

# ANTHROPOLOGY

## PAPER II

UNIT 1

# **EVOLUTION OF INDIAN CULTURE AND CIVILIZATION**

**NOTES FOR CIVIL SERVICES EXAMINATION  
ANTHROPOLOGY PAPER II, CHAPTER 1. 1**

## 1. Palaeolithic Culture

### 1.1 Introduction

The term prehistory refers to the period when there was no written record. Understanding and reconstruction of the lifeways of ancient men during that period is based on the analysis of the material remains of their activities, such as tool making, animal hunting, food gathering etc., through archaeological explorations and excavations. The prehistoric period has been mainly divided into three ages, namely the Stone, Bronze and Iron ages based on the changes in technology and social and cultural developments.

The Stone Age is divided into three periods, namely Palaeolithic, Mesolithic and Neolithic, based on technological developments and gradual evolution of culture. The people living during that period made tools and implements on stones which were easily available in the surroundings. Besides, they also used wood, bamboo, bones etc. for making tools. However, as these are perishable materials and disintegrate fast, we do not get much evidence of these tools in archaeological contexts.

The long period of human development, before the advent of agriculture and use of metal, is the epoch of Palaeolithic and Mesolithic cultures. The Palaeolithic is divided into Lower Palaeolithic, Middle Palaeolithic, and Upper Palaeolithic cultures. All these are hunting-gathering cultures. These cultures are distinguished by their respective tool types, the ensembles of which are called industries. The stone tools show progressive refinements in the techniques of tool manufacture and advancement in hunting methods from Lower Palaeolithic to Upper Palaeolithic.

The Indian landscape was endowed with all the prerequisites for a successful hunting-gathering way of life: suitable landforms permitting free movement of hunter-gatherer groups; occurrence of a variety of basic rocks and siliceous stones for making tools; existence of perennial water bodies in the form of a large and small streams and springs; and availability of a large variety of wild plant and animal foods. It is therefore not surprising that, barring the Himalayan tract proper and the Indo-Gangetic alluvial tracts, Stone Age groups occupied the whole of the Indian landmass. It is interesting that even the desertic zone of western Rajasthan was marked in the past with streams and pools and ponds which attracted Stone Age groups right from the Lower Palaeolithic till the Mesolithic stage.

### 1.2 LOWER PALAEOLITHIC STAGE IN INDIA

The Lower Palaeolithic phase in India consists of two principal tool-making or cultural traditions, viz., a) the Soanian tradition forming part of the East and Southeast Asian chopper chopping tool tradition and b) the Handaxe-cleaver or biface assemblages constituting the Acheulian tradition, which is widely known from the western half of the Old World (Africa, Western Europe, West and South Asia).

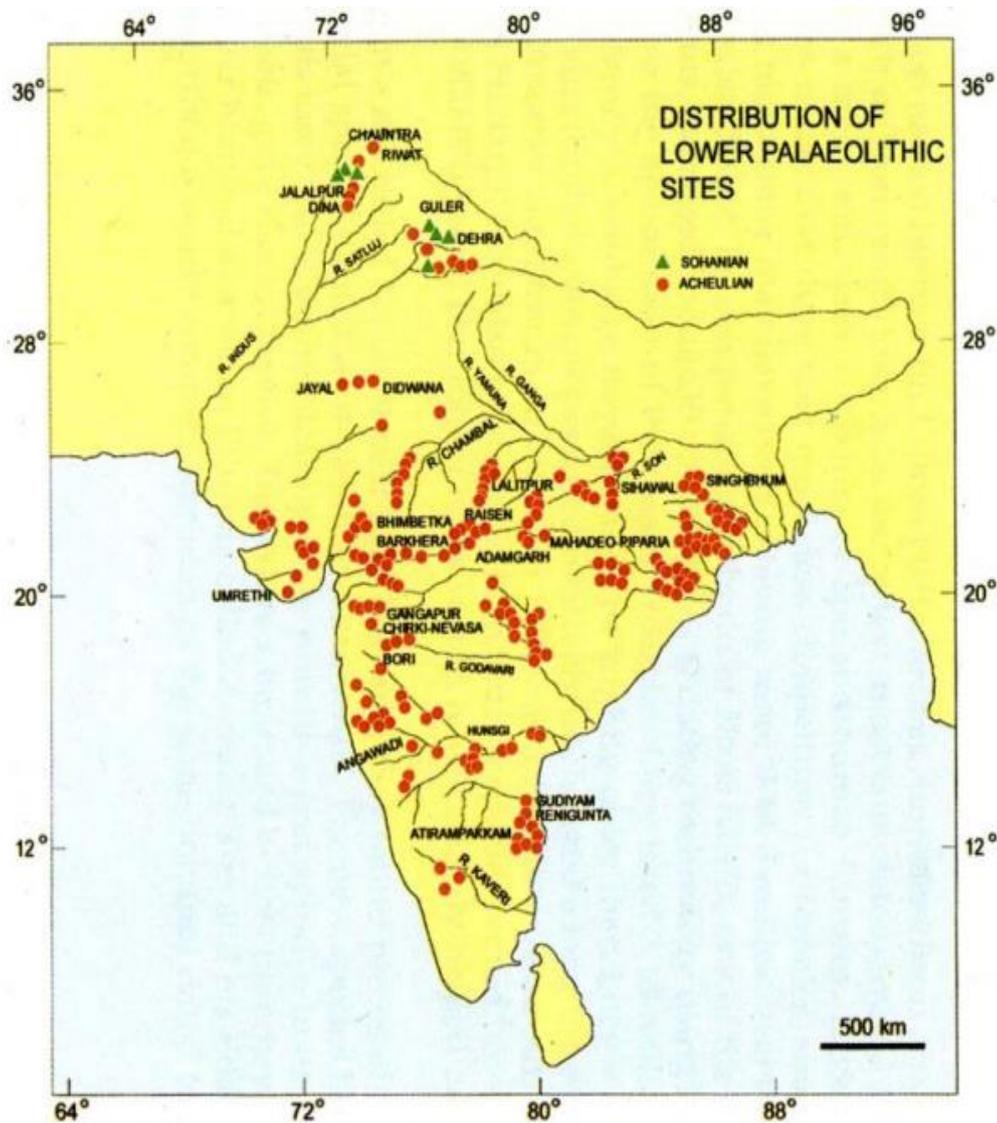


Figure: Distribution of Lower Palaeolithic sites in Indian Subcontinent (after Misra 1989)  
 Source: e-Acharya (Palaeolithic Culture of India; Hazarika, Manjil)

### 1. 2. 1 The Soanian Cultural Tradition

The Soanian culture, termed after the river Sohan (or Soan), a tributary of the Indus, came into limelight through the Yale-Cambridge Expedition led by H. de Terra and T. T. Paterson in 1939. The evidence of this culture is found at a number of sites in the Siwalik hills in northwest India and Pakistan. The members of Yale-Cambridge Expedition have distinguished three developmental stages of the Soanian culture on the basis of the artefacts found in river terraces and correlated with the phases of the four-fold Pleistocene glaciations identified by them in the Himalayas and the Siwaliks.

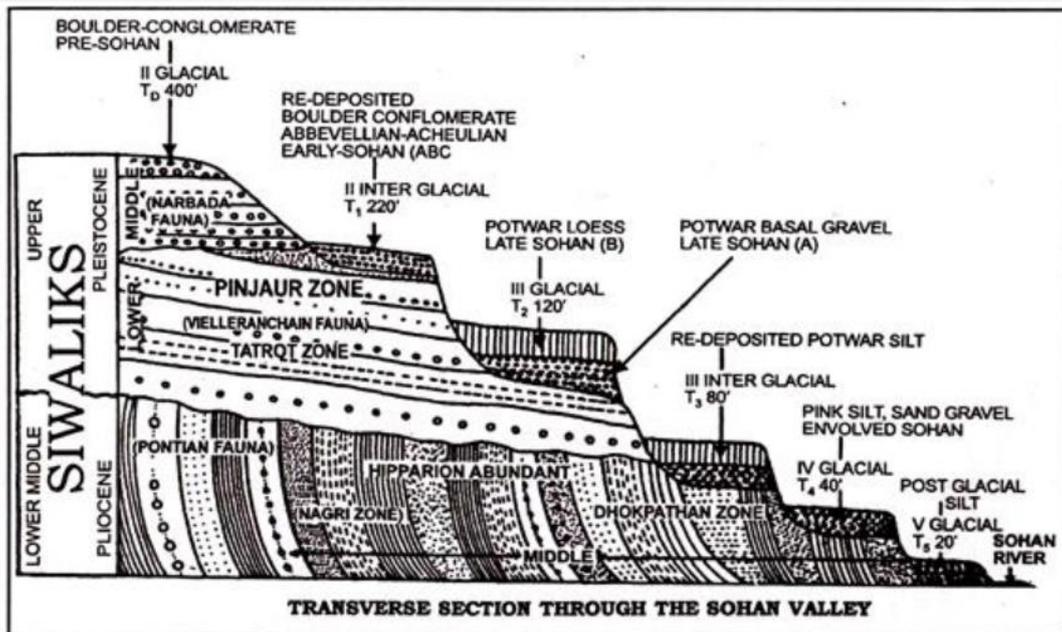


Figure: Schematic section showing terrace stratigraphy and Stone Age sequence in the Soan valley of Pakistan

Source: IGNOU (LOWER PALAEOOLITHIC CULTURES)

The early Sohan, the earliest stage of the sequence, on Terrace 1 (T1) was found in the boulder conglomerate of the second glacial age in the Potwar plateau. In the same deposit, though at discrete localities, Acheulian artefacts were also located. The T1 was dated to the second interglacial age and the faunal remains from this deposit included horse, buffalo, straight-tusked elephant and hippopotamus which suggest an environment characterized by perennial water sources, tree vegetation and grass steppes.

The T2, with gravel at the base and loess on top, dated to the third glacial period, yielded Acheulian and Late Sohan A industries from the basal gravels, which comprised refined pebble choppers and Levallois flakes. The Levallois is the name of a technique of making stone tools and the name is after a French place where stone tools made by this technique were first found. The Late Sohan B industry characterized by Levallois flakes and blades with complete absence of Acheulian elements was found overlying the level of loess and the fauna (horse, bovinds, camel and wolf) of this horizon. The divisions of Sohanian, i. e. Early Sohan, Late Sohan A and Late Sohan B and their correlations with the climatic situation were found invalid during the subsequent research carried out by the British Archaeological Mission to Pakistan led by R. W. Dennell and H. N. Rendell. V. N. Misra (1989) has argued that the Sohan terraces are the erosional features rather than depositional terraces and cannot be associated with any specific deposits and can not be dated. The Mission members did not find evidence of an independent Sohanian tradition although they found artefacts of Acheulian and other traditions. However, investigations in the Indian Siwaliks appear to conform to observations of de Terra and Paterson in Pakistan.

Five terraces comparable to those of the Indus- Sohan in the Potwar region have been recognized in the valleys of the Sutlej, Beas and Banganga rivers in the Punjab-Himachal Pradesh region. Pebble tools of Sohanian style have been collected by B. B. Lal and B. S. Karir on these terraces. G. C. Mohapatra (1976), who discovered both Sohanian and Acheulian sites in the Hoshiarpur-Chandigarh sector of the Siwaliks, has argued that the Acheulian and Sohanian populations inhabited distinct environments; the former occupying the flat surfaces of the Siwalik frontal range and the latter occupied the duns or valleys of the Himalayan flank.

### Time Period

Using magnetic polarity data from the Upper Siwalik beds, Mohapatra has dated the Sohanian tradition from the Mindel-Riss interglacial (300- 400, 000 B. P.) to the end of the Pleistocene. However, according to him the Acheulian tradition cannot be older than 200, 000 B. P., because it is only around this time that the range (Siwalik range or hills) became sufficiently stable to support human population.

### Tool Types



Figure: Chopper

Figure: Hand Axe

Figure: Cleaver

Source: e-Acharya (Palaeolithic Culture of India; Hazarika, Manjil)

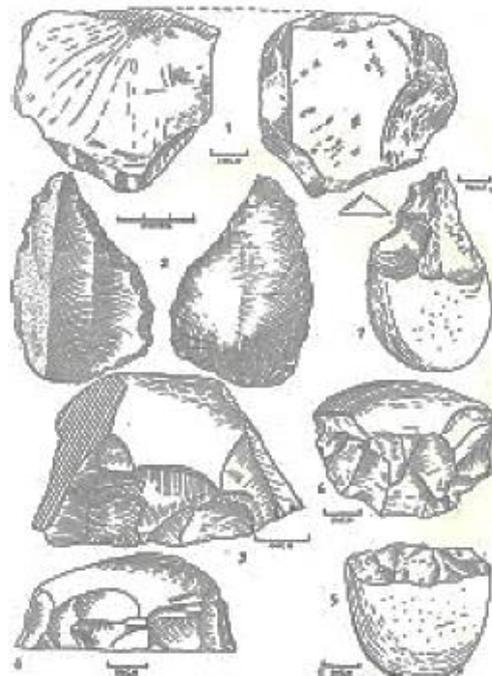


Figure: Choppers and flake tools of the Early Soan tradition

Source: IGNOU (Lower Palaeolithic Cultures)

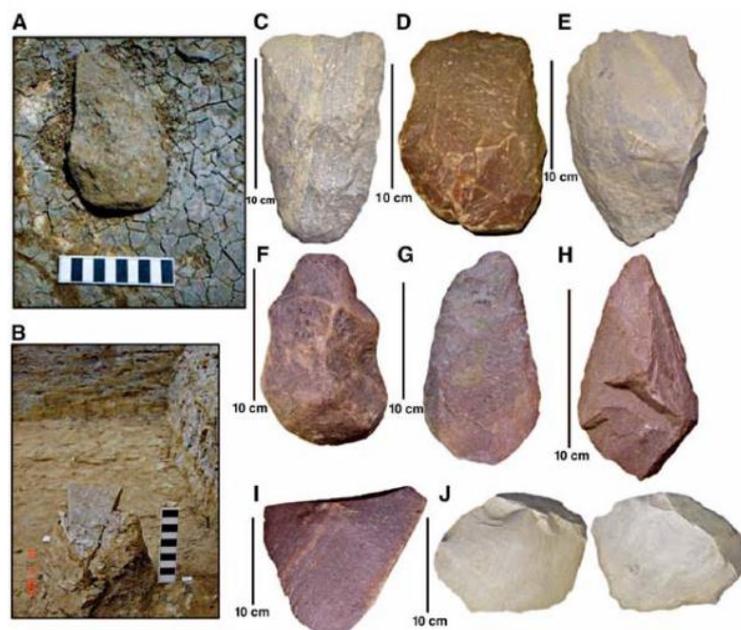
### 1. 2. 2 The Acheulian Cultural Tradition

This tradition is better documented than the Soanian from the points of view of chronology, spatial distribution of sites and land use patterns. Large clusters of sites are known from the Kortallayar valley of Tamil Nadu, Kurnool and Cuddapah basins of Andhra Pradesh, Kaladgi and Bhima basins of Karnataka, Chhota Nagpur zone of Bihar and Jharkhand, hill-tracts of Uttar Pradesh south of the Ganges, Narmada and Son valleys of Madhya Pradesh, Saurashtra and mainland Gujarat, the plateau tract of Maharashtra, Rajasthan including the desertic zone Lower Palaeolithic Cultures in the west, Aravalli ridges near Delhi, and the Siwalik zones of Punjab and Nepal. Some sites are also known from the Konkan coast and the northeastern coast of Andhra Pradesh.

Quartzite was the preferred rock for tool-making. Where it was not naturally available, the Acheulian groups made use of other available rocks like limestone in the Bhima basin, dolerite and basalt in Maharashtra, granite in Jhansi district of Uttar Pradesh, and fossil wood in Bihar and Bengal. Stone hammer, soft hammer and prepared core techniques were employed for detaching flakes and shaping them into implements. We will now briefly consider the evidence from major excavated primary sites.



**Figure: Acheulian Stone Tools: Cleavers and Handaxe**  
**Source: e-Acharya (Palaeolithic Culture of India; Hazarika, Manjil)**



**Figure: Acheulian Artefacts from Attirampakkam**  
**Source: e-Acharya (Palaeolithic Culture of India; Hazarika, Manjil)**

### 1. 2. 3 Hominin Fossil Record

Discussions about the biological identity of hominin groups responsible for the Lower Palaeolithic traditions groups of India are hampered by the woefully inadequate amount of fossil skeletal record available in the country till now. As yet only one true instance of the association of human skeletal record with the Acheulian cultural material is known. In 1982 Arun Sonakia of the Geological Survey of India found a fossil cranial vault (calvarium) in a 3 m thick gravel deposit of the Narmada river at Hathnora in Madhya Pradesh. Initially classified under the *Homo erectus* group, this skull cap is now

treated as representing an archaic form of *Homo sapiens*. Later a fossil clavicle was also reported from this site. Some bifacial implements and fossil fauna were also found from the gravel deposit.

#### 1. 2. 4 Origins of Paleolithic Culture in India

Taking into account the high antiquity of hominin occupation in Africa and also the possible early dates for sites like Riwat and Uttarbaini in the Indian subcontinent, some workers have concluded that the Soanian type pebble-tool assemblages were a part of the spread of the Oldowan tradition of East Africa across Asia by a northern route between 1. 8 and 2 million years ago. It has further been pointed out that the initial dispersal of the Acheulian into West Asia took place 1. 4 million years ago and that its spread to South Asia occurred later either by a coastal route along the Arabian sea or else from the Levant (Mediterranean) zone of West Asia via a land route traversing the Iranian plateau. But there are some scholars who, based on the early dates for sites like Isampur, proposed an alternative hypothesis that the Acheulian culture may even have originated in peninsular India itself and spread in both eastern and western directions beyond the subcontinent's borders.

#### 1. 2. 5 Settlement Patterns

1. In 2004, R. Korisettar put forward the view that the sedimentary rock formations of peninsular India, viz. the Vindhya-chal, Chhattisgarh, Cuddapah, Bhima and Kaladgi formations, were the core areas of Stone Age settlement. The principal reason put forward by him was that these areas offered many advantages to Stone Age groups, e. g. basin-shaped landforms, a variety of suitable rocks for toolmaking, presence of caves and rockshelters, perennial water springs, and rich biomass with a variety of wildlife and plant foods.
2. The team led by V. D. Mishra and J. N. Pal found 17 Acheulian sites on the slopes of hillocks and rock outcrops marking the fringe of Kaimur range and overlooking the Belan river. These are workshops where locally available rocks were used for tool-making. Their locations were suitable for the hominin groups to observe movement of game
3. Pant and Jayaswal's Lower Palaeolithic Cultures work in the Paisra valley (15 km<sup>2</sup> in extent) of Bihar has revealed that a two-kilometer area around Paisra village served as the locus for camp-based activities. Many thin scatters of artefacts found in the surrounding uplands were interpreted as resource-procurement locations. The Paisra valley even today supports rich wildlife and a variety of plant foods.
4. In the 1990s, R. S. Pappu and Sushma Deo investigated the Stone Age land use patterns in the Kaladgi basin of North Karnataka. They arrived at the inference that the Stone Age groups generally avoided the thickly forested and high rainfall tracts close to the Western Ghats and instead concentrated their activities on river banks and in foothill zone of hills in the middle reaches of the rivers Malaprabha and Ghataprabha.

#### 1. 2. 6 Lifestyle

The entire Palaeolithic stage was characterised by a simple economic organisation consisting of hunting of wild animals and gathering of wild plant foods. This interpretation is now supported by the recovery of dental and post-cranial bone pieces of wild cattle and deer species, dental remains of wild horse and tusk pieces of wild elephant from primary Acheulian sites at Isampur, Teggihalli, Hebbal Buzurg and Fatehpur in the Hunsgi and Baichbal valleys, Chirki-Nevasa in Maharashtra, Attirampakkam in Tamil Nadu and other sites. Cut-marks and other taphonomic marks found on these bones indicate that these pieces formed part of food-processing and consumption. Further, the occurrence of turtle shell pieces at sites like Isampur suggests that the Stone Age groups also exploited a variety of small fauna comprising insects, birds, fishes, rodents and amphibians by adopting simple collection strategies.

Now there is a worldwide realisation that plant foods also played an important role in the diet of Stone Age groups. M. D. Kajale recovered remains of wild bread fruit and two species of banana from Mesolithic levels (10, 000 to 8, 000 B. C.) of the cave site of Beli-lena Kitulgala in Sri Lanka. Also ethnoarchaeological studies conducted by M. L. K. Murty and D. R. Raju in the Eastern Ghats of

Andhra Pradesh, K. Paddayya in Hunsgi and Baichbal valleys, and V. N. Misra and Malti Nagar in Madhya Pradesh have brought to light exploitation on a large scale of a wide variety of leafy greens, tubers and other root crops, fruits and berries, seeds and gums by tribal groups like the Chenchus, Yanadis and Gonds and also by the underprivileged sections of village communities.

### Non-Utilitarian Behaviour

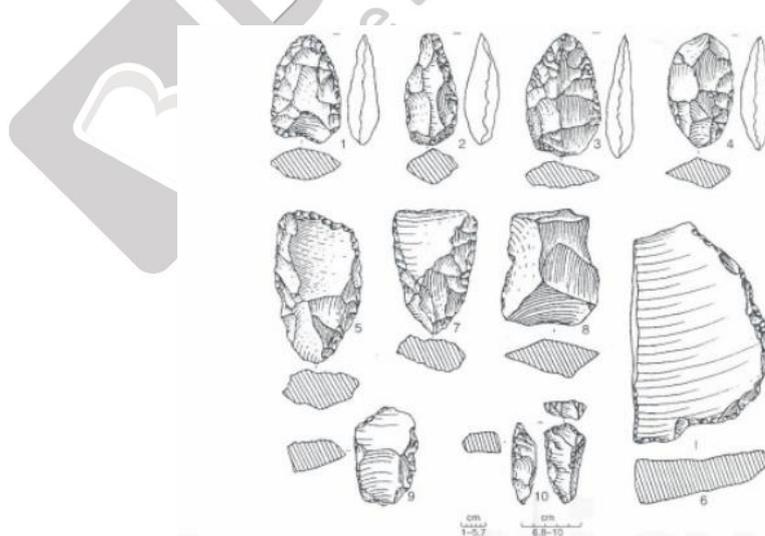
Archaeological record has also preserved some strands of evidence regarding non-utilitarian aspects of the behaviour of Lower Palaeolithic groups such as cognitive and artistic abilities and personal ornamentation. Thomas Wynn pointed out that the preparation of handaxes and cleavers reflects the employment of developed cognitive principles of reversibility and whole-part relations. Developed cognitive abilities are also reflected in many aspects of land use. These include the selection of valley-like topographic settings as habitats for occupation, recognition of seasonal availability of water sources and food resources, and identification of certain rock outcrops as suitable spots for workshop-cum-camp sites.

Some of the handaxes in the Acheulian assemblages, particularly the thin specimens belonging to pointed, ovate and cordate forms, are very symmetric in shape and aesthetically pleasing. So the possibility cannot be ruled out that these specimens were valued as such by their makers. There is some evidence of body decoration too. A few red ochre-like pieces were found at the Acheulian sites of the Hunsgi and Baichbal valleys. These were probably procured from vicinity and used for body smearing.

### 1. 2. 7 Important Sites

**Singi Talav (western Rajasthan)** was a lake-shore site excavated by V. N. Misra and his team. This site yielded an assemblage of 252 artefacts of quartzite and quartz from two levels of silty clay. The assemblage comprised choppers, polyhedrons, bifaces, scrapers and points.

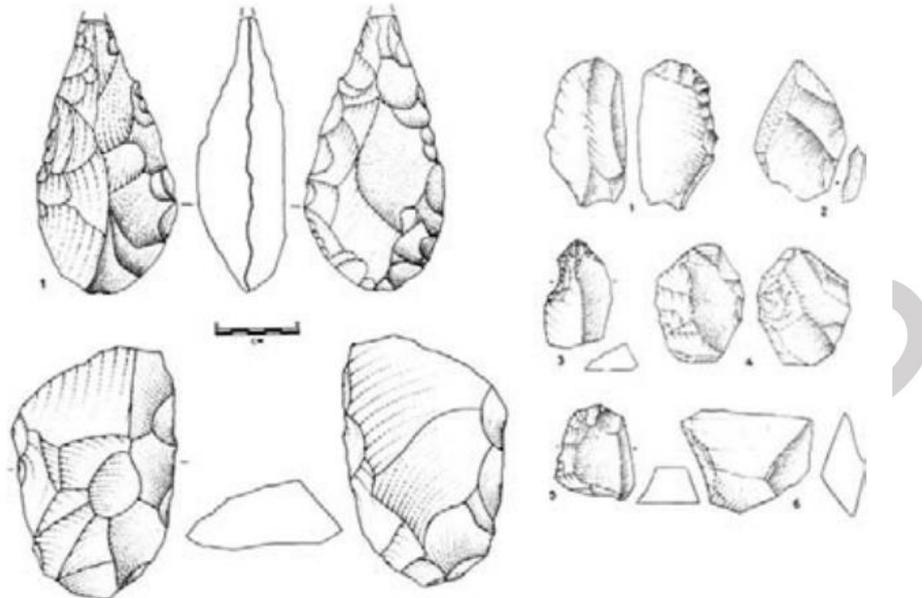
**Rock-shelter III F-23 at Bhimbetka in Madhya Pradesh** was also excavated by V. N. Misra. It preserved 4 m thick cultural deposits containing Acheulian, Middle and Upper Palaeolithic, and Mesolithic levels. The 2.5 m thick Acheulian level consisted of occupation levels paved with stone slabs and rubble. An excavated area of 16 m<sup>2</sup> yielded 4700 artefacts of quartzite. Adamgarh (also in Madhya Pradesh) also exposed an Acheulian level below Middle Palaeolithic deposits. Lalitpur (Jhansi district, U. P.) produced an early and in situ assemblage made up of granite tools.



**Figure: Developed Acheulian artefacts from III F-23 rock shelter at Bhimbetka, Madhya Pradesh: 1 to 4) handaxes; 5 & 7) cleaves; 6) convex scraper; 8) notched tool; 9) denticulate; 10) end-scraper**

**Source: IGNOU (Lower Palaeolithic Cultures)**

**Paisra (Munger district, Bihar)** lies in an inland valley enclosed by hills forming part of the Kharagpur range. It was excavated by R. K. Pant and Vidula Jayaswal and exposed Acheulian levels below 1 to 1.5 m thick colluvial deposits. In addition to a large assemblage consisting of early Acheulian artefacts, the excavation exposed remains of hut-like dwelling structures in the form of alignments of post-holes and a circular arrangement of stone blocks.



**Figure: Acheulian artefacts from Paisra, including a handaxe (top left), cleaver (bottom left) and various flake tools (right)**

**Source: e-Acharya (Palaeolithic Culture of India; Hazarika, Manjil)**

At **Chirki-Nevasa (Maharashtra)** Gudrun Corvinus found the Acheulian cultural material in a colluvial gravel resting on a rock platform on the river Pravara. Trench VII (74 m<sup>2</sup> in extent) excavated here yielded 1455 artefacts of dolerite along with fossil bones of wild cattle and other animals. The large basalt blocks found in this layer probably formed part of the ground plan of a dwelling structure. The site was a seasonal camp used for multiple purposes. The artefactual collection included handaxes, cleavers and knives as well as a small-tool component made up of flake-tools of chert and chalcedony.

Shanti Pappu's investigations in the 200 km<sup>2</sup> area of the **Kortallayar valley in Tamil Nadu** brought to light many Acheulian and Middle Palaeolithic sites. The Acheulian sites at Mailapur and Pariculam are associated with low energy stream and sheet flood deposits. In the excavations at Attirampakkam an in situ Acheulian assemblage of quartzite was found in a thick layer of laminated clay; it also yielded fossilised bones of wild cattle and other species. This site has recently been dated to 1.5 million years by an advanced scientific technique.

### 1.3 MIDDLE PALAEOOLITHIC STAGE IN INDIA

#### 1.3.1 Time Period

The Middle Palaeolithic culture in India existed from 1,05,000-40,000 years ago during the period from the Middle Pleistocene to Upper Pleistocene.

#### 1.3.2 Distribution

Similar to the Lower Palaeolithic culture, this culture is also found practically in the whole country, excluding perhaps the southern part of Tamil Nadu and the deltaic regions of the Krishna and Godavari rivers.

The sites may be classified into various groups, viz. cave and rockshelter sites (Sanghao and Parkhodarra caves and Bhimbetka rock shelter), open-air workshops or factory sites (Kovalli and Devapur in Karnataka and Choli and Khadi Mata in Madhya Pradesh), river sites (Nevasa on the Pravara and Taminhal on the Krishna river valley), hilltops (Sanganakallu in Bellary) etc.

The existence of the Middle Palaeolithic phase in Northern India is known from a few localities, such as Ror in Kangra district, discovered by M. R. Sahnii and G. C. Mohapatra where artifacts such as prepared flakes, asymmetric cores, side scrapers and incipient borers were found. De Terra and T. T. Paterson discovered artifacts in the Potwar area in Pakistan where it is known as Late Sohan.

In the Vindhyan region, Middle Palaeolithic sites are found in parts of Malwa, Bundelkhand and various districts of Madhya Pradesh and southern Uttar Pradesh. The sites of Mandsaur, Khadki and Nalgarh in the Malwa plateau yielded artifacts such as side scrapers, end scrapers and points made of jasper nodules.

V. N. Misra records several Middle Palaeolithic sites in western India such as Bhutia, Hajra-Kheri, Beawar, Champakheri in Rajasthan which contains implements on chert, jasper, quartzite and sandstone.

The Middle Palaeolithic sites of Bihar such as Jamalpur has yielded scrapers, including side and end, denticulated tools and flakes obtained by the Levallois technique, made on quartzite nodules. These have close typo-technological similarities with the Belan group of industries.

Again in the Kangsabati and Kumari valley sites of West Bengal, Middle Palaeolithic artifacts are characterized by both scraper-point and Acheulian traditions.

