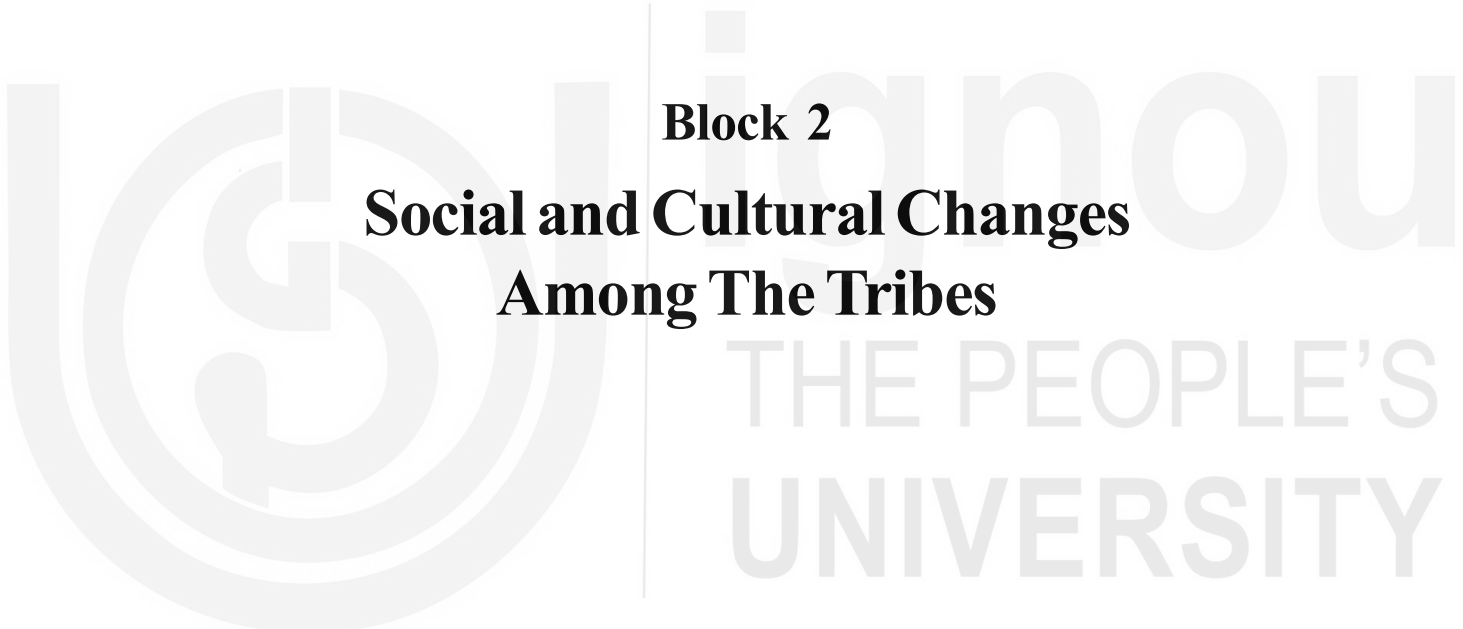


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Block 2

**Social and Cultural Changes
Among The Tribes**

UNIT 6 TRIBE-CASTE CONTINUUM IN INDIA*

Structure

- 6.0 Introduction
- 6.1 Tribe-Caste Continuum
- 6.2 Social Mobility
- 6.3 Hinduisation
- 6.4 M. N. Srinivas on Social Mobility and Sanskritisation
- 6.5 F. G. Bailey and Tribe-Caste Continuum
- 6.6 Robert Redfield and the Concept of Continuum
- 6.7 D. N. Majumdar's Cultural Transformation
- 6.8 Summary
- 6.9 References
- 6.10 Answers to Check Your Progress

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- understand the concept of continuum and tribe-caste continuum;
- analyse various contexts by different authors/social scientists; and
- elaborate examples of tribe-caste continuum in India.

6.0 INTRODUCTION

The communities in India belong to various cultural attributes. Both the tribe and caste based communities are unique part of Indian sub-continent. Historically, both of them are in interaction with each other's culture, and it is a difficult task to clarify who adapted the culture of whom. It is understood that caste communities were initially tribes and transformation happened through time.

The entire journey of transformation is through different stages with modifications, changes, alterations and finally leads to cultural growth. This also involved constant and continuous interactions between these communities along with the invaders and rulers from other countries.

It is also true that whatever changes or modifications happened with the community cultures, these happened with sustainability of the system that helped the community to continue. The positivity or the suitability of the culture patterns/units/complexes are the most probable factor for adaptation and modifications. The boundaries between the communities are not clear but continuity is featured in most of the spheres of performances and practices.

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6.1 TRIBE-CASTE CONTINUUM

The continuity of cultural elements in the community while experiencing mobility and changes is the status of continuum. Usually cultures of the communities of tribes are the examples of simple societies and the castes are the complex societies in comparison to them. The fundamentals are derived from Robert Redfield's concept of Rural-Urban continuum in the "*Folk-culture of Yucatan*". The socio-cultural elements which undergo changes but the basic principles of practices remain unchanged.

In India, tribal religion has many aspects which are similar to Hindu religion, particularly nature worship and belief in ancestor worship. Annual death rituals are also featured among some tribe like Lanjia Saora of South Odisha (Swain, 2010).

The patriarchal and patrilineal systems are common among majority of Indian tribes and similar to non-tribal i.e. Hindu communities. Inheritance of property is also follows the descent rules as prevalent in the system.

The hierarchical principles in caste system are also featured among some tribes like Lanjia Saora and Paraja tribes of Odisha and Andhra Pradesh. However, the pattern of hierarchy is not same in these two tribes. The hierarchical system among Lanjia Saora is more of political and occupational in nature whereas it is comparatively rigid like Hindu caste system based on purity and pollution and social position among the Paraja community.

The marriage rules in both the communities are lineage/clan exogamous but community/group endogamous. The complex system within caste like hypogamy and hypergamy are not among the tribes in India. However cousin marriage is common in both caste and tribes in India, particularly southern Indian communities. Kin categories are common in both of them.

The village council and caste councils are the significant units to regulate and regularise political intentions of the both tribal and caste communities. However the clan based tribal communities are more dependent on the clan heads than on the village council. Only the serious issues are taken up by the village councils.

The *jajamani* principle within the caste system defines the master-client dependency and regulates the occupations also. However this inbuilt system is not there among the tribes as they have no occupational specialisations. However, communities as such, are known for their specific produces like the Kuli tribe of western Odisha is known as weavers (Swain, 2014).

The inter community interactions among tribes is perhaps one of the best practices among Toda and other tribal communities of the region. This dependency is a similar pattern as the *jajmani system* because of the age old practice prevalent in the region. This includes magical practices, musical performances, agricultural produces, implements and milk produces.

The caste integration in the temple services of Sri Jaggannath Temple of Puri in Odisha is one of the best examples of cultural integration. The historical writings suggest about the age old practice of occupational integration I the services across the hierarchies and also the integration of tribe *Sabara*, to which community the God and Goddess originally belonged to. These occupational integrations were also patronised by the kingship in various regions.

- 1) Describe the concept of tribe-caste continuum with relevant examples.

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6.2 SOCIAL MOBILITY

Social anthropologists and ethnographers try to fix the relationships between Indian caste system and the tribes in India. Both Hutton (Caste in India) and G.S. Ghurye (The Aborigines) hold similar opinions about the organic links but Risley, V. Elwin (Aboriginals) and F.G. Baily (Tribe and Caste in India) opined about the distinctiveness of them. D.D. Kosambi (An Introduction to the history of India) found the origin of Hindu culture in aboriginal systems.

Referring to Social Mobility, it is the changes in the existing system to achieve better situations. It may be socio-cultural, occupational and others. In India the hierarchical system within caste mobilizes the lower strata to achieve better positions by adapting various mechanisms appropriate for that. This mobility is of ritualistic in nature than others like industrialization, westernisations and the like. However the main intention behind Social Mobility is to achieve opportunities for social elevation and the corresponding status positions for better opportunities.

Within caste system it is a continuous effort for better social positions and it is being discussed with many scholarly approaches by M.N. Srinivas and others. But the positional changes rather than structural changes are some of the significant conclusions from the studies on different processes of changes. Perhaps this aspect makes it live even today as we can find the existence of caste system within us.

The tribes in India, who are less prone to changes and known as isolated communities, are not at par with non-tribal communities with regard to social mobility and changes therein. In some regions they are considered in lower strata. Thus the members of tribal communities depending upon the social-cultural status also try to move in the social ladder by imitating the culture of caste communities of higher strata. The migrated members of *Santhal* community are mostly the life styles of Hindu culture like worshipping *Tulsi* herb, observing ritual calendar of Hindus, and others. The pastoral community of *Toda* is integrated into the temple services for their milk products. They observe sacredness of the buffalo sheds by not allowing females during their menstrual periods and also females are not allowed to prepare milk products supposed to be supplied to the temples.

Check Your Progress

- 2) What is meant by social mobility?

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6.3 HINDUISATION

It is one of the traditional factors of cultural change of the tribal population in India. Tribals in various places come in contact with the adjacent communities of Hindu and others, but mostly influenced by Hindus. “The nature and extent of contact, the pattern of mutual participation and the characteristics of revitalisation movements have been different in different parts of India” (Vidyarthi, 1976, pp.454). The isolated communities came in contact and became semi-isolated and gradually assimilated with different castes and sub castes.

The tribal communities around Himalayas such as *Tharus* (Srivastava, 1958), *Khasa* (Majumdar, 1962) are practicing some traditions after being accepted as Kshatriya. Not only they have an elevated status of Brahmins and Rajputs, they have also established marriage relations with the Thakurs. Similarly, the other tribal communities of Lahaulis, Kinnauris, Gaddis and others of Himanchal Pradesh practice Hinduism. Cultural reorganization took place among Bhumij to confer the kshatriya status to them so that they can enjoy the higher status. The “Tribal-Rajput continuum” (Vidyarthi and Rai, 1976) is also suggested for the Bhumij. The Hinduised model provided to the Parahiyas though they are economically forest tribes. This also includes their interaction with the Brahmins of Great Tradition of Varanasi is identical in nature. The examples of some of the communities claiming to be the Brahmins like the Bauris of West Bengal (Shasmal, 1967; Vidyarthi and Rai, 1976). These members also worship the Goddess Sitla and Mansa and they relate their ancestry to Lord Mahadeva, who is also the deity of Bhils. Similarly, the Mahalis of West Bengal practice the same (Sen Gupta, 1966; Vidyarthi and Rai, 1976). The tribe Oraon and Munda also followed the Hindu mode of beliefs and practices. Some members of the Munda (Vidyarthi and Rai) were also motivated by Bhakti Cult. Tana Bhagat movement and helped to revive the Oraon tradition. Vidyarthi and Rai also mentioned that the most of the south Indian tribes also have beliefs in Hindu gods and deities.

