuing traditional life exclusively. A number of individuals or families are now working in different offices, hospitals, factories and business enterprises for their livelihood. A few of them are also found self-employed in their own enterprises. This has happened because of government policies and programmes and Constitutional provisions to ameliorate their socio-economic condition. The formal system of education has provided knowledge and skills which is required in the job market. Associated with it is the reservation of seats in different services including jobs in government and private enterprises. Christian Missionaries have also helped in the spread of education and changed their outlook towards modern lifestyle. Initially, these tribal converts to Christianity were found engaged in offices, hospitals and in administrative jobs, etc. Presently, many individuals are found working as doctors, teachers, engineers and bureaucrats. The Meena tribe is credited with having a large number of civil servants in the country from among the tribal communities.

But trading by some tribal communities is neither a recent origin nor a post-Independence phenomenon. There are tribes like the Bhotiyas of Uttarakhand, the Valmikis and the Haiskers of Andhra Pradesh, the Monpas and the Noctes of Arunachal Pradesh and a few individuals of different tribes from different regions of the country who used to trade with neighbouring people long before India's Independence. Even some of them had business connection across the border. The Bhotiyas and the Monpas have had close business contacts with the bordering areas of Tibet since pre-Independence. The Khamptis of Arunachal Pradesh had trade relations with the people of present Myanmar. The Nocte used to trade in salt because of the existence of natural brine springs in their territory.

We have seen that the tribes in India are not a homogenous category in terms of their economic pursuits. Traditionally, they differed in terms of pursuing different activities to secure their livelihoods. In recent years, after they got exposed to forces of development along with some new avenues including wage labour and white collar job, etc. Interestingly, some tribes depend on trade as their main source of livelihood. Even for the cattle-herder tribe trading is an essential component of their pastoral economy. So is the case with the artisan and folk-artist type tribal

communities. Obviously, the tribes in India never lived in isolation as the earlier scholars had taken position while conceptualising the tribe as a social category.

3.6 CONTEMPORARY TRIBAL ECONOMY AND ORGANIZATIONS

Social process is often marked by changes and continuity. So a study of the past helps in understanding the present in order to plan for the future or understand the possible future trends. Needless to say, the society is dynamic, so is also the tribal economy and associated economic organizations. So far we have focused on economic organizations in both ideal stage and changing contexts. The contexts, however, are presentation of the trend of changes which have taken place. Obviously, the context has a past reference. The changes are also taking place even in contemporary time. Communities in India exist as Scheduled Tribes, but their economic life is changing. In keeping with this view we will discuss the changes noticed in tribal economic organizations in recent years due to development interventions. This will help delineating the emerging organizations in tribal economy with reference to the process of integration and interaction with national economy. No doubt, enumerating the emerging features in tribal economy will be useful to visualise tribal economic organizations differently from the ones in ideal stage.

As you know tribal communities are in contact with various external forces, development interventions being the most significant of them. These interventions have generated forces of change in internal structure of the society and the economy too. You will find a number of programmes and schemes being implemented for the development of tribals. The economy is gradually getting monetised through these schemes. For example, monetary loan from micro-finance institutions, banks or other credit sources and exchange of goods and services for money play a crucial role for implementation of development schemes. You will also notice that the schemes having market linkage and the beneficiaries of these schemes purchase raw materials and sell products for money. Further, traditional economic pursuits no longer stand out as the only source of employment. Tribal people are found working in various development projects in the village and outside where there is opportunity. Moreover, due to education many tribals work as bureaucrats, professionals, teachers etc.

You will find A. K. Danda's (1990) observation with regard to changes in tribal economy very useful. He informs us that the influence of the market is very significant in every aspects of economic life of tribes in India. Influences are noticed particularly in economic relationships and widening up of the network of such relationships, ownership and inheritance rights of land, differentiation of profession, specialization of roles etc. The ideal of mutual reciprocity and traditional system of redistribution are losing functional value. In response to these changes, the notion of tribal economy is losing its distinct characteristics and giving way to the forces of the formal economic system.

In recent years, many tribes and tribal families have been displaced due to mega development projects and have lost their traditional resource base. Members of displaced tribes and families work as agricultural labourers or wage labourers in urban centres. Income earning families do not have necessary supply of labour from family source for mutual reciprocation with kin or participation in community works or to meet own requirements. Needless to say, in many tribes money plays

a crucial role in labour exchange in traditional and non-traditional activities. Even in place of mutual reciprocation of labour in some tribal societies like the Apatani, the Galo, the Adi, the clan youth or even females often form labour groups to earn money. In Central and Eastern India money lending has emerged as a distinct feature in tribal economy.

You are also aware that development schemes are sanctioned mostly in the individuals' names. A fish pond, tailoring machine, handloom or power loom, rice huller, goatery, piggery, diary unit, horticultural garden, cardamom scheme etc., are sanctioned to individuals. Many of these beneficiaries use these schemes profitably. In the Northeast, many tribal entrepreneurs have undertaken such activities as tea plantation, rubber plantation, horticultural units and chittronullah plantation etc. A few of them have started tea processing units, saw and veneer mills and educational institutions as well. You will also find tribal elites as contractors and many engaged in commercial ventures, politics and in high salaried jobs. These elite people invest money outside and on land inside and outside the village. These families along with some other families produce for market. The Khasis and Monpas of this region are known for the production of vegetables, fruits, etc. for sale in markets.

In the plains of Arunachal Pradesh tribes like the Adi, the Khampti, the Mishmi, the Singphow, etc. produce large scale commercial crops like mustard seeds and ginger. In the foothills of Lohit, Changlang, Dibang Valley and East Siang districts of Arunachal Pradesh a number of tea plantations have come up. In Odisha, especially in undivided Koraput district tribal families cultivate cashew nuts, clove and turmeric etc., under various schemes for sale in the market. These ventures are non-traditional and individual based in contrast to traditional community based pursuits. In such activities, wage labourers from the village and outside play a very significant role.

Needless to say, surplus production is undertaken by tribe persons for market and money is used, though not by all, as a medium of exchange. The present economic life in a tribal community, therefore, presents a scenario of a mixture of traditional and non-traditional activities with corresponding governing principles.

In tribal villages, tribal self-help groups (SHGs) have come up in response to development schemes of the government for poverty alleviation and empowerment. However, SHGs are not community based; in fact, these are formal and activities undertaken are both traditional and non-traditional types in order to earn additional money income. The activities are not organised following traditional ideals of production and distribution.

In the Northeast you will find a politico-economic agency like Autonomous District Councils (ADCs) to ensure tribal participation in their own governance and to take decisions on development programmes in their areas. These agencies are tribe specific like Mishing Development Council, Bodo Development Agency etc. which are constituted as per the provisions of the Constitution of India.

The point which we want to make is that monetisation has emerged as a significant feature in tribal economy. Of course, in a tribal economy, there still exist spheres of barter exchanges, more spread in interior villages among the families following predominantly traditional economic practices.

Producer to Consumer Economy

You will find development-inducing formal cooperatives in tribal areas. As a result of the entry of these cooperatives, mutual cooperation, reciprocal exchange and thus, the sharing ideal in tribal communities are declining gradually. Shortage of food grains is overcome by subsidised Public Distribution System (PDS) and money income available from various schemes of the government guaranteeing income and employment. Rural development schemes like Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Guarantee Act (MNREGA), Swarnajayanti Gram Swarozgar Yojana (SGSY), National Social Assistance Programme (NSAP) etc. are working in the Sixth Schedule tribal areas and activities relating to these schemes through Integrated Tribal Development Agency (ITDA) in tribal Sub-Plan Areas of the Fifth Schedule. These schemes provide for money income to meet food shortage and other newly acquired wants in response to market connections. Central Assistance is given to States/UTs to supplement their efforts in tribal development through Tribal Sub-Plan. This assistance is basically meant for family-oriented income-generating schemes in the sectors of agriculture, horticulture, minor irrigation, soil conservation, animal husbandry, forestry, education, cooperatives, fisheries, village and small scale industries and for minimum needs programme.

You will also find Large Sized Agricultural Multi-Purpose Cooperative Societies (LAMPs) along with Marketing and Processing Cooperatives in Tribal Sub-plan Areas. In the states of Odisha and Gujarat, Primary Agricultural Cooperative Societies (PACS), and in the states of Andhra Pradesh and Telangana, Girijan Cooperatives play a crucial role in tribal development through market linkage.

The Tribal Cooperative Marketing Development Federation of India Limited (TRIFED) is another agency which is playing a very crucial role in marketing tribal products. The cooperative was set up by the Government of India in 1987, with the prime objective of providing marketing assistance and remunerative prices to ST communities for their minor forest produce and surplus agricultural produce and to wean them away from exploitative private traders and middlemen. The federation is a national level cooperative apex body which came into existence under the Multi-State Cooperative Societies Act, 1984 (now the Multi-State Cooperative Societies Act, 2002). It started functioning in 1988 under the administrative control of the Ministry of Tribal Affairs, Government of India, formerly and Ministry of Tribal Welfare. TRIFED promotes a wide range of tribal products such as tribal textiles, tribal jewellery, metal crafts, organic food products, cane & bamboo works, terracotta & stone pottery, tribal paintings and gifts and novelties.

TRIEFED participates in various exhibitions and fairs to promote the tribal art and forest produce. It also organises Tribal Artisan Mela to reach tribals located in interior areas. Further, it sources tribal art and craft directly from the tribal artisans. You will find show rooms of tribal art and craft in many urban centres maintained by TRIFED.

Minor Forest Produce (MFP) are non-timber forest produces like tamarind, lac, gum karaya, amla, mahua flowers/seeds, honey, sal/siali leaves, tendu patta, soap-nut, shikakai, myrobalan, hill grass, nuxvomica, etc.

The majority of the tribals live in and around forests and depend heavily on the MFP for their livelihood. Initially, tribals used to collect MFP for their own consumption. In case of some excess stock, they used to sell these in the nearby

weekly markets for barter or for cash. MFP has a major demand even outside the tribal areas. But tribals lacked awareness about the market value of these produce. Moreover, they did not have marketing knowledge and skill. Often they fell victim to the manipulation of unscrupulous traders and middle men. To overcome this situation, most of the States nationalised their major MFP items. States also established Tribal Development Cooperative Corporations (STDCCs), State Forest Development Corporations, Minor Forest Produce (Trading and Development) Federations (MFPTDFs) etc. for procuring and trading in MFPs. These were established for procuring MFP from tribals and protecting them against exploitation by private traders. These organizations often faced resource constrains and could not work to achieve objectives properly. In view of this the Central Sector Scheme of *'Grants-in-Aid to State Tribal Development Cooperative Corporations (STDCCs) etc. for Minor Forest Produce (MFP) Operations'* was thus launched in November 1992 to help these STDCCs to ensure that tribals got remunerative prices for their MFP. Under this scheme institutional support is provided for development and marketing of tribal products/produce. It also promotes and supports mechanism for marketing of MFP through minimum support price. Cooperatives, formal in composition and a new socio-economic agency, provide institutional frame for tribal development.

3.7 PROPERTY AND INHERITANCE

Tribal societies are governed by traditions and customs. Since these societies mostly depend on subsistence living, they do not have the tendency to accumulate property or other material goods. Obviously, their notion of property is different from that of our present society. There are no codified rules and regulations to define the ownership of something and its inheritance practice. Needless to say, the concept of property and the practice of inheritance varies from one tribe to the other, even within the broad frame of similar principles. You will learn about the nature of property and inheritance in tribal societies in this section.

3.7.1 Types of Property

Across all tribal cultures, property is considered to be either movable, or both movable and immovable. The property can also be ancestral and self-acquired (personal). Immovable property is land which also includes resources like forests, rivers, cultivable fields, etc. In some hunting gathering tribes like the Birhor, Raji or Puroik (Sulung) the concept of immovable property is not recognised. They do not claim any territory as their own unlike the Jarwa or Onge who has a notion of territorial boundary. The land is an immovable community property for these Andaman and Nicobar tribes. In pastoral tribes like the Toda of Nilgiri Hills or the Brokpa group of the Monpas of Arunachal Pradesh the grazing ground of a village/clan is demarcated, thus having the notion of immovable property. These lands are community owned. But in agricultural, semi-agricultural and horticultural tribes' use of land as immovable property is associated with individual families within community frame of ownership or individual ownership. The issue of inheritance relates to such landed property.

Moveable property on the other hand occurs in all tribal communities and includes livestock, beads and ornaments, bride wealth of any form, utilitarian objects like loom utensils and other household articles. Hunting equipments and traps also

are moveable properties especially of hunting gathering tribes. Among the pastoral tribes you will find livestock as the most valuable moveable property.

A loom, domestic animals or birds (except in pastoral tribes), household articles, etc. belong to the family and thus do not have defined rule of inheritance. But in case of bridal wealth, beads and ornaments, etc. the ownership rest on the woman and is transferred to daughters and daughters-in law. In other words, daughters and daughters-in-law have rights to inherit mother/mother-in-law owned movable property. The woman owning domestic birds and animals could dispose them in exchange or as gift to daughters or use them for domestic rituals or consumption purpose. However, there is no established norm guiding inheritance practice of such properties.

3.7.2 Inheritance

The rule of inheritance of immovable properties like land, house, grove and movable properties like livestock, hunting equipments depend on nature of society and economy. In relation to nature of a society you will find two types of society namely patrilineal and matrilineal. A patrilineal tribe may be polyandrous, monogamous or polygynous. Similarly, you will find broadly agricultural, pastoral and hunting gathering tribes in relation to traditional economic pursuits. In relation to nature of inheritance you will find mainly three types of practices, primogeniture, ultimogeniture or both and sharing. Sharing may include inheritance by all the sons equally or otherwise. Primogeniture norm allows the eldest son to inherit the property wholly or the largest part of it. Ultimogeniture is the norm where youngest son inherits property as a rule, may be equal to or less than the first son. If only this principle is followed the youngest one, whether son or daughter, gets the entire share or the largest part of it.

3.7.3 Patrilineal Society

Polyandrous patrilineal pastoralists

Toda is a polyandrous pastoralist tribe living in the Nilgiri Hills. The tribe is divided into two moieties: Tarther, the privileged one and Teivali, the underprivileged one. Among the Todas, the property consists of buffaloes which are of two types: ordinary and sacred herds. Two types of ownership-individual/private and clan/community are recognised in Toda tribe. Sacred herds are owned by the clan in a village and clans of Tarther moiety of the Todas in general. Clans in Teivali moiety supply herdsmen to tend these sacred herds of buffaloes. The Toda village is clan based and this people have the notion of territory which includes homestead land, pasture ground and are clan owned. The ordinary buffaloes of an individual family are inherited by brothers like the polyandrous families in Jaunsari Bawar of Uttarakhand if they want to separate. Otherwise, if they live in a joint family they perform works as assigned to them by the eldest brother and the ownership rights on buffaloes is vested all of them together. Sons inherit from fathers (social fathers) to who they are attached. The rule is that the property is divided first among the brothers and sons inherit from them following primogeniture and ultimogeniture norms. The first son inherits or otherwise gains control of more family land, livestock or other wealth followed by the youngest son. Other sons may get a share if there is enough wealth. Women do not have rights to inherit buffaloes.

NOTES

Check Your Progress

16. State whether the following statements are true or false:

(a) Shifting cultivation is a practice in hunting-gathering communities.

(b) Following is a characteristic of plains agriculture.

(c) Tribal economy is in the process of transformation from producer to consumer economy.

(d) TRIEFED is a tribal economic organization.

(e) Formalists believe in culture determination of economic attitudes and the working of economic systems.

Monogamous/polygynous patrilineal agricultural tribes

In agricultural patrilineal tribes, land inheritance follows primogeniture, ultimogeniture or both practices. This rule is not in practice in many agricultural tribes like Mishings and Thengal Kacharis of Assam who enjoy formal ownership rights according to state laws. The inheritance practice follows according to these laws. The rules of primogeniture and ultimogeniture also do not exist where property is equally distributed among sons. But in most of the traditional tribes, inheritance rule follows customary norms.

In traditional Apatani community of Arunachal Pradesh both primogeniture and ultimogeniture rules are followed in the matter of inheritance of ancestral landed property. The eldest son gets cultivable land, groves, etc. while the youngest one who would look after parents gets house, homestead land, remaining plots and movable properties like domestic animals and birds. The middle sons do not have the rights to inherit ancestral property. However, the father if purchases land during his life time that land could be shared with middle sons.

Lamgang tribe of Manipur on the other hand follows ultimogeniture norm; the youngest son gets the house, suitable plots of land, livestock and other movable properties. For other sons, the father distributes the property during his life time if there is enough property. Ultimogeniture is also the rule among the Ranglongs and Bongchers of Tripura. Among the Bongchers, father may distribute land to all the sons, keeping a share of his own which normally goes to the youngest son along with house, livestock etc. as customarily he looks after the parents. In case of his inability or parents desire any one from other brothers may also look after parents and inherit the property.

The practice is interesting in polygynous families as is in the Nyishi community. When a man brings an additional wife he allots cultivable plots to that woman. The sons from a woman share her cultivated plots as per the decision of parents. In general, all the land belongs to father and thus patrilineal inheritance rule is followed among the Nyishis.

The practice of primogeniture is attenuated in tribes like the Bhil, Khamptis, Adi as all the sons inherit landed property; the eldest son in some cases getting a little more. Among the Darlongs of Tripura, the land is distributed among sons without any customary privilege to any son. Father may distribute land during his life time or sons distribute among themselves or the widow mother distributes after father's death in the presence of relatives and village elders. Among the Mundas and Oraons of Jharkhand primogeniture is not very strong in the matter of inheritance of all types of properties. As a rule the eldest son is entitled a little more than the other brothers in the form of land or any of the movable properties. This may be an extra cow or a goat, a bullock or a plot of land in recognition to earlier practice. Normally the property is divided among sons after death of the father. The practice is that a maintenance share is kept aside for widowed mother, unmarried sons and daughters and then it is equally divided among sons with a little more to the eldest son. But after the death of the widowed mother and marriage of brothers and sisters the land is equally divided among brothers for whom the share was kept aside. If the share is more than that of other brothers, then they also get some proportion of it. The maintenance property is used by the brother, often the youngest one, till maintenance is not required.

Patrilineal Hunter-gatherers

By now you have learnt that the Birhor, a hunting-gathering nomadic tribe has immovable properties and these includes arrow and bow, axe, *dhara* (roll of ropes), *dauli* (a short sword), net, *kullay* (rabbit trap) and other traps, *khanti* (sharp pointed iron rod), cage, knife, etc. These equipments are own made except iron ones which are exchanged with forest produces and individually owned. The *kumbha* (hut) is made by individual male members as every male member makes his own *kumbha* after marriage. In case of the death of the owner of the *kumbha*, it belongs to inmates and in case of need the community looks after those who cannot build *kumbha* for themselves. The equipments are shared among sons, brothers or community members according to need and there is no establish inheritance norm.

Puroik (Sulung) was primarily a hunter-gatherer tribe in Arunachal Pradesh before they entered into client-patron relationship with their neighbouring Nyishi and Miji tribes. During that time they did not have any notion of territorial boundary for the tribe or band. But after the relationship, ownership of forest tracts from where they collected wild Sago, or the land they used for hunting and foraging was claimed by Nyishi or Miji patrons. Their settlement became permanent and attached to their patrons' village. They started domesticating pigs, goats and poultry birds. Their properties included domestic animals, utensils, beads, hunting and trapping equipments and other articles of daily use. These properties are equally apportioned among the sons. Married sons build their own houses though they may stay with parents. Under such a situation the house is also divided among sons living in it.

3.7.4 Women's Inheritance in Patrilineal Tribes

Women in general do not have the right to inherit landed property in patrilineal tribes. They do not even have the rights to inherit major livelihood sources, such as buffaloes as is the case in Toda tribe. Among the hunting gathering societies women do not inherit hunting equipments and traps.

In traditional patrilineal societies the land of a man without a male child is inherited by a nearest consanguinal relative in male line who looks after the man and his wife during their last days. The custom of adopting a male child also prevails in many tribes. Obviously, the land and other properties are inherited by the adopted son. You will be interested to know another way of inheritance among the Lamgang. The man with only a female child or female children pays a nominal amount to consanguineal male relatives to purchase inheritance rights for the daughter(s). In practice the land goes to the male children of the daughter (s) after death and becomes the property of husband's lineage. In rare cases a man can also transfer his property to his sons-in-law following the method of obtaining permission from consanguineal male relatives.

But in most of the patrilineal tribes, daughters do not have any inheritance rights in landed property even in the absence of a socially approved male heir. A woman may normally pass through three stages, unmarried life in parental house, life with husband and life without husband (widow). There are two other possibilities of a woman staying in parental house. First, she may remain unmarried throughout her life or return after divorce or separation from husband. In this case she may be without father. A woman, without husband or father, has a residual life interest in land. This is a custom in many tribes like the Santal, Munda, Adi, etc. She can dispose of the produce and income from the land as she wants. This life interest of

the widow restricts the property rights of the agnates of the deceased husband till her death. In case of a widow with male children the inheritors of property are her own children according to customary norms. In the latter case it is not life interest in the entire land, but a maintenance right. In fact, the life interest is also ideologically governed by the ethics of maintenance principle. However, if the widow marries outside the family circle of the husband she is deprived of this maintenance rights. This traditional maintenance right of unmarried girls or widow is known as *Taben Jom* in some tribes of Jharkhand. After the death of the girl or widow the land returns to the lineage as per customs. In Galo community of Arunachal Pradesh an unmarried girl also enjoyed the rights to use a plot for herself. However, such a practice is not a case of inheritance rule.

As you have already studied, women have the rights to inherit a few movable properties like beads of mother or mother-in-law.

3.7.5 Matrilineal Society

In India, tribes like the Khasi, Garo of Meghalaya follow matrilineal norms of inheritance. These tribes are agricultural tribes and so land ownership is a crucial factor in inheritance norms. Like many patrilineal tribes the family property of these tribes mainly includes land, house, household articles, agricultural and other implements, livestock, etc. But unlike patrilineal tribes the property, both movable and immovable are inherited along female line. It will interest you to know that the principle of female ultimogeniture is in practice among these tribes. This means, the youngest daughter inherits family property from her mother. Other daughters and sons do not have inheritance rights.

Major A. Playfair (1909) while writing on Garos during first decade of the twentieth century mentions about clan ownership and finds that village land and clan land are coterminous. The *Nokma* is the 'owner' of the lands of his village which he receives by his marriage to *Nokna*, the heiress of the clan land. One of the Garo scholars, Milton Sangam has clarified in 1985 that Nokma is not the owner of the land, but the representative of the *Nokna* who is the head of the clan or the village community. The *Nokma*s with the possession of title to *A'khing* land is known as *A'khing Nokmas*. The garo Hills District Council Act No 1. of 1959 defines the *A'khing nokma* as 'the head of the clan or *Machong* who holds any land as a custodian on behalf of a clan or *Machong*'.

Let us elaborate the inheritance rule of the Garos following J. K. Bose who studied them in late 1930s and early 1940s. His study on Garo Law of Inheritance practically became an official manual for deciding cases of land ownership and inheritance among the Garos.

Among Garos, the youngest daughter who is selected by parents as *nokna* (heiress), inherits family property. Garos live in hills and plains, in India and Bangladesh and are divided along traditional faiths and practices and Christianity. As a result, to cope with changing situations and requirements there are adjustments within the broad principle of female ultimogeniture. You will also find adjustments within the broad principle when there are departures from normal situation. For that permission of the *machong* is inevitable. However, for minor changes, for which earlier instances also exit, the *machong* is informed of the change which the family wants to introduce.

Bose informs that a poor family may not designate any of the daughters as *nokna*. In that case all the daughters get equal share of the property. The selection of a *nokna* depends entirely on the choice of parents. If there be any difference of opinion between the parents about the selection of *nokna* the opinion of the mother prevails. Bose further informs us that there is no hard and fast rule to select the youngest daughter as *nokna*. Generally, the daughter who is more affectionate and obedient to the parents is selected. It is expected that the *nokna* will serve and look after the parents in their old age. But in practice, the youngest daughter is selected as *nokna* and thus female ultimogeniture has become the norm of inheritance of family property among the Garos.

The *nokna* inherits mother's property after the death of the latter. Her husband normally from father's *mochang* (preferably one of father's sister's son) simply manages the land as the representative of the wife (*nokna*). The husband of the *nokna* is known as *nokram* till he becomes *nokma*, the custodian of land after the death of *nokna's* father. As land is owned by mother, *nokna* inherits it after her death. Then *the nokram* becomes *nokma*. But there may be a situation that the mother is alive but father is dead. In that case the *nokram* has to marry the mother to become *nokma* and the arrangement continues till the death of mother.

After the marriage of the *nokna* the mother normally has no right to deprive her of the property. But under some circumstances the *nokna* may forego her rights. When a *nokna* and the *nokram* leave the family and start a separate household they have to relinquish their right to property. The *machong* is informed about this situation. In this situation a new *nokna* is selected to inherit the family property.

Other sisters of *nokna* do not have inheritance rights and they live with husbands in separate households after marriage which may be constructed with the help of *nokma*, the father. In case sisters stay in the same house with mutual agreement, the *nokna*, however enjoys all the powers and the sisters have to live under her supremacy. During their life time, the sister and her husband may accumulate property and select the *nokna*. If they do not accumulate enough property they may not select any *nokna* and all the daughters then get equal share and live with their husbands.

The Khasi tribe also follows rule of inheritance along family line. You will learn the rule of property inheritance from the writings of Gemini Paul (1956) and Hamlet Bareh (1967). There are minor variations with regard to ancestral and personal properties among different groups. But the general rule is not affected by these variations. The general rule takes into consideration two factors directly or indirectly. First in the matter of inheritance and management maternal relations are deciding ones, and second inheritance along female line prevails as against male inheritance.

As a general rule, the youngest daughter, designated as *Ka-Khadduh*, inherits all the properties, including *Ka-Iing Seng* (foundation house). However she does not have the authority to dispose off foundation house as it is the sacred ground for the family rituals and place for get-together of family members. The Khasi inheritance norms do not permit brothers and sisters of *Ka-Khadduh* to inherit property and so they are designated as *Nonghiih Ling*, outgoing members of the family.

Though *Ka-khadduh* inherits property she remains only the custodian of the ancestral property. She cannot dispose of such property by herself without the consent of the members of the family (in the case of family property) or members

of the clan (in the case of clan property). As a rule, it is the maternal uncles or brothers or senior members of the family or clan of maternal relations who manage such properties on her behalf. According to the Khasi customary law, the husband of *Ka-khadduh* has no right to his wife's ancestral property.

In the event of the death of the, the ancestral property goes to her own youngest daughter, whether minor or otherwise. In case she is without any daughter, her next survived elder sister inherits the property and, after her, the youngest daughter of that sister irrespective of age. In extreme case of having no claimants such as a sister or a daughter of a sister, the property reverts to the mother's family but through the line of the mother's sister, sister's daughter and so on.

As it is mentioned there are variations among different groups. The Wars group of the Khasi has two divisions Khasi Wars and Wars of the Jaiatia Hills.

The tradition of Wars in the Khasi Hills provides for sons and daughters to share the property of their parents and grandparents. But amongst the Wars of Jaintia Hills, the rule provides for inheritance along female line. The Syntengs also do not follow the practice of male inheritance. But the *Ka-khadduh* is not the sole inheritor of the property in this group. The *Ka-khadduh* gets double the share of other daughters, because of her social and ritual responsibilities. She has the right of first selection of her share from landed property. The eldest daughter gets one and a half times of what the other daughters (other than the *ka kadduh*) get. She gets this comparatively large share because of her role in rearing the younger children. The other daughters share the remaining property equally.

There is a slight variation between Garos and the Khasis with regard to the property accumulated by husband of the property inheritor, *nokna* in case of the Garos and *Ka-khadduh* in case of the Khasis. Bose notes that the self-acquired property of a man before marriage passes on to mother and in her absence to his sister(s). From the writings of Bareh and Paul you will learn that under such a situation in Khasi community a part of the property goes to his mother and the rest is his personal. In the event of his dying issueless, his earnings revert to the mother or failing her to the nearest female *kur* (family).

But if the man acquires it while living in the family of *nokna*, it is considered as *nokna* family's property and the man has the right to enjoy it as long as he is alive. In Khasi community a large portion of his self-acquired property after marriage is used for the maintenance of the wife and children. Properties earned jointly by the husband and wife go to the wife after the husband's death. After the wife's death in his lifetime, the youngest daughter inherits the property and failing daughters, the youngest son. After the son, the property goes to his *kurs*.

3.8 SUMMARY

- In this unit we have discussed economic organizations of the tribes in India and contemporary trends. So, you have learnt the nature tribal economy in contrast to conventional economics. You have also learnt economic activities like production, consumption and distribution and exchange in the context of tribal economy. As you have learnt through examples, the economic organizations of tribes are community based.

- Tribal economy and economic organizations have been discussed with reference to a number of tribal communities. As a result, you have acquired

the knowledge of governing ideals in contrast to formal economics which emerged with Industrial Revolution. This equips you to enumerate general characteristics of tribal economy ideally and in changing context. Ideal economic life of tribals does not exist in contemporary situation. You have studied their engagement in modern economic pursuits as wage earners, in white-collar jobs, business, etc. For these new activities tribe-specific economic organizations have not evolved yet.

- You must have understood that economic organizations and social institutions are interconnected. A suitable example is social ways of labour organization in economic activities. Another example is the institution of inheritance in different types of societies and economic organizations.

3.9 KEY TERMS

- **Consumption:** Use of goods and services to satisfy both material and non-material needs.
- **Division of labour:** Different kind of activities that are carried out by specific individuals or groups in a formal or informal production system.
- **Distribution:** The process through which goods and services reach the consumers/users.
- **Formalism:** The perspective of looking at all economic systems following the laws of industrial and post-industrial economics, regardless of culture.
- **Function:** Relating to functional approach. It refers to way or ways through which different parts of a system that are interrelated with each other and contribute to the continuity and stability of the total system.
- **Kinship:** All people who are identified as relatives either through blood relationship or through marriage.
- **Kula** A ceremonial exchange of shell ornaments in the Trobriand Islands.
- **Market Economy:** The economy where demand for and supply of goods determine what to produce, in what quantity and at what cost. There is no interference of national government in decision making.
- **Mode of Production:** Combination of means of production (how people make living and what they use) and relations of production (organization of social relations in production).
- **Potlatch:** A ceremony by peoples of the Northwest Coast of North America in which feasts, giving away of goods and sometimes destruction of goods take place to earn social prestige.
- **Product based division of labour:** The same labour engaged in the production of a commodity from the beginning to end.
- **Reciprocity:** Exchange without the use of money.
- **Sphere of exchange:** A category of items which can be exchanged for each other but not normally for other things as it happens in *kula* ring.
- **Subsistence:** Obtaining living for survival needs.
- **Substantivism:** The perspective of looking at economic systems as diverse and as embedded in culture.

- **Agnate:** male relatives through father's side.
- **Immovable property:** property which cannot be physically shifted from one owner to the other, such as land.
- **Inheritance:** the institutional practice of receiving property, title, etc. in a society after the death of the predecessor.
- **Movable property:** property that can be physically shifted from one owner to another.
- **Primogeniture:** the practice of inheritance or succession by the first born, especially the eldest son.
- **Property:** material possession, in contrast to intellectual property which includes cultural heritage.
- **Ultimogeniture:** Institutional practice of inheritance by the last born, the youngest child, whether male or female.

3.10 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. (a) true   (b) false   (c) false
    (d) true   (e) false

2. (a) Economics   (b) Economic system   (c) Macro
    (d) Mutual reciprocation

3. (a) Adam Smith   (b) Alfred Marshall   (c) Marshall Sahalnis
    (d) true   (e) false   (f) true
    (g) true   (h) true

4. These are interacting social structuring without any procedural formalities.

5. It tells about material welfare, whereas in tribal economy people are concerned with both material and non-material welfare.

6. Maximisation of satisfaction from a unit of consumption.

7. The difference between place of residence/living and place of work.

8. Scholars who believe in the applicability of the laws of conventional economics to study all types of economics.

9. Knowledge and skill in manufacturing and use of tools, the practice of extraction and refinement of raw materials.

10. The economy in which money is not used as a medium of exchange, goods and services are exchanged for goods and services.

11. Use of goods and services to satisfy material and non-material needs

12. Utilisation of natural resources for livelihood sustenance with a well-defined organization of technology and labour.

13. When utilisation of goods and services relates to religious faiths and beliefs of the people.

14. (a) False   (b) False   (c) False
    (d) False   (e) False

15. (a) false   (b) true   (c) false
    (d) true   (e) true

16. (a) false   (b) false   (c) true
    (d) false   (e) false

17. (a) True   (b) False   (c) False
    (d) True   (e) True   (f) True
    (g) False

3.11 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. What is tribal economy? Is it different from formal/conventional economy? Explain.

2. Tribal economy differs in kind. Explain.

3. Distinguish between economics and economy.

4. Do you think tribal economy is a single type of economy? Why or why not?

5. Discuss production, consumption and exchange in the context of tribal economy.

6. What is division of labour? What are its types?

7. Mention the underlying ideals of tribal economic organizations.

Long-Answer Questions

1. Write a detailed note on occupation based economic organizations.

2. What is tribal economy? Discuss its characteristics.

3. Discuss some important types of economic activities and corresponding types of tribal communities.

4. Do you think traditional economic organizations continue in present time? Why or why not? Critically examine.

5. Can you apply Robbins' scarcity principle to understand tribal economy? Give reasons to your answers.

6. What is the basic difference in the inheritance practice between patrilineal and matrilineal tribes? Explain with an example from each type of communities.

7. Write a detailed note on woman's rights over land.

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UNIT 4 TRIBES IN ARUNACHAL PRADESH

Structure

4.0 INTRODUCTION

Arunachal Pradesh is a tribal-dominated state spread over 83,743 km^2. According to 2011 census, the Scheduled Tribe population of the state is 951, 821, constituting 68.8 per cent of the total population of the state. It ranks 19th in the country, though the tribal population of the state constitutes only 0.9 per cent of total tribal population. Among seven Northeast states it ranks 5th and constitutes 7.8 per cent of total tribal population in the region.

The Northeast comprises seven states namely Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland and Tripura, and popularly known as 'seven sisters'. In December 2002 the North Eastern Council (NEC) Reorganisation Act was passed and included Sikkim as a member of NEC. Presently for development purposes the Northeast Region (NER) consists of eight states.

As you know, a tribe is defined as an isolated group in ideal sense. At present this definition does not hold particularly for the tribes of India as they are in the process of transformation. Moreover, the tribes and civilizations also coexisted in the past. This is true for the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh. They had historical connection with plains even during the Ahom rule. In this unit, we shall discuss the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh from different aspects. This will add to your understanding of the concept of tribe in Indian situation that differs from the ideal type. Moreover, you will know the diversity that exists among the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh.

You have studied that tribes inhabit different zones and environments. The tribes of Arunachal Pradesh come under the Northeast region of Tribal India. Obviously, they share a number of traits with the tribes of Northeast such as the

bio-genetic characteristics. Like many other tribes of the region they belong to Mongoloid stock. They inhabit Eastern Himalayan ecology. So you will also study Arunachal tribes in terms of their geographical distribution.

Arunachal Pradesh is a state in the Indian union. As such the state is divided into political and administrative units. Needless to say, we will also discuss the distribution of tribes according to their habitats in politico-administrative divisions. Therefore, we will focus our discussion with the process of emergence of Arunachal Pradesh as a state and its various physical and political divisions.

Since colonial period tribal culture has attracted the attention of scholars and administrators. Of course they had their own purpose. After Independence of the country tribes have become a part of Indian nation. Knowledge about their rights and perspectives has become essential for their welfare as citizens on equal footing. This necessitates tribal studies important. Therefore, an overview of studies on tribes of Arunachal Pradesh has been presented right from colonial period.

4.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Examine the general tribal situation in Arunachal Pradesh
- Distinguish between tribes as per administrative category and ethnos
- Identify demographic characteristics of Arunachali tribes
- Classify the tribes with reference to bio-genetic variability and linguistic family
- Discuss the distribution of tribes in the state both in political divisions and geographical regions
- Trace how Arunachal Pradesh evolved politically and administratively over the years to attain statehood
- Provide an overview of tribal studies in Arunachal Pradesh

4.2 TRIBAL ARUNACHAL PRADESH

You already know that 68.8 per cent of population in Arunachal Pradesh belongs to ST category. In other words, 31.2 per cent of its population belong to Non-ST category. The question is who are these Non-ST people? You have also studied in Paper-I that in India tribes belong to both ST and Non-ST categories. Does this division hold in Arunachal Pradesh? What is the settlement pattern of different tribes? Do they inhabit a particular geographical region? Or do they share different regions? You will get answers to these and some more questions after studying this section. The answers will give you an idea of tribal situation in Arunachal Pradesh, i.e. the Tribal Arunachal Pradesh.

4.2.1 Tribes and their Nomenclature

Tribes of Arunachal Pradesh have an identity with regard to nomenclature. This nomenclature is often an outside import. The import does not have a meaning in the linguistic system of the tribe. Thus, it expresses the outsider's perception of

the community. In recent years a few tribes have adopted their own tribe names administratively in place of the earlier designation.

In general you will find three sources for the tribes' name, namely outside import with or without a meaning in the language system of the tribe, a territorial distinction, an ancestor based identity and the sense of designating as *human* in contrast to 'others'.

1. Outside import with or without a meaning in language system: Aka, Tagin, Hill Miri, Dafla (present Nyishi), Abor (present Adi), Khampti, Mishmi (such as Chulikata, Digaru appellation), Sulung and Apatani

2. A territorial distinction: Nocte, Tangsa, Galo, Adi, Monpa and Wancho

3. Ancestor based identity: We do not have a nomenclature for a tribe based on the name of an ancestor. Minyong, Pertin, Perme, Joram, Tana are nomenclatures of clan or phratry in a tribe. Apatani can be thought of as an exception, for the nomenclature Apatani is interpreted as 'lovable Tanis'. Of course the designation was given by Haimendorf. If Apatanis were named after Tani, the mythological ancestor, then other tribes like Adi, Galo, Nyishi would have also used this nomenclature as they also claim descent from Tani.

4. Human: Bangni, Nyishi and Puroik

The distinctions are not exclusive. In other words, in some nomenclature you will find a combination of more attributes. For example, the appellation Wancho is derived from two words: *Wang* and *Cho*; **Wang** is further derived from *Wangham*, who is the ruler and **Cho** meaning hill men. Hence, the name Wancho means the hill men who are followers of the Wangham or the hill men with a chieftainship type social system. You will learn a few more examples on the topic.

The designation Apatani is derived from two words namely, Apa (a term used as prefix to show affection) and Tani (human race, Tani is the mythological ancestor of Adi, Galo, Nyishi, etc.). The name was used by Haimendorf in 1944-45 to the people who were known differently as Onka Miri, Anka, Apa Tanang, Auka Miri, Tanag by earlier visitors to the valley. Apatani people, however, express that they call themselves Tanii.

The word Khampti means 'country full of gold' (*Kham*-gold; *ti*-place), and from this the people themselves came to be known as Khamptis. There is also a second version of the origin of the nomenclature. E. R. Leach (1954) writes, 'Hkamti (Khampti) appears to have been originally a title associated with the royal family of Mogaung (Mungkong). After the elimination of Mogaung (Mungkong) as a political unity, it continued to serve as the description of those Shan principalities which had formerly political dependencies of Mogaung (Mungkong) in a feudal sense'.

There is also a third version of it. A Tibetan army attacked the Shan state situated in the then North Burma, and the King Sam-Lung-Pha pushed back the Tibetan army and closed the Nai-Khoma Pass of the Patkoi ranges for ever; and the Shans lived there peacefully for several centuries. Therefore, the country was known as Khampti (*Kham*-to adhere to; *ti*- place or country). In view of this, the Shans residing in that region came to be known as the Khamptis.

The nomenclature 'Khampti' in all the versions has a territorial significance.

Eli Doyi, in his Ph. D dissertation has given an account of the possible versions of the origin of the term Galo. Those sections of people in course of their migration who crossed or climbed down the famous *Golo Yorbe* (a high mountain range/ridge near the present International Boundary with China) are called the *Galo*. Another version is that the *Galo* were found to be rapidly encroaching jhum lands of others like that of the wave ripples of the water. So they were given the name of *Galo,* meaning wave ripples. Again, the third one is that this nomenclature evolved from their erstwhile settlement at '*Riga*' (a village in Upper Siang District where the *Galo* settled before migrating to *Aalo*) and subsequent settlement at Aalo i.e., *Riga + Aalo = Galo*. This version is a construct of Adi vocabulary. However, this version has a restricted applicability as other Galo divisions did not disperse from Aalo.

The Aka, a Scheduled Tribe of the state, inhabits 38 villages in both East Kameng and West Kameng districts. The nomenclature of the Aka is an Assamese import. It is believed that the word is derived from the Assamese word *ankit*, meaning painted, for the custom of this group to paint forehead, nose and chin.

However, the tribe has two sub-tribes namely Hrusso and Koro which is further divided into a number of exogamous clans. You will study from history that its two earlier subdivisions were territorial based. These two groups, namely Kutsun and Kuvatsun had the nickname of *Hazarikhowa* and *Kapaschors* respectively. The former is interpreted as 'breakfast eaters', 'eaters at a thousand hearths', etc. but the reason for such an interpretation is obscure. *Kapaschors,* however mean 'cotton thieves', but again details of an account for such an appellation is also obscure. One thing is certain that this tribe had interaction beyond the tribe and bears the import of outside nomenclature.

Lakshmi Devi (1968) provides an account of the origin of these nomenclatures. She writes;

> The first of these names probably arose out of the circumstances that a thousand *gots* paiks or individual groups of revenue payers were set aside for the collection of 'posa' by the Akas. The second class of Akas known as Kapachors or cotton thieves who had no right to 'posa' but extorted them from the cultivators by their night attacks, in which they lurked in the cotton fields with a primitive sort of cark lantern, waiting their opportunity for theft, and thus received their name.

> Paiks were adult males whose names were registered for state service; for paiks constituted one unit called a 'got'.   – Lakshmi Devi,1968.

You have studied about the Kutsun and Kuvatsun sections along with the Hrusso and Koro sections of the Akas. The Hrusso and Koro divisions are not same as the Kutsun and Kuvatsun. The Hrusso and Koro are distinct subdivisions in terms of language and territorial occupation, and each consists of exogamous clans. The Hrussos mostly live in West Kameng district in 29 villages and the Koro in East Kameng in 09 villages. The Kutsun and Kuvatsun were two village based groups designated by earlier visitors to these two villages.

The nomenclature Monpa is also a reference to the inhabitants of the region South of Tibet. In Tibetan language, *Mon* means 'people' and *pa* means 'lower territory'. The Tibetan tradition distinguishes people and territory together. For example, *Mon Bumthang* refers to the people living in *Bumthang* area. Similarly, *Mon Thimpu* refers to the people living in Thimphu in Bhutan. Understandably, the nomenclature Monpa has also a territorial reference.

The topic of tribal nomenclature raises two interrelated issues. The first one relates to the need of an identity above the clan or lineage identity. What was the occasion for which the clans came together under a common nomenclature?

In earlier days the people of Arunachal Pradesh used their clan or lineage identity, along with village or directional identity to introduce themselves to another clan or lineage. Within the clan an individual was introduced or addressed with reference to the lineage in the clan or ancestor of the lineage. But when these clans interacted outside the boundary of clan or group of clans, the outside people designated them in terms of their perceived attributes, whether derogatory or honorific. Therefore, the designation Abor was attributed not only to present Adis but also to some other tribes even south of the Brahmaputra.

The second one relates to the possibility of use of a common nomenclature by a group of clans or lineages themselves. We do not have ethnographic data for a valid answer. We can only make some logical suppositions. For example, there might have been an alliance of clans or lineages having common mythological ancestor or any other common bondage against adversity. The bondage might be due to sharing a common territory or some cultural traits. There must have been a common interest for grouping more than one clan of lineage or sub-tribe as it happens to gain political mileage in recent years.

That the clans, lineages, phratries or sub-tribes came together to forge a common identity such as a tribe or generic group negate the notion of *tribal isolation*. However, this proposition needs to be verified with field data. Nonetheless, we know from other studies that tribes of Arunachal Pradesh were not living in isolation even a few centuries before colonial rule.

The word Nocte means people living in an organised community. It has been derived from the words *Noc* (village) and *Te* (the people) i.e. the people who live in village. But in some dialectical group of *Nocte* like *Damlak* and *Tutsa* the Nocte means *man* or *human being*. The words *Noc* and *Te* also stand for united and people respectively. So Nocte also means united people. Sahu (2002) mentions that etymologically, the word Nocte means people living in an organised community (*Noc* village and *te* people). During Ahom and early British periods, the Noctes were known as Borduarias, Paniduarias, Namsangias, and Jaipurias. They came in close contact with the people of Assam from the middle of the 19th century when they started to work as labourers in the tea gardens of Assam.

Dutta (1978) has classified the Noctes as *Koute Nocte* and *Hawa Nocte,* meaning hills and plains Noctes.

The *Tangsa* is a territorial name given to a tribe inhabiting the Changlang district. The Tangsa, called Tangshang in Myanmar, is a community of several thousand people living in Changlang and Triap districts of Arunachal Pradesh and parts of Tinsukia district of Assam in the Northeast India, and across the border in Sagaing region of Myanmar. The term Tangsa is derived from *Tang* (high land) and *Sa* (son), and means people of highland.

Rikam (2003) informs us that the Nyishing or Nyeshang is derived from two words, *Nyi* or *Nyia* and *Ishing* or *Ashing*. Nyia means man or human race or the descendant of Atu Nyia; and the word Ishing or Ashing means highland. Therefore, Nishing means descendants of Atu Nyia who dwell in the highland or highlander. But in earlier writings the Nyishi tribe including the Tagins and Hill Miris have

been mistakenly or without justification termed as Dafla during the Ahoms reign and later used by the Britishers, sometimes spelt as Duphla or Dumphla. Interestingly none of these terms are known to the tribes themselves nor the meaning has been clearly explained by those who used it. They call themselves as Nyeshang, Nishi or appropriately as Nishing since time immemorial.

In British writings the present Tagins were addressed as Eastern Dafla and Tagin Dafla interchangeably (see Devi,1968). However, Riddi (2003) feels that the Tagins have been misrepresented as Dafla by the colonial ethnographers and administrators as the Tagins had no direct contact with the plains of Assam nor did they enjoy the privilege of posa. The people as Tagin existed from time immemorial. But the origin of the term is still shrouded in mystery. The word Tagin might have its roots in Tagend (literally meaning the last part of something). The colonial ethnographers and officials might have used the expression to specify the people living in the last part of their frontier. But as the term existed earlier it is believed that the Tibetans, with whom the people had trade relations, addressed them Tagin from their fashion of using Yagin to cover the lower part of body.

4.2.2 Tribes and Other Communities

Arunachal Pradesh is a multi-ethnic state. In addition to tribes of Arunachal Pradesh there are habitations of ethnic groups like Chakmas, Hajongs, Tibetan Communities and Adivasis. Groups like Hajong, Adivasi, Chakma, etc., have not been recognized as Scheduled Tribes of Arunachal Pradesh; the Hajongs, Tibetan Communities and Chakmas are treated as refugees. And Adivasi is a generic term for former tea garden labourers from different ethnic groups of the present Odisha, Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh who were brought here during the British time. Moreover, Nepali and other communities are found in Arunachal Pradesh who are immigrants for job and business. You will also find habitations of Assamese and Nepali communities in Lohit district. Because of the presence of members of other communities, tribal villages are of mixed types. In other words, all the families who inhabit a village are not tribals. You will learn this from census records presented below:

Tribal Villages and Concentration of Tribal Families in 2001 and 2011									
100% Tribals		> 90 % Tribals		> 75% Tribals		> 50% Tribals		> 25% Tribals	
2001	2011	2001	2011	2001	2011	2001	2011	2001	2011
2165	2382	2894	3929	3144	4367	3378	4667	3555	4859

Out of a total of 4859 villages in the State only 2382 villages in 2011 were considered to be 100 per cent tribal. This constitutes only 49.02 per cent or less than half. In 2001 out of 3555 villages only 2165 constituting 60.9 per cent had 100 per cent tribal population. In others, non-Arunachali population is recorded along with tribes of Arunachal Pradesh.

4.2.3 Tribes as Administrative Category

The list of STs in Arunachal Pradesh is open in nature. According to the *Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Lists (Modification) Order, 1956* and as inserted by Act 69 of 1986 states, the STs in the state are 'All tribes of the State including: Abor,

Aka, Apatani, Dafla, Galong, Khampti, Khowa, Mishmi, Monpa, Momba, Any Naga tribes, Sherdukpen, Singpho'. The notification gives only an illustration of a few STs.

In 2001 Census, total of 100 STs have been enumerated. The census enumerates the following 25 tribes as the major STs:

Major STs as per 2001 census				
1. Abor	6. Aka	11. Deori	16. Mishing/	21. Nocte
2. Adi	7. Any Naga	12. Galong	Miri	22. Tagin
3. Adi Gallong	Tribes	13. Idu/	17. Mishmi	23. Tangsa
4. Adi	8. Apatani	Chulikata	18. Monpa	24. Tawang
Minyong	9. Bangni	Mishmi	19. Nishang	Monpa
5. Adi Padam	10. Dafla	14. Khampti	20. Nissi	25. Wancho
		15. Miji		

According to census, 2011 all tribes of the State are included in the list of Scheduled Tribes in India. After Census 2001, more specific names like *Idu*, *Taroan, Hrusso, Tagin, Khamba* and *Adi* have been mentioned in this list. In the State/Union Territory-wise list all tribes in the State are recognised as STs including:

1. Abor	5. Galo	9. Momba	13. Hrusso
2. Aka	6. Khampti	10. Any Naga tribes	14. Tagin
3. Apatani	7. Khowa	11. Sherdukpen	15. Khamba
4. Nyishi	8. Mishmi, Idu, Taroan	12. Singpho	16. Adi

The statement 'all tribes in the State' is confusing. In a way it may refer to the list of tribes which is prepared and recommended by the State Government for scheduling in the Constitution. One thing is clear. The State Government at least in recent years will not be confused with 'Abor' and 'Adi' nomenclature. Moreover, it will not be confused over tribe, sub tribe and repetition of a group like *Adi Minyong* and Minyong. There are many lapses in listing the communities which neither agrees with academic criteria nor with ground picture.

Normally, tribes belong to the Fifth or Sixth Scheduled Areas of the country with regard to administration. Article 244 in Part X of the Constitution with regard to the administration of *Scheduled Areas and Tribal Areas* reads:

(1) The provisions of the Fifth Schedule shall apply to the administration and control of the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes in any State other than the States of Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura and Mizoram.

(2) The provisions of the Sixth Schedule shall apply to the administration of the tribal areas in the States of Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura and Mizoram.

> List of STs of the State of Arunachal Pradesh compiled from *T 1.24: Census 2011: State-wise list of STs with details in terms of Households, Population (Total, Male, Female), sex ratio, child sex ratio, Literacy (Total, Male, Female), Worker Participation Rate, Main worker and Marginal Worker Only.*

1. Abor	37. Hotang Tangsa	73. Laju
2. Aka	38. Kaman / Miju Mishmi	74. Nonong
3. Apatani	39. Karka	75. Padam
4. Nyishi	40. Kemsing Tangsa	76. Dalbing
5. Galong	41. Khamiyang	77. Pailibo
6. Khampti, Kamti	42. Komkar	78. Panchen Monpa
7. Khowa, Bugun	43. Korang Tangsa	79. Pangi
8. Mishmi, Idu, Taroan	44. Langkai Tangsa	80. Pasi
9. Momba, Memba	45. Libo	81. Phong Tangsa
10. Any Naga tribes	46. Lichi Tangsa	81. Ponthai nocte
11. Sherdukpen	47. Liju Nocte	82. Ramo
12. Singpho	48. Lish Monpa	Pasi
13. Hrusso	49. Longchang Tangsa	83. Adi Ramo
14. Tagin	50. Longin Tangsa	84. Rangai Tangsa
15. Khamba	51. Longphi Tangsa	85. Rongrang Tangsa
16. Adi	52. Longri Tangsa	86. Sanke tangsa
17. Adi bori	53. Longsang	87. Simong
18. Adi Gallong	54. LongsangTangsa	88. Siram
19. Adi Minyong	55. Lowang Tangsa	89. Sulung
20. Adi Padam	56. Meyor	90. Sulung Bangni
21. Adi Pasi	57. Miji	91. Tagin Bangni
22. Ashing	58. Mikir	92. Taisen Tangsa
23. Bagi	59. Millang	93. Tangam
24. Bangni	60. Minyong	94. Tangsa
25. Bogum	61. Mishing / Miri	95. Jugli
26. Bokar	62. Mishmi	96. Taram
27. Bomdo	63. Moglum Tangsa	97. Tawang Monpa
28. Bori	64. Monpa	98. Thai Khampi
29. But Monpa	65. Morang Tangsa	99. Tikhak Tangsa
30. Darok Tangsa	66. Mossang Tangsa	100. Tutcha Nocte
31. Deori	67. Muktum	101. Wancho
32. Degaru/Taraon Mishmi	68. Namsang Tangsa	102. Yobin
33. Dirang Monpa	69. Ngimong Tangsa	103. Yongkuk Tangsa
34. Haisa Tangsa	70. Nishang	104. Yougli Tangsa
35. Havi Tangsa	71. Nissi	
36. Hill Miri	72. Nocte	

Source: *Statistical Profile of Scheduled Tribes in India, 2013*

From this one will deduce that tribes in Arunachal Pradesh are covered under the Fifth Schedule. But in the state there are neither tribal sub-plan (TSP) areas nor the Tribal Advisory Council (TAC) as in the states of Odisha, Madhya Pradesh, etc. The Scheduled areas of nine states such as Andhra Pradesh, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Himachal Pradesh, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Odisha, Rajasthan are covered under the Fifth Schedule. In these states, tribal population co-exists with larger group of non-tribal population which is not the case of Arunachal Pradesh. It was created as an autonomous state as per the provisions of the Article 244A on *the matter of formation of an autonomous state comprising certain tribal areas in Assam and creation of local Legislature or Council of Ministers or both therefore.* However, the State is a Special State under the provisions of Article 371H of the Constitution. The tribes are covered by general plan programmes and administration, and special provisions under Article 371H as well.