In the river valleys of Mula-Mutha, Godavari, Pravara etc. in Maharashtra, Middle Palaeolithic industries are characterized by almost similar typo-technological trends, i. e. scrapers and points and uniformity in the selection of the raw material, invariably siliceous grained stones.

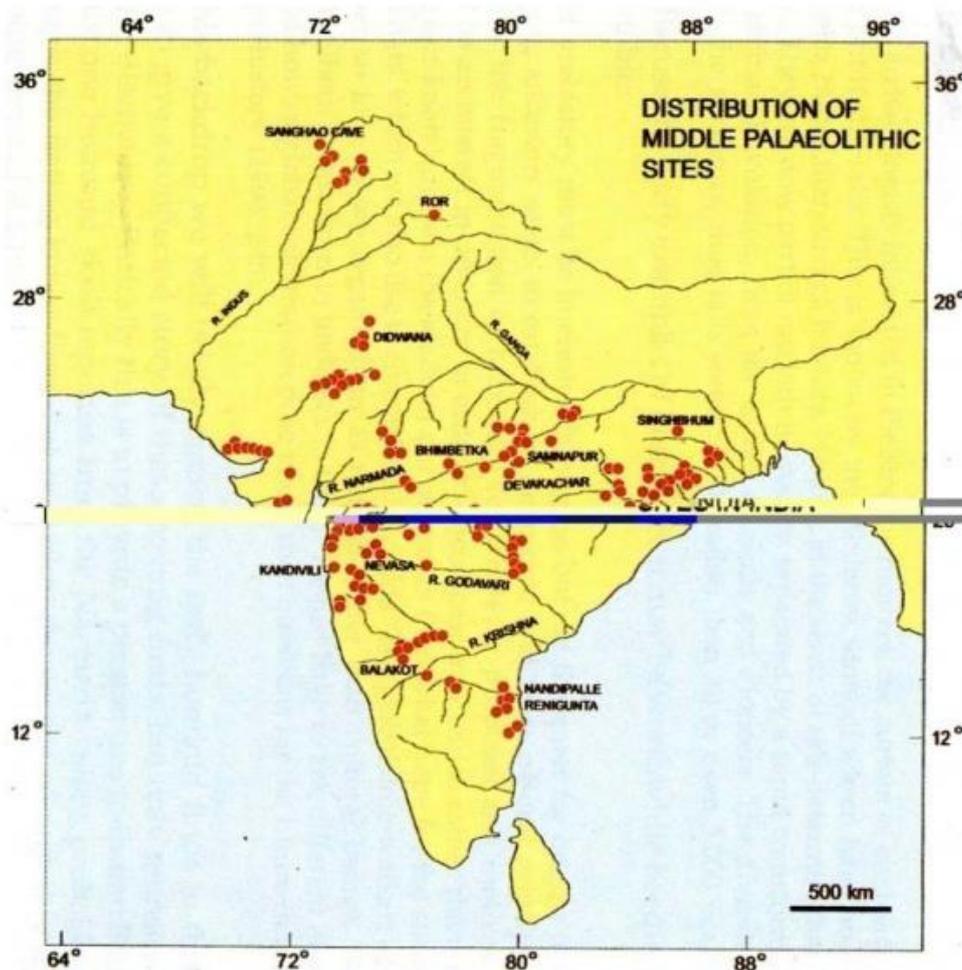
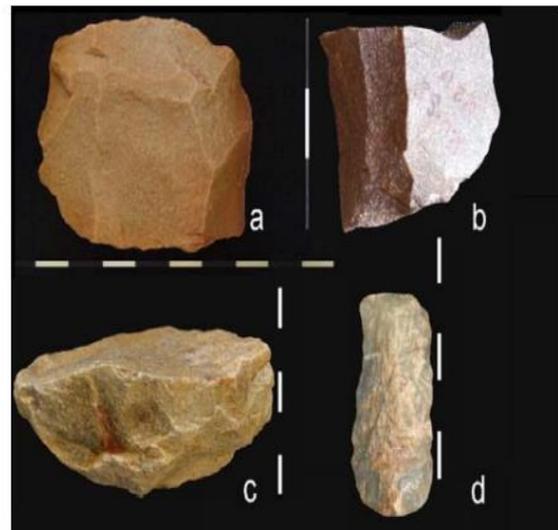


Figure: Distribution of Middle Palaeolithic sites in Indian Subcontinent (after Misra 1989)

Source: e-Acharya (Palaeolithic Culture of India; Hazarika, Manjil)

### 1. 3. 3 Tool Types and Material

1. Sides scrapers of a large variety with such sub-types as including convergent side scraper often prepared on Levalloise flakes.
2. Rather sharp points with triangular cross-section and a sturdy body. There are few cases where these points are also bifacially worked. There are also isolated cases of points with one or two shoulders worked on them.
3. Fairly moderate frequency of borers with thick and sturdy body. Many of these specimens show such wide and open notches that Sankalia termed them as Scrapers-cum-borer. In addition to the above the following types may occur in some sites.
4. Handaxes and cleavers
5. Choppers and chopping tools
6. Atypical end scrapers
7. Burins and,
8. Retouched blades



**Figure: Middle Palaeolithic from Kortallayar Basin: a) Levallois core. Late Middle Palaeolithic artefacts: b) blade core; c) unidirectional single platform core for detaching elongated flakes/flake-blades & d) blade**

**Source: e-Acharya (Palaeolithic Culture of India; Hazarika, Manjil)**

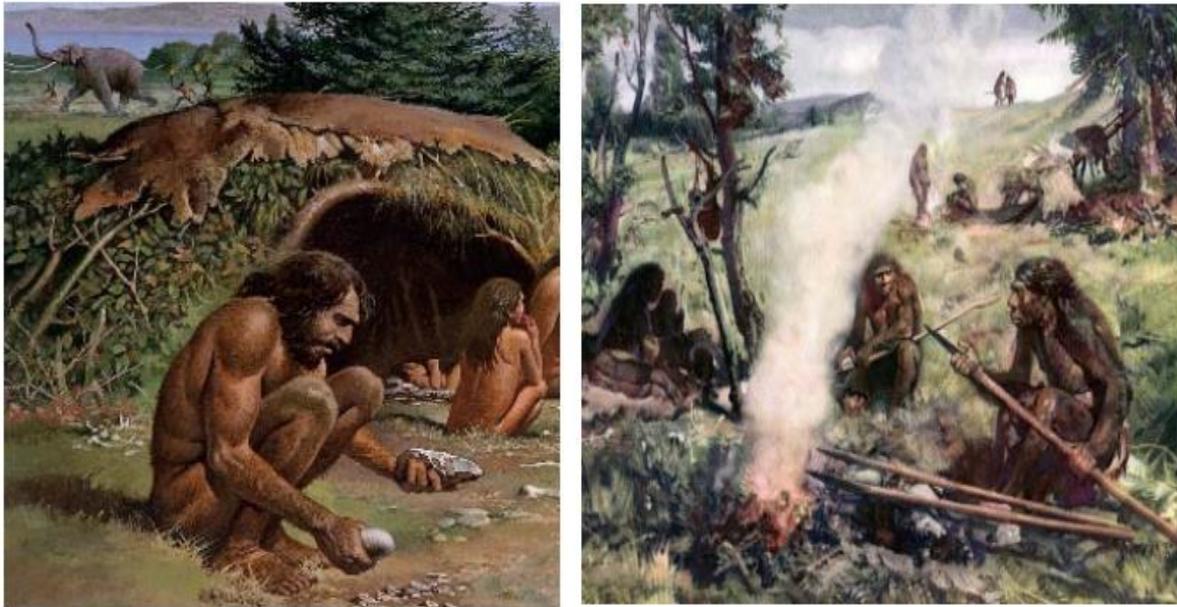
During this period, decrease in the use of bifaces and heavy-duty chopper-chopping tools can be noticed. The handaxes became smaller as compared to the lower Palaeolithic period. Scrapers of various types, denticulates, borers and points predominates the Middle Palaeolithic industries in India. Different techniques were employed to gain necessary form of the tools such as points by edge-chipping and retouching; the tanged butt by shouldering the margins for a certain length at the distal end; the bifacial points by surface working involving the removal of small and shallow flakes from both the surfaces etc. The edges of the scrapers were either retouched or chipped.

During the Middle Palaeolithic period, a basic change took place in the selection of raw materials such as chert, agate, jasper and chalcedony, as compared to the preceding Lower Palaeolithic period. However, in a few regions like Chittoor and Bellary in southern India, quartzite and dolerite were continued to be used.

### 1. 3. 4 Settlement Patterns

During the Middle Palaeolithic period, open-air sites along streams, hill slopes, stable dune surfaces and rock shelters continued to be used. Sanghao cave in modern Pakistan, sand dunes of Didwana, river valleys of Chambal, Narmada, Son, Hunsgi, Kortallayar etc., plateaus of Eastern India are some of examples of varied geomorphic features in which Middle Palaeolithic hominids largely occupied. Most of the areas inhabited during the Lower Palaeolithic period are continued to occupy by the Middle Palaeolithic men.

### 1.3.5 Lifestyle



**Figure: Life During Middle Paleolithic Period**  
Source: e-Acharya (Middle Palaeolithic Culture of India; Hazarika, Manjil)

## 1.4 UPPER PALAEOOLITHIC STAGE IN INDIA

### 1.4.1 Time Period

The Upper Palaeolithic culture developed during the later part of the Upper Pleistocene. Sankalia (1941-64) excavated the fossil sand dunes east of Baroda in Central Gujarat and reported that the Upper Palaeolithic culture existed between 40,000 and 12,000 years ago.

### 1.4.2 Distribution

Archaeological evidence of this period comes from the Belan and Son valleys in the northern Vindhyas, Chota Nagpur plateau in Bihar, Upland Maharashtra, Orissa and from the Eastern Ghats in Andhra Pradesh.

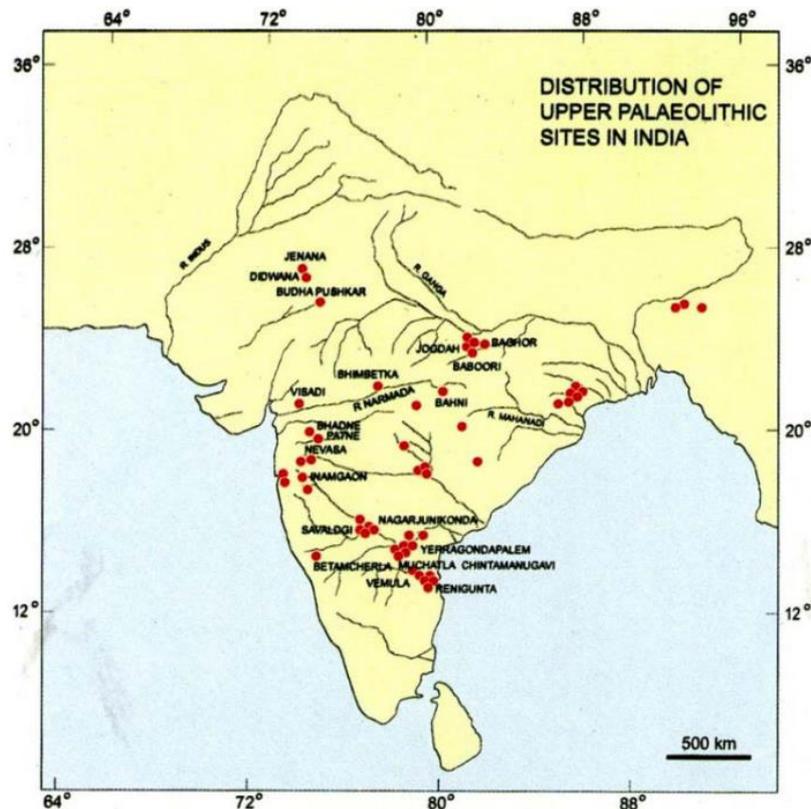


Figure: Distribution of Upper Palaeolithic sites in Indian Subcontinent (after Misra 1989)  
Source: e-Acharya (Palaeolithic Culture of India; Hazarika, Manjil)

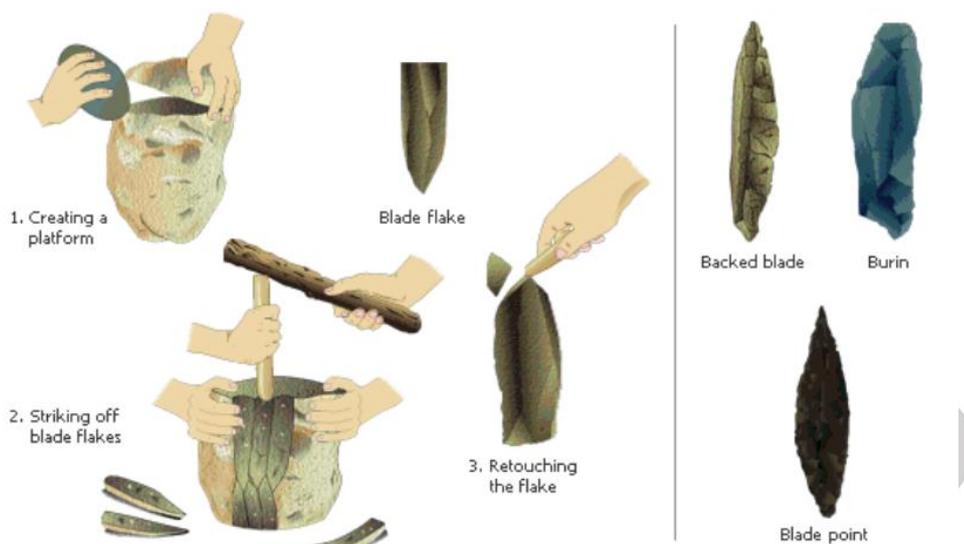
#### 1. 4. 3 Tool Types and Material

The sites of these areas bear upper Palaeolithic tool assemblages which are essentially characterized by blade and burin tools and show a marked regional diversity with respect to the refinement of techniques and standardization of finished tool forms. The principal artefact forms are:

1. scrapers (side, convex, notch, end, steep, round, convergent, etc.),
2. flake-blades, blades and cores;
3. backed blade variants (straight back, curved back, backed knives, points, lunates, triangles and trapezes) ;
4. burins,
5. unifacial, bifacial and tanged points and
6. choppers.

The scraper made on flakes, which is a Middle Palaeolithic tradition, continues to occur. Parallel-sided blades struck from standardized prismatic cores are common in the Thar desert, Belan and Son valleys, Bhimbetka rock shelters, Maharashtra plateau and the Eastern Ghats. Considerable regional diversity in tool forms and in the proportion of flakes and blades are noticed during this period. In the hinterland riverine ecosystems of the Eastern Ghats, the backed blade component among finished tools is conspicuous.

The materials used for making the Upper Palaeolithic tools include those of stone and bone. The lithic materials consisted mainly of quartzite of coarse, medium and coarse to fine grained varieties with olive green, light green as well as pale yellow and light shades. The materials used for making bone tools were mostly shafts of long bones.



**Figure: Method of making upper Palaeolithic artefacts**  
Source: e-Acharya (Palaeolithic Culture of India; Hazarika, Manjil)



**Figure: Upper Paleolithic Blades**  
Source: e-Acharya (Palaeolithic Culture of India; Hazarika, Manjil)

#### 1. 4. 4 Settlement Patterns

A vast majority of the sites inhabited by the Upper Palaeolithic folk are located in river banks in different Valleys like the Swarnamukhi, Krishna and Godavari river Valleys in Andhra Pradesh, Narmada and Banjar river Valleys in Madhya Pradesh, Krishna, Tungabhadra and Bhima river Valleys in Karnataka and Krishna river Valley in Maharashtra and Belan Valley in Uttar Pradesh.

There are also cave sites like those situated at Billasurgam Muchatlachintamanugavi Kottalapplimergavi and Peddapuvudala Badegavi in Andhra Pradesh and at Bhimbetka and more in Madhya Pradesh.

#### 1. 4. 5 Lifestyle

On the basis of ethnoarchaeological research among the tribal populations central India and the Eastern Ghats on the food procurement technologies and behaviour it can be argued that prototype of traps, snares and nets must have been used during the Upper Palaeolithic period. The various types of scrapers were probably used for wood and bamboo work.

Simple blades and backed blades could have been used as inserts for spear points, arrow points, fishing arrows, barbed fish-hooks, thrusting spears, slicer knives and daggers. M. L. K. Murty (1981) suggests that the large crescentic backed blades with blunted arc and straight and damaged cord, common in the Eastern Ghats, were probably used for wood work.

Bored stones, similar to the Upper Palaeolithic ones, are being used by the Yanadi (Andhra Pradesh) fishermen as net sinkers in riverine fishing and the heavier ones are used by the Voda Baliye (Andhra Pradesh) and other groups for marine fishing.

The Upper Palaeolithic occupations in the Eastern Ghats are invariably associated with permanent water bodies which suggest that aquatic foods must have been an important resource during this period.

Discovery of the grinding stones is interesting as these must have been used for processing plant foods like wild rice.

In this period, several examples of the development of art and religious activities came to limelight.

Another interesting aspect of this period is the discovery of ostrich egg shell pieces engraved with cross-hatched designs at Patne by S. A. Sali (1989) can be considered as one of the earliest evidence of art in India.

#### 1. 4. 6 Important Sites

1. Murthy (1970) and his associates excavated a cave site called **Muchatla Chintamanugavi** and found a number of Upper Palaeolithic tools. Of these, 9. 70% were made on stone and the remaining 90. 30% were made on bone. The large proportion of stone blades and burins show that the people lived by hunting and collection of roots and berries.
2. In 1939 Todd discovered the blade and burin industry in clay deposit at Borivili and Kandvili sites near Bombay. Between 1971-73, Sankalia conducted excavations at Patne, South of Chalisgaon town in Jalgaon District and obtained classical Upper Palaeolithic tools including disc bead on an ostrich egg shell bearing an engraved criss-cross design and this is believed to be the earliest object of ornament.
3. De. Terra and Paterson (1936) excavated the sites at Wainganga and Hoshangabad on the banks of river Narmada and found there the Upper Palaeolithic blade and burin industries. Mishra (1973) excavated the rock shelter III F - 23 at Bhimbetka and found burins made on thick blade flake tools and different types of scrapers.
4. G. R. Sharma (1972) dug a site in Belan Valley in Allahabad District of Uttar Pradesh and acquired upper Palaeolithic tools including a female figurine carved on bone.

## 2. Mesolithic Culture

### 2. 1 Introduction

After the paleolithic period, the next stage in India is variously labeled as Late Stone Age, microlithic or mesolithic period. Microliths are the main industry of the period. The first microliths were discovered by A. C. L. Carlleyle in 1867 from the Vindhyan rock shelters and this was followed by more discoveries by J. Cockburn and Rivet Carnac in the nineteenth century. In the first half of twentieth century, L. A. Cammiade, K. R. U. Todd, G. R. Hunter and D. H. Gordon reported microliths from different parts of the subcontinent.

The term mesolithic is conventionally applied in India to denote the cultural stage represented by microlithic industries not associated with pottery and generally antedating the earliest farming-based village cultures. The evidence for this stage in India is both qualitatively and quantitatively richer than that of the preceding stages of the Stone Age.

## 2.2 Time Period

The mesolithic period is well dated by a large number of <sup>14</sup>C dates from many sites in western and central India. These dates range from ca. 10,000 to 2,000 B. P. The beginning of the Mesolithic culture can be put at c. 8000 B. P. and as more dates from excavated sites become available this antiquity is likely to be pushed back.

## 2.3 Distribution

Microliths have been reported practically from all over the subcontinent. In the northern part of India, several sites have been reported from Rajasthan and Gujarat. The mesolithic sites are known both from western and eastern Rajasthan. The upper paleolithic period was succeeded by this mesolithic period.

Below is listed some of the major excavated mesolithic sites in India as well as the excavators of the sites:

- Tilwara in Rajasthan by V. N. Misra
- Bagor in Rajasthan by V. N. Misra
- Langhnaj in Gujarat by H. D. Sankalia
- Sarai Nahar Rai by G. R. Sharma
- Lekhahia in Uttar Pradesh by R. K. Varma
- Baghai Khor in Uttar Pradesh by R. K. Varma
- Morhana Pahar in Uttar Pradesh by R. K. Varma
- Mahadaha in Uttar Pradesh by G. R. Sharma
- Damdama in Uttar Pradesh by R. K. Varma and J. N. Pal
- Bhimbetka in Madhya Pradesh by V. N. Misra
- Adamgarh in Madhya Pradesh by R. V. Joshi and M. D. Khare
- Birbhanpur in West Bengal by B. B. Lal
- Sanganakallu in Karnataka by H. D. Sankalia

## 2.4 Tool Types and Material

The technology of the mesolithic period is primarily based on microliths. These are tiny tools made from microblades by blunting one or more sides with steep retouch. The microblades were mass-produced by pressure technique. The commonly found beautifully fluted cylindrical or conical cores and thin parallel-sided blades testify to the high skill of the mesolithic craftsmen in the production of microblades. These blades were then retouched on one or more edges, mostly by steep blunting, to produce a variety of microlithic types. The technology of producing a large number of thin, strictly parallel sided blades from a single core by pressure flaking was, however, characteristic of the mesolithic.

Except in parts of south India where very fine grained quartzite was available and used, in all other areas people switched over to chalcedony and chert for making these new tools. Quartz was also occasionally used.

The main tool types are:

- backed blades
- obliquely truncated blades
- points
- crescents
- triangles
- trapezes

These microliths were used as components of spearheads, arrowheads, knives, sickles, harpoons and daggers. They were fitted into grooves in bone, wood and reed shafts and joined together by natural

adhesives like gum and resin. Evidence for such hafting comes from later sites in India and from mesolithic and neolithic sites in the Near East, Africa and Europe.

The use of bow and arrow for hunting became common in this period, which is evident from many rock paintings in central India. Small flake tools like side, end, round and thumb-nail scrapers, and burins also form part of these industries. Bifacial points made by pressure flaking are a characteristic feature of the mesolithic industries of coastal dunes of southern Tamil Nadu and Sri Lanka. Bored stones are believed to have been used as weights in digging sticks and as net sinkers.

Similarly, shallow querns and grinding stones also occur at several sites. No plant remains have as yet been recovered from any site. But at several sites, such as Tilwara, Bagor and Bhimbetka, shallow querns and rubbers are very common, suggesting an extensive use of plant foods. These new technological elements led to enhanced efficiency in hunting, collection and processing of wild plant foods. Heavy duty tools like choppers and core scrapers have been found occasionally at mesolithic sites in Orissa and along the West Coast.

## 2.5 Settlement Patterns

**Sand dunes:** In Gujarat and Marwar hundreds of dunes of varying sizes dot the alluvial plain. In Gujarat these dunes often enclose a shallow lake or pond which was the source of aquatic food for the inhabitants. The dunes themselves were covered with thorny scrub which supported a rich fauna. Human occupation took place on the top of the dunes. In Marwar the dunes along perennial lakes as well as others near seasonal sources of water were inhabited. In Rajasthan dunes are not so common, but wherever they exist the mesolithic man occupied them.

**Rock shelters:** The Vindhya, Satpura and Kaimur hills in central India are very rich in caves and rock shelters. Some examples of rock shelters which were occupied by mesolithic people are Bhimbetka, Adamgarh etc. These forests produce a large variety of plants with edible flowers, fruits, seeds and roots. Water was available near the shelters either from natural perennial springs or from seasonal or perennial streams. This vast rocky country is ideally suited for a hunting-gathering way of life.

**Alluvial plains:** Numerous mesolithic sites are located on alluvial terraces along river banks in all parts of the country. Birbhanpur on the Damodar is one of them.

**Rocky plains:** In Mewar numerous microlithic sites occur on low rocky outcrops which were probably better wooded in pre-agricultural days and occupied by mesolithic people. On the Deccan plateau, microlithic sites are common both on hilltops and the flat rocky plain.

**Lake shores:** Mesolithic settlements in the Ganga valley were centered on the shores of lakes formed by abandoned meanders of changing river courses. The mesolithic settlers had ample food supplies from the lakes as well as the dense primeval forests of the fertile alluvial plains.

**Coastal environments:** A number of microlithic sites are known very close to the coast, such as on the Salsette Island and on the teri dunes. Though no organic remains have survived at any of the known sites, it seems certain that their inhabitants drew upon marine food resources.

## 2.6 Lifestyle

The subsistence economy of this period continued to be based on hunting and gathering. There was a marked growth in human population as is attested by the significantly increased number of sites.

**Dwelling Structures:** Increased food security during this period led to reduction in nomadism and to seasonally sedentary settlement. There is evidence for rudimentary structures at some sites. At Sarai Nahar Rai there was a large oblong floor made by ramming burnt clay nodules. On the floor occurred several hearths and plenty of bones and microliths. Four postholes on the sides of the floor suggest a superstructure of some kind. At Bagor and Tilwara numerous stones were brought on the dune to

make stable floors. At Tilwara, structural activity is denoted by stones arranged in a circular fashion with diameters up to 3 m. Hearths with charred bones and ash and stone querns and rubbers were found from these structures. In one of the shelters of Bhimbetka a stone wall was made probably to partition off a part of the shelter.

**Disposal of Dead:** The first evidence of intentional disposal of the dead comes from this period. Mesolithic human burials have been found at Bagor in Rajasthan, Langhnaj in Gujarat, Bhimbetka in Madhya Pradesh, Lekhahia, Baghai Khor, Morhana Pahar, Sarai-Nahar-Rai, Mahadaha and Damdama in Uttar Pradesh etc. At the last three sites cemeteries containing many individuals have been found. The dead were buried in graves both in extended and crouched positions. In some cases two individuals were buried in a single grave. The dead were occasionally provided with grave offerings which include chunks of meat, grinding stones, stone, bone and antler ornaments, and pieces of haematite.

**Artistic Expressions:** Several thousand rock shelters in the Vindhyan sandstone hills contain enormous quantities of paintings on their walls, ceilings and in niches. They are found in both inhabited and uninhabited shelters. The paintings mostly depict wild animals and hunting scenes. There are also scenes of fishing, plant food and honey collecting, social and religious life. The paintings can be broadly divided into two cultural and chronological stages. The poorly preserved earlier paintings are characterized by naturalism, accurate rendering of the animal body, depiction of the animals in their various postures and moods like standing, moving, running, grazing, etc. The later paintings which overlie the older ones and are in a much better state of preservation. They show battle scenes with men fighting with swords and shields and carrying metal-tipped spears and bows and arrows. Both human and animal figures in these paintings are highly stylized and show considerable deterioration in the technique of portrayal.

**Material Culture of the Mesolithic Period:** The mesolithic people had little by way of material culture. Stone querns, rubbers and hammers occur at Bhimbetka. A few bone points, some bone pieces with incised decoration and an animal rib with a long narrow perforation possibly to be used as a pendant has also been found. It is only in the later contact with contemporary metal-using and farming based economy that we find them acquiring such items as pottery, metal tools and stone beads for ornaments

## 2.7 Important Sites

**Bagor:** In 1967, V. N. Misra discovered the site of Bagor on the left bank of Kothari, a tributary of the Banas river. It is a large and prominent sand dune that reveals an uninterrupted settlement over a period of 5,000 years. The site represents basically a single culture undergoing evolution through time by the appearance of new material traits and decline or disappearance of others. To date, Bagor is the best studied mesolithic site in the subcontinent.

A deposit of 1.5 m at Bagor has been divided into three phases and five layers. On the basis of the material changes, the following three phases of the Bagor culture have been recognized:

**Phase I** (50-80 cm deposit) is marked by extensive stone-paved floors and occasional circular alignments of stones probably to hold plastered reed walls. Numerous bones, many of them charred and split open, as also stone pebbles, used both to break the bones and to make microliths, were found in this phase. Querns and rubbers indicate use of plant food. Only one extended adult burial with head pointing west was found; the grave was inside the habitation and had no funerary appendage. Hunting-gathering economy with the possibility of domestication of sheep, goat and cattle is indicated.

**Phase II** (30-50 cm deposit) shows contacts with the contemporary Chalcolithic cultures, indicated by the use of copper tools and beads. Other features of Phase I continue but handmade pottery with incised and applied designs appears for the first time. Burials are more elaborate having pots and pans, copper tools and ornaments. The skeletons all in the habitation area were found interred in a

flexed position. From one grave alone 36 stone and bone beads were discovered. One spearhead, three arrowheads and one awl comprise the copper repertory, all found in burials.

**Phase III** (35-75 cm deposit) was restricted to the central part of the mound. Microliths and animal bones become scarce. Iron tools, wheel made pottery, glass beads and brick structure form new traits.

**Langhnaj:** The site of Langhnaj has been excavated several times between 1942 and 1963 by H. D. Sankalia of Deccan College, Poona and the University of Baroda, as a result of which a good number of microliths, 14 human skeletal remains, animal bones, etc. have been brought to light. Langhnaj has a sandy deposit of about 2 metres divisible into three phases.

Phase I has produced microliths, burials, animal bones and an occasional potsherd. In the debris of the habitation were found the skeletal remains of men, women and children kept intentionally in a highly flexed posture. The 13 skeletons excavated earlier followed east-west orientation, the head being placed in the east. The faunal remains recovered from the site are all of wild species. On the basis of typo-technological consideration, H. D. Sankalia dated the Mesolithic phase, the phase associated with the burials to a time going before 2500 B. C.

### 3. Neolithic Culture

#### 3.1 Introduction

The Neolithic or the New Stone Age was preceded by the Palaeolithic and Mesolithic eras of human history. The domestication of plants and animals is one of the key features of Neolithic culture. Development of agriculture and increased food resources could support higher population densities. With food production, permanent residences could be established and the hunter-gatherer lifestyle was abandoned. The transition from hunting-gathering to food production has been aptly designated as the Neolithic revolution by V. Gordon Childe in 1936.

Neolithic culture in India has been known since the middle of the 19th century. In 1842, Captain Meadows Tylor picked up the first Neolithic tool, a polished stone axe, in Lingasagur in Raichur District, Karnataka. In 1872, Fraser discovered the first Neolithic settlement in Bellary District, Karnataka. Later, Robert Bruce Foot discovered more than 200 Neolithic sites in South India.