There are many examples among the Hindu communities adapting the tribal cultures/morals like the Khasas of Utter Pradesh and the Bastar region of Chhattisgarh. The adoption of tribal culture among the Gops from Hos of Sighbhum is also discussed by Majumdar as part of the process of trans-culturation.

“At the level of worship and customs have been accepted by the Aryans and they have been integrated, in the course of time in the evolution of Hinduism. It is evident, in this process as accepted by Srinivas (1966: 20) that the representatives of the “great tradition” may succumb to the little tradition which seems to have happened occasionally.” (Vidyarthi and Rai, 1979, pp. 458)

Hutton also discusses tribal and Hindu system with regard to the commonalities within them. This helped both the cultures to be more appropriate in their respective perspectives and cultural environments.

- 3) Explain the concept of Hinduisation with some examples.

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6.4 M. N. SRINIVAS ON SOCIAL MOBILITY AND SANSKRITISATION

M. N. Srinivas explained many processes of social changes that India has experienced. Among them Sanskritisation is one of the older process, happening from historical period. This process is being among different communities and different time period. According to him 'Sanskritisation is the 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 high, and frequently, "twice-born" caste. Generally such changes are followed by a claim to higher position in the caste hierarchy than traditionally conceded to the claimant caste by the local community. The claim is usually made over a period of time, in fact, a generation or two, before the "arrival" is conceded' (Srinivas, 1977, 1989, pp. 6).

Thus, Srinivas discussed the process with the empirical evidences from Harijan castes in Mysore, the Smiths community, the Okkaligas, Kurubas, Lingayats and Coorgs of Mysore. He stressed on the upward mobility but not related mobility to Sanskritisation as the necessary causal factor. The system according to him remains stable while the caste moves up or down. This underlies the stable hierarchical order.

He also says that "Sanskritisation is not confined to Hindu castes but also occurs among tribal and semi tribal groups such as Bhils of Western India, the Gonds and Oraons of Central India, and the Pahadis of the Himalayas. This usually results in the tribe undergoing Sanskritisation claiming to be a caste, and therefore, Hindu." (Srinivas, 1977, pp.7). Therefore the entire process is towards Hinduisation for better social positions.

He also referred S.L. Kalia on the process of "tribalisation", who described both Jaunsar-Bawar in Uttar Pradesh and in the Bastar region of Madhya Pradesh. Here the high-caste Hindus being the temporary habitants took over the culture of the local community despite those are unethical to them. Thus the higher caste members assimilate with the dominant caste around them. Several examples of the members of great tradition become the members of the little traditions.

Towards the tribal studies in India he also opined that "When an Indian anthropologist is studying a different caste or other group in India, he is studying someone who is both the other and also someone with whom he shares a few cultural forms, beliefs, and values. That is, he is studying a self-in-other and not a total other, for both are members of the same civilisation, which is extraordinarily complex, layered, and filled with conflicting tendencies" (Srinivas, 1977, pp. 22).

Thus while talking about the tribal communities and the cultural continuity, K.K. Basa and G. Jayaprakasan wrote 'Srinivas stated that the mainstream (viz., the great tradition) had taken a number of elements from the tribal dimensions of Indian life. The tribals had also emulated some elements from the higher castes. Thus, tribals should not be looked upon as alien, exotic and inferior to the mainstream, or as mere passive recipients from the great traditions, and hence one should, Srinivas stressed, "stop looking at them condescendingly". Thus, for Srinivas, the tribal subaltern is to be celebrated as an active agent in the making of great tradition'.

Check Your Progress

- 4) Explain the process of Sanskritisation as given by M.N. Srinivas.

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6.5 F. G. BAILEY AND TRIBE-CASTE CONTINUUM

Bailey attempted the meaning of 'Tribe' and 'Caste' and wrote that there is no single and accepted criterion by which to distinguish a caste from a tribe. In this regard he also verified all the necessary criterion of a tribe in comparison to other non tribal communities. Towards a distinction of the above category, he researched the Kondh, the Odia caste and the local untouchables (Pano).

"The Konds, for their part, did not act politically only towards one another and only in a segmentary system of territorial clans: they also were the masters of PAN untouchables and of the other dependant castes, and in this respect they were a dominant caste in a caste system..." (Bailey, 1960, pp. 264). He also questioned the same political system in both the communities but defined differently. On this basis F.G Bailey discussed continuum. According to him "The only solution to this problem is to postulate a continuum, at the end of which is a society whose political system is entirely of the segmentary egalitarian type, and which contains no dependents whatsoever; at the other end of which is a society in which segmentary political relations exists only between a very small proportion of the total society, and most people act in the system in the role of dependants...Konds who were most remote from the influence of the Oriyas-say the Kuttia Konds- would be at one end of the continuum, while the small kingdoms... The self-styled Rajput royal families would be at the other end of continuum. He also found it difficult to find the point of continuum between tribe and caste. On the basis of the population number, he placed the Konds as the politically dominant group (five out every eight persons) with small proportion of dependants. This was the underlying principle of ".....politically active Konds and the region may therefore be counted as tribal" (Bailey, 1960, pp. 265).

Towards the definition of caste and tribe he said "A tribe may become caste in two ways. The one — the familiar 'conquest' theory — takes place when a small group of military adventures conquer a large alien population. Reduce it to dependence on themselves, and do not miscegenation or permit any form of political incorporation as

equals". He wrote that due to the paternalistic and protective administration towards the Konds "the Kond did not lose their identity as did not dependant on other caste communities because of the 'effective political allegiances'.

Bailey gave importance to segmentary kinship system which can ... "only 'adopt' people—that is, can only incorporate them as equals, or else them entirely, whereas a caste system is adapted to incorporate dependants.....politically at least the distinction between 'tribe and 'caste' is ceasing to be useful one. In the modern caste—the group which is politically active to the width of the linguistic region—both the tribe and the traditional caste are being merged" (1960, pp. 266).

While placing the positions of caste and tribe in Kodhamala, he wrote "Kond political institutions continued to operate on many occasions as if the Oriyas were not there at all. The process of fission and accretion by taking on the obligations of brotherhood continued to keep the Kond population adjusted to the capacity of the land".

6.6 ROBERT REDFIELD AND THE CONCEPT OF CONTINUUM

Redfield has contributions towards the understanding of continuum while discussing Rural-Urban continuum. He referred the findings of Mackim Marriot in the village Kishan Garhi in India. According to Redfield "...the principal elements of the country wide networks of India consist of familial and caste associations that persist through generations. These associations connect one set of villages with families corresponding in culture and social status in other villages. It is as if the characteristic social structure of the primitive self-contained community had been dissected out and its components spread about a wide area. Rural India is a primitive or a tribal society rearranged to fit a civilisation" (Redfield, 1956, pp. 56). Thus Redfield mentioned about the cultural transition from primitive to civilisation.

While mentioning about Indian scenario of great tradition, Redfield discussed about the local communities and their interactions with the others. "It is in India that the great (Sanskritic) tradition is in constant, various, and conspicuous interaction with the life of the local communities. It is there that the teachings of reflective and civilised minds appear plainly in the festivals, rituals, and in the ideals of the peasantry. It is in India that a man's ascribed status, in the form of caste, is closely in the rituals associated with the claim of that caste to participation in the rituals and ideals of life as inculcated in Sanskritic teachings. Redfield also referred to M.N. Srinivas' findings on the Coorgs of south India, their conscious efforts towards Hinduisation and their part of following the great tradition.

The corresponding discussions with regard to little traditions also derived by Robert Redfield from Marriot's village study in Utter Pradesh, India. "...the little traditions of the folk exercise their influence on the authors of the Hindu great tradition who take up some element of belief or practice and, by incorporating it in their reflective statement of Hindu orthodoxy, universalise that element for all who thereafter come under the influence of their teaching" (Redfield, 1956, pp. 95).

The complex structure of tradition organised through the specialists, are the main components of great tradition and little tradition in India "...the interaction of great

and little traditions can be regarded as part of the social structure of the peasant community in its enlarged context”. Thus both the traditions are based on exchange of ideals, values and practices within them. The age old practices are the best part of Indian culture and the continuity of these in the various forms like ceremonies, teachers, story-parts, deities and others are continuing in different communities. In great mythologies like Ramayana and Mahabharat the instances of both tribal and non-tribal communities are cited. The small communities have their own versions of these epics and most of these find their explanations in their local performances (*jatras/palas*).

Check Your Progress

- 5) Discuss Robert Redfield’s idea of little and great traditions?

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6.7 D. N. MAJUMDAR CULTURAL TRANSFORMATION

Majumdar discussed about Group dynamics among caste and tribes in India. He mentioned about process of the incorporation of tribes into castes since the coming of Aryan-speaking people to India. The transformation processes of the aboriginal tribes to Hindu culture in various forms like adopting surname or *gotra* of a particular caste, marrying into castes, following gods/deities, keeping fasting, observing ritual days or following ritual calendar and food habits and the like. “Culture contact with Hindu castes leads to the adoption by the tribes of Hindu beliefs, rituals, customs, and to participation in Hindu festivals and attendance at Hindu temples” (Majumdar and Madan, 1955, pp. 244). Majumdar also opined that poverty was the factor for degrading the priestly castes who became the spiritual guides for the aspiring tribes. Though the priest did not go for abandoning of rituals but tried to bring the differences to the minimum. “These Brahmins insist on the theory that the tribal groups have lapsed from higher social status with a traditional ancestry, however remote that may be. They readmit the tribal groups to their supposed earlier social status if the latter agree to go through ceremonial purification. The Kharwar of Palamau in Bihar and of Mirzapur (U.P.) who claim a high origin and wear sacred thread, the Polia of Dinajpur, Rungpur, Jalpaiguri and cooch Behar who claim to have originated from Kshatriyas and call themselves ‘Rajbansi’, afford the required examples “ (1955, pp. 244). Majumdar also is the main advocate of Transformation. He writes “The transformation of a tribal group into a group in the greater Hindu society with a distinct position in the caste hierarchy may come about without any occupational specialisation within the group or by the group as a whole. It will also be shown that admission into the caste entirely through the process of Sanskritisation”.

Thus tribal social organisations in India have similarities with Hindus like clan/*gotra* exogamy, kinship obligations, family, Panchayats/ village councils, and religious heads belief in ancestral spirits, nature worship, and the like. The tribal sub-groups among the

Gonds and Paraja communities are in the line of caste occupations and purity pollution respectively. The lanjia Saora has the caste like prototypes excluding the principles of purity and pollutions and group endogamy.

Check Your Progress

- 6) Discuss in brief about D.N. Majumdar's views on Cultural Transformation.

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6.8 SUMMARY

To sum up, changes in culture are a continuous process and both the tribe and caste in India have experience the same at different phases of culture and also in different historical time. Both the tribe and caste communities are part of the traditional social systems and in contact with each other. The cultural assimilation, integration and transformation, are the different sequences of changes and also the dynamics that each of them experienced through interactions.