4.2.4 STs and Ethnos

Tribes in Arunachal Pradesh present a wider canvas than the category of Scheduled Tribes. All the groups do not have ST status according to the group designation, but at the same time all of them have access to ST status having being clubbed to the group scheduled in the Constitution. In a way, there is a loss of identity at one level and gaining a greater identity at the other. In 1987, the Meyors of present Anjaw district got ST status, but the Zakhrings who used to claim themselves superior gradually assumed Meyor identity in order to have access to ST status. Both the groups have a less population, around 1500 persons. You will not find a Zakhring family in Walong and Kibootho circles of Anjaw district. There are other ethnic groups who do not have ST status, but merge with a group, and at the same time, maintain socio-cultural distinction in terms of genealogy, clan endogamy and group identity.

There are also instances where a group identified with a larger group now tries to establish its separate identity.

The Constitution of India had scheduled Dafla in the category of Scheduled Tribe. Some distinct ethnic groups like Sulungs (Puroiks), Hill Miri, Nah, adopted Dafla nomenclature for administrative purpose, but maintain community identity separately. Even these communities are also scheduled. But it is not clear whether these are sub-tribes of a tribe or a distinct ST category. These tribes are listed under the category of ST as mentioned above. In 2006 the Constitution of India replaced the nomenclature Dafla for Nyishi, by which a large group of people address themselves from earlier time. In view of this, the ethnic communities which earlier adopted Dafla nomenclature for administrative purpose now use the nomenclature Nyishi. Even among the people the trend of addressing themselves as Nyishi has emerged in many such communities.

The Khampti and the Khamiyang of the Tai race have been maintaining a distinct ethnic identity until recently when the latter began to identify themselves with the Khampti. The appellation Khampti, refers to the people of Tai origin who migrated to India during the Ahom Rule. The Idus — a sub-group of the Mishmi tribe have developed a distinct ethnic identity owing to their cropped hairstyle. They are popularly known as *Chulikata Mishmi*. The Nah group, considered as western Tagins, has Buddhist influences and has also developed a distinct identity for itself. The Tutsas, earlier considered as a clan of Tangsas of Changlang District, have now ascertained their independent identity as a tribe. Similarly, the Sartang, earlier grouped under the Monpa tribe, now claim a separate identity. The Adi, Apatani, Nyishi and the Tagin who have a common faith and belief in the Almighty Donyi-Polo and have Tani as their common ancestor are presently distinct ethnic groups. The Bangni of East Kameng were taken as a distinct ethnic group in earlier records but presently come under the Nyishi tribe. The Adi-Samuwas, believed to be a branch of Miris (Mishings) of Assam and Arunachal Pradesh inhabit the Lohit District. Nyori (1993) informs us that The Adi included 14 sub-ethnic groups under the Padam-Minyong and the Galo groups identified on the basis of minor differences in material culture, hair, dress and local institutions. The Galos, however, have been scheduled in the Constitution since 1950. But in recent years, the Galo community has withdrawn itself from the generic Adi community. The Padam-Minyong groups, including the Adi-Samuas use the appellation Adi which has replaced the earlier appellation Abor - as mentioned in the Constitution.

It is interesting to note that communities like the Hill Miri and the Sulung have been scheduled in the Constitution. However, this list is confusing as it mentions tribes and sub tribes together and there is little distinction as to which are tribes and which sub-tribes. Moreover, when sub-tribes are mentioned there is no mention of its main tribe which doesn't cut any ice as tribes and sub-tribes are placed together in the same categories. For example, Adi is the name of the Scheduled Tribe which includes the Adi Padam and the Adi Minyong etc. In addition to Adi Padam and Adi Muinyong it also lists Padam and Minyong separately thus, leading to enormous confusions.

The members of the Nyishi community are believed to have descended from four ancestors, namely Dopum, Dodum, Dol and Nyiv. The social organisation of the community is kinship based as is evident from earlier studies. Available literature is not helpful to situate the ethnic groups like Hill Miri, Nah, etc. in the social organisation scheme of the Nyishi after 2006. Further studies in this regard will be helpful to address the issue of reconstructing the scheme of social organisation in the changing context.

Lack of proper ethnographic study creates much confusion with regard to proper classification of the ethnic groups in Arunachal Pradesh. As mentioned earlier, census reports have enumerated clans and sub-clans as distinct ethnic groups.

4.3 DEMOGRAPHY, GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION AND LINGUISTIC CLASSIFICATION

Arunachal Pradesh is an ethnic mosaic. The tribes inhabiting the state present a picture of heterogeneity. The heterogeneity results from geographical distribution, language diversity, different economic pursuits, diverse socio-political organisations and bio-genetic variability. You will also find diverse cultural traditions among the tribes. We will discuss demography, geographical distribution of population in the state in this section.

4.3.1 Demography

Arunachal Pradesh is the largest state in Northeast India in terms of its territory. The state covers an area of 83743 sq km. But it has a small population, only 1383727 persons according to Census, 2011 which constitutes 0.11 percentage of country's population. The topography of the state is mountainous, covering about 80 per cent of the territory; only five per cent remains as plains, river valleys, etc.

The state has a very spare settlement, so sparse that it has smallest density of population in the country. As per Census, 2011 the population density of Arunachal Pradesh is only 17 persons per sq.km as against the country's 368. The sex ratio in the state is 938 females per 1000 male population.

Distribution of population: Arunachal Pradesh has a highly uneven distribution of population. The plains are densely populated than the hills. Unevenness is also noticed in districts. Inter-district variation in population primarily depends on the size of the districts. In addition to size the density also varies and this indicates unevenness of inter-district variation. This depends on topography and level of development.

There were only 16 districts at the time of census enumeration. You will find that eight districts have population density below the state average and eight districts have equal to and/or more than 17 persons per sq.km, the state average. The districts with density below average cover 65.23 percentage of the state's area but as high as 35.43 per cent of its population. On the contrary, 64.57 per cent of the state's population lives in 34.77 per cent of its area. You will find Dibang Valley district having the lowest density, one person per sq.km, while Papumpare district, that accommodates twin capital cities, has the highest density, 51 persons per sq. km. Anjaw district has second lowest density, 3 persons per sq.km followed by Upper Siang district with 5 persons per sq. km. Similarly, Tirap district has second largest density of population, 47 persons per sq. km followed by Changlang district with 32 persons per sq. km.

ST population: As you know Arunachal Pradesh is a tribal dominated state. The non-ST population consists of migrants from other states and a few others who have settled in the state. The ST population consist of 68.8 per cent of total population with 65.61 per cent male and 72.17 per cent female population. They live in 27 urban centres and 4211 inhabited villages. In Arunachal Pradesh 22.93 per cent of total population, both ST and non-ST, is recorded in Census, 2011 living in urban areas. These urban centres are in fact census towns, though many of them could be counted as overgrown villages rather than towns. The sex ratio of the Scheduled Tribe population in the state is 1032 female per 1000 male population.

Literacy: Census, 2011 records 64.6 per cent ST literacy (65.38 per cent for the state in general), out of which 71.5 per cent ST male and 58.0 per cent ST female are literates. In rural Arunachal Pradesh the literacy rate is 60.4 per cent and it is 84.6 per cent in 27 census towns that constitute the urban Arunachal Pradesh. Out of rural ST literacy 67.7 ST males and 53.3 ST females are literate. Similarly, 90.3 per cent of ST male and 79.4 per cent of ST female in urban Arunachal Pradesh are recorded literates.

Birth and death rates: National Health Profile, 2013, records combined birth rate at 19.4 which constitutes 21 as rural birth rate and 13.9 as urban birth rate for the year 2012. It also records 5.8 as combined death rate including 6.7 rural and 2.7 urban death rates during the same year. The infant mortality rate (IMR) is enumerated 33 in the state.

Arunachal Pradesh had a crude birth rate (CBR) of 36.8 and a crude death rate (CDR) of 19.8 in 1971. Over the years there is an improvement. The HDR of Arunachal Pradesh, 2005 reports CBR of 34.62, CDR of 11.57 and IMR of 77 in 2001.

Bio-genetic Variability

Broadly, the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh display the biogenetic traits of the Mongoloid stock. The Khampti, Singpho, Tangsa and Nocte belong to the Palaeo-Mongoloid branch while the Adi, Apatani, Nyishi, Galo, Aka and Monpa belong to the Tibeto-Mongoloid branch. The divergent processes of fission and fusion determined by historical factors over a long span of time have given distinct ethnic identity to many earlier singular tribes.

4.3.2 Distribution of Tribes

In this section you will come to know how tribes are distributed according to recent political divisions and across geographical regions of the state.

Distribution of Tribal Habitats in Political Divisions

Traditional concept of tribal habitats refers to a contiguous territory which does not have political dimension in modern sense. The territory is exclusive to the tribe and the people do not share it with other tries. But the modern political divisions do not keep the territorial habitats confined to one division. A particular tribe may spread over more than one political division or share the division with the habitats of more than one tribe. The study of the distribution of tribes and thus their habitats will help you to understand the changing territorial divisions. In Arunachal Pradesh, distribution of tribes in political divisions is as follows:

District (Political Divisons)	Tribes/Ethnic Groups
Anjaw	Miju & Digaru Mishmi, Meyor
Changlang	Tangsa, Lisu, Singpho, Tutsa
Dibang Valley	Idu Mishmi
East Kameng	Nyishi, Puroik (Sulung)
East Siang	Adi, Galo (Minyong, Padam, Pasi and others)
Kra Daadi	Nyishi
Kurung Kumey	Nyishi, Puroik and Bangru
Lohit	Miju & Digaru Mishmi, Khampti, Singpho, Meyor, Tibetan Community
Longding	Wancho
Lower Dibang Valley	Adi (Padam), Idu Mishmi
Lower Subansiri	Nyishi, Apatani, Hills Miri
Namsai	Khampti, Deori, Chakma, Galo, Adi, Samua/Miri and few other comunities
Papumpare	Nyishi
Siang	Adi (Minyong, Shimong etc)
Tawang	Monpa
Tirap	Nocte, Wancho, Tutsa
Upper Siang	Adi (Minyong, Padam, Karko, Millang, Ashing, Tangam etc.), Memba, Khamba
Upper Subansiri	Tagin, Na, Galo, Nyishi (Hill Miri)
West Kameng	Monpa,Sherdukpen, Aka, Miji, Khowa, Tibetan Community
West Siang	Galo, Memba, Adi (Bori, Bokar, Pilobo, Minyong, etc.)

Distribution of Tribal Habitats in Geographical Regions

You will find habitats of many tribes of Arunachal Pradesh are not confined to a particular geographical region. They inhabit more than one geographical region. However, a few tribes inhabit a particular region. The geographical regions are broadly classified as follows:

1. Longitudinal belt of the Assam plains at a height of about 200m in its southern border;

2. The foot hills;

3. The ranges of lesser sub-Himalayas; and

4. The Greater Himalayas.

The Deori, the Khampti and the Singpho inhabit the first geographical region in Lohit and Changlang district. In this region also you will find Adis and Galos in plains of East Siang district. Though Nyishis live in hills, you will find a few villages located in the foothills of East and West Kameng districts also. Digaru Mishmis inhabit the foot hills of Lohit district. A few villages of the Singphos are also located in foot hills. A few villages of Idu Mishmi, Nyishi, Galo and Adi are located in the foot hills of East Siang and Lower Dibang Valley. The Galos also inhabit plains and foot hills of West Siang in Likabali circle. The Nyishis spread from plains to the Greater Himalayas in Kurng Kumey and Kra Daadi districts. The Apatanis, the Bugun, the Aka, the Miji, the Nocte, the Meyors, the Wancho, the Tangsa and the Sherdukpen tribes have settled in ranges of lesser Himalayas. However, a few villages of the Tangsa and the Nocte are found in foot hills and plains. The Yobin, the Monpa, the Memba, the Sulung and the Khamba inhabit the Greater Himalayas. Many villages of Digaru Mihsmi and the villages of Miju Mishmi haves spread in both lesser and Greater Himalayas. The Tagins also live in both the regions.

4.3.3 Linguistic Classification

Tribes of Arunachal Pradesh belong to different language groups. Efforts are still going on to properly identify and classify the language groups of all the tribes. However, Grierson's *Linguistic Survey of India* classifies the languages and dialects spoken by different ethnic communities under the Tibeto-Burman language group. Vidyarthi and Rai (1985) have considered Tibeto-Burman as sub-family of Tibeto-Chinese family. Language groups in Arunachal Pradesh are classified as under:

Tai-group of Siamese	Khampti, Khamiyang and Aiton groups.
Kachin group of Assamese	Singphos.
Arunachal branch of Tibeto-Burman sub-family	Aka, Adi group of tribes, Nyishi, Apatani, Mishmi, etc.
Bhoti language of Tibetan group	Monpa and sub-groups, Meyors

Among the tribes, the Khamptis have adopted the Tai script, while the western Buddhist tribes adopted a Tibetan script called *Uchan*. The Adi, Nyishi, Apatani, etc., have adopted the Roman script in recent years and are creating literature in their respective languages. The Millangs, a sub-group of the Padam Minyong branch, use their own language for intra-group communication though they use Minyong group language for inter-tribe communication. Their own language is believed to be a symbolic mode of communication which they developed during the days of frequent tribal feuds. So, linguistically they are identified with Adi language group. However, in recent years, the linguistics like Mark W. Post have started to consider their mode of communication as a distinct language group. Recently, Koro has been identified as a distinct language, though Koro is a sub-tribe of the Akas. According to linguist Harrison and Anderson, Koro does not have any sister languages nor is it a dialect of any other language. But undeniably, it belongs to the larger Tibeto-Burman linguistic family.

You will find from census 2001 (information on tribe wise language speakers in 2011 census report is not available) that Nyishi language is spoken by the largest number of people accounting for 18.94 per cent followed by Adi (17.57%). The

Monpa speakers constitute 5.1 per cent followed by Wancho (4.3%), Tasngsa (3.1%), Mishmi (3.1%), Nocte (2.9%) and others (11.5 %).

In recent years the language groups spoken by different communities are re-classified. The Bhoti language is presented as Bodhic language group. Similarly, the languages of Tani groups of people are classified as Tani group of languages. In the earlier scheme it was classified under Tibeto-Burman sub-family. However, you will study the recent classification of language groups during further higher studies on the subject.

4.4   POLITICO-ADMINISTRATIVE GROWTH OF ARUNACHAL PRADESH

Tribes in Arunachal Pradesh can be better understood as 'tribes of Arunachal Pradesh'. The construct of *Tribes of Arunachal Pradesh* is an identity which is a later development. The identity has a territorial dimension and a political composition. It presents the notion of a group belongingness blending together all the heterogeneity across the communities. In doing so the individuality of the tribe is not sacrificed. However, this identity has evolved over the years.

As you know a tribe's concept of a territory is notional and is defined in the community's collective mind. In that sense the territory is exclusive to the tribe's notion of traditional rights. But Arunachalee identity has introduced sharing a territory among the communities at various levels—state, district, and at least subdivision. Even two or more tribes share territorial boundary of a circle in the district. One tribe also shares the territory of circle or subdivision boundary with two or more different tribes. As has been said, the change has evolved over the years with politic-administrative development since British rule. A discussion will help you to understand the emerging identity of the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh from a number of heterogeneous communities.

The present State of Arunachal Pradesh has evolved over a period of about 100 years, organizing and re-organizing the administration, and naming and renaming the territory a number of times. Similarly, the administration has evolved through different stages, right from the colonial rule — from punitive expeditions to passing of regulations.

The territorial and administrative evolution of Arunachal Pradesh dates back to 1875 when the Inner Line Regulation of 1873 was drawn up. However, the territory assumed administrative significance only in 1914. In this year, the frontier line (the McMohan Line) between the then Tibet and the North-east India was defined. Further, a territorial entity emerged in the name of North-East Frontier Tract (NEFT), which included the areas either inhabited or frequented by the tribes mentioned in the 1880 Act; the Act mentions tribes such as Abors (Adis), Miris, Mishmis, Singphos, Nagas, Khamptis, Bhutias, Akas and Daflas (Nyishi).

Following the Act and subsequent knowledge on the region, the Notification of Presidential Order, 1950, listed 12 tribes namely, Abor, Aka, Dafla, Apatani, Galong, Monpa, Khampti, Singpho, Khowa, Sherdukpen, Mishmi and any Naga tribe. In another Notification in 1989, based on the proposal of the State Government, 25 tribes were enlisted. Later Adi was used for Abor, Nyishi for Dafla and Galo for Galong.

Keeping in view the provisions of the 1880 Act, the territory for NEFT was carved out from the then Darrang and Lakhimpur districts of Assam. Administratively,

NEFT comprised the Western Section — the Lakhimpur Frontier Tract, and the Central and Eastern sections, and was placed under the Assam Government. In 1919 the Western Section was renamed as Balipara Frontier Tract, and the Central and Eastern sections as Sadiya Frontier Tract.

In 1937 the post of the Secretary for the Tribal Affairs, to the Governor of Assam was created. During the same year, the Frontier Tracts, namely Balipara Frontier Tract, Sadiya Frontier Tract and Lakhimpur Frontier Tract, came to be known as 'Excluded Areas' of the Province of Assam under the Government of India (Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas) Order, 1936. The Excluded Areas came under the direct control of the Government and the legislation for these was to be affected only through regulations. There was no line ministry responsible for the administration of the Excluded Areas.

In 1943, the post of an Advisor to the Governor of Assam was created, and the Tirap Frontier Tract was formed by combining some portions of areas from Sadiya and Lakhimpur Frontier Tracts. In 1946, Balipara Frontier Tract was bifurcated into Sela Sub-Agency and Subansiri Area.

In 1948, the Sadiya Frontier Tract was divided into Abor Hills and Mishmi Hills districts with their headquarters at Pasighat and Sadiya respectively. In 1951, the entire Lakhimpur Frontier Tract, and the plains of the Balipara Frontier Tract, Tirap Frontier Tract, Mishmi Hills District and Abor Hills District were transferred to the administrative jurisdiction of the Assam Government. In the same year, the Tuensang Division was created, merging the Naga Tribal Area and placing it under the jurisdiction of NEFT.

In 1954, NEFT was brought under a single administrative unit and re-designated as the North East Frontier Agency (NEFA). The Frontier Tracts were renamed as Frontier Divisions. In the same year, Balipara Frontier Tract was divided into Kameng and Subansiri Divisions; Abor Hills and Mishmi Hills districts were changed to Siang and Lohit Frontier Divisions; Sela Sub-Agency to Kameng Frontier Division and Subansiri Area into Subansiri Frontier Division. In 1957, the Tuensang Frontier Division was excluded from the NEFA and included in Naga Hills. In 1965, the divisions of the NEFA were designated as districts, and Political Officers as Deputy Commissioners. The territory was divided into five districts namely, Tirap, Lohit, Siang, Subansiri and Kameng. These districts were later bifurcated and at present the state has 20 districts.

In 1980 all districts except Tirap were bifurcated. Kameng was bifurcated into East and West Kameng; Subansiri into Lower and Upper Subansiri; Siang into East and West Siang; and Lohit into Lohit and Dibang Valley districts. Later, Tawang District was carved out from West Kameng District in 1984; Changlang from Tirap District in 1987; Papum Pare from Lower Subansiri District in 1992; Upper Siang from the East Siang District in 1994; and Kurung Kumey from Lower Subansiri District and Lower Dibang Valley from Dibang Valley District were carved out in 2001. Lohit District was further bifurcated into Lohit and Anjaw districts in 2004. In 2012 the Tirap district was further bifurcated and Longding district consisting of six subdivisions namely Longding, Kanunbari, Rongchau, Wakka, Pumao and Lawnu was carved out. The remaining area of Lohit, after bifurcation of Anjaw, was again bifurcated. From it Namsai district was carved out in 2014 consisting of the Namsai Subdivision of the undivided Lohit. In 2015 two more districts were created namely Kra Daadi and Siang. Kra Dadi was carved out from Kurung Kumey

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NOTES

Check Your Progress

7. State whether the following statements are True or False:

(a). A name by which a tribe is known must have a meaning in its language system.

(b) Joram is an ancestor based identity.

(c) In Arunachal Pradesh all the people belong to one or the other tribal groups.

(d) Tribes in Arunachal Pradesh belong to Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP) areas.

(e) Density of population in the districts of Arunachal Pradesh is uniform.

district constituting Tali and Palin constituencies. The Siang district was carved out from both West Siang and East Siang districts. It is constituted of Rumong-Kaying Constituency of West Siang and Boleng-Pangin Constituency of East Siang districts. In total the state has 20 districts. As the number of districts increases, the ethnic diversity in a district decreases.

A development took place in 1965. As mentioned earlier, the NEFT received administrative and territorial recognition in 1914 through a notification by the Foreign and Political Departments of the Government of British India. In other words, the affairs of the territory remained with the Foreign Department thereafter. Even after the independence of the country, though the present Arunachal was linked with Assam administration, it was placed under the Ministry of External Affairs. On 1 August 1965, the Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India, took over the charge of administration of NEFA from the Ministry of External Affairs.

On 20 January 1972, NEFA was renamed as Arunachal Pradesh and became a Union Territory. In 1974 the capital of Arunachal Pradesh was shifted from Shillong to the present Itanagar. And On 20 February 1987, Arunachal Pradesh became the 24ᵗʰ state of the Union of India.

The territorial and administrative evolution of the present state dates back to the pre-independence period. But the political development took place in two phases before it became a Union Territory: The first was the nomination of Shri Choukhamoon Gohain (Namchum) as MP in 1952, while the second was the introduction of Panchayati Raj in 1967. In 1971, the representation to Lok Sabha was increased by one seat, while one seat was provided in Rajya Sabha. In 1977 the people of the state exercised their franchise for the first time to elect their representative for the Lok Sabha. Currently there are two representatives to the Lok Sabha and one to the Rajya Sabha.

On 15 August 1975, an elected provincial Legislative Assembly with 30 members was constituted and the first council of ministers assumed office. The first general election for the Assembly was held in February 1978. When Arunachal Pradesh attained full-fledged status in 1987, the seats in the State Assembly were increased from 30 to 60.

4.5 TRIBAL STUDIES IN ARUNACHAL PRADESH: AN OVERVIEW

It will be of your interest to know that tribal studies began as a department in the then Arunachal University in 1995. This department has been further upgraded to Arunachal Institute of Tribal Studies (AITS) subsequently. But this is not what the title of the section *Tribal Studies in Arunachal Pradesh: An overview* implies. In this section you will learn about researches and other studies on tribes of the state. Other studies normally include creative writings like stories, novels, songs on tribes and their cultures.

Broadly, studies on tribes include all topics relating to tribes-their cultures, inter-cultural interactions, tribe and non-tribe exchanges and negotiations with emerging national and international policies and perspectives and so on. You can understand the growth of tribal studies in the present state of Arunachal Pradesh in terms of its phases of growth, topical focus, purpose, sources of studies, etc.

Phases of Growth

You have already studied Vidyarthi and Rai's (1976-1985) classification of the stages of growth of tribal studies in India in Paper-I, Unit-II. Here we will discuss the growth following Vidyarthi and Rai but will suitable modification in Arunachal Pradesh Contest. We propose three phases Formative or Colonial phase (1774-1919), Constructive phase (1920-1954) and Institutional phase. You will understand the reasons of our scheme of classification from the discussions presented below.

Colonial Phase: Interest on the study of tribes began during colonial period due to administrative requirements. Academic administrators were engaged to study the tribes and their cultures to know them better for administrative purpose. The colonial phase is same as the formative period of Vidyarthi and Rai. But we emphasise on Colonial period as colonial attitude was at the centre of interest on studying tribes. Academic administrators were mostly colonial officers and they approached tribes as 'others' and with an attitude of cultural superiority. Studies on tribes appeared in government notifications, gazetteers, census records, acts and regulations, administrative reports and in published articles and volumes.

During this period, tribes of present Arunachal Pradesh and different aspects of their lifestyle appeared in studies undertaken for different regions like the then British province of Bengal and its North-eastern frontiers. You will find references in the following writings:

R. Wilcox's *Memoir of a Survey of Assam and the Neighbouring Countries Executed in 1825-1829* (1832)*;* **R.B. Pemberton's** *Report on the Eastern Frontier of India* (1835); **W. Robinson's** *A descriptive Account of Assam to which is added a short account of Neighbouring Tribes* (1841); **E.T. Dalton's** *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal* (1872); **G.W. Beresford's** *Notes on the North-East Frontier of Assam* (1881); **George Dunbar's** *Frontiers* (1932); **A. Mackenzie's** *History of the Relations of Government with the Hill Tribes of the North-east Frontier of Bengal* (1884); **J.F. Nedham's** *Report on the Bebejiya Mishmi Expedition*, *1889-1900* (1900) and **E.A. Gait's** *History of Assam* (1905).

As you know Asiatic Society of Bengal was established in 1774. This society published a journal entitled *the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* in 1784. The journal contained papers on 'Nature and Man' describing the life and culture of people of India. In it papers on life and culture were also published. You will find an article on Aka as early as 1884 in it. There were a number of articles on different tribes of present Arunachal Pradesh published in the journal. Later these papers were compiled in two volumes, namely *Selection of papers regarding the Hill Tracts between Assam and Burma and on the Upper Brahmaputra* (1873), and *India's North-East Frontier in the Nineteenth Century* (1959) edited by Elwin.

Some other important articles available are on individual tribes are as follws:

G.D.S. Dunbar's *Abors and Galongs: notes on certain hill tribes of the Indo-Tibetan border* (1915); **W. Griffith's** *Visit to the Mishmee Hills in Assam*(1836); **E.A. Rowlatt's** *Report of an Expedition into the Mishmee hills to the northeast of Sudyah* (1845)*;* **W. Robinson's** *Notes on the Dophlas and the Peculiarities of their Language*; G.W. Dun's (1896) *Preliminary Notes on Daphlas* (1851); **B. Duff's** *Report on the Miri country and Operations of Miri Mission* (1912) and **R.S. Kennedy's** *Ethnological Report on the Akas, Khoas, and Mijis and the Monpas of Tawang* (1914).

Two seminal works published during this period based on tour to Mishmi and Galo areas are:

T.T.Cooper's *The Mishmee Hills* (1873) and **A. Hamilton's** *In Abor Jungles* (1912).

Constructive phase: You have studied in Paper I that Vidyarthi and Rai (1976/1985) have marked the period from 1920 to 1950 as constructive phase for tribal studies in India. The greater part of the period is a part of colonial rule. But during this period, tribes were studied in the discipline of Anthropology and Sociology with more focus on academic discourse. Sociology was introduced in Bombay University in 1919 and Anthropology in Calcutta University in 1921. Moreover, the journal *Man in India* started publishing articles mostly on tribes from the year 1921. Not only there was a shift in focus from colonial interest to academic engagement, but Indian scholars like G.S. Ghurye, N. K. Bose, M. N. Srinivas, D. N. Majumdar and many other studied tribes from a national perspective of interaction and integration. It will be of interest to know that the woks of S. C. Roy on the Munda and J. K. Bose on Garo customary inheritance laws were cited in courts while dealing with disputes of these tribes. The judiciary recognised tribal rights as instituted in their customs. Obviously tribal studies entered into a new phase during this period. Of course the book on Munda was written in 1912 but its perspective was academic and rights based.

In Arunachal Pradesh, the constructive phase begins from 1920, corresponding to Vidyarthi and Rai's scheme, but continues till 1954. In 1954, North Eastern Frontier Tracts, (the name of the present territory before 1954) was brought under a single administrative unit and re-designated as the North East Frontier Agency (NEFA). The following year a research branch was established under NEFA Administration. Verrier Elwin worked on Arunachali tribes after it.

During this period problem oriented publications of C. Von Furer-Haimendorf on Apatanis and of other scholars like Ursula Graham Bower are significant academic contributions to tribal studies. Of course Haimendorf's studies continued even after 1954 but his focus was on academics. During this period also Haimendorf produced a report of his expedition into Subansiri area. In addition to his works seminal contributions in the field of folklores and ethnography have been made by faculties of the department of Anthropology of Gauhati University which was established in 1948. In their works tribes of Arunachal Pradesh have appeared along with other tribes of the Northeast. During this period, tribes like Gallongs (present Galos), Abors (present Adis), Daphlas (present Nyishis) and many others were recognised as Scheduled Tribes by the Order of the President of India in 1950. During this period colonial perspective was weaning off and academic approach to national perspective was gaining momentum. However, as is the case of tribes of India in general, much work is not available on Arunachalee tribes. The following works will give you some idea on tribal studies during constructive period in Arunachal Pradesh:

J.P. Mills' 'A Brief Note on Agriculture in the Dirang Dzong Area' (1946); C.Von Furer-Haimendorf's 'Agriculture and Land tenure among the Apa Tanis' and 'Notes on Tribal Justice among the Apa Tanis' of (1946) and *Ethnographic Notes on the Tribes of the Subansiri Region*, (1946; and Ursula Graham Bower's *The Hidden Land* (1953).

In early fifty's social workers visited different places of Arunachal Pradesh. A couple, S.M.Krishnatry and Geeta Krishnatry by name, visited Tagin areas. Recently

Geeta Krishnatry's diary is published under the title *Gender triumphs unarmed in the hostile gorges: rediscovery of border Tagins: Tour Diary of Mrs Geeta Krishnatry.* The diary was compiled by S.M. Krishnatry and edited by B.B. Pandey in1997 and published by Directorate of Research, Government of Arunachal Pradesh.

Institutional Phase: The beginning of this period departs from Vidyarthi and Rai's scheme of analytical period. During this period institutional interest and analytical academics have given a new height to tribal studies in Arunachal Pradesh. The institutional interest was visible in constructive period for tribes of other parts of the country. But in case of Arunachal Pradesh it began from 1955 and combined with analytical and problem oriented studies. That is why the phase is labelled as Institutional Phase (1955-). The overall trend depicted in the scheme of Vidyarthi and Rai does not appear in toto in Arunachal context. The research on tribal studies has its own dynamics in Arunachal Pradesh. The periodisation has slight variation to suit the context of Arunachal Pradesh, though like Vidyarthi and Rai it believes in overlapping of perspectives between the last two phases.

You have already studied that the present territory of Arunachal Pradesh was known as North Eastern Frontier Tracts (NEFT) before 1954 and North East Frontier Agency from 1954 to 1972. There was slow down in tribal studies during the Constructive phase and picked up momentum when the NEFA Administration established as special research Branch in 1955 for anthropological, philological and historical researches. As Elwin writes in *A Philosophy for NEFA*, the work of the Branch centred round the concept of *Philanthropology,* meaning scientific anthropological research 'for the benefit of human beings'. Therefore, anthropologists approached to the tribal people with an attitude of respect and humility, but not with the colonial notion of considering tribes 'as savage or inferior.' Elwin further writes that the NEFA 'research workers were not concerned with policy as such'. They studied people and their institutions so as to encourage people and institutions to provide the basis to establish the foundation of the Administration. Obviously there is a departure from the colonial attitude in the works of the research branch of NEFA Administration. The stress was on the process of integration of Arunachalee tribes into national ethos and development agenda. This is also manifest when philologists devoted attention to the academic study of languages and dialects. They prepared 'Grammars, Dictionaries and Phrase-books to help officers to learn the local languages'. They also supervised 'the translation of school textbooks, so that education at least in the primary stage can be carried on in the mother tongue'. During this period, a substantial collection of myths and legends have been published.

The cultural anthropologists in the research branch have studied tribal religion not only to create knowledge on the subject but to help other colleagues in the Administration to understand and respect tribal beliefs. They have studied 'material culture so that information thus obtained may help the development of cottage industries.' Further, they have investigated 'social organisation and jurisprudence to assist in the building up Cooperatives on the right lines and to help the development of tribal political institutions'. Verrier Elwin and his scheme were predominant quite for some time in tribal studies. Excellent monographs also have been prepared and published in the early few decades.

In 1960s and there after some national institutes like Anthropological Survey of India, Botanical Survey of India, Archaeological Survey of India, Central Institute of Indian Languages at Mysore, National Council of Applied Economic Research at

New Delhi and a few others have conducted their researches in the state. Interesting publications and reports are available based on such researches on various topics. In the *People of India* project of Anthropological Survey of India tribes of Arunachal Pradesh have been studied from different aspects. The volume on Arunachal Pradesh is a rich account of tribes and their culture.

Scholars of the Agro-Economic Research Centre (AERC), Jorhat also conducted socio-economic survey in few villages in Arunachal. Some important works among them include: D. Gohain and S. Saikia's '*Khonsa: A Socio-Economic Survey of a Nocte-Naga Village in NEFA*' (1970) (mimeograph); M. Barkataky and P.C. Dutta's '*Pakam: Socio-Economic Survey of a Gallong Village*' (1972) (mimeograph), U. Phukan's (et al) '*Bamin: A Socio-Economic Survey of Apatani Village*' (1978) (mimeograph), and N.R. Goswami and S.N. Burgohain's '*Hatiduba: A socio-Economic Survey of a Miju Mishmi Village*' (1982) (mimeograph). These surveys provide general idea about traditional economy of Arunachal tribes.

Gazetteers were published in 1970s. Another interesting feature is the publication of a journal in the name of *Resarun* by the Research Branch and *NEFA Information* by Publicity Branch. *NEFA Information* has subsequently been re-designated as *Arunachal News* after it became a Union Territory in 1972 and *Arunachal Review* after it attained statehood in 1987. Since NEFA Information days articles on culture, development initiatives and achievements, government's vision along with news and views have been featuring regularly. Some college teachers of that time, such as Tamo Mibang, Tai Nyori, S. D. Jha, A. K. Agarwal and some others, have contributed on topics relating to culture, history and development. A few among them also have worked on tribal issues for their Ph.D degree.

Institutionalisation process of tribal studies prepared to take off when Arunachal University was established in 1984. The departments like education, political science, and history conducted seminars on topics related to the people and their cultures focusing on changing context. Faculty members attended national and regional seminars where they produced papers on tribes of Arunachal Pradesh. Some studies were also undertaken in North-Eastern Hill University, Shillong; Gauhati University and Dibrugarh University on topics pertaining to Arunachal Pradesh as project works and Ph.D. assignments.

Scholars have used historical accounts to study British relations with hill tribes. In these studies Arunachal Pradesh has occupied an important place. Among the works mention may be made of B.C. Chakravarty's *British relations with the Hills Tribes of Assam* (1964), D. P. Choudhury's *The North-east Frontier of India* (1978) and M.L. Bose's *British Policy in the North-east Frontier Agency* (1979). Chakravarty covered the second half of the nineteenth century, from 1885 to 1900; Choudhury supplemented Chakravarty's work up to 1914. Bose on the other hand covered the period from the British annexation of Assam in 1826 to the Independence of the country in 1947. You will find that scholars of other Universities studied the tribes and tribal institutions of Arunachal Pradesh. K. K. Misra of Utkal University, Bhubaneswar studied Khampti elites for his Ph.D assignment in the later part of 1980s which he published under the title *Tribal Elites and Social Transformation* (1993). Soihiamlung Dangmei (2012-2013) of Jawaharlal Nehru University has compared Donyipolo faiths of Arunachal Pradesh with Heraka faith in his Ph.D dissertation titled *Religious Politics and Search for Indigeneity: A Study of Donyi-Polo and Heraka Movements in North East India*. Foreign scholars like Mark W.

Post, Stephen Morey have studied the languages of some Arunachali tribes. Post has exclusively studied Galo language while Morey has studied Singpho and Nocte languages.

The process however took off after the establishment of the Department of Tribal Studies in 1995. The Department (presently it is Arunachal Institute of Tribal Studies) runs interdisciplinary M.Phil and Ph. D programmes in tribal studies and language package course in tribal languages. It also started P.G. programme in anthropology in 2001 which later has been upgraded to an independent department, but yet having tribal studies as core area of research. In addition to routine teaching and research programmes, faculty members of AITS regularly conduct seminars, conferences, edit books and involve in sponsored projects on topics related to tribes, their cultures and development in the changing context. They use recent methodological and conceptual perspectives in their researches which also include current issues.

Interestingly departments like political science, history, economics, botany, geography. etc. organise seminars and conferences on various topics relating to people, their institutions, history and often locating them in development process. The department of economics acted as the nodal department in preparing *Human Development Report* and *State Development Report* of Arunachal Pradesh. You will also find that research scholars of these departments take up topics related to tribes and their ways of life for M.Phil. and Ph.D degrees. Some of these research works have been published subsequently. Mention may be made of the publications of N. T. Rikam's (2005) *Emerging Religious Identities of Arunachal Pradesh*, Ashan Riddi's (2006) *Tagins of Arunachal Pradesh: A Study of Continuity and Change*, Tana Showren's (2009) *The Nyishi of Arunachal Pradesh-An Ethnohistorical Study*, Otem Pertin's (2009) *Rethinking Tribal Institutions*, Gibji Nimachow's (2011) *The Akas: Land and People* and N. N. Hina's (2012) *Cutomary Laws of Nyishi Tribe of Arunachal Pradesh*.

You will find that topics such as empowerment, social capital, customary laws, political participation, working of Panchayati Raj Institutions, etc. relating to tribal life of Arunachal Pradesh have been covered as Ph.D. assignments of the Department of Political Science. Similarly, scholars of Department of History have worked on etnhohistory, colonial interventions, socio-economic changes, change and continuity of traditional institutions, identity issues, British-tribe relations and many such related topics. Resource management and socio-economic dynamics lie at the core of research topics on which scholars have worked for Ph.D. degree of the Department of Geography.

Ph.D. scholars of the Department of History have worked on topics having bearing on tribal institutions and interactions with outside forces. Mention may be made of Ashan Riddi's (2003) dissertation entitled *Traditional Institutions of the Tagins: Continuity and Change*, N.T. Rikam's (2003) *Changing Religious Identities of Arunachal Pradesh: A Case Study of the Nyishi Since 1947*, Khetoan Khetey's (2007) *Socio-Cultural Development of the Noctes of Arunachal Pradesh since Independence*, and Jommi Loyi's (2012) dissertation entitled *Colonial Interventions into Adi Areas (1825-1947)* as examples.

North-East India History Association (NEIHA) and Economic Association (NEEA) and many regional and national NGOs provide academic platform in seminars and conferences where many research papers on Arunachal Pradesh are

presented. You will find a series of publications of these organisations including those of by the North Eastern Council (NEC), and the North-East Council for Social Science Research (NEICSSR), Shillong. These publications include writings covering various topics on Arunachal Pradesh and its people.

Bio-genetic studies

You have studied bio-genetic characteristic of the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh. From various studies on bio-genetic traits we know about these characteristics. Anthropological Survey of India and the Department of Research, Government of Arunachal Pradesh have carried out projects on these topics. In addition, individual scholars also have taken up studies from where we know about bio-genetic traits of the tribes. In almost all the phases importance was given to such studies. We cite a few as examples.

You will find that bio-genetic studies include a small report on serelogy ('ABO' and 'MN' blood groups) of Digaru Mishmis by D. K. Duarah (1979) based on 80 individuals. Waddell (1901) had undertaken an anthropometric survey among the *Khamptis*. He found that the *Khamptis* belong to the Mongoloid racial stock with an average stature of 1,641 mm, an average cephalic index of 79.1 and an average nasal index of 80.8. B.S. Guha (1948-49 and 1949-50) and P.Gupta and P.C.Dutta (1962) had also undertaken an anthropometric survey among the two sub-groups of the *Adis* i.e. the *Adi-Pangis* and *Adi-Padams*. S. Roy (1966) made a systematic anthropometric survey of *Adi Shimongs*, *Adi Pasis*, *Adi Minyongs* and *Adi Ashings*. N. Kumar (1954) and P. N. Bhattacharjee (1954) undertook serological studies among the *Gallongs*, *Minyongs*, *Padams*, *Pangis* and *Pasis*. A survey conducted by P.N. Bhattacharjee (1955) of finger dermatoglyphics among three Adi sub-groups (*Minyongs*, *Padams* and *Pasis*) suggests that the *Minyongs* and *Padams* have a higher frequency of whorls rather than loops, while the opposite is true in the case of *Pasis*. I.J.S. Jaswal and S. Jaswal (1981), I. J. S. Jaswal and P. B. S. V. Padmanabham (1983) and I.J.S. Jaswal, S. Jaswal S. Sengupta (1986) undertook a detailed bio-anthropological survey of *Apatanis.* D.K. Duarah (1986) had also studied the Monpas of Dirang, Kalaktang and Tawang and found a high frequency of the 'O' blood group gene followed by 'A' and 'B' blood group genes.

Publications of Government of Arunachal Pradesh

Among the publications of the department of research Government of Arunachal Pradesh on tribes the following works are noteworthy:

(a) **Monographs**: The Department of Research has prepared a number of monographs. These include **P. Dutta's** *The Tangsas of the Namchik and Tirap Valleys*(1959) and *The Noctes* (1969); **T. K. M. Baruah's** *The Idu Mishmi* (1960) and *The Singphos and their Religion* (1977); **R. Sinha's** *The Akas* (1962); **T.K. Bhattacharya's** *The Tangams (*1975); **R. K. Deuri's** *The Sulungs* (1982); **K. Kumar's** *The Boris* (1978) and *The Pailibos* (1979); **R.P.R. Sharma's** *The Sherdukpens* (1961); **B.K. Shukla's** *The Daflas of Subansiri Region* (1965); **L.R.N. Srivastava's** *The Gallongs* (1962) and *Among the Wanchos* (1978); **A. Tayeng's** *The Millang* (1976) and D.K.Dutta's *The Membas of Arunachal Prade*sh (2006).

Publications on socio-cultural and historical topics: On this topic you will find **Sachin Roy's** *Aspects of Padam Minyong Culture* (1960); **N. Sarkar's**

(1974) *Dances of Arunachal Pradesh*, *Buddhism among the Monpas and Sherdukpens* (1980) and *Tawang Monastery* (1981); **R.K.Deuri's** *Festivals of Kameng* (1983); **L.N. Chacravarty's** *Glimpses of the Early History of Arunachal* (1989); **A. A. Ashraf's** *Prehistoric Arunachal* (1990); **P.C Dutta & D.K. Duarah's** *Aspects of Culture and Customs of Arunachal Pradesh* (1990) and **A. Tayeng's** *Adi Folk Songs* (1990).

(b) **Gazetteers:** Gazetteer of India, Arunachal Pradesh – *Lohit Distirct* (1978),*Tirap District* (1980), *Subansiri Distirict* (1981), *East Siang and West Siang Districts* (1994) and *East Kameng, West Kameng* and *Tawang Districrts* (1996) and *State Gazetteer of Arunachal Pradesh,* Vol-I (2010).

(c) **Individual scholars on policy directives and culture**: **Verrier Elwin's** *Myths of the North-East Frontier of India* (1958), A *Philosophy for NEFA* and *The Art of the North-East Frontier of India* in 1959, and *Democracy in NEFA*(1965) were published by the Administration of North-East Frontier Agency, Shillong. There is a joint work of **Verrier Elwin** with **B.Shastri and I. Simon,** which is entitled *Important Directives on Administration of NEFA (1967)* and published by NEFA Administration. **P.N. Luthra's** *Constitutional and Administrative Growth of North-East Frontier Agency* (1971) has also been published by the administration. Two works namely Enchanted *Frontiers* (1973) and *Imperilled Frontiers* (1983) by Nari Rustomji are noteworthy. These books provide rich information on life and culture and development imperatives of the government.

Writings included in *Resarun* cover a wide range of topics. Some of them are *Origin and Migrational History of Mishmis* (2009) by Dimso Manyu; *An Account of Gorcham Chorten; The largest Stupa in Arunahcal Pradesh* and *Neolithinc Celts from Arunachal Pradesh* (1982) by N.Sarkar; *Galo House as a Cultural Space* (2006) by Jumyir Basar; *Nutritional Status of Children in Arunachal Pradesh an Overview* (2000) by Helina Mantaw & Priyanka Priyadarshni; *Nutritive Values in the Natural Food Items of Some Arunachal Pradesh* (2001) by R Rina, & Y.P.Kohli and many on cultural life . As early as 1972 C.R. Stoner has published one paper in Arunachal Bulletin on *The Sulung Tribes of the Assam Himalayas*.

In *Arunachal News* writings generally discussed development scenario of the state. As early as 1978 I.K. Barthakur wrote on Economic Review of Arunachal Pradesh-1977. Same year S.K. Chatterjee wrote on the functioning of Arunachal Pradesh Forest Corporation Limited in the article of the same name. Tribal relations with forests have been discussed in many papers included in *Arunachal Forest News*, another government publication. For example, Ruchi Pant (1998) wrote a paper entitled Joint Forestry Management vis-a-vis Conservation Laws of Arunachal Pradesh. Similarly S.N. Hegde (2000) wrote on Conservation of North East Flora in which Arunachal case is adequately covered.

Census publications: You will be interested to learn that the first comprehensive census was introduced in the state only in 1961. Based on census data B.K. Roy Burman compiled a book entitled *Demographic and Socio-economic Profiles of Hills Areas of North-East India* (1961) based on village surveys. You will find socio-economic survey conducted in the villages of Sibuk, Jia, Momong, Dalbing, Ramsingh, Jara and Koreng were included in this volume. The 1971 census two important micro-studies namely, J.B. Ganguly's *A Pilot Study of Pasighat* and Roy Burman's *Scoio-economic Survey of Rupa* provide rich information of two

places. Census reports right from 1961 provide us rich information on Arunachal Pradesh and its people.

Projects at AITS

Faculty members of Arunachal Institute of Tribal Studies have undertaken a good number of projects and have contributed significantly to the growth of tribal studies Arunachal Pradesh. A few of them are cited as examples.

M. C. Behera: *Objective Assessment of Poverty Alleviation Programmes in selected villages of Arunachal Pradesh* (2003), *Base-line Survey Report on handmade Paper Industry in Mukto Village* (2001),*Village India: Identification and Enhancement of Cultural Heritage, Arunachal Chapter* (2000), *Impact of Orange Cultivation on Traditional Role of Galo Women* (1999) *and Articulation of Indian Society through a Pilgrim Centre : A Case Study of Parshuram Kund* (1997).

S. K. Chaudhuri: *Continuity and Change Among the Mijis of Arunachal Pradesh; Relocating Morung in Wancho Society: A Study of a traditional Social Institution at the Cross Roads* and *Around the Loin-Loom: A Study of Indigenous Knowledge of Wancho Women; Documentation of Indigenous Knowledge and policy Issues related to Fisheries of Arunachal Pradesh* **and** *Beyond Cattle to Cash: Changing Agrarian Economy of the Apatanis of Arunachal Pradesh (1946-2008).*

P. T. Abraham: *A comparative Study of Tani Languages-Dialects of Arunachal Pradesh.*

S. S. Chaudhuri: *Culture of Weaving and Women: Special Reference to Indigenous Knowledge System.*

S. K. Chaudhuri & S.S. Chaudhuri: *Beads Traditions among the Tribes of Arunachal Pradesh: A Study on Ethno-History, Gender, Identity and Emerging Cultural Context.*

Jumyir Basar: *A Study of Indigenous Knowledge System and Resource Management Practices among the Galo Tribe of Arunachal Pradesh* and *Ethnographic Study of Minor Communities of Arunachal Pradesh*

H. V. Singh: *Tribal Health Issues in the Context of Arunachal Pradesh.*

Simon John: *Documentation of Performative Traditions Associated with Funerals of Idu Mishmi of Arunachal Pradesh* and *A Multidisciplinary Survey, Research and Documentation of Rock Art in North East India.*

Lisa Lomdak: *A Preliminary Language Documentation of the Tribal Minor Speech communities of Bangru and Meyor of Arunachal Pradesh and Arunachal Volume, Peoples Linguistic Survey of India.*

AITS has also collaborated with SOAS, London's project on *Tribal Transitions* in Arunachal Pradesh.

Seminars/ Conferences/Workshops in AITS: *Indigenous Faith and Practices of Arunachal Pradesh* (1996); *Ethno Medicines of The Tribes of Arunachal Pradesh* (1996); *Indigenous Religion and Culture of Tribes of Arunachal Pradesh* (1998); *Women and Health with Special Reference to Arunachal Pradesh* (1999); *Arunachal Towards the New Century: Communication for Tribal Development* (2000); *Indigenous Knowledge System of the Tribes of North East India* (2001), *Dynamics of Tribal Villages of Arunachal Pradesh: Emerging Realities* (2003); *Marriage System in the Tribal Societies of Arunachal Pradesh* (2004); *Marriage in*

tribal Societies Cultural Dynamics and Social Realities (2005); *Traditional Political Systems in Arunachal Pradesh: Emerging Realities* (2005); *Traditional Political Systems in Arunachal Pradesh: Emerging Realities* (2006) The Institute has also conducted workshops on topic like issues on *Culture Identity and Change* (2000), *Phonetic Features of Arunachal Languages* (2002) and many others.

Not only do university departments, but also affiliated colleges of Rajiv Gandhi University conduct seminars pertaining to tribes of the state. Recently J. N. College, Pasighat, conducted a national seminar on *Ethno Science and Technology of India: With Special Reference to North East India* (6-7 October 2016). D. N. College, Itanagar also conducted a seminar on *Cultural Heritage of Northeast India* (10-11 March 2017) and DPGC, Kamki on *Ethnicity and Ethnic Identity at Grass-Root Level in Arunachal Pradesh: A Historical Perspective*. Doimukh College also conducted a seminar on *hunting and gathering* in 2016.

M.Phil./Ph.D. assignments in AITS

AITS promotes interdisciplinary researches. In its M.Phil. and Ph.D. programmes students come from humanities and commerce streams. From its inception in 1995 more than hundred students of History, Political Science, Economics, English, Commerce, Geography, Education, Sociology and Anthropology disciplines have completed M.Phil. course. Similarly, about fifty students from these disciplinary backgrounds have registered/completed Ph.D. course of AITS. In both the programmes scholars have worked on topics relating to both of their respective disciplines and tribes. The topics covered relate to resource management, socio-economic development, rural development, oral narratives, symbolism, indigenous knowledge, employment, political participation, status, empowerment, PRIs, urbanization, social practices, disaster management, customary laws, customs and traditions, traditional political organization, social organizations, dance, festivals, economic pursuits, faiths and beliefs, forestry, tourism, crime and punishment, banking, health, educational technology, educational problems and many others.

You will understand the nature of interdisciplinary studies conducted at AITS from the following titles of a few M.Phil and Ph.D dissertations. Besides, the topics of research are tribe based and region based pertaining to different aspects of life both in tradition and contemporary situation and thus diverse in nature.