The Neolithic culture in other parts of India came to light a little later. Several early scholars of the 19th century discovered the Neolithic sites in Khasi and Garo Hills in Meghalaya, Brahmaputra Valley and Cachar Hills in Assam, and the western Districts of Bankura, Birbhum, Midnapore and Purulia in West Bengal.

#### 3.2 Time Period

The Neolithic culture in India existed between 400 BC and 1050 BC. Khazanchi estimated that Burzahom Neolithic started prior to 2375-1400 BC. According to Wheeler, Subbarao, Allchin, Nagarajrao and others the Neolithic in Karnataka existed between 1800 to 1500 B. C. On other hand, Allchin fixes dates of Utnoor culture as 2335-2170 B. C. In general, the Southern Neolithic was estimated to be existing between 2500 to 1100 B. C.

There is a wide gap between the Palaeolithic period and the beginning times of Neolithic culture in Kashmir Valley. Seven uncalibrated C14 dates from Burzahom give a time bracket of 2400-1500 B. C. for the Neolithic culture of Kashmir. The new radiocarbon dates from Kanishkapura suggests the beginning of Neolithic age in Kashmir in the middle of the fourth millennium B. C. with ceramic Neolithic appearing in the late fourth millennium B. C. and not in the first half of the third millennium B. C. as popularly believed by archaeologists on the evidence of Burzahom and Gufkral.

### 3.3 Distribution

On the basis of distributions and cluster of sites, the Neolithic culture of India may broadly be divided into three main broad groups:

1. Eastern Group (Vindhyan region, middle Ganga plain, Chotanagpur plateau of Bihar, West Bengal and Orissa and Northeast India)
2. Southern Group (South India)
3. Northern Group (Kashmir Valley)

#### 3.3.1 Eastern Group

In the eastern group, the sites in the Vindhyan and middle Ganga plain, Chota Nagpur plateau in Bihar, Orissa and West Bengal and Northeast Indian hills are included. Important excavated sites:

**Uttar Pradesh:** Jhusi and Hetapatti in Allahabad, Bhunadiah and Waina in Ballia, Sohagaura and Imlidih Khurd in Gorakhpur and Lahuradeva in Sant Kabirnagar,

**Bengal:** Panduraj-Dibi in Burdwan District, Darjeeling District, Midnapore and Bankura Districts

**Bihar:** Chirand in Saran, Chechar Kutubpur in Vaisali, Taradih in Gaya, Maner in Patna and Senuwar in Rohtas.

**Orissa:** Kuchai in Mayurbhanj district, Golbai Sasan in Khurda district, Kuanr in Keonjhar district and Sankarjang in Angul district

**Vindhyas:** Koldihwa and Mahagara

**Assam:** Daojali Hading in North Cachar Hills, Sarutaru in Kamrup district

#### 3.3.2 Southern Group

The Neolithic culture of south India is primarily a product of human adaptation to the semi-arid environment, marked by low rainfall and found distributed in northern Karnataka and western Andhra Pradesh, although a few sites also occur in southern Karnataka, coastal Andhra Pradesh and northern Tamil Nadu. Some of the important excavated sites are:

**Karnataka** - Sanganakallu and Tekkalakota in Bellary district, Brahmagiri in Chitradurga district, Maski, Piklihal and Watgal in Raichur district, Hallur in Dharwad district, T. Narasipur and Hemmige in Mysore district;

**Andhra Pradesh** - Nagarjunakonda in Guntur district, Ramapuram and Veerapuram in Kurnool district; and

**Tamil Nadu** - Paiyampalli in North Arcot district

#### 3.3.3 Northern Group

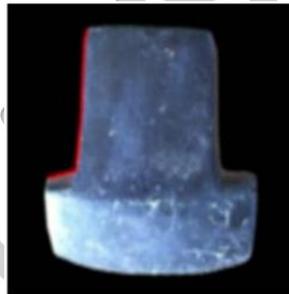
The Neolithic settlers of Northern India settled in the Pleistocene lake beds of Kashmir valley which are locally known as Karewas. The important sites are Burzahom, Gufkral, Kanishpur, Begagund, Hariparigom, Jayadeviudar, Olchibag etc. Of these, Burzahom, Gufkral and Kanishkpura have been excavated which revealed a fairly good picture of the lifeways of the first farmers in the Kashmir valley.

### 3.4 Tool Types and Material

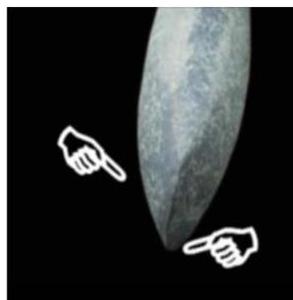
The Neolithic Stone tools are generally identified by the presence of smooth ground and polished tool surfaces. These tools could be divided into celt, chisel, ring-stone and quern. The Neolithic celt can be broadly divided into axe and adze. The division of axe and adze is based on the preparation of the working edge. In case of the axe the edge is present medially due to symmetrical bifacial grinding, while the laterally beveled edge is the character of the adze type of celt. Both the types of celt are used after hafting to a handle with its blade parallel to the axis of the handle in the case of axe, and at right angle in case of adze.



**Tanged or Shouldered celt:** The chief feature of this type of celt is the prolongation of the butt end into a tenon to provide a suitable haft. Two varieties of this type of celt could be divided based on the nature of the tenon as simple shouldered celt and rectilinear shouldered celt. The rectilinear shouldered celt has square cut tenon and body, while the simple shouldered celt has only the curved sides to form the tenon. It could be used generally as adzewise.



**Chisel:** Chisel is a narrow cylindrical or rectangular stone tool with two of its sides tapering half way to form the working edge, and opposite to this edge the butt is generally thick for suitable hammering. The edge may be either medial or lateral. Chisel could have been used in cutting across the fiber of the wood in the carpentry works, like making of the canoes.



**Ring-stones:** Ring-stones are generally thick and round shaped stones with a hole at the centre. Ring-stones seem to have been used as weights for digging sticks in the primitive agriculture. It is also suggested to have been served as maceheads.



**Querns:** Querns are comparatively large stone slabs with flattish or concave surfaces. These are found in the habitational sites of the Neolithic Culture and later period. These stone slabs were used for crushing and grinding or milling grains.

Like the people in the preceding phases, those in the Neolithic phase also utilized the locally available raw materials for making different types of tools. Basalt, dolerite and epidierate were the raw materials frequently used by the Neolithic



The most distinctive **pottery** of the neolithic culture of northern Vindhyan region is cord-marked ware which include handmade pottery made of coarse clay and poorly baked and has cord designs on the external surface of vessels. Other wares include black-and-red ware, black-slipped ware with occasional painting in white, and slipped-plain red ware. The study of the ceramic industry of the middle Ganga plain suggests that in the early stage of the Neolithic culture, people were using hand made pottery as evidenced at the sites of Chirand, Lahuradeva, Jhusi and Hetapatti. Subsequently a slow wheel method emerged.

### 3.5 Settlement Patterns

The Neolithic people of the Kashmir valley lived in pits dug into the compact Karewa loess. This was to protect themselves from the freezing winds during winter. Evidence of post holes around the mouth of the pits has provided insight about the probable roof thatched with birch and hay. Steps were cut into the walls of the pits for entry and exit, and the walls and floors were plastered with lime. Evidence of ovens, charcoal, ash, pottery, stone tools, human burials and animal bones indicate habitation in the pits.

At Panduraj-Dibi in Burdwan District, settlements of single-room, square to rectangular, or round huts with mud plastered reed walls, supported by thick wooden or bamboo posts and paved floors have been found.

Bihar Neolithic has produced evidence of Circular mud plastered, wattle walled houses with paved floors and thatched conical roofs. Pit-houses are also present.

### 3.6 Lifestyle

#### 3.6.1 Southern Neolithic

Southern Neolithic people practised an agro-pastoral economy. The domesticated animals comprise cattle, buffalo, sheep, goat, pig, dog and fowl. Cattle played a predominant role in the economy as is evident by the abundance of bone refuse. Further evidence comes from the presence of ash mounds, terracotta figurines, and portrayal in the bruising on rocks near archaeological sites.

The Neolithic people also cultivated a variety of crops on hill tops and in narrow valleys between the hills using rain fed gravity-flow irrigation as also on alluvial banks of rivers. Their main crops were millets, pulses and legumes. The only cereals known to have been cultivated are barley and rice but they are known only from one site each.

A very distinctive feature of the southern groups of Neolithic culture is **ash mounds**, which are heaps of ash produced by the burning of cow dung. It is believed that dung from cattle pens was allowed to accumulate and periodically set ablaze, probably in a ceremonial way as is done at annual cattle festivals in south India even today. At Utnur and Budihal hoof impressions of cattle have been found beneath the cow dung, showing evidence of cattle penning. Besides, Budihal has also produced evidence of a butchering floor.

The study of burial practices indicates that the dead, both children and adults, were buried in double or multiple clay urns beneath the floors of their houses.

### 3. 6. 2 Eastern Neolithic

Vindhyas and several sites like Sohagaura, Khairadih, Narhan, Chirand, and Senuwar in the middle Ganga plains have yielded substantial amount of data on the cultural features including evidence of plant cultivation and animal domestication, microliths, bone and antler tools and terracotta objects.

The cultivated plants in eastern Indian group include hulled and six-rowed barley, club wheat, bread wheat, dwarf wheat, rice, pea, green gram, gram/chicken pea, khesari, mustard, flax/linseed and jackfruit. The domesticated animals include humped cattle and sheep/goat. Rice was the staple diet of the people which was supplemented by fish and animal meat. Besides cultivation of crops and domestication of animals, hunting and fishing also played an important role in the life of the Neolithic people of the mid Ganga plain.

### 3. 6. 3 Northern Neolithic

The subsistence pattern of the Kashmir Neolithic was a combination of plant cultivation, animal husbandry and hunting-gathering. The plant remains include seeds of wheat, barley, common pea and lentil. The domesticated animals include cattle, sheep, goat, pig, dog and fowl whereas the wild animals include red deer, Kashmir stag, ibex, bear, wolf, hedgehog, beaver and rodents.

### 3. 7 Important Sites

1. In 1963, M. C. Goswami and T. C. Sharma carried out excavations at Daojali Hading in North Cachar Hills of Assam which have given for the first time stratigraphic occurrence of ground or polished axes and also pottery.
2. S. N. Rao conducted excavations at the Neolithic site called Sarutaru in Kamrup district, Assam during 1967-73. The cultural contents recovered from the excavations include nine ground stone celts and potsherds.
3. At Burzahom, Gufkral and Kanishkapura in Kashmir, the stone tools include polished axes and chisels, harvesters, pounders, polishers, querns, grinders and perforated discs, mace heads or weights of digging sticks and the bone and antler tool industry include harpoons, spatulae, needles, awls, spear points, arrowheads, daggers and scrapers. Besides, beads of semi-precious stones, terracotta bangles and cowrie shells were also found. The pottery of this region is largely handmade, however, at a later stage, wheel made pots also appear. Vessel shapes comprise jars, vases, globular pots, basins, dish on stand and bowls.
4. Kuchai in Mayurbhanj district has yielded pointed-butt celts and cord-impressed pottery whereas Golbai Sasan has produced a rich bone tool industry and evidence of circular and rectangular wattle-and-daub houses, in addition to stone celts and an extended human burial. Kuanr has reported pointed-butt celts, evidence of wattle-and-daub structures and copper bangles whereas Sankarjang have provided several human burials in association with bar celts and copper artefacts.
5. At Palavoy a rich bone tool assemblage comprising axes, blades and points has been found. In the later stages of the culture copper and bronze tools also came to be used. The pottery was initially only handmade, of poor quality and drab grey colour, and consisted of jars, spouted vessels and bowls of various sizes, sometimes decorated with incised designs. In later stages wheel made, sturdy pottery, occasionally decorated with painted motifs, also came into use. An important new ceramic was the black-and-red ware.

## 4. Chalcolithic Cultures

### 4.1 Introduction

The appearance of metal objects was a significant landmark in the history of development of human civilization. The use of metals along with stone tools continued for quite a long time. This is a transitional period from stone to metal and known as Chalcolithic (copper-stone) Age which is marked by an increase in the number and size of settlements; improvement in architecture; introduction of copper-bronze tools and wheel made pottery; diversification of wares; profuse decoration of vessels by painted, incised and appliqué designs; appearance of beads made on different materials; and terracotta animals and human figurines.

This culture has been identified in Northern, Central and Western India. It has a distinct character in different geographical regions. Hence different names are given according to their characters such as OCP culture, Ahar-Banas culture, Kayatha Culture, Malwa culture, Savalda culture, Jorwe culture and the Narhan culture and variants in Northern Vindhya.

### 4.2 Distribution

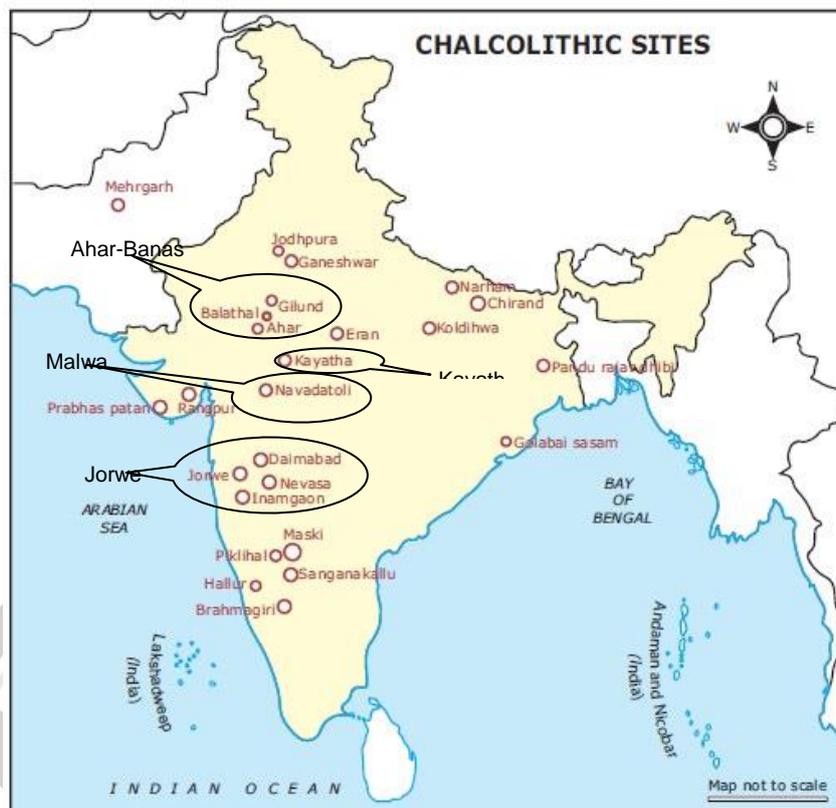


Figure: Chalcolithic Sites

CULTURE	REGION	SITES
Ahar culture	South-east Rajasthan and Saurashtra	Ahar, Balathal and Gilund in Banas Valley
The Malwa cultural zone	Malwa and Chambal regions in West Madhya Pradesh	Eran, Nagda and Navdatoli in Malwa plateau Chambal Valley and Narmada Valley
The Kayatha	Northern Madhya	Kayatha

culture	Pradesh	
The Jorwe culture zone	Western Maharashtra	Jorwe, Nevasa, Daimabad, Inamgaon and Chandoli
Ochre Colour Pottery Culture (OCP)	Ganga-Jamuna Doab region in Uttar Pradesh	Kausambi and Alamgirpur
The Eastern cultural zone	Bihar, West Bengal, Orissa and some North-Western states	Narhan and Chirand in Bihar, Panduraj Dibi in West Bengal, sites in Mahanadi Valley in Orissa and Brahmaputra Valley in North-Eastern States
The Southern cultural zone	Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh	Brahmagiri, Piklihal and Maski

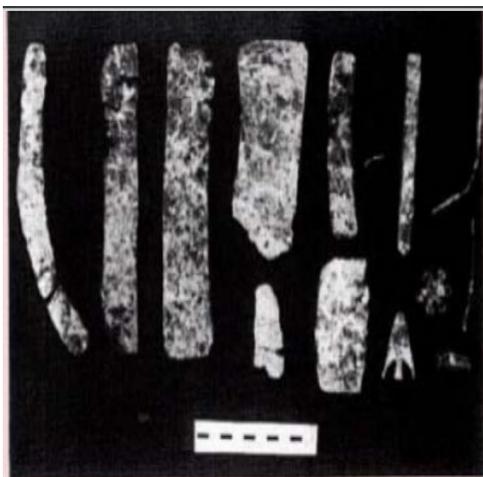


Fig: Chalcolithic Copper Tools from Balathal

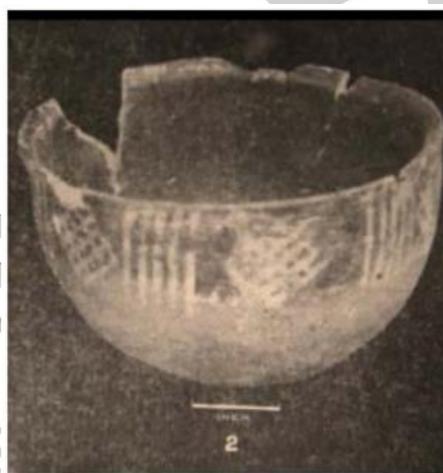


Figure: Bowl, White Painted, Black and Red Ware, Ahar

#### 4.3 Material Culture

**Ahar culture** was predominated by copper objects which included flat axes, choppers knives, razors, chisels and tanged arrowheads. It is marked by a richly complete absence of stone tools at Ahar, but at other sites like Gilund stone tools including microblades and microliths have been found. Besides hearth and stone saddle, querns and rubbers have also been found. There were several kinds of fine and coarse ware pottery in Ahar indicating a rich ceramic tradition. Fine wares included BRW, cream slipped ware with black painted decoration, thin red slipped ware, coarse ware included thick redware and grey ware.

The **Kayatha** people used both copper and stone tools. Copper tools are represented by elongated axes. And stone tools comprise microliths and blades. Three distinctive ceramics mark this cultural phase. The principal ware is a sturdy ware thrown on a fast wheel from extremely fine, pinkish well levigated clay. Shapes include bowls and basins, globular vases with a concave neck and storage jars. Most vessels have a ring base though some have a disc base also. The typical ceramic of the Kayatha culture is the chocolate-slipped, sturdy and well- baked Kayatha ware. The shapes in this ware are convex-sided jars and carinated dishes.

In **Malwa culture**, Copper tools included flat axes and spearheads or sword with a mid-rib. Finely made stone blades, and microliths abound at many sites. The main ceramics is Malwa ware. It is a very distinctive, wheel made, black or brown slipped ware shading into orange or buff decorated

with designs in black or dark brown. Unique shapes are high neck flaring mouth globular jars like the typical Indian Lota and a concave sided bowl in various sizes. Noteworthy are channel spouted bowls and pedestalled goblets from Navdatoli which have parallels at Iranian sites. Decorated motifs are mostly linear, geometric and naturalistic. Ornaments such as beads of semi-precious stones; and copper bangles and rings are also found. Terracotta figurines include a painted male figure, bull figurines and female figurines.

**Jorwe** copper objects included axes, chisels, fish hooks, and an antanae-hilted dagger with mid-rid (from Chandoli). Stone blades and microliths were also found. Beads of gold and ivory, spiral ear rings of gold and anklets of copper have been recovered from Inamgaon. Presence of silk, cotton and linseed (from Nevasa, Chandoli and Inamgaon). Characteristic Jorwe Ware was wheel made, well fired, painted black-on-red with simple geometric motifs, and matted surface. Important shapes are shallow carinated bowls, long spouted jars with flaring mouths, and high necked globular vases.

The **OCP** material culture is mostly dominated by a pottery made of medium grained clay, under-fired and washed with ochre colour which weathers off. The ceramic forms include jars, storage jars, bowls, ring-footed bowls, flasks, handled pots, miniature pots basins, spouts etc. On the basis of ceramic similarities, OCP is considered by some scholars as the degenerated form of late Harappan. Other associated finds include terracotta animal figurines, cart wheels with central knob, beads, stone querns and pestles and bone points. At Saipai site, one copper harpoon is found from OCP stratum.

In the **Eastern cultural zone**, technology consists of weapons of copper, stone, bone and antler. Copper objects include knives, spearheads and arrowheads and barbed -arrowheads. Microliths and blade tools are also found. A large number of ornaments are also found. Ceramic consists of wheel made red, black and red ware and black-slipped wares. Important shapes are pedestalled and channel spouted bowls, flat plates, dishes, basins, perforated vessels, jaws and vases with geometric motifs (paintings in white).

#### 4. 4 Settlement Pattern

Most of the **OCP** sites are located on or near river banks; the sites are small in size with low mounds indicating a short duration of settlements and no regular habitation. Distance between two settlements is generally 5kms - 8kms.

The settlements at **Ahar** and Gilund were quite extensive. Excavations revealed the evidence of single, double and multi-roomed rectangular and circular houses made of stone, mud-brick and mud. Houses varied in size from site to site. At Balathal and Gilund a number of deep silos of various sizes tied with grass and plastered with lime have been found, which are meant for storage.

Unlike Ahar settlements, the **Kayatha** people lived in small huts having well-rammed floors.

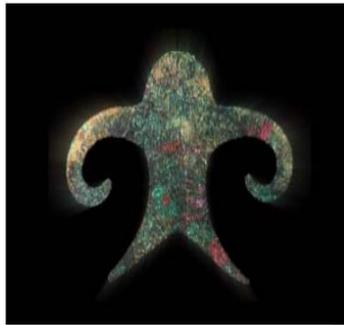
In the **Malwa Culture**, there is some evidence of fortification walls around the settlements from Eran and Nagda with stone rubble bastions and ditch around habitation. At Navdatoli a square pit has been identified as a sacrificial pit. The people lived in wattle-and-daub houses with low mud walls and thatched roof as indicated by posts and clay plaster with bamboo and reed impressions. The huts were either round or rectangular in shape.

**Jorwe** settlements have been classified into villages, hamlets, farmsteads and camps. Over 130 houses have been excavated at Inamgaon providing us with a good picture of settlement pattern. Early Jorwe houses were large rectangular structure (7x5m) with low mud walls and gabled roof, made of wattle and daub. Floors were well rammed with mud or with mixed sand and gravel. The houses had a small oval fire hearth and a large pit site plastered with lime for storing grains. Artisan's houses were smaller and located on the western periphery of the principal habitation area indicating social stratification. Some evidence of fortification was also found. Late Jorwe houses were quite impoverished with small round huts with a low mud wall in clusters of three or four, with four-legged storage jars supported on flat stones replacing the Early Jorwe pit silos.

#### 4.5 Lifestyle

Most of the Chalcolithic cultures were found in the semi-arid, but fertile region of black cotton soil adapting to an economy based on a combination of subsistence agriculture, stock-raising and hunting gathering. Inamgaon has yielded interesting and important evidence for crop rotation, harvesting of summer and winter crops, and artificial irrigation.

At **Narhan**, subsistence was based on a combination of agriculture, animal husbandry, hunting and gathering. They cultivated wheat, barley, rice, jowar, mung, gram, kodo, lentil, linseed and pea. They also domesticated buffaloes, sheep, goat, pig and dog. Besides many bones of wild animals are also found.



**Figure: Anthropomorphic figure of copper hoard**  
Source: e-Acharya (The Metal Age Cultures Of India)

In many excavated sites in U. P. Copper hoards are found associated with OCP. The Anthropomorphic figure of copper hoard is thought to be a cult object by many scholars. Use studies show that these were not utilitarian objects but perhaps ritual objects.

**Jorwe** people buried the dead in an extended position in north-south direction with feet chopped. For children, they practised double urn burial in grey ware but within the house or courtyard. A large number of grave goods were found including pottery, food and drinks.

#### 4.6 Important Sites

1. **Ahar** in Udaipur on the Banas river in Rajasthan distinguished by BRW (black and red ware) with white paintings.
2. **Kayatha** is located on Chhoti Kalisindh. It was discovered and excavated by Wakankar in 1965-66 and again in 1968 by Dhabalikar, Ansari and Wakankar. It is about 285km southeast of Ahar on the Malwa plateau. The Kayatha's site revealed a three-fold culture sequence such as Kayatha Period I, Period II and Period III.

#### 4.7 Time Period

- C14 dates place the Ahar-Banas culture from 3600 B. C. to 1500 B. C. which makes it the oldest Contemporary Chalcolithic culture outside the Harappan realm. It continued during and after the Harappan Civilization. It was earlier thought that metal technology spread to Peninsular India through Harappan, however, evidence from Balathal shows that these developments had already taken place by early 3rd millennium B. C. It therefore appears to be a local development.
- Kayatha culture is dated from 2450 to 1700 B. C.
- C14 dates from Navdatoli suggests a period of C. 2020 B. C to 1600 B. C.
- On the basis of ceramics, structures and material remains and C14 dates of different sites, the Jorwe culture has been divided into two: 1. Early Jorwe (1500- 1100B. C.) and 2. Late Jorwe (1100- 800B. C.).
- Large number of C14 place Narhan culture ranges from 1500 B. C. to 700 B. C.

Most of these Chalcolithic cultures of western and central India witnessed a decline during the late 2nd millennium to early 1st mill BC. These settlements in northern Deccan were re-occupied by

settled farmers only in the fourth-fifth centuries BC. However, in Ganga valley and eastern India there is a continuity of settlements from the Chalcolithic to the Iron Age and historic period. Even in South India it is succeeded by the megalithic Iron Age without a gap. Iron makes its appearance in the PGW culture, and in the ensuing phase, known as the Northern Black Polished Ware (NBP) culture, its use becomes more widespread.

## 5. Megalithic Cultures

### 5.1 Introduction

The term 'megalith' is derived from two Greek words (megas=large and lithos=stone). Megalithic culture is the way of life of the people who built huge stone monuments as memorial stones for the dead. According to R. M. Wheeler (1956) megaliths are "those monuments which are built on rough, large, undressed blocks of stones, usually though not invariably of rudimentary character. These monuments are connected with burials, which fulfil funerary or commemorative or religious functions." Besides, graves without any lithic assemblage but with certain other traits, especially pottery -Black and Red ware- commonly found in other types of megaliths, are also classified as megaliths. Of all the enigmas of archaeology, it is often claimed that Megalithic culture is the most intriguing. It is regarded today by some scholars as the first worldwide movement, while others as a well defined stage of civilization, while others still deny completely its existence as an identifiable meaningful culture entity.

### 5.2 Distribution

Megaliths are spread across the Indian subcontinent, though the bulk of them are found in peninsular India, concentrated in the states of Maharashtra (mainly in Vidarbha), Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Andhra Pradesh and Telangana.

According to archaeologists R. K. Mohanty and V. Selvakumar, around 2, 200 megalithic sites can be found in peninsular India itself, most of them unexcavated. Even today, a living megalithic culture endures among some tribes such as the Gonds of central India and the Khasis of Meghalaya.

The whole area where the megalithic culture exists may be divided into five regions, namely Southern, Eastern, Northern, Western, and Central India.

1. The megaliths in South India are located in the area south of river Godavari. This area includes Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Kerala and Tamilnadu.
2. The Megaliths in North India are located in the area spread over Jammu and Kashmir, Uttaranchal, Delhi, Uttar Pradesh and parts of Madhya Pradesh
3. The Megaliths in Western India are confined to Rajasthan and Gujarat and parts of Maharashtra
4. The Megaliths in Central India are distributed over Vidarbha region which includes Dhule, Amaravati, Paunur and Nagpur Districts in Maharashtra
5. The Megaliths in Eastern India are located over a vast area which includes Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, Meghalaya, Manipur, Nagaland, Jharkhand, Bihar and Orissa. The Megaliths in the Northern, Western, Central and Southern regions belong to a past period but those in the Eastern region are living Megaliths. In this region several tribes like the Nagas, Khasis, Garos, Gadabas, Oraons, Mundas, Bondos, Gonds and others build memorial stones even today.



Figure: Alignment

### 5.3 Typology

V. D. Krishnaswamy proposed the first systematic classification in 1949. They are as follows:

1. **Alignment:** A series of menhirs or monoliths which are arranged in lines on some definite system or raised at regular intervals.
2. **Avenue:** It is a cluster of monoliths constituted by two or more alignments approximately parallel with one another. By definition it is formed by 2x2 or 3x3 menhirs or more in number.



Figure: Avenue

3. **Barrow:** It is a mound or tumulus made of earth. It may be (a) circular on plan, and (b) oblong or oval on plan. The first one is called round barrow, whereas the second is known as long barrow. It may or may not contain stone cist, built on or below the original ground. It may or may not be defined by a circle of stones or a ditch or both.
4. **Cairns:** It is also a barrow but made of heap of stone rubble. Otherwise it may resemble any of the various types of the barrow. It may or may not contain cist and built always on the original ground. In some cases it is defined by a circle of stones.



Figure: Cairn

5. **Cists:** It is a box grave built of stone slabs, normally below the natural surface. It is usually consisted of a single stone of orthostate for each side and covered by a capstone on top. Sometimes it may also have a floor stone. One of the orthostate is sometimes pierced with a circular or semicircular or trapezoidal opening. When the opening is semi-circular it is cut into the top of the orthostate immediately under the cupstone. Such opening is called a port hole, and the cist with such port-hole opening is called a port hole cist.



Figure: Cist

6. **Clan ossuary:** This megalithic type is a cyclopean rectangular chamber built of stone blocks open by removing one of the blocks in the front. This is erected either directly on the natural surface of

the ground or on a stone platform and serves as a repository for the uncalcined bones and ashes of the dead known as mawbah among the Khasis of Meghalaya.

- Dolmen:** It is a table stone/single slab of stone resting on some supporting stones or supported by several orthostatic boulders or slab which encloses a space or chamber beneath the table stone or capstone. It may or may not be fully or partially covered by a barrow or a cairn. A dolmen may be with or without a port hole.



Figure: Dolmen

- Cromlech:** It is derived from the Welsh word crom=bent, and lech=stone. It is known as Cromlech. It is a circle of monoliths which encloses menhirs at its centre. When a dolmen cist or cromlech occupies a greater plot of land with more and more stone pillar, it is called "stone henge."