The social mobility and Sanskritisation, Hinduisation, transformation are some of the processes responsible for the tribe-caste continuum in India. These conceptualisations and contextualisation are by various scholars like F. G. Bailey, M. N. Srinivas, Robert Redfield, D. N. Majumdar. This aspect of cultural dynamics is distinct and specific to Indian cultural system.

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6.10 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

- 1) Refer to Section 6.1
- 2) Refer to Section 6.2
- 3) Refer to Section 6.3
- 4) Refer to Section 6.4
- 5) Refer to Section 6.6
- 6) Refer to Section 6.7



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UNIT 7 TRIBAL MONOGRAPHS ON SOCIAL CHANGE*

Structure

- 7.0 Introduction
- 7.1 Definitions and the Concept of Social Change
- 7.2 Tribal Monographs in Formative Phase
- 7.3 Tribal Monographs in Constructive Phase
- 7.4 Tribal Monographs in Analytical Phase
- 7.5 Tribal Monographs in Evaluative Phase
- 7.6 Summary
- 7.7 References
- 7.8 Answers to Check Your Progress

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading this unit, you will be able to:

- understand the concept of social change;
- know the tribal culture of the different parts of India; and
- comprehend the monograph studies on the social change among the tribes of India.

7.0 INTRODUCTION

The Indian cultural heritage comprises of a wide variety of complex as well as simple but rich folklore found among the tribals living in the forest clad mountainous, valleys and hilly tracts of India, except few tribes, who are exclusively confined to the plain areas. India is the traditional home of the 705 Scheduled Tribes notified as per provisions of Constitution of India and 75 of them have been recognised as Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PVTGs). Tribal communities are distributed from Himalayas down to the Indian Ocean and from the Arabian Sea to the Bay of Bengal and Eastern Frontiers. The Scheduled Tribe population in India forms a distinct social economic and cultural group. Tribal groups have all been undergoing changes being in constant interaction with neighbouring civilisations. These changes have been observed and described by many anthropologists and sociologists. At this juncture, anthropologists emerged as experts on tribal and primitive societies. They have produced many monographs on social change on different tribes of India. The fieldwork tradition in anthropology paved way for new perspective on tribal ethnographic studies. This method of ethnographic study gave rise to production of what was known as 'tribal monographs' focusing on the holistic study of tribal communities.

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7.1 DEFINITIONS AND THE CONCEPT OF SOCIAL CHANGE

The term social change comprises of two words-social and change. The meaning of social change denotes a difference in anything, be it an individual, group, society or any material object over a period of time. The word change signifies process. Change denotes any alternation, difference or modification in anything observed over some period of time. The word social is defined in two different ways— one, in terms of society's social structure and two, in terms of culture. Some sociologists and anthropologists say that by social change is meant only such alterations, which occur in social organisations, that is, in structure and functions of society. The other group of sociologists and anthropologists define it in terms of rise and fall of culture. Social change is a part of cultural change which includes science, technology and values of social organisation. Social change, therefore, would mean observable differences in any social phenomena over any period of time.

The term social change is used to indicate the changes that take place in human interactions and interrelations. Society is a web of social relationships and hence social change means change in the system of social relationships. Auguste Comte, the father of sociology introduced the concept of social change. Later on, this concept was further refined and developed by Herbert Spencer, Karl Marx and a number of other sociologists. Herbert Spencer offered a theory of change that was evolutionary, based on population growth and structural differentiation. Karl Marx contended that the most significant social changes were revolutionary in nature, and were brought about by the struggle for supremacy between economic classes. No human society is static and at the same time it is difficult to predict the forms and directions of social change.

Sociologists and anthropologists have defined social change in varied ways. Some often quoted definitions of social change are:

August Comte says "Societies progress through a series of predictable stages based on the development of human knowledge".

As Kingsley Davis says, "By social change it is meant only such alterations as occur in social organisation, that is, structure and functions of society".

According to M.E. Jones, "Social change is a term used to describe variations in, or modifications of, any aspect of social processes, social patterns, social interaction or social organisation".

Kroeber (1948) described acculturation as changes produced in a culture because of the influence of another culture, with the two cultures becoming similar as the end result.

MacIver and Page delineate "**Social change refers to a process responsive to many types of changes; to changes the in man-made condition of life; to changes in the attitudes and beliefs of men, and to the changes that go beyond the human control to the biological and the physical nature of things**" (<https://egyankosh.ac.in/bitstream/123456789/17118/1/Unit-4.pdf>).

On the basis of the above definitions it may be concluded that social change refers to the modifications which take place in the life patterns of people. It does not refer to all

the changes going on in the society. The changes in art, language, technology, philosophy, etc. may not be included in the term 'Social change' which should be interpreted in a narrow sense to mean alterations in the field of social relationships. Social relationships are social processes, social patterns and social interactions. Thus social change will mean variations of any aspect of social processes, social patterns, social interactions or social organisation. It is a change in the institutional and normative structure of society. (<https://www.sociologydiscussion.com/sociology/theories-of-social-change-meaning-nature-and-processes/2364>).

Anthropologists and sociologists contribute to the understanding of social and culture change by examining past and present cultures around the world. A particular kind of cultural change that the American anthropologists were interested in was through the process of acculturation. Acculturation is the process of systematic cultural change of a particular society carried out by an alien, dominant society. Alfred Kroeber stated that acculturation consists of those changes in one culture brought about by intensive contact with another culture, resulting in an increased similarity between the two cultures. Acculturation is also the borrowing of traits; however, there is a superordinate, or dominant, and subordinate, or minority, relationship between cultures. The dominant culture picks and chooses those traits from the subordinate culture that it deems useful, i.e., diffusion. The subordinate culture is pressured to adopt the traits of the dominant culture. It is the element of pressure that differentiates acculturation from diffusion. Acculturation manifests itself in multiple ways. One way is called the Melting Pot. The melting pot refers to a blending of cultures. This primarily occurs through intermarriage of people from the two cultures. What frequently happens is that one of the two cultures is dominant and the other subordinate within the relationship so that only some of its traits are practiced. Another form of acculturation is called the Salad Bowl, or cultural pluralism. This occurs when people immigrate and keep as many original cultural traits as possible. The different types of acculturation are not necessarily mutually exclusive. Even in the case of cultural pluralism people must adopt certain traits of the host country, i.e., the laws, in order to thrive, but they do keep as many traditions as possible. **Host conformity** occurs when an individual has fully assimilated into the host culture. (<https://courses.lumenlearning.com/culturalanthropology/chapter/culture-change/>).

Cultures change in a number of ways. Cultures change according to two basic processes: internal changes (innovations/invention/discovery) and external changes (cultural diffusion). Any new thing, idea or behavior pattern that emerges from within a society is an invention. Some inventions are very deliberate and purposeful, while others are unconscious and unintentional. Inventions can also occur at different times and in different cultures independently. But not all innovations lead to culture change. An individual can come up with a wonderful novel thing or idea, but unless it is accepted and used by the wider society, it will not lead to a change in the culture. The other source of culture change, which comes from outside the culture, known as cultural diffusion refers to the spreading of a cultural element or a behaviour pattern from one culture to another. Ralph Linton, a noted anthropologist of cultural change suggested that over the long run, the unconscious inventor has had a greater impact on cultural change than has the conscious inventor. The unconscious or accidental inventor contributes to cultural change without being driven by an unmet societal need or even realising that he or she is making a contribution (Gary Ferraro and Susan Andreatta, 2010).

Check Your Progress

1) What is social change?

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7.2 TRIBAL MONOGRAPHS IN FORMATIVE PHASE

Over the last six decades, anthropologists, irrespective of their nationality have conducted extensive ethnographic studies on Indian society and culture. According to Dube (1962) social anthropological studies in India refer to three phases of development (1) the earliest phase of the compilation and publication of volumes on tribes and castes containing brief and often sketchy accounts of the divergent customs and practices of the various groups, (2) a second phase, characterised by detailed monograph studies of individual tribes mostly through personal observations and (3) the third phase after the national independence marked by considerable quantitative advancement and some qualitative achievement. Based on the type of the work that was being done in anthropology Bose (1963) also refers to three such phases of writings (1) encyclopedia of tribes and castes, (2) descriptive monographs, and (3) analytical studies of village, marriage and family, caste and civilization, etc. Indian anthropologists such as D.N. Majumdar, L.P. Vidyarthi and Basu Roy divide anthropological researches in India into the following phases.

Phases of Development of Anthropological Research in India

Anthropologists	Phase 1	Phase 2	Phase 3	Phase 4
D.N. Majumdar	Formative Phase 1774-1911	Constructive Phase 1912-1937	Critical Phase 1938 onward	-
L.P. Vidyarthi	Formative Phase 1774-1919	Constructive Phase 1920-1949	Analytical Phase 1950 ongoing	-
Basu Roy	Formative Phase 1774-1919	Constructive Phase 1920-1949	Analytical Phase 1950-1990	Evaluative Phase 1990 to the present

In the beginning of the formative phase one of the first things that happened in Anthropology in India was the setting up of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1774 by Sir William Jones. Obviously, it is the only landmark as it meant beginning of scientific study of “nature and man” in India and many studies were printed in the journal of the Society. Most of the monographs were published on traditions, customs and beliefs of tribes and other caste communities. The British encouraged their scholar - administrators to write on tribe and castes of the region in which they were posted. Risley, Dalton and Malley in Eastern India, Russell in Middle India, Thurston in South India and Crooks in Northern India collected ethnographic information on Castes and Tribes and the books they published provide basic information even today. The purpose of these

volumes, according to Vidyarthi (1976) was to acquaint the government officials and private persons with classified tribes and castes in India with a view to ensuring effective colonial administration. During this phase when Risley became head of Census Operations in India, a separate wing for ethnographic survey was developed which initiated the project “People of India”.

In the formative phase for the first time, anthropology as a subject was introduced in the Department of Sociology Bombay University in 1919. During the colonial period, in 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. During formative phase some of the anthropologists like W. H. R. Rivers, J. H. Hutton, A. R. Radcliffe-Brown and C. G. Seligman came to India for ethnographic work.

- W.H.R. Rivers came to India in 1904 and conducted study on Todas of Nilgiri Hills; monograph was published in 1906.
- A.R. Radcliffe-Brown well-known structural functionalists who studied Onge tribe of the Andaman Islanders in 1906 and 1908 and the monograph published in 1922.
- Charles Gabriel Seligman and Brenda Z. Seligman wrote on the Veddas of Sri Lanka.