M.Phil. Dissertations

Pokling Tayeng's (1996) *Role of Forest in the Socio-Economic Life of the Padams of Arunachal Pradesh*; **Ashan Riddi's** (1996-97) *Indigenous Institutions of the Tagins and the Changing Trend;* **Nani Anku's** (2009) *Teaching of English Language in Secondary Schools of Capital Complex: A critical study*; **Jombi Bagra's** (2009) *Interpretation of Women in Patriarchy: A case study of Galo*; **Onong Perme's** (2008) *A Study on the Culture and Process of Education in Arunachal Pradesh with the Adis of East Siang as case study*; **Rinchin Dawa's** (2008) *Women's Participation in Panchayati Raj Institutions: A study on the Monpas of Tawang District of Arunachal Pradesh*; **Oimang Megu's** (2007) *Cane and Bamboo in the Life of the Adis of Arunachal Pradesh: An Anthropological study on Indigenous knowledge system*; **Punyo Yarang's** (2006) *Dapo: Social control mechanism of the Apatanis;* **Sila Dele's** (2007) *Juvenile Delinquency in Idu Mishmi Community*; **Kokom Gao's** (2006) *Ecological and socio-economic implications of hunting practice of Adis;* **Taw Azu's (**1998) *Women in Nishing Society (a Case study of Yachuli Circle of*

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Faculty members of AITS have published more than fifty books (authored/ edited) on different aspects of life of Arunachalee tribes. The themes include marriage, village studies, indigenous knowledge, folklore, ethnomedicine, religion, grammar, identity, and many others

Creative works

The scope of tribal studies is not confined to academic researches only. The beauty of tribal culture, its encounter with external forces and the emerging contradictions in changing situation of Arunachal Pradesh has captured the sensitive mind of creative writers. It is not a surprise to find tribal authors like Lummer Dai, Y.D.Thongchi and Mamang Dai writing on their own culture as it encounters external forces of change. There is a humanitarian overtone in their writings and a critical description of the cultural change; somewhere a conflict between tradition and modernity is noticed in their writings. Lummer Dai's *Paharor Xile Xile* (In the Midst of Rocks of Hill), 1961; *Pritibir Hanhi* (The Smile of the Earth),1963, *Mon Aru Mon* (Heart to Heart), 1968; *Kainyar Mulya* (Bride Price), 1982 and *Upar Mahal* (Higher Level) are novels written in Assamese. Y.D. Thongchi's *Saba kota Manuh*, *Mouna Ounth Mukhar Hriday* (Silent Lips, Talking Heart) situate the culture in the changing context. Mamang Dai's *Legends of Pensam* (2006) is a search of her own cultural identity through her journey from the past to the present. Besides, she also writes poems on themes pertaining to own culture; some of them are compiled in *River Poems*. her other crative works include *Once Upon a Moontime: From the Magical Story World of Arunachal Pradesh, The Sky Queen* and *Stupid Cupid*. Not only Arunachalee writers, but also others have shown their creative genius. Mention may be made of *Into the Hidden Valley (2016),* the novel written by Stuart Blackburn. He has brought alive the Apatani worlds during colonial period.

4.6   SUMMARY

- In this unit we have discussed communities of Arunachal Pradesh as a broad social category. This category includes the politico-administrative concept of Scheduled Tribe and ethnic communities. Moreover, tribal habitats have also been discussed. We have classified tribes on the basis of bio-genetic variability and language in order to situate them in Tribal India.

- In Indian context, as you have learnt in unit I, tribes do not exist in isolation. This proposition also holds for the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh who had relations with Tibet, Ahom and later with the British.

- Tribes almost have their contiguous territory. But political division has put them in different administrative districts. The discussion on geographical and political divisions of tribes has been presented to explain tribal habitats in different perspectives.

- We have also discussed politico administrative development of the state in order that you understand the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh in the context of Tribal India. Finally, we have briefly presented studies conducted on tribes of Arunachal Pradesh. We have categorised various phases of growth of tribal studies and cited some examples for a better understanding of thematic diversity.

4.7 KEY TERMS

- **Ahom:** Descendants of ethnic Tai people who accompanied Tai prince Sukhapaa of Mong Mao, presently in Yunnan Province to India. Sukhapaa established a kingdom in Assam in 1228 which is known as Ahom Kingdom; Ahoms ruled Assam till 1826.

- **Crude Birth rate:** (annual births ÷ annual mean population) × 1000.

- **Crude Death rate:** (annual deaths ÷ annual mean population) × 1000.

- **Demography:** Scientific study of population and its characteristics like literacy, birth and death rates, sex ratio, density, etc.

- **Endogamy:** Marriage practice within the group.

- **Ethnos:** Ethnic group, a common culture.

- **Exogamous:** Marriage practice outside the group, opposite to endogamous.

- **Ideal type:** Pertaining to the idea which is considered to be perfect and thus, a model to follow.

- **Infant Mortality Rate:** (Number of deaths during 1 year of age which occurred among the population of a given geographical area ÷ Number of live births which occurred among the population of the given geographical area during the same year) × 1000.

- **Paik:** An adult male whose name was registered for state service during Ahom rule .

- **Posa:** A type of payment made to some Nyishi, Galo, Adi and Sherdukpen villages by the Ahom rulers and later by the British as a peace measure.

- **Sex-Ratio:** Number of female population per thousand of male population expressed in percentage.

- **Tribal Sub-Plan:** An integrated strategy of development of tribals in Fifth Schedule Areas of India introduced during the Fifth Five Year Plan.

4.8 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. (a) False   (b) False   (c) True

   (d) True   (e) False

2. The sources are a) outside import with or without a meaning in language system, b) a territorial link, c) own name

   Outside import with or without a meaning in language system-Aka, Abor, Dafla

   A territorial link- Nocte, Wancho, Monpa

   Own name - Nyishi, Puroik, Adi

3. Nocte. Because one of the words which form the name Nocte has territorial significance. *Noc* means village and *te* means people. So Nocte means people living in village.

4. Hrusso and Koro. The tribe is not consanguinal as the two groups do not share a common descent.

5. No. The Chakmas, the Hajongs, the Adivasis and the Nepalis, for example, living in the state are not STs of Arunachal Pradesh.

6. Arunachal Pradesh is an autonomous state as per the provisions of the Article 244A and a Special State under the provisions of Article 371H.

7. (a) False   (b) True   (c) False
   (d) False   (e) False

8. (a) True   (b) True   (c) True
   (d) False   (e) False

4.9 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. Write a note on the anomalies in listing tribes of Arunachal Pradesh in Census records with example.
2. List the geographic divisions in Arunachal Pradesh? Present the distribution of tribes in each division.
3. Write a note on the language groups in Arunachal Pradesh.
4. Give a brief account of administrative growth of in Arunachal Pradesh.
5. Briefly discuss various phases of growth of tribal studies in Arunachal Pradesh.

Long-Answer Questions

1. The name of a tribe comes from different sources. Discuss.
2. Outline the demographic features of Arunachalee tribes.
3. Are the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh isolated groups? Justify your answer by citing two examples.
4. Explain the importance of *posa*.
5. Discuss the territorial evolution of Arunachal Pradesh starting from British rule.

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NOTES

UNIT 5 SOCIETY AND EMERGING ISSUES IN ARUNACHAL PRADESH

Structure

5.0 INTRODUCTION

You have studied in the previous unit that the Arunachal society is not homogenous as broadly speaking it consists of tribal and non-tribal population. Except a few like the Nepalese, Chakmas and Adivasis etc. other non-tribal populations do not have a community identity in Arunachal Pradesh because these groups of people are migrant groups from different communities from outside of Arunachal Pradesh and are thus mixed groups. Further, the non-tribal population again can be categorized as settlers and non-settler migrants. The second group is the mixed population group of migrants which consists of participants in development process and their family members.

Since Arunachal Pradesh is a tribal state we will discuss the society of Arunachal Pradesh as 'Tribal Arunachal Pradesh'. You have studied in the earlier section that the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh belong to different bio-genetic and linguistic groups, even though they belong to the greater Mongoloid stock. In addition to this broader bio-genetic commonality, there is another common feature among them in that they are all patriarchal in nature. Moreover, they did not exist in complete isolation at least from the time they were reported in colonial writings. These writings report not only inter-tribe interactions but also contacts and interactions with Tibet, Myanmar and the Assam plains. As a matter of fact, all the tribes inhabiting Arunachal Pradesh migrated from different places of Tibet and Myanmar during different time periods. It is common to find relatives of many tribal groups living across the Indian border.

By now you must have understood that the Arunachali society is a society in diversity which manifests across tribes. As there are different tribal groups, certainly

each group has its distinct identity. This distinctiveness is largely the distinct perception that the people of a tribe nourish. Basically, their distinct identity emerges from differences in social organization schemes, spoken tongues, faiths, practices and so on. Therefore, we will discuss social organization of tribes in general and with reference to a few tribes as examples. The general discussion will be useful to appreciate Arunachali society which is a manifestation of diversity.

A tribe as a distinct group has its own organizational set up. You will find more than one tribe having similar set up. In other words, a group of tribes could be identified on the basis of similar scheme of social organization along the line of grouping different relations vertically and horizontally. Horizontally, a group of families would be organized into a lineage and a group of lineages say, into a clan. When an organization of family, lineage and clan is arranged in ascending order, the family is placed first followed by lineage and clan. Such an arrangement is a vertical arrangement of social organization.

In addition to commonality in the organization of social groupings of a group of tribes, there may be commonality in the system of governance as well. The tribe may have the central authority or a council of members without any central authority. In this Unit you will learn the nature of Arunachali society with reference to social groupings and their governance system.

You have already learnt that traditional tribes are self-reliant units and enjoy tribal autonomy. But this characteristic of a tribe is hardly found in the process of contact with colonial governance and later in the process of integration with national goals in India. Undoubtedly, there are changes in the traditional ethos of tribes. You will find these changes in various spheres, but we will discuss the issue with reference to the status of women, land relations, occupational diversification and emerging political scenario.

5.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss social life of tribes in Arunachal Pradesh
- Explain the scheme of organization of different tribes
- Explain emerging land relations and occupational diversifications
- Discuss tribal body politics of the past and at present
- Describe the status of women in terms of inheritance rights and empowerment and
- Identify trends of change in recent years

5.2 SOCIETY AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The Arunachal region is the abode of a number of tribal groups professing different religions, belonging to different linguistic groups and spreading over different geographical regions. It is the social life of a tribe within the cultural perspective that distinguishes it from others. Besides, tribes also display different schemes of social organization. We will discuss social life and social organizations of a few tribes to appreciate the rich diversity in the state.

5.2.1 Social Life

The communities in Arunachal Pradesh are patriarchal in nature which are organised on the basis of clans, villages and around kinship relations.

The tribal communities of Arunachal Pradesh are not egalitarian in nature due to the existence of social divisions along the lines of class and gender. There are distinctions even between the rich and the poor, for example, the Galos call a rich person *Nyite* and a poor person *Nyima*; while the Apatanis refer to the rich as *Miingho* and the poor as *Aroh.*

Marriage: Tribe endogamy is a prevalent practice among tribal communities of Arunachal Pradesh, although marriage beyond one's own tribe is not rare. It is an established fact that there were matrimonial alliances between the Aka and the Miji tribes since earlier times. However, the upper division of one community establishes matrimonial alliance only with the upper division of the other community; and similarly the lower division has alliances only with the lower division of the other community. The Padu clan of the Galo and the Padung of the Adi tribe do not enter into matrimonial alliance with each other, in spite of their being two different clans in two different tribes, because they believe in a common origin. Similarly, matrimonial alliances were not traditionally permitted between the Basar and the Riba clans of the Galo and the Perme and Pertin of Adi Padam due to their traditional bond of friendship. However, instances of matrimonial relation between two different tribes/ communities living in adjacent villages are not rare. For example, the Khamptis have had matrimonial relations with the Assamese.

The modes of obtaining a bride, which are still in practice among the tribal communities of Arunachal Pradesh, include marriages by negotiation, exchange, elopement, marriage by force/capture and love marriage. In all communities, social recognition solemnises the marriage and for which there are elaborate or notional rituals. Rituals with apparent specificity and deeper connotation are the passages for a bride to attain the status of a wife. The rituals and ritual objects that solemnise a marriage have deeper meanings in relation to a community's world view.

The most common family structures in tribal communities of Arunachal Pradesh are nuclear, joint and extended types. The families can be monogamous or polygynous. However, in pastoral Monpa community, polyandrous families are also found.

Mutuality: The tribal communities are rich in social capital, both from the community and institutional perspective. Mutual cooperation in the processes of agriculture and house construction are inherent characteristic of their life. *Riglap* or mutual reciprocation of labour, for example, is an institution among the Galos and the Adis. An individual is more of a community person belonging to a family, lineage, clan and tribe. A member sees his/her own benefit through the general benefit of the community.

In many tribes, murder of a person is avenged by his clan members by killing the murderer, and if he/she is not alive or could not be killed, then by killing any member of the clan. Collective consciousness and the principle of sharing characterise tribal communities in general and those in Arunachal Pradesh in particular.

Social Institutions: Social life of tribals in Arunachal Pradesh reflects through various institutional and organizational arrangements. The *Musup/Dere* of the Adis is an institutional arrangement that works for the community. Similarly, *Patang*, a

labour corps in the Apatani community is a unique institution of appropriation of community labour. Since childhood, every Apatani boy and girl belongs to a '*Patang*'. It is such a socio-economic institution where the Apatanis get an opportunity to come together and mutually help each other. Among the Galos, mutual labour exchange takes three forms depending on its nature, these are:

(i) *Rigur:* free labour exchange between the relatives;

(ii) *Rige* or *enlik:* reciprocal labour exchange; and

(iii) *Riglap:* Labour exchange on payment in kind or cash.

In various community works like construction of houses, performance of important rituals like *togu panam* (mithun sacrifice during marriage), *hurin* (household ritual for prosperity), *peka* (performed by hunters and warriors), *mopin* (household and common festival for prosperity), etc., it is the village community which provides the labour. As all members of the village community are bound in a reciprocal bond, a sense of community feeling pervades at all levels including individual household works.

Appropriation of community labour is an important component in *kiruk* (community hunting) and in both community and group fishing like *hibok, hipe,* etc.

In the *dir tachi* ritual of the Galos it is mandatory for all the households in the village to provide labour for a day in the fields of the nodal family which performs the *yidum lignam* (sacrifice of animals) and *uyi gelik nam* (transportation of effigies from village to river). This family observes longer taboo periods than the other families in the village.

In a tribal community, a widow or a disabled person is not a burden. Even when they do not have working hands in the family, the clan or community members work in the fields without any return. They construct their houses and take care of them when sick. Thus, mutual co-operation extends beyond the community.

The Nyishis and Apatanis have a bonding relation called *Diiliikanii*, and the Apatanis call the Nyishi friend as *Manyang*. The Apatanis have the tradition of leasing out their *mithuns* to their Nyishi *Manyang* on the condition of sharing the calves. The Nyishi friend is invited during festivals like *Myoko* and other rituals. In a normal situation when one visits the other's village, it becomes the responsibility of the friend to look after the friend's safety. Such bonds of friendship not only bring two families together but also the clan members at large with sense of responsibility and oneness. Gifts are exchanged during many rituals. The friendship between different clans in the same tribe is known as *Ajing* among the Adis and *Bunii Ajing* among the Apatanis.

It is said that 'sharing' is a social capital, for it is an insurance against uncertainty. One who shares meat of his game animal with his fellow villagers gets a share from others when they hunt down animals. A share of meat given to *Pator Mijings* after community hunting is an ethical insurance during old age.

A member in the community is secure and safe through the institution of village councils. All the same, the wrong doers in the community are only punished with a fine so that they can change themselves. However, beyond the community, whether it is a clan or a village, the punishment is severe for the same crime.

Interactions between members in a village or a tribe are based on mutuality and any breakdown of relations are corrected through an institutionalised process, in order to maintain social solidarity and cohesiveness. Within the community, the

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Check Your Progress

1. Choose the correct word/ phrase from the parentheses:

(a) Communities in Arunachal Pradesh are (patriarchal / matriarchal).

(b) Arunachalee society in general is (egalitarian / differentiated) in nature.

(c) Tribe (endogamy/ exogamy) is the general marriage rule among the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh.

(d) Rituals solemnise social recognition of (marriage/ divorce).

(e) In Arunachal Pradesh you will normally find nuclear, joint, (extended/ single parent) types of family.

fine or punishment is compensation — a corrective measure for reinforcing inclusion, and not a process of exclusion.

Changing Trend

The social life of tribes in Arunachal Pradesh is in transition and these changes are noticed in all aspects of life, whether it is political, cultural, religious or economic. The joint family is replacing nuclear family system. Mutuality has a monetary dimension in place of exchange of labour and items. The family that remains absent in community work makes alternative arrangement in terms of payment of money or hired labour. The game from hunting by individual hunter is brought to the market for sale or sold in the village. Traditionally, the tribal social life has predominantly been rural in character and according to Census of India 2011 at present there are tribal people living in 27 census towns. Out of the total, the population of the STs was enumerated in the said census at 1,61,975 persons who lived in urban centres constituting 17 per cent of the total numbers. The tribal social life undoubtedly takes part in the process of urbanisation.

You will find women in public sphere of social life. A number of teachers, professionals, technocrats, bureaucrats, entrepreneurs, social activists, journalists, freelance writers, police, etc. are women. In recognition to their services Ms. Mamang Dai and Ms Bini Yanaga have been honoured with the award of Padmashri. Though the traditional mind-set privately does not feel elated at the changing role of women, it nevertheless appreciates the changes. Not only in PRIs, have women also participated in representative democracy. You will find quite a good number of women legislators in the state. In addition to this, women raise their voices against social evils and on their rights from various platforms. Mentioned may be made of Arunachal Pradesh Women Welfare Society, State Women Commission, etc.

In social life, there is the differentiation in status-role. You have already learnt social hierarchy in chieftaincy and gerontocracy. The women do not have inheritance rights to landed property. There is a gender bias in terms of participation in traditional village councils and in some rituals. But this trend is changing. You will study this in various sections in this unit. You know that the communities are patriarchal. There is a preference for male child, but a girl child is not discriminated against. Incidences of female infanticide, sex determination, etc. do not occur in Arunachal communities at all.

Education plays a significant role in the process of social change. Census of India 2011 records a literacy rate of 64.6 per cent among STs (65.38 per cent for the state in general), constituted by 71.5 per cent ST male literates and 58.0 per cent ST female literates. In rural Arunachal Pradesh the literacy rate is 60.4 per and it is 84.6 per cent in 27 census towns that constitute the urban Arunachal Pradesh. In rural areas ST literacy stands at 67.7 per cent for males and 53.3 per cent for females. Similarly, in urban Arunachal Pradesh, literacy stands at 90.3 per cent among ST males and 79.4 per cent for ST females. As on 31.3.2014, there were 3744 educational institutes in the state including one Central University, one National Institute of Technology, one Deemed University, 18 Degree Colleges, 09 Professional/Technology Colleges and 02 Polytechnic Institutes.

The social attitude toward health care is also changing. This is evident from the number of modern health care institutions existing in the state. Along with traditional health care practices, one state hospital, 06 general hospitals, 07 district hospitals,

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Check Your Progress

2. State whether the following statements are True of False:

(a) Community interest is more important than individual interest in traditional tribal society.

(b) Appropriation of community labour through a type of informal institution is a feature in most of the tribes in Arunachal Pradesh.

(c) Sharing is a onetime adjustment to ensure equality when inequality is noticed.

(d) Compensation is a measure to correct the behaviour and action of a wrong doer.

(e) Tribal women in Arunachal Pradesh enjoy equal ownership rights in land.

63 Community Health Centres, 143 Primary Health Centres and 584 sub-centres are available up to 2014 in the field of modern heal care.

The processes of assimilation and acculturation also bring about changes. You will find that the Buddhist features in animist Bugun tribe, Tikhak sub-group of Tangsa and Nah group have resulted from the process of assimilation. In assimilation members of one culture merge into another culture. Changes in dresses, food habits, etc. can be an example of the process of acculturation. In this process changes take place between two interacting communities. In fact, acculturation entails a two-way process of change. You will find Arunachalis adopting to the dresses and food items of non-Arunachalis. At the same time there are many instances of taking on the dresses and food habit of Arunachalis by non-Arunachalis.

5.2.2 Social Organization

The tribes of Arunachal Pradesh have been organised broadly into two broad social categories, namely Cephalous and Acephalous. In other words, the societies have either a centralised authority or are without one.

In addition to this each tribe has its scheme of social organization. In some tribes there are moiety divisions and this moiety division is also recorded in groups like the Minyong which now form a sub-tribe. There are tribes which are spread across sub-tribe divisions. Whether it is a moiety or a sub-tribe organization, it is divided into phratries and clans or clans. The clan organization is common to every tribe.

Table 5.1 Clean Organization

Adi (The generic tribe)	Galo (Tribe)	Khampti (Tribe)	Tangsa (Tribe)
↓	↓	↓	↓
Tribe	Territorial Division (Lare, Pogo Lodu-Karka.....)	Phratry (Namchoom, Lungkeing, Chaotang group; Mansai, Manfai, Khamoo, Kokma group)	Sub-tribe (Longchang, Yogli, Muklom, etc.)
↓	↓		↓
Moiety	Phratry (Loyi, Loya, Lomi, Lollen, Lotem Group, etc.)		Clan
↓			↓
Phratry			Family
↓	↓	↓	↓
Clan	Clan (Loyi, Basar, Potom, Nochi, etc.)	Clan (Namchoom, Manpong, Manlong, etc.)	Individual
↓			
(Mibang, Tatak, etc. for example)			
↓	↓	↓	
Sub-clan	Lineage	Lineage	
↓	↓	↓	
Lineage	Family	Family	
↓	↓	↓	
Family	Individual	Individual	
↓			
Individual			

The traditional Minyongs are divided into two moieties-*Kuming* and *Kuri*. The Moiety is further divided into Phratry (*olung*), *olung* into clans (*opin*) and *opin* into sub-clan (*pinmik*). A *pinmik* is divided into *odong* (lineage) and lineage into *erangs* (families). All tribes, however, do not follow the same scheme of socio-political organization. We present four examples in Table 5.1 to show the differences.

In tribes which have common ancestors, the community has moiety divisions. For example, the Apatani tribe is divided into *Gyuchii* and *Gyutii*, while the Minyong group of the Adi tribe into *Kuri* and *Kuming*. Traditionally, marriage is not allowed between upper and lower moiety divisions. The social division of the Sherdukpen is better categorised as sub-tribe division. Similarly, the Tangsa, the Wancho, the Nocte, the Monpa have sub-tribe divisions. The sub-tribe organization is territory based in most cases. The Monpas are divided into Tawang Monpa (Northern Monpa), Kalaktang Monpa (Southern Monpa) and Dirang Monpa (Central Monpa). But socially the Dirang and Kalaktang Monpa call themselves *Tsangla*, but the Tawang Monpa call them *Shershokpa* (the people of the east). Separately, the Dirang Monpas are called Dangnangpa and the Kalangtang Monpas as Rongnangpa. The Monpas of Kalaktang and Dirang call the Tawang Monpas as Brami though they call themselves only Monpa.

The Wancho community is also territorially divided into Lower and Upper Wanchos depending on the two branches of the migration to the present settlement from Sangnu. Manlong (2006) informs us that from *Sangnu*, Wanchos were divided into two sub-groups i.e. **Tangjen** and **Tsangjen**. Later, they migrated to different directions and places. The groups which migrated towards south are called *Tangjen* (Upper Wanchos) and the group which migrated towards North-west is called *Sangjen* (Lower Wanchos). But socially the tribe is also divided into three hierarchal groups such as *Wangham* (ruler), *Wangsa* (middle order born out of the wedlock between a *Wangham* father and *Wangpan* mother) and *Wangpan* (ruled). We do not have adequate information to name these divisions either as moiety or sub-tribe. It could be two different clans bound by affinal relations.

In the social organization of the Khamptis there is no moiety, sub-tribe or territorial division. You will see the scheme of their social organization in Table 5.1 Lila Gogoi (1971) has informed us, quoting from Alexander Mackenzie, the migration of the Khamptis in batches in 1835 and 1850. During field study in 1985 a few families were reported having migrated around Independence. According to migration history the descendents of Chau-Lungken who first migrated to India are now Namchoom and Lungkeing clans, and the descendents of his brother Chautang are now the Chautang clan of the Khampti tribe. The group of these clans is a phratry as they consider themselves brother clans and is traditionally exogamous. However, it was reported that all the Namchooms come from different lineages. Though we do not have written documents, it was reported that ancestors of these lineages belonged to the same consanguineal kin group in Myanmar and assumed Namchoom title in India after their migration in different periods following the first groups of kins.

Clearly, the Khamptis have clan divisions next to the tribe. However, there are some clans which form an exogamous group. For example, Mansai, Manfai, Kokma and Khamho are brotherly clans and do not have affinal relations. Similarly, the Namchum, Chaotang and Lungkeing clans traditionally do not have such relations. We can say that the Khamptis also have phratry division below the tribe level organization. The tribe or sub-tribe or phratry organization has also exogamous divisions that determine marriage spheres. We have already discussed with reference to four clans of the Khamptis which form an exogamous sphere. The Namchum, Chaotang and Lungkeing clans also form an exogamous group.

Existence of exogamous social sphere is common to every tribe. The Minyong group of the Adis has also exogamous marriage spheres. As the phratry is exogamous, so are also all its subdivisions-*opin, pinmik, odong* and *erang.* But the moiety is not

exogamous and it is not strictly endogamous. We can see the exogamous marriage spheres of the Minyong as under:

```
                        Minyong
                       (Endogamous)
            ┌──────────────┴──────────────┐
         Kuming                          Kuri
    (Moiety-Endogamous)           (Moiety-Endogamous)
     ┌──────┴──────┐               ┌──────┴──────┐
 Mize-Zerang   Patin-Patak    Gasing-Ganke   Jamoh-Gao
(Phratry-     (Phratry-      (Phratry-      (Phratry-
 Exogamous)    Exogamous)     Exogamous)     Exogamous)
```
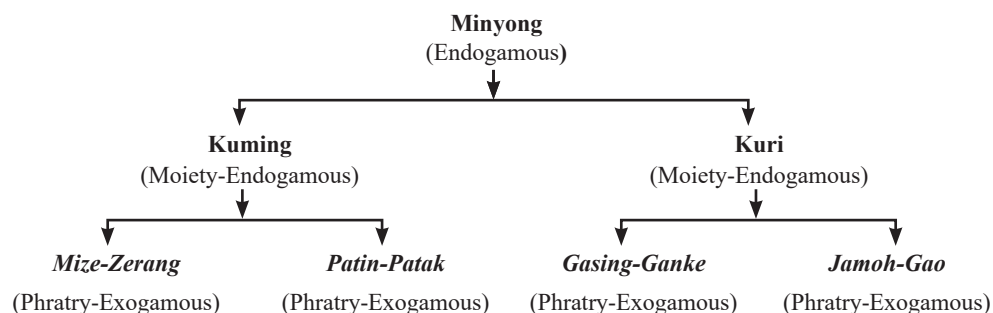
As a rule, clans are exogamous. But there are exceptions also. The Hage clan of the Apatanis and Pertin clan of the Padams are endogamous. Probably, what continues to be called as a clan might have developed features of a phratry or sub-tribe. In fact, we continue with the nomenclature of social organizations of a tribe once they are categorised. It may be the possibility that many earlier phratries have evolved to the status of the tribe and lineage to clan or phratry. But study of social organizations of a tribe is not a dynamic process and we accept the given information. Moreover, an earlier tribe will not accept its division into a number of tribes given present socio-political dynamics.

You will find that all the tribes are not organised along genealogical line. There are upper and lower divisions. There are different groups forming into a tribe; Lare, Pugo and Niz-Karka/Lodo-Karka, for example, are three different groups among the Galos. Similarly, two groups, Hrusso and Koro, form the Aka identity. The Sherdukpen community is divided into *Thong*, comprising the aristocrat clans and the *Chhao*, comprising the commoner clans. The Miji society is also divided on the same line into *Nolluh* and *Nob'k*. Similarly, the Nocte society is also divided into chief and commoner clans.

The Khamptis have three social divisions, namely *Phanchau, Phan-e-on* and *Paklung*. The Phanchau division consists of the royal clans, the Paklung is the commoners' division, while the Phan-e-on comprises the clans of lower division in the community. These genealogically unrelated groups have formed the Khampti tribe in India. It also does not seem to be genealogical (consanguineal) before its migration to India. We learn from Lila Gogoi that during Chau-Cham's rule in Myanmar, Manchey was an independent chiefdom. Probably, the chiefdom had a chief of Manchey group of people. The Manchey (also spelt as Manci, Manjey), comes from a royal dynasty, so also Munglang. Even some Singpho families have been christened as Khamptis. Nevertheless, at present, the Khampti is a tribe of consanguineal and affinal relations, meaning a kinship based tribe in India.

As far as studies are available, all the tribes in Arunachal Pradesh are kin based. Even if initially two or more unrelated groups form the tribe, in course of time affinal relationship is established. Wangham and Wangsa are consanguineal groups, whereas Wangham and Wangpan are not consanguineal groups,. But these two groups have affinal relations and so they together form Wancho community. So also is the case with Thong and Chao groups of Sherdukpen tribe.

Despite the fact that the tribe is a kinship organization you will find social divisions other than kinship sphere. Earlier writers like Haimendorf, Elwin, Mackenzie, Dalton have mentioned of free born and slaves in almost all tribes in

the state. T. T. Cooper mentions in the context of the Khampti, 'Free-born people also possess numerous herds of tame buffaloes and oxen used for tilling the ground, and also as a means of barter with the Mishmees'. Obviously, there is a group which is not free born. Elwin in his book *Philosophy for NEFA* has also mentioned of the existence of slaves which was abolished by the British.

In the Nyishi community there were two types of slaves, *Nera* and *Beta*. The Nera class is said to be Nyishi by birth that entered into the position because of non-payment of fines/loans, etc. The other category consists of slaves purchased from other tribes and captured during raids. In fact, tribes like Khampti, Singpho, Adi, Galo, Miji, Nyishi, etc., had slaves to help them in agriculture and other activities. A *pagbo* is a male slave while a *pagne* is a female slave in the Galo community. But you cannot understand such sharp divisions in present society. In the Khampti community, along with the freeborn and slaves, there is a priestly class, whose members are Buddhist monks and *shamans*.

You will find that in some tribes the clan and lineage have a common boundary. The Mongmaw clan of the Khamptis, for example has families of four generations. Similarly, the Langkhun clan is also a lineage as it has few families of four to five generations. Mansai clan of five generations depth trace the common progenitor who lived in Kherem village. In Galo tribe, the Nyoris present the status of phratry, clan and lineage as the growth of population is slow and do not have many branches. So is the case with Doso and Saring clans of Damro village which have less than 10 households. However, a few writers club these two clans as sub clans of Ratan clan because of their settlement in Ratan territory.

The scheme of social organization of a tribe continues since the time it was first recorded. Over the years, internal contradictions have emerged in the scheme. Pertin clan in Adi Padam sub-tribe is no more exogamous So is the case with the Hage clan of the Apatanis. On the other hand, the phratry exogamy is breaking down. In Galo tribe, the group of Loyi, Loya, Lomi, Lotem and Lollen that once formed an exogamous phratry due to their common forefather, Aalo has been divided into two phratries; Lomi and Loya forming one exogamous phratry and Loyi, Lotem and Lollen forming the other. Inter-marriage between clans of these two phratries takes place though each newly emerged phratry is exogamous.

There are also examples when a lineage claims clan status. Families in Badu lineage of Riba clan have started using Badu title. Such trends often crop up but are fluid in nature. After asserting the lineage identity for a distinct clan status, families also drop the title after a few years and adopt the old title.

One of the criteria of tribal social organization is clan exogamy. But when clans like Pertin, Perme, Hage, etc, become endogamous, it implies that the clan has grown to the status of a phratry. In other words, the lineages have displayed clan characteristics. In that case the criterion that the members of a clan trace their origin from a totem or from an ancestor whose historicity is uncertain does not hold. Obviously, there is a need to look afresh at the social organization of the tribes in an academic perspective. In doing so, however, people's sense of identity should be addressed with caution.

Normally, the family organization of many tribes is of nuclear type. However, in some tribes like the Adis, Khamptis you will find joint family system. Among the Nyishi and Miju (Kaman) Mishmi extended family system is the traditional practice. In recent years, however, the trend is shifting towards nuclear family type rapidly.

Further, the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh are patrilocal, patrilineal and patriarchal in nature. You have learnt the meaning of these terms in unit-II. Obviously, on the basis of authority families are patriarchal. This could be a reason of gender bias in representation in traditional councils.

Cephalous Tribes

The cephalous tribes are the Khampti, the Singpho, the Nocte, the Wancho and the Tangsa. These tribes have chieftains. The chieftainship is also diverse in nature. It is either tribe based, village based, territory based or a combination of them. The Khamptis have a chief for the whole tribe called the *Chou-pha Konmung* and for each village called the *Chou-man*. In Khampti community, family is the basic social institution formed through marriage and consists of husband, wife (wives) and children. The society is patrilocal, patrilineal and patriarch in nature. Normally, the Kamptis live in joint families, but in case of misunderstanding among members' shortage of space, the family breaks up and the married sons establish separate households.

The Nocte and the Singpho have *territory* and *village based chiefs*. On the other hand, the Tangsa and the Wancho have village based chiefs. There are also instances of territorial chief among the Wanchos. For example, the Chief of Senua receives yearly offering from other Wancho and Nocte villages. These tribes do not have a tribe level chief. The two important territorial chiefs in Nocte tribe are Borduria and Namsang Chiefs. Interestingly, the gift of Nature has been used as a source of authority. In Tirap District, there are a few natural saline wells, a large number of which fall into the territory of Borduria and Namsang villages. On the basis of ownership of these wells the chiefs have extended their authority to other villages who accept them as paramount chiefs. Otherwise, the Noctes would have village chiefs. Among the Singphos the Ningroo chief and Bisa Gam are two important territorial chiefs. The chief is hereditary in the family and among the Khamptis it can extend to the clan in case there is no apparent successor in the family.

In chieftaincy, the social division is *hierarchical*; the society is stratified with division of unequal status. The Wancho tribe for example, as we have said, is divided into three hierarchal groups such as *Wangham* (ruler), *Wangsa* (middle group) and *Wangpan* (ruled). Similarly, the Khampti tribe is divided in to three social divisions namely *Phanchau* (ruling clans), *Paklung* (commoner clans) and *Phan-e-on* (clans with further lower status).

Along with the chiefs, there are councils among cephalous tribes. The council of the Khamptis is known as *Mukchum*; and that of the Noctes is known *Ngongwang*. Sometimes the tribe may not have a genealogical origin and in such a case, each group with different dialect/language may have a different name for the village council. The traditional village council of the Koro group of the Akas in East Kameng District is called *Nelley*, while that of Hrusso group of the Akas in West Kameng District is called *Malley/Mele*. Similarly, in the Tangsa tribe it is known as *Ruung*, *Rangtun* and *Rungkathin* by the Longchang, Muklum and Yogli sub-tribes respectively.

Acephalous Tribes

The societies with acephalous socio-political organizations have four variants: clan organizations, village councils, gerontocracy and a system of arbiter or go-between.

The organizations are informal and more often situational. You will also find councils at different levels-village, group of villages and tribe.

Gerontocracy prevails among the Apatanis and Sherdukpens. The village organization of the Apatanis is called *Buliang* whose members (also called the *Buliangs*) are more or less hereditary. The *Buliang* also exists at the inter-village and tribe levels. Besides, there is the *Gondu* who acts as an intermediary between conflicting parties. He is authorized to settle disputes without calling the *Buliang*. But when a matter relates to the whole tribe, a *supung dapo* ─ a tribe-level organization ─ is organized. In a Sherdukpen village the body politics is called *Jung*, which has a member from the *Thong* group of clans as the chief. The position of chief is not hereditary ─ chieftainship is not restricted to a family or a particular clan; rather it is held only by the upper division of the community, i.e., the *Thong*.

You will find a type of social division in societies with gerontocracy. The Sherdukpen community has two social divisions, namely *Thong* and *Chao*. The clans in the *Thong* group are the descendants of the chief who migrated and established the community. In Apatani community there is also a type of social hierarchy. The fact that the Buliang is hereditary is an evidence of different social status. Takhe Kani (1993) writes, 'The tradition of the Apatani society is stratified as *Gyuchi* (plebeian), *Gyutii* (patrician), *Mitti* (patrician master) and *Miira* (slave)'. However, these status divisions are vanishing rapidly.

As has been stated, the village councils are ordinarily informal in nature. These councils do not have centralised authority like that of in chieftaincy. The councils are more or less democratic in nature. However, the word democracy should be used with caution. In all the village councils, women membership is conspicuously absent. In other words, democratic sense is limited to male members only. So we can use restricted democracy to understand the decentralised nature of village councils.

The democratic village councils are of three categories: The first one is the council of the Monpas with an elected head of the council called *Tsorgen*. The second is a council of all the adult members of the village, popularly known as *Kebang*, for example, among the Adis. But in practice, elderly men with knowledge of tradition and skill in oration actively participate during any session of the council. Apparently, there is a gender bias with regard to membership of the council. The membership is not permanent and the council is held when the need arises. The system has further extended beyond the village to cover a group of villages and finally to all the villages. This system is popular among the Galos and Adis ─ the council for the group of villages is practically a territorial body known as *bango* Kebang. The *bogum bokang* is the apex body and is a tribe level institution.

There are also members with specific assignments in the scheme of socio-political organizations. Besides, there is a type of village council organised through a mediator. This practice prevails among the Nyishis and Tagins ─ the mediator or arbiter is called *Gingdung*. Among the Mishmis, the village or clan elder organises the council inviting other members when the need arises.

Some village councils have office bearers too. In the Miji community; the village council, the *Laubang/Syambang*, has *Nokhu* as the head and a *Gobo* (informer) as a member. A *Gobo* is selected for five years while a *Nokhu* is selected with unanimous consensus from the people, and continues in office till his death or relinquishment of the post.

NOTES

Check Your Progress

State whether the statements are true of false:

1. All the tribes have moiety division.

2. Existence of exogamous social sphere is a common feature in every tribe.

3. Chieftain type of society displays social stratification.

4. A tribe in Arunachal Pradesh is based on kinship relations.

5. Clan endogamy is a feature in tribal social organisation of Arunachal Pradesh.

6. Hierarchical social division exists in acephalous tribes.

7. Tribal village councils are gender discriminatory.

5.3   EMERGING ISSUES

Arunachal Pradesh is not a territory incognito. It has become a part of national territory and national goals. In the process many opportunities and challenges have emerged. You will learn these opportunities and challenges with reference to land relations, occupation and political dynamics.

5.3.1 Land Relations

Arunachal Pradesh is predominantly a tribal state. Census 2011 records 68.8 per cent of its population belonging to APST (Arunachal Pradesh Scheduled Tribe) category. The rest belongs to non-APSTT category which includes both Arunachali and non Arunachali population. Even before independence, a few villages of Adivasis (tea garden Adivasis) and Assamese were established in the territory which is now Arunachal Pradesh. These villages are located in Changlang and Namsai districts bordering Assam. In Chowkham area of Namsai and Tezu area of Lohit district a few Assamese and Nepali villages existed even before independence. This is also the case in Pasighat and in some other areas of East Siang district bordering Assam. These people enjoy rights to land ownership, but cannot sell their land to any non-Arunachali. In addition to these populations we find migrants from various states of India to meet human resource requirement in state sponsored development process. These people neither own land nor do have any rights over land in the territory.

Another group of post-independence migrants to the state is found settled in some places of the state. One section of this group of people like Tibetan and Chakma refugees from Tibet and Bangladesh respectively have been settled by the government. The other section of the group is Indian nationals who were settled by the government after Chinese aggression in 1962. Das (1995:82-83) informs us that 2275 families belonging to Assam, ex-servicemen, ex-Assam Riffles personnel, ex-NEFA employees, Chakma and Tibetan refugees were settled by the government in the territory during the transitional phase between 1963 to 1971. Out of the families 90 per cent belongs to Chakma refugees who were settled in Khagam, Miao, M'pong and Kharshang of Changlang district and Chowkham of present Namsai district. Ex- NEFA and Assam Rifle personnel were settled in Vijay Nagar of Changlang and Bhalukpung of East Kameng districts.

As per the provision of the Constitution of India, land belongs to the tribal people living in it. The Government is not the custodian of the state land. But after Independence you can find the land that belongs to the government, to the settlers like refugees and Assam Rifles personnel in addition to the tribal people.

Tribe and Land

The nature of relations of a tribe with land is excellently articulated by Verrier Elwin in the following words:

> The tribal people are bound to their land by many and intimate ties. Their feeling for it is something more than mere possessiveness. It is connected with their sense of history, for their legends tell of the great journeys they made over the wild and lonely hills and of the heroic pioneers who made the first clearings in the forest.

This means land belongs to the tribe linked with the sense of history and thus to the community for the purpose of use. In other words, land is community owned. In Arunachal Pradesh a tribe lives in villages which are either clan based or multi-clan settlements. Traditionally, a family cannot own land in two or more villages.

As mentioned, a community is not always the tribe; it could be a village, clan, or a lineage. When a tribe has territorial spread you will find settlement of members of other tribes, though this phenomenon is not very ancient. In fact, there was no identity of the people as 'tribe' by themselves till colonial administration and academicians labelled it. A group of people moved from one place to another in a single batch or in batches and claimed these places belonging to them. They had to fight with others also for territorial claims. For all practical purposes land belonged to the village community.

This sense of community ownership of land which includes forests, rivers, hills, etc. even has changed during 19th century. In this regard, T. T. Cooper's (1873) observation of Khampti land relation provides a useful account:

> Although the chief is Lord of the soil, the whole community till it on the cooperative system, the chief having his portion allotted to him; after which the produce is equally divided between each house; according to the number of hands in it who have helped in the cultivation... Besides common land small plots are also cultivated by individuals.

Land, as has been mentioned, belongs to the community, particularly tribes living in it. The communities, as you know, are of two types: cephalous and acephalous. Accordingly, in the management of land, the role of the institution of village government is of two types. The land belongs to the chief in the cephalous community like the Wangcho, Nocte and Khampti as Chieftainship is the form of village authority among them. The Chief is assisted by the elders and clan heads in the control of land and the management of access to it. In the case acephalous tribes like the Adi, Nyishi, Tagin, Galo, the village authorities are custodian of village land. Except pastoralist Borkpas and hunter-gatherer Puroiks other communities almost live settled village life and pursue agricultural activities. So people developed attachment to the plots they cultivated over the years within the village and thus private ownership emerged. This private ownership is not exclusive; it rather operates within the customary frame. Nevertheless, community ownership exists in forests, rivers, jhum fields, hunting and trapping tracts, etc. However, individual ownership is gradually replacing the community ownership over these assets. Even you will find jhum fields, river segments, etc. under the ownership of individual households.

Inheritance

You have already learnt about the nature and practices of inheritance rules among the tribes in India. In this section you will study the rules of land inheritance among the tribes in Arunachal Pradesh. As you know, the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh are patrilineal. So land is inherited along male line. In principle women do not have any rights to landed property. In the absence of male children, the land goes to the nearest patrilineal kin as per customary norms. Generally, primogeniture rule is followed in every tribe, though the degree varies. In traditional Apatani community of Arunachal Pradesh, however, both primogeniture and ultimogeniture rules are followed in the

matter of inheritance of ancestral landed property. The eldest son gets cultivable land, groves, etc. while the youngest one who would look after parents gets house, homestead land, remaining plots and movable properties like domestic animals and birds. The middle sons do not have the rights to inherit ancestral property. However, if a father purchases land during his life time that land could be shared with middle sons. This practice of primogeniture is attenuated in tribes like the Khamptis, Adi as all the sons inherit landed property; the eldest son in some cases getting a little more. In Nyishi tribe, a man practising polygyny, inheritance from father comes to sons through mother whose cultivated family land is distinctly recognised.

Daughters do not have any inheritance rights in landed property even in the absence of a socially approved male heir. A woman may normally pass through three stages, unmarried life in parental house, life with husband and life without husband (widow). There are two possibilities of a woman staying in parental house. First, she may remain unmarried throughout her life or return after divorce or separation from husband. In this case she may be without father. A woman, without husband or father, has a residual life interest in land. In case of a widow with male children the inheritors of property are her own children according to customary norms. In the latter case it is not life interest in the entire land, but a maintenance right. In fact, the life interest is also ideologically governed by the ethics of maintenance principle. However, if the widow marries outside the family circle of the husband she is deprived of this maintenance rights. This traditional maintenance right of unmarried girls or widow exists in almost all the tribes. After the death of the girl or widow the land returns to the lineage as per customs. In Galo community of Arunachal Pradesh an unmarried girl also enjoys the rights to use a plot for herself. However, such a practice is not a case of inheritance rule.

Land Relations: State and Tribe

Before contact with formal system of governance, the land belonged to the tribes. But with the advent of administration in tribal areas, land was required by the government for its administrative use and infrastructure creation, also for welfare of people. So the government acquires land for the purpose and now the land of the territory belongs to government through acquisition and to the tribal communities through traditional ownership rights. The regulation enacted during colonial period still continues. The government acquires land in public interest under the provisions of section 4 (1), (2) and 5A (2) of the Land Acquisition Act, 1894. The state is yet to have an Act dealing adequately the various issues related to effective management of land. There are three old regulations which are supposed to govern the land till today. These are:

- Balipara Frontier Tract Jhum Regulation of 1947
- Sadiya Frontier Tract Jhum Regulation of 1947
- Tirup Frontier Tract Jhum Regulation, 1947

But these acts recognise the customary rights on land and the power of village council. The institution of village council has gone through changes also. The first wave of change began with the introduction of the institutions of Gaonburah (Village Headman) and Dobhasis (Interpreter) by the British rule. The second wave of change

made its beginning with the introduction of the Panchayati Raj Institution (PRI) by the state government. Operationally, in the state now, two types of local governments exist and function at the grassroots level. The one that continues with the legacy of the tradition may be distinguished as traditional village government. PRI, the other one that exists and functions under an Act of law of the state government may be distinguished as modern. But the matter of land issues is addressed by the traditional village council headed by Gaonburah.

In addition to the above Acts, The Arunachal Pradesh (Land Settlement and Records) Act, 2000 is available chiefly to facilitate revenue administration and prepare land records. There is also a Commissioner (Land Management) and a Directorate in the state for management and administration of land in the state. The Commissioner issues notifications under the provisions of LA Act, 1894 to acquire land in public interest as and when necessary. Broadly, therefore, the land in the state belongs to the government after acquisition and to tribes traditionally. This is also recognised in the Act, 2000. Clause 9 (1) in Chapter III of the Act reads:

> All lands, public roads, lanes and paths and bridges, ditches, dikes and fences on or beside the same, the beds of rivers, streams, nallahs, lakes and tanks, and all canals and water course and all standing and flowing water, and rights in or over the same or appertaining thereto, which are not the property of any person or community are hereby declared to be the property of the Government.

Land records: There is no cadastral survey of land in the state except in few cases though conduct of survey and settlement is one of the activities of the Directorate. The activity however, is piecemeal in nature. The areas targeted under it are the government land in the capital complex and district, sub-divisions and circle headquarters. Land records are prepared and provided when sought for. Documentary proofs of land are required more often for undertaking various development activities and particularly where credit from formal banking institution is involved. Since such records are not available in the present system, the government of Arunachal Pradesh has introduced a system of issuing land possession certificate (LPC) to the holder of the land to fulfil such necessity of the people. The Deputy Commissioner is the recommending authority and the state government is the approving authority of such land possession certificate.

Land Use and Holdings Pattern

The territorial area of the state accounts for 83,743 km². As against this, the reporting area that figures in land use statistics of the government stands at 54,978 km². This means that the reporting area of the state is less by 34.35 per cent as compared to its total territorial area.

Out of the reporting area, the use of land on cultivable and uncultivable account stands at 5.72 and 94.28 per cent respectively. On cultivated and uncultivated account, the corresponding area covers 3.54 per cent and 96.46 per cent. With cultivable land (5.72%) if the area put to non-agricultural use (0.08%) and the forest area under Anchal Reserve (0.64%), Village Reserve (0.58%) and day today use of villagers, say one or two per cent are added, the total area under human intervention remains around 8 per cent of the reporting area. Table below shows area under broad land use categories in the state.

NOTES

Broad Land use Category, 2004-05

Particulars	Area (Km²)	% to Geog Area	% to Reporting Area
Geographical Area	83743.00	100.00	
Reporting Area	54978.00	65.65	100.00
Total Cultivable land	314.27	3.75	5.72
Total Cultivated land	194.63	2.32	3.54
Total Uncultivable land	5183.49	61.90	94.28
Total Uncultivated land	5303.13	63.33	96.46
Nine fold Categories of Use			
Forest area	51540	61.55	93.75
Land put to Non-Agri. Uses	4.59	0.05	0.08
Barren & unculturable Land	20.95	0.25	0.38
Pasture / Grazing Land	3.95	0.05	0.07
Misc. Tree Crops & groves	35.98	0.43	0.65
Culturable Waste	36.65	0.44	0.67
Old Fallow	47.02	0.56	0.86
Current Fallow	30.43	0.36	0.55
Net Area Sown (NAS)	164.19	1.96	2.99

Source: *Statistical Hand Book*

Arunachal Pradesh Development Report (2005) informs that former Dibang Valley district has highest net area shown, being 6.54 hectares per family. On the other hand, Twang district has recorded the lowest net area shown, being 0.66 hectares per family. This difference could be attributed to availability of land, practice of cultivation and population concentration. In Dibang Valley district it was reported in Agricultural Census that the people largely practised community based jhum cultivation. It is also further reported in the state development report that the high land availability has kept the problem of landlessness in the state to a minimum.

Over the years there is a shift in the pattern of operational holdings in both gross and net area shown under shifting and permanent cultivation.

Though there is no land survey and settlement and verifiable land records (except urban centres) in the state, Agricultural Census operation has enumeration system and according to 2000-01 records, the number of operational holdings stands at 1.07 lakhs in the state. Across the holding categories, the marginal category accounts 14.04 per cent, small- 18.78 per cent, semi-medium- 34.04 per cent, medium- 27.80 per cent and large- 5.33 per cent. These categories account 1.90 per cent, 6.73 per cent, 24.57 per cent, 43.49 per cent and 23.30 per cent of total operation holdings respectively. The holding categories were recorded 7.67 per cent

with 0.71 per cent operational holdings under marginal category, 11.96 per cent with 2.77 per cent operational holdings under small category, 25.91 per cent with 11.63 per cent operational holdings under semi-medium category, 36.40 per cent with 35.0 per cent operational holdings under medium category and 18.06 per cent with 49.89 per cent operational holdings under large category in 1970-71. Reportedly, there is an increase in number and area under marginal, small and semi-medium categories and decline of the same in other two categories.

You will also find that the share in total operated area under jhum has declined from 94.27 per cent in 1970-71 to 68.04 per cent in 1995-96. During the period the share in total operated area under permanent cultivation has increased from 5.73 per cent to 31.96 per cent. The same trend is recorded in the share of net area shown during the period of reference. Under jhum it has declined from 75.69 per cent to 51.16 per cent and under permanent cultivation it has increased from 24.31 per cent to 48.84 per cent.

Changing trends

Traditional tribal land relations in Arunachal Pradesh have changed particularly due to administrative interventions from the time of colonial rule. During post-independence period along with exposure to administrative intervention for welfare the tribal people have also been exposed to contact with non-Arunachalis in the process. The following trends have emerged in traditional land relations in the state:

1. Community ownership coexists along with private ownership and the trend is towards increasing individual rights on land.

2. Cadastral survey and land records are not available for all categories of land.

3. Customary rules still govern the practices of land transfer and inheritance. Land is inherited along male line, though trend of transfer of land by parents to daughters has emerged in a very small scale. Instances of tribal women marrying outsiders and enjoying usufructuary rights over paternal land have been reported. The children of the couple also enjoy this right as long as they live there. However, the right is not transferable to others. The land reverts to the family or lineage if the children of the couple settle elsewhere.

4. Tribal women with income have started purchasing land in administrative centres. Land is also allotted to female applicants by the government in administrative headquarters subject to fulfilment of conditions and availability. To get benefit of schemes like Indira Awas Yojana land is recorded in female beneficiary names.

5. Inequality in ownership of land holdings has emerged. A number of households have occupied more land for plantation and commercial crops.

6. There is a gradual decline in jhum fields and increase in area under permanent cultivation.

7. Tenancy system has emerged as people shift from traditional subsistence mode of agriculture to scientific cultivation and to non-agricultural activities like business, jobs, etc.

8. Land is commoditised; it can be sold and purchased even in rural areas within customary frame.

5.3.2 Occupational Diversification

Tribes of Arunachal Pradesh were traditionally engaged in mainly primary sector activities. These included hunting, gathering and other forest activities, cattle rearing, fishing and agriculture. In primary sector activities, however, mining and quarrying were not undertaken till 1971 as is evident from Table 5.2. In addition to it women were engaged in weaving to meet domestic clothing needs. A few people were found practising iron smithy and pot making in a small scale. These works were not regular and depended on the interest and skill of the individual. It was not a family profession either. Inter and intra tribe barter exchange also exited though it was not a regular occupation. Similarly, basket making was a leisure time activity but had utility as a support to other activities. Labour payment was reciprocated in terms of labour or kind. These activities were traditional occupations of people for livelihoods. But there was no tribe wise, family wise or activity wise specialisation in occupations though gender division was a distinct feature. The people combined different activities even in a day's routine.

With government interventions through plan programmes for all-round development, many new avenues have opened up. People are found engaged in different activities. In fact, they are engaged in activities which did not exist earlier and existing sect oral activities have been diversified. You will find construction, mining and quarrying, transport, etc. are additional activities in corresponding sectors. It is worth mentioning that development interventions started right from 1947. Nevertheless, as you can see from Table 5.3 that some activities shared less than one per cent workforce participation even in 1971, after more than 20 years.

Though there is no specific study, still you will find in the field that many Arunachalis are employed in sectors like education, health, public administration, transport, banking, hotel, etc. in addition to this people also pursue their traditional occupations.

You can learn the nature and extent of occupational diversity with reference to sect oral distribution of works and changes therein. Arunachal Development Report (2005) informs us about it which is presented in Tables 5.2 and 5.3. You will find that occupations in tertiary sector have increased from 1971 to 2001 as shown in Table 5.2. During this period there is a decline in primary sector activities. Secondary sector occupations have increased but very marginally in comparison to tertiary sector, though these have increased more in urban areas than in rural areas.