Figure: Cromlech Figure: Umbrella Stone

- Topikal / Hatstone:** It is a Hindi corrupt Tamil word (Topi a Hindi word meaning cap, and Kal, a Tamil word for stone). According to Babington it is also known as 'hatstone'. It is restricted to Kerala region.
- Hood stone:** A dome-shaped dressed laterite stone resting with its flat surface/face directly on the ground. This type of burial is restricted to the Kerala region. It bears a resemblance to the handleless hollow umbrella called the Kundan-Kudai. Babington calls it 'umbrella stone'.
- Menhir:** It is the simplest of all megalithic structures. It consists of a single but huge stone called a monolith, planted on the ground, as rule, at or near the burial spot. It may be miniature in size or gigantic in height, with its base fixed into the earth.



Figure: Menhir

12. **Rock cut caves:** The practice of placing the dead in tombs (caves) cut out of lateritic rock in Kerala is definitely to be associated with the megalithic structures.



Figure: Rock-Cut Caves

13. **Sarcophagus:** It is a cist often with legs. In the present context it is always of backed earthenware or Terracotta.
14. **Stone circle:** As the name signifies, it is a circle (but sometimes oval or irregular in plan) built of juxtaposed stones. It is normally but not always adjacent to a burial ground. It is known as Sindibor the Bondos of Orrisa.
15. **Stone seats:** The stone seats of Assam, Manipur, and Nagaland are mere stone slabs ceremonially placed under a village tree and apart from serving a ritualistic need are useful as seats for travelers. Sometimes they overlie a pot or pit containing bones or decapitated heads (collected during the raids) prior to their removal to clan ossuary or village chief's or the head hunter's residence.

#### 5.4 Material Culture

The tools and weapons include flat axes, adzes, sickles, arrow heads, spear heads and domestic utensils, the pottery included black-and-red ware, black ware and the red ware. Wheel made pottery was common. Ornament objects like beads of carnelian, jasper, agate, shell and gold and copper bangles, finger rings and shell necklaces were popular, and rock paintings were common.

#### 5.5 Settlement Pattern

The megalithic people generally occupied hilly places with perennial supplies of water and raw materials. Majority of the sites succeeded the Neolithic people. The megalithic people lived in simple circular, oval or oblong houses made of wattle and daub with thatched or reed roofs and plastered floors.

#### 5.6 Lifestyle

The above description of the megalithic culture shows that the megalithic communities were dominated by religious and supernatural beliefs. This is evident from the elaborate objects associated with the burials. Different burial traditions could indicate different social and ethnic groups, but so far no fixed regional conventions regarding orientation of the bodies or the graves have been observed. The burials vary from total to only fractional types. In the Vidarbha region horses were buried with the dead, possibly after sacrifice, and this may have been a local ethnic tradition.

The communities may have comprised different professional groups, such as smiths, warriors, goldsmiths, agriculturists and carpenters. This may be deduced from the types of grave goods offered. Even burial must have involved community effort because setting of such huge stones in a Circle or erection of a gigantic Menhirs, or the placing of massive stone slabs on a Dolmen is not possible by one or two individuals.

These people were excellent architects-engineers. The best example is the constructional plan of the passage chamber. Though we still do not know about the houses and habitations of these megalithic

builders, the recovery of sickles and plough coulters of iron, rice and ragi grains from the excavations at Kunnattur and Hallur respectively, shows that these people were probably dependent largely upon agriculture and partly upon hunting, as proved by the hunting scenes in the rock-paintings at Hire-Benkhal. Animals such as cow/ox, goat/sheep, dogs and horses were domesticated.

### 5.7 Time Period

Wheeler (1948) assigned a date for the megalithic culture approximately to the 2nd Century B. C. Gordon and Haimendorf proposed dates between c. 700 to 400 B. C. Seshadri (1956) dated them between 6th century B. C. to 1st century A. D. Sundara (1969-70) proposed a date at c. 1100 B. C. for Terdal in Karnataka. Sundara and Aiyappan (1945) extended antiquity of the megaliths as far back as the Indian Neolithic times. The Chalcolithic-megalithic contact period in Maharashtra goes back to c. 700 B. C. Megaliths of Vidarbha are dated to the 6th or 7th centuries B. C. Recent C-14 dates have bracketed the Megalithic culture in India between 1000 B. C and 1000 A. D. While the question of date of the megaliths cannot be easily settled, well-organised attempts can be made to understand the political, social and economic background of the megalith-builders, be it in Vidarbha, Andhra, Karnataka or in Tamilnadu.

## 6. Indus Valley Civilization

### 6.1 Introduction

The Indus or Harappan civilization was long forgotten till it was rediscovered in the late 19th century. Till then it was thought that South Asia was first colonized by urban civilizations during the first millennium BCE in the Indo-Gangetic plains by the people of the Mahabharata epic. Studies of Harappa and Mohenjodaro established its contemporaneity with the Old Kingdom of Egypt and Akkadian and Ur III empires of Mesopotamia. But though the Egyptian and Meso potamian kingdoms continued to thrive, the Indus civilization collapsed in the mid second millennium BCE and was soon lost into oblivion. However, we now know that the legacy left by the Harappans continues into the present day as many aspects of modern life in South Asia seem to be derived from the Harappans. What led to the emergence of these civilizations is still unclear. But perhaps stabilization of sea level about 7000 years ago (after it rose rapidly from the Last Glacial Maxima ~18,000 years ago) resulted in increased availability of high-quality food necessary for the development of urban lifestyles.

The Harappan civilization was marked by urbanism. The core trends of urbanism as seen at Harappan sites include:

1. Shifts in settlement patterns.
2. Development of public architecture.
3. Social differentiation.
4. Development of writing and other related features.
5. Cultural unification

### 6.2 Distribution

The Indus civilization developed in the region between the dry Iranian plateau and tropical South Asian peninsula dominated by the monsoons in present day Pakistan and North-Western India including Baluchistan, Sindh, Punjab, Haryana, Rajasthan, Gujarat and Saurashtra. This region at that time was drained by the Indus and its tributaries and the Ghaggar-Hakra rivers mainly.

In the 3rd millennium BCE, the Ghaggar-Hakra flowed parallel to the Indus across what is now the Thar Desert and a number of sites have been found in the now dry riverbeds of the Ghaggar-Hakra in Cholistan desert and also Rajasthan, including Kalibangan. To the west of the Aravalli Hills in central India lived a number of hunter-gatherer and pastoral communities.

Gujarat was the southern province of the Indus civilization: Today Kutch is separated from the Indian mainland by the marshy Ranns, but at that time it was probably open water as the Indus entered the Arabian Sea south of its present delta.

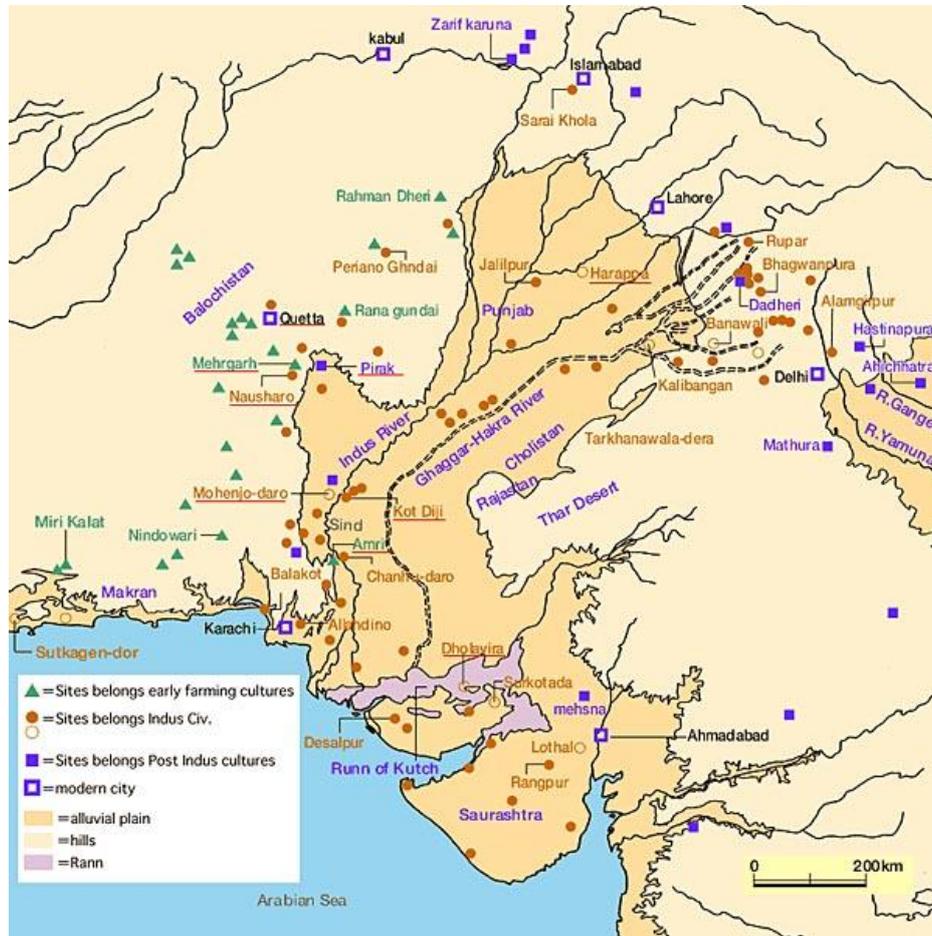


Figure: Indus Valley Sites

Source: <http://bosei.cc.u-tokai.ac.jp/~indus/english/map.html>

A few sites have been found in western Uttar Pradesh in the Yamuna valley including Alamgirpur. Trade routes across the Iranian plateau served communications with Near Eastern civilizations, while the Arabian Sea provided maritime connections with the Gulf, the Near East, Arabia, East Africa, south India, eastern India, and Southeast Asia.

Thus we know that in the 3rd millennium this civilization flourished over an area far larger than contemporary Mesopotamia and Egypt.

### 6.3 Settlement Pattern

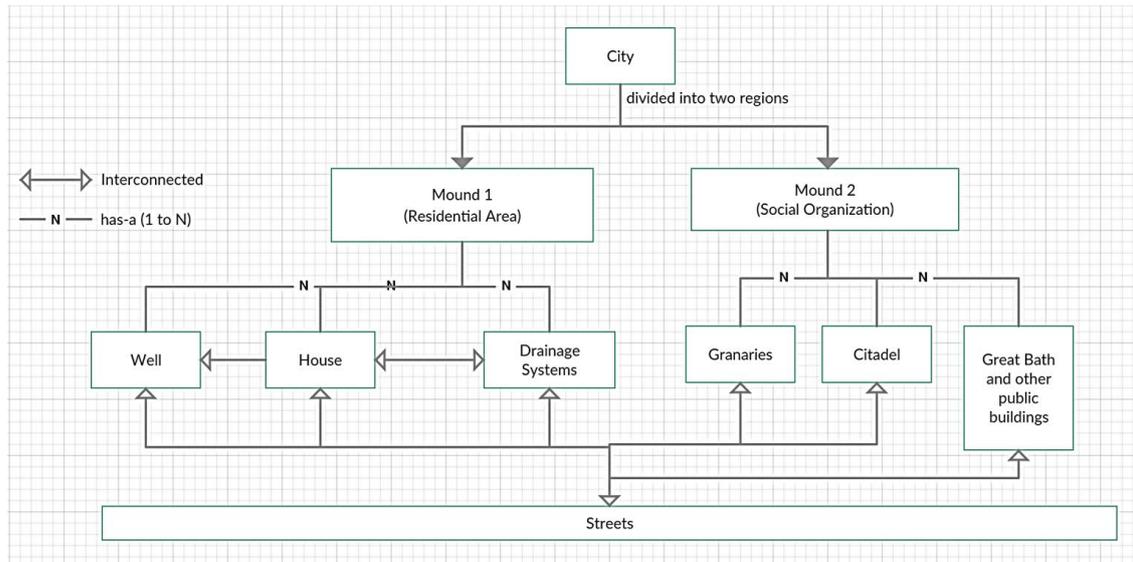


Figure: Diagram of a city plan in Indus Valley Civilization

Source: <https://schools.org/resources/Documents/Discipline%20of%20organizing/Case%20Studies/IndusValley-Garg2015.pdf>

Each city was divided into two planned areas or mounds, oriented in different directions. The eastern mound was lower in elevation and consisted of similar looking series of houses built against the streets. The networks of streets were laid out in neat patterns of straight lines and right angles forming a grid pattern and running along north-south and east-west cardinal direction. The buildings along the roads were all constructed of oven-fired clay bricks that were uniform in size as they had a keen eye for standardization.

Within the city, individual homes or groups of homes obtained water from nearby wells to meet day-to-day needs. Each house had a bathroom with an efficient plumbing system and the bathroom pipes were connected to the underground clay pipes on the streets that carried dirty water and sewage outside of living spaces.

The western mound had several large building and structures that were used for public gatherings, religious activities or important administrative activities suggesting a high degree of social organization. A citadel was built on top of bricks almost 12 meters high for defense purposes or for diverting floods. There were also huge granaries designed with bays to receive carts delivering crops from the countryside, and there were meticulously placed ducts for air to circulate beneath the stored grain to dry it. There were few barrack-like dwellings close to granaries where workers lived so that they did not have to travel long distances and they could be more productive and efficient.

At Mohenjo-Daro, close to the granary, there is a great public bathhouse called Great Bath, with steps down to a brick-lined pool in a courtyard. This giant tank would have been used for either rainwater harvesting or for special religious functions. There was also an extensive canal network, which diverted the floodwater of the Indus River for irrigation.

## 6.4 Lifestyle

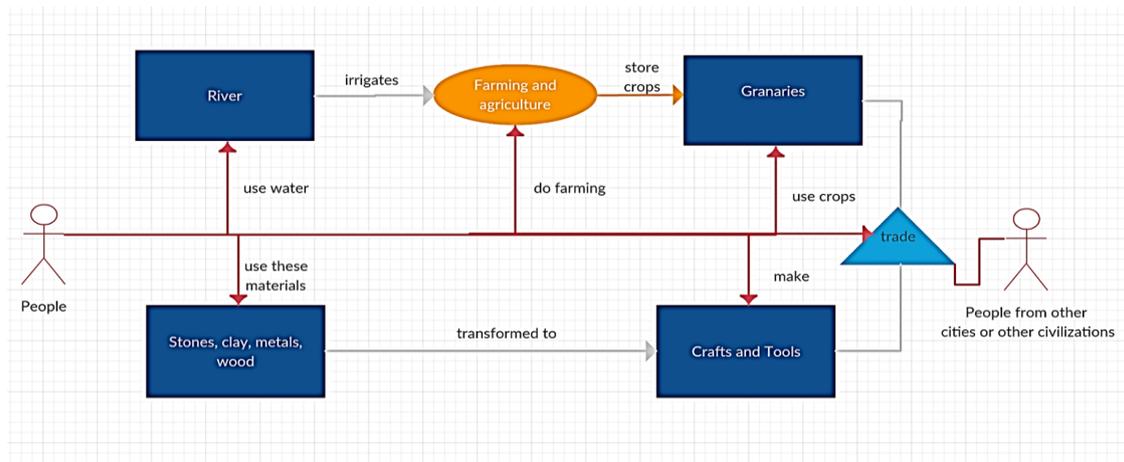


Figure: Interaction diagram of people with resources

Source: <https://schools.org/resources/Documents/Discipline%20of%20organizing/Case%20Studies/IndusValley-Garg2015.pdf>

The people cultivated the land and produced wheat and barley. Their diet consisted of wheat, barley, milk products and mutton. They domesticated bulls, cows, buffaloes, sheep, pigs and dogs. The elephant, tiger and crocodile were known to them, but the horses were unknown. They used gold, silver, copper, tin and lead. They did not use iron. They wore woollen and cotton clothes. Dyeing was known to them. Pottery, carpentry, ivory work, and making glass bangles were their industries. Carving of animals on pots and stones testify to their artistic skill. They wore gold and silver ornaments. Their weapons were made of copper and stone. They did not have armours.

Most city dwellers appear to have been traders or artisans, who lived with others pursuing the same occupation in well-defined neighborhoods. Materials from distant regions were used in the cities for constructing seals, beads and other objects.

Although some houses were larger than others, Indus Civilization cities were remarkable for their apparent egalitarianism. All the houses had access to water and drainage facilities. This gives the impression of a society with low wealth concentration.

### Literacy

The Indus people knew reading and writing. About 530 seals were discovered at Harappa and Mohenjodaro. They throw light on the literacy of the people. The script was pictographic. It was written from right to left and from left to right on alternative lines. According to Stuart Piggott, 250 different symbols were used by them.

### Religion

They worshipped the idols of Mother Goddess of Mahasakthi and Lord Shiva. They also worshipped pipal trees, bulls and serpents. They cremated the dead bodies. Sometimes they buried the dead along with some offerings.

### Science

The people of the Indus Civilization achieved great accuracy in measuring length, mass and time. They were among the first to develop a system of uniform weights and measures. The weights and measures later used in Kautilya's Arthashastra (4th century BC) are the same as those used in Lothal.

### Arts and culture

Seals have been found at Mohenjo-daro depicting a figure standing on its head, and another sitting cross-legged in a yoga-like pose. A harp-like instrument depicted on an Indus seal and two shell objects found at Lothal indicate the use of stringed musical instruments. A number of gold, terracotta and stone figurines of girls in dancing poses reveal the presence of some dance form.

### Trade and transportation

The Indus civilization's economy appears to have depended significantly on trade, which was facilitated by major advances in transport technology. These advances included bullock carts that are identical to those seen throughout South Asia today, as well as boats. Archaeologists have discovered a massive, dredged canal and docking facility at the coastal city of Lothal. Judging from the dispersal of Indus civilisation artifacts, the trade networks, economically, integrated a huge area, including portions of Afghanistan, the coastal regions of Persia, northern and central India, and Mesopotamia. Several coastal settlements like Sutkagen-dor, Sokhta Koh and Balakot in Pakistan along with Lothal in India testify to their role as Harappan trading outposts.

### 6. 5 Time Period

YEARS	PHASE	DEVELOPMENTS
5500 - 3500 BC	Neolithic	Emergence of permanent villages with pastoralism and limited cultivation in Baluchistan and Indus plains at sites like Mehrgarh and Kili Ghul Muhammad
3500 - 2600 BC	Early Harappan or Pre-Urban Harappan	Spread of settlements. Beginning of the use of copper, wheel and plough. Emergence of characteristic features of the Harappan civilization but still marked by regional traditions.
2600 - 1800 BC	Mature Harappan or Urban Harappan	Emergence of large planned cities, uniformity in material culture like standard types of bricks, weights, seals, beads and pottery characteristic of the Harappan Civilization.
1800 BC	Late Harappan or Post-Urban Harappan	Many Harappan sites were abandoned and urbanism of the Harappan civilization gave way to village life once again. Degenerate features of Harappan life continue with some Harappan crafts and pottery tradition.

### 6. 6 Important Sites

#### Mehrgarh

Mehrgarh with a sequence from early agriculture to the end of the Mature Harappan is an important site. It revealed settlements dated to as early as 7000 BCE and is the only farming settlement of this antiquity known from the Indo-Iranian borderland region. It is unclear whether domestication of wheat, barley and goat was brought by outsiders, or local Baluchi people acquired it through long distance exchange networks or indigenously domesticated them from local wild stock.

The site reveals rectangular mud brick houses with two to four rooms. A multicellular compartmented building has been identified as granary. Besides, stone blades, grindstones and bone tools were recovered. The dead were interred between houses with grave goods, including ornaments made of shell, steatite, lapis lazuli, and turquoise. Pottery is wheel made with monochrome, bichrome or polychrome decoration.

#### Mundigak

Mundigak in Southern Afghanistan located on a trade route grew from a small camping site of nomadic groups into a large township. The houses are larger and well-constructed with central hearth in many rooms. Structures included a cemetery with contracted burials without grave goods in the early phase and communal ossuaries in the later phase. Pottery is increasingly wheel made with painted decoration including black geometric designs on a red surface or polychrome decoration. Use of copper and bronze also increases.

In the later period, it was transformed into a town with a massive defense wall with square bastions of sun dried bricks. A large building with rows of pillars has been identified as a palace. Mature

Harappan is corroborated by the find of a male head made on limestone with hair bound in a fillet, similar to the 'priest-king' at Mohenjodaro.

### Mohenjo Daro

Mohenjo-daro has a planned layout with rectilinear buildings arranged on a grid plan. The Citadel is known to have supported public baths, a large residential structure designed to house about 5,000 citizens, and two large assembly halls. The city had a central marketplace, with a large central well.



Fig: Construction at an IVC site

- Sir Mortimer Wheeler identified one large building in Mohenjo-daro as a "Great Granary".
- Close to the "Great Granary" is a large and elaborate public bath, sometimes called the Great Bath.
- Excavation of the city revealed very tall wells, which it seems were continually built up as flooding and rebuilding raised the elevation of street level.
- Not as heavily fortified like other Indus Valley sites
- Mother goddess idol discovered by John Marshall in 1931



Figure: (Left to Right) Mother Goddess; Dancing Girl; Priest-King

- A bronze statuette dubbed the "Dancing Girl" about 4,500 years old, was found in Mohenjo-daro in 1926; it is now in the National Museum, New Delhi
- In 1927, a seated male soapstone figure was found in a building with unusually ornamental brickwork and a wall-niche. Though there is no evidence that priests or monarchs ruled Mohenjo-daro, archaeologists dubbed this dignified figure a "Priest-King."

### 6.7 Theories of Decline

The downfall of the Harappan Civilization has been one of the most puzzling issues in Indian archaeology. A number of explanations have been put forward such as:

1. **Climatic change** - The hypothesis that the reduction in rainfall was a cause of the decline of the civilization was first mooted by Stein (1931) and Marshall (1931), and was also supported by Stuart Piggott (1950) and Mortimer Wheeler (1953). Gurdip Singh (1971) claimed a causal relationship between increased rainfall and growth of the civilization, and between reduced

rainfall and decline of the civilization. His hypothesis is on the basis of the palynological data from salt lakes of Rajasthan.

2. **Foreign invasion** - Foreign invasions have been considered another factor in the destruction and decline of the civilization. This theory was first mooted by Mortimer Wheeler in 1947 on the basis of description in the Rigveda of the destruction of fortified cities by Aryan Gods, particularly Indra, presence of fortifications at Harappa, and evidence for the massacre of defenseless citizens at Mohenjo-Daro. It was strongly supported by S. Piggott (1950) and D. H. Gordon (1958). However, this theory was questioned by G. F. Dales (1964) and R. L. Raikes (1964) who argued that not all the skeletons at Mohenjo-Daro belonged to the last phase; there was no evidence of destruction or burning accompanying the skeletons, and no skeletons were found on the citadel where the real defence of the city should be expected to have taken place.
3. **Tectonic Phenomena** - Yet another theory first proposed by M. R. Sahni (1952) ascribes the decline of the civilization due to the recurrent floods in the Indus River. It was later elaborated by R. L. Raikes (1964, 65, 67) and D. F. Dales (1966), but the flood theory has been questioned by H. T. Lambrick (1967) and G. L. Possehl (1967) on the ground that the proponents of the theory have failed a) to establish the Stillwater origin of the silts, b) to produce barrier geomorphic evidence for the tectonic uplift and creation of the natural barrier across the Indus course.
4. **Environmental Deterioration** - The theory that excessive exploitation of the natural resources like plants and soils, and inability of the populations to cope with the increasingly frequent inundation of Mohenjodaro by Indus floods was initiated by Wheeler (1959). This theory has also been supported by G. L. Possehl, G. F. Dales (1964) and Fairservis (1967).
5. **Hydrological Changes** - The abandonment of Mohenjodaro was caused by the eastward shift of the Indus course and the consequent cessation of inundation of the arable land in the vicinity of the city and loss of productivity (Lambrick 1967). R. L. Raikes (1968) had ascribed the abandonment of the Kalibangan settlement to the eastward diversion of the Yamuna channel. Suraj Bhan (1973) has identified several former courses of the Yamuna west of its present course and located sites on them.

## 7. Questions

1. Distribution of Neolithic sites in India. (10 Marks, 2019)
2. What kind of society may be reconstructed from the archaeological evidence of Harappan culture? (20 Marks, 2019)
3. Examine the regional variations of Mesolithic cultures of India. (20 marks, 2018)
4. Describe the salient features of chalcolithic cultures of the deccan. (15Marks, 2017)
5. Describe the Palaeolithic culture with special reference to Soanian tradition. (15 Marks)
6. Langhnaj (10 Marks)
7. Critically examine evidence of Upper Paleolithic in India, Discuss its characteristics.

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# **PALEO-ANTHROPOLOGICAL EVIDENCES FROM INDIA**

**NOTES FOR CIVIL SERVICES EXAMINATION  
ANTHROPOLOGY PAPER II, CHAPTER 1. 2**



The Learning App

## 1. RAMAPITHECUS

### 1.1 Introduction

Ramapithecus, an extinct group of primates, lived from about 12 to 14 million years ago. For a time in the 1960s and '70s, Ramapithecus was thought to be a distinct genus that was the direct ancestor of Australopithecus and, therefore, of modern humans before it became regarded as that of the orangutan ancestor Sivapithecus.

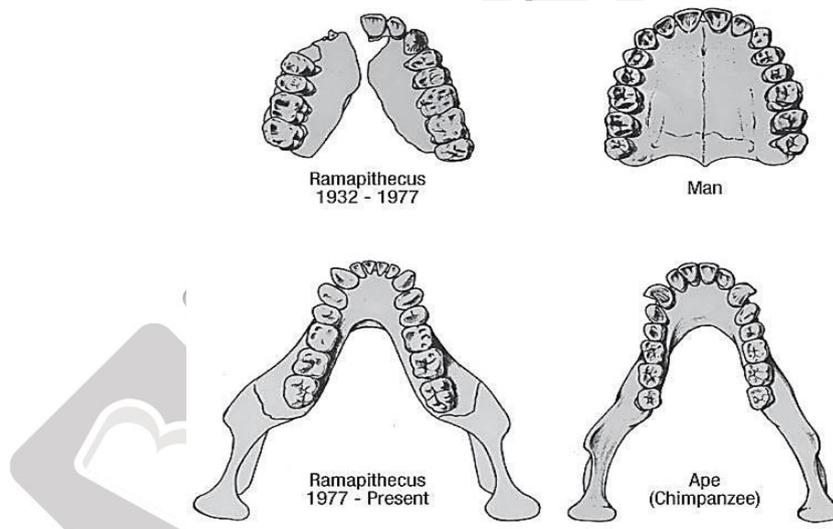
### 1.2 Fossil Finds

The first discovery of Ramapithecus fossils was made by **G. E. Lewis** in 1932 in the **Siwalik Hills** regions of India. He assigned one of the fossils, an upper jaw, to a new genus and species he named **Ramapithecus brevisrostris**.

In 1976, **David Pilbeam** discovered a complete Ramapithecus jaw, not far from the initial fossil find, that had a distinctive V shape and thus differed markedly from the parabolic shape of the jaws of members of the human lineage. He soon repudiated his belief in Ramapithecus as a human ancestor, and the theory was largely abandoned by the early 1980s.

### 1.3 Physical features

- Vertical incisors and canine
- Little or no diastema
- Flattened and thickened enamelled molars and premolars



**Figure: Some textbooks still claim that Ramapithecus is man's ancestor, an intermediate between man and some ape like ancestor. This mistaken belief resulted from piecing together, in 1932, fragments of upper teeth and bones into the two large pieces shown in the upper left. This was done so the shape of the jaw resembled the parabolic arch of man, shown in the upper right. In 1977, a complete lower jaw of Ramapithecus was found. The true shape of the jaw was not parabolic, but rather U-shaped, distinctive of apes.**

### 1.4 Phylogenetic Position

Ramapithecus fossils were found to resemble those of the fossil primate genus Sivapithecus, which is now regarded as ancestral to the orangutan; the belief also grew that Ramapithecus probably should be included in the Sivapithecus genus and is considered as the female species of the genus Sivapithecus.

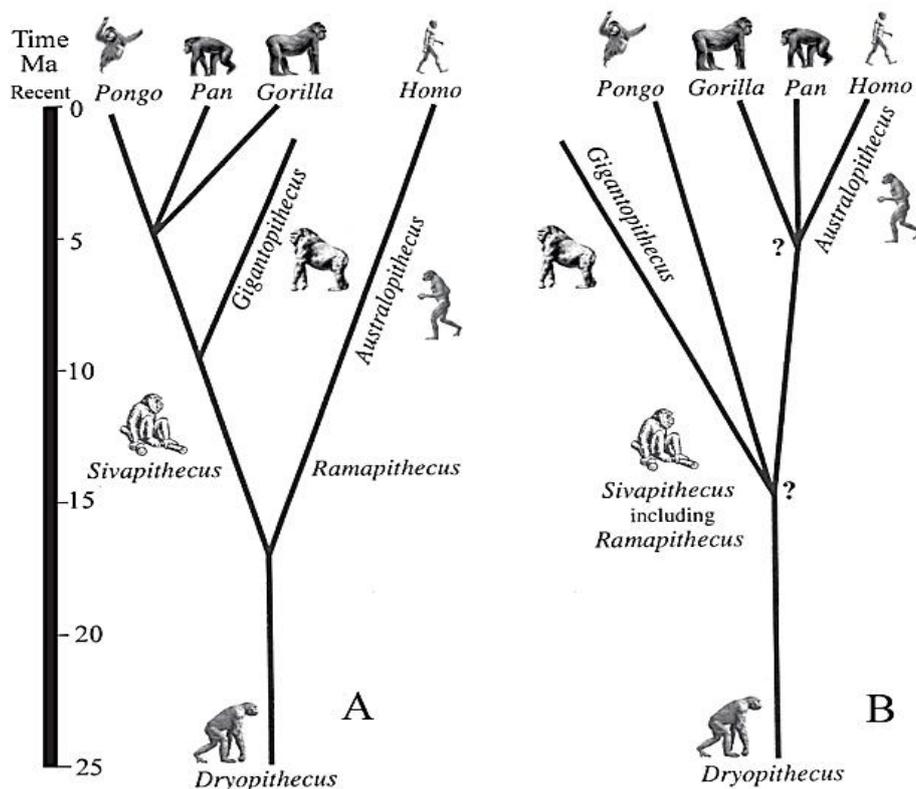


Figure: Phylogenetic placement of Ramapithecus, (A) in the 1970's and (B) today (modified after Kennedy 2003)

## 2. SIVAPITHECUS

### 2.1 Introduction

Sivapithecus, fossil primate genus dating from the Miocene Epoch and thought to be the direct ancestor of the orangutan. Sivapithecus is closely related to Ramapithecus, and fossils of the two primates have often been recovered from the same deposits in the Siwalik Hills of northern Pakistan. It belongs to Miocene epoch and various specimens are found between 12.5-8.5 million years ago

### 2.2 Site

- Siwalik region of Pakistan
- Other Sivapithecus remains have been found at sites in Turkey, Pakistan, China, Greece, and Kenya.