Their work influenced people like Paul Olaf Bodding, Hoffman, Emelen, etc. to work on Indian communities in a greater degree of sympathetic detail. These anthropologists in turn influenced others who were of Indian origin to work in anthropology. In social anthropology scholars started publishing their ethnographic work on different populations of India. Some of the notable works of this kind include *Tribes and Castes of Bengal* published by H. H. Risley in the year 1891. The first Indian National to write exhaustive monographs on the tribes in India was S.C. Roy who published his first monograph on *Munda and their Country* in 1912 followed by a series of five monographs on the Oraon, the Birhor, Oraon religion and customs, Hill Bhuniya and the Kharia. Sarath Chandra Roy (1871-1942), was the first Indian ethnographer who helped the oppressed tribals of the region, started his work among the tribals of Chotanagpur. The above works of Roy were acknowledged by the then British anthropologists as competent studies, and Hutton in this presidential address to the Indian Anthropological Institute in Calcutta on 5 January, 1938, described Roy as “Father of Indian Ethnology”. He was a lawyer by profession.

Roy in his monograph *The Mundas and their Country* discussed the history of Munda tribe and their land systems in great detail. He devoted himself to the study of the language, modes, manners and customs of the Munda tribes. The other monograph on *Oraon Religion and Customs* was published in 1928. This monograph showed the effect of acculturation and rapid culture contact among the Oraons, as seen in the Bhagat Movement. In this monograph he discusses the religious and ritualistic aspects of the various initiation ceremonies, and brings out the roles that the spirits and supernatural beings play in the course of life of the Oraon. He also describes how some of these feasts intensify the feeling of social solidarity in the village, the clan and the tribe. In the other chapters of the monograph Roy describes in detail about various feasts and festivals such as food-gathering festival, spring festival, hunting festival, cattle

festival, agricultural festival, magical aspects of Oraon life, mantras, role of shamans and medicine man. The last chapter of monograph was devoted to the revivalistic movements and modern tendencies in Oraon religion. Here Roy describes the impact of Hinduism, which finds reflection in the series of Bhagat Movement. Roy gives a fascinating, penetrating and objective account of the origin and crystallisation of the Tana Bhagat movement initiated by Jatra Bhagat. It is interesting to note the details of the efforts made by the leaders of Tana Bhagat movement to enforce the beliefs among their followers when a large number of them relapsed to their old faith. They composed Oraon hymns and Bhajans relating to Tana Bhagat and professed that they had come to them through divine inspiration. So Roy relates these puritanistic movements among the Oraon as a result of their consciousness to achieve social and economic aspirations along with the religious ones and to find “an escape from the general dissatisfaction with their present economic condition and social status”. He also considers the lines of development, more or less on “the Oraon’s traditional way of thought and belief”.

Roy also refers to the Christian movement. He gives very briefly, the historical background of foreign missionaries who began to preach with the utmost zeal the futility of sacrificing for the old tribal spirits and deities and the utility of the new Gospel. He refers to the phenomenal conversion to Christianity among the Oraons at times of acute economic distress or agrarian distress. In his analytical conclusion, Roy refers to the emergence of a higher *Kurukh Dharam*, a true Oraon religion which would be suited to his distinctive culture. “Such a religion, far from interfering with their tribal life, their traditional morality, the prestige of their elders, their pleasure and hope, their enjoyment and zest in life will ennoble life by giving it a fuller meaning and richer contents” (Roy, 1928). The work of Roy on Oraon religion is a unique and pioneering piece of work which continues to remain unparalleled in Indian ethnography. His work in addition to giving vast streams of data on Oraon religion, also helps in the understanding of tribal religion in particular and religious history and development in general.

The other ethnographic works of S. C. Roy are *The Birhors: A Littleknown Jungle Tribe of Chota Nagpur* (1925), *The Hill Bhuiyas of Orissa* (1935), and the Kharia (1937). 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 emphasised 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.

During the formative phase some scholars from abroad carried out the ethnographic works in India. These works include the following:

- *The Khasi* (1907) by P. R. T. Gurdon,
- *The Lhota Naga* (1922) by J. P. Mills,
- *The Lushei Kuki Clans* (1912) by J. Shakespeare, and
- *The Chamars* (1920) by G. W. Briggs.

The first awareness about the tribes in different parts of South India came through the descriptive notes published by British Administrators and Census officers. Among the earlier administrators the name of the Thurston figures prominently who published the ethnographic notes on Southern India in 1906 and also wrote seven volumes on the

tribes and castes in South India. Thurston carried out the ethnographic studies on the vanishing culture and customs of South Indian communities such as Toda, Kota, Badaga, Kurumba, Paniyans, Kadar, Irulis, Muthuvans, etc.

Scholar L.K. Anantha Krishna Iyer (1861-1937) made a very valuable contribution to the study of tribes and castes of Kerala and Karnataka. He published the following monographs:

- *Cochin Tribes and Castes (1908)*
- *Tribe and Caste of Ernakulam*
- *The Mysore Tribes and Castes (1926-1935) 4 Vols. (with H. V. Nanjundayya)*

Check Your Progress

2) Name the monographs of S.C. Roy.

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7.3 TRIBAL MONOGRAPHS IN CONSTRUCTIVE PHASE

Under the constructive phase social anthropology in India underwent a phenomenal change when it was included in the curricula of the reputed Universities in Bombay, department of sociology 1919, and in Calcutta department of anthropology in 1921. The above two departments for sociology and anthropology attracted many scholars and stimulated them to undertake significant research on diverse areas of the subject. Indian anthropologist and sociologists like Ghurye, Chattopadhyay, Mysore Narasimhacharya Srinivas (1916-1999), Dharendra Nath Majumdar (1903-1960), P.N. Mishra, Tarak Chandra Das (1898-1964), Irawati Karve (1905-1970), A. Aiyappan (1905- 1988), etc. provided the initial stimulus for the organisation of scientific anthropological researches by conducting fieldwork in tribal and rural areas of India.

During constructive phase many significant works including *The Changing Ho* of D. N. Majumdar, *Marriage and Family in Mysore* of M. N. Srinivas and *Hindu Methods of Tribal Absorption* of Nirmal Kumar Bose (1901-1972), may be described as the turning point in the growth of social anthropology in India.

Roy encouraged D. N. Majumdar to undertake the monograph study of the Hos. His monograph *The Changing Ho* was focused on culture contact and acculturation which became a basis for anthropology students. He conducted field researches among the Hos of Kalhan. When he became lecturer at Lucknow University in 1927 he made repeated visits to Hos village during the summer vacations specially for checking the data already collected by him. Majumdar's analysis of the Hos religion as well as his presentation of it in the context of the concept of Bongaism is quite meaningful, and provides a new angle to understand the role and function of tribal religion. His introduction

to this monograph is also a valuable contribution as it summarises the theories of culture in the Indian context, and then proposes his own concept of MARC to study culture change. For his study he used the MARC model which means Man, Area, Resource and Cooperation. According to him the relationship between these four elements guides the existence of any society.

- Man: Human beings having biological needs and physical properties.
- Area: Spaces which they occupy, the geographical referent which forms the basis of their existence.
- Resource: Materials available in the spaces that they occupy.
- Cooperation: Relationship between the human beings studied.

Harmony in all these four elements leads to a functional unity in society. This unity breaks down due to external pressures. On the basis of his model Majumdar claimed that the Hos were being influenced by external pressures. He saw that primitive tribes are declining and this was also a primary concern for anthropologists. According to him, advanced culture impinging on a simple and passive society is causing such decline. He was not in the favor of creating reserves for tribals and including them very closely within the Hindu fold as a backward form of Hinduism. He supported them to be integrated into Indian society, a form that he called “creative or generative adaptation.” He believed that dominant groups should give respect to those communities who are backward or downtrodden. A social change, in his opinion, should not be disruptive but should be in continuity with existing cultural traditions.

Majumdar was the first Indian anthropologist to study the impact of non-tribal cultures on the life of Indian tribes. Some of his important books on tribal studies are:

- *A Tribe in Transition* (1937)
- *The Fortunes of Primitive Tribes* (1944)
- *Races and Cultures of India* (1944)

Anthropologist Nirmal Kumar Bose in his book *Tribal Life in India* draws profusely from the material on the tribes of Orissa specially on the Juangs of Keonjhar district. He conducted his fieldwork among the Juangs of Orissa in 1927, where he was impressed by the simple life of the poor tribals. The book examines the tribal culture, society and economy. He proposed a theory known as the “Hindu Method of Tribal Absorption”. The idea was first proposed in a paper presented at the Indian Science Congress in 1941. Bose’s proposal was based on his short fieldtrips to Orissa’s Pal Lahara region where the Juang tribal community lived. The essence of the theory was the Tribals who had come into contact with their powerful caste Hindu neighbours gradually lost their own tribal identity and were given a low-caste status within the Hindu fold. Bose’s ethnographic encounter with the Juang was brief, and he only referred to one Juang ceremony in which a Hindu goddess Lakshmi was worshipped. Bose was not interested in seeing whether there was any resistance to the adoption of Hindu customs and rituals from the Juang or any other tribe who came into contact with the dominating Hindus. Bose’s equation was simple: Since Hindus were economically superior to the tribes like the Juang and since the caste system allowed a non-competitive, hereditary guild-like group formation, with some amount of freedom in the sphere of cultural practices, the tribes did not revolt against this system and were gradually absorbed into it.

Calcutta University published T.C. Das' three research monographs on the Ho (1927), Kharia (1931) and Bhumij (1931) tribes of Chota Nagpur. These monographs were the result of the fieldwork that Das and his students from the university had carried out in the then Bihar province (now Jharkhand). His monograph on *The Wild Kharias of Dhalbhum*, was about the gatherer-hunter tribe that was living almost completely outside the influence of Hinduism, a fact that clearly defied the theory of "Hindu method of tribal absorption". Das focused on the Kharias who lived in the hills of Singbhum, near Dhalbhumgarh and Ghatsila, in today's Jharkhand (Das, 1931:2-3). All through the monograph Das meticulously described the material life, social organisation and religious rituals of the Kharia without noticing any Hindu manner or custom. In this social anthropological description, Das also used anthropometric measurements to trace the racial affinity of the tribe and found their similarities with the Munda. Das described the practice of bride price, widow remarriage, non-vegetarian diet, belief in non-Hindu nature deities, drinking of rice beer, sacrifice of fowls and the use of services of priests (*dehuri*) from their own community – all of which were proof that "Wild Kharias" hadn't been influenced by Hinduism (Abhijit Guha, 2016).

Many other foreign scholars during constructive phase contributed problem-oriented works on tribes at this juncture. Foremost among them were Verrier Elwin and Christopher von Fürer-Haimendorf.

W.G. Grigson wrote a voluminous monograph on the Maria Gonds of Bastar. He was occasionally visiting the tribes between 1927 and 1931. He collected in-depth data on culture of Bision Horn Maria and Abujmar Muria. Though he was an administrator, his work had anthropological orientation and in Madhya Pradesh his monograph was considered of a pioneering in nature. It was the first time that the Bastar tribes were studied so exhaustively, meticulously. Along with the descriptive accounts of the above tribes W.G. Grigson presents an analytical appraisal of changes that have taken place among the tribes.