Table 5.2 Change in Sectoral Distribution of Workers Over a Period of 30 Years

Area/Workers		Primary sector		Secondary sector		Tertiary sector	
		1971	2001	1971	2001	1971	2001
Arunachal Pradesh	Persons	80.44	62.27	0.44	11.41	19.12	26.32
	Male	68.78	51.57	0.65	14.54	30.56	33.93
	Female	97.12	81.70	0.14	5.74	2.74	12.55
Rural	Persons	82.92	74.14	0.36	9.17	16.72	16.69
	Male	72.30	64.59	0.55	12.18	27.15	23.23
	Female	97.38	89.04	0.11	4.47	2.50	6.49
Urban	Persons	8.01	8.40	2.78	21.57	89.21	70.03
	Male	5.39	6.70	2.58	22.63	92.03	70.64
	Female	45.99	15.40	5.75	17.22	48.26	67.39

Table 5.3 *Change in Work Participation in Sectoral Activities*

Sectors	Percentage of Workers	
	1971	*1991*
Primary sector	80.44	67.44
Cultivators	78.34	60.36
Agricultural labourers	1.96	5.13
Livestock/forestry/fishing	0.14	1.77
Mining and Quarrying	0	0.18
Secondary Sector	0.44	8.66
Manufacturing in Household Industry	0.31	0.19
Manufacturing in Other than in Household Industry	0.04	2.49
Construction	0.01	5.98
Tertiary Sector	19.12	23.29
Trade and Commerce	0.58	3.31
Transport, Storage and Communication	0	1.13
Other Services	18.54	19.47
TOTAL	100	100

Census, 2011 also records work participation in agriculture and other activities in the state. Table 5.4 shows percentage distribution of total workers as cultivator, agricultural labourers and workers in household industries and other category of works.

Table 5.4 *Work Participation as per Census, 2011*

Workers	*Cultivators (%)*	*Agricultural labourers (%)*	*Household Industry workers (%)*	*Other Workers (%)*
Total	57.8	3.9	1.3	37.0
Male	46.4	3.5	1.1	49.0
Female	75.5	4.5	1.5	18.5

It is clear that agriculture is still predominant with 57.8 per cent as cultivators and 3.9 per cent as agricultural labourers. Tertiary or service sector activities occupies second place recording 37.0 per cent of work participation. However, activities in household industry are very insignificant with 1.3 per cent of participation. A greater percentage of women have been recorded in agriculture than in other work category. The trend is also notice in other two tables.

As you know, tribal people were engaged in primary sector activities. Gradually, participation rate in this sector is declining and the rate in secondary and tertiary sector occupations has been increasing. In other words, occupations are not confined to traditional or primary sector activities alone.

5.3.3 Modern Polity

Modern polity among the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh is not a total deviation from the traditional ethos. In modern polity, the first M.P. was nominated in 1952 to represent the tribes of North Eastern Frontier Tracts of Assam, which is now Arunachal Pradesh. In many cases there is a fusion of traditional and modern authority. So, in this section we will discuss the political life in tribal communities both in general

and in some specific contexts with reference to tradition and recent practices. In other words, what the people do, how they do and why they do certain activities that we call political in nature will be our focus of discussion both in the past and present. The discussion on above lines will give you an understanding of political life of tribal people. In general, you will learn activities which people perform, faiths and beliefs related to those activities, individual or group that enjoys the authority and the motive behind functioning of political institutions.

Ideology

The motive changes over time and among communities. However, a common force exists across political institutions. You will find that the political institution of a society ensures stability, peaceful coexistence; controls chaos and conflict and thus establishes conditions for survival and sustainability of the community. To achieve this objective, the ideology they follow varies from time to time and community to community. At one time it could be *tooth for a tooth* and *an eye for an eye*. At the other, it could be the issue of creating awareness and realisation of the adverse impact of wrongs. For this purpose, the actions to be initiated, for example, awards and punishments, also vary. Roy (1960) transcribes an elaborate introductory speech (*abe*) made at the beginning of the proceedings of an Adi village council (*kebang*) that throws light on the ideology behind its functioning. He writes:

> Oh! Villagers and brethren let us strengthen our customs and *kebang*, let us improve our regulations; let us make the laws straight and equal for all. Let the leaders who can speak best stand up and speak out for our betterment; let them speak out in a bold voice unabashed and undaunted like a cock crowing. Let our laws be uniform; let our customs be the same for all. Let us not decide differently for different persons; let us be guided by reason and see that justice is done and a compromise reached that is acceptable to both the parties. Let us keep nothing pending, let us decide while the dispute is fresh, lest small disputes grow big and continue for a long time. Let the *ajeng* (fine) be levied reasonably. Let it be commensurate with the guilt and be just. Poverty should have compassion and justice be tempered with mercy. We have met in this sacred place of justice; we have come together for a *kebang* and let us speak in one voice and decide on one verdict. Here are iron pots and brass pots brought by the accuser and the accused; here stands the mithun. So let us decide and mete out justice so that all these go to him who is in the right.

Traditional political life in tribal communities of Arunachal Pradesh needs clarification. In 1945 Assam Frontier (Administration of Justice) Act was enacted and enforced in the then NEFA. Since then the tribal councils work within the general framework of this Act. The Act recognises the tribal authority and gives tribal councils very wide powers, but limits the types of 'punishment'. Elwin (1959) writes, '...in fact the heavy punishments of former days have already almost entirely disappeared. Girls may still have their hair cut for immorality, but they are no longer stripped naked and beaten. Offenders are no longer buried alive, rolled off cliffs, or pushed into rivers to drown; already, of their own accord, the people have adopted the system of compensation, which in practice is adjusted to the wealth and position of the accused'. Needless to say, the guiding principle of punishment is compensation to the victim or his/her family.

Elwin (1959) further writes, 'Where an autocratic system has previously existed, it (*the Administration*) is trying to associate with the Chief a number of elders and give them a stronger voice in village affairs'. According to the provisions of this

Act, *gaonburah* (head of the village), who is the representative of the Administration got a place in the council. In other words, in many tribes the traditional head became the representatives of the Government. The villagers choose the head which is ratified and recognised by the Government with the presentation of a red coat.

It is obvious from the above paragraph that the functioning of councils has changed to some extent form the practices before 1945. So when we say traditional political life, it covers the practices that prevailed before 1945 and the changes thereafter. Nevertheless, the practices followed in tribal communities, before 1945 or thereafter, that we call tribal political life are not as distinct as we see around us. There is no domain of activities which can be exclusively called political in a tribe. You have studied in unit II how oath is taken the name of Supreme Being. Elwin (1965) writes that the council is supported by supernatural sanctions, and to give false evidence, for example, may call down the vengeance of the gods as well as excite the scorn of man. Sacrifices are made to avert supernatural displeasure, to beseech the divine blessings on the council's deliberations, and to ensure peace between the contending parties. So, political activity is linked with faiths and beliefs. In family types in in unit II which primarily deal with social aspects of life, you have studied patriarchal and matriarchal family types that depend on whom the authority lies. The notion of heredity associated with chieftain type of societies has a social context. In other words, the political institution is also linked with the social aspects of life. So, you will learn political life as integrated and interconnected with all other aspects of life.

Members of Council

In tribal councils, the head is either elected as is the case with the Monpas, or a hereditary chief as among Khamptis, Wachos an Noctes, or is an informally recognised person on the consideration of age and capability. The authority in council is derived from the convention of tradition as rooted in culture. Elwin (1965) writes, 'They all derive their authority from ancient times and the fact that they are the expressions of the will and power of the whole people'. Normal criteria of membership are age, knowledge in customs and practices, character, ability, and oratory skill. In some tribes, wealth and influence of the person is considered.

Membership is open and informal to male members on the basis of the above criteria in Adi Kebang. Normally, clan elders with the above qualities are members in the Kebang though all adult male members can participate in principle. Among the Nyishis, even the *gingdung*, the mediator who organises the *Nyel* (Nyishi village council) when need arises is a man of influence and wealth with oratory skill and knowledge in customary rules and practices. In chieftain type of societies, the chief who is the head of the council inherits the position.

Besides the head, there are other functional members in some of the councils. In others, the power is delegated to the youth groups. Elwin (1959) informs us that in Apatani community the village council, called *Buliang* is of three types. The *Buliang* of the young men, called *Ajang Buliangs*, are employed as messengers, go-betweens and assistants of the Yapa *Buliangs*. But, Kani (1993) informs us that what is presented as types are in fact three divisions of the council according to age gradation. In Apatani tribe, the council is known as Buliang and the members are also called Buliangs. The council exists at clan level, village level, and tribe level. Elwin (1965) also notes that ... 'the moshup or dere boys of the Adis, the morung

boys of the Wanchos and Noctes have always played an important part in looking after their villages, maintaining paths, helping in cultivation, providing a simple relief service...' Pertin (2009) informs us that *Musupkos* (*musup*, i.e. dormitory boys) deliver important messages through *gokying*, an announcement of any kind of community programmes. In case of non-compliance of the punishment or breaking of taboo *Mushupkos* perform *kumsung saanam* (forcible collection of paddy from the granary of the offender). During feuds, the youths used to do the scouting. In *mushups* or *morung*s they always remain alert to any types of accident.

In councils of some tribes, priests have a role to play. During trial, the priests examine, chicken liver, or egg yolk to predict good omen for selecting *jhum* field or for hunting. A priest also renders his service at the time of conducting ordeal. In Tangsa village council (Ruung), for example, *Shamman*, the priest is an important member who predicts good or bad omen before any expedition like community hunting, waging war against the enemy or searching suitable land for new settlement. If the omen in favour is predicted by the *shamman*, the expedition is performed and if not it is dropped.

Inequality, hierarchy and exclusion

The political life does not display the ideal of egalitarianism. You will find inequality in every tribe and hierarchy in some tribes. As you know Arunachal societies are patriarchal. In principle women are excluded from exercising the social authority or power like members of the council. In fact, no instances are recorded where a woman heads a council or is a member in it. Women do not take part in decision making, but can make complaint, give witness, attend the council to watch the proceedings and in some tribes to arrange food and drinks. The nature of composition of councils displays exclusionary traits, the first being the gender bias. The nature of heredity to the post of headship/member in the council in chieftain type of communities, or in gerontocracy is exclusionary. It does not allow free competition among all the clans or groups of people living in a village under democratic spirit.

Among the Wanchos, Noctes, Khamptis and the Singphos the chief is hereditary in the family, or at best in the clan. In Nocte chieftaincy, the *Nokbang* (commoner) and *Mikhiak* (people forming a still lower status) do not have the right to head the Council. The Wanchos have three social divisions such as *Wangham* (ruler), *Wangsa* (middle order born out of the wedlock between a *Wangham* father and *Wangpan* mother) and *Wangpan* (ruled). Even a member from *Wangsa* group has no right to the post of chief though members and advisers come from this group. Obviously, exclusion of clans and groups as head in the council are pronounced in chieftain type of societies.

Even in non-chieftain type of societies exclusion is a distinct feature. We have already mentioned the gender and age bias. The Buliang in Apatani community, though not a chieftain type of society, is hereditary in the family. Anita Sharma (2013) informs us that the traditional Sherdupen community was governed by a central administrative council based at Rupa. Though Shergaon has a council, originally it was affiliated to Rupa. Most of the sizeable villages have a council (Jung) whose head, now *gaonburh*a, comes from the Thong clans. The same pattern is followed for the post of *Jungme*, i.e. ordinary members. Only for the post of the *Kachung*/ *Kaching* members come from Chao clans. A council may have one or two or more than two *Kachungs* who work as couriers, messengers and watchmen of the village.

In case of more than one *Kachung*, a leader is selected between the two or among them if three or more. They take care of the store of the village council, organise activities like meetings, festivals, important days, and ensure strict observance of taboos and social discipline. In Monpa community all people do not have the right to the post of Tsorgen. Norbu (2008) informs us that only *khraimi* (those who own taxable land) are eligible to the post of Tsogen. The *surmi/naamtong* (those who do not own taxable land) have no such right. In other words, landless people do not have the right to head the village council of the Monpas.

Role of village council in political life

The political life of tribals in Arunachal Pradesh is governed through various roles played by the council. Elwin (1965) has made a threefold classification of these roles as: judicial, administrative and developmental. By developmental role he means the functioning of development officers through involvement of village councils. This is not a traditional function of the council. However, the council has its traditional role of development of the village. We may include construction and maintenance of paths, bridge, water sources, etc. But Elwin groups these activities under administrative function of the village council. The judicial function includes settlement of various disputes. We may classify the traditional functions of village council as that of settlement of disputes, community works and village safety and security.

Disputes may broadly relate to criminal and civil matters. Theft, murder, rape, incest, adultery, elopement with a married woman, killing of *mithuns*/domestic animals, sorcery and witchcraft, assault and inflicting physical injuries, breaking of taboos, quarrelling and fighting are serious offences and hence can be grouped under criminal cases. Judicial role of the council is associated with settlement of criminal and civil cases. The council imposes fines as compensation for the loss to the victims. If the accused does not pay the compensation, an alternative course of action is taken. The person, who does not pay compensation, is handed over to the victim's family. He or she is left at the mercy of the person or family or clan. Payment of compensation has a community dimension. When the person is not able to make the payment the lineage or the clan group comes forward to bail him/her out.

Civil matters broadly relate to marriage and land disputes. Marriage disputes normally cover divorce, elopement, breaking of marriage negotiation, matter relating to marriage exchanges (earlier known as bride price). The village council decides all sorts of land disputes including maintenance of village boundary. It settles land disputes between families, decides upon land allotment to families and new settlers, to development projects like school, hospital, government offices, etc. Inter-village encroachments are settled by joint meeting of councils of two or more villages as the case may be. But in tribes like the Adis the dispute is settled by the territorial and tribe level councils such as Bango Kebang or Bogum Bokang Kebang. Some issues like adoption, inheritance disputes, disputes over hunting and trapping ground, absence in community works are also civil in nature.

Community works include community fencing, fixation of date and time for festivals, rituals, community fishing and hunting, construction of irrigation channels, and clearance of *jhum* fields. We have already mentioned some works under what Elwin called administrative work.

When a new village has to be set up, the council visit different places/sites; ensures water supply, longer hours of sun shine, locational safety and quality of soil for cultivation. Matters regarding inter-tribe or inter-village feuds are decided in the council. Details of raids are also planned in earlier days.

Present Context

The village governance in tribal communities of Arunachal Pradesh is in transition. The changes have resulted from the government interventions. The first intervention, as you know, was the Assam Frontier (Administration of Justice) Regulation, 1945 (I of 1945). The Act recognised the traditional village authorities of the tribes to administer the villages. But the functioning of the council did not remain informal as the Act provided the frame of its functioning. A sort of uniformity prevailed in the composition of the council with the entry of recognised members to the council of Chieftains. The traditional head of the council formally became the head of the village, designated as *gaonburha* in government records. In councils, where there were other members, they got the recognition with the designation of *gaonburha*. Nimachow (2011) informs us that the position of village elders (*Nyetri Kheo*) in the council of many Aka villages, for example, is held by the appointed *gaonburhas*. We have already discussed that the nature of punishment which became more compensatory in nature.

The second ripples of change came with the introduction of the Panchayati Raj system in 1967. The Panchayati Raj system was introduced in the state at four levels ─ the level of village, *Anchal*, *Zila* and the state. At the village level, the traditional councils functioned side by side with the village Panchayat. Beyond the village level, at the *Anchal* and *Zila* levels, the *Anchal Samiti* and *Zila Parishad* are the higher Panchayati Raj Institutions corresponding to a circle and a district respectively. At the apex is the Agency Council consisting of the then Governor of Assam, the MPs from NEFT, the Vice-Presidents of *Zila Parishads*, three representatives elected by each *Zila Parishad*, and the Adviser to the Governor as an *ex-officio* member.

The system again changed when the NEFA became Union Territory in 1972 and a full-fledged state in 1987. Further, 73rd Amendment to the Constitution strengthened the Village Panchayats. You will find the same person in some tribes like the Sherdukpen and the Khamptis is both traditional head and gaonburha. You will find gaoburhas constituting a majority of the members in the council as is in Kebang or Nyel. The elected Panchyat members are also members in many village councils, but they conduct the councils as per the tradition. In Khampti villages, the post of Chauman (traditional village head) is different from the post of the head of the Village Panchayat. While the traditional council look after disputes and other traditional issues, the Panchayat looks after developmental works following relating to government programmes and schemes. Sometimes, the village head is consulted. However, differences are also noticed between the traditional head and the panchayat head in the selection of beneficiary and implementation of programmes. You will find the Adi Kebang in many villages functioning effectively in settling disputes. In a nutshell, the traditional councils and modern Panchyats coexist in tribal villages. Their working area is distinct in some villages and in others they have merged together.

The 73rd Amendment to the Constitution of India has brought changes in the sphere of participation. All adult members, irrespective of social sections, enjoy the

rights to participate in Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs). Needless to say, the people exercise their voting rights to elect Gram Panchayat Members (GPMs) and ASM as their representatives to the Village Panchayat. Any adult member, until and unless disqualified otherwise, has the right to contest for any post of PRIs. The *gram sabha*, the important component of PRIs, has empowered all adult members to place their view points and participate in decision making. According to this amendment 30 per cent of seats in PTIs are reserved for women. As a result, contrary to traditional political institutions, the women are not excluded from participation in decision making. No doubt, tribal women play a major role in PRIs.

In addition to the Panchayati Raj system in the state another development also marks a change in traditional political life. It is the participation of the people in representative democracy of the country both at national and state levels and introduction of election. The political process made a small beginning, as already mentioned, with the nomination of Shri Choukhamoon Gohain (Namchum) as MP in 1952. The seat to Lok Sabha further increased by one in 1971, and during the same year the state opened its account in Rajya Sabha by sending Shri Todak Basar as its first MP in Rajya Sabha. However, real political process began with the introduction of elections during its Union Territory phase. In 1977 the people of the state exercised their franchise for the first time to elect their representatives for the Lok Sabha.

Prior to it, on August 15, 1975, a Provincial Legislative Assembly with 30 members was constituted with Mr. P.K. Thungon as the Chief Minister. Its members were elected by an electoral body. But the first general election for the Assembly was held in February 1978. When Arunachal Pradesh attained full-fledged status in 1987, the seats in the State Assembly were increased from 30 to 60.

5.4 WOMEN AND SOCIETY

Women in Indian society belong to weaker sections. This is the idea about women and important considerations for their development in almost all the countries of the world. In India, tribes also belong to weaker sections. Obviously, tribal women are doubly vulnerable on this count. The idea of weaker section means that women are not equal to men; they do not enjoy equal rights like men counterparts. It is not therefore a surprise to find equality claims in contemporary feminist movement. In the field of development or political participation you will find gender issue as a significant point of discussion and consideration. This is the case in general and issue of tribal women in particular.

In some quarters there are opinions that tribal women enjoy better position as compared to non-tribal women. The Dhebar Commission Report of 1961 states that a tribal woman is not a drudge or beast of burden. She is found to be exercising a relatively free and firm hand in all aspects of her social life unlike in non-tribal societies. When compared to 'non-tribal' counterparts, the general impression is that tribal women enjoy a better status. This is because in tribal communities there is no stigma of widowhood and often of unwed mother, no purdah system and no dowry unlike in non-tribal communities. A tribal woman can divorce and remarry easily. She earns and is, therefore, to a great extent financially independent.

But this is a myth, for the position of an individual, for example a woman, is examined in relation to the culture she belongs to. In fact, you will find status

differentiation between male and female members in tribal societies also. Of course in matrilineal tribe, women's position is considered better. The daughter, only one, inherits family property. Among Garos it is the youngest daughter who inherits family property which belongs to mother. Here the comparison is made about the status of women belonging to two different cultures-patriarchy and matriarchy. In matriarchy, the inheritor daughter is subject to cultural prescriptions. In the event of her decision to stay with her husband elsewhere she has to forego the right. Moreover, a male member, especially from maternal side, manages the landed property, though the right of ownership vests in the female. Therefore, in a culture, a comparison shows that men and women have different status, often marking inequality.

But in patriarchy women in general do not enjoy equal rights with men in many aspects of life. With reference to these aspects the status of women can be compared with men. One of such aspects is inheritance.

5.4.1 Inheritance

We have discussed the rules of inheritance of property in tribal societies in Unit-3, in detail. In this section, a brief account of women's inheritance in the context of Arunachal tribes will be presented.

As you know property in tribal societies are of two types: moveable and immovable. Moveable property normally includes livestock, beads and ornaments, bride wealth of any form (land traditionally does not constitute a part of bride wealth), utilitarian objects like loom, utensils and other household articles. Hunting equipment and traps also are moveable properties especially of hunting gathering tribes. Among the pastoral tribes you will find livestock as the most valuable moveable property.

Ownership of movable property has male and female domains. For example, hunting equipment, traps, animals in pastoral community belongs to male ownership domain. Women do not have rights to inherit such types of movable property. Beads, ornaments, bride wealth, etc., on the other hand, belong to female domain of ownership. Therefore, in case of bridal wealth, beads and ornaments, etc. the ownership rest on the woman and is transferred to daughters and daughters-in law. In other words, daughters and daughters-in-law have rights to inherit mother/mother-in-law owned movable property. The woman owning domestic birds and animals could dispose them in exchange or as gift to daughters or use them for domestic rituals or consumption purpose. However, there is no established norm guiding inheritance practice of such properties.

Tribes in Arunachal Pradesh are patriarchal in nature. Naturally inheritance rights of immovable property like land rest on male line. Normally sons inherit father's property and in the absence of sons, lineage male members or other male relatives inherit the property as per cultural norms. In principle women either as daughter or wife does not have right to inherit father's/husband's land property. She enjoys maintenance rights as per customary practices.

A woman passes through two major phases of life: married and unmarried. During unmarried stage, maintenance of the daughter is responsibility of parents/ family members till her marriage. There is the possibility that the daughter may not marry thorough out her life. In that case her maintenance depends on the family and if she wants to be dependent, she is allowed to cultivate a family plot for herself on availability. However, this practice is not the inheritance rule. Only the women enjoy usufructuary rights as long as she is alive and capable of cultivating. After

her death, the land reverts to family. Even in some tribes like the Galo, a daughter can cultivate a plot by herself independently before marriage.

After marriage, the maintenance rights of a woman rest on husband as long as he is alive. She would cultivate the land owned by her husband. In case of the death of the husband the widow does not have any right over husband's landed property. She may have a residual life interest in land meant for maintenance. However, this right is subject to her not remarrying outside husband's family circle. If she remarries, she foregoes the right of life interest in land. In case of a widow with male children the inheritors of property are her own children according to customary norms. When they are young, the woman remains as the custodian of land on their behalf. After husband's death, children take care of the maintenance responsibility.

The issue of inheritance has another dimension. A widow may marry her husband's brother/lineage brother as per sorrorate and levirate practices followed in the community. In that case the brother-husband inherits property. This type of marriage is often labelled as 'widow inheritance'. This practice exists in most of Arunachali tribes.

Another trend is noticed in the matter of land transfer and ownership. There are instances where a father legally transfers land to a daughter. Moreover, many women have started purchasing land in their names. Obviously ownership rights rest on them. But how this land will be inherited depends on future practice, for in tradition, there is no such practice and rule.

Life interest in land has an emerging trend in recent years. Many tribal girls marrying outsiders enjoy this life interest in land. There are cases where the land deed is manipulated in the name of the woman giving them legal ownership rights. But to what extent the woman enjoys the rights depends on future, for the tribal land cannot be transferred to non-tribals. In other cases, without any legal rights, when the children of the women would not like to stay after her death, the land will revert to her parent's family. These are some emerging trends for which there are no traditional rules. Moreover, there is no land rule in the state to guide these matters. In future, the practices will determine rule.

5.4.2 Women and Empowerment

In recent years, empowerment of women has been recognized as a central issue in determining the status of women as well as development of a country. In this connection, Human Development Report, 2003 is of immense significance which speaks of Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) that prominently emphasise on women empowerment. Empowerment of women is a worldwide concept. The last 30 years of 20th century prepared the action plan in the four world conferences on women held at Mexico City (1975), Copenhagen (1980), Nairobi (1985) and Beijing (1995). These conferences have helped to strengthen the socio-economic, political and legal dimensions of the role of women. In the Mexico conference it was decided that the decade of 1975 to 1985 be celebrated as the decade of women. During the decade, in 1979 the UNO adopted Convention on Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), which on 1993 was adopted in India. The concept of empowerment was introduced at the international women's conference at Nairobi in 1985. This conference defined empowerment as a redistribution of social power and control of resources in favour of women.

Check Your Progress

8. State whether the following statements are True or False:

(a) Individual ownership has emerged in land.

(b) Primogeniture is the normal rule of land inheritance among many tribes.

(c) Residual life interest in land is an inheritance rule.

(d) The government occupies tribal land in public interest as per the provisions of Land Acquisition Act 1984.

(e) Inequality in land holdings has emerged in the process of development interventions.

The emphasis on women empowerment has its origin in their subordinate position in patriarchy and associated ill treatments and non-recognition to their contributions. Not less important is the additional positive contribution of women to general development by enabling their participation meaningfully in development process.

Literally, empowerment means becoming powerful. The question is powerful with regard to what? In a common sense of understanding empowerment is to make an individual, a group, a section of a community or the community as a whole powerful so that the members participate, decide upon, get access to and enjoy freedom of choices in matters which they are deprived of or denied to within the existing system.

As you know, tribes in India have been integrated to national development process. Obviously empowerment of tribal women is an important subject of national commitment.

You are already aware that Arunachali tribes are patriarchal in nature. In a patriarchy, in principle and practice, participation and decision making power rests on men. In economic matters, village councils and religious affairs women are subordinated to men's decision. Cultural prescriptions and taboos prohibit women to take part in many aspects of life. Though they participate in economic and religious activities, they do not have decision making power. In Adi kebang for example, and for that matter in all village councils, women may lodge complaints, stand as witness, serve food and beverage, but can neither be a member nor can participate in decision making process. Obviously, in these spheres tribal women are not empowered in traditional system.

However, this does not mean that women at all do not have any power to take decision. In marriage matter, a girl can exercise her choice in the selection of life partner. In some tribes, the girl enjoys pre-marital sexual freedom. More significantly a woman can decide upon the use of produces. What she earns from keeping poultry birds, pigs or selling clothes is spent by her. The produce of the land cultivated by an unmarried girl is used according to her desire. The women can decide upon whom to transfer her movable property- to daughter or daughter-in-law.

As you know in the process of development tribal economy is linked to market though in a very minimal scale. Tribal women for a long time have been selling some produces in local markets. You will find tribal women selling clothes, vegetables, fruits, etc. in administrative centres. From their earnings they purchase their personal necessities. Even they spend the money for children education, medicine, dress, toys, eatables, etc. Empowerment of tribal women can be observed, though to a very limited extent, in domestic sphere of life. In public sphere, however, it was conspicuously absent in traditional society.

Such instances of decision making power, however, do not improve upon their general status of subordination in a patriarchy. Women empowerment is not related to these instances, it is rather an ideological assertion against subordination in patriarchy in general. The empowerment which we talk about is the power given to women through government interventions so that their status in patriarchy improves at par men's power.

At present, you will find two systems in Arunachal Pradesh. One is the emerging formal system through government interventions and the second one is

the continued traditional informal system. Similarly, you will find corresponding public spheres – one at formal level and other at informal traditional level.

Due to development and education schemes, the level of empowerment of tribal women is rising in the formal system. You will find tribal women as administrators through civil services and working as police personnel, doctors, teachers, lawyers, technocrats, bankers, journalists, writers, executives, social workers, entrepreneurs, and in other formal institutions and sect oral activities. These women are decision maker in accordance with the position they hold. In addition, they have access to state resources as income earners. Thiers contribution to state economy is recognised unlike in traditional system.

You will find Self-Help Group (SHG strategy for women empowerment. Self-Help Group model was introduced as a core strategy to achieve empowerment in the Ninth Plan (1997-2002) with the objective to organize women into Self-Help Group, and thus, marked the beginning of a major process of empowering women. This has empowered women to organise into SHGs, maintain their accounts, organise their activities, and interact with development personnel and so on. In Arunachal Pradesh women organised into Women Welfare Society have raised their voice against ills of society that subordinates women. You will find women voice in State Women Commission. There are district and local level women organizations which advocate for equality eradication of practices of gender discrimination. These women empowered in formal system interventions in public sphere of informal traditional system for general women empowerment. When a woman is prohibited to organise traditional religious festivals like Mopin, she can do so in capital complex. Such women stand as 'interface' between tradition and modernity, though women empowerment in traditional life is yet to make a significant dent.

However, in political sphere empowerment in tribal women can be observed. The state has sent women representatives to the State Assembly and Parliament of the country. Besides, due to 33 per cent reservation women participate as members in Panchayati Raj Institutions. The government has been appointing some women GBs (women village head) since 1987. These members participate in village council meetings which have emerged as a combination of tradition and modernity. You will find another trend of women empowerment in revival religious organizations. In revival movements like Donyipolo, Nani Inteya, etc. women play leading role in conducting prayers and some other activities.

5.5 SUMMARY

- In this unit we have discussed tribal life in Arunachal Pradesh. This is discussed with reference to social organization, emerging issues and women in changing society.

- Life of a community gets expressions through activities belonging to different spheres. The spheres of activities are broadly cultural, religious, social, political and economic in nature. They present cultural, religious, social, political and economic aspects of life of people. You have learnt these aspects in general and with reference to few individual tribes as case studies.

- As you know, in the tradition of a tribe all aspects of life are integrated and interconnected. Therefore, in the discussion of a particular aspect, a few references pertaining to other aspects of life have come up. For example,

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Check Your Progress

10. What are the objectives of punishment?

11. The traditional political institution is gender discriminatory. Justify.

12. Even non-chieftain type of societies can be exclusionary. Prove with examples.

the status role of women in terms of participation in village council has been referred to in social aspect of life.

- Society is dynamic; so also the aspects of life. That is why you have learnt changing trend in various aspects of life. Largely, you have learnt tribal way of life in the tradition and the emerging trend consequent upon assimilation, acculturation and development interventions. The emerging issues have been discussed with reference to land relations, occupational diversification and modern polity. Women empowerment is also an emerging issue in tribal society. We have discussed the nature and scope of empowerment of tribal women in Arunachal Pradesh. The issue of inheritance is discussed to appreciate women rights in land and thus the issue of empowerment.

5.6 KEY TERMS

- **Acephalous society:** A society where there is not centralised authority.
- **Cadastral Survey:** Survey or mapping land boundaries.
- **Cephalous society:** A society with centralised authority like a chief.
- **Contemporary:** Belonging to the same time or period as the one mentioned.
- **Egalitarian:** The belief that everyone is equal and should enjoy same rights and opportunities.
- **Endogamy:** Marriage practice within the group.
- **Exogamous:** Marriage practice outside the group, opposite to endogamous.
- **Fallow land:** Land which is left uncultivated to restore fertility.
- **Levirate:** The custom of a man marrying his deceased brother's widow (sister-in-law).
- **Moiety:** One of two basic sub-divisions of tribe.
- **Oath:** To speak out in the name of supernatural power; the act of calling upon a deity to stand witness to the veracity of what one says.
- **Ordeal:** The practice of determining guilt or innocence by asking the accused to undergo certain acts believed to be under the control of supernatural power.
- **Patriarchy:** The system where power and authority rests on male members.
- **Phratries:** A kinship group composed of families with a notional common ancestor. In the organization of tribes, it refers to a group of clans.
- **Rites of passage:** Rituals to mark the transition from one stage of life to another, for example puberty ritual.
- **Sacred:** As was used by Emile Durkheim, refers to what is not a part of the normal world, including forbidden knowledge or practices and ritual activities. It is opposite to 'profane'.
- **Shaman:** A ritual specialist who mediates between the human and spiritual world through trance.
- **Social capital:** Value and practice of trust, cooperation, mutuality, reciprocation in the society.

- **Social Organization:** Significant grouping of members of a society.

- **Sorrorate:** The custom of a woman marrying her deceased sister's husband (brother-in-law).
- **Supernatural:** Something which is not subject to the laws of the nature.
- **Tenancy:** The custom of leasing out land.
- **Usufructuary:** By virtue of use, usufructuray rights- the right enjoyed because of use.

5.7 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. (a) Patriarchal (b) Differentiated (c) Endogamy
   (d) Marriage (e) Extended

2. (a) True (b) True (c) False
   (d) True (e) False

3. The society in Arunachal Pradesh is patriarchal in nature. There is inequality across gender. Women do not have rights to own landed property. The society is organised on the basis of social groupings. Broadly the society is of two types: cephalous and acephalous—on the basis of central authority. Social institutions like marriage, appropriation of community labour, and values like mutual cooperation, community interest, sharing, etc. characterise the society in Arunachal Pradesh.

4. Taboos are prohibitions. There are movement taboos, food taboos, etc. People observe taboos because its violation would incur supernatural punishment. Moreover, taboos also make the result of rituals effective.

5. Mutuality in general sense refers to reciprocal cooperation. It is more visible in mutual labour exchange. This practice exists in agricultural activities and during house construct.

6. Yes. Women take part in decision making as Panchayat members. They have entered into public sphere of like as professionals and techno-bureaucrats. They have been able to raise their voices against social evils.

7. (a) False (b) True (c) True
   (d) True (e) False

8. (a) False (b) True (c) True
   (d) True (e) False

9. (a) False (b) True (c) False (d) True
   (e) True (f) False (g) True

10. To ensure about social cohesion, to make the wrong doers realise his mistake and to compensate the loss incurred to the victim

11. In traditional political institutions of chieftain type societies women are not members. When the council is informal and open like the *kebang* women do not take part in decision making.

12. Non-Chieftain type of societies has different political institutions- gerontocracy, democratic village councils, and arbiter system. In such institutions, women are generally excluded from taking decision. In gerontocracy, there is social hierarchy like the Thong and Chao of Sherdukpen. In such a society a section of the people is excluded from decision making. The slaves/serfs are also excluded from participation.

5.8 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. Tribal social life is founded on the principle of mutuality and sharing. Discuss.
2. Traditional Political life in Arunachal Pradesh is exclusionary. Do you agree? Justify.
3. What do you mean by the word 'empowerment'? Why is it absent in traditional society? Give your answer with examples.
4. Give a brief account of inheritance rights of women in traditional tribal society.
5. What is the emerging trend in tribal land relations? Discuss.

Long-Answer Questions

1. Discuss the trend of change in social life of the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh. Enumerate contributing factors of change.
2. Discuss various stages of change in political life of the people in Arunachal Pradesh.
3. Discuss the judicial and administrative functions of village councils.
4. Discuss the nature of inequality in landholdings.
5. Do you think the status of tribal women in Arunachal Pradesh is changing? Give answer with examples.
6. There is a shift in economic life from primary to secondary and tertiary sector activities. Do you agree? Why?

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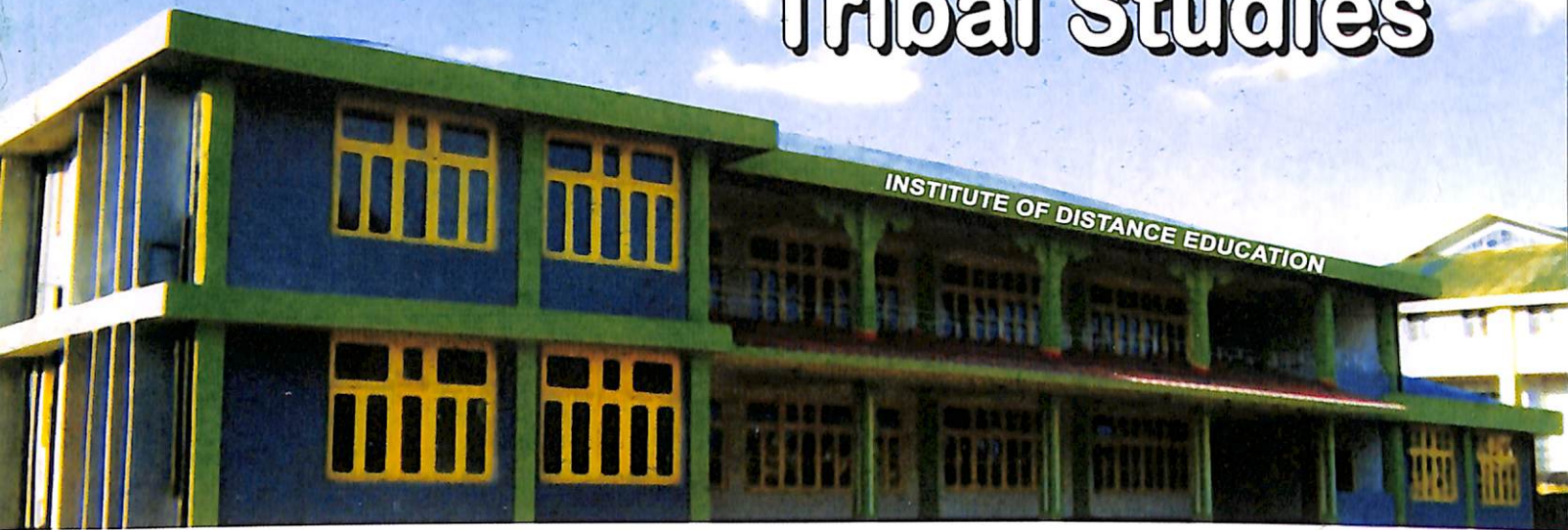
B.A. COURSE

THIRD YEAR

PAPER-III

CONTEMPORARY TRIBAL ISSUES

Paper III
Contemporary Tribal Issues

Unit-I Economic Problems

Poverty, Indebtedness, Land alienation, unemployment, migration displacement and globalisation, rehabilitation, impact of urbanization and industrialization.

Unit-II Issues of Identity

Social movements and types - Recent trends.

Unit-III Tribal Rights

(a) Land, Forest and Water
(b) IPR
(c) Human rights

Unit-IV Emerging Social Problems

Problems of the aged, issue of access to education and literacy. Malnutrition, alcoholism, drug abuse, child-labour, trafficking, HIV/AIDS, gender inequality, safe-drinking water, re-productive health

Unit-V Language Issues

Script issue, medium of instruction and preservation of language and problem

CONTENT

UNIT I
Economic Problem

1.0 Objective

The object of the unit is to introduce students the basic economic problems and their meaning, types, characteristics etc. The unit basically deals with problems like poverty, land alienation, unemployment, displacement urbanization, etc and their magnitudes, consequences in general among various social groups. It also provides a general outline of various governmental initiatives to eradicate these social menaces from time to time.

1.1 Concept of Poverty

Poverty is one of the main social problems which have attracted attention of various social scientists like sociologists, anthropologists, economists, etc. Poverty can be defined as a social phenomenon in which a section of the society is unable to fulfill even its basic necessities of life. When a substantial segment of a society is deprived of the minimum level of living and continues at a bare subsistence level, that society is said to be plagued with mass poverty. It indicates a condition in which a person fails to maintain a living standard adequate for his physical and mental efficiency. It is a situation people want to escape. It gives rise to a feeling of a discrepancy between what one has and what one should have. It can be defined as a situation when people are unable to satisfy the basic needs of life. The definition and methods of measuring poverty differs from country to country. According to the definition by Planning Commission of India, poverty line is drawn with an intake of 2400 calories in rural areas and 2100 calories in urban areas. If a person is unable to get that much minimum level of calories, then he/she is considered as being below poverty line (Lekhi, 2004).

No doubt that problem of poverty is faced by all developing countries these days referred to as the *Third World* countries, which constitute two-thirds of the total world population but the poverty in India has few parallels in the world. Poverty is writ large on the face of an average Indians. Poverty on a mass scale exists because the level of national income in India is very low. Besides, even this low national income is very unevenly distributed.

To understand the problem of poverty better we may distinguish between absolute poverty and relative poverty which are the two expressions quite common in any in depth study of poverty. These two types of standards i,e **absolute and relative poverty**, are common in economic literature to measure poverty.

1.1.1 Absolute Poverty

Right from the 19th century, some researchers are trying to fix some yardstick for measuring poverty in precise terms. Ideally speaking such a yardstick would help us establish a fixed level of poverty, known as *poverty line,* below which poverty begins and above which poverty ends. Such a yardstick is believed to be universal in character and would be applicable to all the societies. This concept of poverty is known as "absolute poverty".

Absolute poverty is often known as "subsistence poverty" since it is based on assessments of minimum subsistence requirements such food, clothing, shelter, health requirements etc. Absolute Poverty of a person means that his income or consumption expenditure is so meager that he lives below the minimum subsistence level. Because of his absolute poverty condition, he will not be able to maintain his health and efficiency and, in fact, he may be starving.

Some concepts of absolute poverty would even include the idea of *"basic cultural needs"*. This broadens the idea of basis human needs beyond the level of physical survival. *Drewowski and scott* include education, security, leisure and recreation in their category of "basic cultural need".

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The concept of absolute poverty has been widely criticised. It is based on the assumption that there are minimum basic needs for all people in all societies. This is a difficult argument to defend even in regard to subsistence poverty measured in terms of food, clothing and shelter. Such needs vary both between and within societies. It becomes still more difficult to defend the concept of absolute poverty when it is extended to include the idea of "basic cultural needs". Such needs vary from time to time and place to place and any attempt to establish absolute, fixed standards is bound to fail.

1.1.2 Relative poverty

The difficulties involved in the application of the concept of absolute poverty, made some researchers to abandon the concept altogether. In place of absolute standards, they have developed the idea of relative stands that is standards which are relative to particular time and place. In this way, the idea of absolute poverty has been replaced by the idea of relative poverty.

Relative poverty indicates the large inequalities of income, those who are in the lower income brackets receive less than those who are in the higher income groups. The people wit lower incomes are relatively poor compared with those higher incomes, even though they may be living above the minimum level of subsistence.

In other words, relative poverty is measured in terms of judgements by members of a particular society of what is considered a reasonable and acceptable standard of living and styles of life according to the conventions of the day. Just as conventions change from time to time and place to place, so will definitions of poverty. In a rapidly changing world, definitions of poverty based on relative standards will be constantly changing and hence *definition of poverty must be related to the need and demands of a changing society.*

Even the concept of relative poverty presents certain problem. It cannot be assumed that there are universally accepted standards of reasonable and acceptable life-style. Within a particular society, ethnicity, religion, age and a variety of other factors can vary judgements of reasonable standards.

The concept of relative poverty poses problems for the comparison of the poor in the same society over a period of time and between societies. For example, it become difficult to make a comparison of the poor in present-day and 19th century India; or of present day India and European countries or those of African countries. However, a solution for this problem of comparison has been suggested by *Peter Townsend*. He argues that two standards of poverty are required, "*national-relational*" and "*world-relational*". With the use of these standards it would be possible to compare poverty in different societies, says *Townsend.*

1.2   Estimate and Magnitude of Poverty in India

The incidence of poverty is measured in terms of the percentage of total population living below the poverty line. It shows how many are poor and brings out the extent of poverty in the country. Widespread poverty in India has attracted the attention of a number of economists and other social scientists and organizations. Some of the important studies have been undertaken by Dandekar and Rath, B.S Minhas, P.K Bardhan, P.D Ojha, the World Bank and the Planning Commission of India and others.

Estimate of the Planning Commission

The Planning Commission of India adopted the nutritional criteria to measure poverty. In 1979, the calorie requirement according to it was 2400 per person in rural areas and 2100 in urban areas. The monthly expenditure required to have the necessary calorie intake according to 1979-80 prices was Rs. 76 in rural areas and Rs. 88 in urban areas. Those who could not incur that expenditure lived below the poverty line. The Seventh Plan has drawn the poverty line on the basis of annual income per family in the rural areas is Rs. 6,400 and Rs. 7,300 for the urban families. Families with less than this income is said to be absolute poor. The estimates of incidence of poverty at national level are given in the table no.1.1 below.

Table No.1.1

Year	Poverty Ratios			Number of poor (in million)		
	Rural	Urban	Combined	Rural	Urban	Combined
1973-74	56.4	49.0	54.9	261.3	60.0	321.3
1977-78	53.1	45.2	51.3	264.3	64.6	328.9
1983	45.7	40.8	44.5	252.0	70.9	322.9
1987-88	39.1	38.2	38.9	231.9	75.2	307.1
1993-94	37.3	32.4	36.0	244.0	76.3	320.3
1999-00	27.1	23.6	26.1	193.2	67.1	260.3
2007*	21.1	15.1	19.3	170.5	49.6	220.1

*Poverty projection for 2007. Source: *Economic Survey* 2003-04.

The Planning Commission's figures on poverty bring out the following facts about poverty in India.

i)   The incidence of poverty has witnessed a steady decline from 51.3 per cent in 1977-78 to 36 per cent in 1983-84 and 26 per cent in 1999-2000. It is projected to decline to 19.3 per cent in 2007.

ii)   Though the poverty ratio has decline, the number of poor in the country has remained at around 320 million for a long period due to India's growth of population. But the latest estimates of poverty for 1999-2000 reveal a significantly reduced number of poor to about 260 million out of a total population of 997 million. The number of poor in India is projected to fall to 220 million in 2007.

iii)   The poverty ratio is estimated to be 27.1 per cent in rural areas and 23.6 per cent in urban areas and 26.1 per cent for the country as a whole in 1999-2000. The Planning Commission projects the poverty rate to fall to 21.1 per cent and 15.1 per cent respectively in rural and urban areas in 2007.

iv)   Wide disparities are visible in the poverty ratio between rural and urban areas. Poverty ratios are higher in rural areas compared to urban areas.

Estimate of National Sample Survey

The National Sample Survey (NSS) 55th (1999-2000) round, consumer expenditure survey provides data for four different social groups viz. Scheduled Tribes (ST), Schedule Caste (SC), Other Backward Classes (OBC) and Others. Other Backward Classes are the dominant category constituting 38% of the rural population. SCs constitute 20% of rural population and STs constitute 11%. Schedule Castes and Schedule Tribes are the most socially disadvantaged groups and together account for 31% of India's rural population.

The table no. 2.1 below presents the incidence of poverty across social group at the All India level and their contribution to total numbers considered to be in poverty in India.

Table No. 2.1   Poverty across Social Group in India, 1999-2000

Social Group	Head Count Ratio	% Contribution to total poverty
Schedule Tribe	45.03	17.26
Schedule Caste	35.85	26.75
Other Backward Classes	27.54	37.76
Others	15.88	18.23
All Classes	27.65	100

Source: Based on 55th NSS round data.

It is clear that the incidence of poverty among Schedule Tribes is the highest followed by Schedule Caste. These two social groups, even though they constitute only 31% of the total rural population, account for nearly 44% of the rural poor at the All India level. Even at the state level, poverty is highest among the ST and SC households. States like Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa have more than 50% of their households below the poverty line. Among the 15 major states, Orissa witness the highest poverty among STs i.e, 74% of households are below poverty line and Bihar has 59% of SCs below poverty line Kumar and Vani, 2007).

1.3 Couses of poverty in India

The factors for the existence of mass poverty in India are manifolds. According to the Draft Fifth Plan, the twin causes of poverty are under-development and inequality in distribution of National Income. Professors Dandekar and Rath as well as Dr. Minhas have attributed poverty to the existence of unemployment and under-employment in the country, particularly in rural areas. However, in our view, poverty is too complex a problem to be attributed to one or two causes. Several factors have acted and interacted upon each there to create the conditions of grinding poverty in the country. Accordingly, the causes of poverty can be discussed under the following heads: (i) Individual incapacity (ii) Economic Factors (iii) Social Factors (iv) Demographic Factors and (v) Other factors.

1.3.1 Individual incapacity

From the view point of the ideology of individualism, the individual failure itself is responsible for poverty. Success or failure in life, according to this ideology, is entirely a personal matter. Hence it is logical to conclude that if an individual fails to achieve success in life and suffers from poverty, he himself is to be blamed for his laziness, inactivity, lack of initiative, dullness and incapacities. The Protestants ethics described by Max Weber also emphasizes this aspect.

However, there are some contributing factors or causes for an individual's incapacity or failure. Failure in life may be due to some inborn deficiencies, such as, physical or mental handicap, dumbness, deafness, blindness, and so on. Some of the deficiencies might have been developed later in life. Since an individual does not have any control over many of these deficiencies, he is bound to yield to them and suffer from them. They make an individual a parasite on society.

Some of the deficiencies which can be manage or overcome, are often neglected by some individuals and hence they fall a prey to the problem of poverty. We may include under this category, deficiencies such as illiteracy, laziness, extravagance, immorality, dad habits such as gambling, alcoholism, etc.

1.3.2 Economic Factors

1 **Low Productivity in Agriculture:** The level of productivity in agriculture is very low in due to subdivided and fragmented holdings, lack of capital, use of traditional methods of cultivation and illiteracy etc. This is the main cause of poverty in the country.

2 **Under Utilised Resources:** The existence of under employment and unemployment of human resources and under utilisation of resources has resulted in low production in agricultural sector. This brought down-fall in their standard of living.

3 **Unmanageable Inflationary Pressure:** Due to incessant inflation, the value of money has come down. It has come down to 8.28 paise from 1960-61 to 1990-91. The annual rate of inflation is currently (1991) estimated to be at 7.2%. So such inflationary pressure has benefited for a few people in the society and the persons in lower income group find it difficult to get their minimum needs.

4 **Low Rate of Economic Development:** The rate of economic development in India has been below the required level. The rate of growth of our economy between 1951-71 has been just 3.5% which is negligible. Our per capita income is still very less. Many of our Five Year Plans ended with failure without achieving the targeted growth.

5 **Increasing Unemployment:** Our economy has not provided enough employment opportunities for the people. Hence unemployment is mounting. In 1952, the number of registered unemployed persons was about 4.37 lakhs it increased to 334 lakhs in 1990. By December 1991, the figure has swelled to 36.3 millions.

6 **Capital Deficiency:** Industries require huge capital for their fast growth. But lack enough capital has hampered the growth of our industries. The process economic liberalisation which has been let loose recently is yet to show its results.

1.3.3 Social Factors

1 **Traditionalism:** India is a land of traditionalism, communalim, casteism, linguism, parochialism, religious and linguistic prejudices and so on. These factors have a negative effect on country's progress by making people dogmatic in their approach and narrow minded and selfish in outlook.

2 **Illiteracy and Ignorance:** illiteracy and Ignorance are supportive of poverty. By 1981, there were about 40.33 crore illiterate in the country. Further our defective educational system is incapable of generating employment and there is no guarantee of job for the educated youths.

3 **Dominance of Caste and Joint Families:** Our caste system still has its hold on the caste members. The caste system compels its members to stick on to the traditional and hereditary occupations of the caste. It does not give encouragement to the caste members to take up to jobs of their choices. In the vey same manner, the joint families which are still dominant on the rural areas do not allow young members to take initiative in making new adventures in the employment and economic spheres.

4 **Demographic factors:** Population in India is growing at an alarming rate. Within 60 years (1921-1981) it had doubled. It had reached an incredible number of 84.39 crore in 1991. Hence the little progress that is achieved in the economic sphere is being eaten away by the growing population. About 7% of the people (4.75 crores) are above 60 years and their capacity to cotribute to economic production is limited. About 40% of the people are below 14 years of age and hence are incapable of earning.

1.3.4 Other factors

1 **Long Period of Foreign Rule:** India was under foreign rule for a long period. The British who ruled India ruthlessly, has systematically spoiled the basic economic structure of our land and destroyed the various arts, crafts, cottage and small industries which we had previously. They exploited Indian resources for the glory of Britain and made Indians parasites in several respects.

2 **Climatic factors:** Climate can also be a cause of poverty. The hot climate of India reduces the capacity of the people to work, and hence, naturally, production cannot be increased in the desired quantity.

3 **Wars and Threats of War:** India had to spend huge amount of money on wars which she had fought with China and Pakistan. There is constant threat of war also. Hence huge amount of money is being spent on our defence industry. About 15% to 25% of national income was spent previously on defence purposes and very recently it is reduced to 16.7% (1989-90).

4 **Defective Political System and Lack of Political Will:** Indian political system is very often condemned as corrupt, inefficient, and defective. Unhealthy competition among the political parties for power has many a times damaged our national interests. Our political leaders lack nationalistic fervor and will power to face the challenges that are confronting the nation.

1.4 Poverty Eradication Programmes

According to Dhage (2008) poverty alleviation programmes in India can be divided into two time periods:

1. Poverty Alleviation Programmes up to 1990.
2. Poverty Alleviation Programmes in the Reform Period.

1.4.1   Poverty Alleviation Programmes up to 1990

In order to tackle poverty, various target-based schemes were introduced after independence. However, it was during the Fifth Five-Year Plan that a sustained and direct attack on poverty was evolved as a key plan strategy. It was noted that the elimination of abject poverty could not be attained as a corollary to an acceleration in the rate of growth of the economy alone. Major poverty alleviation programmes introduced during 1950-1990 were the following:

1. Community Development Programme (CDP) in 1952.
2. Crash Scheme for Rural Employment (CSRE) in 1972.
3. Drought-prone Area Programme (DPAP) in 1973.
4. Marginal Farmer and Agricultural labour agency (MFALA) in 1973.
5. Small Farmer Development Agency (SFDA) in 1974.
6. Twenty-Point Programme (TTP) in 1975.
7. Food for Work Programme (FWP) in 1977.
8. Training Rural Youth for Self Employment (TRYSEM) in 1979.
9. Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP) in 1980.
10. National Rural Employment Programme (NREP) in 1980.
11. Development of Women and Children in Rural Areas (DWCRA) in 1982.
12. Jawahar Rozgar Yojana (JRY) in 1989.
13. Nehru Rozgar Yojana (NRY) in 1989.