### 2.3 Fossil Finds

In 1982, David Pilbeam published a description of a significant fossil find, formed by a large part of the face and jaw of a Sivapithecus. The specimen bore many similarities to the orangutan skull and strengthened the theory (previously suggested by others) that Sivapithecus was closely related to orangutans.

### 2.4 Physical Features



Figure: Sivapithecus Face and Jaw

It was probably a good-sized hominoid, ranging in size from 70-150lb. Probably inhabited a mostly arboreal niche. Its locomotion was ape-like, in the sense that it displayed some suspensory abilities - brachiation.

- The front teeth, especially upper central incisors are quite large, while the canine is fairly good-sized. However, there are some discrepancies in canine size among Sivapithecus, partly because some species were larger but mostly because of considerable sexual dimorphism within the same species.
- In the back tooth row, molars are large, flat wearing and thick-enameled - most distinctive aspect of Sivapithecus. These indicate a tough diet of nuts and fruits with hard rinds. In diet, like other hominoids, Sivapithecus was probably a fruit eater.
- Facial remains have concave profiles and projecting incisors - remarkably resembling the modern orang.
- Life history pattern with a prolonged growth and maturation period, was similar to that of modern great apes.
- More complete specimens are dentally very similar to "Ramapithecus". Hence researches now simply lump both of them.

### 3. NARMADA MAN

#### 3.1 Introduction

The first broken skull of homo erectus of its kind in india was discovered by Dr. Arun sonakia on 5th december 1982 in middle of narmada valley in hathnora madhya pradesh, and the study revealed that narmada man was a homo erectus i. e. archaic man.

It is the most ancient human remnant so far discovered in the Indian subcontinent. It was discovered in-situ which allows a precise determination of stratigraphic, palaeontological and cultural context. all attribute to the middle pleistocene (around 5, 00, 000 years ago).

Narmada man represented the earliest form of homo sapiens.

#### 3.2 Fossil Finds

- Dr. Arun Sonakia of the Geological Survey of India found the fossil exposed on the ground surface of a thick Quaternary sediment of fluvial origin and embedded in a fossiliferous gravel conglomerate on the north bank of the Narmada River. Preserved parts of the specimen are the left side of the cranial vault, most of the base of the skull, and the left half of the brow ridges and

orbit. Hence, it is a calvaria, not a complete skull with a full face including upper and lower jaws. Teeth are absent.

- In 1997, an announcement was made of the finding of a hominid right clavicle from Middle Pleistocene deposits in the Hathnora region during field explorations between 1983 and 1992. Dr. A. A. Sankhyan of the Anthropological Survey of India, Calcutta, associates this bone with the Narmada Man calvaria and describes as having belonged to a female the size of a modern adult pygmy of “stocky” build.

### 3.3 Phylogenetic Position

In Sonakia’s description, published in 1984 in the Records of the Geological Survey of India, he assigned “Narmada Man” to the hominid taxon *Homo erectus narmadensis*. Its antiquity is based upon the direct association of the calvaria with stone tools, mainly hand axes and cleavers, typical of the prehistoric Acheulian technological tradition that was dominant in Middle Pleistocene times in India.

The fossilized animal remains in the deposit – cattle, buffalo, elephant – include some species that are now extinct, but they are reliable “index fossils” of the late Middle Pleistocene.

Radiometric dating methods are not feasible, so the age of the specimen is a relative dating estimate based upon its lithic and faunal associations.

#### Phylogenetic significance in Indian context

- Indian soil being acidic yielded very less number of specimens.
- The debate whether India was one of the region where *Homo erectus* was present was debated.
- The presence of skeletal remains belonging to the lower Palaeolithic phase shows that evolution has occurred
- The importance of the Narmada calvaria is that it demonstrates that the Acheulian tool tradition was practiced by early sapiens in a part of the world that lies between the richer hominid fossil sites in Africa and in southeast Asia and the Far East.

#### Conclusion

The specimen was compared with crania of other hominid fossils of the Middle Pleistocene (Bodo, Kabwe, Petralona, Dali, Ngandong, Saldanha, Sambungmachen, and those from other sites in Africa, Asia, and Europe), with which it exhibited a significant number of anatomical similarities. The archaeological data do not rule out the possibility that *Homo erectus* had inhabited the Indian subcontinent, but fossil remains of this species have not been recovered.

### 4. Questions

1. Phylogenetic position and morphological features of *Ramapithecus* (10 Marks, 2019)
2. Describe the salient features of *Sivapithecus*. (15 Marks, 2018)
3. Discuss the salient features of *Ramapithecus*. (15 Marks, 2017)
4. Delineate the salient characteristics of ‘Narmada man’ and examine its phylogenetic significance. (2016)

# **ETHNO-ARCHAEOLOGY IN INDIA**

**NOTES FOR CIVIL SERVICES EXAMINATION  
ANTHROPOLOGY PAPER II, CHAPTER 1. 3**

### 1. Introduction

The term 'Ethno-Archaeology' was coined by Jesse Fewkes in 1900 to mean an archaeologist "who can bring as preparation for his work an intensive knowledge of the present life". While pursuing historical research with an archaeological approach, the ways of life in the contemporary traditional mode can contribute greatly in providing an analogy about the ones in the past. The sub-discipline is neither a theory nor a method, but a research strategy.

In order to understand the material culture preserved in traditional practices, ethnoarchaeology tries to study the possible correlation between the material culture of the people on one side and the unobservable social relations or spiritual life on the other. Thus the material data can be used to integrate knowledge to other non-material facets of the society which are reflected and embedded in tradition.

In this way, archaeology contributes directly towards historical reconstruction when conventional historical sources are lacking or when other forms of preserved traditions require substantial support. Hence, it helps in reducing the mythical notion about the ancient ways of life, particularly the lifestyle of the prehistoric people.

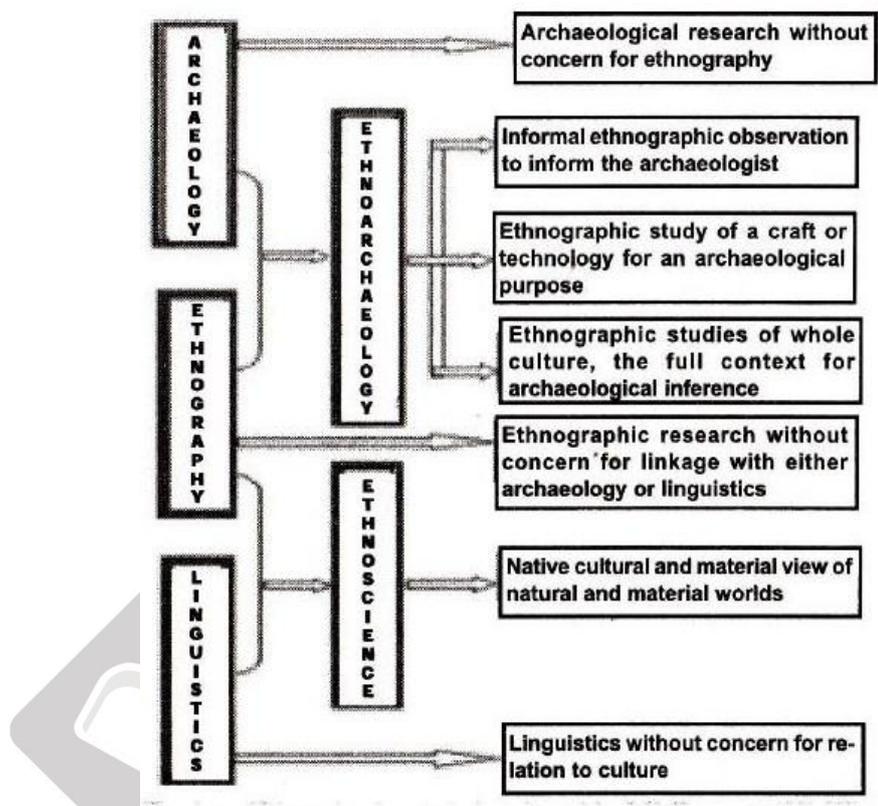


Figure: The Place of Ethnoarchaeology in Anthropology (After R. H. Thompson, 1991)

### 2. Sources of Ethno Archaeological Data

The following ethnographic data are used for solving archaeological problems.

1. Settlement patterns
2. Site structure and activities
3. Subsistence systems
4. Material culture
5. Mortuary practices

### 3. Ethno-archaeology in India

**Study of analogy derived from present observation to aid interpretation of the past event was utilized in Indian archaeology quite a long ago:**

- John Marshall attempted to avail existing evidence quite extensively to interpret excavated materials of Mohenjo Daro.
- Mackay largely depends on modern ethnographic analogies to interpret the excavated evidence of Mohenjodaro and Chanhudaro.
- Cunnigham also stressed on ancient forms of objects in use in the countryside to identify excavated objects.

So, it could be said that though it seems to be a new born discipline, some of the south Asian archaeologists were making ethnoarchaeological approaches, long before the term came to be coined in the western World.

#### Recent Studies:

- Dr. Malti Nagar, a student of Prof. H. D. Sankalia carried out a survey of the lifeways of Bhils in Rajasthan and attempted to interpret archaeological data from large scale excavations at Ahar near Udaipur.
- K. Padayya has reconstructed the subsistence and settlement patterns of palaeolithic hunter gatherers of the Hunsgi Valley in Gulbarga district of Karnataka solely on the basis of ethnographic parallels.
- Nagaraja Rao has given a reconstruction of the neolithic dwellings of Tekkalakota on the basis of evidence of huts of the Boyas in Karnataka.
- M. L. K Murthy has observed a striking contiguity between the stone age hunter gatherer sites and present day tribal habitats of Gonds, Konda Reddys and the Koyas in the Kurnool area of Andhra Pradesh.

### 4. Limitations

In ethnoarchaeology, it is attempted to reach the past via the knowledge about the present. But in doing so, a warning should be voiced. If we imagine a two-sided equation, one side being occupied by behaviour observed among a modern primitive folk and the other by observation of archaeological materials and if more than a superficial similarity is noticed, then only the model could be considered to be suitable for ethno archaeological study.

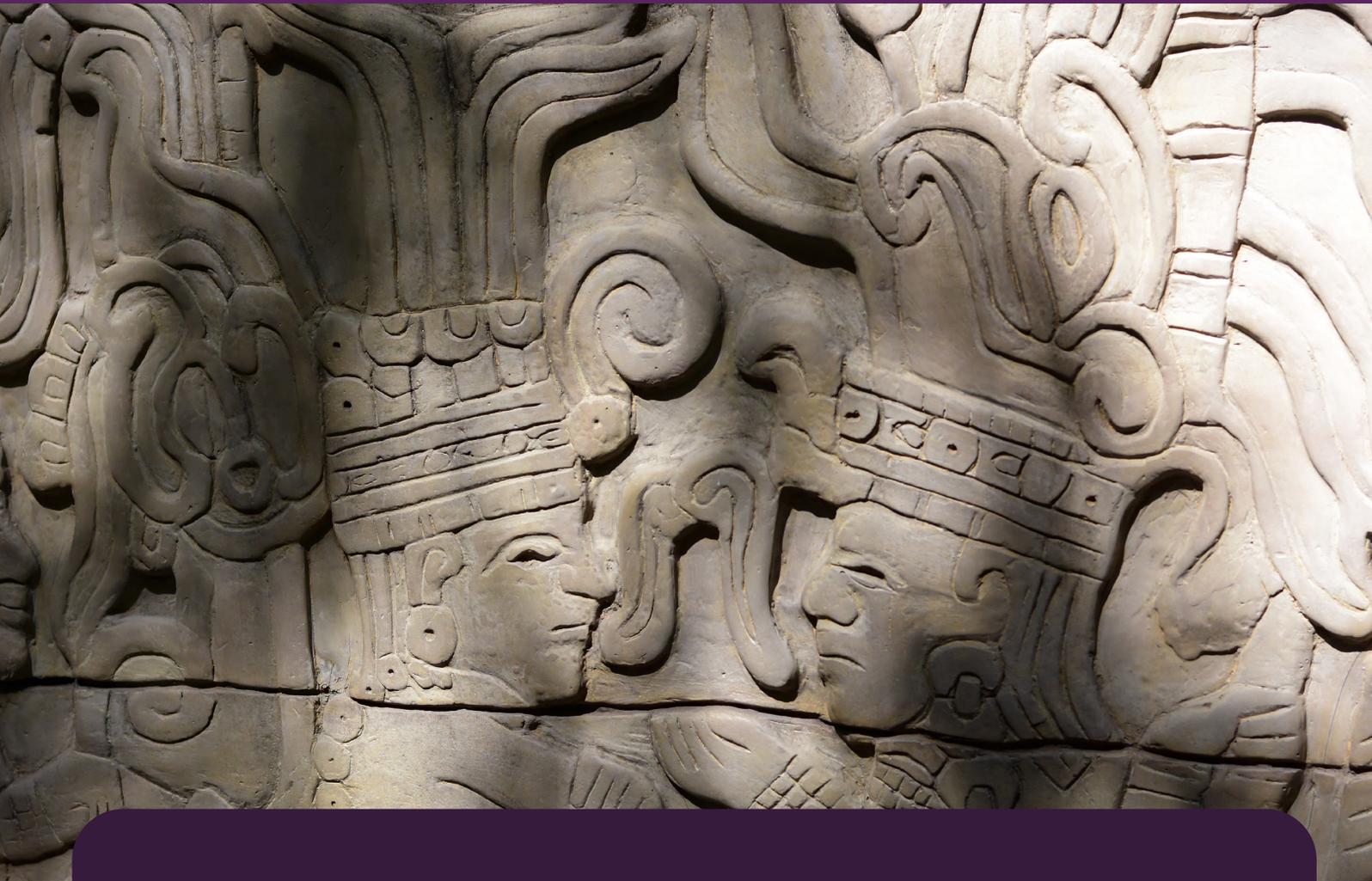
It should not be assumed that all the past behaviours have analogues available for observation today and if the hiatus of time between these two becomes very wide, then an ethno archaeologist should remain very cautious to draw valid inference.

A researcher of this discipline might not find all his relevant information in an ethnographic report, since an ethnographer is concerned more about social aspects of people which are not directly represented in archaeological remains.

Generally, in the process of interpreting the traditional oral history, there is a tendency of over-interpretation on the subject matter. For a safer and plausible representation of the traditional interpretation, observation of traditions should be gauged mainly within the milieu of the material form or those which are manifested in physical attributes. Using this method, oral tradition can become part and parcel of ethnoarchaeological research that can help blend the two interacting modes of representing the past by using different accounts of the same events and objects.

### 5. Questions

1. Ethno-archaeological analysis of hunting activities of contemporary tribal communities. (10 marks, 2019)
2. Ethno-archaeology as a research strategy (10 marks, 2018)
3. Write short notes on Ethno-archaeology. (10 marks, 2017)



# ANTHROPOLOGY

## PAPER II

### UNIT 2

# DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF INDIA

NOTES FOR CIVIL SERVICES EXAMINATION  
ANTHROPOLOGY PAPER II, CHAPTER 2



## 1. Classification of Races in India

### 1.1 Introduction

India has been inhabited by human groups carrying a diversity of genes and cultural traits. We have almost all the primary ethnic strains Proto-Australoid (skin colour-dark brown), Mediterranean (skin colour-light brown), Mongoloid (skin colour-yellow), Negrito (skin colour-black) and a number of composite strains. It is the homeland of over 4000 Mendelian populations, of which 3700 endogamous groups are structured in the Hindu caste system as 'jatis'. Outside the purview of the caste system there are a thousand odd Mendelian populations which are tribal autochthones and religious communities.

To account for the heterogeneity and to highlight the underlying pattern of the observed variations, earlier European anthropologists, like Charles de Ujfalvy (1881-82) and Captain Drake-Brockman, Sir T. H. Holland (1902) and Waddell (1899) measured groups from various parts of India and attempted various taxonomic classification of the Indian peoples. During the early part of the last century the schemes of classification of Indian people were largely based on morphological and anthropometric characters. The list of various classifications that have been given on the people of India by different authors is as follows:

### 1.2 Risley's Classification

In India the schematic classification of races was first attempted by Sir H. H. Risley in 1886-88. On the basis of physical characters based on nine anthropometric measurements of 5784 individuals, he envisaged a seven-fold division of the peoples of India:

1. **The Turko-Iranian Type:** Represented by the Baluchis, Brahuis, Afghans and North-Western Frontier Province.

Racial Criteria	Features
Skin Colour	Fair Complexion
Head Hair	Medium Brown to Black Colour, Wavy to Curly hair form
Head Form	Broad (Brachycephalic)
Eyes Colour	Generally Dark, Grey
Nose Form	Fine to Medium
Stature	Tall

2. **The Indo-Aryan Type:** Inhabitants of Rajasthan, Punjab, Kashmir predominantly represented by the Rajputs, Khattris and Jats.

Racial Criteria	Features
Skin Colour	Fair Complexion
Head Hair	Brown to Black Colour, Wavy to Curly hair form
Head Form	Long (Dolichocephalic)

Eyes Colour	Dark Colour
Nose Form	Long, Narrow and prominent
Stature	Tall

3. **The Scytho-Dravidian Type:** Represented from Western India, including the Maharashtrian Brahmins, Kunbis and Coorgs probably formed by a mixture of Scythian and Dravidian elements.

Racial Criteria	Features
Skin Colour	Fair Complexion
Head Hair	Dark Brown to Black Colour; Wavy to Curly Hair form
Head Form	Medium (Mesocephalic) to Broad (Brachycephalic)
Eyes Colour	Dark Colour
Nose Form	Medium
Stature	Medium height

4. **The Aryo-Dravidian Type:** Represented by the peoples of Uttar Pradesh and some parts of Rajputana, Behar and Sri Lanka (Ceylon) as well as higher caste and lower caste people. This type is a result of admixture between Aryan males and Dravidian females.

Racial Criteria	Features
Skin Colour	It is variable, varies from light brown to dark
Head Hair	Dark Brown to Black Colour; Wavy to Curly Hair form
Head Form	Long (Dolichocephalic) with tendency towards Medium
Eyes Colour	Dark Colour
Nose Form	Medium to Broad
Stature	Short to Medium height

5. **The Mongolo-Dravidian Type:** This type is represented by the people of lower Bengal and Orissa, particularly the Bengali Brahmins and Kayasthas, Mohammedans, possessing a strain of Indo-Aryan blood and a blend of Dravidian and Mongoloid elements.

Racial Criteria	Features
Skin Colour	Dark
Head Hair	Black in Colour, Wavy Hair form
Head Form	Broad (Brachycephalic) to Medium (Mesocephalic)
Eyes Colour	Dark Colour
Nose Form	Medium to Broad
Stature	Short to Medium height

6. **The Mongoloid Type:** Inhabitants of the people of Himalayas, Nepal, Assam and Burma represented by the Kannets of Lahul, Kulu, Lepchas, Limbus, Murmis and Gurangs of Nepal and Bodos of Assam and Burmese.

Racial Criteria	Features
Skin Colour	Dark with Yellowish tinge
Head Hair	Dark Colour and Straight form
Head Form	Generally Broad (Brachycephalic)
Eyes	Oblique eye showing Epicanthic Fold
Face	Broad Mongolian face
Nose Form	Fine to Broad
Stature	Short to Below Medium height

7. **The Dravidian Type:** Represented by the people from the valley of the Ganges to Sri Lanka (Ceylon) including the whole of Madras, Hyderabad, Central Province and Chota Nagpur. Paniyans of South India, the Santals of Chota Nagpur are the best examples of this type.

Racial Criteria	Features
Skin Colour	Dark with Yellowish tinge
Head Hair	Dark Colour and Straight form
Head Form	Generally Broad (Brachycephalic)
Eyes	Oblique eye showing Epicanthic Fold
Face	Broad Mongolian face

Nose Form	Fine to Broad
Stature	Short to Below Medium height

The results of Risley's study were published in 1891 and 1901 in a volume of Ethnographic Appendices of the Census Report. Later his classifications were criticized, particularly his techniques of measurements, his statements of brachycephaly in Western India as due to Scytho-Iranian and Scythian invasion and his hypothesis of the Mongolo- Dravidian origin of the Bengalis.

### 1. 3 Guha's Classification

Guha's work was published in the Census of India (1931, Pt. III) based on an analysis of 29 characters and 63 crude coefficients of racial likeness of different measurements of 2511 persons belonging to 34 groups. His survey was claimed to have the great advantage of standardization of the anthropometric techniques of the International Agreements of 1906 and 1912. This was regarded as a very important landmark in the racial history of Indian Anthropology.

According to Guha (1931), the classification of racial groups determined 6 main races with 9 subtypes:

- 1. The Negritos:** Represented by the Kadars, Pulayans (Cochin and Travancore), Irular and Primitive tribes of Wayanad. They are considered to be autochthones of India.

Racial Criteria	Features
Skin Colour	Dark Brown to Dark Black
Head Hair	Woolly in form
Head Form	Small, Round, Medium or Long;
Forehead	Bulbous
Supraorbital Ridges	Smooth
Eyes	Dark in Colour
Nose Form	Straight, Flat and Broad
Stature	Very Short height or Pygmy

- 2. The Proto-Australoids:** This type is represented by Urali (Travancore), Baiga (Rewa), the tribal groups - Chenchu, Kannikar, Kondh, Bhil, Santal, Oron belong to this group. Their morphological features wavy hair is different form the Negritos who are having frizzly or woolly hair.

Racial Criteria	Features
Skin Colour	Dark Brown
Head Hair	Dark in Colour; Wavy and Curly Hair form
Head Form	Long (Dolichocephalic)
Forehead	Less Developed and

	Slightly retreating
Supraorbital Ridges	Prominent
Eyes	Dark in Colour
Nose Form	Broad, Depressed at the Root
Stature	Short, Limbs are delicate.

3. **The Mongoloids:** This group is characterised by straight hair, obliquely set eyes showing Epicanthic fold; scanty hair on body and face, flat face with prominent cheekbones. They are represented by two groups - (i) Palaeo - Mongoloids who are categorized into (a) Long - headed and (b) Broad - headed and (ii) Tibeto - Mongoloids

(i) **Palaeo - Mongoloids**

- (a) **Long - headed:** The peoples of sub - Himalayan Region represented by the tribal groups of Assam (Sema Nagas); Nepal (Limbus)

Racial Criteria	Features
Skin Colour	Dark to Light Brown
Head Hair	Dark Colour, Straight form
Head Form	Long (Dolichocephalic)
Face	Short and Flat
Supraorbital Ridges	Faintly developed
Cheekbones	Prominent
Nose Form	Medium
Stature	Medium height.

- (b) **Broad - headed:** They are represented by Lepchas of Kalimpong; Hill Tribes - Chakmas, Maghs of Chittagong.

Racial Criteria	Features
Skin Colour	Dark
Head Hair	Dark Colour, Straight form
Head Form	Broad (Brachycephalic)
Eyes	Obliquely set eyes which show marked Epicanthic fold
Nose Form	Medium
Stature	Medium height

- (ii) **Tibeto - Mongoloids:** The Tibetans of Bhutan and Sikkim are representing this type.

Racial Criteria	Features
Skin Colour	Light Brown
Head Hair	Dark and Straight form
Head Form	Broad (Brachycephalic) and Massive
Face	Long and Flat
Eyes	Oblique having marked Epicanthic fold
Nose Form	Long to Medium
Stature	Tall Height

4. **The Mediterranean:** They have been categorized in three different racial types

- (i) **Palaeo - Mediterranean:** They are considered like more ancient people. The Tamil Brahmans of Madura, Nairs of Cochin, and Telegus Brahmans are representing this type. The Dravidian speaking people of South India show the preponderance of this type.

Racial Criteria	Features
Skin Colour	Dark
Head Hair	Dark Colour, Wavy to Curly hair form
Head Form	Long (Dolichocephalic) and narrow with bulbous Forehead
Face	Narrow
Chin	Pointed
Eyes	Dark in Colour
Nose Form	Small and Broad
Stature	Medium height

- (ii) **Mediterranean:** The Numbudiri Brahmans of Cochin, Brahmins of Allahabad, Bengali Brahmins, and Marathas are representing this type. The people of this group are inhabitants of Uttar Pradesh, Bombay, Bengal, and Malabar.

Racial Criteria	Features
Skin Colour	Light
Head Hair	Dark Colour
Head Form	Long (Dolichocephalic),

	Head with Arched Forehead
Face	Long
Chin	Well Developed
Eyes	Dark Brownish to Dark Colour
Nose Form	Narrow and Prominent
Stature	Medium to Tall and slender body built

- (iii) **The so-called Oriental sub - type of the Mediterranean:** Punjabi Chettris and the Pathans is representative of the group. The people of Punjab, Sind, and Rajputana etc. are representative of this group. The Oriental type has been described by Fischer and the people represent almost all the characteristics of the Mediterranean type except the nose form which is long and convex.

5. **The western broad headed people of Brachycephals consisting of three types:**

- (i) **The Alpinoids:** The representatives of this group are Bania of Gujarat, Kathi of Kathiawar, and the Kayasthas of Bengal among others.

Racial Criteria	Features
Skin Colour	Light
Head Hair	Dark Brownish to Dark Colour and Form - Wavy
Head Form	Broad (Brachycephalic) with rounded occiput
Face	Round
Eyes	Dark Brown in Colour
Nose Form	Prominent
Stature	Medium and body is thickly set

- (ii) **The Dinarics:** This type is represented among Brahmans of Bengal; Kanarese Brahmans of Mysore and the inhabitants of Bengal, Orissa, and Coorg. The Alpino - Dinaric people are considered to enter India through Baluchistan, Sind, Gujarat, and Maharashtra into Kannada and then Sri Lanka (Ceylon). This type has been observed in the Indus Valley site, Tinnevely, Hyderabad.

Racial Criteria	Features
Skin Colour	Darker
Head Hair	Dark in Colour
Head Form	Broad (Brachycephalic) with rounded occiput and high vault

Forehead	Receding
Face	Long
Eyes	Dark in Colour
Nose Form	Very long and often convex
Stature	Tall height

(iii) **The Armenoids:** The best representative of this group is the Parsis of Bombay. The Armenoids have most of the morphological features similar to Dinaric. They are having a more prominent, narrow and aquiline nose and occiput is more marked.

6. **The Nordics:** Inhabitants of Northern India, mainly the people of Punjab, Rajputana are representative of this group. Kaffirs, Kathash belong to this group.

Racial Criteria	Features
Skin Colour	Fair Complexion
Head Hair	Brown to Dark in Colour, Wavy hair form
Head Form	Long (Dolichocephalic) with protruding Occiput
Forehead	Arched
Face	Long and Straight
Jaw	Strong
Eyes	Mostly Bluish Tinge
Nose Form	Fine, Narrow
Stature	Tall with powerfully built body

#### 1. 4 Sarkar's Classification

Sarkar classified the people of India into six racial types as follow:

1. **Australoids:** The Australoids are referred also as Proto - Australoid, Pre - Dravidian, Nisada and Veddid. The representatives of this group are some tribes of South India, namely - Urali, Kannikar, Malapantarram, Paniyan, Kadar etc

Racial Criteria	Features
Skin Colour	Dark Complexion
Head Hair	Dark colour and Wavy in form
Head Form	Long (Dolichocephalic)
Eyes	Dark in Colour

Nose Form	Broad
Stature	Short height

2. **Indo - Aryan:** The Baltis of Hindukush are the best representative of this group. They inhabit Indus Valley to Gangetic Valley of Western India and also spread to Bihar among higher caste groups.

Racial Criteria	Features
Skin Colour	Light
Head Hair	Brownish Dark
Head Form	Long (Dolichocephalic) and massive
Eyes	Not Dark
Stature	Tall height, the physique is most robustly built.

3. **Irano -Scythian:** Irano-Scythian entered India from north-west and they moved south along the Indus Valley to reach Gujarat, Maharashtra and towards, Mysore and Deccan. From western side the Irano-Scythian move towards eastern India following the rivers Narmada and Son.

Racial Criteria	Features
Skin Colour	Light Brown Complexion
Head Form	Medium (Mesocephalic)

4. **Mundari Speakers:** They are inhabitants of Chota Nagpur, Orissa Hills and Madhya Pradesh. They show some Mongoloid affinities. The people are Santhal, Juang, and Savara etc.

Racial Criteria	Features
Skin Colour	Lighter
Head Hair	Dark in Colour and Thick Straight Hair Form
Head Form	Long (Dolichocephalic)
Stature	Short with Robust constitution

5. **Far Eastern:** Sarkar reported that some amount of Malaya Polynesian element [Darker Skin colour; Broad (brachycephalic) head, short stature with tendency to obesity] is observed in certain populations particularly along the Tuticorin-Tinnevely coast in the extreme south and along the coast of Chittagong hill tracts.

6. **Mongolian:** They inhabit North-eastern India and Foothills of Himalaya. They can be easily distinguished from the other due to their eyes and face form. Morphological Features: Skin Colour- Yellowish; Eye-Mongolian Eye fold. The hair is sparsely distributed on the face and body. The eyes invariably present the epicanthic fold.