Verrier Elwin (1902 -1964), worked on the tribes of Madhya Pradesh and Orissa. Among his books were:

- *The Baiga* (1939),
- *The Agaria* (1943), and
- *The Muria and their Ghotul* (1947).

The ethnographic work of Verrier Elwin in Madhya Pradesh brought a turning point in the history of Indian ethnography. Verrier Elwin was originally a missionary but pioneered the ethnographic work in the middle India. His first monograph on the Baiga tribe was the result of six years stay in the heart of the Baiga land in the district of Mandla. During his popular work on the Baigas, he learned the language of the Baiga, made many intimate friends, participated in the gossips, and associated himself with tribal style of life. He observed that Baigas were being destroyed by the landlords and the missionaries. In order to protect Baigas from exploitation, Elwin suggested that the state should prevent or control their interaction with outsiders. He also proposed to government that the tribes should be left alone and they should be allowed to develop on their own. During his work on Murias of Bastar he observed that youth dormitories are an indispensable part of many other tribal societies as well. These dormitories were responsible for training the youth in various social activities and for initiating them into sexual activities. His study led others to work on the activities of the youth dormitories in other tribal societies.

Haimendorf was an Austrian ethnologist who spent nearly four decades in India. Among his books were:

- *The Chenchus: Jungle folk of Deccan* (1943).
- *The Raj Gonds of Adilabad: Myth and Ritual* (1948).
- *The Reddis of the Bison Hills: A Study of Acculturation* (1945).

In his studies he described extensively about the social and cultural life of these tribal communities and paid special attention to their problems and recommended welfare measures for the tribal development. In his work Haimendorf highlighted the tribals' land alienation problems in Adilabad district. Major problems and struggles faced by these tribals include curtailment of their rights by the forest department, snatching of their agricultural lands by the new 'voortekkers' and moving of non-tribals into tribals areas (Furer-Haimendorf, 1985). In the monograph *The Reddis of the Bison Hills: A Study of Acculturation* (1945) Furer-Haimendorf threw light on their belief concerning human sacrifice. He is of the firm opinion that they are very primitive autochthones ethnic stock of the region, despite their names being associated with the clean Hindu landed aristocratic caste of 'Reddi' of Andhra Pradesh (Misra, 1998). Furer-Haimendorf in his work with both Chencus and Reddis, described the social life of both these tribal communities and paid special attention to their problems. He suggested separate development programmes for them.

These classic ethnographic studies will provide models for future anthropologists. Learners must read the above ethnographies. During the constructive phase two important institutions were established (1) Anthropological Survey of India in 1945 (2) Department of Anthropology at University of Delhi in 1947. These institutions played significant roles in the development and advancement of anthropological research.

The work scenario of social anthropology completely changed in analytical phase (1950-1990). During this phase Indian anthropologists started collaborative work with foreign scholars. In this period renowned anthropologists and sociologists such as Morris Opher, Oscar Lewis and David Mandelbaum and their students came to India from America to study Indian society and culture. Many of these scholars did their fieldwork in Indian villages and tested their hypothesis on the village studies. This period was termed as analytical phase because of the shift from descriptive tribal studies to analytical village and castes studies of complex societies.

Contact between Indian anthropologist and foreign anthropologists occurred after independence. A large number of monographs were published on village studies by foreign and Indian scholars. Indian social anthropologists such L.P. Vidyarthi, D. N. Majumdar, M. N. Srinivas, S. C. Dube, B. K. Roy Burman, Makhan Jha, P. K. Misra, K.S. Singh, T. N. Madan, N. K. Bose, T. C. Das, Iravathi Karve, Chattopadhyay and Mukherjee made notable contributions to village and community studies.

G. S. Ghurye wrote on *Caste and Race in India*, which came out in 1932 under the History and Civilisation series edited by C. K. Ogden. He tried to give a comprehensive picture of castes, along with its origin, features, function, development, and so on. In 1943 he wrote *The Aborigines – 'so called' and Their Future*. In this book he enumerated the problems of the aboriginal tribes of India in a truly anthropological manner. Later in 1950 he revised the work *Caste and Race in India*, and came out as *Caste and Class in India*. In this monograph he had added the gently developing

system of caste under the present milieu of political, economic and social change in India. He also wrote on the tribes of India and gave details of their administration. He was an assimilationist and wished to incorporate the tribals of India into the 'mainstream' of Indian culture. He also showed how the earlier British Administration had created problems in the administration of the tribes. He was of the opinion that these tribes should neither be called 'adivasis' nor 'aborigines'. They should not be a separate category but should be merged with castes and should be treated as backward classes.

Check Your Progress

- 3) Write about the essence of the theory of Hindu Method of Tribal Absorption.

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7.4 TRIBAL MONOGRAPHS IN ANALYTICAL PHASE

The analytical period of anthropological researches marked the beginning of researches on Indian tribes, castes, villages and urban cities of both orthogenetic and heterogenetic natures. Marriot (1958) developed the concept of "network and centers" to understand the dimension of Indian civilisation. Lalita Prasad Vidyarthi (1931-1985), who was a follower of the Chicago School of thought, developed a concept called 'Nature-Man-Spirit Complex'. He was of the opinion that simple societies and tribes were isolated from the mainstream of civilisation. The Great Tradition had never been a part of their lives. In order to study such communities he developed the concept Nature-Man-Spirit Complex put forth in his book, *The Maler: A Study in Nature-Man-Spirit Complex* in which he analysed the life of tribals residing in hilly and forest areas of a hill tribe the Maler in terms of this complex where the three ingredients of the complex are interdependent and mutually complementary. It is based on the fact arising out of man's close interaction with and dependence on nature is his belief in the supernatural and the spirit world. It has been found that in tribal India there is an intimate relationship and interaction between social organisations on one hand and religious complex and ecological conditions on the other hand. Vidyarthi explained how the ecological basis of forests and the slash-and-burn cultivation shaped the socio-economic life of the Maler tribe. He studied man in relation with man. Lastly he presented the four types of Maler spirits, (Gossaiyan—the benevolent spirits, Jiwe Urrkya - the ancestors, Alchi - evil spirits and Chergani-spiritual power of a witch or witchcraft) in a framework of sacred geography, sacred performances, and sacred specialists. Nature, Man and Spirit interact out of necessity. This was the basis of the famous concept of Nature-Man-Spirit Complex proposed by Vidyarthi. He asserted that Maler culture originated, developed and flourished in the lap of nature. Forests surround the Malers and mainly exiling it in the context of its forests can give comprehensive understanding of this culture. In addition to providing land for slash and burn cultivation a main source of Maler economy the forests provide them with food, drink, shelter, medicine, etc. He discovered that every moment of the Maler life was profoundly influenced by nature on one hand and spirit on the other. These two ingredients of the complex play a

paramount role in the life cycle of the Maler people (Vidyarthi, 1951). He found this complex to be of great value not only to study the Maler of Rajmahal hills but also in understanding the issues related to applied anthropology. 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, had adopted the Hindu style of life and became 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, sanskritisation and desanskritisation, tribalisation and detribalisation 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, matriliney 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. Some of his other important books are:

- *Rise of Anthropology in India* (1977)
- *Sacred Complex in Kashi* (1978)

D. N. Majumdar in his book, *Himalayan Polyandry, Structure, Functioning and Culture Change: A field study of Jaunsar-Bawar* (1962), published posthumously, gives a detailed discussion of the community development programmes in Jaunsar-Bawar in Uttaranchal.

M. N. Srinivas studied his own society, at a time when anthropologists traditionally studied 'other' societies. His work on religion, caste, village societies, politics, and social change led him to develop new perspectives on India and coined several key terms like 'dominant caste', 'sanskritisation' and 'westernisation' to understand the realities of inter-caste relation and also to explain their dynamics. M. N. Srinivas in his book *Social Change in Modern India* (1966) developed the *Sanskritisation* concept. This concept was first used by M. N. Srinivas to describe the process of cultural mobility in traditional Indian social structure. He defined *Sanskritisation* as "the process by which a low caste or tribe or other group takes over the customs, rituals, ideology and style of life of a high and, in particular, a twice-born (*dwij*) caste". In simple terms *Sanskritisation* means people of lower caste imitate people of higher caste (cultural mobility) owing to their improvement in the economic or political position resulting from their contact with a source of the Great Tradition of Hinduism such as pilgrim centers. M. N. Srinivas gave examples from the Ramgharias of Punjab, the Chamars of Uttar Pradesh, the Oraons of Bihar, the Bhils of Rajasthan, and the Gonds of Madhya Pradesh and said that they have all tried to *sanskritise* their way of life.

Another concept, 'Westernisation' developed by M. N. Srinivas has been very significant in understanding the socio cultural changes of modern India. British rule produced radical and lasting changes in the Indian society and culture. The British brought with them, new technology, institutions, knowledge, beliefs, and values. These have become the main source of social mobility/or individuals as well as groups. According to M. N. Srinivas, Westernisation refers to 'the changes brought about in Indian society and

culture as a result of over 150 years of British rule and the term subsumes changes occurring at different levels of technology, institutions, ideology, values'. He describes the technological changes, establishment of educational institutions, rise of nationalism and new political culture, etc. as almost the by-products of Westernisation or the British rule of two hundred years in India. Thus, by Westernisation, Srinivas primarily meant the British impact. During the 19th century the British slowly laid the foundations of a modern state by surveying land, settling the revenue, creating a modern bureaucracy, army and police, instituting law courts, codifying the law, developing communications — railways, post and telegraph, roads and canals — establishing schools and colleges, and so on... (Srinivas, 1977). Among his books are:

- *Religion and Society among the Coorgs of South India (1952)*
- *India's Villages (1960)*
- *Caste in Modern India, And Other Essays (1962)*
- *India: Social Structure (1969, 1980, 1986)*
- *The Remembered Village (1976, 1978, 1988, 1991)*
- *Social Change in Modern India (1966, 1972)*

The process of change and its impacts on the social structure of a tribal community through the way of development is always considered a core of anthropological work. One such effective research on the Gonds of Adilabad district in Andhra Pradesh (1979) carried out by Fürer-Haimendorf, stays anew as an example of an extensive ethnographic study, entitled *The Gonds of Andhra Pradesh, Tradition and Change in an Indian Tribe*. A descriptive account of the traditional culture of Gonds along with the process of culture change is explicitly recorded in the above mentioned work. 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.

Check Your Progress

- 4) Describe in simple terms, what is *Sanskritisation*?

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7.5 TRIBAL MONOGRAPHS IN EVALUATIVE PHASE

Evaluative phase (1990 to present): due to shift in anthropological research new sub-fields emerged in social anthropology. For example, anthropologists from School of

Chicago such as Robert Redfield, McKim Marriott, and Milton Singer studied the interaction between the Little and Great tradition as well as 'Folk-Urban Continuum' to understand the dimensions of Indian civilisation.