Most of these programmes were conceived and founded by the Central Government which determined the criteria for allocation between the states. Actual implementation was left to the state Government agencies subject to guidelines regarding the scope and content of scheme, and their targeting and implementation procedures. Only a few have been taken up entirely on the initiative of state. However, up to the 1970s none of these programmes comprehensively covered the whole country, though in certain parts of the country some of these programmes operated simultaneously for the same target group. Apart from this territorial overlap, the major limitation of these programmes was that they were reduce to mere subsidy-giving programmes, lacking any planned approach to enable the rural poor to achieve a higher level of income. The element of adhocism in these programmes further reduced their effectiveness from the point of view of poverty alleviation. Hence, the need was felt for undertaking programmes which were not only far more comprehensive in covering but could also make a direct assault on rural poverty.

In view of the above IRDP, NREP and RLEGP were conceived during the 1980s, aimed at achieving the objective of poverty alleviation. Initially, the IRDP was started only in 2300 development blocks as a programme of development. But later on during the Sixth Plan it was extended to the entire country. However, the IRDP concerned as anti-poverty programmes aimed at helping the small and marginal farmers, landless labours and artisans. It was thought by the planners that these people were poor, because they possessed neither any productive assets nor any special skills. Therefore, IRDP was designed to help the poor by creating new assets for them. The basic strategy was self employment of the poor with the help of these assets so that they could ménage to earn enough to rise above the poverty line.

1.4.2 Poverty Alleviation Programmes in the Reform Period

For the purpose of poverty alleviation, several special programmes for employment generation are being implemented both in the rural and urban areas during the reform period. These programmes provide employment to the targeted poor, enhance their income and generate assets for poor families. The following are the major programmes which have been adopted during the reform period:

i)   Employment Assurance Scheme (EAS): This was launched from 2nd Oct' 1993 in 1778 development blocks in the rural areas of 261 Districts. The main objective of this scheme is to provide profitable employment of not less than 100 days to every desirous person aged between 18 years and 60 years during the lean agricultural season. Also, to cerate economic infrastructure and community projects in order to supply sufficient employment and development activities. EAS is a demand-driven programmes.

ii)   Prime Minister's Rozgar Yojana (PMRY): PMRY was also introduced on 2nd Oct' 1993. Under this scheme every educated unemployed youth in the age group of 18-40 years and having a family income below Rs. 40,000 is provided a loan up to Rs. 1. lakh for opening his own enterprise and Rs. 2 lakh for other activities. During 1993-94 this scheme was implemented only in the urban areas but since April 1994 it has been implemented both in urban and rural areas.

iii) National Social Assistance Programme (NSAP) : The NSAP was launched in August 1995. It has three components: a) National Old Age Pension Scheme (NOAPS), b) National Family Benefit Scheme (NFBS) and c) National Maternity Benefit Scheme (NMBS). The NSAP is a centrally sponsored programme that aims at ensuring a minimum national standard of social assistance over and above the assistance that the states provide from their own resource. The NOAPS provides a monthly pension of Rs. 75 to destitute BPL person over the age of 65. The NFBS is a scheme for BPL families who are given Rs. 10,000 in the event of the death of the breadwinner. The NMBS provides Rs.500 to support the nutritional intake for pregnant women.

iv) Swarna Jayanti Sahari Rozgar Yojana (SJSRY): SJSRY has been operational since December 1997. This scheme provides gainful employment to the urban unemployed and underemployed poor by encouraging the setting up of self-employment ventures and provision wage employment.

v) Swarna Gram Swarozgar Yojana (SGSY): SGSY was launched in April 1999 after the restructuring of the erstwhile IRDP and an allied scheme. It is the only self-employment programme currently being implemented. It is conceived as a holistic programme for micro-enterprises covering all aspects of self-employment. Its objective is to bring the assisted Swarozgaris above the poverty line by providing them with income generating assets through bank credit and Government subsidies. Since its inception and up to April 2004, a total allocation of Rs 6734 crore was made available by the center and states. Out of this Rs. 4980 crore have been utilized up to April 2004, hence benefiting 45.67 lakh swarozgaris. However, SGSY is funded by the center and states in the ratio of 75:25.

vi) Pradhan Mantri Gramodaya Yojana (PMGY) : PMGY was launched in 2000-01 in all states and union territories in order to achieve the objective of sustainable human development at the village level. PMGY initially had five components viz. primary health, primary education, rural shelter, rural drinking water and nutrition. Rural electrification was added as an additional component in 2001-02. The Planning Commission is carrying out both financial and physical monitoring of this programme.

vii) Antyodaya Anna Yojana: AAY was launched in 2000. The scheme aims at providing food security to poor families. Under this scheme 1 crore of the poorest of the BPL families covered under the targeted PDS (Public Distribution System) are identified and 25 kg of food grains was made available to each of the eligible families at a highly subsidized rate of Rs. 2 per kg for wheat and Rs. 3 per kg for the rice. The quantity has been

increased from 25 to 340 kg since April 2000. The scheme was further expanded in June 2003 by adding another 50 lakh to BPL families.

viii) ***Pradhan Mantri Gram Sadak Yojana*** **(PMGSY):** The PMGSY was launched in December 2000 to provide road connectivity to 1.6 lakh of unconnected habitation with a population of 500 persons more in rural areas by the end of Tenth Plan Period. It is being executed in all the states and union territories of India.

ix) Valmiki Ambedkar Awas Yojana **(VAMBAY):** The VAMBAY was launched in December 2001 to ameliorate the conditions of the urban slum-dwellers living below the poverty line without adequate shelter. The scheme has the primary objective of facilitating the construction and upgrading of dwelling units for slum dwellers and providing a healthy and enabling urban environment.

x) Sampoorna Grameen Rozgar Yojana **(SGRY) :** SGRY was launched in September 2001 by merging the ongoing scheme of Jawahar Gram Samridhi Yojana (JGSY) and the Employment Assurance Scheme (EAS). The objective of this programme is to provide additional wage employment in the rural area and also food security, along with the creation of durable community, social and economic infrastructure in rural areas. This programme is open to all rural poor who are in the need of wage employment and desire to do manual and unskilled work in and around the village. The scheme is implemented through Panchayat Raj Institution. The scheme envisages the generation of 100 crore man-days of employment in a year.

xi) Indira Awaas Yojana **(IAY):** IAY aims to provide dwelling units, free of cost to the Schedule Caste (SCs), Schedule Tribe (STs) and free bonded labourers and also to non- SC/ST BPL families in rural areas. It is funded on cost sharing basis in the ratio of 75:25 between the center and states. Up to January 2006, about 138 lakh houses had been constructed or upgraded with an expenditure of Rs. 25,208 crore.

xii) National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme **(NREGS):** Recently, in 2006, Government has initiated the scheme. The objective of the Act is to enhance livelihood security of the people in rural areas by generating wage employment through works that develop the infrastructure base of that area. As per NREGS, the government will provide 100 days of employment per year to whosoever is willing to work. NREGP is considered as a landmark program in poverty alleviation measures.

1.5   An overview of Poverty in Arunachal Pradesh

Since the 1960s, considerable research has been done on poverty levels and trends across the country, but, in Arunachal, very little research has been done in this area, and the limited information that is available makes it difficult to estimate the extent and intensity of poverty prevalent here even today. Some attempts have been made to quantify and assess poverty, but, these estimates have various shortcomings.

1.5.1   Estimates made by Planning Commission

According to the Planning Commission estimates, 39.35 per cent people of Arunachal Pradesh were living Below the Poverty Line (BPL) in 1993-94. In the course of the next few years, poverty declined. In 1999-2000, 33.47 per cent of the people were estimated to be under the poverty line (NHDR 2001).

1.5.2   Estimates made by the Directorate of Rural Development

A poverty estimate made by the Directorate of Rural Development, Government of Arunachal Pradesh, showed that 54 per cent of families in rural Arunachal Pradesh were poor in 1992-93, and this percentage increased to 78 per cent in 1997-98, an increase of 24 per cent in the course of five years. The estimates show a high degree of inter-district variation in poverty, from 21 per cent in Changlang, to 79 per cent in Lower Subansiri in 1992-93. The picture changed unexpectedly in the next five years. According to these estimates, the

poverty ratios in Arunachal increased substantially during the 1992-93 to 1997-98 period, and the inter-district variation continued to be high. In 1997-98, East Kameng had the lowest incidence of poverty (49 per cent), while Upper Subansiri recorded a poverty ratio which was nearly twice as high (97 per cent). During this period, the poverty ratio increased from 25 to 87 per cent in West Kameng, a rise of 62 per cent. In Changlang, it increased from 21 per cent to 80 per cent. On the other hand, poverty declined from 75 per cent to 49 per cent in East Kameng. In Upper Subansiri, poverty rose from 61 to 97 per cent in the course of five years. These estimates of poverty do not match those of other experts. There is also no plausible explanation for the inter-district as well as the temporal variation of poverty. Since the Government has been implementing many poverty alleviation programmes, a negative relationship is expected between poverty, and the level of income. Similarly, a negative relationship is expected between the growth of income, and the change in the poverty level (Arunachal Pradesh HDR 2005).

Check Your Progress
1.   What is Poverty? How it is measured?
2.   What are the causes of poverty?
3.   Discuss the various poverty eradication programmes initiated by the Government of India.
4.   As per the estimation made by the National Sample Survey, which social group has the highest per centage of poverty in India?

1.6 Unemployment

Along with poverty, unemployment is also widespread in India. It is indeed, common to all the countries of the world whether they are industrially advanced or not. An international labour expert commented; [in September 1992]- "About 400 million new workers are expected to enter the world's labour force this decade and prospects of finding jobs for all of them are gloomy".

The Finnish director of the International Labour Organisation's (ILO) employment department, Juhani Lonnroth, has said in one of his speech that "*the population of working age in the world will grow by 700 million people in the 1990s. With the conserving assumption that 55% of this people will seek employment, about 400 million jobs have to be created to absorb the new entrants. Unfortunately, the prospects of achieving this job creation are not yet very bright*". The problem is, of course, more acute for Asian countries rather than for the African and Latin American countries because of the serious explosion of these countries. India thus cannot be an exception.

What is unemployment? - In simple sense, unemployment is said to be exist when people are willing to work at going wages but cannot find jobs. In other words, unemployment is largely concern with those men and women who constitute the labour force of the country, who are able-bodied and willing to work, but are not gainfully employed. According to **C.B Mamoria**, "unemployment is state of worklessness for a man fit and willing to work, that is, it is a condition of involuntary and not voluntary idleness". According to **D. Mello** "a condition in which an individual is not in a state of remunerative occupation despite his desire to do so". **Nava Gopal Das**, described unemployment as a "condition of involuntary idleness". The Planning Commission of India has described a person as "marginally unemployed' when he/she remains without work for six months in a year. Against this, the ILO considers that person as 'employed' who remained with work for 15 hours (two days) in a week (of five days). This definition may be accepted in a developed country which provides social security to the unemployed but it cannot be accepted in a developing country like India which has no Unemployment Insurance Scheme.

Unemployment has three elements: 1. An individual should be capable of working, 2. An individual should be willing to work, and 3. An individual must make an effort to find work. on this basis, a person who is physically or mentally disable or who is chronically ill and unable to work cannot be included in the definition of unemployed person. A society is believed to be in a "condition of full employment" if the period of enforced idleness remains minimum. A society with full employment has four characteristics; i) an individual take very little time to find remunerative work according to his capabilities and qualifications, ii) he is sure of finding remunerative work, iii) the number of vacant jobs in the society exceeds the number of job seekers, and iv) work is available on 'adequate remuneration',

1.7 The magnitude of unemployment in India

Though the problem of unemployment is growing in an unmanageable proportion we do not have authentic information regarding the exact number of unemployed persons in India. It is regrettable that institutions such as Planning Commission; National Sample Survey, and the Central Statistical Organisation (or the Indian Statistical Institute) have not made any systematic and satisfactory attempt to collect authentic information about unemployment.

We have however, three sources to collect some statistics regarding the extent of unemployment in India. They are – (i) The National Census which held once in ten years; (ii) the National Sample Survey; (iii) the Employment Exchange Registrations. Of these, the information collected through the national sample survey is being used widely.

The statistic which we obtain through these three sources cannot be considered as highly authentic and foolproof. Many a times, they are treated to be only as approximation and rough estimates. These estimates very often take into consideration the number of persons registered in the employment exchange and these exchanges cover mainly the urban areas. Rural areas are not covered by them. Since registration with the employment exchange is voluntary, all the unemployed do not go for registrations. Further some people who are already in some ordinary jobs also go for go registration for they intent to secure some good jobs. These exchanges may not supply full information about people who are 'unemployed'.

1.7.1 Estimate of Unemployment by National Sample Survey (NSS)

The table no. 3.1 below presents the all India unemployment rates for 1983, 1993-94 and 1999-00. 1. The data is also broken down by gender and by location (rural/urban). Two robust facts emerge from the tabulation. Unemployment rates in the urban sector are higher than in the rural sector. While urban rates are in the range 8-9.5%, rural rates are about one percentage point lower fluctuating in the range 7-8%. The second feature is that female unemployment rates are markedly higher than that for males in urban areas while they match that for males in the rural sector. Urban female unemployment rates have ranged between 9.5-11% as compared to the 7-9% range for males. In the rural sector, while the unemployment rate for women in 1983 was higher than that of males by more than one percentage point, the rates became similar in later years.

While there is not much variation in the unemployment rate across sectors in 1999-00, there is considerable variation across states. Gujarat, Haryana, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Punjab, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh have unemployment rates much lower than the national average, ranging between 4% to 6%. Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Maharashtra and Orissa have unemployment rate that is close to the national average. Finally, Kerala, Tamil Nadu and West Bengal have rates far in excess of the national average with unemployment in Kerala being greater than 20%.

Table 3.1: All India Unemployment Rate (%)

	1999-00			1993-94			· 1983	
All	7.24			6.03			8.28.	
	Rural	Urban		Rural	Urban		Rural	Urban
All	7.08	7.79		5.61	7.43		7.93	9.53
Males	7.09	7.45		5.64	6.72		7.51	9.22
Females	7.03	9.42		5.55	10.52		8.98	11.01

Source: The NSS survey in 1999-00 and 1993-94

1.8 Types of unemployment

We may speak of different types of unemployment such as the following:

1. *Seasonal unemployment:* Seasonal unemployment is very much associated with agricultural sector and certain manufacturing units like sugar and ice factories. The nature of work in sugar factory is such that the workers have to remain out of work for about six months in a year.

2. *Agricultural unemployment:* Agricultural unemployment is caused on account of a number of factors. First, the landholdings are so small that even the family members of the working age-group are not absorbed by the land. Second, the nature of work is seasonal. Broadly speaking, a cultivator in India remains unemployed for about four to six months in a year. According to the Land Revenue Commission appointed in Bengal, a cultivator (in Bengal) remains unemployed fro about for six months in a year. The Economists have estimated that of the total population in the rural areas, 29.4 percent people are self-supporting, 59 per cent are non-earning dependents and 11.6 per cent are earning dependents. This means that 29.4 per cent people not only support themselves but they also support themselves but they also support the remaining 70.6 per cent people as well.

3. *Cyclical unemployment:* This is caused because of the ups and downs in trade and business. When the entrepreneurs earn high profits, they invest them in business which increases employment but when they get less profit or suffer from losses or their products remain unsold and pile up, they reduce the numbers of workers in their industries which causes unemployment. A boom is generated when investments exceed savings, and similarly a depressions result when saving exceeds investment. This is probably an over simplification of the concept of cyclical unemployment but still it is essentially true.

4. *Industrial unemployment:* It is caused because of a large-scale migration of people from rural to urban areas, losses incurred by industries, slow growth of industries, competition with foreign industries, unplanned industrialization, defective industrial policies, labour strikes or employers' lockouts, rationalization, and so on.

5. *Technological unemployment:* it is caused due to the introduction of automation or other technological changes in industry or other work places. It is also caused due to the reduction in manpower necessary to produce a finished product. Through out the course of economic development, particularly since the industrial revolution, man has been forced to adjust himself to the process of mechanization. An increase in mechanical skills has both its advantages as well as its disadvantages. Machine production has multiplied the number of commodities consumed by an average man. This has meant a constantly rising standard of material comfort and a concomitant increase in the consumption of luxury goods. Certain items which were at one time considered as luxury items for one class of people have today become items of necessity for them. On the other hand, the industry has diminished an average man's economics security since every advance in technology has meant a displacement of human level. In fact, some new inventions do more than merely displace labour. They create poverty which results from the destruction of old investment, therefore, restricts the market for new production. A vicious circle is thus created. In the long

run it is true that technological improvement may increase employment in related service industries. Nevertheless, continued improvement in mechanical devices mean that employment opportunities have to increase proportionately or there will be an added residue of unemployment.

6 *Frictional unemployment:* The unemployment which arises when workers shift from one job to another is called frictional unemployment. It arises under the condition of full employment in the economy.

7 *Educated unemployment or white collar unemployment:* In the urban areas, there is the special class emerges due to mere educational facilities in towns. The rate of unemployment is higher among the educated than among the uneducated persons. This is also perhaps due to the reason that the tertiary sector could not grow speedily to that extent to which the people are being educated in urban areas. The educational system is not outdated but also ill-planned which provide very little scope to cater the needs of the nation. In 1971, the total educated unemployment was recorded22.9lakhs against its number 5.79 lakhs in 1961. The number of persons registered in the employment exchange was 346.3 lakhs on 31st December,1990, which further increase to 371.20 lakhs on August 1992.they all run after white collar jobs which result great scramble for clerical jobs only. Other pursue for higher education with the sole objective of improving their employment prospects.

The irrelevant of the educational system is also manifest in the rise in the rate of unemployment among the educated youth. During 1965-1977 the number of unemployed graduate rose at the rate of 21 percent annually (from 9 lakh in 1965 to 5.6 million in 1977), then, during 1980-88, their number rose at the rate of 23 percent every year, and between January 1988 and January 1989, the percentage increase by 19.2. The educated job seekers (matriculation and above) constitute over 60 percent of the registered unemployed. According to the planning commission, the number of educated unemployed in our country in 1992 was 7 million.

1.9 Causes of unemployment

The problem of unemployment is becoming a colossal one. Various factor, individual as well as social, have caused this problem. Here the causation is not one sided. For example, unemployment is often the cause of poverty and some other times its consequences also. Hence tracing the causes of unemployment is a difficult task. Earlier, scholars believed more in economic factors but many now maintained that unemployment cannot be ascribed only to economic factors. Below are the basic factors which causes unemployment:

i)   Age factor: Age factors fixes limitations on the range of choice of job opportunities. Too young and too old people are not eligible for many of the jobs. Some young people due to their inexperience and some old people due to their old age fail to get some jobs. Young people do not get jobs soon after their studies so have to wait. People who are above 50 or 60 years are less adaptable and more prone to accident. Their capacity to contribute to economic production is also relatively less.

ii)   Vocational unfitness: Many of our young people do not have a [proper understanding of their own aptitudes, abilities and interests on the one hand, and the task or job or carrier they want to pursue, on the other. If willingness to do some job is not allowed by the required abilities, one cannot find a job of one's selection. Employer is always looking forward to find persons who have the ability, experience, interest and physical fitness to work. Sometimes, there may be more men trained in a particular profession than required. The demand is less than the supply and hence the unemployment.

iii) Illness and /or physical disabilities or incapabilities: Due to the inborn or acquired disabilities and deficiencies some remain as partially employed or totally unemployed throughout their life. Illness induced by industrial condition and fatal accident that always take place during the work may render a few other people as unemployed.

iv)   **Population explosion**: The population in India is growing at an alarming rate. Every year India adds to her population 120 to 130 lakh people afresh. More than this, every year about 5 million people become eligible for securing jobs. All these people who are work are not getting the jobs. Hence, the population explosion in India is problem of unemployment more and more dangerous.

v)   **Technological Advance- mechanism-automation**: Technological advancement undoubtedly contributes to economic development. But unplanned and uncontrolled growth of technology may have an adverse effect on job opportunities. Since industrialists are more interested in maximizing production and profit they prefer to introduce labour- saving machines. They always search for ways and means of reducing the cost of production and hence go after computerization, automation, etc. the result is technological unemployment and this state of affairs is very much in evidence in Indian context today.

vi)   **Defect in Educational System:** Our system of education which appears like a remnant of the British colonial rule in India has its own irreparable defects and its contribution to the problem of unemployment can hardly be exaggerated. There is no co-ordination between our industrial growth, agricultural development and our educational system. Our education does not prepare the minds of our young men to become self- employed; on the contrary, it makes them to depend on government to find for them some jobs.

vii) **Geographical Immobility:** It means there is surplus labour in one place and inadequate labour in another place, when people refuse to move from one region to other. The immobility may be due to the lack of information regarding the availability of jobs in other cities or because of the language problem or family responsibilities.

viii) **Lack of vocational guidance and training facilities:** As, already discussed, our education system is defective as it purely provides academic and bookish knowledge which is not job oriented. The need of the hour is that there much be sufficient number of technical training institution and other job oriented courses at village level. Most of the student remain ignorant of possible avenues of employment and choice of occupation but it is stark reality that without vocational guidance one fails avail the opportunity according to requirement.

ix)   **Regional disparities:** Regional imbalances are another cause of unemployment in the country. Some regions which are backward face the acute shortage of other pre-requisite infra-structure while on the other, which are advance, possessed, sufficient resources. This disparity is largely responsible for slow growth of employment opportunities in backward regions.

x)   **Defective social system:** The defective social system of the country also adds fuel to the seriousness of the problem. People are still superstitious and illiterate who still believe that family planning is a great sin with the result population is increasing at a very high speed, it is equally difficult rather impossible to feed them with food, cloth and shelter.

1.10 Consequences

Unemployment affects an individual, family as well as society. In other words, unemployment causes personal disorganization, family disorganization and social disorganization.

From the point of view of personal disorganization, the unemployed person faces disillusionment and false easy prey to cynicism. Having no outlet to release their depression, young person tune their creative energies into wrong channels which explain the rise of the number of youthful bandits, highway robberies etc. most of the criminal are undoubtedly recruited from boys with a history of earlier delinquencies but there has been an increase in the number of daring criminals with the decrease in work opportunities. On the other hand, the plight of an earning person who loses job is equally sad. Ex-wage earner are more liable to physical illness, tension, crime

because lack of working opportunities makes it impossible for them to support their dependence. Some people in the state are even known to turn to unlawful activities like smuggling and dug trafficking rather than facing the actual situation.

Family disorganization because of unemployment is easy to measure. Unemployment affects the unity of interests of family members, the unity of objectives as well as the unity of personal ambition. The disharmonious functioning of the members creates discord within family, which means that not only do the tensions between the unemployed husband and wife increase but conflicts between parents and children also arise. Sometimes the wife of an unemployed person want to take up a job but the idea of a wife taking up a job irritates the husband with traditional and conservative values do much so that there is tremendous conflict with in the home. Many husbands object to any substantial assumption of authority by their wives in the fields which they (husbands) considered traditionally their own. On the other hand, the conflict between may arise when the unemployed husband wants his wife to take up a job and the wife is reluctant to do so because of the presence of small children at home.

Social disorganization cause by unemployment is hard to measure. Social disorganization is a break-down of the social structure. Old forms of social control do not function effectively. Social relationship between members of the group is broken or dissolved. The activities of the unemployed are some restricted and their attitudes so bitter that in this phase of disillusionment and discouragement that they loss their desire to work and their skills may deteriorate with a resultant loss to the whole community (colcord, 1941).

1.11 Indebtedness

The tribal indebtedness in form of bonded labour, is known by different names in different parts of India. For example, in Rajasthan, it is called *Sagri*, in Orissa, it is known by *Gothi*, in Andhra Pradesh, it is called *Vetti*, in Mysore, it is known as *Geetha or Jetha*, in Madhya Pradesh, it is called *Naukri Nama, Mahidari*, etc.

The chronic indebtedness has been and still is probably the most difficult problem facing almost the entire tribal population of India. Consequently one of the worst forms of exploitation to which the tribal people are exposed is through traditional money lending. Barring certain areas in the North-East region which were closed to the middlemen and contractors during British rule, indebtedness is quite widespread and crushing among the entire Indian tribe.

The chronic indebtedness of the tribal people is certainly due to rampant poverty and deficit economy. Reliable ethnographic evidence prove that the tribal people were certainly not that much handicapped in their struggle for living a carefree life when their place of habitation were isolated and devoid of middlemen and contractors. They were living in self-sufficient economic conditions. Forest wealth was at their disposal to sustain themselves. But unfortunately when their abode were thrown open as a result of economic development all around, they found themselves completely ill-equipped to enjoy the fruits of development. Outsiders, the so called civilized people, exploited their vulnerability in the absence of any concerted efforts on the part of admin-istration. With the passage of time, their plight continued to worsen and they have been reduced to the position in which we find them today.

Although we have little scientific data about the extent of their indebtedness, it is obvious that the size of the problem is enormous. Indebtedness among them does not have only economic dimensions but social and psychological too. For a large number, happiness and peace desert them, for others it makes the entire system impervious to hope. In many areas it leads to bondedness due to the debt descending from father to son and even to the successive generations.

In Uttar Pradesh, especially in Jaunsar Bawar region of DehraDun district, the bonded labour system is quite common among the Kolta community. In Jammu and Kashmir, this bonded labour system, Jana Manjhi of Ijhari, has been reported from the Poonch region where a person engages himself by a written or oral agreement to work as a labourer for his creditor as long as the loan remains unpaid. In Maharastra among the tribals, the Dhorkoli, Ketkari, Worli, Bhil, in Thana and Nasik district, the bonded labour system *Vetor Begar* is quite common. In south India, the tribal indebtedness especially in the form bonded labour system has been reported from among the Paniyans of Kerala and Tamil Nadu. A study made on the tribes of Bihar indicates that about 75 percent tribal families were indebted. In Assam, about 28 percent of the tribals in Jantia Hills, 17 percent in Mikir Hills and 39 percent in Diphu were indebted. In West Bengal, it is called Dadan where a man receives advance payment either in cash or in kind. In return, however, he has to serve the money lender whenever asked for. A study of indebtedness conducted in West Bengal indicates that about 67 percent of the studied tribal families were indebted.

Among a large number of tribal people indebtedness has become unavoidable and thus normal phenom-enon of their existence. Following are some of the important reasons of indebtedness common to almost all the affected groups;

1   Loss of tribal rights over land and forests.
2   Poor and primitive mode of agriculture resulting in deficit supply of food grains.
3   Meager income of the tribal.
4   Ignorance of equitable price system.
5   Expenditure beyond their means due to extravagant spending on large scale celebrations on the occasions like birth, festivals, marriage, deaths etc.
6   Fatalist attitude and locally-oriented worldview.
7   Adherence to the Panchayat decisions regarding fines for fear of ex-communications.

Though some executive and legislative measures have been taken by the central and the state govern-ment to control the prevalence of bounded labour and tribal indebtedness but still there are many minor tribes like the Birhors of Bihar, the Asurs, the Birjia etc., where the study of indebtedness has not been carried out and we do not have statistical figures to support it but we know that money lending is strongly found among them through the back door and for fear of further exploitation, they don't reveal the truth.

The Fifth Schedule of the Constitution empowers the Governor of a state to regulate the carrying on of the business as moneylender by persons who lend money to members of STs in Scheduled areas. In pursu-ance of this provision various state governments have promulgated and enacted various Laws and Acts. Following are some of the important Laws and Acts from different states to control money-lending, debt redemption and abolition of debt bondage:

1)   The Andhra Pradesh Scheduled Areas Moneylenders Regulation. 1963.
2)   The Agency Debt Bondage Abolition, 1964.
3)   The Assam Moneylenders Regulation, 1968.
4)   The Bihar Moneylenders (Regulation of Transaction) Act, 1939.
5)   The Bombay Agricultural Debtors Relief Act, 1947.
6)   The Kerala Moneylending Act, 1958.
7)   The Rajasthan Sagri System Abolition Act, 1961.

1.12 Migration

Migration is an important feature of human civilization. It reflects human endeavour to survive in the most testing conditions both natural and man made. Migration in India is in existence historically.

Much of the earlier literature on migration has been preoccupied with 'development-induced' economic migration which resulted from unequal development trajectories (McDowell and De Haan, 1997; Kothari, 2002). This supposedly led to one-way population movements from less-endowed areas to well-endowed prosperous areas through the 'push' created by poverty and a lack of work and the 'pull' created by better wages in the destination (Lee, 1966). Ideas of seasonal and circular labour migration were first articulated in the 1970s (Nelson, 1976; Rao, 1994) and defined as 'characteristically short term, repetitive or cyclical in nature and adjusted to the annual agricultural cycle'.

There are different definitions and explanations for the motivation that compels people to migrate. At one extreme there is 'involuntary' migration. This denotes extreme economic and often social hardships and is undertaken mostly by landless or land-poor, unskilled and illiterate poor labourers. Here people do not have any choice of the place or type of work that they undertake. Migration for survival is well documented in Andhra Pradesh (Ramana Murthy, 1991; Reddy 1990; Rao, 1994). Nearly all of the studies have identified the main drivers of migration as the worsening situation of dry land agriculture created by drought, crop failure and poor terms of trade.

Seasonal migration that is undertaken to improve the economic position of the household, or accumulative migration, is also being noted by recent research in India. For example Rao (2001) refers to three kinds of migration in his study of Ananthapur and Rayadurga districts in Andhra Pradesh. First type is migration for coping and survival. Second type is defined as migration for additional work/income. It takes place when the work in the village is over, normally after harvesting all crops. The third type is migration for better remuneration or a better work environment or opportunity to use skills or acquire new skills. They observe that there is a continuous transition between the different types. For instance, people from Rayadurga district were migrating for survival in the 1970s but changed to second type in the 1990s. In Anantapur they began with second type and moved on to third type.

We may say in other words that Migration is the movement of people from one place in the world to another for the purpose of taking up permanent or semi permanent residence, usually across a political boundary. An example of "semi permanent residence" would be the seasonal movements of migrant farm laborers. People can either choose to move ("voluntary migration") or be forced to move ("involuntary migration"). Migrations have occurred throughout human history, beginning with the movements of the first human groups from their origins in East Africa to their current location in the world.

Migration occurs at a variety of scales: intercontinental (between continents), intra continental (between countries on a given continent), and interregional (within countries). One of the most significant migration patterns has been rural to urban migration—the movement of people from the countryside to cities in search of opportunities.

Nevertheless, the dominant perception of migration among policy-makers, academics and officials in India continues to be that migration is only for survival and that migrants remain poor. The image of the migrant continues to be that of a powerless, impoverished and emaciated person who is trapped in poverty (Deshingkar Pand Daniel Start, 2003).

1.13 Push and Pull Factor of Migration

Push and pull factors are those factors which either forcefully push people into migration or attract them. A push factor is forceful and a factor which relates to the country from which a person migrates. It is generally some problem which results in people wanting to migrate. A push factor is a flaw or distress that drives a person away from a certain place. A pull factor is something concerning the country to which a person migrates. It is generally a benefit that attracts people to a certain place. Push and pull factors are usually considered as north and south poles on a magnet. Push factors may be because of the following reasons; not enough jobs, few opportunities, "primitive" conditions, desertification, famine/drought, political fear/persecution, poor medical care, loss of wealth, natural disasters, death threats, slavery, pollution, poor housing, landlords etc.

The reasons for Migration in relation to Pull factor may be job opportunities, better living conditions, political and/or religious freedom, enjoyment, education, better medical care, security, family links, industry, etc.

1.14 Causes of Migration

Migration in India is mostly influenced by Social Structures and pattern of development. The development policies by all the governments since Independence have accelerated the process of migration. Uneven development is the main cause of Migration. Added to it, are the disparities, Inter regional and amongst different socio-economic classes. The landless poor who mostly belong to lower castes, tribal communities and economically backward regions constitute the major portion of Migrants. In the very large Tribal Regions of India intrusion of outsiders, settlements by the outsiders displacing the local tribal people and deforestation also played a major role in Migration.

The Indian daily Hindustan Times on 14th October 2007, revealed that according to a study by a Government Institute, 77% of the population i.e. nearly 840 million Indians live on less than Rs.20 (40 cents) a day. Indian agriculture became non remunerative, taking the lives of 100,000 peasants during the period from 1996 to 2003, i.e. a suicide of an Indian peasant every 45 minutes. Hence, the rural people from the downtrodden and backward communities and backward regions such as Bihar, Orissa, Uttar Pradesh travel to far distances seeking employment at the lowest rungs in construction of roads, irrigation projects, commercial and residential complexes, in short, building the "Shining" India.

The pull factors of higher wages caused external migration to the middle-east countries by skilled and semiskilled workers. Migration of professionals such as Engineers, Medical Practitioners, Teachers and Managers to developed countries constitute a small fraction of the total migrants

1.15 Magnitude of Migration

Migration in India is predominantly short distance with around 60% of migrants changing their residences within their district of birth and 20% within their state (province), while the rest move across the state boundaries. The total migrants as per the census of 1971 are 167 million persons, 1981 census 213 millions, 1991 census 232 million and 2001 census 315 millions. As per the census of the year 1991, nearly 20 million people migrated to other states seeking livelihood. Within a decade, the number of inter state migration doubled to 41,166,265 persons as per the census figures of 2001. It is estimated that, the present strength of inter state migrants is around 80 million persons of which, 40 million are in the construction industry, 20 million as domestic workers, 2 million as sex workers, 5 million as call girls and somewhere from half a million to 12 million in the illegal mines otherwise called as "small scale mines".

It is estimated that at present around five and a half million Indians are working in the oil exporting countries of middle-east and another 2 millions in the developed world. 92% of the domestic workers are women, girls and children and 20% of these females are under 14 years of age, as per a study conducted by an organization called "Social Alert". There is a perceptible phenomenon in this migration, that is, the tremendous increase of women workers migrating either individually or in groups to find work. They are travelling very long distances even for short-term employment, in the absence of any prospect or promise of employment, still they are migrating. This is a disturbing trend, as in the event of not getting employment, they end up as victims of sexual abuse. Even if they get employment, they have to work under inhuman conditions.

1.16 An overview of Tribal Migration

Deep emotional attachment with one's native place or traditional habitat has been a universal phenomenon. Simple societies or primitive groups are more attached with their land because of their traditional relative isolation. Thus, one may safely conclude that migration does not, usually, take place under normal circumstances.

Migration is not an old practice among the tribal communities. The possibilities and avenues of migration have increased only with the advent of fast and easy means of transport and communication. The tribal migration may be understood from two angles. The first through pushed out factors and the second is pulled into factors that force the tribal to leave their lands. In the first category come such factors as socio-economic exploitation, starvation, diseases and natural calamities like drought, flood, epidemics etc. In the second category come attraction of employment, better income, and better living condition. Sometimes, the migration is the result of both these types of factors and a number of tribes have migrated to cities, townships and other far off places.

Tribal migration is not a recent phenomenon and the examples of the tribes of Bihar and Bengal like Oraon, Santhal, Ho, Munda etc. going over to the tea plantations of north Bengal and Assam bear testimony to this fact. But an organized type of migration through the middle men and the contractors is definitely a new phenomenon not going back beyond 20-25 years. The enclaves of prosperity and green revolution have been attracting the poor and exploited tribal. There has been a large scale migration to Punjab, Haryana, and Delhi from the tribes of Bihar, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh and West Bengal; because of disturbed conditions in Punjab migration to its big farms along with along with the Haryana's has virtually come to an end but migration to other regions continues. Previously it was largely 'seasonal migration' but of late the tendency of 'permanent migration' small visible. According to the surveys undertaken t by the concern agencies and the newspaper reports the plight of many tribal migrants is not good. They have fallen victim to all sorts of exploitation including sexual abuse. Many of them are made addicted to opium or other narcotics by the landlords or brick kiln owners and are forced to work for prolong hour against legal wages.

A number of social scientist as scientist are of the view that migration is a natural and rational phenomenon in which migration takes place from the labour surplus areas to the labour deficient areas. Whatever may the interpretations the fact remains that the tribal people are much vulnerable to exploitation than the other segment of the society. One of the reasons of it is that they are not organized but wherever they become united and get radical left leadership they are able to fight exploitation (Hasnain, 2001).

1.17 Impact of Urbanization and Industrialization

No doubt that in developing countries and more so in India, the pace of social change has rapidly accelerated in the recent past. Social change has become an inseparable component of every society. The traditional tribal society, which prior to independence of India, was almost a close system, suddenly became exposed to the forces released by the Community Development Movement, Urbanization, Industrialization, Education and Technology, in short, to the process of modernization. This brought the tribal society in contact with wider society.

In India, agriculture is considered to be the principal occupation. So the cultural tradition, custom, beliefs are mainly centered around agricultural practices. But at present, in some areas, industrialization and urbanization separately or jointly, have put pressure on the traditional societies bringing an adaptive change. All the changes are not identified in a technical way and sometimes the changing process or the patterns of change are not readily discernible. In this connection, the issues of 'tradition-modernity' dichotomy in the context of adaptability to industrial-urban milieu have been an interesting social-cultural research problem.

Anthropologists have suggested various models to understand the process of integration of the tribals to the mainstream of Indian life. Majumdar and Madan (1986) viewed the problem of tribal integration in the context of the local needs of the tribals. Another dimension has been added by Redfield (1947) who has conceptualized 'Folk-Urban continuum'. It is generally contended that the impact of industrialization on an underdeveloped society may not necessarily bring about any disintegration in the traditional structure. But there are specific anthropological studies which have not quite toed the same line. Orans (1965), for example, has made an attempt to show the impact of Jamshedpur urban and industrial environment on the traditional Santal, which do not always prove beneficial to them. Vidyarthi (1970) gives an account of the 'Socio-Economic Implications of Industrialization' in the Tribal Belt of Bihar'. He reported how the traditional features were reduced with the emergence of the industrial complex.

The first wake of industrialization was felt in Chotanagpur with the exploitation of the coal mining industry in Jharia, Bokaro and Karanpura coal fields in Dhanbad district in 1856 and the installation of Tata Iron and Steel Factory in Jamshedpur in Singhbum district in 1907. These twin industries of coal and iron marked the beginning of the large-scale exploitation of minerals and other industrial resources of Chotanagpur. With the world's largest deposit of mica, and India's largest deposit of coal, iron, copper and adequate quantities of bauxite, limestone, phyllite, chromite, asbestos, graphite kainite and steatite, Chotanagpur has attracted thousands of tribals excluding the immigrants from outside to work in the various types of mining as well as mineral-based industries.

Chotanagpur has been in the grip of an Industrial Revolution and this has led to a too rapid urbanization, comparatively in a short span of time, leading this region to an "industry based explosion". Such an "explosion in the heart of the tribal belt of the middle India has led to cultural mutation" (Rao,1966:3) and the once isolated, homogenous folk and primitive communities are exposed and thrown open to get assimilated in the global network of urban-industrial civilization. Such a situation of cultural mutation among trubal communities of Chotanagpur and neighbouring areas of Orissa created by the industrial urban-explosion has been studied by a number of Anthropologists like Vidyarthi (1970), in 1958-59 by T.R Sharma, in 195960 by J.S Tondon, Rajendra Singh (1967), J. Sarkar (1970) and Das Gupta (1973).

Form the longitudinal study of the Heavy Industrial complex near Ranchi (Vidyarthi, 1971), it is evident that the pre-industrial setting of the Hatia industrial zone was characterized by "an all round homogeneity in terms of landscape, population, economy and a style of life". Demographically, the tribals were the largest single group in these villages forming three-fourths of the population and most of them depended on agricultural activities while the rest depended on weaving, basket-making and other such activities.

At the formulatory stage of industrialization, the problem of land acquisition and rehabilitation of the uprooted villagers had to be tackled. These agricultural people, when uprooted, had to face manifold problems. The first was regarding their alternative place for their rehabilitation as well as an alternative occupation to earn their livelihood. Though these affected families were give reasonable compensation they had to face numerous social problem, cultural crisis, economic disorganization and social disorganization. The problems of their rehabilitation were not tackled with adequate foresight and planning and they continued to lead a life of disequilibrium.

During the formulatory and constructive phases of industrialization, Hatia could remain the only surviving village (nearest to the factory site) and it emerged as the most important business centre for meeting the day-to-day requirements of the migrant and slum labourer. The folk and rural traits of village Hatia got mixed up with numerous urban-industrial characteristics owing to the advent of a new way of life. On the whole, all these commercial and industrial developments in Hatia greatly disturbed the homogeneous and rural style of life of the village. Ideals, language and population food habits and dress pattern, social and religious outlook and for that matter, the entire way of life were characterized by heterogeneity and industrial outlook as the people from different cultural backgrounds came to live in this semi-urbanized village.

Village Hatia before 1958 was characterized by isolation, homogeneity, collective life style, was thus affected by the first wave of industrialization. Though, with the coming of the industrial township and the completion of the construction work, the situation in Hatia has partly changed. The village, however, for all practical purposes, has become part of the industrial complex. The income of the villagers has gone high and now they have learnt to lead a heterogeneous style of life in term of language, religion and social ethics. In general, it is now providing a good example of blending of rural and industrial "life style".

The other two industrial centre, the Patratu Thermal Power Project and the Bokaro Steel Plant are located an, a more or less, Hinduised and agriculturally advanced area of Chotanagpur. These two industrial complexes were studied by Rajendra Singh (1967) and Sarkar (1970) and the studies show that the impact so far felt is only in terms of disintegration of traditional culture, the rehabilitation of the up rooted villagers and the trends of the emerging industrial society.

The process of industrialization, has however, not affected the traditional core of the social structure of the neighbouring villages so far. In spite of the fact that some of the villagers had to leave their home the family organization has not been much affected.

Related to the social customs, the religious beliefs and practices also reflect the minimum transformation. The religious institutions of the Hindus, Muslims and Tribals co-exist. The annual festivals and their celebrations at Patratu are joined by all the castes and tribes and they appear to be more integrated. In the political sphere the influence of the traditional leaders like the *Pahan* and the *Mahto* is diminishing and a band of educated and politically conscious leaders is fast emerging. The villagers working in the factories have been influenced by the labour leaders.

The traditional village institutions like the "Jajmani system", the cycle of festivals, rituals, the caste affiliations, etc have been completely disintegrated and an all round depression and despair seems to have affected the life of the uprooted villagers.

To be precise, the impact of industrialization on the tribals living in the city, the *bustee* and the neighbouring villages is somewhat different but need to be understood in the context of the tribal and non-tribal groups.

With all these processes, a set of forces has been released which are leading the tribal communities from the "phase of acculturation to that of accelerated cultural mutation". These forces may be enumerated as (i) the development of communication within the tribal areas and with the outside world, (ii) introduction of monetized economy, (iii) spread of formal and modern education, (iv) extension of services by the modern institutions including medical and administrative aids, and (v) introduction of the advanced technology to exploit the mineral, forest, power and industrial resources.

All these forces are bringing about significant changes in the tribal areas but the rate of change evidently differs in the different types of tribal culture and sometimes at different points of time in the same continuum.

Check your Progress

1. What is Migration? Discuss the pull and push factors of Migration.
2. What are the causes of Migration? Discuss the magnitude of Migration.
3. Give an overview of Tribal Migration.
4. Discuss the impact of Urbanization and Industrialization on the tribal communities of India.

1.18 Land Alienation

As per Marx, in a Capitalist society an alienated man lives in an alienated nature and he performs estranged labour and the product of his labour becomes alien to him. Alienation as a concept is used by many social scientists in India, merely as a sociological phenomenon. Since land alienation is the crux of the depeasantization of the tribals, the concept assumes utmost importance in the analysis of tribal rights as a part of human rights discourse. The problem of land alienation is a much deeply connected phenomenon with full of contradictions related to the existing socio-economic order. The separation of land from the tribal communities can be understood in a more scientific way with the assistance of the theoretical formulations of the concept of alienation.

Alienation was defined by Hegel and was used by Marx to describe and criticise a social condition in

which man far from being the active initiation of the social world seemed more a passive object of determinate external processes. Marx says, alienation is fundamentally a particular relation of property, involving involuntary surrender to antagonistic 'other'. Alienation is inherent in exploitative relations of production and its nature varies with that of exploitation. Hence alienation's manifestation also differs among societies based on slavery, serfdom and capitalism etc. Thus, the concept of alienation may be interpreted to understand a specific problem of the tribals where *land* becomes the primordial source of exploitation and results in the creation of a society where exploitative production relations exit.

Tribal land alienation is the most important cause of the pauperization of tribal people, rendering their economic situation, which is extremely vulnerable even at the best of times, even more precarious. As evidently noted in many parts of India how the access of tribals to forests for their livelihoods has shrunk both because forests themselves have shrunk and because of the regulatory regime continues to restrict tribals from collecting and processing non-timber forest produce for their livelihoods. Shifting cultivation has also been severely restricted. The most important livelihood option of the tribal today is settled agriculture. However, as tribals are systematically deprived of their cultivable holdings by non-tribals and even by government itself, they are reduced to asset less destitution.

The Department of Rural Development, Government of India commissioned in 1997-98 a number of state- specific studies of the problem and reports were then received from Bihar, Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat, Rajasthan and Maharashtra.

The reports paint a grim and disturbing picture which confirms that massive alienation of tribal lands continues in tribal regions in all parts of the country. The magnitude of the problem can be assessed in the Andhra Pradesh report for instance, from the fact that today non-tribals own more than half the land in Scheduled Areas of the state. The figure is 52 per cent in Khamman district, 60 per cent in Adilabad district and 71 per cent in Warangal district. It may be noted that these are official figures based on land records and would not include 'benami' holdings in the name of tribals but held by non-tribals.

Let us take some example of land alienation by highlighting the tribal situation in the states of Andhra Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh.

The lush green jungles of the Eastern Ghats, spread over nine districts of Andhra Pradesh and comprising 11,595 sq. miles of the State, are no longer a secure haven for nearly 33 tribal communities, including seven primitive groups, inhabiting these highlands. In the four decades since Independence, the tribals have steadily lost their hold on much of this area. While many have lost their sources of livelihood, others have sought refuge in deep forests. According to the 1991 census, the region's tribal-non-tribal ratio had dropped to 2:1 from the 1950 proportion of 6:1. And this demographic change has been largely brought about by official policies. Though the amendments made to the land transfer regulations in the tribal belt by the government helped the tribals from losing their land, the non-tribals are holding almost 55 per cent of tribal lands either benami or through clandestine means. The setting up of minor and medium irrigation projects in areas meant for tribals has been another way to dispossess the locals. Although such projects came under tribal sub-plans, the emphasis was on cultivating crops alien to the Adivasis. For example, the tribal sub-plan for Warangal district was aimed at bringing 1.56 lakh hectares under cultivation, though tribals hold only 24,000 hectares. Apparently, the government has been sanctioning too many reservoirs, minor irrigation schemes, lift irrigation and medium canals in the tribal belt only to facilitate the cultivation of land occupied by people from the plains. While the non-tribal is holding the rich lands, the tribal has to depend on *podu* (hill slope) cultivation.

The continuing gravity of the problem in Madhya Pradesh has been assessed by the Census which reveals that the percentage of Scheduled Tribe cultivators to total Scheduled Tribe workers fell from 76.45 per cent in

1961 to 68.09 per cent in 1991. Correspondingly the percentage of Scheduled Tribe agricultural labourers to total Scheduled Tribe workers rose from 7.73 per cent to 25.52 per cent. Similar empirical evidence is available from other states as well.

1.19 Causes of Land Alienation

The studies commissioned by the Government of India have revealed the causal chain that leads to this state of affairs and confirmed that the fundamental reason for tribal land alienation is the fragile, constantly shrinking economic base of the tribals. Their traditional skills in the gathering of forest produce lost significance with the introduction of state ownership of forests, so that from food-gatherers they were reduced to wage-earners or encroachers. Private property in land extinguished the erstwhile right of tribal communities to free access to land in consonance with their needs. Settled agriculture brought with it its inevitable linkages with credit, inputs and markets, rendering the tribal even more dependent and vulnerable.

As the tribals have an innate fear based on bitter past experience of banks, cooperative institutions and other government sources of credit; they prefer the predictability of the moneylender despite his high interest rates. In any case, most banks and cooperative institutions are unwilling to provide consumption loans, and moneylenders are the only sources of consumption credit.

A combination of these factors leads to an extreme dependence on moneylenders on the part of the tribal, keeping him in perpetual debt and resulting in the mortgage and ultimate loss of his land. Though this phenomenon is common enough, another particularly tragic outcome of this indebtedness is the phenomenon of bondage, wherein people pledge their person and sometimes even that of their families against a loan. Repayments are computed in such terms that it is not unusual for bondage to persist until death, and to be passed on as a burden-some inheritance to subsequent generations. The practice of bonded labour is known by different names in different regions. In Rajasthan, it is called *Sagri*; in Andhra, *Vetti*; in Orissa, *Gothi*; in Karnataka, *Jetha* and in Madhya Pradesh, *Naukri Nama*.

It is also found that government policy itself has, directly or indirectly, contributed to the phenomenon of tribal land alienation in several occasions. It has been noted in several states that tribal land is being legally auctioned by co-operative credit societies and banks to recover dues. Auctioned land is purchased by non-tribals as well as rich tribals. Authorities responsible for regulating sale of tribal lands to non-tribals have been found to frequently collude with nontribals to defraud the tribal landowners. The same collusion has deprived tribals of their rights to land in times of land settlement, or implementation of laws giving ownership rights to occupancy tenants.

1.20 Form of Land Alienation

The first and foremost is the manipulation of land records. The unsatisfactory state of land records contributed a lot to the problem of land alienation. The tribals were never legally recognized as owners of the lands which they cultivated.

The second form of land alienation is reported to have taken place due to 'benami' transfers. The report of the study team of the Union Home Ministry (May 1975) pointed out that large scale transfers of ownership of the Adivasis' lands are being allowed to go out of hands through illegal and benami transactions, collusive civil proceedings etc., in which land remains to be in the names of the original owners who are reduced to the level of share croppers.

Another form of land alienation is related to the leasing or mortgaging of the land. To raise loans for various needs the tribals have to give their land as mortgage to the local moneylenders or to the rich farmers.

Encroachment is another form of dispossessing the tribals of their lands and this is done by the new entrants in all the places where there were no proper land records. Bribing the local Patwari for manipulating the date of settlement of land disputes, ante-dating etc., are resorted to claim the tribal lands.

Concubinage or marital alliance is another form to circumvent the law and grab tribal lands at no cost at all.

Fictitious adoption of the non-tribals by the tribal families is also another method to snatch the lands of the tribals.

Also the slackness in the implementation of the restrictive provisions encourages the non-tribals to occupy the tribal lands.

Thus, lands alienation which takes place in various ways has assumed alarming proportion threatening the right to life of the tribal population. Though the problem lies elsewhere, it is being unfortunately always interpreted as the handiwork of certain individuals like the moneylender, traders, land lords, etc, without understanding the class connection of these individuals. The unsystematic land record of the pre-colonial and colonial periods was followed by the present State. There was collection of 'taxes - (a strange phenomenon for the natives and it was the beginning process of alienation) in the tribal areas.

In the name of protecting the interest of the tribals stringent laws were enacted by the government but the non-tribals found the loopholes to their advantage. This double edged nature of State policy in one of the facets of the existing contradictions in the Indian Tribal Society. The process of land alienation is not an accidental one, but it has arisen because of the concerted efforts of the antagonistic class interest that are operating in the tribal areas. This is not just migration of the non-tribals into tribal areas rather there is a history behind this migration and the State has supported the migrant non-tribals to the settle down in the tribal lands.

However, being the natural owners of forests and its adjoining lands the tribals are being deprived of their rights to own them. They have been downgrade from their earlier 'self-reliant' status to a 'dependent' one. Coupled with the exploitation by the non-tribals, the State legislations also proved detrimental to their interests.

1.21 Displacement

"Displacement" is the project impact that necessitates resettlement of affected persons. Displacement may be either physical or economic. Physical displacement is the actual physical relocation of people resulting into loss of shelter, productive assets or assess to productive assets (such as land, water and forests). Economic displacement results from an action that interrupts or eliminates access to productive assets without physically relocating the people themselves.

In the narrow sense, displacement implies relocation of affected persons to a place away from their places of residence, but displacement need not necessarily involve relocation. When the impact results in significant loss of income sources or means of livelihoods, whether or not the affected persons must move to another place, is also displacement. In most cases, displacement is triggered by land acquisition through the exercise of eminent domain or other powers of the state. Cernea (2005) shows how the world's major development agencies have moved towards policy consensus that "restricted access" is a form of displacement. Losses most often arises because of land alienation, through expropriation and the use of eminent domain or other regulatory measures.