The picture that emerged from the various classifications was complicated and incomprehensive as India from the fourth century B. C. for 2000 years, particularly in north received wave after wave of immigrants from different directions and thus took on the character of a miniature museum of races commingling in all sorts of permutation and combinations.

From the section of Indian population milieu of this chapter it may be evaluated that migration from different places formed the Caucasoid (Dravidian, Aryan) and Mongoloid components of India's populations, whereas the original inhabitants who have been classified as Negrito and/or Proto - Australoids may be referred as Nishada (Pre - Dravidians). But this conclusion may not be a final one. More research is still required to be carried out to solve the problem of racial classification in India.

It is worthwhile to mention here that the racial classifications are currently only of academic interest and are seldom used for categorizing populations, as the population composition at any time is influenced by mating patterns, migrations, genetic drift, mutation and selection under different environments. We should not forget that racial categories are artificial constructs, which have not been able to withstand the test of time.

## 2. Linguistic elements in India

### 2.1 Introduction

According to the 1961 Census of India there were 187 languages spoken by different sections of our society. This is, however, not surprising, considering a large number of people inhabiting a vast land. The picture though becomes less confusing when it is noted that as many as 94 of these 187 languages are spoken by less than 10,000 persons each and that 23 languages together account for 97 per cent of the total population of the country.

Out of these 23 languages, 22 besides English have been specified in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution of India. These are Assamese, Bengali, Bodo, Dogri, Gujarati, Hindi, Kannada, Kashmiri, Konkani, Maithili, Malayalam, Manipuri, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Punjabi, Sanskrit, Santali, Sindhi, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Hindi has been given the status of India's official language along with English. Sanskrit included in the list is no longer a spoken language, though it has great importance even today. The Eighth Schedule does not recognize any of the languages belonging to the Austro-Asiatic and Tibeto-Chinese families, because of their numerical as well as cultural insignificance.

### 2.2 Classification of Indian Languages

The languages spoken by the people of India belong to the following four language families:

1. The Austro-Asiatic Language Family (Nishada),
2. The Tibeto-Chinese Language Family (Kirata),
3. The Dravidian Language Family (Dravida), and
4. The Indo-European Language Family (Aryan).

1. **The Austro-Asiatic Language Family (Nishada):** The Austro-Asiatic family is represented in India by the speakers belonging to the two main branches – (i) Mon-Khmer Branch (Mon-Khmer Group) and, (ii) Munda Branch (Munda Group).

- (i) **Mon-Khmer Branch:** This includes the two groups – 1. Khasi group of languages of Assam, and 2. Nicobarese of the Nicobar Islands.
- (ii) **Munda Branch:** This is represented by the speakers belonging to the Central and Eastern regions of India. This is the largest of the Austro-Asiatic family. This includes the people inhabiting mostly the hills and jungles of Bihar, Chota Nagpur, Orissa and Central India. The

largest single group is that of Santhali speakers, who alone account for more than half of the total Austro-Asiatic speakers. The names of the speeches in the branch are given below: 1. Kherwari 2. Santali 3. Mundari 4. Bhumij 5. Birhor 6. Koda/Kora 7. Ho 8. Turi 9. Asuri 10. Agaria 11. Birjia/- Brigia/Binjhia 12. Korwa 13. Korku 14. Kharia 15. Juang 16. Savara 17. Gadaba and Munda - unspecified.

2. **The Tibeto-Chinese Language Family (Kirata):** The speakers of Tibeto-Chinese family of languages are people of Mongoloid origin, who are considered to have entered the Indian frontiers much earlier than the Indo-Aryan speakers. The area of the speeches stretches right from Baltistan in the west to the northeastern frontiers of the country and further reaches up to the southern most portions of Assam.

The speakers of Tibeto-Chinese family fall into two main sub-families – I. Siamese-Chinese Sub-Family and, II. Tibeto-Burman Sub-Family.

(i) **Siamese-Chinese Sub-Family:** It includes the Tai Group of languages which is distinct from Tibeto-Burman, and is represented only by one language i. e. Khamti.

(ii) **Tibeto-Burman Sub-Family:** The second sub-family of Tibeto-Chinese Family is divided into three branches

(a) **Tibeto-Himalayan Branch:** This branch consists of the following groups:

(i) **Bhotia Group (Tibetan Group):** 1. Tibetan 2. Balti 3. Ladakhi 4. Lahauli 5. Spiti 6. Jad 7. Sherpa 8. Sikkim Bhotia 9. Bhutani 10. Kagate and Bhotia-Unspecified.

(ii) **Himalayan Group:** 1. Lahauli of Chamba 2. Kanashi 3. Kanauri 4. Jangali 5. Dhimal 6. Limbu 7. Khambu 8. Rai 9. Gurung 10. Tamang 11. Sunwar 12. Mangari 13. Newari 14. Lepcha 15. Kami 16. Toto.

(b) **North-Assam Branch:** 1. Aka/Hrusso 2. Dalfa 3. Abor/Adi 4. Miri 5. Mishmi

(c) **Assam-Burmese Branch:**

Bodo Group - 1. Bodo/Boro 2. Lalung 3. Dimasa 4. Garo 5. Koch

Naga Group - 1. Angami 2. Sema 3. Rengma

Kachin Group - 1. Kawri 2. Singpho.

Kuki-Chin Group - 1. Manipuri/Meithei 2. Lushai/Mizo 3. Simte and Kuki

Burma Group - 1. Mru 2. Arkanese

3. **The Dravidian Language Family (Dravida):**

South Dravidian Group - 1. Tamil 2. Malayalam 3. Kannada 4. Coorgi/Kodagu 5. Tulu 6. Toda 7. Kota 8. Telugu.

Central Dravidian Group - 1. Kui 2. Kolami 3. Gondi 4. Parji 5. Koya 6. Khond/Kondh

North Dravidian Group - 1. Kurukh/Oraon and 2. Malto

Languages of the Dravidian family are concentrated in the plateau region and the adjoining coastal plains. Telugu is spoken in Andhra, Tamil in Tamil Nadu, and Kannada in Karnataka and Malayalam in Kerala. The speeches of the Dravidian family are also spoken by a large number of tribal groups living in the eastern and the north-eastern parts of the peninsular plateau. These groups include the Gonds of Madhya Pradesh, Central India and the Oraons of Chota Nagpur Plateau.

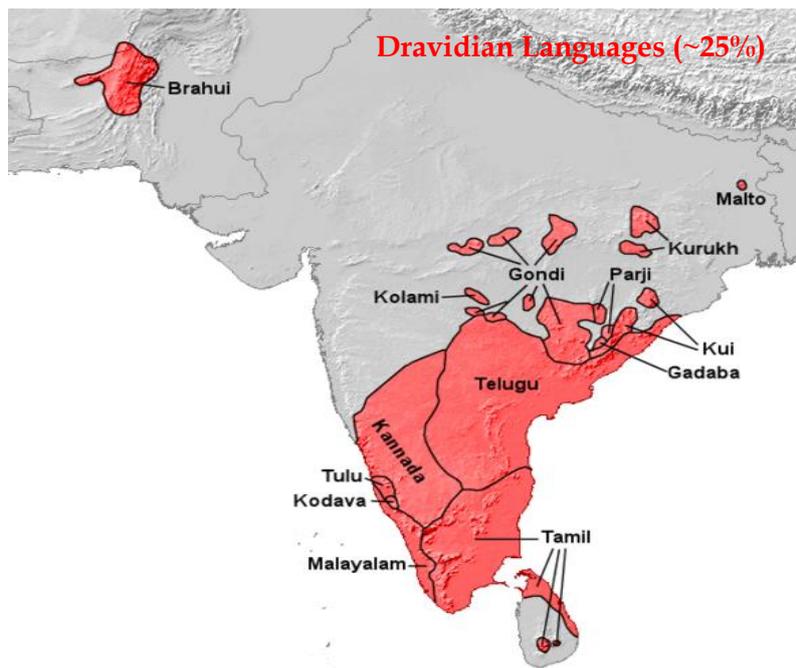


Fig: Dravidian Languages

#### 4. The Indo-European Language Family (Aryan):

- (a) Iranian Branch: It is represented by languages like Persian, Pashto and Balochi considered of foreign origin.
- (b) Dardic (or Pisasha) Branch: 1. Dardi 2. Shina 3. Kashmiri 4. Kohistani.
- (c) Indo-Aryan Branch: 1. Lahnda or Western Punjabi Dialects 2. Sindhi 3. Marathi 4. Konkani 5. Oriya; 6. Bihari with sub-groups- Bhojpuri, Maghi/Magadhi, Maithili; 7. Bengali; 8. Assamese 9. Hindi; 10. Hindustani; 11. Urdu; 12. Punjabi; 13. Gujarati; 14. Bhili; 15. Khandeshi; 16. Rajasthani 17. Nepali 18. Kumauni, 19. Garhwali.

Languages of the Indo-Aryan family are concentrated in the plains of India. The domain of Indo-Aryan languages, however, extends over the peninsular plateau also, reaching as far as the Konkan coast. The central part of this region has Hindi as the principal language. Hindi is spoken in Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Rajasthan, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh and the Union Territory of Delhi. Urdu is closely akin to Hindi and is widely distributed in this belt.

The speeches belonging to the north-western groups, such as Sindhi is mainly concentrated in Western India. Marathi is the most important language of the southern group of the Indo-Aryan family.

The languages of the eastern group, such as Oriya, Bengali and Assamese are spoken in the Eastern India.

The languages of the central group are confined to Punjab, Rajasthan and Gujarat.

The Himalayan and the sub-Himalayan areas are inhabited by the speakers of the various forms of Pahari speeches.

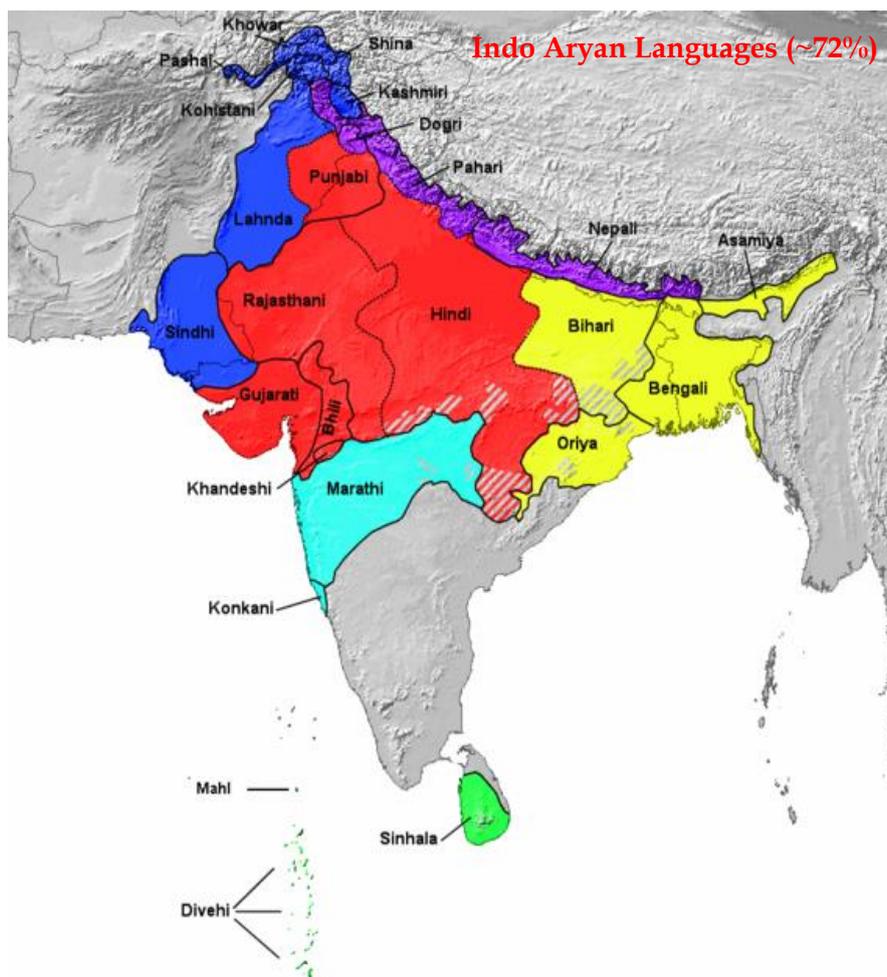


Fig: Indo-Aryan Languages

### 3. Indian Population - factors influencing its structure and growth

#### 3.1 Introduction

India is the second most populated country in the world with nearly a fifth of the world's population. According to the 2019 revision of the World Population Prospects, the population stood at 1.35 billion. Also, our population is what contributes to our socio-economic structure and the diverse cultural scenario. Only the continent of Africa exceeds the linguistic, genetic and cultural diversity of the nation of India.

#### 3.2 Population Size and Distribution

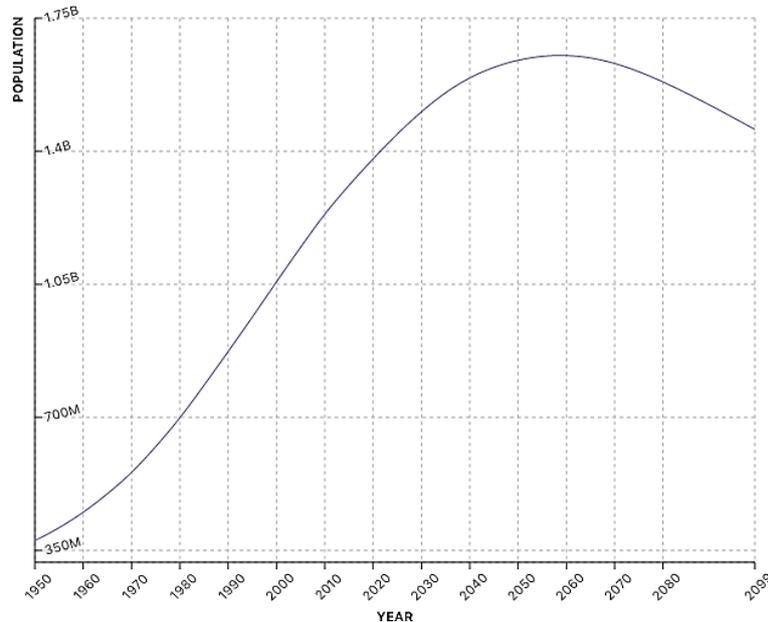
The current population of India contributes to 17% of the global population. Also, all these people are unevenly distributed across 3.28 million square kilometers of our geographical area.

About half of the country's population is concentrated in five major states- Maharashtra, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal, Bihar and Andhra Pradesh. Though Rajasthan is the largest state in size, its population contributes to only 5.5% of the total population of India.

Population density provides a better picture of the uneven distribution. Assam and most of the Peninsular states have moderate population densities. Hilly, dissected and rocky nature of the terrain, moderate to low rainfall, shallow and less fertile soils have influenced population densities in these areas. The Northern Plains and Kerala in the south have high to very high population densities because of the flat plains with fertile soils and abundant rainfall.

### 3.3 Population Growth and Processes of Population Change

The numbers, distribution and composition of the population are constantly changing. This is the influence of the interaction of the three processes, namely-births, deaths and migrations. India's population has been steadily increasing from 361 million in 1951 to 1,210 million in 2011. During 1975-2010, the population doubled. While India's population growth has slowed remarkably over the last few years, it's still growing faster than China and is expected to surpass China in population by 2028, when both will have about 1.55 billion people.



**Fig: India Population Growth**  
Source: World Population Prospects

Census Year	Population	Decadal growth (percent)
1921	251 million	-0.31
1931	279 million	11.00
1941	319 million	14.22
1991	846 million	23.87
2001	1028 million	21.54
2011	1210 million	17.64

**Table: The Magnitude and Rate of India's Population Growth**

Various factors have contributed to the rapid growth of population in India:

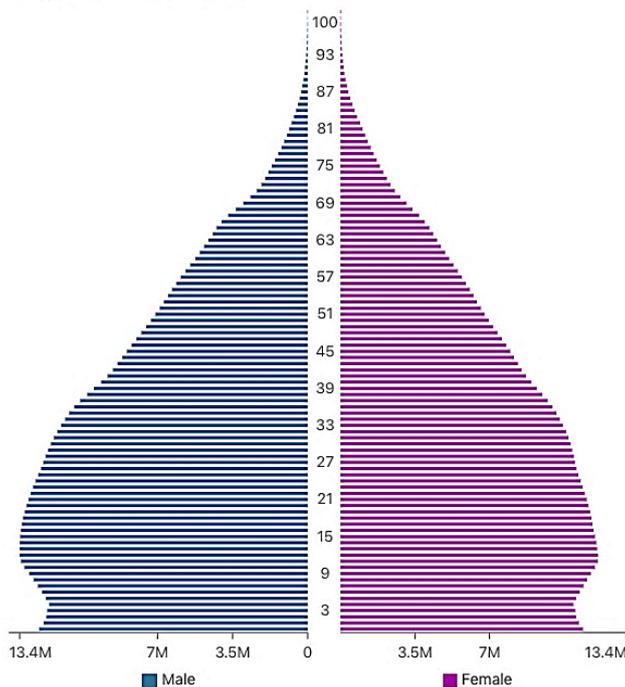
- Peaceful Conditions
- Excess of birth over death
- Progress in medical knowledge
- Improvement in transport facilities
- Improvement in the field of agriculture and industry
- Certain social factors like universal marriage, child marriage, early marriage
- Lack of conscious family planning
- The climatic condition of India
- Lack of Entertainment Facilities

### 3.4 Characteristics of the Population of India

#### 3.4.1 Age Composition

The age composition of a population refers to the number of people in different age groups in a country. To an important degree, a person's age influences what he needs, buys, does and his capacity to perform. Consequently, the number and percentage of a population found within the children, working age and aged groups are notable determinants of the population's social and economic structure.

India has more than 50% of its population below the age of 25 and more than 65% below the age of 35. It is expected that, in 2020, the average age of an Indian will be 29 years, compared to 37 for China and 48 for Japan; and, by 2030, India's dependency ratio should be just over 0.4



**Fig: India Population Pyramid**  
Source: World Population Prospects

#### 3.4.2 Sex Ratio

The sex ratio is 944 females for 1000 males (2016) (940 per 1000 in 2011). This ratio has been showing an upwards trend for the last two decades after a continuous decline in the last century. Kerala has a sex ratio of 1084 females per 1000 males, Puducherry has 1038 females per every 1000 males, while Delhi has only 866 females per thousand males and Haryana has just 877 females per thousand males.

#### 3.4.3 Literacy Rates

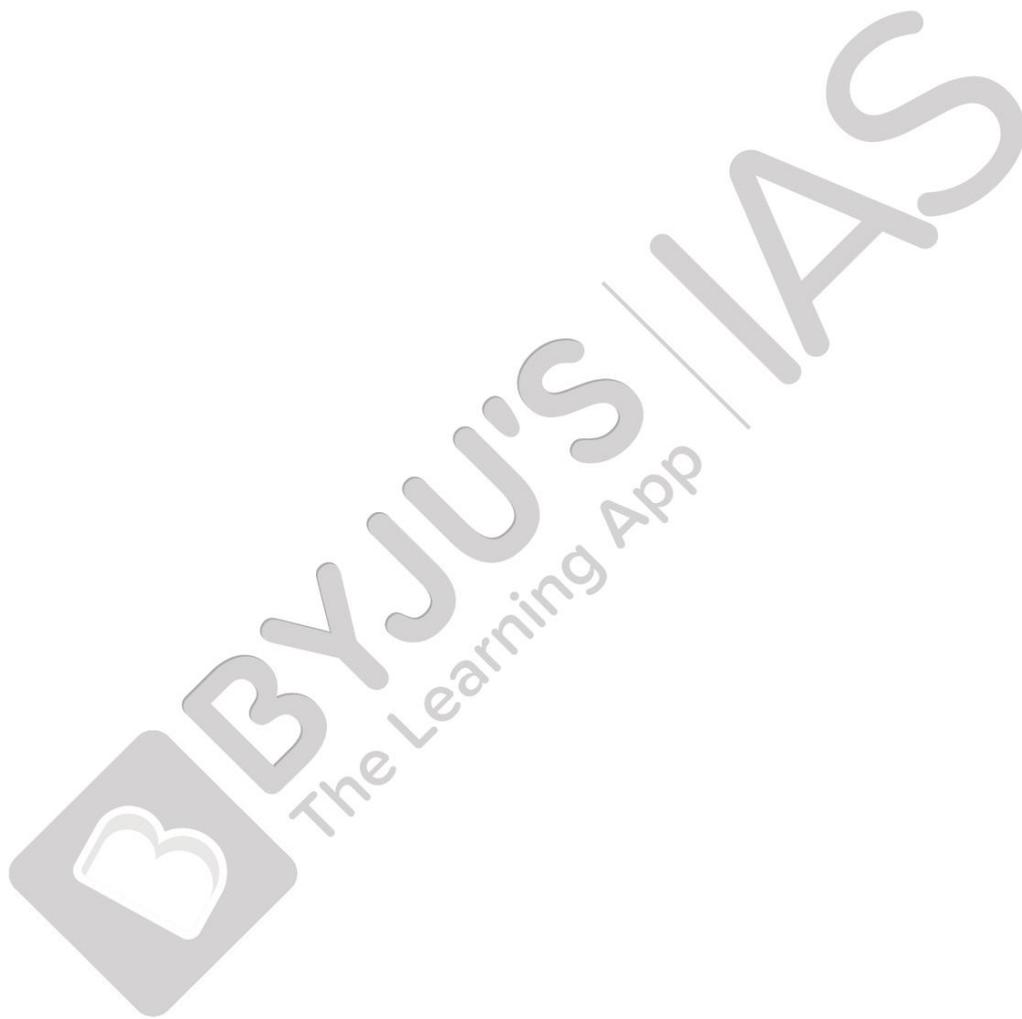
The literacy rate in the country as per the Census of 2011 is 74.04 per cent; 82.14 per cent for males and 65.46 per cent for females.

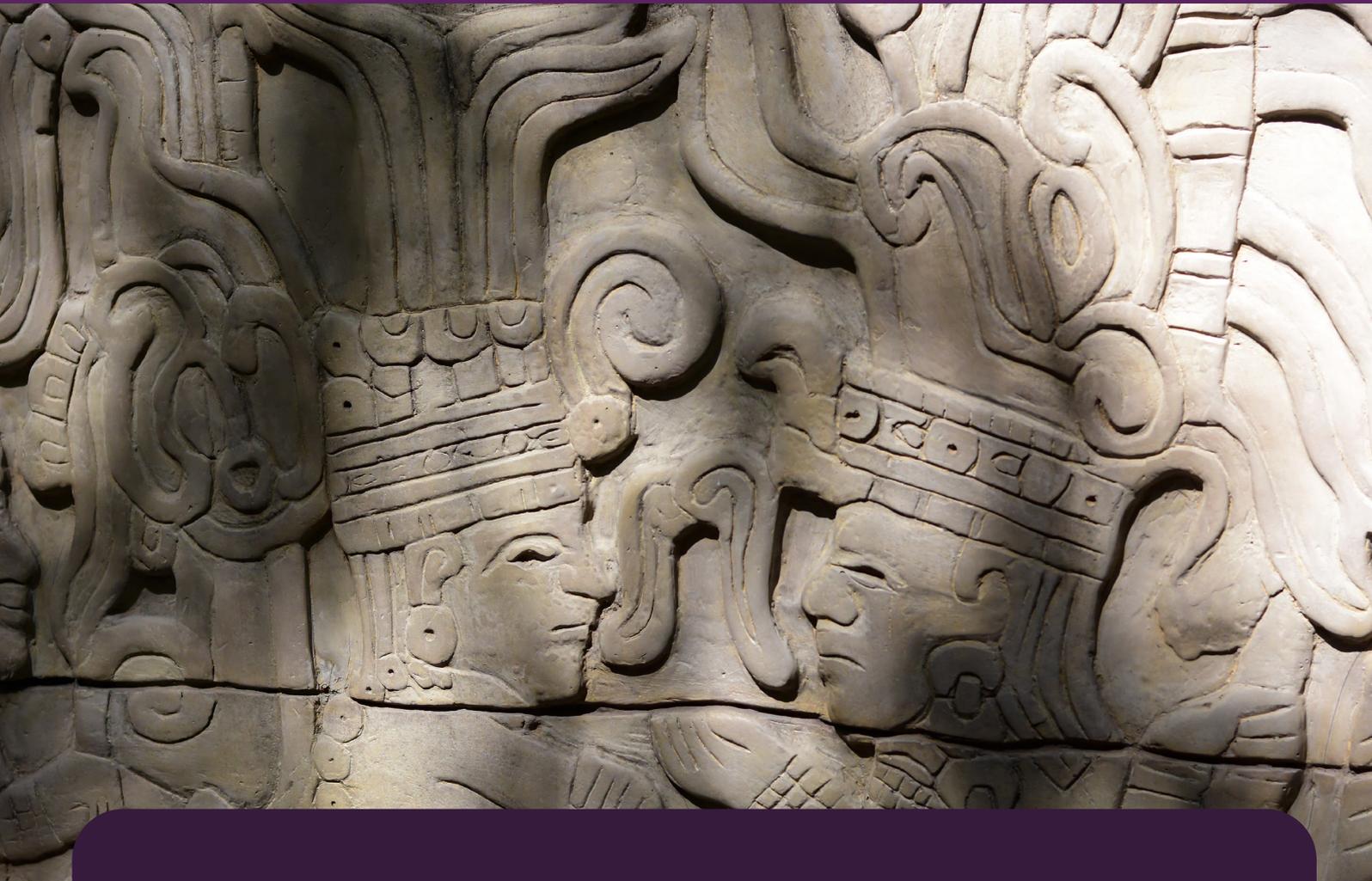
#### 3.4.4 Occupational Structure

Developing countries tend to have a higher proportion of their workforce engaged in primary activities. In India, about 64 per cent of the population is engaged only in agriculture. The proportion of population dependent on secondary and tertiary sectors is about 13 and 20 per cent respectively. There has been an occupational shift in favour of secondary and tertiary sectors because of growing industrialisation and urbanisation in recent times.

#### 4. Questions

1. Distribution of Tibeto-Burman group of languages in India. (10 marks, 2019)
2. What are the various factors influencing population growth in India? Discuss. (15 marks, 2018)
3. Write short notes on austro-asiatic linguistic groups in India. (10 marks, 2017)
4. Give your assessment of the reason for the imbalance in the sex-ratio in india. (20marks, 2017)
5. Short notes on linguistic elements in Indian population. (2016)
6. Describe ethnic elements in the Indian Population focusing either on Risley's or Guha's classification. (2007)





# ANTHROPOLOGY

## PAPER II

UNIT 3

# **THE STRUCTURE & NATURE OF TRADITIONAL INDIAN SOCIAL SYSTEM**

**NOTES FOR CIVIL SERVICES EXAMINATION  
ANTHROPOLOGY PAPER II, CHAPTER 3.1**

### 1. Introduction

To understand the social organisation of a particular society, we need to study the systematic ordering of social relations, including changes that have taken place over time in them. In any description of social organisation of a people we need to refer to the ideological basis of the way the people act. For example, the religious concepts of the Hindus give us the ideological basis of the ways they organise their socio-economic activities, their festivals and rituals.

### 2. The Varna System

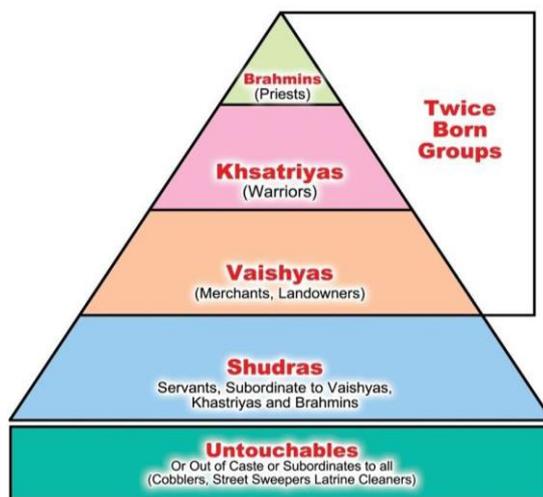


Figure: Varna Hierarchy

The Hindus are divided into four varna namely, Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Sudra. These four categories are ranked from higher to lower in the order mentioned here. This means that Brahman is ranked as the highest and the Sudra the lowest. The varna system of dividing the members of the Hindu society is an ideological construct which is mentioned in their religious texts. Each varna is also associated with particular occupations. A Brahman is supposed to be a priest by profession, a Kshatriya to be a warrior; a Vaishya to be a trader; and a Sudra to be a worker.

All Hindus recognise this system and can place their identity in terms of one of the four varna. Most of the basic ideas on varna system and its links to the concepts of karma and dharma are generally present in the thinking of Hindus (Prabhu 1979: 321). Village studies carried out by Marriott (1959), Dube (1955), Srinivas (1977) and Carstairs (1957) also confirm this view. This division of society into four categories is however better visualised in terms of caste groups into which the Hindu society is divided.

### 3. Ashramas

Ashramas are the four stages of a man's life, which provide us an understanding of the Hindu view of the various socio-economic and political activities, to be performed at different stages.

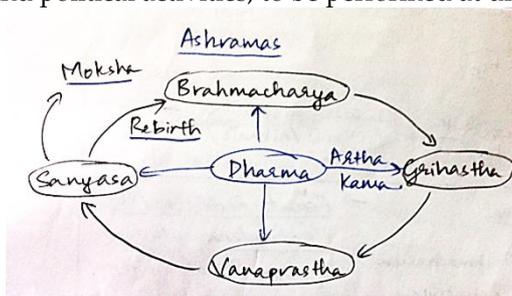


Figure: Varnashrama

The Life of a Hindu is considered to be divisible into four stages, namely

- (i) brahmacharya ashram
- (ii) grihastha ashram
- (iii) vanaprastha ashram
- (iv) sanyasa ashram

It is the dharma of a Hindu to pass through these stages in one's life. The male members of Brahman, Kshatriya and Vaishya varna pass through four different ashram (stages) in their life.