Robert Redfield developed concepts such as "The Great and Little Traditions", "cultural specialists", "style of life", "cultural performances" and "cultural media" to study Indian civilisation.

McKim Marriott (1955) developed the concept of Universalisation and Parochialisation to put his idea *Little Communities in an Indigenous Civilisation* as a sequel to Robert Redfield's "Great Tradition and Little Tradition". He examined the socio-religious organisation in an Indian village named Kishan Garhi in Uttar Pradesh to put forth his view. According to Marriott, the concept of universalisation refers to the "carrying forward of materials which are already present in the little tradition which it encompasses" (1955). The opposite process, which he called parochialisation, is defined by him as the "downward devolution of great traditional elements and their integration with little traditional elements. It is a process of localisation" (ibid). Thus, Marriott has perceptively christened two contrasting, yet complementary processes of cultural growth of the indigenous civilisation in India as Universalisation and Parochialisation. Finally, he pointed out that these processes are by their nature, not restricted to the Hindu culture, but are applicable to all cultures having the dimensions of the great and little traditions.

During the analytical phase, Indian anthropologists such as N. K. Bose, D. N. Majumdar, and L. P. Vidyarthi studied the impact of industrialisation on tribals. Social anthropology also developed the sub-field of urban anthropology during this phase.

Growth and development of Indian anthropology in the areas of medical anthropology, religion, development and psychological studies, tribal development studies, studies on ethnic identities, folklore studies applied and action research studies are more evident. After having work experiences in the above areas many Indian and foreign anthropologists helped the government in planning of economic development and social reconstruction of the country. The above scholars while studying Indian villages developed the following distinct research methodology such as:

- Genealogical Method,
- Spatial Distribution Technique,
- Statistics,
- Text Analysis,
- Concept of Sacred Center,
- Cluster,
- Segment.

Social anthropologists moved ahead from communities' studies to complex segments like caste politics, caste power relationship with social structure, without losing their identity as anthropologists. Unlike in the West, in India, from the very beginning, sociology had a close relationship with social anthropology. The evaluative phase of anthropology brought both the discipline very close because both of the disciplines were doing research on socio-cultural aspects of tribal, rural, peasants, and industrial societies. In the evaluatory phase Indian scholars had an opinion that western anthropology has

failed to explain the complexity of Indian society. In order to understand complex culture, Indian scholars developed indigenous models and alternative methodology which not only helped in establishing a refined concept but also aimed at 'Indigenusness' for maintaining the quality of National life. In fact, anthropologists in India were demanding rather an active, humanistic and critical outlook towards subject matter in order to overcome the barrier of intellectual colonialism and neo-colonialism. 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. Some of the important books on Tribal Communities and Social Change are:

- *Peripheral Encounter, Santhals, Missionaries and their Changing Worlds* (2008) by M. Carrin and H. Tambs-Lyche;
- *Modernisation 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.

7.6 SUMMARY

Anthropological studies in India began in the second half of the nineteenth century. The landmark in the history of anthropology in India is the setting up of the Asiatic Society in 1784 by Sir William Jones. Putting the views of notable anthropologists together, the growth of anthropology in India can be divided into four phases:

- formative period,
- constructive period,
- analytical period, and
- evaluative period.

During the Formative Phase anthropological work emphasised tribes, a natural history approach and descriptions of the diversity of customs, traditions, and values. In the Constructive Phase Indian anthropology was characterised by ethnological and monographic studies with a special emphasis on social institution. The Analytical Phase of Indian anthropology saw a paradigm shift from the descriptive studies of villages to the analytical studies of complex societies. During the Evaluative Phase Indian anthropologists started looking critically to the works of others and self.

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7.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

- 1) Refer to Section 7.1
- 2) Refer to Sections 7.2
- 3) Refer to Sections 7.3
- 4) Refer to Sections 7.4

UNIT 8 GLOBALISATION AMONG INDIAN TRIBES*

Structure

- 8.0 Introduction
- 8.1 What is Globalisation?
- 8.2 Globalisation and Change
- 8.3 Globalisation and its Impact on Tribals
 - 8.3.1 Dams
 - 8.3.2 Mining
- 8.4 Summary
- 8.5 References
- 8.6 Answers to Check Your Progress

Learning Objectives

After reading this unit, you should be able to:

- discuss how anthropologists and sociologists define globalization;
- explain globalization and change;
- describe some of the development projects resulting in globalization; and
- understand the impact of globalization on the tribes of India.

8.0 INTRODUCTION

Tribal societies in India have distinctive cultures, languages, and religions that are different from those of the rest of the population. Tribal people reside in remote areas such as forests and hills which had prevented cultural contact with modern population. Modernization and globalisation has allowed greater contact between tribal and non-tribal populations. Globalization has affected the culture, language and lifestyles of tribals in India. Whereas globalization, due to advances in technology, has shrunk the world into a village, tribes, who are in fact the custodians of Indian culture, are far behind in this race of advancement. Globalization had a negative impact on the tribal population, which has left a very deep scar on them. On the one hand, they have been crippled by the fast growth of industries; on the other hand, the benefits of development have not percolated to them. With this backdrop, we will discuss the impact of globalization on tribal population.

8.1 WHAT IS GLOBALISATION

Globalization is an important phenomenon in the modern world. It is a process wherein growing interconnectedness and interdependence between countries is taking place by removing the borders and barriers to facilitate easy exchange of ideas, resources

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and knowledge. As a result the entire world has become a small village and hence it is also referred as 'global to local' or 'glocal' in popular parlance. Communication is the essence of globalization; without communication, globalization is not possible.

The Blackwell Dictionary of Sociology (1955) defined globalization as a "*process in which social life within societies is increasingly affected by international influences based on everything from political and trade ties to shared music, clothing styles, and mass media*". Of these most powerful form of globalization is economic which is expanded from local to global level. For example, US company McDonald's, now does business all over the world.

The advance of globalization is not confined to economic sphere only but impacts many other aspects of social and cultural life. The World Bank defined globalization as the "*global circulation of goods, services, and the capital but also of information, ideas, and people*" (Schmidt, J. D. and Hersch, J: 2000). It implies that the world has become increasingly interconnected and the new mode of communication has made it easier to flow information and people very quickly with significant implication for the economic activities. Castelle's definition (1996:92) of globalization is "*an economy with the capacity to work as a unit in real time on a planetary scale.*" This definition stresses on the interconnectedness of firms, individuals, and organizations in a 'network society' that stretches across national borders.

There are various definitions of globalization depending on the perspective with which the topic is approached. Many think of globalization as processes that cause changes that make people more interconnected and interdependent. Others think of it as "...a reorganization of time and space in which many movements of peoples, things, and ideas throughout much of the world have become increasingly faster and effortless (Morris: 2010: 865). Still others focus on the interaction and integration promoted by international trade, investment, and information technology (The Levin Institute: 2015).

Anthropologists acknowledge that all of these definitions are relevant to the study of globalization and use long-term ethnographic studies to understand the dynamics of globalization. One of the things that make anthropological research on globalization important is that it remains focused on the impact of these global processes on individuals and cultures. Anthropologists do not assume that globalization is "natural and unavoidable" as that approach is steeped in Social Darwinist ideology and obscures how power and privilege are constructed and maintained (Morris: 2010). It is an experiential process, meaning that it is different for each person. In an anthropological sense, globalization is "...an intensification of global interconnectedness, suggesting a world full of movement and mixture, contact and linkages, and persistent cultural interaction and exchange" (Inda and Rosaldo: 2002: 2).

Through the new economic policy of 1991, the Government of India encouraged privatization and globalization. At the policy level there was a great shift from the public to the private sector and from state monopoly to the opening up of the market to global trading. The Mines and Mineral Regulation and Development Act was amended in 1993 in line with the new economic policy of the Government of India. This was again amended in 1994 and 1999 to accommodate private parties mostly of foreign origin with a hope of inflow of foreign funding. India after independence has been more exploitative in nature in terms of the extraction of commercially viable mines and minerals without foreseeing the social cost incurred by the communities living in and around the natural resources.

- 1) Discuss how anthropologists define globalisation?

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8.2 GLOBALISATION AND CHANGE

Earlier people were more or less self sufficient and dependent on their own mode of production for survival. But now-a-days the situation is different. Foreign goods and services are available at every corner of the country. The scarce resources have been transported to needy countries after the revolution in communication and information technology. Thus the world has become a single social system as a result of growing ties of interdependence which is affecting everyone now. Thus it had impacted on the economic, social, cultural and political ways of the people across the globe.

The social, political and economic connections which cross-cut borders between countries decisively condition the fate of those living within each of them. It would be a mistake to think of globalization simply as a process of growth of world unity. The globalizing social relations should be understood primarily as the reordering of time and distance in our lives. Our lives are often influenced by activities and events happening well away from the social contexts in which we carry our day-to-day life. Globalization is not completely a new phenomenon but dating from the time where the influence of western countries started to expand across the world a few centuries ago.

India's independence brought in tremendous transformation in the social set-up. The transition of Indian society from the agricultural to industrial society started off the process of social change that is still continuing. There has been a gradual shift from a caste-based and class-based society to a casteless and classless society. Several Indian thinkers like G.S. Ghurye, N.K. Bose, Surajit Sinha, Kuppaswamy, Yogendra Singh, S.C. Dube and M.N. Srinivas grappled with the problems of changes in the social situations in India with emphasis on the transformation of individual from a member of a tribe or a village or caste or a creed or a language group to a citizen of India.

Meanwhile, during the change that occurred in post-Independent India, the processes of acculturation and integration moved simultaneously. In this process some (individual) tribes acculturated and integrated. Some were completely annihilated and there were some who could retain strong tribal affiliations which provided a comprehensive subject for investigation. Now with the growing impact of development being scheduled in Indian constitution, (Article 341 and 342) tribals who constitute the most integral part of the country's social structure are benefiting through directed and non-directed modes of change.

Social change is a never-ending process as change is the law of nature. No society can remain static and every society goes through changes. Tribal society is no exception to this rule. Tribal culture is unique and differs significantly from mainstream culture. Tribal people express their cultural identity and distinctiveness in their social and political

organizations, language, rituals and festivals, as well as in their dress, ornaments, technology, art and craft. Tribals live a communal life, sharing almost everything among themselves. In order to ensure the sustainable use of their livelihood, the tribals kept it under the control of the community and developed myths and social control mechanisms required to meet the needs of every family in the present generation and prevent its over-exploitation by anyone. Thus it was renewed and preserved for posterity (Fernandes, Menon and Viegas, 1988: 158-63).

Earlier many tribesmen used to live in clusters of villages with a completely homogenous population; today globalization has allowed greater contact between tribal and non-tribal population, such areas of compact aboriginal populations have split up by the intrusion of numerous newcomers of different cultural backgrounds. In areas where massive immigration of advanced populations has caused a complete fragmentation of tribal communities, next to nothing is left of the latter's indigenous authority system, but even where tribal villages have so far escaped the infiltration of outsiders, the effectiveness of traditional authority systems has sharply declined because of the tribesmen's increasing dependence on economic forces over which they have no control.