It is estimated that some 50 million persons have been displaced since 1950 on account of various development projects, of which more that 40 per cent are tribals. These projects include large irrigation dams, hydroelectric projects, open cast and underground coal mines, super thermal power plants and mineral-based industrial units. In the name of development, tribals are displaced from their traditional habitats and livelihoods with little or no rehabilitation, and are rendered destitute, bewildered and pauperised by the development pro-

cess. They are pushed into a vortex of increasing assetlessness, unemployment, debt bondage and hunger due to loss of access to traditional sources of livelihood viz., land, forests, rivers, pastures, cattle etc.

In these large development projects, tribals lose their land not only to the project authorities but even to non-tribal outsiders who converge into these areas and corner both the land and the new economic opportunities in commerce and petty industry. Even wage employment to local tribals is rare. In Chotanagpur area, though the tribals constitute more than 50 per cent of the total population, there are not more than 5 per cent of them in the industrial working force. In some of the large firms like TISCO, Jamshedpur and Bharat Coking Coal Ltd., Dhanbad, the tribals employed are less than 5 per cent. Development for the nation has meant displacement, pauperisation, or, at its very best, peonage for the tribals.

In the scenario of development and displacement the majority of the affected are obviously the tribals and other economically marginal rural populations who have historically dependent on the natural resource base for their subsistence. A significant point to be noted here is that the tribal communities are roughly 8% of the total population of the country, yet over 50% of those displaced belong ot this section of our population. The implication is obvious- the tribal people are disproportionately affected by our developmental policies and the resultant displacement.

In most of the cases people's consciousness and awareness of tribal displacement and impoverishment awakes largely when they come across news about the struggles and movements of the affected people. Among major struggles at present in the Chotanagpur tribal belt are those against the Netarhat Pilot Project Test Firing Range (the case now suspended because of the fierce opposition from the affected people) in Gumla and Palamau districts which threatens to displace about three lakh people, the Koel Karo dams in Ranchi and Gumla districts threatening to displace about one lakh people, coal mines in the North Karanpura Valley of Palamau district that may cause displacement of about a lakh of people, and the Subarnrekha dams in Singbhum district threatening to displace another one lakh tribals. Prevailing conditions in other states point toward the similar trend. Agitation against the Narmada Dam is now known internationally. The Palavaram dan in Andhra Pradesh shall be displacing an estimate three lakh people, majority of them being tribals.

Similar concern has been raised over the past half-decade with regard to Arunachal's hydropower development. The past few months have seen a spurt in opposition in the forms of agitations, bandh calls, withdrawal of meetings, etc against 3000- MW Dibang Multipurpose Project, proposed in Lower Dibang Valley district. Various NGOs; Society like Idu Cultural and Literary Society (ICLS), Student Union are in constant conflicts with the Central and State Government and projects constructing agencies like the National Hydroelectric Power Corporation (NHPC) and the Northeastern Electric Power Corporation (NEEPCO) on various issues concerning socio-cultural, economic and political security of the local tribal inhabitant.

1.22 Rehabilitation

"Rehabilitation" is such an elastic term which depending upon its context....has come to mean everything from restoring to former capacity or condition, to making in an improved form. The term rehabilitation is also used in both a limited and comprehensive sense. It may refer to services specially concerned with education, physical functioning, psychological adjustment, social adaptation, vocational capabilities or recreational activities. Rehabilitation, in its practical conception, is not only the services and the techniques of functional restoration, but also organization of all the efforts of the people involved, as well as the end result or goal of those efforts. It is individual as well as community adjustment, and integration, which involves the acceptance of programmes designed to accomplish maximum restoration (Alexander, 1991). It is the positive quality of the rehabilitation activities to convince the individuals or community concerned that their acceptance and co-operation are vital to complete fulfillment of the objective, their self sufficiency.

Thus, the core of the rehabilitation is the people. It is not simply a programme or facilities provided but the restriction to a fuller existence. Writing about the concept of rehabilitation, W. Scott Allan has rightly remarked in his book, "Rehabilitation: A community Challenge", that rehabilitation is a big moral with a bigger purpose. The term had its origin in the civil and common law of a feudal society in the Middle Ages. The word "rehabilitation" came in India in the wake of World War II. The army had to think in terms of rehabilitation and organized rehabilitation departments for the mass crippling of war. But the present concept, classified above, got its footing when there was the division of Indian Union in 1947 into two countries-India and Pakistan and thousands of refugees were to be settled. Thus, when the problem to settle a particular section of population permanently at a new place came before the government, she materialized concept of Rehabilitation. Therefore, rehabilitation may be defined as "transfer of population from one area to another on a planned basis".

1.23 Impact of Displacement and Rehabilitation

When we look into various aspects of displacement, the displaced persons or the 'oustees' may be categories on the basis of the degree of impact of displacement. L.K. Mahapatra(1994) divides them into the following categories:

   a) People who lose their house, homestead land, and their farming land and other productive assets in full.
   b) People who lose their house and homestead and their farm land or other productive assets in part.
   c) People who lose their house and homestead only.
   d) People who lose farm land only in full or in significant part.
   e) People who lose their base for plying their arts and crafts or selling/ bartering their specialized services or skills.
   f) People who lose their base for earning their livelihood from the local forest or other ecosystem including fishing in the river.
   g) People who lose their base for earning their livelihood through wage labour.
   h) People who lose their house or land or both for making room for constructing the township to house the project employees or for construction of the canals or ancillary structure for completion or maintenance of the project.

" But, unfortunately, in India as also in many developing countries, the 'oustees' are normally considered to properly cover a few categories-(a), (b) and (c)- but all the other categories-(d) to (h) – are not included under 'oustees' legally in order to stake their claims for compensation or rehabilitation".

In most cases, the only legislation that is applied is the Land Acquisition Act, 1894 (amended in 1984) which only makes the state liable for cash compensation, in the process legitimizing the gross injustice and social violence in reducing rights and interest into claims and complex system into monetary compensation. Significantly the act only recognizes individual and not collective or community rights. Much of the land attempted to be taken away from the tribals is Common Property Resources(CPRs). If it si a forest land, the law gives no right whatsoever to the people though they might have used it as their livelihood for several generations. Traditionally, no compensation has been paid for it. Besides, most tribals loves in regions that have been administratively neglected and are considered backward. They cannot, therefore, hope to get a remunerative price for it and the compensation offered to them for the little individual land they own it very low. Besides, the tribals have traditionally lived within a self sufficient, subsistence economy that depended on the natural resources. They had relatively little

exposure to the economy outside their region. Except North-East and parts of Chota Nagpur, literacy among them is extremely low. As a result they cannot hope to get many jobs in the new projects.

Studies by several Anthropologists have shown multiple effects of displacement. Involuntary resettlement leads to increase stress both psychological and socio-cultural and also heighten morbidity and mortality. Another outcome is a feeling of alienation, helplessness and powerlessness. Moving outside is just unthinkable to the tribal people as they are deeply attached to their ancestral land. The word 'resettlement' does not exist in many tribal languages (H.M Mathur). The widespread consequences of displacement include dismantling of production systems, desecration of ancestral sacred zones or graves and temples, scattering of kinship groups and family systems, disorganization of informal social network that provide mutual support, weakening of self management and social control, disruption of trade and market links, etc. Further, these patterns have been equated with national progress where public purpose and national interest have been used interchangeably. It is this mindset that justifies the labelling of those who criticise these projects as not only anti-project and anti-development but also anti-national.

The more unfortunate part of the story is the case of multiple displacements. It has also happened that several tribal groups after having made the painful transition and settling into a new life style were again uprooted and displaced. The case of Singrauli in Uttar Pradesh and New Mangalore Port are the examples. If displacement if inevitable, resettlement must include reconstruction of production system, raising standards of living and minimizing the conflicts with the host community. The commitment therefore has to be not just for resettlement but for rehabilitation which should be an entitlement and not an act of reluctant generosity (Smitu Kothari, 1995). Moreover, the cost of project should always include the cost to be incurred on resettlement and rehabilitation. All these projects should be open for public debate and discussion if implementation of any project which does not include satisfactory arrangement for resettlement and rehabilitation (Hasnain 2001 pp 222-224).

1.24 Globalization and Tribal World

Globalization in its literal sense is the process of transformation of local or regional phenomena into global ones. It can be described as a process by which the people of the world are unified into a single society and function together. This process is a combination of economic, technological, socio-cultural and political forces. Globalization is often used to refer to economic globalization, that is, integration of national economies into the international economy through trade, foreign direct investment, capital flows, migration, and the spread of technology.

Intuitively, globalization is a process fueled by, and resulting in, increasing cross-border flows of goods, services, money, people, information, and culture (Held 1999). Sociologist Anthony Giddens (1990) proposes to regard globalization as a decoupling between space and time, while geographer David Harvey (1989) and political scientist James Mittelman (1996) observe that globalization entails a "compression" of space and time, a shrinking of the world. Sociologist Manuel Castells (1996) emphasizes the informational aspects of the global economy when he defines it as "an economy with the capacity to work as a unit in real time on a planetary scale." In a similar vein, sociologist Gary Gereffi (1994) writes about global "commodity chains," whereby production is coordinated on a global scale. Political scientist Robert Gilpin (1987) defines globalization as the "increasing interdependence of national economies in trade, finance, and macroeconomic policy." Sociologist Roland Robertson (1992) argues that globalization "refers both to the compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole." Also sociologist Martin Albrow (1997) defines globalization as the "diffusion of practices, values and technology that have an influence on people's lives worldwide."

Indigenous peoples are on the cusp of the crisis in sustainable development. Their communities are concrete examples of sustainable societies, historically evolved in diverse ecosystems. Today, they face the chal-

lenges of extinction or survival and renewal in a globalized world. The impact of globalization is strongest on these populations perhaps more than any other because these communities have no voice and are therefore easily swept aside by the invisible hand of the market and its proponents. Globalization is not merely a question of marginalization for indigenous peoples it is a multi-pronged attack on the very foundation of their existence and livelihoods.

1.25 Tribe and Impact of Globalization

The tribal population of India (67.6 million) around 8 percent of the total population is larger than that of any other country in the world. The tribal population of India is more than the total population of France and Britain and four times that of Australia. If all the tribals of India had lived in one state, it would have been the fifth most populous state after Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, West Bengal and Maharashtra. Madhya Pradesh is not only the largest state in India but also has the largest tribal population of the country.

The forest occupies a central position in tribal culture and economy. The tribal way of life is very much dictated by the forest right from birth to death. It is ironical that the poorest people of India are living in the areas of richest natural resources. Historically, tribals have been pushed to corners owing to economic interests of various dominant groups. In contemporary India, the need for land for development is still forcing them, albeit this time to integrate with mainstream.

In spite of the protection given to the tribal population by the Constitution of India (1950), tribals still remain the most backward ethnic group in India. They rate very low on the three most important indicators of development: health, education and income. The tribals are most backward not only compared with the general population, but also compared to the Scheduled Caste (Dalits), the other backward social group with constitutional protection. While examining the effects of planned developmental intervention on the tribals from 1961 to 1981, it was observed that twenty years of intervention has not made any significant impact in improving the conditions of the tribals.

Tribal development policies and programmes in India assumed that all the tribals will develop and will integrate themselves with the so-called mainstream. This has happened only in a symbolic way. As a result of the planned tribal development, stratification on secular lines has taken place among tribals and only a small section has been able to take advantage of the development programmes. The reasons being that the development programmes were not implemented due to inefficient and corrupt bureaucracy.

It is estimated that owing to construction of over 1500 major irrigation development projects since independence, over 16 million people were displaced from their villages, of which about 40 per cent belong to tribal population. The government and the planners are aware of the eroding resource base and socio-cultural heritage of tribal population through a combination of development interventions, commercial interest and lack of effective legal protection to tribal and the disruption of life and environment of tribal population owing to unimaginative, insensitive package of relief (Planning Commission, 1990). Still the development process continued unmindful of displacement.

A common feature shared by most of the tribal people is their remoteness and marginal quality of territorial resources. In the past, exploitation of such poor regions was found both difficult and uneconomic. But, the recent rapid technological advancement and unrivalled economic and political strength of world capitalism and the rising power of neo-colonialism through the G-8 directly and the IMF, WB, IBRD, etc., as agencies, have created favourable conditions for the evasion and extraction of natural resources from the ecologically fragile territories of tribal people. Thus, forced evictions of tribals to make way for mammoth capital-intensive development projects have become a distressing routine and ever-increasing phenomenon.

There is a heavy concentration of industrial and mining activities in the central belt. All the massive steel plants, BALCO, NALCO, heavy engineering concerns etc. are based here. Most river basin development schemes and hydropower projects, a chain of forest-based and ancillary industries and an increasing number of highly polluting industries are located in this region. Despite intense industrial activity in the central Indian tribal belt, the tribal employment in modern entreprises is negligible. Apart from the provisions of Apprenticeship Act, there is no stipulation for private or joint sector enterprises to recruit certain percentage of dispossessed tribal workforce. The tribals are forced to live in juxtaposition with alien capitalist relations and cultures with traumatic results. They are forced onto the ever-expanding low paid, insecure, transient and destitute labour market. About 40 per cent of the tribals of central India supplement their income by participating in this distorted and over exploitative capitalist sector. Many more are slowly crushed into oblivion in their homeland or in urban slums. This is nothing short of ethnocide. Their economic and cultural survival is at stake.

India happens to be the second most dammed country in the world. It has invested over Rs. 300 billion on dams and hydropower projects by 2000. The World Bank has directly funded as many as 87 large-scale dam projects in India as against only 58 for the whole of the African continent and 59 for Latin America. Between 1981 and 1990, the World Bank provided $7 billion for such projects in India, i.e., one-fifth of its total funding for 85 countries world over. Almost all major dam projects in India are intrinsically linked to world capitalism. Nearly 60 per cent of these large dams are located in central and western India where about 80 per cent of the tribals live. India's Northeast has been identified as the country's future 'powerhouse', and Arunachal Pradesh is slated to be the major contributor. In 2001, the country's Central Electricity Authority did a preliminary ranking of the hydroelectric potential of various Indian rivers. It identified 168 large projects in the Brahmaputra Basin alone, which collectively could generate more than 63,300 megawatts of hydropower. Out of these projects, as many as 87 were in Arunachal Pradesh.

There is no reliable and complete information on the number of tribals displaced in the country since independence. The estimates range between 5 and 7 million - mostly by the dams, followed by mines and industries - or approximately one in every ten tribals has been displaced by different developments projects. It is not only the magnitude of involuntary tribal displacement that should attract the special concern but also the sacrifice of collective identity, historical and cultural heritage, and of course the survival support. Poverty, malnutrition, mortality, morbidity, illiteracy, unemployment, debt bondage, and serfdom among the tribals are markedly higher.

A number of studies suggest that during the 90s, when policies of Liberalisation- Globalization- Privatisation (LGP) were implemented in various degrees, income distribution has worsened and as a result is having a damp- ening impact on long-term economic growth and on the prospects for poverty reduction, necessary to meet the UN Millennium Declaration Goal of halving the number of people living in extreme income poverty. Extreme income poverty has affected some 150 million people in India. Tribals make up about one third of the income poor. An assessment of progress has been less than anticipated. The trade aspects of globalization also alter the context of many issues and areas affecting tribals, in some cases intensifying problems and in other cases affecting the policy actions required to address the problems.

Globalization affects tribals differently. Urban and educated tribals may benefit from the increased oppor- tunities for work that come with the influx of foreign companies and investments. These employment avenues are complemented by greater opportunities to receive education and skills training of a higher quality. The new technologies that define this era, in particular the computer and Internet, may be accessible to this group of tribals. Conversely, poor, uneducated, credit-constrained, informal and agricultural sector tribals will benefit in a much less direct manner. The gains of globalization have so far benefitted to those who already have education and skill advantage, easier market access and possession of assets for use as collateral to access credit. But for the larger tribals population, globalization is associated with rising prices, loss of job security, lack of health care and tribal

development programmes. Globalization may also weaken the Constitutional protections, in terms of education and job reservations given to tribals.

Markets are not very friendly to the poor tribals, to the weak or to the vulnerable, either nationally or internationally. They are often the handmaidens of powerful interest groups and they are greatly influenced by the prevailing distribution of income. In a capitalist economy, all are not in a position to compete in the market. Some like Tribals and Dalits who do not have enough education, health and nutrition to compete will fall outside the market place. That is why much better distribution of income and assets, of credit, of power structures and certainly of knowledge and skills are vital to making markets work more efficiently. Markets cannot become more neutral or competitive unless the playing field is even and playable.

If globalization were superimposed on a poorly educated and poorly-trained tribal people, particularly in states like Bihar and Jharkhand with poor systems of governance and infrastructure, it would not lead to growth nor reduce poverty. Globalization may no longer be an option, but a fact. However, it must be implemented with a human face.

The efforts to become competitive often hurt the social sectors first. It is most often these sectors that face budgetary reductions when liberalisation policies are implemented. Conservative monetary and fiscal policies are often undertaken and these too, independent of reductions in the size and scope of social sectors, can indirectly reduce allocations to social services and basic provisions. Such cuts in social spending are likely to hit the tribals the hardest who already have limited access to education and health facilities.

The tribals are part of the Indian society, at the same time they are different. Special policy and programmes are required to address and redress these differences especially in the context of globalization. When we plan for tribal development, we have to regard these differences, take a special note of their situations and capabilities and provide them facilities to develop on the line they want to take. Outsiders cannot develop tribals; they can become only facilitators if they want to do so. If they have to unfold from within, they must have participation in any development decision. Their felt needs should be transformed in development programmes. The tribals can participate in their development programmes only if they are considered to be equals and if unique identities are respected.

Check your Progress

1   What do you mean by Land Alienation? Discuss its forms and causes.
2   What do you understand by Displacement and Rehabilitation?
3   Discuss the impact of Displacement and Rehabilitation on tribal communities.
4.   What do you mean by Globalization? Give an overview of impact of Globalization on tribal communities.

1.26   Suggested Reading

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UNIT II

Issue of Identity: Social Movements and its Types

2.0 Objective

The objective of the unit is to make aware students the meaning of Movement and to distinguish a movement from a non movement and to identify the basic features which are characteristics of a movement. The unit aimed to provide the very generality of the concept, theories and its multi dimensional nature and its types on the basis of numerous criteria. Finally it focuses on the issue of tribal movement in India.

2.1 Social Movements

The usage of the term "social movement" has been traced back to a work on French Revolution entitled "The History of the Social Movement in France from 1789-1850" by a Danish historian Lorenz von Stein in 1852. In his work he conceptualized a social movement in the form of a collective action by the people (masses) in order to bring about changes in the conditions of society. Since the time of von Stein social psychologists, sociologists and social anthropologists have joined the historians in the study of social movements. The study of social movements is primary a study of the social or cultural change of a social order as well as of the values and norms. Social movements are a type of group action. They are large informal groupings of individuals and/or organizations focused on specific political or social issues. In other words, on carrying out, resisting or undoing a social change. It refers to collective activities designed to bring about or resist primary changes in an existing society or group. Wherever they occur, social movements can dramatically shape the direction of society. When individuals and groups of people—civil rights activists and other visionaries, for instance—transcend traditional bounds, they may bring about major shifts in social policy and structures.

2.1.1 Definition

Rudolf Heberle defines a social movement as a collective effort to transform established relations within a particular society. Neil Smelser views social movement as directly oriented towards a change in social institutions and social norms. Herbert Blumer refers to social movements as collective enterprises to establish a social order of life. Charles Tilly defines social movements as a series of contentious performances, displays and campaigns by which ordinary people made collective claims on others. For him social movements are a major vehicle for ordinary people's participation in public politics. Sidney Tarrow defines a social movement as collective challenges [to elites, authorities, other groups or cultural codes] by people with common purposes and solidarity in sustained interactions with elites, opponents and authorities. He specifically distinguishes social movements from political parties and interest groups. A formulation by M.S.A Rao suggests that a social movement essentially involves sustained collective mobilization through either informal or formal organization and is generally oriented towards bringing about change in the existing system of relationships. Rao considers ideology as an important component of a social movement. Mahapatra (1990) after careful examination of various definition of social movements consider that "A social movement occurs when a fairly large number of people, or an otherwise identifiable segment of the population, deliberately band together for collective action in order to alter, reconstitute, reinterprete, restore, protect, supplant or create some portion of the culture or social order, or to better their life-chances by redistributing the power of control in a society. Theses movements occasionally repeated collective action over a length of time".

2.2 Characteristics of Social Movement

It is necessary to distinguish a movement from a non movement and to identify the basic features which are characteristics of a movement. Social scientists generally consider two basic characteristics of social movement.

1. Collective Action: Social movement undoubtedly involves collective action. However, this collective action, takes the form of a movement only when it is sustained for a long time as distinct from a sporadic occurrence. This collective action need not be formally organized. It could be an informal attempt also. But it should be able to create an interest and awakening in relatively large number of people. Hence, a social movement essentially involves sustained collective mobilization through either informal or formal organization.

2. Oriented towards social change: A social movement is generally oriented towards bringing about social change. This change could either be partial or total. Though the movement is aimed at bringing about a change in the value, norms, ideologies of the existing system, efforts are also made by some other forces to resist the changes and to maintain the status quo. The counter attempts are normally defensive and restorative rather than innovative and initiating change. They are normally the organized efforts of an already established order to maintain itself.

As M.S.A Rao (1982) points out that there is considerable agreement among students of social movement, regarding the above two basic features, there are differences of opinion as regards including other criteria, such as presence of an ideology, method of organization and the nature of consequences as part of the organized efforts of an already established, routinized order to maintain itself.

1. Ideology behind the Movement: An important component of social movement that distinguishes it from the general category of collective mobilization is the presence of an ideology. Example. A student strike involves collective mobilization is oriented towards change. But in the absence of ideology a student strike becomes an isolated event and not a movement. On the contrary, if the strike is committed to an ideology, it may last for longer period and assumed the form of a movement.

2. Organizational Framework: As Paul Wilkinson (1971) has pointed out that a social movement requires a minimum of organizational framework to achieve success or at least to maintain the tempo of the movement. To make the distinction clear between the leaders and followers, to make clear the purpose of the movement, to persuade people to take part in it or to support it, to adopt different techniques to achieve the goals-a social movement must have some amount of organizational framework.

3. The Techniques and Results: A social movement may adopt its own technique or method to achieve its goal. There is no certainty regarding it. It may follow peaceful or conflicting, violent or non violent, compulsive or persuasive, democratic or undemocratic means or methods to reach its goal. The same thing is true of the results. It may become successful or it may fail; it may become partial success or at least it may create a general 'awakening' in the public regarding an issue. The result of a movement has a close bearing on the ideology and the organizational framework.

2.3 Types of Social Movement

The question of 'meaning of movement' is to classify social movement. Given the very generality of the concept and its multi dimensional nature, social movements have been categorized on the basis of numerous criteria. Based on the character and implications of the commitment to change, organisational mode and strategy and the 'constituency' of the population which accords the movement normative commitment and participation, Paul Wilkinson (1971) adopts the following main types:

1. Religious movement, millenarism and sect
2. Movements of rural and urban discontent
3. Nativistic, nationalist and race movements

4. Imperialism and pan- movements
5. Class and occupational interest movements
6. Moral protest and reformist movements
7. Revolutionary, resistance and counter-revolutionary movements
8. Intellectual movement
9. Youth movement
10. Women's movement

M.S.A Rao (1982) classifies movements into three broader types i,e reform, transformation and revolutions. Reform movement may be identified with partial changes in the value system and consequential changes in the quality of relationships. In contrast, transformative aims at bringing about middle level structural changes in the traditional distribution of power. Finally revolution is identified with radical changes in the totality of social and cultural systems. The need to classify movements by changes they intend to bring about has been advocated by Mukerji (1979). Based on this criterion he suggested three divisions- social movement, revolutionary movement and quasi movements. 'Any collective mobilization for action directed explicitly towards an alteration or transformation of the structure of a system can be properly understood as a social movement. When the collective mobilization aims at effecting wide ranging and far reaching changes in the major institutional systems comprising the whole society, we can rightly term it a revolutionary movement. Collective mobilizations aimed at changes within a system are quasi-movements.'

Let us now discuss some basic types of social movement that are propounded by various scholars.

2.3.1 Reform Movements

Movements dedicated to changing some norms, usually legal ones. Examples of such a movement would include a trade union with a goal of increasing workers rights, a green movement advocating a set of ecological laws, or a movement supporting introduction of a capital punishment or right to abortion. Some reform movements may advocate a change in custom and moral norms, for example, condemnation of pornography or proliferation of some religion. The nature of such movements is not just related to the issue but also to the methods used. There could be reformist or radical methods used to achieve the same end, such as in the case of making abortion legal and readily available.

In other words, reform movements are organized to carry out reforms in some specific areas. The reformers endeavor to change elements of the system for better. For example: Civil Rights Movement, Women's Liberation Movement, Arya Samaj Movement, Brahmo Samaj Movement etc.

2.3.2 Revolutionary Movements

The revolutionary movements deny that the system will even work. These movements are deeply dissatisfied with the social order and work for radical change. They advocate replacing the entire existing structure. Their objective is the reorganization of society in accordance with their own ideological blueprint. Revolutionary movements generally become violent as they progress. Example: The Protestant Reformation Movement, the Socialist Movement, the Communist Revolution of China.

2.3.3 Reactionary or Revivalist Movement

Reactionary movements are those advancing aims which were once held by the general society but which have subsequently been laid aside seeking to bring back the good old days Cameron (1966). These aim to reverse the social change. They highlight the importance and greatness of traditional values, ideologies and institutional arrangements. They strongly criticize the fast moving changes of the present.

2.3.4 Resistance Movement

These movements are formed to resist a change that is already taking place in society. These can be directed against social and cultural changes which are already happening in the country.

2.3.5 Utopian Movement

These are attempts to take the society or a section of it towards a state of perfection. These are loosely structured collectivities that envision a radically changed and blissful state, either on a large scale at some time in the future or on a smaller scale in the present. The Utopian ideal and the means of it are often vague, but many utopian movements have quite specific programmes for social change. The Hare Krishna Movement of the seventies, the movement towards the establishment of Ram Rajya and the Sangh Parivar, the Communists and Socialists pronouncement of a movement towards the classless, casteless society free from all kinds of exploitation etc.

2.3.6 Peasant Movement

Peasant movement is understood as an attempt of a group to effect change in the face of resistance and the peasant are people who are engaged in an agricultural or related production with primitive means who surrender part of their or its equivalent to landlords or to agents of change. The history of peasant movements in India can be traced to colonial period when repressive economic policies, the new land revenue system, the colonial administrative and judicial system and the ruin of handicrafts leading to the overcrowding of land transformed the agrarian structure and impoverished the peasantry. In the Zamindari system peasants were left to the mercies of the Zamindars who exploited them in form of illegal dues. The British government levied heavy land revenue in the Ryotwari areas. Peasants were forced to borrow money from the moneylenders and they were reduced to the status of tenants at will, share croppers and landless laborers while their lands, crops and cattle passed into the hands to landlords, trader moneylenders and such peasants. When the peasants could take it no longer they resisted against the oppression and exploitation through uprisings. Peasant Movements occupy an important place in the history of social unrest in India though the aims and objectives of these movements differ in nature and degree from region to region. It is in this sense that these movements also aimed at the unification of the peasants of a region, development of leadership, ideology and a peasant elite. Through these movements emerged a new power structure and peasant alliance. The genesis of peasant movements rest in the relationship patterns of different social categories existing within the framework of feudal and semi feudal structure of our society. In the post Independence period the nature and objectives of the peasant movement have changed to getting remunerative prices for agricultural produce, to increase agricultural production, to establish parity between prices of agricultural produce and industrial goods and to get minimum wages for the agricultural laborers.

Some of the important peasants uprising in India are like Sanyasi rebellion of 1770, Wahabi uprising of 1831, Santhal uprising of 1855, - Indigo revolt of 1859, Punjab Kisan struggle of 1890-1900, Champaran satyagraha of 1917-18, Moplah rebellion of 1921, Bardoli satyagarya of 1928, Telangana movement of 1946, Naxalbari movement of 1957, etc.

2.3.7 Women's Movement

The women's movement in India is a rich and vibrant movement which has taken different forms in different parts of the country. When India became independent, it was widely acknowledged that the battle for freedom had been fought as much by women as by men. One of the methods M K Gandhi chose to undermine the authority of the British was for Indians to defy the law which made it illegal for them to make salt. At the time,

salt-making was a monopoly and earned considerable revenues for the British. Gandhi began his campaign by going on a march - the salt march - through many villages, leading finally to the sea, where he and others broke the law by making salt. No woman had been included by Gandhi in his chosen number of marchers. But nationalist women protested and they forced him to allow them to participate. The first to join was Sarojini Naidu, who went on to become the first woman President of the Indian National Congress in 1925. Her presence was a signal for hundreds of other women to join and eventually the salt protest was made successful by the many women who not only made salt but also sat openly in marketplaces selling, and indeed, buying it. The trajectory of this movement is usually traced from the social reform movements of the 19th century when campaigns for the betterment of the conditions of women's lives were taken up, initially by men. By the end of the century women had begun to organize themselves and gradually they took up a number of causes such as education, the conditions of women's work and so on. It was in the early part of the 20th century that women's organizations were set up, and many of the women who were active in these later became involved in the freedom movement. Independence brought many promises and dreams for women in India - the dream of an egalitarian, just, democratic society in which both men and women would have a voice. The reality was, however, somewhat different. For all that had happened was that, despite some improvements in the status of women, patriarchy had simply taken on new and different forms. By the 1960s it was clear that many of the promises of Independence were still unfulfilled. It was thus that the 1960s and 1970s saw a spate of movements in which women took part: campaigns against rising prices, movements for land rights, peasant movements. Women from different parts of the country, came together to form groups within and outside the political parties. Everywhere, in the different movements that were sweeping the country, women participated in large numbers. Everywhere, their participation resulted in transforming the movements from within. One of the first issues to receive countrywide attention from women's groups was violence against women, specifically in the form of rape, and 'dowry deaths'. This was also the beginning of a process of learning for women: most protests were directed at the State. Because women were able to mobilize support, the State responded, seemingly positively, by changing the law on rape and dowry, making both more stringent. In the early campaigns, groups learnt from day to day that targeting the State was not enough and that victims also needed support. So a further level of work was needed: awareness raising so that violence against women could be prevented, rather than only dealt with after it had happened. Legal aid and counseling centers were set up, and attempts were made to establish women's shelters. Knowledge was also recognized as an important need. The women's activity was geared towards improving the conditions of women's lives. In recent years, the euphoria of the 1970s and early 1980s, symbolized by street-level protests, campaigns in which groups mobilized at a national level, has been replaced by a more considered and complex response to issues. In many parts of India, women are no longer to be seen out on the streets protesting about this or that form of injustice. This apparent lack of a visible movement has led to the accusation that the women's movement is dead or dying. While the participation of urban, middle class women is undeniable, it is not they who make up the backbone of the movement, or of the many, different campaigns that are generally seen as comprising the movement. The anti-alcohol agitation in Andhra Pradesh and similar campaigns in other parts of India were started and sustained by poor, low-caste, often working-class women. One of the biggest challenges women have had to face in recent years is the growing influence of the religious right in India. Right-wing groups have built much of their support on the involvement of women: offering to help them with domestic problems, enabling them to enter the public space in a limited way, and all the while ensuring that the overall ideology within which they operate remains firmly patriarchal. For activists too, this has posed major problems. It has forced them to confront the fact that they cannot assume solidarity as women that cuts across class, religion, caste, ethnic difference. It is important to recognize that for a country of India's magnitude, change in male-female relations and the kinds of issues the women's movement is focusing on will not come easy. For every step the movement takes forward, there will be a possible backlash, a possible regression. And it is this that makes for the contradictions, this that makes it possible for there to be women who can aspire to, and attain, the highest political office in the country, and for women to continue to have to confront patriarchy within the home, in the workplace, throughout their lives.

2.3.8 Backward Caste Movement

The Backward castes have been deprived of many social, economic, political and religious privileges. These people provided manual labor and the untouchables occupied the lowest position among the caste hierarchy. They were subjected to extreme form of exploitation. The colonial power accentuated the disparities in the distribution of economic power. The atrocities united the lower castes against the upper castes. Some of the important backward caste movement which came up was Satyashodak Samaj and Nadar Movement which consolidated the masses along the castelines. E.V Ramaswamy started Self-Respect movement against the Brahmins in South India. In 1950s there was a widespread desire among the non-Brahmin castes to be categorized as Backward. Subsequently Backward Class commission was set up to look into the conditions and requirements of these classes. Mandal Commission submitted its report in 1980 recommending reservations for backward castes in educational institutions and government offices. However this move resulted in anti- Mandal Commission movement which resulted in large scale violence and many students lost their lives.

2.3.9 Dalit Movement

Dalits are the suppressed people at the lost rung of the cast-based hierarchy. Their inferior occupations and low levels of ascriptive status make them vulnerable for attacks at the hands of upper-caste people. The organizational efforts made by Dalit leadership for uplifting their status are known as Dalit movement. It is a protest against untouchability, casteism and discrimination faced by the dalits. Dalit movement indicates some trends of protest ideologies which entail the following -withdrawal and self organization, high varna status and extolling of non-Aryan culture's virtues, abandoning of Hinduism and embracing other religions like Buddhism and Islam. Mahatma Gandhi in 1923 founded the All India Harijan Sevak Sangh to start education and schools for the dalits. Another most important dalit leader Dr. Ambedkar struggled to secure the basic human dignity to the dalits.The Mahad Satyagarh for the right of water led by him was one of the outstanding movements of the dalits to win equal social rights. The role of All India Depressed Classes Association and All India Depressed Classes Federation were the principal organizations which initiated a movement to improve the conditions of the dalits. These organizations aimed at improving their miserable conditions and to spread education among them. They worked to secure rights of admission to school, drawing water from the public wells, entering the temples and to use the roads.

2.3.10 Tribal Movement

Tribal movements in India are as old as other types of movements. They were considered to be rebellious and 'civilized' rulers quelled them as they had superior arms. The tribal were in a position of confrontation both with the Hindu overloads and the British colonists as the latter seriously encroached on their rights and territories.

Roy Burman identifies eight kinds of responses of the tribals to the different challenges that they faced; response to threat to the privacy of habitat; response to threat to access to and control of resources; response to description of traditional roles in the total interaction set up; search for new meanings of the relationships between man and nature; search for new meaning of the relationships between individual and society; search for new frontiers of identity; search for a more satisfactory system of control of resources; and search for a more satisfactory system of organization of community power at all levels. These responses, however, are neither mutually exclusive nor have all of them resulted in movements. He shows that during British rule, alienation from land, due to faulty legislation pertaining to forest lands and lack of understanding of tribal social organization were responsible for tribal uprisings. Although they have diverse ideological overtones, the main theme was the millenarian- waiting for the day of deliverances from an acute situation of relative deprivation.

Tribal since independences have been characterized by two features. There is a strong tendency towards establishing tribal ethnic identities. They find new meanings regarding the relationships between man and nature and individual and society by reinterpreting their own traditions and myths. The second major trend is in the direction of agrarian movements in the context of political ideologies, including the Naxalite one.

While Roy Burman considers the general characteristics of tribal movements in India, Joseph Troisi examines three specific movements among the Santals, namely the Santal Rebellion of 1855-57, the Kharwar movement and the Jharkhand movement. All the three movement combined traditional cultural elements and value with new themes in the framework of the millenarian ideology of the restoration of the golden age. The Kharwar movement, which emerges in 1930s, however, was oriented towards reform in the direction of sanskritization. The Jharkhand movement took the Santals away from the process of Hinduization with increase ambivalence, involving in the modern political processes in the 1940s and 1950s. The movement cut across different tribes and demanded a separate state for the tribals (now state of Jharkhand) so as to be able to maintain their identity and autonomy.

Joseph Troisi emphasizes that these three movements should be looked at as three alternatives that the Santals adopted in overcoming their status of relative deprivation and for improving their social, economic, and political position. He shows how the penetration of Christianity in this area spread modern education and encouraged the emergence of a new leadership (Rao, 1982).

2.4 Theories of Social movement

Social scientists interest themselves in why social movements emerge. Do feelings of discontent, desires for a "change of pace," or even yearnings for "change for the sake of change" cause these shifts? Sociologists and other social scientists use three theories to explain why people mobilize for change or in other words, try to explain the structural conditions and motivational forces which give rise to a movement and these are Relative Deprivation Theory, the Strain Theory and Resource Mobilization Theory.

2.4.1 Relative Deprivation theory

The concept "Relative Deprivation" was developed by Stouffer in 1949. For Rao (1979: p 4) "A point that is conceded by relative deprivation theorists is that a position of relative deprivation alone will not generate a movement. The structural conditions of relative deprivation provide only the necessary conditions. Sufficient conditions are provided by the perception of a situation and by the estimate of capabilities by certain leaders that they can do something to remedy the situation". In other words, when members of a society become dissatisfied or frustrated with their social, economic, and political situation, they yearn for changes. Social scientists have long noted that the actual conditions that people live under may not be at fault, but people's perceptions of their conditions are. Relative deprivation refers to the negative perception that differences exist between wants and actualities. In other words, people may not actually be deprived when they believe they are. A relatively deprived group is disgruntled because they feel less entitled or privileged than a particular reference group. For example, a middle-class family may feel relatively deprived when they compare their house to that of their upper-class physician.

For social discontent to translate into social movement, members of the society must feel that they deserve, or have a right to, more wealth, power, or status than they have. The dissatisfied group must also conclude that it cannot attain its goals via conventional methods, whether or not this is the case. The group will organize into a social movement only if it feels that collective action will help its cause.

The relative-deprivation theory takes criticism from a couple of different angles. First, some sociologists note that feelings of deprivation do not necessarily prompt people into acting. Nor must people feel deprived before acting. Moreover, this theory does not address why perceptions of personal or group deprivation cause some people to reform society, and why other perceptions do not.

2.4.2 Structural strain theory

Structural strain theory was propounded by Smelser in 1962 and he proposes six factors that encourage social movement development:

1. Structural conduciveness - people come to believe their society has problems
2. Structural strain - people experience deprivation
3. Growth and spread of a solution - a solution to the problems people are experiencing is proposed and spreads
4. Precipitating factors - discontent usually requires a catalyst (often a specific event) to turn it into a social movement
5. Lack of social control - the entity that is to be changed must be at least somewhat open to the change; if the social movement is quickly and powerfully repressed, it may never materialize
6. Mobilization - this is the actual organizing and active component of the movement; people do what needs to be done

This strain theory treats structural strains as the underlying factor leading to collective behavior. Structural strain occurs at different levels of norms, values, mobilization and situational facilities. While strain provides the structural condition, the crystallization of a generalized belief marks the attempt of persons under strain to assess their situation and to explain the situation by creating or assembling a generalized belief. Both strain and generalized belief require precipitating factors to trigger off a movement (Rao, 1982).

This theory is also subject to circular reasoning as it incorporates, at least in part, deprivation theory and relies upon it, and social/structural strain for the underlying motivation of social movement activism. However, social movement activism is, like in the case of deprivation theory, often the only indication that there was strain or deprivation.

2.4.3 Resource mobilization theory

Resource mobilization theory emphasizes the importance of resources in social movement development and success. Resources are understood here to include: knowledge, money, media, labor, solidarity, legitimacy and internal and external support from power elite. The theory argues that social movements develop when individuals with grievances are able to mobilize sufficient resources to take action. The emphasis on resources offers an explanation why some discontented/deprived individuals are able to organize while others are not.

Some of the assumptions of the theory include:

· there will always be grounds for protest in modern, politically pluralistic societies because there is constant discontent (i.e., grievances or deprivation); this de-emphasizes the importance of these factors as it makes them ubiquitous
· actors are rational; they weigh the costs and benefits from movement participation
· members are recruited through networks; commitment is maintained by building a collective identity and continuing to nurture interpersonal relationships

· movement organization is contingent upon the aggregation of resources
· social movement organizations require resources and continuity of leadership
· social movement entrepreneurs and protest organizations are the catalysts which transform collective discontent into social movements; social movement organizations form the backbone of social movements
· the form of the resources shapes the activities of the movement (e.g., access to a TV station will result in the extensive use TV media)
· movements develop in contingent opportunity structures that influence their efforts to mobilize; as each movement's response to the opportunity structures depends on the movement's organization and resources, there is no clear pattern of movement development nor are specific movement techniques or methods universal

Critics of this theory argue that there is too much of an emphasize on resources, especially financial resources. Some movements are effective without an influx of money and are more dependent upon the movement members for time and labor (e.g., the civil rights movement in the U.S.).

2.4.4 Theory of Revitalisation Movement

For Rao (1982, p 4) theory of revitalization movement is one of the important theory which explains the genesis of social movement. The notion of revitalisation movements articulated by Wallace (1956) emphasize that social movements may be launched by the people with the sharp positive goals of creating a more satisfying culture for themselves. As such movements develop out of deliberate and conscious efforts of members of the collectivities. Naturally, a movement does not only assess and review the prevailing situation but also provides positive plan of action to improve and alter the situation of dispossession and degradation (Karna, 1998). It suggests that adaptive processes are employed to establish equilibrium situations. Although social movements develop a positive programme of action, they tend to be double-edged. On the one hand they express dissatisfaction, dissent and protest against existing conditions and on the other, they offer a positive progremme of action to remedy the situation (Rao, 1982).

Check your Progress
1. What do you mean by Social Movement? Give two Definitions.
2. What are the basic characteristics of Social Movement?
3. What are the various types of Social Movements?
4. Discuss various theories of Social Movements propounded by social scientists.

2.5 Tribal Social Movement in India

Social mobility movements are known to India's lower Hindu castes which resulted in sanskritizing their caste practices. This trend spread to more castes during the British regime when the lower castes got better educational and economic opportunities, legal and political status. These movements became intensified due to the need to vindicate one (assumed) caste status at the time of census recording every 10 years (e.g. The Paundra Kshatriya of Bengal; Das Gupta, 2007). Communication facilities made wide scale contacts and organization among far flung sub-castes in various linguistic regions possible (Srinivas, 1957).

In the 19th century India, tribal groups were not much affected by such mobility movements. There were, however, some social movement in the nature of norm oriented movements (among the Munda, Santal and others) against the Hindu landlords and middlemen who were exploiting them, or dispossessing them of their land and in the nature of Messianic cults (e.g. Tana Bhagat movement among the Oraon of Bihar).

Deliberately organized collective efforts for a higher social status are not met with among the tribes till the Indian National Congress send its worker to the villages in the 1920s and directly involved some tribal groups such as the Bhumji, Kharia, Santal in Bihar and Bengal and the Bhumia and Bhattara in Orissa in national politics. Some tribal workers among the Bhumij (Sinha, 1959) and some non tribal Hindu workers as among the Kharia (Banerjee, 1959: 99-101) had been acquainted with the model of the political party organization and political meetings and the constructive reformatory work of the congress. In the case of the Bhumij an organization was started about 1935 to get their claim of Kshatriya (Hindu warrior caste, next highest to the Brahman) status recognized by the upper Hindu castes of the region. The non-tribal workers among the Kharia started welfare activities in 1939 and established branches at two places, but had to make this welfare organization the vanguard of a Kharia social movement for higher status (that of Hindu Kshatriya, and worshipper of lord Jagannath), better opportunities (land, rehabilitation, education, etc) and to eschew "evils" in their society (like drinking and criminal activities).

But ,by and large, during the 1930s and thereafter, local self government and parliamentary democracy, economic political privileges for tribes and castes, opening of new economic opportunities such as tea gardens, factories, educational facilities and means of rapid communication and transportation and not least, the living and working together of people of various tribal origins in towns, factories, mines, etc., all prepared the ground for some sort of social movement in the context of feelings of relative deprivation, inequality, and hence, latent dissatisfaction directed against the dominant Hindu neighbours. The newly educated elite were very in demand by political parties after independence and consolidated tribal votes could easily act as a pressure group in order to further the ends of the tribal group concern and, by inferences, of its elite section. Therefore, we find the Bhumij, Santal, Munda, Gond, Ho, Kharia, Bhattara, Kond, and Jatapu relatively educated and in part Hinduized or Christianized, turning to political action and bargaining as informal pressure groups, political associations, or even as an intertribal political party. Among the lower class Hindus, although caste associations developed political dimensions, as pressure groups they never constituted themselves into an inter-caste political party or even formal political association on the basis of caste.

Simultaneously when social mobility movements were transforming themselves into political pressure groups, as political parties and associations were emerging to take care of inter –ethnic tribal interests, the colleges and high school students constituted themselves into student associations of Adivasi on an inter-ethnic level or regional basis. Also tribal music, dance and dress (though somewhat modified) were being revived in some areas by some erstwhile tribal political workers such as those among the Koya, Matia, Bonda, etc. in Koraput. The most significant development in this cultural revivalism seasoned with innovation has been the invention of indigenous scripts among the Saora in south Orissa, earlier among the Jatapu (a more educated, largely Hinduized Kond section in Koraput district) and since the 1940s among the Santal of north Orissa. But cultural creativity coupled with some form of revivalism has gone furthest among the Santal. The Santal innovator, a high school graduate who worked among the Santal industrial workers at the foremost steel city, Jamshedpur, has also contributed epics, dramas, songs and reinterpreted Santal religion and magic with moral and spiritual grafting. His followers have brought out books, a monthly journal, and textbooks for lower schools in the medium of the script and with a separate system of schools, curriculum, training schools and specially trained teachers. The Adivasi socio educational and Cultural Association to foster these and a religious organization, Sarna Dharam Semlet, to revived old communal worship in a sacred grove and other religious practices, have followed his leadership. Santal traditional dancing, certain forms of marriages, etc, and indulgences in pleasure are considered "evil", or "sinful". Thus a great Tradition of Redfield and Singer formulation is just emerging. But this preoccupation with cultural creativity, educational programmes, and religious revivalism are all blessed by, and directly beneficial to the jharkhand party, which fights for a state for the Adivasi (Scheduled Tribes) to be carved out of the states of Bihar, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh (Orans, 1965; unpublished documents, Mahapatra).

Thus, we find the emergences of several varieties of social movements among the Scheduled Tribes after independence; a political party on inter ethnic basis, pressure groups on ethnic basis as transformed social mobility movements, a revivalistic cultural movement, a cultural creativity and regeneration movement and religious (largely) revivalistic movement as wings of the inter- ethnic political party, and student association as pressure groups. These are in addition to social mobility movements as among the Juang, Kisan, Bathudi or Saora in Orissa, which were organized on the lines of regional association of important local cases for status mobility.

The major tribes of the region, the Santal, Kond, Oraon, Munda ,Saora, Bhumij, Ho, Kharia, Koya, Kisan, Bhattara, Bhumia, Bathudi, and even Juang have already involved in one or the other categories of the social movements. It is not always correct to say that the whole of an ethnic group like the Juang or the Saora are drawn into any such movement, but a particular section especially that which has been chosen to live in the plains (Patnaik, 1963) or that which has received school education for a long time or the ones assembled at factory cities such as Jamshedpur as Rourkela within the tribal majority areas. Only such tribes as the semi-nomadic Birhor or Pahira,who are food gatherers, and some other small tribes like the Dhurwa and Dorla of western Orissa and Baster in Madhya Pradesh (Hazra,1959; Thusu,1959) do not yet show any development towards social mobility movements or the like.

2.6   Tribal Social Movement in North East India

Tribal Movements in the North East India are entirely different from those elsewhere in the country and stand in a category by themselves because of its unique geo-political situation and historical background. Many tribes living on the international boundaries traditionally acted as bridge or buffer communities until the advent of colonialism and shared ethnic and cultural affinities with tribesmen across the frontiers. Developments across the frontiers have had a profound influence on the situation in the North East. This region was also not completely integrated within the politico-economic system of colonialism: it remained relatively isolated from the cultural system of the mainland and the political upheavals of the freedom struggle. It is interesting to record that the entire system of the non-regulation administration had its origin in the experiences of the tribal uprising of 1820s in the Arakan hills, which is still disturbed. Many of the elements of this system were introduced elsewhere in the country while they tended to isolate the North-Eastern region all the more from the rest of the country. Yet another fact to be noted in regard to the development of the tribal movement in this region, as mentioned earlier is that unlike middle India the tribals everywhere except Tripura are in overwhelming majority and have never faced any threat of the kind to their identity that inspired the millenarian movements elsewhere in the country. Their institutions are relatively intact. They remain in possession of their land and forest. Therefore, there were no agrarian and forest based movements of the type that occur in middle India. Christianity has emerged as the strongest factor of modernization and has given the tribals as it has done elsewhere a strong sense of identity. Considering the geopolitical factor, the relative isolation from the political system and cultural influences from the mainland, the dominant form of movement has been political, seeking goals ranging from autonomy to independence and relying on means ranging from constitutional agitation to armed insurgency. Even the cultural movements in this region are only a dimension of these political processes.

The political processes in the north-eastern hills picked up on the eve of transfer of power and later as the secular and democratic system were consolidated. Old tribes assumed new names, small tribes merged with larger tribes, tribes combined to form new ethnic cum territorial identity. Beyond the territorial identity state were created to accommodate tribal aspiration for autonomy. In the process the Sixth Schedule model of autonomy for the north-east was exceeded. Nagaland enjoys more autonomy than other states as no law can apply to the Nagas unless it is approved by the State Assembly. This political process extending from the merger of tribes to formation of new territorial identity and to formation of state is a unique feature of the north eastern situation.

A cultural dimension of the political processes has been the phenomenal rise of Christianity in all north east states during the 1961-71 decade, as a symbol of tribal identity, as a marker of status in all the states except Arunachal Pradesh. Sanskritisation has not been at work in the north-eastern hills. The Brahma movement among the Bodo Kacharis stopped short of the hills. The sanskritisation process in the Manipur Valley has not only come to a stop, there is even an attempt at de-sanskritisation, an impulse to go back to the pre-Vaishnava, pristine form of Meitei culture. The nativistic Sanamahi cult has gained ground. Two other nativistic movements seek to revive the pure and pristine elements of tribal culture. The Seng Khasi, a socio-cultural organization of the Khasi was established as early as in 1989 to preserve the Khasi way of life, with its ancient system of clan relationship which was disturbed by the large scale conversion of the Khasis to Christianity. The second, the Zeliangrong movement, started as a religio-cultural movement under Jadonang, assumed a political overtone and became the only movement to have established linkages with the national freedom struggle. Under Rani Gaidinliu it has remained strongly nationalistic, has promoted tribal solidarity and demanded creation of a separate administrative unit to be formed out of territories inhabited by the constituent tribes in the contiguous regions of Manipur, Assam and Nagaland (Singh, 1982).

Check Your Progress

1. Discuss the basic characteristics of Tribal Social Movement.
2. How the various movements of North-East India are different from other Movements that took place in rest of India?
3. Give an overview of Tribal Movements in India with special reference to North-East India.

Suggested Reading

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Unit – III

Tribal Rights

3.0 Objectives

This Unit provides a broad overview of the rights the tribals of India ought to enjoy. After reading this Unit, you should be able to comprehend the following:

1. What are the rights of tribals over Land, Forest and Water?
2. What are the tribal rights over IPR (Intellectual Property Rights)?
3. What is the state of human rights in tribal regions?
4. The recommendations for ensuring legitimate rights to tribes.

3.1 Introduction

We already know that the tribal population in India constitutes about 8.2% of the total Indian population, and therefore, is demographically a fairly large group. Because of their social, educational and economic backwardness, special provisions have been made in the Constitution of India to safeguard their interest and promote their culture. However, in reality, there is a wide gap between they way between the tribes and other populations live in India. It will not be wrong to say that while the rest of India enjoy the benefits of internet revolution, air travel, healthcare and educational opportunities, many of our fellow tribal brothers and sisters live in the 'stone age'. There are many reasons for the gap in the living conditions of tribes and others, one of the important reasons being the lack of awareness of the tribes about the rights conferred on them. Even if there is some amount of awareness, there are many obstacles that the tribals encounter in enjoying these rights. This Unit aims at providing a comprehensive account of some such rights and problems in enjoying them by the tribes of India.

3.2 Tribal Rights Over Land, Forest and Water

3.2.1 Tribal Rights Over Land

We know that tribal economy is largely agro-based and hence, land is the vital asset for a tribal. More than 90% of the tribes in India depends primarily on agriculture and thereby depend on land. But according to Census figures, there is a sharp decline in the percentage of tribal cultivators over the years and increase in tribal landless labourers. For example, while in 1961 India had 68.18% tribal cultivators, by 1981 it was decreased to 54.43%. Similarly, while in 1961, the percentage of tribal landless labourers 19.71, by 1981 it was increased to 32.67. What do these figures indicate? These figures indicate an increased state of land alienation in the tribal regions of India. Somehow, land is being transferred from the tribal owners to non-tribals or to elite among the tribals and the situation is getting worse day by day.

For centuries, if not millennia, the tribals had free access to land. Land was not considered as a scarce commodity due to its easy availability to the tribal cultivators. It was only at the beginning of the 20th Century, land in tribal areas became a scarce commodity due to infiltration of non-tribal communities into the tribal regions, eventually creating a fierce situation of competition for land. The customary ownership of land by the tribals was threatened. During the British period and subsequently many cumbersome legal provisions were made, which did not recognize the customary tribal ownership on land. Non-recognition of land right of tribals led to many sporadic unrest among the tribes. In post-Independence period, there was not much improvement in the situation, although a number of legal provisions were made to protect the tribal rights over land. We shall be discussing some of these aspects in the paragraphs that follow.