The first ashram is called **brahmacharya** ashram (the educational stage) from which the fourth varna, viz., Sudra and women of the first three varna are barred. Brahmacharyashram ends (after studentship) at marriage. Celibacy is prescribed till marriage.

The second stage of life is called the **grihasthashram**. During this a man rears a family, earns a living and performs his daily personal and social duties.

Following this a man gradually enters the third stage of life called the **vanaprashthashram**. During this stage the householder relinquishes his duties in the household, and devotes his time to religious pursuits. His links with his family are weakened. During this ashram a man retires into the forest with or without his wife leaving behind the householder's cares and duties.

The final phase of a Hindu's life begins with the stage known as the **sanyasashram**. In this stage one attempts to totally withdraw oneself from the world and its cares by going to the forest and spending the rest of life in pursuit of moksha.

The four stages of a Hindu's life just described are together called the varnashrama system. There is an ideal scheme, which correlates the varnashrama phases to ages at which a particular ashram begins. However, it is the endeavour that is important and not the age at which this begins. Thus, Hinduism permits young unmarried sanyasi, as well as those who never go beyond grihasthashrama. Thus there is nothing compulsory about living life in the varnashrama scheme. It is, however, highly recommended.

At present most Hindus do not systematically go through the varnashrama. They do, however, accept these stages to be the ideal ways in which a Hindu should spend his life. Like the four varna, the four stages of life are models. In real life, we find that occupations associated with each varna are not followed precisely in accordance with what is written in the sacred texts. Today a Brahman may be employed in a shoe company, selling shoes to all the customers irrespective of their varna or caste. As we said before, the Hindus are divided into castes or jati which are hereditary groups.

#### 4. Purushartha

A life of righteousness for a Hindu is possible through the fourfold scheme of practical endeavour. It comprises the concepts of dharma, artha, kama and moksha.

- (i) **Dharma** has two aspects: one normative and the other naturalistic. The normative aspect refers to duty or path to be followed. The naturalistic meaning implies the essential attributes or nature, for example, the dharma or nature of water is to flow.
- (ii) **Artha** means a righteous and honest pursuit of economic activities. It implies that a person should earn wealth for the maintenance of his family as also for giving that in charity. Upanishads make it clear that those who only care for the other world and do not care for this world or for earning the wealth are in absolute darkness. Artha is thus needed for the maintenance of life as well as happy life but should be earned by righteous and reasonable means.
- (iii) **Kama** is the fulfillment of one's normal desires. It is essential both for the production of children and for continuity and perpetuality of the race.
- (iv) **Moksha** is liberation, that is absorption of the self into eternal bliss. All the three components of human life, i.e., Dharma, Kama and Artha are supposed to work in close cooperation with each other for achieving the objectives of Moksha i.e, ultimate liberation from the cycle of births and deaths in this world.

Each person has a duty (dharma) appropriate to one's caste and one's station in life. An individual belongs to a family and a caste group and has to perform his or her dharma (in the sense of its naturalistic aspect) accordingly. The main aim of following one's dharma is to eventually achieve

moksha or liberation. Dharma relates not only to the caste but also to the different stages in one's life. As part of following one's dharma a Hindu goes through the life cycle rituals which are carried out in the context of marriage, family and caste.

## 5. Rina

Rina meaning debt is related to the sense of obligation of a man to his duties and for ensuring continuity in tradition. The three major types of debts are Pitri rina (debt to forebears), Rishi rina or Guru rina (debt to preceptor) and Deva rina (debt to God). These debts in life have to be repaid by a man to attain moksha (liberation).

**Guru rina** is incurred when a man in Brahmacharya Ashram gains knowledge through his preceptor. Repayment is by way of life-long reverence to the guru and by sending his sons for study under the guru.

**Pitri Rina** can be discharged by way of having children because they alone will continue the race otherwise the race or family will come to an end. Parents take care of their parents so a man needs to repay by taking care of his parents and bringing up his own children in a selfless way. The children are equally expected not to forget that the parents suffer for them when they are not capable of holding themselves.

**Deva rina** is repaid by offering prayers, performing yagnas and by leading a virtuous life. It is suggested that Vedas should be studied properly.

It is believed that the man who fails to carry out any of these obligations due in him during the first three Ashramas is not entitled even to try to attain Moksha

## 6. Karma

Karma is a word used for all activity or work. Actions are divided into good or bad on the basis of their intrinsic worth. Good deeds bring fame, merit and are the path to heaven. Bad deeds bring notoriety and lead to punishment and life in hell. It is recognised that an individual's overall position in a future life depends on the way he or she lives the present one. This belief, which gave a positive or negative value to certain actions, developed into a general theory of actions and is called the karma theory.

An individual's fate after death is determined by the sum total of grades and attributes of his or her actions or deeds (karma) during his or her life. Better birth and status is obtained if there is a surplus of many good deeds in a person's life. Otherwise one's status falls in the next life.

Another related belief is that the world moves in a cyclical process (birth and death follow one another). The cycle of birth and rebirth is known as samsara. By following one's karma prescribed within the fourfold scheme of dharma, artha, kama, moksha an individual strives to get out of this otherwise infinite cyclical process of birth and death. Depending on one's previous and present karma, one prospers or suffers in this world. Later after death he either gains heaven or is punished with life in hell. Thus a human being after death may become a denizen or inhabitant of heaven or hell, may be reborn as an animal, or even be reborn as a tree. All this depends on one's karma. An individual usually wanders through many births till he or she finds final release or moksha.

### Types of Karma

According to Karma Vipak (the results of the action), there are three kinds of Karma:

- (i) **Sanchita Karma** (accumulated Karma) comprises the actions performed in earlier life. Such actions accumulated over the previous birth become Karma and are also called "Adrashta".
- (ii) **Prarabdha Karma** (destined Karma) the accumulated actions can be either good or bad. Hence, the results of the actions, which the man has to face, comprise destined Karma.
- (iii) **Aagama Karma** (accumulating Karma) the actions, which are being performed in the present and those actions, which are to be performed in future are called accumulating actions.

The belief in karma and dharma has direct relevance to Hindu social organisation, which is based on an arrangement of castes into a graded order. This hierarchy, in turn, is linked with the quality of one's karma. One can say that if one's actions are good, one will be born in a higher caste in the next birth. Hindu society is supposed to be governed by rather strict rules of caste behaviour. There are, on the other hand, some general rules governing the behaviour of all members irrespective of caste. Castes coexist with different norms of behaviour and a continuity with the past in terms of one's actions in the previous birth. Whatever position one may be born into, one must fulfil the functions, without attachment, without hatred and resentment. Whatever may be one's dharma, its performance through one's karma brings blessings.

## 7. Rebirth

Rebirth best describes the concept where the soul or spirit, after the death of the body, is believed to return to live in a new human body, or, in some traditions, either as a human being, animal or plant. This doctrine is a central tenet within the majority of Indian religious traditions, such as Hinduism, Jainism, and Sikhism.

According to the Hindu religious and philosophical concepts, man is composed of two fundamental principles opposed to each other per nature: one spiritual, the soul (ātman), and the other material, the body (sarira). The ātman is eternal, immutable, not born, not created, indestructible; instead, the body is temporal, created, mutable, and destructible.

The union between ātman and body is not essential, but is accidental. It is a type of imprisonment or a penalty which the ātman has to undergo due to avidyā and karma, to which it is associated from all eternity. Avidya signifies ignorance, ignorance of the true nature of ātman or of the distorted vision in which the ātman identifies itself or confounds itself with the psycho-physical organism. Due to avidyā, the ātman which is eternal and non-temporal, is caught up in time; gets joined to the physical body.

Birth is the union of the eternal and spiritual ātman with the material and temporal body. The nature of birth, that is, the condition of the body to which the ātman gets united, depends on karma. The effects of all the actions which a person does cannot be experienced (lived) during one single existence, because while the subject (actor) experiences the fruit of some act, does other actions in the meantime, and therefore gains new fruits which have to be experienced. From this fact is deduced that the ātman (soul) has to be reborn repeatedly.

So it is believed that the soul from all eternity is undergoing birth and rebirth due to this inviolable law of karma. Thus is born the doctrine of the transfiguration of the soul. It is a corollary of the doctrine of karma.

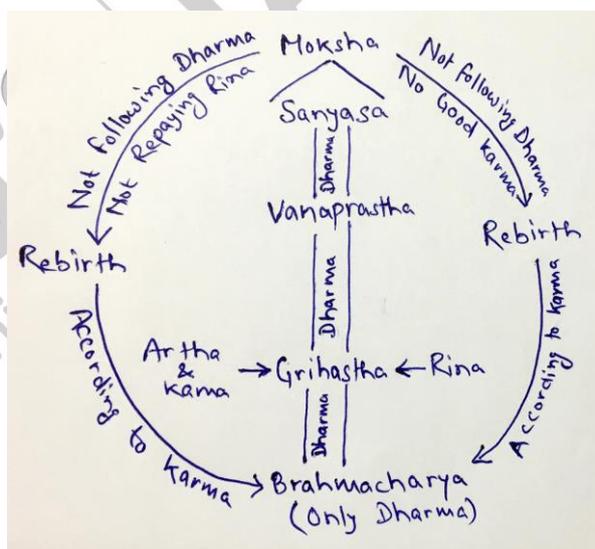


Figure: Circle of Life and Rebirth

## 8. Questions

- Write notes on the following in about 150 words each:
  - Use of doctrine of Karma and rebirth in justifying the Varna system. (10M, 2019)
  - Philosophy behind Purusharthas. (10M, 2018)
- Concept of Karma in relation to caste (15M)
- Write short notes on varnashram and concept of rina. (10M, 2018)
- Discuss the basis of Indian Social System. Do you find any change today? (20M, 1998)

# **CASTE SYSTEM IN INDIA**

**NOTES FOR CIVIL SERVICES EXAMINATION  
ANTHROPOLOGY PAPER II, CHAPTER 3.2**

## 1. Introduction

Caste has derived from Portuguese term *castus* or *casta* literally meaning race or lineage. A. L. Kroeber defined caste as “an endogamous and hereditary subdivision of an ethnic unit occupying a position of superior or inferior rank or social esteem in comparison with other such subdivisions” (1930). So, in easy terms caste can be defined as a system of social stratification the membership of which is ascribed by birth. The system of caste stratification is found in India in its most developed form and is also found in other communities of south Asia. A caste is not an isolated group. Rather it forms a part of society. Hence caste is a form of social grouping within a society.

## 2. Definitions of Caste

“When a class is somewhat hereditary, we may call it caste.” - C.H. Cooley

“Caste is a collection of families, group of families bearing a common name, claiming a common descent from a mythical ancestor, human or divine, professing to follow the same hereditary calling and regarded by those who are competent to give an opinion as forming a single homogeneous community.” - Risley

“When status is wholly predetermined so that men are born to their lot without any hope of changing it, then the class takes the extreme form of caste.” - Maclver and Page

“Caste is a closed social group” - D.N. Majumdar and T.N. Madan

## 3. Characteristics of Caste

**Ascriptiveness**- A person's caste was determined by birth. Caste membership could be taken away, by other caste members, for 'violation of caste rules'. Marriage was also restricted to members of the same caste.

**Endogamy**- Marriage within a group is termed as endogamy. It indicates the marriage pattern of the members of caste within their own caste only as inter-caste marriages are prohibited within the caste system.

**Division of Society**- Indian society is socially stratified into various divisions largely based on the Caste. There are various castes having a well-developed life pattern established according to their caste.

**Hierarchy**- It simply entails the ranking pattern of people according to their caste statuses within the society, which is determined by the notions of purity and impurity within the occupations, are ranked from higher to lower positions. It indicates or represents a ladder like pattern of caste ranking. For example, As Brahmins performs the ritual and various other religious practices along with teaching, so their occupation considered to be of purest form; hence they are placed at the top while Sweeper whose occupation is comprises of cleaning and scavenging, is placed at the bottom within the hierarchical system because of impure occupation.

**Commensality**- Castes placed restrictions on eating and drinking with members of other castes. Actions like accepting food and drink took on a pure/impure caste value depending on the caste of the person within the hierarchical system. The commensality restrictions on a caste usually were an indicator on how they ranked in the social hierarchy.

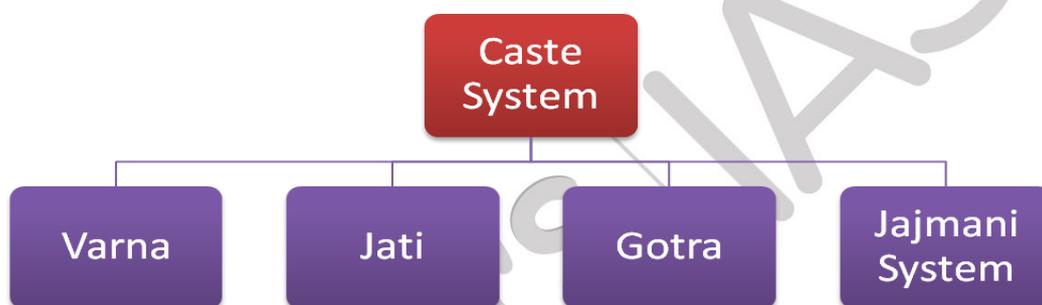
**Socio-Economic Interdependence or Association**- Each caste has to depend on various other castes for their survival, as a caste is only associated with one or two occupations only, whereas they need various other products and services to fulfill their needs which they can only get by associating with the other castes. For example, Baniyas are engaged in business, sometimes (like during marriage,

birth etc.) need to perform rituals which they can only perform by associating with the Brahmins, as they have the expertise of priesthood, ritual performing and of teaching.

**Purity and Impurity-** It's one of the most important features of the caste system. Endogamous groups or castes are ranked according to their ritual purity and pollution based on their terms of deeds, occupation, language, dress patterns and form of food as well as the food habits. For example, liquor consumption, consuming non-vegetarian food, eating left-over food of high-castes, working in occupations like lifting dead animals, sweeping and carrying garbage etc. are considered to be impure.

**Distinction in Customs-** As each caste is composed of distinct ways of living life i.e. having its own customs, form of language or speech and dress code or pattern. As the high caste use the pure language (use literary words), whereas, the low caste use the local language (admixture of various words).

#### 4. Structural Components of the Caste System



**Varna:** Caste system as a hierarchy, divides the entire Hindu population into four Varnas i.e, Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Shudra. Outside the proper Varna system, at the very bottom are the Untouchables, labeled thus by the British's, because a high-caste person had to go through an elaborate purification ritual after touching such a polluting person. Members of the three upper or highest Varna's are referred as 'twice-born' because they have gone through a ceremony entailing spiritual re-birth.

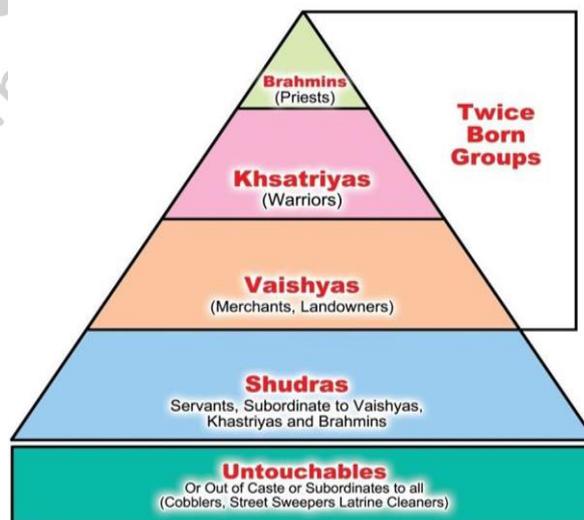


Figure: Varna Hierarchy

**Jati:** The Indian anthropologist M.N.Srinivas wrote in early 1950s that "the real unit of the caste system is not one of the four Varnas, but the Jati, which is a very small endogamous group practicing a traditional occupation and enjoying a certain amount of cultural, ritual and judicial autonomy"

There are about more than thousands of Jatis in India; they all represent a hereditary profession and have long-standing commitments with the other Jatis within the area as well as a special place in the ritual-regional hierarchy. Most Jatis are relatively small, but some are large and internally differentiated groups with asymmetrical alliance patterns between lineage segments.

Practical function of the Varna system is mainly to make it possible for the members of the local Jati's to locate themselves in relation to the Jati's in other parts of the country. Additionally, it represents a fixed, abstract hierarchy and value system.

**Gotra** : Gotra refers to the structural form of the clan; and exogamy of the endogamous group is defined through the Gotra. Each Gotra traces its lineage from an ancient Guru, real or mythical.

**Jajmani System**: Jajmani System is a durable relation between a landowning family and the landless families that supply them with goods and services. It consists of exchange of services or goods with or without money. The exchange, though, is not just economic; there is always a ritual component in the relationship that is permanent and hereditary for both the parties and the Jati's.

## 5. Theories of Origin of Caste

It is very difficult to say in precise terms the exact way in which the caste system originated. Researches held in this regard have not been able to establish the facts relating to the origin of the caste system beyond doubts. In spite of the controversies prevailing over the issue of the origin of the caste system, some of the scholars have established their own theories regarding it.

1. **Traditional Theory**: It was based on the belief that caste originated from bodily organs of the primeval being, Brahma.

**Criticism**: The theory is considered to be unscientific. M.N. Srinivas considers this theory, which highlights the idea of castes as the four-fold division of the society, a gross oversimplification of facts.

2. **Racial Theory**: Racial theory propounded by Risley mentions that caste is the result of clash of races and civilization e.g, in India, Aryans, due to their superior physical features, considered themselves superior and purer than native. Risley indicates Anuloma and Pratiloma marriage as a possible reason for emergence of a new caste. G.S. Ghurye, and Westermarck also support the theory of racial origin of caste.

**Criticism**: According to Hutton, if clash of races was the reason, several other regions in the world should also possess caste. For Hutton, rules of endogamy and exogamy must have been partially responsible and can not be the sole reason for emergence of caste.

3. **Occupational Theory**: As per the logic of this theory, established by Nesfield, the hierarchy of castes is associated with the hierarchy of occupations. In this hierarchy of the superior castes follow "pure" occupations whereas inferior castes follow "impure" occupations. Hence, if a particular group follows a hereditary occupation it evolves into a caste in course of time.

**Criticism**: Senart, from his study of Russian society, referred to caste-like institutions later picking up occupational specialization. Hence, for Senart, across the culture groups there can not be a rule that occupation first and caste later.

4. **Theory of MANA**: Manaism is a belief that all objects and individuals have souls or spirits that have some amount of supernatural power. Thinkers such as Hutton, Rice and Smart tried to link the belief in inner power to sacredness and hierarchical position as in the caste system i.e, the higher caste has higher position due to higher Mana.

**Criticism**: Such an explanation has little to do with origin and focuses on how caste can become superior.

5. **Multiple Factor Theory**: In the journal, Man in India, S C Roy proposed multiple factors for the emergence of caste. Others like R K Mukerjee, D N Majumdar, Ram Ahuja have listed a number of factors summarized below:

- Beliefs in the racial superiority on the part of Aryans
- Geographical isolation of the various communities in large tracts of India.

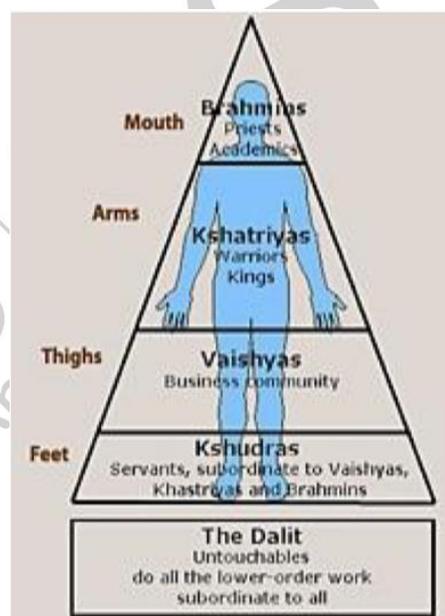


Figure: Biological theory of Origin of Caste

- Metaphysical concepts like Karma & Dharma
- Beliefs in mana and taboos connected with it
- Desire to maintain ritual purity and purity of blood, through endogamy and restrictions on interactions
- Manipulation by Brahmins to maintain their priestly monopoly
- Occupational guilds which provided a sense of economic security in a Pre- agricultural economy
- The policy of live and let live and least interference on the part of the rulers in the custom and lifestyles of people.
- Tolerance of the diversity of social and religious beliefs and practices.
- Ideas of pollution and purity.
- Religious sanctions
- Economic exploitation and forced division of labour.

As it has been difficult to find the historicity of caste, it leaves us with the question of need to find origins. According to M N Srinivas, a structural and functional examination of caste is more relevant than trying to establish reasons for the system. Caste is the empirical reality of India and a social anthropologist has to devise mechanisms to understand dynamics of caste and how caste has been instrumental in moulding the social fabric of India.

## 6. Jajmani System

The Jajmani system is the system of exchange of goods and services between the members of different castes. It is an important institution that developed during the medieval period and continued till modern times in the rural society.

In this system, the service castes rendered services such as carpenters (Khati), barbers (Nai), potters (Kumhar), blacksmiths (Lohar), washermen (Dhobi), sweepers (Chuhra), etc. to the land- owning peasant castes as well as to the high and dominant castes.

For the services rendered, the servicing castes are paid in cash or in kind (grains, fodder, clothes, and animal products like milk, butter, etc.) and are entitled to traditionally fixed shares of the produce and in some cases to a small plot of land.

Such service castes always retained some freedom to sell their goods and services.

The servicing castes are called kamins while the castes served are called jajman.

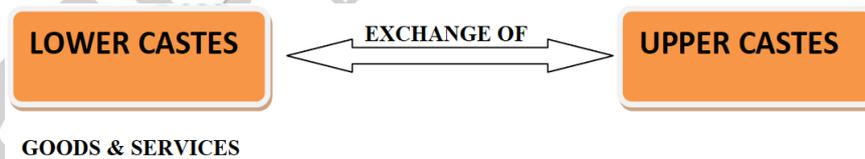
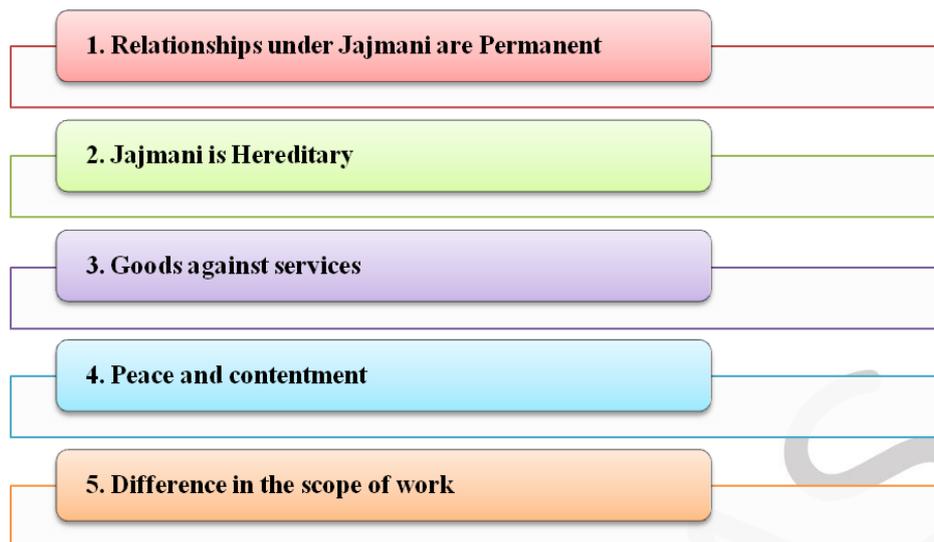


Figure: The Jajmani System

Everyone in the village works for a certain family or group of families, with whom he is linked hereditarily. The son performs and will perform the same kind of duties performed by his father or forefather. Thus, professions and services in villages are determined by the caste and have come fixed by long traditions.

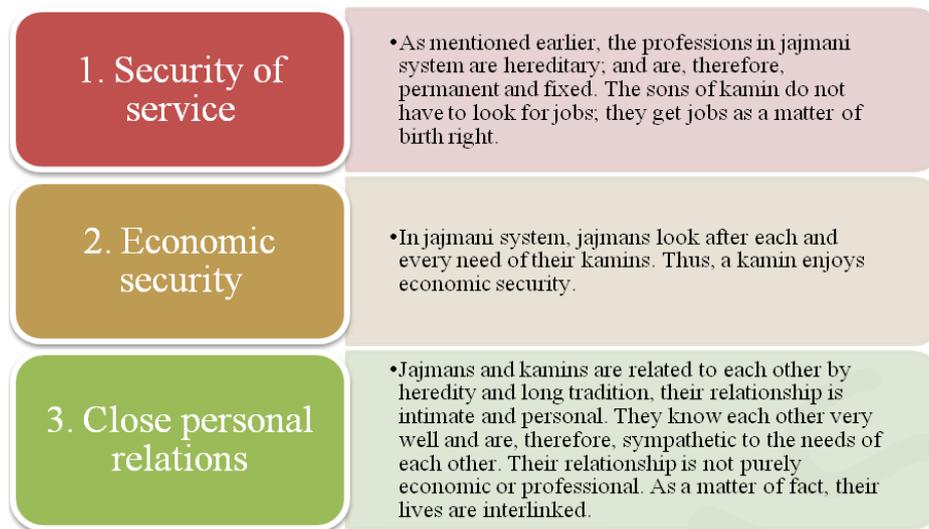
The jajmani system is ideologically connected with and justified through religion, and thus contributes to maintaining notions about purity and impurity and about relative rank within the caste system. The fact that members of the sweeper caste actually sweep is interpreted as evidence that they are actually polluting; at the same time, they have to sweep because they are perceived as polluting. In this way, the social and symbolic aspects of caste are interconnected, and contribute to reinforcing each other by creating a correspondence between ideology and practices.

## 6.1 Characteristics of the Jajmani System



- 1. Relationships under Jajmani are Permanent:** According to **S.C. Dube** while a Kamin has no right to desert his jajman, the jajman also has no right to replace his Kamin. That is, the spirit behind the jajmani system was to ensure life-long fixed and permanent relations so that the rural economy was undisturbed.  
For example, A, a barber is attached to the family of B, an agriculturist. If for any reason B is greatly dissatisfied with the services of A and wants those of another, he cannot abruptly dismiss A. His difficulty will not be dismissing A, but finding a substitute. Each of these castes has its own inter-village council. Occupational castes have a developed trade unionism. No one else would be willing to act as a substitute for fear of being penalized by the caste panchayat.
- 2. Jajmani is Hereditary:** According to **N.S.Reddy**, the rights of jajmani jobs are considered to be proprietary. These are passed on to sons from his father and in case of separation of brothers these rights are also split among them. If someone has no son but only a daughter jajmani rights pass on to the husband of the daughter.
- 3. Goods against services:** The relationship between jajman and Kamin is not purely economic but is a human relationship. Accordingly, jajman takes full responsibility for the welfare of Kamin and Kamin serves jajman with devotion and dedication. Jajman not only provides Kamin with food but also gives him clothing and residential accommodation. The amount of grain given to Kamin depends upon the nature of services rendered. However, these days there is a tendency to substitute by cash payment the payment in kind.
- 4. Peace and contentment:** According to **W.H.Wiser**, a significant feature of the jajmani system is peace and contentment which is provided to villagers. The kamins of a jajman feel a sense of security. They are free from the worry of finding employment to make both ends meet. However, the picture is not altogether rosy. There are quite a few instances in which kamins are exploited and given too little for their services.
- 5. Difference in the scope of work:** Under jajmani system the range of activity of different kamins is not uniform. Not every type of Kamin is to be found in every village. If the nature of his work or activity is such that he can effectively cater to the needs of two or three villages, there is no provision in the jajmani system against such an arrangement. For example a family needs the services of a barber once or twice a week and these, too, for an hour or so. Naturally, therefore a barber can easily cater to the needs of a dozen or so families. He can even work in more than one village.  
**S.S.Nehru** studied 54 North Indian villages and found that only in 18 out of these there were shoemakers. Potters were in 30% of the villages and shopkeepers only in 16%. Ahirs were found in 60% and Brahmin, barber and ironsmith and Teli were found each in 40% of the villages.

## 6.2 Advantages of the Jajmani System



## 6.3 Disadvantages of the Jajmani System

The jajmani system is not free from faults. Like caste system it was of great value in the past but has now degenerated into an instrument of exploitation and discrimination. As **Oscar Lewis** has pointed out in his study of the jajmani system in Rampur village, whereas in the past it was based on personal relationship, it has now become an instrument of exploitation of kamin by jajman. In the jajmani system, the kamins are treated as inferior and lowered. In fact, the word kamin itself means lowly or inferior. **D.N. Majumdar** and colleagues found in their survey of the villages that the conditions of kamins are miserable and the upper castes subject them to great harassment and trouble.

## 6.4 Disintegration of the Jajmani System

There is a gradual change in the jajmani system these days. This system is disappearing because the old caste system is giving way to groupism and class struggle.

- There is a good deal of evidence from rural village studies indicating that the jajmani system is in decline as a result of manufactured goods, which purchasers prefer to the hand-made local craft goods – mill-made cloth and shoes, manufactured brass vessels instead of pottery ones, and so on.
- Population increase has also meant that landholdings have fragmented; many are so small that landholders cannot afford the traditional panoply of servant and artisan dependents.
- And cash cropping has meant that producers prefer to sell their produce, rather than share it with their dependents.
- Either unemployment or population pressure or both have led to some specialists leaving the rural areas. In rural areas, carpenters probably continue to be well-employed, while water-carriers have largely been displaced by courtyard pumps, or else people can no longer afford to employ them.

In brief, it can be said that all the factors which are responsible for decline and disintegration of the caste system are also responsible for the decline and disintegration of the jajmani system.

## 6.5 Studies on Jajmani System

The first detailed study of jajman tradition in India in a village of Uttar Pradesh was made by **William H. Wiser** in his book “The Hindu Jajmani System” (1936).

**Thomas O. Beidelman** (1959), in his monographs “A comparative Analysis of the Jajmani System” and **Pauline Kolenda** (1963), in her article “Towards a Model of the Hindu Jajmani System” attempted comparative studies of the jajmani system on the basis of field studies. His observations are

based on field work which he undertook during 1954-55 in the north Indian village of Biraulu (pseudonym: Sherupur) district Faizabad (UP).