Tribal society accordingly has made a shift from archetype to a contemporary society under the pressure of changing situation. Traditionalism got itself transformed to some extent under the current of modernity. The dramatic changes in the economic and political environment of tribal populations had a profound influence on the social order prevailing among most of the tribes.

The process of globalization that began with increased contact between societies across the world has dramatically affected many indigenous communities. In India the tribes have been under contact with non-tribals since ancient times as seen from the references pertaining to them in various mythological and historical sources. The contacts between tribals and non-tribals increased during colonial and post-colonial periods due to large-scale migration of non-tribals into the tribal areas. For example the laying of railway tracks passing through the tribal areas for transporting coal in the Telangana regions, and iron ore through Andhra region led to the migration of non-tribals. Hydro-electric projects were executed in the tribal region.

Industries depending on bamboo and wood from the forests, rayon factories, paper mills, plywood factories were established in the tribal regions. This has led to in-migration of non-tribals. With the improvement in the health and communication facilities and opportunities for trade, the tribal areas attracted more non-tribal population. All these resulted in considerable non-tribal presence in tribal areas. Anthropological contributions on the contacts between tribals and non-tribals centering on concepts like tribe-caste mobility, tribe-caste continuum, and links between Hinduism and tribal religions are pointers to this trend (Venkata Rao, P :2019).

8.3 GLOBALISATION AND IT IMPACT ON TRIBALS

For tribal and indigenous peoples, globalization is a mixed blessing. It both constitutes an unprecedented opportunity for empowerment and an unprecedented threat to the autonomy of their cultures. The process of globalisation has made unprecedented change in the lives of tribal people across India, though the degree of exploitation and marginalisation vary from state to state and tribe to tribe. Tribals as a homogeneous group across India have paid the price for the globalisation process-led development

which was reflected through the large scale so called developmental projects leading to displacement from the forest, alienation from the land and livelihoods threatening their very existence.

According to the World Bank, development projects every year involuntarily displace one million people in the developing countries from their land and homes (World Bank, 1994). In India alone, between 1951 and 1990 around 21.3 million persons were displaced by development projects. Among this number 8.54 million (40 per cent) were tribal or indigenous people and only 2.12 million (24.8 per cent) were resettled (Government of India, 2002: 458).

Development projects disproportionally affect the poorest segments of Indian society, including those belonging to scheduled castes and tribal groups, and threaten them with even greater impoverishment because of a loss of livelihood, land, assets and social structure. A recent concern for Indigenous Peoples is **land grabbing** or large-scale land acquisitions by domestic and transnational companies, governments, and individuals mainly used for agri-cultural purposes. These large-scale agricultural investments usually lead to the displacement of local people without adequate compensation.

Economic, social, health and environmental impacts of resource scarcity are interlinked and influence each other. Scheduled Tribes constituted about 8.2 per cent of the total population in the country, according to the 2011 Census. They also constituted 55.16 per cent of the total displaced population, which indicates the extent of victimization of the tribes. Development-induced involuntary displacement of the tribes take place in most states, mainly in the tribal concentrated regions of Bihar, Orissa, Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat and Maharashtra. Further, it has been observed that during the last 60 years, for various dam projects, about 6 crore people have been displaced, out of which 4 crore have been practically turned into beggars in the streets (Tripathy, 2003; Rangachari, 2006; Fernades; 2007).

Of the 213 lakh displaced people in India, estimated by Walter Fernandes and V Paranjpye, the number of people displaced by various agencies were:

- 164 lakh by large and medium dams,
- 25.5 lakh by mines,
- 12.5 lakh by industries,
- 6 lakh by park and wildlife operations and
- 5 lakh by other projects.

Among development projects, dams are the biggest agents of displacement. For rapid irrigation and hydroelectricity production, there are a total of 3,643 dams (major and medium), which have been constructed during the period of 1951-90. Together with 53.9 lakh displaced by medium dams, a total of 164 lakh people have been displaced by all dams during the period of 1951-90. Thus, backward communities, and more particularly people in tribal regions, have been most affected in this process of development since they live in resource-rich regions.

Many anthropological and sociological field studies have documented the qualitative consequences of forced displacement in vivid detail (Scudder 1966, 1994; Guggenheim

1989; Baboo, 1992; Mathur, H.M 1994; Fernandes 1989, 1991; Salem-Murdock, M. 1989). The most outstanding study on involuntary displacement and its socio-economic impacts was carried out by Cernea, M.M (1991). His model, Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction Model, shows how impoverishment can occur as a result of displacement. Cernea risk model says that displacement or relocation leaves people worse off and leads to the social exclusion of certain social groups of people. It culminates in physical exclusion from a geographic territory, and economic and social exclusion from a set of functioning social networks. Thus, affected people face a broad range of impoverishment risks that includes the following:

- landlessness,
- joblessness,
- homelessness,
- marginalization,
- food insecurity,
- increased morbidity,
- loss of common resources, and
- social disarticulation that result in a loss of socio-cultural resilience.

Check Your Progress

- 2) How many million people are displaced by development projects according to World Bank?

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8.3.1 Dams

According to the World Commission on Dams (WCD), between 40 and 80 million people worldwide have been physically displaced by dams. In China, by the late 1980s, roughly 10 million people were counted as “reservoir resettlers”. India has the largest number of development projects in the world and, quite possibly, the largest number of development-induced displaced persons in the world as well. The Indian Social Institute estimated there were currently 21.3 million persons displaced because of development projects; of this number 16.4 million were displaced by dams.

According to the Central Water Commission, 3,300 dams had been built since 1947 and another 1,000 are under construction. The Indian Institute of Public Administration estimates that the average number of persons displaced by a large dam is 44,182. Among the best known and most controversial cases of unrest due to development-induced displacement in India is that of the Sardar Sarovar dam and irrigation complex on the Narmada River. The dam alone displaces more than 41,000 families (over 200,000 people) in the three states of Gujarat, Maharashtra, and Madhya Pradesh. Over 56 per cent of the people affected by the dam are tribals.

The brutality of displacement due to the building of dams was dramatically highlighted. Medha Patkar spearheaded the anti-dam movement known as the Narmada Bachao Andolon. This movement for the first time systematically revealed how building dams can result in total dislocation of tribal societies. The beneficiaries of the dam are meant to be large landowners; but the tribal people are paying the price. The official figure indicates that about 42,000 families were displaced but non-governmental organizations such as the Narmada Bachao Andolan (NBA) put the figure to about 85,000 families or 500,000 people.

The Gujarat government claims to have resettled 7,500 odd families affected by the project. The resettled people, most of them adivasis, are facing many serious problems. In hundreds of cases the land given to them is uncultivable or water logged. Many more have not been given sufficient land. Many others have been given fragmented or encumbered land. Most sites do not have adequate drinking water or sanitation or health facilities. None of the sites have grazing land, fodder, or firewood facilities (Thakkar Himanshu; 1999).

Modi, R (2004) has mentioned in her study that prior to their displacement (due to Sardar Sarovar Project), the tribals did not face landlessness, hunger or food security in their subsistence. The tribal people had a self-sufficient economy because of their access to riverine resources, forest products and a customary right on land; their women could supplement their household economy through the sale of livestock, ghee, baskets, bamboo mats, ropes and pottery. Thus, women had greater economic independence and land rights in the egalitarian tribal set-up. However, dislocation tore the people away from their source of sustenance or life itself.

The Narmada Bachao Andolan in 1989 by Medha Patkar has highlighted the problems of large scale displacement of tribals and other related issues. As a result of these activities, the World Bank sent the Morse Commission to study the displacement and resettlement of the tribal people in the area. After the recommendation of the Morse Commission, the World Bank directed the state governments for proper rehabilitation. The situation of the tribals elsewhere is much worse than this. The tribals displaced in the 1950s and 1960s by the dams Hirakud, Bhakhra, and other projects still struggle to get the paltry compensation promised to them at that time (Thakkar Himanshu; 1999).

Misra Kamal K. and Narendra Bondla D.J. (2007) conducted empirical study in 14 tribal villages of already displaced or yet to be displaced persons. Intensive fieldwork was carried out in the states of Andhra Pradesh, Odisha and Jharkhand. They studied the problems of development-induced displacement from an emic perspective. The study has concluded that tangible and intangible assets of the villagers were lost. The tangible losses were loss of land, house livestock, occupations and the intangible losses were loss of language, culture, customs, history, heritage, identity and ecology etc. The study found that though the tangible losses were partly compensated, there was no provision in the policy to compensate for the intangible assets losses.

A significant number of tribal people, who are generally dependent on the natural and common resources, are displaced, and their ethos and lifestyle is dismantled and denigrated for the sake of developmental projects. Apart from the loss of land, living conditions, and lifestyle (of generations), displacement causes other traumatic, psychological and socio-cultural consequences, making life more miserable and impoverished (Mohanty, 2005).

In India much of those affected by displacement are tribal people. Though the tribal population constitutes 8.6% of the country's population, among those displaced their percentage is much higher. Construction of dams and dislocation of tribal people since pre-independence and post-independence India has been discussed in table below:

Table 1: Displacement of tribal people by large dams in India

Sl. No.	Project	State	Total no. displaced	% of tribal persons displaced	Scheduled Caste/ Others
1	Hirakud	Orissa, Madhya Pradesh	110,000	18.34%	n.a.
2	Bhakra	Himachal Pradesh	36,000	34.76%	n.a.
3	Ponga	Himachal Pradesh	80,000	56.25%	n.a.
4	Ukai	Gujarat	52,000	18.92%	n.a.
5	Lalpur	Gujarat	11,300	83.20%	n.a.
6	Daman Ganga	Gujarat	8,700	48.70%	n.a.
7	Karjan	Gujarat	11,600	100%	n.a.
8	Icha	Orissa	30,800	80%	n.a.
9	Manas	Bihar	3,700	31%	n.a.
10	Chandil	Bihar	37,600	87.92%	n.a.
11	Polavaram	Madhya Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh	150,000	52.90%	n.a.
12	Tittuli	Maharashtra	13,600	51.61%	n.a.
13	Upper Indravati	Orissa	20,000	43.76%	13%
14	Manchkunda	Orissa	16,200	51.1%	10.21%
15	Subarnarekha	Bihar	64,000	67.29%	27%
16	Kabini	Karnataka	20,000	30%	n.a.
17	Mandira	Orissa	n.a.	68.18%	n.a.
18	Masanjor	Bihar	16,000	Mostly Tribal	n.a.
19	Bansagar	Madhya Pradesh	142,000	75%	n.a.
20	Mahi Bajaj Sagar	Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh	35,000	76.24%	2.13%
21	Kadana	Rajasthan, Gujarat	30,000	100%	n.a.
22	Bisalpur	Rajasthan	70,000	70% (SC + ST)	
23	Bargi	Madhya Pradesh	35,000	43%	10% SC 19% OBC
24	Maithan and pacher	Bihar, West Bengal	93,874	53.46%	n.a.
25	Nagarjun Sagar	Andhra Pradesh	25,490	36%	7% SC 45% OBC
26	Srisaillam	Andhra Pradesh	100,000	81% (SC + ST)	
27	Rihand	Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh	47,500	Mostly tribal	n.a.
28	Upper Kolab	Orissa	50,771	52%	17%
29	Narmada Sagar	Madhya Pradesh	170,000	20%	14%
30	Sardar Sarovar	Gujarat, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh	200,000	56%	9%
31	Kulku	Orissa	14,000	Mostly Tribal	
32	Surya	Maharashtra	7,290	100%	

Source: Fernandes and Paranjpye, 1997.