3.2.1.1 Laws to Prevent Land Alienation

Realizing the acute problem of tribals being landless over the years, and particularly in the Scheduled V Areas, due to the occupation of tribal land by the non-tribals, many States have come out with legal measures to protect tribal land. For example, in the State of Andhra Pradesh, the Government has promulgated 'Andhra Pradesh Scheduled Areas Land Transfer Regulation, 1959' (APSALTR, 1959). Section 3 of the Amended Regulation (1/1970) reads, " … any transfer of immovable property situated in the Agency tracts by a person, whether or not such person is a member of a Scheduled Tribe, shall be absolutely *null* and *void*, unless such transfer is made in favour of a person, who is a member of a Scheduled Tribe or a society registered or deemed to be registered under the Andhra Pradesh Co-operative Societies Act, 1964 (Act 7 of 1964), which is composed solely of the members of the Scheduled Tribes". Similar Regulations have also been implemented in Orissa (Orissa Scheduled Areas Transfer of Immovable Properties [by Scheduled Tribes] Regulation of 1956), undivided Madhya Pradesh (Madhya Pradesh Land Revenue Code of 1959), Kerala (Kerala Scheduled Tribes [Restrictions on Transfer of Lands and Restoration of Alienated Lands] Act of 1975), and many other States of India.

Since the problem of land alienation is endemic in many tribal pockets of India, the Constituent Assembly had constituted two Sub-Committees to look into the matter of protection of tribal land. The Sub-Committee on North East Frontier (Assam) Tribal and Excluded Areas observed that "as the tribal people should have the largest possible measures of protection for their land, provisions should be made for the control of migration into their areas for agricultural or non-agricultural purposes". The Sub-Committee on Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas (other than Assam) recommended that "in view of the increased pressure on land everywhere, alienation of any kind of tribal land even to other tribals, may have to be prohibited or severely restricted in different stages of advancement". These observations and recommendations of the Sub-Committees have been incorporated in the provisions of the Fifth and Sixth Schedules of the Indian Constitution (Verma 1990).

Two other legal provisions need special mention here that relate to the problems of land alienation and their restoration in tribal areas. The Provisions of the Panchayats (Extensions to the Scheduled Areas) Act (PESA) of 1996 categorically empowers the Gram Sabhas (Village Councils) in the Scheduled Areas to put an end to alienation of tribal lands and to restore already alienated lands to the tribal land owners. Similarly, the Draft National Tribal Policy (A Policy for the Scheduled Tribes of India) of 2006 endorses that "Through this policy, it will be ensured that illegal transfer of tribal land holdings is eliminated and that the alienated land is restored to the tribal".

3.2.1.2 How Tribal Rights over Land is Vitiated?

Despite many constitutional and legal provisions, tribes are still victims of losing their rights over land. This is largely due to wide prevalence of mere customary rights of tribes over land and absence of 'legal rights'. The customary rights are the rights enjoyed by the tribals as such for generations over patches of *podu* or plain land for cultivation. Vast stretches of land were thus owned by the tribal communities as 'community land' or by tribal farmers as individually owned land. When the British administration in colonial India started land survey and settlement operations in the 19th Century, many tribal areas were not included in the survey and settlement process. Therefore, the tribal farmers could not get land titles (*pattas*), did not have to pay land taxes, and eventually, cultivated some land without having legal rights over them. Even after Independence, faulty land surveys and incomplete land records in different States of India deprived the tribals to acquire the status of legal land owners, and hence they enjoyed only usufruct rights over the land they cultivated.

There have been, of course, many unscrupulous means by which the tribal farmers were cheated by non-tribals and elite among the tribals, and were eventually rendered landless. Through dubious sale, mortgage, lease, *benami* transfers, collusive decrees, fraudulent methods of land grabbing, marrying tribal women or through tribal concubines, buying land in the name of tribal servants, creating fictitious documents to encroach tribal land, etc. tribals are forced to give up their rights over land (Misra 2006).

In many instances the government-sponsored development projects, such as setting up of major and minor irrigation and power projects, industries and townships, mining activities, tribals are forced to lose their right over land. The stringency of Land Acquisition Act of 1894, devised during the colonial period, in acquiring land for 'public purposes' makes the tribals its soft victims. Although the Draft National Rehabilitation Policy, 2006 and various rehabilitation and resettlement policies devised by the States claim to have made ample provisions for the Scheduled Tribes in matters of payment of compensation, the reality is growing landlessness among tribal farmers in India. Given the present situation, unless all the constitutional and legal protections offered to the tribes are implemented in both letters and spirit, there is every possibility that no tribal can claim legal right over some land in the near future.

3.2.1.3 The Current Status of Tribal Landownership

We shall conclude this Section by revisiting the current status of landownership among the tribes of India. We know that all States have formulated legislative measures to allot land as well as to prevent land transfer from the tribals. Despite these measures, the situation of tribal landownership is grim. The Rural Labour Inquiry Report on General Characteristics of Rural Households, 1993-94, published by the Labour Bureau of the Ministry of Labour, Government of India, reveals that 30.10% of Scheduled Tribes in India are without any cultivated land. Kerala tops the list with 75.04% of its STs without cultivated land, followed by Tamil Nadu with 63.87% and Maharashtra with 52.02%. This is the reality. In its Mid-term Appraisal of the IX Five Year Plan (2000), none other than the Planning Commission of India has commented about the State of Andhra Pradesh that "… the lush green jungles of the Eastern Ghats, spread over nine districts of Andhra Pradesh and comprising 11,595 sq. miles of the state are no longer secure for nearly 33 tribal communities … the tribals have steadily lost their hold on much of this area. While many have lost their sources of livelihood, others have sought refuge in deep forests … The non-tribals are holding almost 55 per cent of tribal lands either *benami* or through clandestine means. The setting up of minor and medium irrigation projects in areas meant for tribals has been another way to dispossess the locals … Government has been sanctioning many reservoirs, minor irrigation schemes, lift irrigation and medium canals in the tribal belt to facilitate the cultivation of land occupied by the people from the plains. While the non-tribal is holding the rich lands, the tribal has to depend on *podu* (hill slope) cultivation" (quoted in Mohanty 2005). The quotation is self-explanatory and describes the reality of tribal rights over land.

3.2.2 Tribal Rights over Forest

The relationship between tribes and forest is very old and intimate. The term 'vanabasi' used as a synonym for tribes in India literally means 'those who live in the forest'. It is a well known fact that the tribes in India depend on the forest for their requirements of food, fodder, fuel wood, materials for construction, herbal medicine, and raw materials for hunting, fishing and agricultural implements. This is the reason why tribals worship the forest as one of their gods.

Till the British came on the scene in India, tribals were the virtual owners and custodians of forest around them. Of course, there are a few instances where the kings and chiefs of the medieval times were keeping small patches of forest under their control either to catch elephants or to use as places for royal hunting expeditions

(Misra 2001). Barring these exceptions, tribes were synonymous with forest. But the situation changed since 1865, when the British government in India realized rapid destruction of Indian forest and promulgated the Forest Act, thereby extending the right of the State over forest and its resources. This was a severe blow to the tribes, who enjoyed considerable freedom in the use of forest and its resources for many generations. The situation further deteriorated after Independence with the forest policy of the Indian government in line with the pre-independence policies. In this Section, we shall discuss some of the salient features of the forest acts and policies in India that have eventually threatened the rights of the tribes over forest.

3.2.2.1 Forest Acts and Policies in India vis-à-vis Tribes

By the time the British administration in India realized that the best of the Indian forests were devastated to serve the strategic colonial interests, it was already too late. Therefore, in 1865 the Supreme Legislative Council in colonial India passed the first Forest Act, which authorized the State to declare forest and wastelands as reserved (Misra 2001). This was the beginning of snatching away of customary tribal rights over forest, which they were enjoying for centuries. In 1878 another Forest Act repealed the earlier Act of 1865 and empowered the State to close reserve forests for people and impose penalties for any transgression of the Act. According to this Act, the tribal use of forest was no more a 'right' but a 'privilege'. The last nail on the coffin of tribal rights over forest was placed with the promulgation of Indian Forest Act of 1927 denying even entry of tribal people into the forest.

The spirit of the Indian Forest Act of 1927 continued in post-Independence period, tightening the grip of the State over forest by disregarding the customary rights over tribals. On the top of it, the Forest Policy of 1952 withdrew all concessions on the release of forest land for cultivation by the tribes, bringing even private forests under state control, introduction of grazing fees, and discouraging shifting cultivation that was the mainstay of livelihood for many tribes in India. However, the Revised Forest Policy of 1988 brought some relief to the tribes, as it advocated people's participation in protection and development of forests, from which they derive benefit in the form of firewood, fodder and small timbers.

There are many other Acts besides the Forest Acts and Policies that severely affect the customary tribal rights over forest. For example, The Wildlife (Protection) Act of 1972 and Wildlife (Protection) Amendment Act of 1991 denied the tribes to use forest for hunting wild games, which once constituted their main food reserve. Another amendment to the Wildlife (Protection) Act is in the offing to make the Act more stringent with an intention to protect the wild animals. Similarly, the Forest (Conservation) Act of 1980 and the Forest (Conservation) Amendment Act of 1988 did not allow forest communities to enter into the forest, thereby ignoring the fact that once the tribes were the sole owners, users and protectors of the Indian forest. Growing number of wildlife sanctuaries, national parks and bio-reserves have been responsible for dispensing with the rights of the tribes over forest in their vicinity.

There is, however, some hope among the tribal communities in India that the most recent The Scheduled Tribes (Recognition of Forest Rights) Bill of 2005, which has been passed by the Lok Sabha during the winter session of the Parliament in 2006 and awaiting Presidential assent to become an Act. Broadly, this Act aims at recognizing, restoring and vesting of forest rights to the tribes, which they were enjoying for generations. The Draft National Tribal Policy of 2006 also takes cognizance of the customary rights of the tribes over forest and ensures to protect them by all means. The Panchayts Extension to the Scheduled Areas (PESA) Act of 1996 also largely empowers the tribal Panchayats and Gram Sabhas in the Schedule V areas to take control over all the natural resources under their jurisdiction, including forest, and assert their rights over them.

3.2.2.2 Tribal Rights over Minor Forest Produce (MFP)

We know that Minor Forest Produce (MFP) is a means of livelihood for the tribes for generations. Excellent indigenous environmental knowledge of the tribes, experimented and perfected over centuries, has made them the best users of MFP. Although earlier MFP had only subsistence value for the tribes, now many of them have very high commercial value, and are a source of cash income for the tribes. Although the tribals can collect the MFPs, the State has monopoly over these produces, as many of them are declared as nationalized items. So, the trading right vests with the State while the tribal-collector gets a meager amount for collecting and selling them to the State-run corporations or to the Forest Department.

MFPs like Tendu leaves, gum, lac, cane, oil seeds, bamboo, grasses, tanning extracts, dyes, etc. have high commercial value. Vast revenue collected from these items goes to the State exchequer, but the tribal-collector is always impoverished. Tribals literally do not have the right over the MFP that they grow in their kitchen garden, as the State claims right over them under the prevailing Forest Act.

However, the Scheduled Tribes (Recognition of Forest Rights) Bill of 2005, the Panchyats (Extension to the Scheduled Areas) Act of 1996, and the Draft National Tribal Policy, etc. have made provisions to recognize and restore tribal rights over MFP.

3.2.3 Tribal Rights over Water

Tribals in India have been enjoying customary right over the water bodies around their habitat as in the case of land and forest. While selecting sites for new villages, the tribal elders and priests make sure that the new habitat has ample water required for day to day use of the humans and the domestic animals. Existence of a perennial source of water near the human habitations is given primacy by the tribals, as water is not only used for drinking purpose or for sanitary uses, but also as a source of irrigation, fishing and religious activities. Precisely for this, indigenous communities all over the world, including India, had the collective right over water as a common property and water management was a collective responsibility.

Realizing the decline in the rights over water, the indigenous communities of the world have asserted the following in a declaration, popularly known as 'Indigenous Peoples' Kyoto Water Declaration' of 2003:

1. We, the Indigenous Peoples from all parts of the world assembled here, reaffirm our relationship to Mother Earth and responsibility to future generations to raise our voices in solidarity to speak for the protection of water. We were placed in a sacred manner on this earth, each in our own sacred and traditional lands and territories to care for all of creation and to care for water.
2. We recognize, honor and respect water as sacred and sustains all life. Our traditional knowledge, laws and ways of life teach us to be responsible in caring for this sacred gift that connects all life.
3. Our relationship with our lands, territories and water is the fundamental physical cultural and spiritual basis for our existence. This relationship to our Mother Earth requires us to conserve our freshwaters and oceans for the survival of present and future generations. We assert our role as caretakers with rights and responsibilities to defend and ensure the protection, availability and purity of water. We stand united to follow and implement our knowledge and traditional laws and exercise our right of self-determination to preserve water, and to preserve life.

In India, there are three possible property regimes of water. Water may be owned by (1) individuals (as groundwater in backyards), (2) the State as public property (surface water in rivers, lakes, oceans), and (3) communities as common property (tanks with community ownership). However, in difficult terrains of tribal areas, the use of surface water of the rivers, lakes or perennial hill streams is quite common. But since these water sources are considered as the property of the State, ignoring the customary rights of the tribals on them. When large dams are constructed on the river beds, the tribals living downstream find their river beds dry. They are deprived of water for drinking and for daily necessities, fishing, irrigating their agricultural fields, etc. Sometimes the problems are compounded when industries on river banks release polluted water to the river, causing untold health miseries of the tribals using such water. There are many instances of polluted water released from the chemical, leather, paper and similar industries that cause health hazards among the tribes.

Although there is no specific legislation in India with regard to the rights of tribals on water bodies, Provisions of the Panchayats (Extension to the Scheduled Areas) Act of 1996, Draft National Policy on Tribals of 2006, etc. have empowered the tribal panchayats or Gram Sabhas to exercise control over the natural resources, including water, under their jurisdictions.

Check Your Progress – I

1. What are the legal protections offered to the Scheduled Tribes of India with regard to alienation and restoration of their land? What are the fraudulent means adopted by which tribal lands are transferred to non-tribals?

2. Discuss the role of different forest acts and policies in India that denigrated the tribal customary rights over forests.

3. Delineate different property regimes of water in India and discuss how the tribals suffer on account of loss of traditional water rights.

3.3 Intellectual Property Rights (IPR) and Indian Tribes

1.3.1 What is Intellectual Property Right (IPR)?

As the term Intellectual Property Right indicates, it is all about the rights over the intellect of an individual or a community, and intellect is always a product of mind. Therefore, intellectual property is a very broad concept, including many products of human mind, such as ideas, information, concepts, strategies and models. A legal entitlement to such products of mind may be called as Intellectual Property Right.

Many items come under the purview of Intellectual Property Laws. These may be the copyrights of creative and artistic works, patents for new inventions, a trademark or a distinct sign of a product or a manufacturing company or an institution, an industrial design, a trade secret, etc. But what do these properties have to do with the tribes? In the paragraphs that follow, we shall discuss the bearings of Intellectual Property Rights on the tribal communities of India.

1.3.2 IPR and the Tribes of India

In common parlance, tribes are considered to be illiterate and hence, backward and uncreative. But tribal mind always experiments with the nature, and new ideas and concepts always flow from the tribal mind. The only predicament is that the tribal innovator cannot document the outcomes of such innovations and give them wider publicity as it happens in the educated world. These innovations are the traditional knowledge of the tribes with local significance. But some of these innovations are so global in scope that they can be compared with any innovation of a Research and Development Laboratory of a sophisticated industry.

We know that the tribes in India have extensive knowledge about their environment. Their knowledge of agriculture, soil, forest, trees, wild animals, insects, MFPs, weather phenomena, and so on are time tested and often elaborate. The floral and animal designs on the walls, house designs in difficult terrains, varied designs on textiles, designing agricultural and hunting implements, excellent musical instruments, choreography of local dance forms – all these and many others are the products of tribal mind, which are hardly recognized, and once recognized, are used by the non-tribals without acknowledging the fact that these are intellectually owned by the tribes. This is sheer violation of IPR of the tribes.

An example here will suffice. The use of neem (*Azadirachta indica*) leaves, barks, flowers and fruits as medicine, insecticide and in oil extraction is known to the Indian tribes since time immemorial. But someone in the U.S.A. has tried to patent the neem extracts and has claimed that it was the result of his own innovation. Here is gross violation of IPR of the original users back in India. Similarly, basmati rice, medicinal uses of turmeric, many herbal products that have been in use in tribal and rural communities in India are being patented in the West, ignoring the IPR of these products.

There are many tribal and rural communities outside India which possess excellent indigenous knowledge that is being used at the service of the humanity in different forms. For example, Thai traditional healers use *plao-noi* to treat ulcer, indigenous healers of the Western Amazon use *Ayahuasca* vine to prepare various medicines imbued with sacred properties, the San people use *hoodia* cactus to get relief from hunger when they go out for hunting, etc., which are the products of constant process of innovation by the tribal and rural people.

3.3.3 Intellectual Properties and their Protection

Violations of IPR of the tribes and indigenous people of the world are rampant, as they do not have access to the cumbersome legal mechanism. Therefore, two forms of IP-related protection have been developed and applied internationally. The first is the 'positive protection' that gives the holders of intellectual properties the right to take action or seek remedies against certain forms of misuse of indigenous knowledge. The second is 'defensive protection', which is a safeguard against illegitimate IP rights taken by others than those who are the original innovators. In fact, these two approaches for protection of IPR are complimentary to each other, and hence, are taken together for the protection of tribal rights over their intellectual properties.

International pressure has been mounting because of large-scale bio-piracy and violation of IPR of the poor and marginalized communities all over the world. Therefore, the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) of 1992, held at Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, makes exclusive provisions for respect and recognition of indigenous knowledge and strives for fair and equitable sharing of benefits arising out of the utilization of genetic resources. The U.N. Convention to Combat Desertification (UNCCD) of 1994 has also provided for the protection of traditional knowledge as well as the sharing of benefits arising from any commercial utilization of such knowledge. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) has undertaken extensive capacity building task on indigenous knowledge, including on aspects of legal protection and equitable benefit sharing.

3.3.4 New Experiments of IPR and Benefit Sharing in India

New experiments are beginning to emerge on benefit sharing models for indigenous innovation. An Indian experience is worth sharing at this juncture. "It relates to a medicine that is based on the active ingredient in a plant, *Trichopus zeylanicus*, found in the tropical forests of southwestern India and collected by the Kani tribal people. Scientists at the Tropical Botanic Garden and Research Institute (TBGRI) in Kerala learned of the plant, which is claimed to bolster the immune system and provide additional energy, while on an expedition with

the Kani in 1987. These scientists isolated and tested the ingredient and incorporated it into a compound, which they christened "Jeevani", the giver of life. The tonic is now being manufactured by a major Ayurvedic drug company in Kerala. In 1995, an agreement was struck for to share the license fee and 2% of sales of the product as royalty, that was receivable by TBGRI, will be shared on a fifty-fifty basis with the tribe. This marks perhaps the first time that for IP held by a tribe, a compensation in the form of cash benefits has gone directly to the source of the IP holders" (Mashelkar 2005). This kind of benefit sharing should be repeated in many other cases, where the tribes could at least benefit from their traditional knowledge with recognition and remunerence.

With the rapid process of globalization, uncodified traditional knowledge of the tribes is definitely going to be misappropriated by the powerful few, as the tribals have least access to the legal protections. With this view, the Government of India has taken the lead in the creation of Traditional Knowledge Digital Library (TKDL) to link it with International Patent Classification System (IPC), so that enormous tribal innovations could be protected for the benefit of the tribes.

3.4 Human Rights and the Tribes in India

3.4.1 What are Human Rights?

Human Rights are essentially rooted in the Western political thought and cover a wide range of ideas and concepts in defense of the basic rights of the citizens of a State. The issues of human rights gained currency during and after the post-war period when many instances of genocide, torture and abuse of basic human rights of political victims came to the lime light.

In order to defend the rights of their citizens, numerous charters and agreements are signed by the States. However, at the global level, we have the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. While Articles 1 to 21 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights deal with the civil and political rights of the people, Articles 22 to 28 deal with the economic, social and cultural rights. At the Second United Nations World Conference on Human Rights in 1993 in Vienna, along with social, economic, political and cultural rights, 'right to development' was recognized as a universal and integral part of the fundamental human rights.

3.4.2 Rights of the Tribes and Indigenous People

Keeping in mind the marginalized state of the tribes and indigenous people globally and frequent abuse of their fundamental human rights, many international instruments have made provisions to safeguard their interests. We shall deal with only a couple of them. The International Labour Office Convention Concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries (No. 169) in its Article 7 reads: "The peoples concerned shall have the right to decide their own priorities for the process of development as it affects their lives, beliefs, institutions and spiritual well-being and … to exercise control … over their own economic, social and cultural development. In addition they shall participate in the formulation, implementation and evaluation of plans and programmes for national and regional developments which may affect them directly". Similarly, the Declarations on the Rights of Persons belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious or Linguistic Minorities (Adopted by the U.N. General Assembly; Resolution 47/135 of 18 December 1992) in its Article 2 (1) states: "Persons belonging to national or ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities (hereinafter referred to as persons belonging to minorities) have the right to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practice their own religion, and to use their own language, in private and in public, freely and without interference or any form of discrimination". Many other international instruments also ensure that the tribal and indigenous people enjoy the fundamental human rights and live with self-dignity. But the reality is that more than their rights, the tribes are the victims of abuses, about which we shall discuss in this Section.

3.4.3 Constitutional Rights of the STs of India

The Constitution of India has made many special provisions for the Scheduled Tribes such that the members of these communities exercise their basic fundamental rights as the citizens of the country. Extension of educational and economic opportunities (Article 46), appointment of a Minister to look after the tribal affairs exclusively (Article 164), special administration of scheduled areas and tribal areas (Article 244), reservation of seats for STs in the Lok Sabha (Article 330) and in the Legislative Assemblies of the States (Article 332), reservation of seats special claims to services and posts (Article 335), and so on are and special representations (Article 334), guaranteed by the Constitution. Yet, the ground reality is different and the tribes do not enjoy the basic rights. We shall discuss some of these themes below.

3.4.4 Abuses of Human Rights in Tribal India

We shall discuss here some of the human right abuses in tribal India. However, it must be remembered that this is not an exhaustive discussion, but only in the form of examples.

3.4.4.1 Land and Territories

We have learned elsewhere that organized political or legal intrusion did not occur in tribal areas until the rise of the British power in India. The Forest Acts of 1865, 1878 and 1927 during the British administration and the Wildlife Protection Act of 1972 (and its Amendments in 1991), Forest Conservation Act of 1980, etc. gradually yet forcefully snatched away the customary rights of the tribes over their land and forest. Their access even to the grazing land and forest for collection of MFPs was restricted. The tribes thus are now a demoralized lot without a viable alternative manage their livelihoods.

Furthermore, with the influx of non-tribal population into the tribal pockets all over the country, land alienation has assumed alarming proportion in these areas, about which we have briefed elsewhere in this Unit. Land alienation has created serious human rights problems particularly for the dispersed or relatively sparsely populated tribal peoples of Southern and Western India. However, the tribes in North-east Indian States, such as Arunachal Pradesh, Meghalaya and Mizoram, the tribes have retained control of most of their lands because of the legal prohibition on the transfer of lands to outsiders and also due to restrictions on travel. The National Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes found that 83% of the total bonded labourers in India come from the STs, which clearly portrays the situation of human rights abuse in tribal areas.

3.4.4.2 Involuntary Displacement

After Independence, a new era of planned development dawned on India with the construction of large dams, establishment of heavy industries, expansion of defence establishments, exploration of new mines, and conversion of jungles into wildlife sanctuaries and national parks. All these activities required acquisition of land, and incidentally since the tribal areas in our country are rich in natural resources, enormous amount of tribal land was acquired for these projects. As a result, many tribal villages had to be relocated, the people had to be rehabilitated, which eventually led to an ecological and cultural disaster for the tribes. The basic tribal right of living in its own homeland has been violated with the draconian Land Acquisition Act of 1894. Although the National Policy on Resettlement and Rehabilitation of 2003 and many State policies have specifically declared in their objectives that all efforts should be made to minimize displacement, the trend continues unabated, resulting in cultural genocide of the tribes in India. This is a gross violation of human rights in tribal areas of India. The following Table is indicative of the magnitude of tribal displacement in India.

Tribal Displacement by Development Projects, 1951-1990

Sl. No	Causes of Displacement	No. of Tribal People Displaced
1	Dams	5,300,000
2	Mines	1,400,000
3	Industry	260,000
4	Sanctuaries and National Parks	500,000
5	Others	150,000
	Total	**7,610,000**

(Source: W.Fernandes (1991) Power and Powerlessness: Development Projects and Displacement of Tribals, *Social Action*, 41 (3), July-September, p. 256.)

3.4.4.3 Denial of Political Rights and Autonomy

We know that the 73rd Amendment to the Constitution of India ushered in a new era in the history of modern India, empowering the local political bodies or panchayats. But since the Amendment was not automatically applicable to the Scheduled Areas, the Government of India came out with the Provisions of the Panchayat (Extension to the Scheduled Areas) Act of 1996. The Scheduled Areas and Tribal Areas are already specified in accordance with the provisions in Article 244 and the 5th an 6th Schedules of the Indian Constitution. The Extension Act is one of the potent legislative measures of recent times, which recognizes the tribal people's mode of living, to examine as to what extent the 1996 Act was able to establish grassroots democracy in Scheduled Areas in accordance with the ethos of the tribal people reveal that nothing notable has taken place in these areas and that the condition of the tribals remain more or less what it was before.

Despite a tribal-centered Central Act, some State Acts do not deal sufficiently with important provisions of the Extension Act like ownership of minor forest produce, prevention of alienation of land, control over natural resource, etc. This shows widespread apathy on the part of the State Government towards the tribal areas and their resistance to give so much power to the tribal institutions. On the other hand, violations of tribal rights take place at regular intervals. In December 2001 in the State of Madhya Pradesh, tribals who were relying on fishing for their livelihood in a reservoir as their sole means of subsistence were up in arms against the State Government as they feared that steps were being taken to deny them the right to market their produce. It is common that Scheduled Tribe men and women who get elected to office are not allowed to function in the decentralized institutions of self-government. Elected tribal women members face violence and rape if they dare to challenge the authority of the officials or the powerful.

Many tribal communities have been demanding more political autonomy as a part of their democratic right. Although the Government of India conceded to the demands of the tribals for the formation of Jharkhand, Chhatisgarh and Uttarakhand, many such demands are pending, particularly from the tribes of the North-east India. The Naga nationalism, Mizo insurrection, Bodo people's struggle for autonomy, etc. are some of the examples of assertion of political rights by the tribes.

Whenever there is a demand for political autonomy by the tribes of North-east India, they are suppressed by invoking the draconian Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act, 1958. According to this Act, the non-commissioned officers belonging to the Indian security forces are empowered to kill indigenous peoples with impunity under the guise of maintaining law and order. Rape and murder of Miss Thangjam Manorama on 11 July 2004 by the 17th Assam Rifles in Imphal, Manipur is still fresh in the memory of many. Fast unto death demonstration in New Delhi by Ms. Shramila to repeal this Act has certainly generated political heat, yet the Act is still in force.

3.4.4.4 Recommendations

Unless the Government of India meets all international human rights standards according to its international commitments, recognizes STs as 'indigenous people' and comply with the obligations under the ILO Convention No. 107 and ratify the ILO Convention No. 169, ensure their rights to land, forest, water and other natural resources, initiates peace dialogues with the leaders of political autonomy movements, strengthens human rights institutions, revitalizes specialized institutions like the National Commissioner of SCs and STs, take expeditious steps to repeal the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act, grants effective autonomy to the tribes of India, the problems of human rights in tribal areas cannot be solved.

We can see a silver lining on the otherwise dark horizon is the alertness of the Indian judiciary in handling the cases of human rights, although the process is notoriously slow. We hope, the judiciary rises to everybody's expectations in positively intervening in human right cases. Moreover, the introduction of the Scheduled Tribes (Recognition of Forest Rights) Bill of 2005, the Provisions of Panchayat (Extension to the Scheduled Areas) PESA Act of 1996, etc. show a ray of hope for the tribal people of India in leading a life of self-dignity.

> **Check Your Progress – III**
>
> 1. What do you understand by human rights? What are the international provisions to protect the rights of the tribes and indigenous peoples?
> 2. Discuss the constitutional provisions in India for safeguarding the interest of the STs.
> 3. Attempt a brief essay on the cases of human rights violation in the tribal regions of India.

3.5 Let Us sum Up

In this Unit, we discussed some of the issues related to the rights of the Indian tribes. These included their rights over land, forest, water and the way they are deprived of exercising their genuine rights. Then we discussed the issue of Intellectual Property Rights (IPR) and how the tribes do not enjoy the benefit of sharing their knowledge with others. However, the example of the Kani tribe of South India is discussed as a new experiment of receiving recognition and remuneration by sharing their knowledge on herbal medicines. Finally, we discussed the issue of human rights among the tribes of India and the cases of frequent abuse of these rights, leaving the tribes as paupers in their own homeland, despite many constitutional and legal provisions to protect their rights. We have made some recommendation also at the end to restore the rights of the tribes of India.

3.6 Key Words

Scheduled V Areas	:	Article 244 (i) of the Indian Constitution provides for a 5th Schedule, which can be applied to any State other than those in North-east India. The Governor of the States having Schedule V Areas are given extensive powers for the administration of these areas in pursuance of tribal values and ethos.
Gram Sabha	:	The democratic body at the village level with all adult members of the village as its members has now immense constitutional powers after the implementation of PESA of 1996.
Patta	:	A legal document confirming title over land.
Benami	:	Transfer of land in the name of a fictitious person.
Intellectual Property Right	:	Right over the properties that are the results of the innovations of human mind, viz. ideas, concepts, strategies, models, etc.
Human Rights	:	Basic rights of a person as a citizen of a State.
Involuntary Displacement	:	Unwilling displacement of a person or a group of persons from an original habitat.

3.7 Check Your Learning

1. Discuss the constitutional and legal provisions for the protection of tribal lands and the way in which these are violated leading to land alienation.
2. Delineate the evolution of forest acts and policies in India and gradual elimination of tribal customary rights over forest and MFPs.
3. What do you mean by IPR and how the tribes of India are the victims of its violations?
4. Discuss various means of abuse of human rights in tribal regions of India and recommend how to ensure rights to the tribals.

3.8 Suggested Readings

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3.9 Hints/Answers to Questions in Check Your Progress

Check Your Progress – I

1. Discuss the provisions of APSALTR or MPLRC as examples. Also discuss the fraudulent means by which land is transferred from tribal owners to the non-tribals.
2. Discuss the forest acts and policies beginning from 1865 till the present and show how tribal rights over forest are gradually lost.
3. Discuss how water is owned by individuals, the State and the communities and examine how the loss of water rights affects the health and livelihoods of the tribes in India.

Check Your Progress – II

1. Discuss the meaning of IPR as rights over innovations of human mind. Also discuss the copy rights, patents, etc. that come under the intellectual properties.
2. Discuss the rich traditional knowledge possessed by the tribes which is transmitted orally as intellectual properties.
3. Examine how the Kani tribes has benefited from sharing their knowledge to herbal medicine with the research institution and the Ayurvedic drugs manufacturing company.

Check Your Progress – III

1. Define human rights. Discuss the provisions of the ILO Convention No. 169, U.N. General Assembly Resolution 47/135, etc. stating the rights of the tribes and indigenous peoples of the world.
2. Discuss some of the important provisions in the Indian Constitution to safeguard the interests of the Scheduled Tribes.
3. Discuss the issues of violation in human rights in land and territories, in displacement and rehabilitation and in asserting in political rights and autonomy.

Unit IV
Emerging Social Problems

4.0 Objectives

When you complete reading this Unit, you will to able to understand the following social problems the tribes of India face today:

1) The problems of the aged, access to education and literacy, malnutrition of the children, alcoholism and drug abuse mostly among the youth, child labour, trafficking, spread of HIV/AIDS, gender discrimination, safe drinking water and reproductive health among the tribes of India.

4.1 Introduction

Despite the firm commitment by the Government of India to ameliorate the plights and tribulations of the Scheduled Tribes population, Indian tribes are still disadvantaged and marginalized due to the age-old system of social inequality and the stigma attached to them. However, the concern and commitment of the Government is conspicuous, which may be traced back to the very first session of the Constituent Assembly in December 1946, when Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had moved the resolution on the declaration of objectives, which along with other matters outlined that "adequate safeguards shall be provided for minorities. backward and tribal areas and depressed and other backward classes". This commitment was reflected in the Article 46 under the Directive Principles of State Policies in Part IV of the Constitution, which reads: "The State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and in particular, of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitations".

The reality, however, is different. Tribes in India still face many social, demographic, economic, political and moral problems. Reservations and other forms of 'protective discrimination' have certainly helped a few of them, but the majority is still in the grips of varied crises. In this Unit, we shall discuss some of these problems briefly.

4.2 Problems of the Aged

4.2.1 What is Ageing?

We know that ageing is a natural and universal process for all organisms. It is also an inevitable and irreversible process for the humans that manifests conspicuously at three levels: physical (bio-physiological), psychological (behavioural) and socio-cultural. With the increase in age, there is progressive deterioration of wide range of human abilities, from physical strength and stamina to intelligence. From a psychological point of view, ageing brings with it an overall dissatisfaction and difficulties of adjustment along with many psycho-somatic disorders, viz. mania, depression, senility, psychosis and dementia. The socio-cultural aspect of ageing refers to the changes in a person's socio-cultural environment as a member of the family, clan and community. These are commonly manifested in the completion of parental roles, retirement from work, reduction in income, deficiencies and disabilities of many kinds, and importantly, need for physical and emotional care and support. Anthropologists have inferred that "Aged people tend to become more cautious and rigid in their behaviour and so, prefer to limit their social contact. These behaviour patterns may also be the result of social institutions and the expectancies, rather than an intrinsic phenomenon of ageing".

Because of the growing ageing population worldwide, the study of the aged has now become a subject of specialized scientific research of inter-disciplinary nature. Within the confines of social sciences, this study and research has resulted in a new discipline, known as 'social gerontology'. The sociologist, E.W. Burgess (1958) has defined this subject as the study of statuses and roles of older persons, their culture patterns, social organization and collective behaviour, as they are affected by social changes.

4.2.2 The Concept of Age in Tribal Societies

Tribes in India recognize successive stages of human life according to the progression of age and categorize life into infancy, childhood, adulthood and old age. The division of labour is quite distinct with different sets of rights and responsibilities associated with each stage of life. While younger people of the community are considered to be adventurous and agile, older people are seen as experienced advisors to the younger lots and crisis managers. Becoming old is more than a just a biological process for the tribes; it has also socio-cultural parameters. A person with children and grand children, who rarely ventures into arduous economic activities, is considered old by the tribal people.

Division of labour is very well observed in the age-grade and age-set systems of tribal organization in India. For example, age-grades in the Oraon *dhumkuria* or youth dormitory are three, each one having clearly defined duties. In a Muria *ghotul*, there is a semblance of two grades. In all these age-grade systems, the junior members are taught to obey the senior members, and the ideal of respecting elder persons of the community in a way begins in the youth dormitories of the tribes. The process of socialization also lends support to the idea of showing deference to the elderly persons of the community. Usually the village council in a tribal village consists of elderly persons and they are nominated as political leaders because of their experience and expertise in handling community matters. In many tribal villages, conventionally, the eldest person of the first settled clan is considered as the village chief. Therefore, elderly persons have a relatively higher social status in a tribal village.

4.2.3 Problems of the Aged in Tribal Societies

Ageing has emerged today as a social problem not only due to the rise of the elderly population due to the decline in the mortality rate as a result of relatively better health care, but also due to rapid socio-economic and technological changes through which societies undergo. Although the pace of such changes is relatively slow in tribal societies, they are far from being completely insulated from the effects of these changes. So, the elderly people have to face this problem in tribal societies as well, although in a relatively lesser degree. According to Sachchidananda (1989), problems of the aged are two-fold: "The first refers to consequences of old age, such as alienation, loss of status and shifting of loyalties from the family of orientation to the family of procreation. Secondly, it affects the structure and function of the family ... The problem has been aggravated in recent times by the decline of joint family which earlier provided not only emotional strength for the old, but also security and adjustment". Despite all these, many studies show that the aged among the tribals have a remarkable degree of adjustment to the realities of life. Toppo (2000), for exmple, writes that "Some specific qualities of tribal and rural old are self-confidence, sociability, mobility, ability and responsibilities, and adjustment to social situations. Their cheerfulness, skill of doing things, personality, facial expressions make their temperament warmer and affectionate which attracts peoples of various generations".

4.3 Access to Education and Literacy among the Tribes

4.3.1 Tribal Literacy in India

Although tribes in India are making rapid strides in business, administration, professions of many kinds, defence services and in politics, their rate of literacy compared to the all-India figure still remains low. According to 1991 Census of India, the rate of literacy among the STs stood at 29.6% as against the general literacy of 52.2% at the all-India level. The respective rates of literacy of ST males and females were 40.6% and 18.1%,

which clearly indicate the deploring state of female literacy. Of course, some of the States in North-east India had remarkably high rates of literacy. For example, while Nagaland had 60.5% literates, Mizoram had 82.7%, Meghalaya had 46.7% and Manipur had 53.6% literates as per the 1991 Census. On the contrary, in Andhra Pradesh the rate of ST literacy stood at a mere 17.1%, while in Madhya Pradesh it was 21.5% and in Orissa the literacy rate among STs was 22.3%. Although there is a rise in the rate of tribal literacy from 29.6% at the all-India level in 1991 to 47.1% in 2001, more than half of the tribal population is illiterates. The question now is what are the bottlenecks that contribute to poor literacy rate and come on the way of tribal education in India? We shall discuss some of these issues below.

4.3.2   Reasons for Low Literacy among the Tribes

If we analyze the factors that mostly contribute to the low rate of literacy among the tribes and their access to modern education, many reasons come to our mind, some of which we shall discuss below.

Poverty of the tribal parents most often refrains their children to go to school. Since most of the tribes in India still depend on agriculture and foraging as their principal modes of livelihood, human resources are very important in these kinds of economic pursuits. The children help their parents in almost all agricultural activities, grazing of cattle, collection of firewood and edible forest produce, fishing and allied activities. Therefore, the tribal parents are not inclined to send their children to school. An interesting example from the Nicobar Archipelago will suffice here. When a researcher asked a Nicobarese as to why did they not send their children to school, the quick reply was: "If all our children go to school, who will climb the coconut trees?"

The curricula designed for the school children in India is the same as the non-tribal children. This often confuses the tribal children, because things familiar to them, such as the forest, wildlife, natural things around them are missing from the curricula. This contributes to the general disinterest of tribal children in studies, resulting in huge rate of dropouts. Moreover, the medium of instruction at lower classes is certainly not in tribal languages or dialects. The teachers do not speak the language of the tribes in most of the cases. Education in an alien language makes a tribal child disinterested in studies resulting in dropouts, although Article 350 (A) of the Indian Constitution specifically provides for adequate facilities for instruction in mother tongues at the primary stage of education to children belonging to linguistic minority groups.

The tribal areas also suffer from inadequacy of educational infrastructure, such as enough number of schools, and boarding and lodging facilities. Many schools in tribal villages are sanctioned in paper, but without a proper building or a teacher. Timely and adequate support like scholarships, mid-day meals, book banks, etc. are very insignificant and generally do not attract the tribal children to attend to schools.

Absenteeism of school teachers is one of the important factors affecting education in tribal areas. There are instances where school teachers remain absent for days together, for which the tribal children lose interest in studies. There is lack of proper supervision to ensure teacher attendance, as the higher officials infrequently visit schools in tribal areas. When the teacher does not come to the school regularly, the tribal parents feel it unnecessary to send their children to school and engage them in other activities that are required for earning livelihood for the family. Lack of family or peer pressure results in dropping out of the tribal children from the schools.

Sometimes the schools are located in interior tribal areas and the teachers complain that it is difficult for them to cover large distances by walk everyday due to lack of any kind of transport facility. Some other times they complain about unrealistic teacher-student ratio in schools in tribal areas. There are a large number of single-teacher schools, where one teacher has to handle five classes alone. Further, there are no incentives for the teachers working in tribal schools. All these and other factors undoubtedly affect the literacy rate and educational status of the tribal children in India.

We should realize that the status of female education in tribal areas is very very discouraging in India. There are many socio-cultural factors that come on the way of female education among the tribes. Since girls are considered as the property of the in-laws after their marriage, there is some degree of reluctance on the part of the parents to invest in their education. Moreover, girls are married off quite early in life in the tribal areas, which is a disincentive for their education. Further, there is always a fear in the minds of the parents that once the daughter is educated, she gives up all the family traditions and it would be difficult to find a suitable match for her. Additionally, girls are anyway economic assets to their natal families, and hence, parents do not like to send them to schools.

4.3.3   National Educational Policy

Article 45 of the Indian Constitution mandated the States to direct their policies towards ensuring "free and compulsory education for all children until they completed the age of fourteen years". In India, the first National Policy on Education was framed in 1968, which was renewed in 1986. The National Policy of Education (NPE), 1986 and its subsequent modifications in 1992 laid down clearly the following targets to achieve universalization of education at Primary stage: (i) Provision of universal access to all eligible children by opening of formal or non-formal education centres within a reasonable distance of one kilometer; (ii) Retention of all children in schooling centres and ensuring completion of 5 years of basic education; and (iii) Provisions of quality education whereby all children achieve minimum achievement level as per the standard. The National Curriculum Framework for School Education 2000 states that "the medium of instruction ideally, ought to be the mother tongue at all the stages of school education. In the case of the learners whose mother tongue and the regional languages are different, the regional language may be adopted as the medium of instruction from the third standard".

What concerns us here is that despite several recommendations made by the linguists and anthropologists, and distinct and specific constitutional provisions, teaching and learning in mother tongue for a tribal child has remained a distant dream. This does not only create problems for a tribal child to learn and conceptualize things, but most importantly culminates in developing a sense of defeatism and loss of interest in patronizing his/her language. For example, Fürer-Haimendorf (1982) observes that in Orissa, many prayers and magical formulae are also spoken in Oriya by the Bonda tribe, as the Bondas think it proper that deities and spirits be addressed in a 'superior language'. The illiterate and economically backward tribes have no resources to assert their linguistic and cultural consciousness and therefore are subdued to change. As a result, language becomes a political tool for social division. Pattanayak has aptly reported that "Use of language can become a major factor in creating unequal societies in multilingual contexts. As long as this inequality persists education cannot be conflict free" (1990).

4.4   Malnutrition among the Tribes of India

4.4.1   What is Malnutrition?

Health is a prerequisite for human development and is an essential component for the wellbeing of the humankind. There is a general agreement that the health status of the tribal population in India is very poor and many scholars have tried to establish this with the help of morbidity, mortality and health statistics of these groups. The low health status of the tribes is closely linked with factors, such as poverty, illiteracy, use of contaminated drinking water, poor medical facilities in tribal areas, and many socio-cultural factors prevalent in their societies.

Let us now understand the meaning of the concept, malnutrition. It is defined by Jelliffe (1966) as a pathological state resulting from a relative or absolute deficiency or excess of one or more essential nutrients, this state being clinically manifested or detected only by biochemical, anthropometric or physiological tests.

The clinical examination of a person can help detecting the state of malnutrition. If there are changes in the superficial epithelial tissues, specially the skin, eyes, hair, or in organs near the surface of the body, such as the parotids and the thyroid glands, these changes could be attributed to inadequate nutritional intake by the person.

Anthropometry or measurement of human body is one of the important parameters in the assessment of protein energy malnutrition or PEM. Anthropometric methods used for measuring nutritional deficiency include weight for age, height for age, weight for height, weight/height ratio, body-mass index (BMI), head circumference, chest circumference, calf circumference, skin-fold thickness, etc. Body weight and height reflect the nutritional status of an individual, particularly among the children. All malnourished children show reduced growth and muscle protein deficiency. Marasmus and Kwashiorkor are two types of protein energy malnutrition found among the children, and children also show a mixed clinical picture of both types.

4.4.2 Incidence of Malnutrition among the Tribes

Inadequate nutritional status or malnutrition is manifested in various forms. For example, many of the tribal groups suffer from different grades of anaemia or deficiency of Red Blood Cells (RBC) in blood (as per World Health Organization classification) due to malnutrition. This is an important clinical manifestation. Anaemia is more common among tribal females than males. Severe anaemia has been noticed among the Abujhmaria, Birhor, Baiga, Paudi Bhuyian Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs) of Madhya Pradesh and Orissa.

Micronutrient deficiencies, such as Vitamin A, iron and iodine are also common among the tribal populations of India. Vitamin A deficiency is manifested in the forms of Bitot's spot, conjunctival xerosis and night blindness, which are quite common among the Bondo, Didayi, Juang and Kondh tribes of Orissa. Angular stomatitis (inflammation of the mucous membrane of the mouth) is also a result of micronutrient deficiency commonly found in tribal India. Iodine deficiency causes goiter, which is most common among the tribes who inhabit higher altitudes. Many studies have revealed that goiter is more prevalent among the females than the males.

Nutritional deficiency is manifested clinically in the forms of marasmus and kwashiorkor, about which we have hinted earlier. Marasmus occurs among the children aged under one year when maternal milk supply is interrupted by death or illness of the mother. Among older children this may happen at the time of severe famine. Marasmus causes loss of muscles and subcutaneous fat. The skin becomes dry and wrinkled. The hair becomes thin and dry. The body temperature remains low. Such children are susceptible to diarrheal and respiratory infections. On the other hand, children with kwashiorkor are usually aged 18 months to 4 years. In this case, muscle loss occurs, but subcutaneous fat is preserved. The hair becomes dry, straight and depigmented. The skin becomes scaly and glistening, peeling and hyperpigmented, especially on the legs. The abdomen of the child becomes distended and the liver enlarged.

Malnutrition is still abundant in tribal areas despite some efforts by the Government. Integrated Child Development Service Programme (ICDS), Special Nutrition Programme (SNP), Balwadi Nutrition Programme, CARE Assisted Nutrition Programmes, UNICEF Assistance for Women and Children, etc. have been implemented to overcome the problem of malnutrition in our country. However, there is a dire need to improve the living standard of the tribal people to overcome the problem of malnutrition and reduce the incidence of related diseases. The literacy level among them also needs to be improved, as ignorance and superstition lead to unhygienic living conditions and unhealthy practices. Regular monitoring by nutritionists and doctors is a must in the tribal areas, particularly the mothers and children, with regard to nutritional deficiencies. Health care must be provided at the door steps of the tribes, so that they develop trust in modern medicine and heed to the advice of the nutritionists and doctors to get rid of malnutrition.

Check Your Progress – I

1. Discuss the concept of ageing in the tribal societies of India and the problems the tribal aged face today.
2. What are the major reasons for illiteracy among the tribal children?
3. What is malnutrition? How does malnutrition manifest clinically among the tribes of India?

4.5 Alcoholism and Drug Abuse

4.5.1 Introduction

Alcoholism among the tribes of India is not only a health hazard, but also a social problem today. However, very few scientific and systematic studies have been undertaken on the problems of alcoholism and drug abuse among the tribes of India. This is because of the fact that anthropological studies on religion invariably make a reference to the use of alcohol by the tribes of India as a ritual practice. On all ritual occasions and life-cycle rituals, tribes in India consume alcohol irrespective of age and sex.

Tribes in Central India prepare rice beer by fermented rice, which is the principal source of intoxication. Many tribal people equate it with the morning 'tea' of the urban people. Sometimes, liquor is also prepared from fermented mohua (*Madhuca indica*) flowers or from the sap of palm trees. Because locally brewed alcohol is inexpensive and is a cultural symbol, tribal children get addicted to it right from their childhood. This general acceptability to the use of alcohol as a ritually sanctioned and culturally approved drink among the tribes has been the womb of many social evils.

In recent times, consumption of traditionally brewed alcohol is supplemented by drugs like heroin, morphine, opium, cannabis, psychotropic substances and others, which are mostly used by the tribal youth.

4.5.2 Alcohol and Drug Abuse in Arunachal Pradesh

An interesting study has come to our notice, which deals with the use of alcohols and drugs in Arunachal Pradesh. The authors say that an epidemiological study on substance use was carried out to assess the prevalence and pattern of tobacco, alcohol, and opium being used commonly in ethnographic diverse population of Arunachal Pradesh. The abstract of the paper indicates that a representative sample of 5135 people aged above 10 years were interviewed to collect information about their habit of substance use. Over all, prevalence of substance use was 30.9% tobacco (22.8% chewers and 12.1% smokers), 30% alcohol, and 4.8% opium, which vary across location, gender, race, age, education, and occupation. Though tobacco and alcohol was commonly used among all the tribes, but high alcohol use among Tangsa and Tutsa tribes reflects strong cultural belief. Religiously, opium use was low among the Christian and Hindu at lower (less than 1000 meters) altitude, but high among the Buddhist, indigenous people, and the Hindus living at higher altitudes. Among males, high multivariate rate ratio of opium users was seen among the population of high altitude. Moreover, it was also high among the Singpho and the Khamti tribes living in low altitude area, which shows the strong geo-ethnographic influence. Average age at initiation of alcohol use (12.4 years) was significantly lower than tobacco (17.6 years), and opium (23.3 years) indicate social acceptability of alcohol drinking at early age. Use of multiple substances and high prevalence of opium express the alarming situation of substance misuse in the region. This is the result of socio-cultural and ethnic influences, which calls for an integrated approach to break the traditional beliefs associated with alcohol and drug abuse in the tribal societies of Arunachal Pradesh (Chaturvedi and Mahanta 2004).

4.5.3   Self-Help Groups (SHGs) Against Alcohols and Drugs

While alcoholism and drug addiction is fairly common among the tribes of India, The Daily Statesman (July 4, 2006) reports that in the northeastern state of Manipur, tribal women have spearheaded a unique initiative to check the spread of drug abuse, a social malaise that has today assumed alarming epidemic proportions in that State. Calling themselves 'Meira Paibis' (literally, women's federation), groups of old women began by patrolling the valley areas, armed with torches and iron gongs to ward off crimes. Subsequently, they augmented their nightlong vigils to include alcohol and drug addiction as well. They imposed fines of Rs 150 and tied empty liquor bottles to necks of men found drinking in public and Rs 5,000 on sellers of alcohol. In areas patrolled by the Meira Paibis, drug use patterns changed substantially, with decline in riotous behaviour and greater safety for women at night. The Meira Paibis initiative is showcased in a new report on 'Drug Use in the Northeastern States of India' brought out jointly by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) and the Indian government's Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment. In fact, some of the path-breaking initiatives to reduce the burden of drug use in the family have actually been achieved through self-help groups (SHG) in the North-east, some of them spearheaded by women, the report adds.

Similar efforts are necessary all over India to contain the use of alcohols and drugs, which breaks human health and human families in no time. Since injecting drug use these days is the leading cause of HIV, which has assumed the status of a generalized epidemic, both the Government and NGO efforts should be directed towards redressal of the problems of alcoholism and drug abuse among the tribal population of India.

4.6   Problems of Child Labour

According to a recent estimate of the International Labour Organisation (ILO), more than 120 million children between the ages of 5-14 are employed as full time labourers around the world. A good number of such children labour is in the most hazardous and dangerous industries. In India itself, it is estimated that there are at least 44 million child labourers in the age group of 5-14. More than 80% of child labourers in India are employed in the agricultural and non-formal sectors and many are bonded labourers. Most of them are either illiterate or dropped out of school after two or three years.

4.6.1   What is Child Labour?

There is always confusion between child labour and child work. But child labour is not child work. Child work can be beneficial and can enhance a child's physical, mental, spiritual, moral or social development without interfering with schooling, recreation and rest. Helping parents in their household activities and business after school in their free time also contributes positively to the development of the child. When such work is truly part of the socialization process and a means of transmitting skills from parents to child, it is not child labour. Through such work children can increase their status as family members and citizens and gain confidence and self-esteem.

Child labour, however, is the opposite of child work. Child labour hampers the normal physical, intellectual, emotional and moral development of a child. Children who are in the growing process can permanently distort or disable their bodies when they carry heavy loads or are forced to adopt unnatural positions at work for long hours. Children are less resistant to diseases and suffer more readily from chemical hazards and radiation than adults. UNICEF classifies the hazards of child labour into three categories, namely (i) physical; (ii) cognitive; (iii) emotional, social and moral.

4.6.2   Hazards and Magnitude of Child Labour in India

Many children engaged in mines and quarries, construction sites, brass and glassware industries, etc. face the problem of physical hazards. Working at these places affects the visual and auditory capacities of the children. Hard physical labour by a child for a year in such industries stunts its physical stature up to 30% of its normal biological potential. Working in an early age also affects the cognitive ability of a child, which includes literacy, numerical ability and acquisition of knowledge necessary for a normal living. The emotional and social hazards are experienced by the child domestic helps. They are made to work for long hours devoid of required leisure and recreation times. They are often abused by the employers, which has an adverse impact on the emotion of the child. Sometimes, children are engaged in immoral activities, such as drug trafficking, sex trade, and production of pornographic materials, etc. All these hazards affect their normal physical growth as well as healthy cognitive development.