India has not maintained a database on the number of persons displaced and deprived of livelihoods due to development projects, since 1947. One estimate puts the number of displaced persons and projected affected persons at 60 million tribal population who are a little over 8 per cent of the country's population (Fernandes, 2013). Hence, the tribal people are adversely affected in the following ways:

- They lose their livelihoods,
- They lose access to water resources, forest and forest products,
- They lose their beliefs, traditional practices, and sacred places
- They lose their biological attachments with the forest.

It is not possible to restore the displacement loss though the affected people are paid compensation.

Check Your Progress

- 3) What are the tangible and intangible losses of assets by tribals due to development-induced displacement?

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8.3.2 Mining

In the globalization era, mining has become a very important source of investment and profit for the private sector. There is scanty information on the Mining-Induced Displacement and Resettlement (MIDR). It does not reveal a very high displacement in the past and even increasing trend in the future due to rich mineral deposits which are found in tribal areas with relatively high density of politically powerless populations.

In India, most of the affected people are tribal and other indigenous people. Mining is taking a gigantic leap. Coal caters to a third of India's energy needs. Coal mines have expanded from an average of 150 acres in the 1960s to 800 acres in the 1980s over the last three decades due to shift from underground to opencast mines for exploiting lower quality coal. According to the production data of 2009-10, India produced 13,95,2002 tons of bauxite. The tribal concentrates states are the highest producer of bauxite. The following are the major states producing bauxite:

- Odisha (35 per cent),
- Gujarat (19 per cent),
- Maharashtra (14 per cent),
- Chhattisgarh (12 per cent), and
- Jharkhand (12 per cent).

In the 1950s, Odisha did not have any industry except a few sawmills and some ice factories near Cuttack (Stanley 1996). Exploitation of the state's resources started

with the building of the Hirakud Dam and the Rourkela Steel Plant in the 1950s. Since the 1970s, resource exploitation increased with more dams and more mining (Stanley 1996). Stanley gives a clear account of the displacement, compensation and rehabilitation in the NALCO Bauxite Mine and Plant at Damanjodi. According to him, 597 families in 254 villages got displaced, out of which 42.55 per cent are tribal. Out of the total acquired land of 10,058.76 crore, 69.52 per cent was used for the construction of the plant followed by the township. Stanley (1996) also examined the compensation package given by NALCO. Out of the displaced families, 74 per cent were rehabilitated and 59 per cent received jobs in compensation. Compensation per acre of land was Rs.2,000 and compensation per tree was Rs.100. However, there was no compensation for the Common Property Resources (M. Gopinath Reddy; Prajna Paramita Mishra; Ch. Nagaraju; S.V. Ramana: 2013).

Industries and mines give a job per family they displace but since the mechanization process started, the scope of absorbing people began to shrink. Mining projects not only lead to forcible displacement of populations but have resulted in considerable environmental damage as well. Looking at mining-induced displacement alone, Theodore Downing has estimated that between 1950 and 1990, mining displaced 2.55 million people in India.

The religious and cultural practices of tribals are affected badly due to development projects such as dam construction, industrial and mining projects. The aesthetic cultural practices of the tribal community are completely under threat. With the degeneration of association from nature has originated the degeneration in cultural values, ceremonies and social celebrations and common property management practices. Festivals have lost their significance as association is with mine-pits and not forests.

The deities of the tribals, sacred groves, hills and caves, traditional forms of tribal folklore and wisdom are also greatly affected, along with the degradation in their oral and traditional law and order systems that ensure protection of forests and community relationships. Due to rapid industrialization in tribal areas, 3.13 lakh people have been displaced due to mining operations, and a total of 13.3 lakh tribals have been displaced from their ancestral lands. In addition to direct displacement, mining activity also affects the livelihoods of thousands more as water tables get disrupted, fertile agricultural land is misutilized and forests are cut (Mohapatra, 1991). Not only are communities deprived of their vital subsistence resources, their long-term sustainability is also jeopardized (Narasimham, S and D.V. Subbarao: 2018).

Tribals of India reside in territories which encompass hills, forest, islands, mountains, seacoasts etc. They live in a special geographical territory. That is why, some scholars see tribe as a territorial group. Tribals have to face a number of problems due to their residences situated in remote and isolated areas. But they are closely and emotionally attached to their lands and forest. Land is an important component for tribal development. It occupies their source of livelihood. But the globalization trend has alienated tribals from their mainstay.

Over a period of time, the tribal communities have tended to get eroded as they lose their territories. The land is lost not only through legal acquisition of land for public purpose but even through fraudulent motives. Involuntary displacement of tribals from their habitat through the government's acquisition of land and forest to facilitate processes of industrialization such as mining, heavy industries and dams have threatened the voiceless masses. Hence, tribal people who have lived for centuries in their ecology

are now in the process of transformation. In addition, it has also been observed that there has been a shift in the use of land and forest for non-agriculture and non-forest activities.

During the post 1990 period, land and forest in states such as Orissa, Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh and Jharkhand have been acquired for industrialization, especially for mining. Various studies have pointed out that the lack of political and administrative will continues to be the cause for perpetuation of the problems of land alienation among the tribals. The alienation of tribal lands took place in British rule and also in post-independence period. When British were able to establish their rule in India, the system of Zamindari, big and small, was created to collect taxes on land under their jurisdiction.

After Independence, the government acquired tribal lands for establishing towns and industries, making dams and reservoirs, exploiting mineral resources. Thus, industrialization, urbanization and exploitation of mineral resources and hydel power became the causes of transfer of land belonging to tribal in post-independence period. Thousands and thousands of hectares of tribal land were acquired for setting industrial complex, residential flats, schools, hospitals, water supply, electricity supply, road construction, market complex etc.

Projects that result in a significant amount of land alienation and development-induced displacement are parks and forest reserves, and agricultural expansion. Classical conservation created protected areas to protect wilderness and wildlife areas of pristine wilderness that was untouched and uninhabited by humans. All people inhabiting these areas were removed from the land and displaced onto marginal land surrounding or near by the newly protected land. It is estimated that 20 million people were displaced from their land.

This conservation strategy was used widely until the 1970s when indigenous people started to fight for their rights and land. In 1975 the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) and the World Parks Congress recognized the rights of indigenous people and recognize their rights of the protected areas. At least 30,000 Gutti Koya tribals from Chhattisgarh have been living in miserable conditions in Khammam, Warangal and East Godavari districts of Andhra Pradesh. Their huts were demolished by the forest officials in the Nellipaka reserve forest area near Mondikunta village in Khammam district on 11 May 2011, and again in the Ramavaram forest range near Chinthalapadu village in Khammam district on 2 June 2011. In December 2011, tribals held rallies in Adilabad district of Andhra Pradesh, in protest at the government's proposal to develop Kawal wildlife sanctuary as a tiger reserve forest by evicting Adivasis who have lived there for a long time.

Tribals after losing the ownership of their land move towards city and find it very difficult to cope with the changing conditions. The tribals exposed to a new world totally different from their own find it difficult to adapt to the changed situation. They get subjected to the consumer culture and move away from the value system of their traditional community. Thus the tribal society is thrust into a totally new culture and system without adequate preparation.

Slowly the tribal communities absorb the value system of this city culture. On one hand, the tribals imbibe the consumerist ideology, and on the other they experience more deprivation and joblessness. Apparent absence of alternatives increases the sense

of helplessness of the tribals. On the one hand the tribals are among the worst victims of globalisation, on the other hand they legitimize the consumerist society which impoverishes them. The globalization processes have serious implications for the culture of the tribals. The alienation of the land and other resources which are both their means of sustenance and the centre of their culture is an attack on their very identity (Alochana Sahoo: 2014).

Land alienation has given birth to several allied problems among the tribals, which are:

- Increased poverty,
- Indebtedness,
- unemployment,
- migration of tribal,
- exploitation of tribal labourers and tribal women,
- created tension between tribal and non-tribal,
- increased the distance between the rich and the poor tribal,
- developed extremism and naxalism in tribal areas,
- brought law and order problem in tribal areas,
- brought the incidence of beggary and prostitution in the tribal areas.

In spite of the existence of strict environment laws and regulations such as the Forest Conservation Act, Biodiversity Conservation Act, Environment Protection Act, and the Forest Rights Act 2006, there are serious violations of these legislations. Tribal areas, being remote and inaccessible and tribals being illiterate and ignorant, development projects like dam construction, hydro power projects, industries, and mining companies can easily violate all environmental rules and regulations.

Tribals were the original human settlers of forests. They depended on forest for their livelihoods and used it as a productive ecosystem. The social, economic and religious life of the tribes revolves around the forests and environment, which create a symbiotic relationship between them. For centuries, tribal people lived in a harmonious relationship with their environment. Since their lives are closely related to nature, any adverse impact on the environment in which they live will adversely affect their lives as well, and vice versa. The concept of displacement due to dams, industries, and mines should be seen from the wider perspective of this symbiotic relationship between environment and people. Otherwise, it may lead to further deterioration of natural resources available in tribal areas.

The large-scale exploitation of the natural resources of tribal areas through development projects has various negative impacts on tribals' socio-economic life. Development projects create a huge loss in the cultural ecology of the people at the grassroots. Due to the impact of the development projects the symbiotic relationship between the people and the resources that has existed since time immemorial is disrupted. Sustainability is inherent in the practice of tribal communities. Finding no other alternative, the people resort to non-traditional sources of income. This results in the increasing participation of people in the labour market as diggers, lifters, and other labour intensive engagements, while a few unfortunate ones who fail to secure any employment migrate across the state borders to work in brick kilns, construction units, etc.

- 4) What are the practices of tribals affected badly due to development projects?

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8.4 SUMMARY

Globalisation among Indian tribes is mainly related to the deprivation of their livelihoods by the processes of land alienation and forest policies. Mining, industries, irrigation dams, urban centres, and reserve forests are the root cause behind the deprivation and displacement resulting in change of socio-economic life of tribes in India.

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8.6 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

- 1) Refer to Section 3.2
- 2) Refer to Sections 3.4
- 3) Refer to Sub-sections 3.4.1
- 4) Refer to Sections 3.4.2