Researchers give a range of incidence of child labour in India from about 14 million to about 100 million. Some studies show every fourth child in the age group of 5-15 is employed. The figures released by the non-governmental agencies are much higher than those of the State. UNICEF cites figures from various resources that put child labour in India at between 75 and 90 million. For some observers, the exact number of child labourers in India could be as high as 150 million. In brief, India is the largest producer of child labour and illiteracy on this earth. According to at least one study, a quarter of the world's total number of child labourers are in India and every third household in that country has a child at work.

Children in India are employed in almost all the activities of the non-formal sector. However, most of them are employed in the agricultural sector or in jobs closely related to agriculture, as is the pattern in many developing countries. A unique factor in India is that a significant number of these children are bonded labourers.

Thousands of children today are employed in the match industry in Sivakasi, Tamilnadu; diamond polishing industry in Surat, Gujarat; precious stone polishing industry in Jaipur, Rajasthan; glass industry in Ferozabad, Uttar Pradesh; brassware industry in Moradabad, Uttar Pradesh; handmade carpet industry in Mirzapur-Bhadohi in Uttar Pradesh and in Jammu-Kashmir; lock-making industry in Aligarh, Uttar Pradesh; slate industry in Mandsaur in Madhya Pradesh and Markapur in Andhra Pradesh ; etc., besides working in hotels and restaurants, auto garages, etc. in cities. They suffer from respiratory disorders, skin diseases and other ailments for working in these hazardous places.

4.6.3   Child Labour among the Tribes

Tribal children are mostly engaged as bonded labourers or agricultural labourers unlike their counterparts in urban areas, who work in hazardous industries. Poverty is the root cause of incidence of child labour in tribal areas. While bonded labour is for life, agricultural labour may be on annual, seasonal or daily basis. If there is a presence of caste Hindu agricultural communities in the vicinity of the tribal habitats, tribal children are engaged by the agricultural castes as labourers either for domestic work or for farming, grazing and allied works. Of course, the Government of India has implemented the Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act. 1986 and the Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act, 1976 to protect the children from working at a tender age.

4.7   Trafficking and the Tribes in India

4.7.1   What is Trafficking?

Trafficking of humans involves moving men, women, and children from one place to another and placing them in conditions of forced labour. The practice includes forced sex work, domestic servitude, unsafe agricultural labour, sweatshop labour, construction or restaurant work, and various forms of modern-day slavery. This global violation of human rights occurs within countries and across borders, regions, and continents. Trafficking has been defined by the UN General Assembly statement of 1994 as: "The illicit and clandestine movements of persons

across national borders, largely from developing countries and some countries with economies in transition, with the end goal of forcing women and girl children into sexually or economically oppressive and exploitative situations for profit of recruiters, traffickers, and crime syndicates as well as other illegal activities related to trafficking, such as forced domestic labour, false marriages, clandestine employment and false adoption." The UN Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children, 2000, defines trafficking as: "The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of a threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability, or of giving or receiving payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person for the purpose of exploitation." Therefore, trafficking involves coercion to some degree for using the helpless humans for the advantage of the mafias.

4.7.2 Trafficking in India and its Impact

Trafficking is by and large a gendered phenomenon. Although trafficking of men and young boys is also taking place within and from the region, evidence from major Government and the NGO sources indicates that the incidence of trafficking of women and girls over the past decade has escalated considerably. The majority of trafficking in India, both trans-border and in-country, happens for the purpose of commercial sex work, and over 60 percent of those trafficked into sex work are adolescent girls in the age-group of 12-16 years. In Mumbai and other Indian cities, girl children as young as eight or nine years of age are sold at auctions to brothels and are engaged in sex trade.

Trafficked people often suffer from a multitude of physical and psychological health problems. Women are specifically vulnerable to reproductive and other gender-specific health problems in trafficking situations as they have little or no access to reproductive health care. These problems include lack of access to birth control, constant rapes, forced abortions and contraceptive use, lack of regular mammograms and Pap smears, and other health issues. Women in domestic servitude are subject to rape and other physical abuse, while women in forced sex work suffer increased risk of sexually transmitted infections, including HIV/AIDS.

Traditionally, trafficking was unknown in tribal societies, although the status of women was not very high. But when the tribal areas were made open to forest contractors and non-tribal workers in forests during the British times, tribal women were easy prey to sexual exploitation almost instantly. Permissive tribal societies facilitated this kind of exploitation. With an assurance of marriage, there was sexual abuse of tribal women, and abandoning them later on. That was the beginning of severe sexually transmitted diseases of which the tribal girls and women were victims. In recent times, the pace of urbanization, industrialization and subsequent migration of tribal women to towns and cities have resulted in some kind of trafficking. While working in industries, construction sites and other sectors, tribal women are subjected to sexual and other kind of exploitation. Many of them are victims of HIV/AIDS also.

According to the Indian Center for Indigenous and Tribal Peoples, more than 40,000 tribal women, mainly from Orissa and Bihar, were forced into economic and sexual exploitation; many came from tribes driven off their land by national park plans. A Haryana-based NGO revealed widespread trafficking of teenaged girls and young boys from poverty-stricken Assam to wealthier Haryana and Punjab for sexual slavery under the pretext of entering into arranged marriages or for forced labor. There was also significant trafficking for real marriages due to decades of large-scale and increasing female feticide. The activists of IMPULSE network, an NGO working from Shillong, has claimed that gullible good-looking girls from the Northeast India are being forced into prostitution in the metropolises after being lured by organized pimps promising them glamorous careers and lucrative jobs.

| Check Your Progress – II |

1. Discuss how alcoholism and drug abuse has emerged as a social evil in tribal societies and how the women's self-help groups in Northeast India are countering this trend.
2. Present an assessment of hazards and magnitude of child labour in India.
3. What do you mean by trafficking? How do the trafficking rackets affect tribal women?

4.8 HIV/AIDS and the Indian Tribes

4.8.1 What is HIV/AIDS?

In its expanded form HIV means Human Immune Deficiency Virus and AIDS means Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome. Perhaps no other disease today is as much discussed as AIDS, as it has assumed the position of a dreaded epidemic. In 2003, nearly 5 million people contracted the HIV in India that causes AIDS. India has the second highest number of people living with HIV/AIDS in the world after South Africa. While in the West, AIDS is labeled as 'gay disease', or 'injected drug users' disease' or 'haemophilic' or 'blood transfusion disease', in India, it is primarily perceived as the 'sex workers' disease'. All the above factors, such as gay sex, injected (intravenous) drug use, blood transfusion and sexual intercourse with a diseased person are responsible for the spread of the disease.

It may be recalled that the first six cases of AIDS in India was found among the sex workers of Madras (now Chennai) in the year 1986, although it was first reported in 1981 in San Francisco and New York in the USA. There are two types of viruses that cause AIDS: HIV-1 and HIV-2. Both types are transmitted by sexual contact, through blood and from mother to child. It is also possible that a newborn can be infected through breast-feeding. It seems that HIV-2 is less easily transmitted and the period between the initial infection and manifestation of illness is longer in this case compared to HIV-1.

4.8.2 HIV/AIDS in India

Because of large number of Indian people suffering from AIDS, the country is facing one of the biggest public health challenges in its history. No State in India is left where this disease has not spread its virus. It is estimated that the brothels in the city of Mumbai, which has over 15,000 sex workers, 70% of whom have tested HIV positive. HIV infection among the injected drug users was first detected in Manipur, which is also a major problem in many metropolitan cities. Younger people in the age group of 15-24 years constitute about 38% of those affected in India, according to USAID estimation in 2004. By the end of May 2005, the total number of AIDS cases reported in India was 1,09,349, out of which 31,982 were women.

Alongside the emergence of HIV/AIDS as a health problem, it has also become one of the biggest social problems in India. People suffering from AIDS are treated as untouchables in many rural societies due to ignorance and deep-rooted stigmas. Their life styles are considered to be sinful and perverted. Discrimination is also noticed in work places, schools and hospitals as a result of these stigmas.

4.8.3 HIV/AIDS and the Tribes in India

We know that due to illiteracy, lack of awareness and infrastructure, the tribal people in India are subjected to many health risks. Their condition of abject poverty, marginalization and inability to maintain a hygienic living standard make them susceptible to health hazards. Besides their economic and social vulnerabilities, they are always considered as one of the high-risk groups with regard to HIV infections, as their conception of sex and sexual behaviours are considered to be more liberal and permissive compared to the non-tribals, and one of the reasons for the spread of HIV is through indiscriminate sex. In the light of the recent discussions by Patnaik and Mehrotra (2005), we will briefly examine the sexual behaviours of the tribes of India and other factors that make them vulnerable to HIV/AIDS.

Pre-marital sex is not uncommon among the tribes of India, as the dormitories in these societies facilitate interaction between the unmarried boys and girls. It is but natural that they are attracted to each other, but the relationship may not end up with a marriage in all cases. Among the Tharu, Jaunsari, Bhotia, Raji, Bhoksa, etc. boys and girls enjoy considerable freedom in sexual matters and the elders do not interfere as long as these are within 'permissible limits'. The novice in these societies is generally initiated by older adolescents into sexual experimentations. *Rang-bang* of the Bhotia, *Gitiora* of the Munda and Ho, *Dhumkuria* of the Oraon, *Basaghar* among the Paraja, *Majang* of the Juang and *Ghotul* of the Muria are the dormitories where the tribal boys and girls are initiated to sex at an early age. Similarly, there cases of adultery are not unknown, although post-marital affairs often lead to divorce and social criticism. In many tribal cultures, monetary compensation for extra-marital sex is permissible, which facilitates sex relationship with multiple partners. This is in addition to the prevailing marriage practice of polygyny and polyandry, which are not considered as abnormal among many tribes of India.

Besides these culturally accepted practices, migration of tribals from their original abodes to cities and towns in search of jobs, involuntary displacement due to development projects, conversion of their habitats into hubs of urban and industrial activities, etc. expose them to HIV/AIDS, where sexual exploitation of tribal women is rampant. Contractors, forest officials, truck drivers sexually abuse the tribal women and spread AIDS in these areas. Patnaik and Mehrotra (2005) note that the districts of Durg, Bhilai, Raipur, Rajnandgaon and Mahasamund, which were once tribal dominated and are now highly urbanized, record fast spread of HIV/AIDS. The tribal cultural practice of tattooing among the Santal, Munda, Korwa, Baiga, apparently for a religious purpose, is a source of the spread of HIV/AIDS, as the same needle is often used for tattooing many people.

4.9 Gender Inequality

4.9.1 The Concept of Gender

The term 'gender' refers to the social construction of female and male identity. It can be defined as more than biological differences between men and women. It includes the way in which those differences, real or perceived, have been valued, used and relied upon to classify men and women and to assign roles and expectations to them.

Gender is often confused with sex. However, sex generally refers to biology and anatomy. People are said to be of the male sex or the female sex, as determined by three sets of characteristics: external sex organs, internal sex organs, and secondary sexual development at puberty. By contrast, gender refers to a set of qualities and behaviors expected from a female or male by society. Gender roles are learned and can be affected by factors such as education or economics. They vary widely within and among cultures. While an individual's sex does not change, gender roles are socially determined and can evolve over time.

The attributes of gender, as we have seen, vary cross-culturally. An interesting example can be given in this context. When an anthropologist asked her Lohar informant in Udaipur, Rajasthan as to why his wife was about eight years older to him, the informant retorted: "What has her being older got to do with marriage?" The anthropologist realized that in the informant's cognition, there was no link between age of the spouse and marriage, where as in common Hindu social order, the age of the wife is expected to be generally less than that of her husband. Therefore, the conceptualization of gender and its attributes are culture-specific and hence, cross-culturally variable.

4.9.2 Gender Inequality in India

Gender inequality has a strong root with a prejudice against the female sex all over the world, including India. Nobel Laureate, Amartya Sen (2001), had once written, "The afflicted world in which we live is characterized by deeply unequal sharing of the burden of adversities between women and men. Gender inequality exists in most parts of the world, from Japan to Morocco, from Uzbekistan to the United States of America. However, inequality between women and men can take very many different forms. Indeed, gender inequality is not one homogeneous phenomenon, but a collection of disparate and interlinked problems". He has, in fact, described seven different types of gender inequality, which are: 1) mortality inequality with high rate of mortality for women; 2) natality inequality with parental preference for male children than female children; 3) basic facility inequality including restricted access to health, education, employment for women; 4) special opportunity inequality in the fields of higher education and professional training; 5) professional inequality in employment and promotion opportunities in work and occupation; 6) ownership inequality with regard to properties like homes and lands; and 7) household inequality, where women are supposed to work at home or if they work outside home, they need to combine both working at home and office. All these seven types of gender inequalities are very well applicable to the Indian society, where women are generally considered inferior or less capable than men. This discrimination is a cultural construction, which has been institutionalized in Indian society over centuries due to its inherent patriarchal nature.

4.9.3 Gender Inequality among the Tribes

Although discourses on the status of women in tribal societies are many and varied in anthropological literature, there is not much of critical examination of the gender relations. This is due to the common notion that women in tribal societies have a higher social status than their men, or at least have an equal status with their male counterparts. They are portrayed as powerful, courageous and independent, and their participation in the subsistence economy, choice of selecting partners, freedom to divorce and remarriage, prevalence of the institution of bride wealth, etc. are attributed to their higher social status.

But the tribal people have their own ways of suppressing women, which often involves violence. For example, women are subject many taboos, as they are considered to be ritually impure. At the same time, in the Kondh society of Orissa, a *bejuni* or a priestess is the human representative of the Goddess, while ordinary Kondh women are ritually segregated during the famous buffalo sacrifice ritual. Similarly, while the men have the right over land, the women have only users' right over land, although they are expected to contribute productively both in domestic and economic sectors. The case is also true for their rights over children. In the patriarchal Kondh society, children are often the children of the husband or his clan; the mother has only 'users' right' over her husband's children (Mishra 2007).

In the case of Khamti women. Misra (1994) observes that although women contribute to the family income quite substantially, their status remains lower than the Khamti men. Khamti women are expected to simultaneously indulge themselves in child rearing, domestic chores, working in the farms and taking care of the domestic animals. They work for more hours than the Khamti men, who have relatively more time for leisure and recreation.

Domestic and community violence against women is also not uncommon among the tribes. Whether as *dain, tonhi,* or witches in some other form, there is an ongoing violence against women, as part of the process of establishing or strengthening forms of patriarchy. These are some of the culturally bound forms of oppression and violence.

4.10 Safe Drinking Water

In one of its studies, the World Health Organization has indicated that drinking water contaminated by human waste causes 80% of the diseases in India. Communities belonging to tribal and semi-tribal areas in India still follow the unhygienic practice of relieving themselves in the open, near the sources of water, causing drinking water contamination by human waste. As per details released by the UNICEF, one gram of human excreta can contain 10,000,000 viruses, 1,000,000 bacteria, 1,000 parasite cysts and 100 parasite eggs. Protecting drinking water from faecal contamination by following home hygiene practices such as sanitary use of toilets and washing hands with soap or ash are the only means to fight the widespread menace of waterborne diseases.

Unfortunately, the tribal regions in India have neither sources of safe drinking water nor adequate awareness to keep the drinking water free from contaminations. Tribes in India still depend on natural springs, rivulets, stagnant rain water in small ponds, and rarely tube wells as their sources of drinking water. Invariably these sources contain contaminated water or water with dangerous minerals that the tribals use for drinking purpose. Using this water for drinking purpose, therefore, results in many water borne diseases like jaundice, diarrhea, gastro-enteritis, etc.

The National Water Policy, 2002 of India has categorically made provisions for the supply of safe drinking water in all the rural and urban areas of the country. Many NGOs working with the tribal people have also been extending necessary help by installing tube wells, restoring community ponds for water storage, etc. Still de-contaminated and purified water supplied through concealed pipes for drinking water has not reached majority of rural pockets, let alone the tribal pockets with undulated hilly and mountainous terrains.

4.11 Reproductive Health among the Tribes of India

4.11.1 What is Reproductive Health?

Within the framework of WHO's definition of health as a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being, and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity, reproductive health addresses the reproductive processes, functions and system at all stages of life. Reproductive health, therefore, implies that people are able to have a responsible, satisfying and safe sex life and that they have the capability to reproduce and the freedom to decide if, when and how often to do so. Implicit in this are the right of men and women to be informed of and to have access to safe, effective, affordable and acceptable methods of fertility regulation of their choice, and the right of access to appropriate health care services that will enable women to go safely through pregnancy and childbirth and provide couples with the best chance of having a healthy infant.

4.11.2 Reproductive Health in Tribal India

Studies on fertility and mortality trends among the tribal population of India have been found to be fragmentary and isolated. Limited studies are available on infant mortality and hardly any study is available on maternal mortality among the tribal population. However, out of a few case studies are available so far, we will assess the situation in Northeast India. S.K.Basu of the National Institute of Health and Family Welfare, New Delhi has made some of the important observations on health status of tribal women of India, which are presented below.

On the basis of the census data, Gogoi (1990) found that during 1961-71, the rate of growth of tribal population in North- East India was lower than that of the general population. This was mainly because of a very low natural growth rate of the tribal population in the region. Pandey (1990) observed high fertility and mortality in Mishmi tribal groups and attributed it to the low level of education and income, lack of knowledge of family planning method and importance of small family size, poor medical facilities, lack of proper sanitation and drinking water. Barua (1982) studied 196 ever-pregnant women belonging to the Hajong tribe of West Garo hills district of Meghalaya. High infant mortality (18.2%) and prenatal mortality (3.1 %) were reported among them. Das et al. (1982) studied two Lepcha villages of northern Sikkim, namely Lachen and Lachung, and found the total fertility rate for Lachung and Lachen to be 4.66 and 3.79 respectively. The results on total fertility rate were more or less similar to the Indian national population. Differences between the two were possibly due to the socio- cultural factors. The number of surviving children per women in Lachung and Lachen were found to be 3.70 and 2.65 respectively. The net reproductive index was observed to be 3.6 in Lachung and 1.80 in Lachan.

Maternal mortality was reported to be high among various tribal groups but no exact data could be collected. The main causes of maternal mortality were found to be unhygienic and primitive practices of parturition. For example, it was observed that among the Kutia Kondhs (Basu et al. 1990), the delivery was conducted by the mother herself in a half squatting position holding a rope tied down from the roof of the hut. This helped her in applying pressure to deliver the child. In complicated labour, obviously it might lead to maternal as well as child mortality. Similar crude births practices were found to exist in other tribal groups like the Kharias, Gonds, Santals, etc. It is fairly common among the tribes of Northeast India to escape into the forest alone, when the labour starts, and to give birth to the baby in the forest itself. Since no help is expected at the time of delivery, maternal mortality rate is naturally higher among them.

Maternal and child health care practices are found to be largely neglected in various tribal group (i.e. Baster tribal groups, Kutia Kondhs of Orissa, Santals, Jaunsaris, Kharias, etc.). Expectant mothers to a large extent are not inoculated against tetanus. From the inception of pregnancy to its termination, no specific nutritious diet is consumed by the women. On the other hand, some pregnant tribal women (i.e. Dudh Kharias, Santals, etc.) reduce their food intake because of the fear of recurrent vomiting and also to ensure that the baby remains small in the womb and the delivery becomes easier. The consumption of iron, calcium and vitamins during pregnancy is poor. The habit of taking alcohol during pregnancy is found to be common among the tribal women and almost all of them continue their regular activities including hard labour even during advanced pregnancy. More than 90% of the deliveries are conducted at home attended by elderly ladies of the household. No specific precautions are observed at the time of conducting deliveries which result in an increased susceptibility to various infections. Services of paramedical staff are secured only in difficult labour cases.

Maternal mortality directly related to pregnancy and childbirth was found to be appreciably high among the tribal population groups of Bastar district. In addition, a lot of females suffered from ill health due to pregnancy and child-birth in the absence of a well defined concept of health consciousness. As far as child-care is concerned, both rural and tribal illiterate mothers are observed to breastfeed their babies. But, most of them adopted harmful practices like discarding of colostrums, giving prelatic feeds, delayed introduction of breast feeding and delayed introduction of complementary feeds. Vaccination and immunization of infants and children are inadequate among tribal groups. In addition, extreme magico-religious beliefs and taboos aggravate the problems.

It is commonly observed that the tribal women give more attention to child welfare and child development programmes rather than mother care or family planning programmes. This may be because of their inherent maternal instinct and protectiveness towards their children. They contacted doctors more for antenatal care than postnatal care because of their concern with the welfare of the foetus in the womb and preparing for a safe labour. One of the studies shows that more than 90% of the eligible couples of Jaunsaris and Santals are found to be aware of family planning methods whereas only 16% Dudh Kharia couples are aware of family planning methods.

R.K.Kar (1993) in one of his studies on the reproductive health of the Nocte of Arunachal Pradesh has made the following observations. He says, "Reproductive health behavior of the Nocte women is intimately related to their value system and cultural tradition. Cultural values and practices have a deep influence on health behavior in general and reproductive health in particular. Thus, it does not seem to be possible to raise the health status and quality of life of the people unless such efforts are integrated with the wider effort to bring about an overall transformation of the society as a whole.

"It is also apparent that the health development programs need to be integrated conveniently with the larger program of overall development in such a way that the two become mutually self-supporting. This would be possible only when a number of supportive services, such as development of transport and communication, nutrition and education, etc. are contemplated simultaneously. On the whole good health and good society go together".

All the above observations clearly indicate the deplorable status of reproductive health in tribal India, despite constant efforts by the Government of India, various State Governments and NGOs working among the tribes of India.

Check Your Progress – III

1. What is HIV/AIDS and discuss how it has become an epidemic among the tribes of India?
2. Define gender and discuss about gender inequality in tribal societies with suitable examples.
3. What are the normal sources of drinking water for the tribes of India? Delineate the problem of safe drinking water in tribal societies of India.
4. What do you mean by reproductive health? Discuss about the reproductive health status of tribal women in India.

4.12 Let Us Sum Up

Let us understand and appreciate that we have already crossed 59 years of Indian Independence and yet, our tribal societies still live a deplorable and marginalized life. Problems grapple them from all sides. They still lack basic facilities of life, such as food, education, health and sanitation, etc. Contrarily, they are still the victims of child labour, HIV/AIDS, malnutrition, immoral trafficking, alcoholism and drug abuse, gender inequality, high maternal and child mortality, etc. We have discussed some of these problems, their incidence and magnitude in this Unit.

4.13 Key Words

Social Gerontology:	The study of statuses and roles of older persons, their culture patterns, social organization and collective behaviour, as they are affected by social changes.
Anthropometry:	The science of measurement of human body parts.
Malnutrition:	A pathological state resulting from a relative or absolute deficiency or excess of one or more essential nutrients in human diet.
Self-help Group (SHG):	A voluntary organization formed mostly by women to under developmental and/ or reformistic works in the society.
Child Labour:	Labour of children below the age of 14 years that hampers their normal physical, intellectual, emotional and moral development.
Trafficking:	Trafficking means moving men, women, and children from one place to another and placing them in condition of forced labour.
HIV:	HIV means Human Immune Deficiency Virus that weakens the immune system in humans and causes AIDS or Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome.
Gender:	It refers to the social construction of female and male identity and includes the ways in which differences between men and women are valued, used and relied upon to classify and assign roles and expectations to them.
Reproductive Health:	It addresses the reproductive processes, functions and system at all stages of human life and therefore, implies that people are able to have a responsible, satisfying and safe sex life.

4.14 Check Your Learning

1. Present an overview of the social problems faced by the tribes of India.
2. Discuss the concept of age in tribal societies and the problems they face in changing circumstances.
3. What are the main reasons for school dropout among the tribal children? How to prevent this?
4. What is malnutrition? How is it manifested among the tribal children of India?
5. Explain how alcoholism and drug abuse has become pandemic among the tribal youth of India. How do the tribal women help preventing drug abuse in Northeast India?
6. Discuss the magnitude of child labour in India and health hazards associated with it.
7. What do you understand by trafficking? How does it affect the tribal women in India?
8. Discuss how some of the traditional sexual behaviours promote HIV/AIDS among the tribes of India.
9. Attempt a brief essay on the nature of gender inequality among the tribal societies of India.
10. How safe drinking water is a health problem in India? Discuss with suitable examples.
11. What is meant by reproductive health? Attempt a brief essay on the state of reproductive health among the tribal population of India.

4.15 Suggested Readings

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4.16 Hints/Answers to Questions in Check Your Progress

Check Your Progress - I

1. Discuss how ageing is both a physical and a socio-cultural phenomenon in tribal societies with examples of age-grade and age-set systems. Also discuss the social and psychological problems they face.

2. Discuss the economic, cultural and insfrastructural impediments that result in low literacy rate among the tribes.

3. Define malnutrition as given in the Unit. Discuss how it is manifested through various diseases and body deformities.

Check Your Progress – II

1. Discuss both traditional and modern practices of alcohol and drug abuse in tribal societies. Delineate the role of 'Meira Paibis' in Manipur in combating drug addiction.

2. Discuss approximate number of child labour and various industries where they are employed.

3. Define trafficking. Discuss how sex rackets work and how tribal women are exploited economically and sexually.

Check Your Progress – III

1. Explain HIV/AIDS. Discuss the traditional sexual behaviour patterns among the tribes that risk the tribal people as potential victims of HIV/AIDS.

2. Define gender as a social construct. Discuss the gender inequalities with examples to contradict the most popular notion that tribal women have a higher or at least an equal status as their men.

3. Discuss how contaminated water is often used by the tribes that leads to many water-borne diseases.

4. Define reproductive health. Discuss about maternal and infant mortality and other indicators. Also discuss how many cultural practices of the tribes make their women vulnerable to diseases and death.

Unit - V
Language Issues

5.0 Objectives

After going through this Unit, you should be able to:

- Comprehend the language situation in India, and especially the language situation among the tribes of India.

- Know the debate over the medium of instruction in Schools located in the tribal areas.

- Understand the issues relating to the preparation of scripts for tribal languages in India.

- Appreciate the issues relating to the preservation of tribal languages and problems associated with it.

5.1 Introduction

We all know that Indian Union is a multi-cultural and multi-lingual nation. When the State Reorganization Committee was constituted in post-Independence India to determine the political boundaries of States within the Union, language was taken as the basis for the reorganization of States. Nevertheless, most of the States are again inhabited by people speaking different languages and dialects, and hence, not even a single State is a monolingual administrative and political unit. Let us the take the example of Arunachal Pradesh itself. It is a State of many languages and dialects as each tribe and sub-tribe has its own language or dialect, and many of these languages are mutually unintelligible.

The problem of language in education in India is a challenge to all of us. There are many tribes in India having their own languages. But their children often have to get education in other languages than their mother-tongue, as the tribal languages are not supported by writing systems or scripts. Even where there is a script to support, as in the case of either the Khamti or Sherdukpen or Santal, there is not much effort to write textbooks for school children, and not many trained teachers are available to teach the tribal children in their mother-tongue. Because of this, the tribal languages are gradually getting obsolete and extinct. Once a language is lost, the binding force between its speakers also faces the threat of extinction, thus jeopardizing the survival of the whole culture. In fact, at present over 60% of tribal mother tongues are extinct, endangered or moribund. It is also true that barring a few, all the existing tribal languages are marginalized and their use has shrunk to the home and in-group communication domains only. Unfortunately, most of the tribal languages are neglected to such an extent that not more than 1% of the tribal children get their primary education in their mother tongue. This is nothing but a condition of 'linguistic genocide'.

Given the situation, the question now is that what could be done to preserve the tribal languages and what problems come on the way of preserving and promoting them. In this Unit, we shall discuss the issue of tribal scripts, the medium of instruction for the tribal children, and the preservation of tribal languages in Indian context.

5.2 Languages in India

5.2.1 Indian Languages and their Distribution

As we all know, India is a multi-lingual country. However, it is difficult to say exactly how many languages are spoken in this country. The British administrator-linguist, Grierson, was the first to undertake a systematic study of Indian languages and the result was an 11-volume compendium on 'Survey of Indian Languages'. In this survey, Grierson lists 179 languages and 544 dialects spoken in India. Relatively recently, Annamalai (2001) has stated that there are about 200 languages in India reducible from various dialects. Meanwhile, the Summer Institute of Linguistics

estimates that about 850 languages are in daily use in India, out of which 398 are listed in their Ethnologue (2003). However, the same database, Ethnologue, in its 2005 edition lists 428 languages for India, 415 of which are "living" (Gordon 2005). Accroding to 1991 Census, there are 114 languages and 1,579 "mother tongues" (Census of India, 2001). Further, 1,579 mother tongues have been "rationalized" from a list of around 10,000 mother tongues, which was told by the surveyed population of India.

Of the 114 languages reported by the Census of India (2001), only 23 are recognized as 'official languages' or scheduled languages, and listed in the Constitution, while the rest 91 languages come under the category of non-scheduled languages.

Indian languages are derived from four major language families: (1) Indo-European, (2) Dravidian, (3) Austro-Asiatic, and (4) Tibeto-Burmese. But many languages spoken in India do not come under any one of the above mentioned established families, and hence, are named as 'language isolates'. Andamanese languages belong to the category of language isolates in this sense. The Indo-Aryan branch of the Indo-European language family is spoken by about 74% of the Indian population, followed by 24% speakers of the Dravidian family of languages. Rest of the Indian population speaks Austro-Asiatic and Tibeto-Burman languages.

While Indo-European languages are mainly spoken in large tracts of the northern, western and parts of eastern India, the speakers of Dravidian languages are limited to the southern and central Indian regions. Similarly, while the Tibeto-Burman speakers are largely confined to the eastern Himalayan region, the people of central, northeast India and in Andaman and Nicobar islands speak Austro-Asiatic languages. Austro-Asiatic language is divided into Mundari and Mon-Khmer branches, the former spoken by the tribes of Jharkhand and the later spoken by the tribes of northeast India and Andaman and Nicobar islands. We shall discuss about them again under the section on tribal languages in India.

5.2.2 Tribal Languages in India

We know that Scheduled Tribes (STs) constitute about 8% of the total Indian population as per the Census of 2001 and their population is about 84 million. There are 573 notified or STs living in different parts of the country, speaking their own language or dialect. These languages are different from the State languages in which they live. There are more than 270 such languages in India.

The tribal languages in India can be broadly classified into four main language families. These are: (1) Austro-Asiatic family, (2) Sino-Tibetan or Tibeto-Chinese family, (3) Dravidian family, and (4) Indo-European family.

The Austro-Asiatic language family is divided into two branches. The Mon-Khmer branch is represented by the speakers of Khasi language in Meghalaya and Nicobarese in the Nicobar Islands.

The Tibeto-Chinese family has two sub-families. The Siamese-Chinese sub-family is represented by the Tai group of languages that includes the Khamti of Lohit district in Arunachal Pradesh and the Phakial, etc. The Tibeto-Burman sub-family has as many as five branches, which are discussed below:

i)   Tibeto-Himalayan branch (Bhotia of Darjeeling);

ii)   Western subgroup of Pronominalized Himalayan group (Chamba, Lahauli, Swangli, Kinauri, etc.);

iii) Non- Pronominalized Himalayan group (Rong or Lepcha, Toto, etc.);
iv) Arunachal branch (Aka or Hrusso, Abor, Miri, Dafla, Mishmi, etc.);
v) Assam-Burmese branch has four sub-divisions:
a) Bara or Bodo group (Plains Kachari, Dimasa or Hill Kachari, Garo, Tripuri, etc.);
b) Naga group (Anagami, Ao, Sema, Rengma, etc. of the Naga subgroup and Kachcha Naga, Kabui Naga of the Naga-Bodo subgroup);
c) Kachin group (Singpho); and
d) Kui-Chin group (Manipuri, Thado, Sokte, Ralte, Lushai, etc.).

The speakers of Dravidian family of languages are scattered over the southern part of India and include the speakers of Korwa, Yerukula, Yarava, Badaga, Todo, Kota, Oraon or Kurukh, Malto or Maler, Kui, etc.

Although there not many Indo-European speakers among the tribes of India, Hajong and Bhili languages belong to this family (Vidyarthi and Rai 1985).

From the foregoing discussion, it is evident that Indian tribes speak many different languages and dialects. And yet, as we said earlier, linguistic genocide has engulfed the tribes of India. This is despite many constitutional safeguards specially made for the Scheduled Tribes (STs) of India. In the next section, we shall examine these provisions relating to tribal languages.

5.2.2.1 Constitutional Provisions for the STs with regard to Language

The Constitution of India defines the Scheduled Tribes or tribal communities or parts or groups within such tribes or tribal communities as are deemed under Article 342 to be Scheduled Tribes for the purposes of the Constitution. Articles 15, 16 and 17 guarantee the rights to equality as the fundamental right. Moreover, under cultural and educational rights, Article 29 protects the interests of the minorities. The Article reads as follows:

1. Any section of the citizen residing in the territory or any part thereof having a distinct language, scripts or culture of its own shall have the right to conserve the same.

2. No citizen shall be denied admission into any educational institution maintained by the state or receiving aid out of state funds on ground only of religion, race, caste, language or any of them.

Having stated the right of the people to maintain their own language and culture, the Constitution adds the explicit protection of the rights of minorities to provide their own education in their own language, which is certainly an important part of language maintenance. Article 30 details this right, along with protection against discrimination, in receiving government grants for education:

1. All minorities, whether based on religion or language, shall have the right to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice.

(A) In making any law providing for the compulsory acquisition of any property of any educational institution established and administered by a minority, referred to in clause 1, the State shall ensure that the amount fixed by or determined under such law for the acquisition of such property is such as would not restrict or abrogate the right guaranteed under that clause. The State shall not, in granting aid to educational institutions, discriminate against any educational institution on the ground that it is under the management of a minority, whether based on religion or language.

This final clause does not prevent the State from regulating the educational standards, but does protect against regulations concerning medium of instruction. This fact has also been upheld in the

courts (Dua 1986). The question has been raised as to how language rights fit into the language planning goals framework. While not explicitly related to language planning, these constitutional safeguards provide protection for language maintenance objectives. Giving languages the right to be and the right to be learned through protection of them seems also to be implicit forms of status planning. Besides these general safeguards, the Indian Constitution includes a section titled Special Directives in which language and education issues beyond simple protection for minorities are explicitly addressed. Article 350 guarantees the right of all people to use a language they understand in "representations for redress of grievances." In the Seventh Amendment to the Constitution made by the Constitution Act of 1956, two Articles were added addressing linguistic minority issues:

350A. Facilities for Instruction in Mother-tongue at Primary Stage.

It shall be the endeavour of every State and of every local authority within the State to provide adequate facilities for instruction in the mother-tongue at the primary stage of education to children belonging to linguistic minority groups; and the President may issue such directions to any State as he considers necessary or proper for securing the provision of such facilities.

350B. Special Officer for Linguistic Minorities.

(1) There shall be a Special Officer for linguistic minorities to be appointed by the President.

(2) It shall be the duty of the Special Officer to investigate all matters relating to the safeguards provided for linguistic minorities under this Constitution and report to the President upon those matters at such intervals as the President may direct, and the President shall cause all such reports to be laid before each House of Parliament, and sent to the Governments of the States concerned.

To ensure protection under the Constitution, being defined as a minority becomes an important issue tied to the complexity of defining language and mother tongue. The issue of listing tribes and castes for special protection occurs elsewhere in the Constitution, providing the categories of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, not to be confused with the list of official languages referred to as Scheduled Languages. While the definition of linguistic minorities was not included in the Constitution, a Supreme Court decision defined minority language as separate spoken language, not restricted to languages using or having a separate script (Dua 1986).

Further, Article 46, Part IV of Directive Principles of State policy deals with the issue of promotion of educational and economic interests of the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, and other weaker sections. It reads, "The State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people and in particular of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation."

5.2.2.2 The National Policy of Education and the Tribes

The National Policy of Education was approved by the Indian Parliament in 1986. The policy gives special place to the education of the Scheduled Tribes. Besides the general policy enunciating measures and directives for the rejuvenation of education in general, it states some special measures for the education of the Scheduled Tribes.

In its Para 4.6, the policy states that the following measures will be taken urgently to bring the Scheduled Tribes (STs) on par with others:

I. Priority will be accorded to opening Primary Schools in tribal areas.

II.	The socio-cultural milieu of the STs has its distinctive characteristics including in many cases their own spoken language. This underlines the need to develop the curricula and devise instructional materials in tribal languages at the initial stages with arrangements for switching over to the regional language.

III.	Educated and promising Scheduled Tribe youth will be encouraged and trained to take up teaching in tribal areas.

IV.	Residential Schools, including Ashram Schools, will be established in large scale.

V.	Incentive schemes will be formulated for the Scheduled Tribes, keeping in view their special needs and life styles. Scholarships for higher education will emphasize technical, professional and para-professional courses. Special remedial courses and other programmes to remove psycho-social impediments will be provided to improve their performance in various courses.

VI.	Anganwadis, non-formal adult education centres, will be opened on a priority basis in areas predominantly inhabited by the Scheduled Tribes.

The NPE of 1986 and the Programme of Action (POA) of 1992 recognize the heterogeneity and diversity of tribal areas while underlining the importance of instruction through the mother tongue and the need for preparing teaching/learning materials in tribal languages. A working group on Elementary and Adult Education for the X Five Year Plan (2002-07) clearly emphasized the need to improve the quality of education of tribal children and to ensure equity as well as further improving the access to education.

The policy has very explicitly stated that there is a need to develop curriculum and instructional materials in tribal languages at the initial stages. The distinctive characteristics of the Scheduled Tribes will be the basis for the development of such materials. This definitely endorses the need for making education relevant to the community. Cultural orientation of the curriculum has been a long felt need (Ambasht 1971, 2001).

The foregoing discussions very clearly state various provisions in the Constitution as well as in the National Policy on Education to grant 'right to language' to every citizen of the country. The STs are further protected to preserve and promote their languages, as it becomes special responsibility of the State. The ground reality, however, is different. Out of 23 scheduled languages, only 2 tribal languages (Bodo and Santhali) are recognized, while other tribal languages face the threat of extinction.

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Check Your Progress - I
1.	Discuss the linguistic distribution among the tribes of India.
2.	What are the constitutional provisions for the protection and preservation of
	the languages of the STs and minorities?
3.	Discuss the mandates of the National Policy of Education for the promotion
	of tribal education and tribal languages in India.
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## 5.3	Issues related to Learning through Mother Tongue

### 5.3.1	Introduction

The Indian Education Policy states that every child has the right to learn in his/her mother tongue, but as we see, education is conducted only in the major state languages. For example, in

the tribal areas of Andhra Pradesh, the tribal children start their schooling in Telugu, the language of the State. Similarly, in Jharkhand or Chhatisgarh, the tribal child learns through Hindi from the beginning of his/her schooling career.

It is evident, therefore, that tribal languages are not used in schools and tribal children, who are not familiar with the language of instruction, are at a disadvantage from the start of their educational career. Besides this, the state curriculum bears very little relationship to the tribal child's culture or to his/her previous knowledge and understanding. Children are not only learning in a language they do not know, they are also attempting to learn concepts, which have no familiar foundation in that language. Teachers rarely speak the language of the tribe and few appreciate the children's traditional culture. They have had no training in teaching 'second language learners' and so the children are taught as first language speakers. Many teachers are unwilling to live in the tribal communities. Many tribal communities see their language as a hindrance to improving economic conditions and accessing better facilities. Sometimes the children conceal their tribal origins as tribal culture and language is often regarded as inferior.

### 5.3.2	Medium of Instruction in Primary Schools

Many researches highlight the importance of teaching through mother tongue at the primary school stage. Some of the important findings of such studies are presented below:

1)	A child learns best from a familiar starting point;
2)	Learning to read in the mother tongue is easier than learning to read in an unfamiliar language;
3)	Academic concepts are best learned in the mother tongue;
4)	Second language learning is more successful if founded on solid first language ground;
5)	Reading and writing skills as well as new concepts can be transferred from one language to another.

In India, therefore, the post-independent education policy promotes forcing minority language education into majority language education programmes, which has many far reaching consequences. Since most of the tribal languages have not been officially recognized and a very few of them have been scripted, these languages lack written literature of any kind and curricula have rarely been developed. These are not used in official capacity including education. Even so, the Constitution of India and the India Education Policy state that every child has the right to learn in his/her mother tongue. The National Curriculum Framework for School Education 2000 states that "the medium of instruction ideally, ought to be the mother tongue at all the stages of school education. In the case of the learners whose mother tongue and the regional languages are different, the regional language may be adopted as the medium of instruction from the third standard".

### 5.3.3	Problems of Learning in an Alien Language

Because of these and other reasons the drop out rate among the tribal children is very high — over 80% in the first year of primary school in some areas. While this is due to a combination of other socio-economic factors, the language and culture of the curriculum and the lack of support given by and to teachers in these schools are contributory factors. Therefore, tribal languages and cultures, and thus the tribal children's identities, are being marginalized and ignored by the current education system.

According to the Census of 2001 the rate of literacy among the tribes is 38.4%, against a national average of over 60%. The school dropout rate among the tribal children is very high, as we stated earlier. Considering the adverse conditions of education for these children, these children do not actually drop out; rather they are 'pushed out'. It is estimated that 25% of all primary school children belonging to different linguistic groups, whose language is not the medium of school instruction, face "moderate to severe learning disadvantage" (Jhingran 2005). In any case, the high attrition from formal education results in a disproportionately low representation of tribal students in higher education.

What concerns us here is that despite several recommendations made by the linguists and anthropologists, and distinct and specific constitutional provisions, teaching and learning in mother tongue for a tribal child has remained a distant dream. This does not only create problems for a tribal child to learn and conceptualize things, but most importantly culminates in developing a sense of defeatism and loss of interest in patronizing his/her language. For example, Furer-Haimendorf (1982) observes that in Orissa, many prayers and magical formulae are also spoken in Oriya by the Bonda tribe, as the Bondas think it proper that deities and spirits be addressed in a 'superior language'. The illiterate and economically backward tribes have no resources to assert their linguistic and cultural consciousness and therefore are subdued to change. As a result, language becomes a political tool for social division. Pattanayak has aptly reported that "Use of language can become a major factor in creating unequal societies in multilingual contexts. As long as this inequality persists education cannot be conflict free" (1990).

5.3.4 Experiments in Teaching through Mother Tongue

Some States in India with tribal population, however, have taken up the task of teaching through mother tongue to the tribal children at the primary school stage. We will see some of these experiments in the following paragraphs.

Assam was the first State in India to prepare teacher training modules and teaching learning materials for the Bodo tribal language way back in 1995. Bodo has been a medium of instruction in some districts of Assam at the primary stage. In Goalpara district, Garo medium workbooks have been translated/adopted and distributed in the schools.

Madhya Pradesh has also taken the initiative of preparing handbooks called Bridge Language Inventories (BLIs) in three tribal languages, such as, Gondi, Kuduk and Bhili. It has also translated the Class I textbook, Bharati, into tribal languages.

In Karnataka, a textbook for classes I and II has been translated into the Soliga tribal language. In Maharashtra, tribal language dictionaries have been developed for easy translation. The State of Kerala has also developed bilingual materials for the benefit of the tribal children.

Similar efforts of introducing mother tongue education in the primary schools have been taken up by the States of Orissa, Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat and Bihar. In Orissa, books in Ol Chikki scripts in twenty-nine Santali dominated tribal schools of Mayurbhanj, Sundargah and Keonjhar districts were introduced in primary schools in late 1990s.

Besides the State Governments, efforts are also being made by the National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT), Central Institute of Indian Languages, and Tribal Research Institutes towards the use of tribal languages in early education. The NCERT, through the National Curricular Framework, has suggested and implemented curricular and textbook reforms that have sought to incorporate minority cultures and values of multiculturalism into the classroom teaching.

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Check Your Progress - II

1. Discuss the importance of learning through the mother tongue by a tribal child at the primary stage of education.
2. What are the problems of learning through an alien language at the primary level by a tribal child?
3. Discuss various initiatives taken by the State governments in teaching through the mother tongue to the tribal children at the primary stage.

5.4 The Issue of Scripts in Tribal Languages

5.4.1 Introduction

You might have realized by now that in spite of having so many tribal languages and dialects, why is it so that the language of the State is often used as the medium of instruction in tribal schools. One of the major problems in learning in mother tongue is the lack of textbooks, which is due again to lack of scripts for majority of the tribal languages in India. These are interconnected problems, about which we will discuss in this Section.

Closely related to the issue of tribal language education is the problem of scripts for these languages. The use of tribal language in education necessitates its development as an educational tool. The very first step in its development is to create a writing system. We know that there are a few scripts available among the tribes of India, out of which two tribal scripts are still preserved in Arunachal Pradesh. The Khamti and the Sherdukpen tribal communities have their traditional scripts and these are somewhat preserved as both these tribes profess Buddhism, and there is still a strong tradition among these tribes to write sacred texts and donate them to the monastery, which is considered as a merit-earning act. The introduction of photocopiers in these areas is certainly going to wipe out the rich tradition of writing texts, and thereby putting an end to the culturally embedded obligation of preserving the scripts.

In central India, Pandit Raghunath Murmu has created the 'Ol-Chiki' script for the Santal and the cognate tribes, which is being used for writing textbooks and teaching in schools. Bodo in Assam, of course, has been accepted as a Scheduled Language and is being used in education. Experiments are being done on some other languages, such as the Gondi, Bhili, Soliga, Garo, etc., but with borrowed scripts either from the State language, or with the use of either Devanagari or Roman scripts. Therefore, the script situation is still unsatisfactory in tribal India.

5.4.2 Models for Development of Tribal Scripts

One major aspect of developing a writing system is the choice of a script. In the Indian context, the choice of the script may have four options: (a) the script of the official language of the State; (b) Devanagari as the script used for the National language, Hindi; (c) Roman as the script, in which Bible has been written, for many tribal Christians; and (d) an invented script like Ol Chiki used by the tribes in Chhotanagpur, Orissa and West Bengal. However, each option has advantages and disadvantages from cultural, social, political, economic and technological points of view. In case a separate script is not possible to invent or it is too cumbersome, the generally favoured view in India is the use of the script of the State language with necessary modifications to suit the needs of the tribal languages (Annamalai 2001). This is because of the fact that the tribal children have automatic accessibility to the State language script through the signboards and other public writings available in their environment, which involves less strain for the neo-learners.

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The second aspect of the writing system is devising alphabets - a set of symbols - to represent the meaning of differentiating sounds of the tribal language. Here also cultural and political considerations intervene with purely linguistic considerations.

The third aspect of the writing system is spelling of words, identification of word boundaries and punctuation marks. The last aspect is technological applications like printing, computer key board, etc.

Since a writing system is also a cultural symbol and an institution, its development must give credence to cultural, social and political considerations also. Let me illustrate this briefly. Bodos adapted the script used for Bengali and Assamese languages and Bodo literature was developed using this script. When political discontent brewed against the dominance of the Assamese people, the Assamese script was perceived as the script of domination, and there was violent agitation to replace it in favour of the Roman script. The Government of Assam was opposed to the change and at the intervention of the Central Government, Bodos were made to accept Devanagari script as a political solution.

Spelling can give rise to problems, as all members of the tribal community may not agree on how to spell the borrowed words from the dominant language. There are many such problems and often disagreement leads to non-use of the tribal language in education. It is, therefore, necessary to arrive at a consensus involving the community in its deliberations to take the first step for tribal education essential for tribal development (Annamalai 2001).

5.5 Loss and Preservation of Tribal Languages

5.5.1 Loss of Tribal Languages

It is an accepted fact that tribal languages in India are gradually dying over the years and the following factors are attributed to their loss or death:

1. Dialectization is the process of quick fragmentation of a tribal language into dialects and sub-dialects mainly due to the lack of writing systems in these languages. These languages are confined to spoken form, which is liable to quick changes, and even to permanent loss.

2. Language loss - Some of the tribal language are losing out to other dominant languages of the State or becoming diluted in the process of communication.

3. Language death - Many tribal languages are dead now due to non-maintenance, as these are neither used in education nor in administration.

4. Loss of dignity - Many tribal languages are dying because their speakers think that their languages are dead languages outside their region of habitation. Some think it dignified to speak in alien dominant languages and undignified to speak in their mother tongue.

5.5.2 How to Preserve Tribal Languages?

Certainly there is no short-cut formula to preserve the most vulnerable tribal languages, which are treated badly in the hands of both the State and its speakers. It needs consistent and sustainable efforts. However, the following suggestions can be made for the preservation of tribal languages in India.

An initiative for the preparation of scripts and writing of text books for primary education in the tribal areas is an urgent task before us. This is certainly an uphill task, but is not impossible.

What is needed is a coordinated effort by the linguists, anthropologists and the community members. The task should follow 4 stages: production of materials and curricula; printing of text books; training the teachers; and introduction of the books in the school. Probably this would balance the neglect to the tribal languages and scripts so far and can save them from forced extinction. This should be supplemented with invention of scripts, documentation of tribal lore and indigenous knowledge systems in tribal languages, preparation of dictionaries for all the tribal languages, etc. New planning must be made to make the tribals well versed in their native language (both orally and in written form), while enabling them at the same time to learn other languages, namely, Oriya, English and Hindi to be at par with the mainstream.

The international organizations like UNESCO and UNICEF have consistently argued that respect for the culture and identity of people is an important element in any viable approach to people centered development. World bodies such as the United Nations and the UNESCO are keen that all languages of the world are properly managed. And as follow-up of this objective, World Languages Reports are being written to describe linguistic diversity by studying its evolution, its current states, explain problems that affect different regions of the world and find solutions to linguistic communities in danger of extinction, keeping in view the fact that conflicts that occur in the world are always linked to questions of cultural and linguistic identity (Marti 2000).

The ratified Declarations of the Indigenous Peoples' Organizations states that "the culture of Indigenous Peoples is part of mankind's cultural patrimony and the customs and usages of the Indigenous Peoples must be respected by nation states". But the problem in the Indian context is that small and isolated ancestral languages and cultures, whose number is less than 10,000, get eliminated in official assessments like the Census Reports. Many apprehend that after a few decades some of these languages might vanish. In case of a few languages, there is the crisis of identity. For example, because of political reasons and fear of being driven out, the speakers of Taraon in Manipur claim they speak Tangkhul because they live in a Tangkhul dominated area. In other words, languages with less number of speakers are bound to disappear. Therefore, there are gross contradictions between objectives to be achieved and methods of achieving. Concerted efforts are, therefore, needed to save tribal languages and cultures from extinction; what is required now is a commitment with confidence to cherish India's age-old pride for its multicultural and multilingual societies.

Check Your Progress - III

1. Discuss various models for the development of scripts for tribal languages in India.
2. Which factors are commonly attributed to the loss or death of languages?
3. Write a short essay on the issue of preservation of tribal languages.

5.6 Let Us Sum Up

In this Unit, we discussed the linguistic scenario in India with special reference to tribal languages and their distribution. We also discussed the issue of mother tongue for teaching to tribal children in primary schools. Some attention was given the problem of scripts for tribal languages. We also talked about the reasons for loss or death of tribal education and the need to preserve and maintain them. Finally, it was said that language is an essential component of the cultural heritage of a nation and hence, special efforts should be made to preserve our otherwise endangered tribal languages.

5.7 Key Words

Linguistic Genocide	:	Murdering of languages.
Scheduled Language	:	A language recognized as an official language of India.
Mother tongue	:	A spoken language/dialect with or without script.
Second Language Learner:		Learner of a language other than his/her mother tongue.
Dialectization	:	Fragmentation of a language into dialects and sub-dialects.
Language Loss	:	A state of dilution of a language.
Language Death	:	Extinction of a language without a chance of its revival.

5.8 Check Your Learning

1. Discuss various languages spoken by the tribes of India and their distribution.

2. What are the constitutional provisions on 'right to language' for the Scheduled Tribes of India?

3. Delineate the problems of learning through an alien language at the primary school level.

4. List the initiatives taken by various State Governments and Central Agencies to get rid of the early educational problems of the tribal children.

5. Discuss how to develop a script for tribal languages.

6. Delineate the reasons for the loss of languages.

7. Write a brief note on the preservation and protection of tribal languages in India.

5.9 Suggested Readings

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5.10 Hints/Answers to Questions in Check Your Progress

Check Your Progress - I

1. Discuss all four language families, their divisions, language isolates and distribution of their speakers in India.

2. Write all the Articles of the Constitution of India that relate to the protection and preservation of languages for STs and minorities.

3. Discuss the points under the NPE that include education and mother tongue learning for ST children.

Check Your Progress - II

1. Discuss how important it is to learn in the medium of one's mother tongue at the primary stage of education.

2. Discuss the problems of learning through an alien language.

3. Different State Governments have taken initiatives to impart primary education in tribal lan guages. Discuss them.

Check Your Progress - III

1. Write about the choice of script, alphabets, spelling, punctuation marks, etc.

2. Discuss about dialectization, dominant language(s), and lack of maintenance, etc.

3. Write on preparation of textbooks, devising scripts, preparation of dictionaries, documenta tion of indigenous knowledge and folklores, etc.