**Oscar Lewis** had made more elaborate study of this system. Various sociological studies on jajmani system conducted in Eastern Uttar Pradesh, Malabar, Cochin, Hyderabad, Gujarat and Punjab regions show that this system is universal in rural India.

**D.N. Majumdar** has cited the example of a Thakur family (of Rajput caste) in a village in Lucknow district in U.P. which is served by many families for the life-cycle rites. For example, at the birth-feast of a child, the priest presides over the ceremony of 'Nain-Sanskarana', Washerman washes dirty clothes, Barber carries messages, Goldsmith provides the gold ornament of the new-born, Blacksmith provides iron bangle, Pasi provides 'patal' (leaf-plates) for taking food, Carpenter provides wooden tool on which the child was kept for the ceremony. The Potter provides jugs for keeping cooked vegetables and drinking water; scavenger cleans the place after the feast.

**Henry Orenstein** has mentioned that the families of village officials or village servants like the watchman maintain jajmani relations with the whole village rather than with particular families. Thus, a watchman's family is entitled to get contribution during harvest seasons from every landowner's family in the village.

## 7. Dominant Caste

The concept of dominant caste was proposed by M N Srinivas in his work 'Dominant Caste in Rampura, 1959' and explanation of the concept was extended in the essay 'Social System of Mysore Village, 1959'. Rampura is composed of 19 caste groups. The Okkaligas are dominant over all other castes economically, politically, and numerically. However, in religious life rituals they have only a middle rank and Brahmins and Lingayats surpass them in the matter of ritual purity.

According to Louis Dumont, ritual significance has no role to play in deciding what a dominant caste is. M.N Srinivas found that tribes such as Raj Gonds and low caste due to the benefit of welfare state policies have assumed dominance.

He defined dominant caste as the one which possesses all or few of the following characteristics:

1. Ownership over a sizeable amount of cultivable land
2. Place in the local caste hierarchy (a reasonably high place)
3. Numerical strength
4. Political clout
5. Access to western education
6. Jobs in administration

### 7.1 Role and influence of Dominant Caste (DC)

- DC often acts as reference models for the low caste groups. The low caste imitate their behaviour, ritual pattern, customs etc. to attain a DC status
  - a. Brahmin model - Lingayats.
  - b. Kshatriya model - Gulzars, Patidar, Jats.
  - c. Vaisya model - Telis of Orissa
  - d. Sudra model - Laundrymen in Western UP.
- DC of a particular region act as watchdogs of pluralistic culture. The high caste panchayats have a wider scope than lower caste panchayats of setting disputes across the castes and pick up the unresolved disputes in other caste councils voluntarily.
- The DC are the **main power holders** who establish contact with outside government officials, elected representatives and political leaders.
- DC have an opportunity of accelerating the socio-economic development of the region
- Every state has more than one dominant caste. These castes are always engaged in **rivalries and conflicts for securing political power and economic opportunities**. For example, between Vokkaligas and Lingayats in Karnataka, Reddys and Kammas in Andhra Pradesh and so on.
- Dominant caste often exhibits greater concern for its **social superiority** even though it is not so in the caste hierarchy. Ex: Punjab: Jats treat Brahmins as servants. Madhopur: Thakurs do not accept food from Brahmins except from their preceptors and priests. Rampura: Brahmin priests allow the Okkaligas to have Harathi before others have it.

- At village level, the non-Brahmin dominant castes are found to be greater **exploiters of Harijan labour** than the Brahmins. Sometimes the untouchables decide to give up performing services such as removing the dead animals from the houses of the higher castes. The upper caste people become annoyed and beat up the untouchables and set fire to their huts. The attempt to dominate and resistance to dominance, thus, leads to **caste conflicts**.
- The lower and the unprivileged castes including the so-called untouchables have now realised that they are getting exploited at the hands of these dominant castes. This awareness has made them organise themselves politically. The “Bahujana Samajvadi Party” headed mostly by lower caste leaders, is becoming popular in states such as U.P. Bihar, Punjab, and Madhya Pradesh.
- In the recent past, factors like community development programmes, land reforms, elections and modernizations have had an impact on the power of DC. For M N Srinivas, the high position of DC is still a reality though in terms of volume and quality of power, there is a definite fall giving way to economic and class elements having a say.

## 7.2 Important field Studies

1. K L Sharma studied Brahmins in the villages near Kanpur and found that economically better castes have a chance of becoming dominant. For him, numerical strength and high ritual status can be occasionally overpowered by economic status.
2. Wisner's study in Karimpur, 1963: He found that Brahmins of Karimpur are considered dominant due to the larger land holdings.
3. Study of Oscar Lewis, 1955: Jats of western India controlling other castes including Brahmin as they control means of economic production.

## 7.3 Critical Appraisal

According to **SC Dubey**, the entire caste can not be dominant. Political power generally remains concentrated with few dominant individuals. (Mentioned in his essay - Dominant Individuals, 1961) **M.G. Pradhan** (1966) who studied Jat clans in U.P. and Robin Fox (1971) who studied Rajput class in eastern U.P. said that it is not the whole caste but certain clans which are dominant.

For **Roy Burman**, a few dominant communities within the so-called dominant caste exert dominance by virtue of economic resources and control over social and political factors.

According to **Harrison and A C Mayer**, dominance can be specific to villages and regions and time.

**Alan Beals'** study of Namhalli village of Mysore shows dominance in a village is generally decided by successful martial actions.

**Srinivas** says that a dominant caste always tries to do good to its members and its followers. This may not always be true. The concept ignores the presence of interest groups - of landed and non-landed, of well-to-do and poor, and of educated and illiterate.

Srinivas also says that a caste which is locally dominant, is also regionally dominant. Regional dominance of the castes seems to operate at some points, but as a locally dominant caste is not homogenous, regionally dominant castes also are not homogenous.

## 8. Future of Caste System

While changes in the caste system are continuous and regular, the (caste) system remains intact for all practical purposes. It must be held that change is not in the direction of dissolving the caste system. Some sort of class consciousness has crept into different castes. Electrified by the in-group feeling, they want to hold on to the caste system all the more tenaciously. Nowadays, a caste tries to organise itself for social, economic, and political purposes. Elections are being fought on caste basis. There are caste organisations like All India Kshatriya Mahasabha, All India Mathur Sangh, All India Bhargava Organisation, etc.

Progressive Hindus take three distinct stands about the future of the caste system:

- (i) That the caste system has degenerated and efforts should be made to reinstate the traditional four orders. The greatest exponent of this thought was Mahatma Gandhi (young India, 1919); and
- (ii) That the caste system should be continued but it should be rein-stated under totally different conditions.

(iii) That caste is something evil and it should be abolished

Scholars like **A.J. Toynbee**, **T.H. Marshall**, **P. Kodanda Rao** etc., have evaluated these three schools of thought.

(i) Discussing the first school led by Gandhi, they contend that:

First, it is impractical because the only basis of assigning a particular order (out of four orders) to persons is the occupation they follow. In the present society, occupations are so special-ised and varied and people of the same family are engaged in so many different occupations that it would be impossible to assign them membership of one or the other order.

Secondly, even if this settlement (of including castes in one or the other of the first three orders) were possible, what about the untouchable castes? In whatever order they may be included, there is bound to be tremendous protest from that order.

Thirdly, assuming that the classification of castes in four orders would be possible, are we going to permit or prohibit marriages between these four orders? Are we going to continue restrictions in the matter of marriage, food, etc.? Both would create their own problems. It may, therefore, be concluded that a return to the four-fold division of society is impractical and even if accomplished, it would serve no useful purpose.

(ii) Taking the other point of view these people want to slowly amalgamate various sub-castes having cultural unity and economic similarity. Gradually, the castes which will approximately be on a footing of equality will consolidate and ultimately a casteless society will be established. Scholars have said that to propose this point is to miss the real problem. This method, they claim, was tried in Bombay for a number of decades but the results were disastrous.

The sub-castes that joined together to create a big group retained their internal feelings of exclusiveness with undiminishing vigour. The new group took up a militant attitude against other castes, especially those which were popularly regarded as immediately higher or lower than the caste which it represented. Thus, scholars claimed that the spirit of caste patriotism or casteism is created and if we followed the second viewpoint, diminishing of casteism would be very difficult and it would create an unhealthy atmosphere for the full growth of national consciousness.

(iii) Some scholars have supported the third view that the caste system should be immediately abolished. They are of the opinion that we have to fight against and totally uproot casteism. **Ghurye** was one scholar who favoured this viewpoint. But this opinion of Ghurye was expressed in about 1931. Since then about seven decades have passed and a lot of changes have taken place in Indian society, including independence of the country and the promulgation of many laws against the caste system.

For example, the Constitution of India (implemented from January 26, 1950) says that:

(i) The State shall not discriminate against any citizen on the ground of caste, (equal opportunity to all castes),

(ii) No citizen shall, on the ground of caste, be subject to restriction regarding access to or use of shops, restaurants and public wells and tanks (removal of civil disabilities), and

(iii) The practice of untouchability is forbidden.

**Asirvatham** (1957) was of the opinion that "whatever uses caste might have had in the past, it is a hindrance to progress today and, therefore, we should oppose it tooth and nail".

**D.N. Majumdar** also maintained in the 1950s and 1960s that just as a broken or a poisoned finger is amputated and not the whole hand, similarly untouchability, exploitation of one caste by another, and such other harmful concomitants of the caste system should be done away with and not the whole system.

More than one and a quarter century ago (in 1869), **Max Muller** had opined that caste cannot be abolished in India and to attempt it would be one of the most hazardous operations that was ever performed in a political body. As a religious institution, caste will die; as a social institution, it will live and improve.

**Kolenda** is of the opinion that the traditional caste system as a set of occupationally specialised, interdependent castes, ranked by purity and pollution customs, shows signs of disappearing. But it is

unlikely that a social structure organising the political, economic and ritual life of a people for over one thousand years could be totally ex-punged within a few decades. Social scientists working in the field, all report that the caste system is alive.

**Narmadeshwar Prasad** in his study of three areas – industrial, non-industrial and rural – was given a few remedies by his respondents (1,225) to weaken the caste system. These were: education and proper opportunity to all (39.1%), inter-caste marriages (35.3%), removal of untouchability (12.2%), and treating people on the basis of equality (13.4%). But will these measures really help in abolishing or even weakening the caste system? Perhaps not. Even the Supreme Court in giving its verdict on the implementation of Mandal Commission's report in November 1992 had virtually implied that caste alone would be the basis of reservation.

“What are the properties and functions of caste which account for its continuance in the contemporary society?

Two functions appear to be crucial today:

- (i) It provides opportunity for power, and
- (ii) It makes social mobility feasible (if we accept Srinivas's view of the possibility of sanskritisation of a caste).

Mobility – occupational, economic and social – in modern societies depends on education, training, material resources, nepotic networks available, personal influence, social refinement, as well as caste rank. It may, thus, be concluded that the caste system will continue to be a reality in the years and decades to come.

## 9. Tribe-Caste Continuum

India is unique in terms of its cultural characteristics. The concept of tribe in India is very different from the concept of tribe in America. These tribes are isolated communities having a world within themselves but in India tribes have never been fully separate since the very beginning. There has always been a constant interaction between tribal people and the civilization.

This has led to diminishing of the boundaries between both the populations. Sometimes tribes are so immersed in the structure of society that it is hard to differentiate between tribe and caste. Anthropologists have differed on the question relating to tribe and caste. According to Ghurye tribal people are backward Hindus differing only in degrees from the other segments of Hindu society. This is because many tribes have been seen following Hindu religious practices in their very crude form.

Similarities	Differences
Marriage within the clan is forbidden both in the tribe as well as in the caste. Both generally don't encourage marriage outside the group. Both tend to maintain their group identity	Max Weber writes in Social Structure that when an Indian tribe loses its territorial significance it assumes the form of an Indian caste. In this way the tribe is a local group whereas caste is a social group.
Many of the tribals now speak the regional language and do not have a distinctive language of their own. Sometimes one tribe may speak different languages in different regions. The Bhil in Rajasthan speak Hindi and the Bhil of Gujarat speaks Gujarati.	According to D.N Majumdar the tribe looks upon Hindu ritualism as foreign and extra-religious even though indulging in it and in the worship of God and Goddess where as in the caste these are necessary part of the religion.
In some areas of India, castes occupy certain villages or a whole area and are a society within themselves similar to that of a tribe. For example, Ingonia, a remote village in Rajasthan belongs to Nats caste people.	In caste individuals generally pursue their own definite occupations because functions are divided under the caste system. Members of the same tribe have to pursue different occupations because they are a society within themselves.

These points of differences and similarities between caste and tribe led to confusion about definition of the terms. Also, there were some populations which fulfill the criteria for both of the terms. This makes it hard to distinguish between tribe and caste.

**Fredrick Bailey** in his book 'Tribe, Caste and Nation: A Study of Political Activity and Political Change' said that "the only solution to this problem is to postulate a continuum, at one end of which is a society whose political system is entirely of the segmentary egalitarian type, and which contains no dependants whatsoever; and at the other end of which is a society in which segmentary political relations exist only between a very small proportion of the total society, and most people act in the system in the role of dependants."

This concept was inspired from **Robert Redfield's ideas of folk-urban continuum** and his study of peasant society. According to this concept, there are no urban or rural societies in the strict sense but only a continuation along the same lines. The societies vary in their proximity to any of these poles. Hence came up the **concept of tribe-caste continuum**. According to this concept, there are no tribes or castes in the strict sense, but various communities varying in their proximity to either of these. In such a scenario it is hard to differentiate between the two.

This continuum can also be understood as a result of interaction between **Redfield's little and great traditions**. Here Jati or caste can be taken as a part of great tradition while tribe as a part of little traditions. The presence or references of tribes like kshatriyas and bhils in the epics and texts of the great traditions like Mahabharata and Ramayana etc go to prove that despite their general isolation the tribes did maintain, though occasionally cultural contacts with the larger Hindu society.

**N.K. Bose** in his book Hindu methods of tribal absorption (1941) showed the mode of absorption of Jati influenced by the primitive tribes of Orissa. **Martin Orans** (1965) study 'santhal: a tribe in search of great tradition' goes on to show how on a different plane many tribes in India are being attracted towards the complex belief of high Hinduism.

In certain cases the process of hinduisation of tribes, due to intimate cultural contacts, has been so rapid that such tribes remain tribes for the namesake only. Bailey himself clarifies that both these societies are fast changing in India and these are merging into a system which is neither one nor the other. Hence this model has limited practical value.

## 10. Questions

1. The Jajmani system and contemporary market economy. (10 marks, 2019)
2. Explain the significance of tribe-caste continuum in the present context. (15 marks, 2018)
3. Discuss the view that caste is not social stratification, but a system of hierarchy. (15 marks, 2018)
4. Based on historical and contemporary evidences discuss the future of the caste system in India. (15 marks, 2018)
5. Discuss the impact of market economy on the Jajmani system. (20m, 2017)

# **SACRED COMPLEX AND NATURE-MAN-SPIRIT COMPLEX**

**NOTES FOR CIVIL SERVICES EXAMINATION  
ANTHROPOLOGY PAPER II, CHAPTER 3.3**

### 1. Sacred Complex

The concept of sacred complex as a focus of anthropological investigation was put forth by L.P.Vidyarthi (1961) in his book, **The sacred complex in Hindu Gaya**.

A sacred complex is an intricate and interdependent grouping of sacred centers, sacred performances and sacred specialists. Methodologically, the study of sacred complex unfolds channels of cultural transmission which helps in the integration of civilisation. It has played an integrating role by providing a meeting place of different kinds of people and traditions, of castes and sects, of classes and statuses.

It also cultivates and promotes varieties of creative arts and literature and helps preserve the 'ideal types'. It is a reality that binds us together against the geographical diversities and social and linguistic heterogeneity. The mechanism of sacred complex and the institution of pilgrimage are dependable and effective means of integration.



Vidyarthi studied the sacred and great traditional Hindu Gaya and described three analytical concepts in detail:-

- (i) A sacred geography
- (ii) A set of sacred performances
- (iii) A group of sacred specialists.

These three concepts conceived collectively are termed as sacred complex. After forming the theory of sacred complex, L.P. Vidyarthi put forth three hypotheses, which are stated as follows:

1. He stated that the sacred complex of a Hindu place of pilgrimage reflects a level of continuity, compromise and combination between Great and Little traditions.
2. The sacred specialist of a pilgrimage transmits certain elements of the Great tradition to the rural population of India by popularizing certain texts and by officiating as the ritual and temple priests.
3. In recent times, due to the process of modification and transformation, the secular zone of Gaya has been expanding at the cost of shrinking sacred zone.



Figure: Sacred Complex

#### Case Study of Gaya

- Vidyarthi calls the entire space occupied by Gaya as Kshetra (ground or region). The Kshetra is divided into simpler parts as shown in the following diagram.

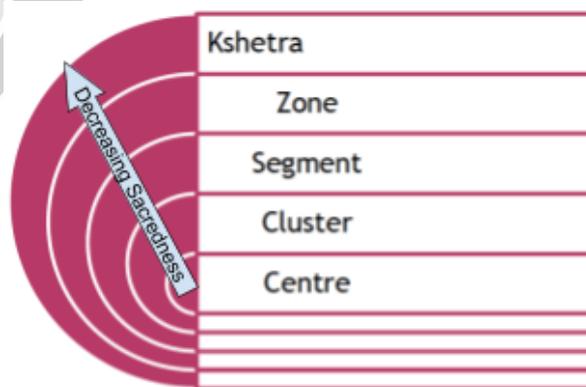


Figure: Sacred Geography

Gaya Kshetra contains a complex of hundreds of sacred objects and places. The sacred geography also exhibits several kinds of combinations between Hindu and Buddhist traditions at different

levels. Due to drastic changes in modern times the secular zone of Gaya has been expanding at the cost of the shrinking sacred zone.

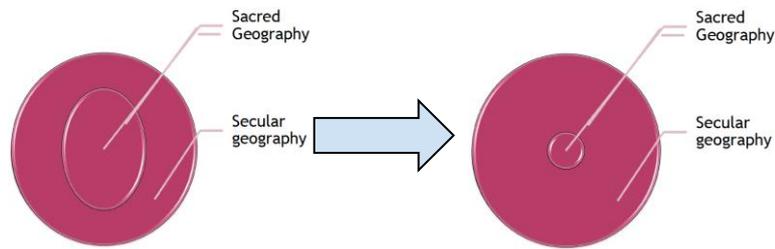
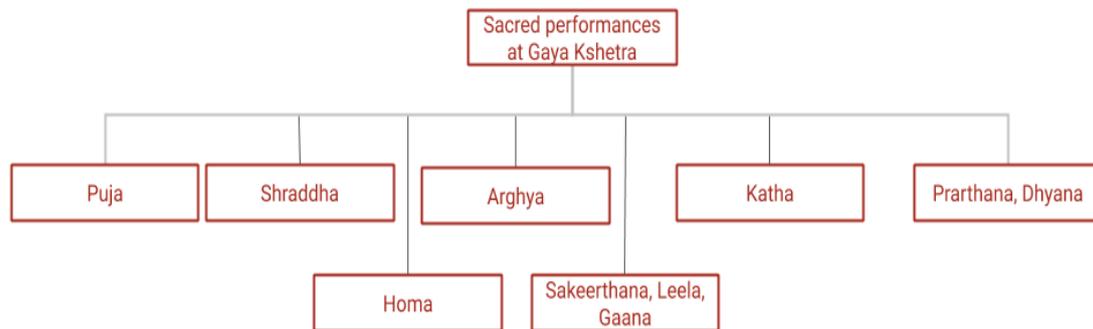


Figure: Shrinking Sacred Geography

- The performances made at Gaya are shown in the following diagram:



One of the main sacred performances being performed at Gaya is Gaya Shradha (form of sacrifice to ancestral spirits). The performances include great and little traditional types.

- The sacred specialists are as follows:



All the sacred performances are led by Gayawal Brahmins (an orthodox priestly caste). The Gayawal Brahmins have jajmani relationship with patrons located in various parts of the Hindu universe. His study has opened up new interest among some other social anthropologists to take up the study of similar towns like Varanasi, Puri, Deoghar, Raj Grihi and Janakpur.

**Other Studies on Sacred Complex:**

**Saraswati ---**

- The Holy Circuit of Nimsar
- Temple organisation in Goa
- Myth and Reality of a Classical Cultural Tradition

**Makhan Jha (1971) ---**

- Sacred Complex in Janakpur: His study brought into light that the boundary of a nation is not always the boundary of a civilization.
- Sacred Complex of Ratanpur (Madhya Pradesh)

**Mohapatra ---**

- Lingaraj Temple: Its Structure and Change

**Morab and Goswami ---**

- Chamundeswari Temple

**Chakravarti ---**

- Tarakeswari Temple

Pilgrims, from different parts of the country and from different levels of culture, interact at the sacred complexes. Hence the sacred complexes are regarded as centres of civilization.

## 2. Nature-Man-Spirit Complex

Professor Vidyarthi studied the Sauria Paharia tribe (Malers) of Sahebganj district and described the complex phenomenon 'Nature-Man-Spirit complex' in his work '**The Maler: N M S Complex in a hill tribe of Bihar**' 1963. Vidyarthi basically employed a methodological framework to examine the tribal lifestyle from the focal point of ecological setting (Nature), social institutions (Man) and spiritual world (Spirit).

The term '**Nature**' implies the interaction between the Malers and their ecological surroundings. Vidyarthi found that forest played a vital role in the life of Malers. They were dependent upon the hill and forest produce for their survival and livelihood. They practise shifting cultivation (Khallu) in the forest. They collect roots, fruits, fuel and herbal medicines from the forest. They gather all those raw materials necessary for cottage industries from the hills and forests. Forests provided hunting grounds to them. Moreover different spirits resided in the forest.

The term '**Man**' signified the social institutions of the tribe such as family and marriage. An average Maler is motivated by two basic needs: hunger for food and sex. The very social structure and organisation, socialisation and personalities formation are arranged in adaptation to the fulfilment of hunger for food and sex.

Under the term '**Spirit**' he included the notion of spirit and supernatural world, as evident in the life of the Malers. He observed the existence of ancestor worship among the Malers. They strongly believe that spirits of dead ancestors have power to decide their destiny. For this reason the Malers placate the Gossayins in a precise way. They do not do anything worthwhile without the approval of the Gossayin.

**Definition:** According to Vidyarthi "a complex arising out of man's close interaction with and dependence on nature in his belief in the supernatural and the spirit world" is Nature -Man-Spirit complex.

Vidyarthi's analysis of Male's life reveals that the "nature" and "spirits" exert profound influences over the social "structure" and organisation" and these three interrelated factors are in constant interaction with each other:

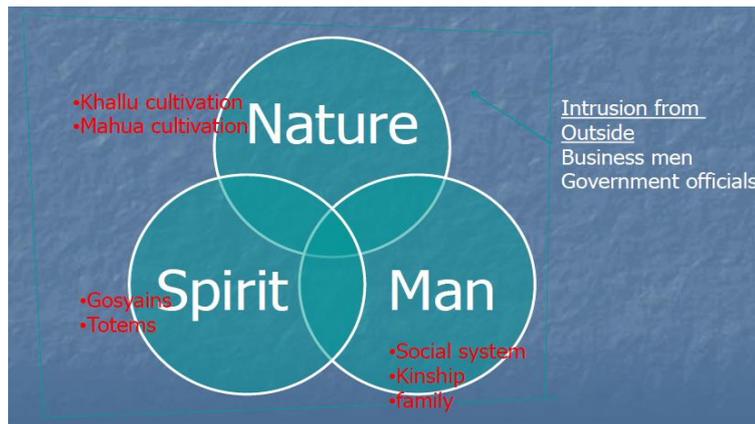


Figure: Nature-Man-Spirit Complex

### Utility of the concept

The studies of Korwa by A.N. Sandhwar, Parahiya by R.K. Prasad, Pando by R.K. Sinha, Nicobarese by V.S. Sahay, and Soliga by S.G. Morab, all clearly establish that this concept of nature-man-spirit complex is an important and useful tool in studying not only the tribals, but also the peasant and modern societies.

It has been seen several times that the primitive tribal groups resist or reject totally any attempt on the part of the development administration to rehabilitate them anywhere else or introduce radical changes in their life. This resistance or rejection may point at the disturbance in the equilibrium of nature and spirit.

This concept may prove very useful especially in the rehabilitation planning for the food-gathering-hunting tribes, shifting cultivators and other simple societies.

### 3. Questions

1. Write short notes on Nature- Man- Spirit Complex. (10M, 2017)
2. Sacred complex as a dimension of Indian civilization (10M, 2015)
3. Sacred Geography. (12M, 2012)
4. Examine Nature-man-spirit complex as an ecological concept. (15M, 2013)

# **IMPACT OF BUDDHISM, JAINISM, ISLAM & CHRISTIANITY ON INDIAN SOCIETY**

**NOTES FOR CIVIL SERVICES EXAMINATION  
ANTHROPOLOGY PAPER II, CHAPTER 3.4**

## 1. Impact of Buddhism on Indian Society

Buddhism gave the greatest jolt to the orthodox Brahmanism. Buddhism exercised profound influence in shaping the various aspects of Indian society. It developed a popular religion without any complicated, elaborate and unintelligible rituals requiring necessarily a priestly class. This was one of the reasons for its mass appeal. The ethical code of Buddhism was also simpler based on charity, purity, self sacrifice, and truthfulness and control over passions.

- **National Unity:** It shattered the dominance of caste system and gave death blow to dominance of Brahmins. Unnecessary rites and rituals gave way to social and political understanding. E B Havell said, "In social and political sphere, Buddhism has played the same role in cultivating a national spirit in India which Christianity did in the 7th century to integrate the diversified elements of saxon hierarchy.
- **Destruction of Militant Spirit:** It emphasised on Ahimsa, contempt for violence and militant activities. King Ashoka gave up the policy of territorial expansion after the Kalinga war and crushed the militancy spirit of the army. As a result, they fell prey to invaders.
- **Contact with the outside world:** Support for missionary activities was provided by Ashoka and Kanishka. The religion spread to China, Japan, Burma, Mongolia, Java, Sumatra, Tibet and Ceylon. This contact promoted political and commercial relations.
- **Blow to Caste System:** Revolt against social and religious malpractices, condemned various social evils and gave a fatal blow to the caste system. Buddhism insisted on equality of human beings and attracted followers from all caste groups.
- **Simplification of Caste System:** In this religion, rites, rituals, yagnas had no place so that it could be understood by the common man. According to K.M Pannikar, "to the common man, it was indeed a new gospel- no secret mantras, no expensive yagnas and sacrifices and indeed no difficult doctrines as in the upanishads.
- **Improvement on moral structures:** It insisted on virtues like charit, purity, self-sacrifice, truthfulness, control over passions, non-injury to living creatures in thought and action. Though upanishads preached all this, Buddhism brought this into actual practice.
- **Effect on Brahmanical religion:** It exercised a humanising influence on Brahmanism. The popularity of teachings of Buddha made them realise that they should carry out reforms in their religion. As a result, a number of new faiths like Bhagavad Dharma, Shaivism took shape. These new forms of Hinduism laid great emphasis on ahimsa and bhakti and were less dogmatic.
- **Literature:** The Buddhist Canonical texts like 'Sutta Pitaka', 'Vinaya Pitaka' and 'Abhidhamma Pitaka' and several others were written in Pali language. 'Mahabivasha' was another book on Buddhism written in Sanskrit. 'Sariputta Prakarana' 'Vajra Suchi' and 'Sutralankara' etc. were other Sanskrit books on Buddhism. With the gradual march of time, Sanskrit became the medium of preaching Buddhism. Thus, literature also flourished due to the rise of Buddhism.
- **Education:** Buddhist Sanghas and Viharas served as great centres of education. Students from far off places came for education at Nalanda, Takshashila and Vikramshila. Nalanda enjoyed a great reputation as an education centre. They imparted education not only in religion but other subjects too.
- **Development of Art:** The Buddhists for the first time applied art to religious architecture. A number of Viharas were built for monks all over the country. Stupas of stone were raised on relics of Buddha and Bodhisattva. The whole life of Buddha was expressed on stones. They were the first to erect cave temples e.g at Kanheri, Karle, Nasik. The Gandhara school of art was also a result of buddhist patronage.

## 2. Impact of Jainism on Indian Society

It is popularly believed that Jainism is fundamentally an offshoot of Hinduism. It was popularized during Mahavira's period during 599-527 BC

**Contributions:**

- Ethical idealism; Strengthening of ethical life and moral virtues
- Austerity, both external (eg: begging, fasting, lack of fetishism) internal (eg: humility, service to humanity, acquisition of knowledge, meditation, penances) to shut influx of evil
- Preaches kindness not only to human society but to other life forms too which gave form to pure vegetarianism
- Intoxication of any kind is strictly prohibited in Jainism
- Construction of dharamshalas (rest houses, inn) for public service
- In fine arts, their rock cut architecture, temple architecture and paintings stand out
- Jainism has laid down a simple ethical code for people as against complex and esoteric ideas.
- Prominent among the essence of Jainism are observance of principles of:-
  - Satya (truth)
  - asteya (non-stealing)
  - brahmacharya (non-adultery)
  - aparigraha (non-possession)
  - Ahimsa (non violence, peace)
- Observance of these moral virtues are known as anuvarna
- Both lay persons (Shravakta) and the ascetic (Yati) are supposed to be bound by the following vows
  - Cultivation of right state of mind
  - Regular practice of meditation
  - Observance of fast on the 8th and 14th day of moons waxing and waning period
  - Confessions of faults and consequent penance

Because of factors such as orthodoxy, its affinity with brahmanism, non-missionary spirit, absence of hostility with other faiths Jainism still flourishes in Indian society despite the fact that like other religious ideologies it has imbibed a number of distortions.

### 3. Impact of Islam on Indian Society

Prior to advent of the Islam and after the reign of Harsha, India witnessed a spell of political disintegration and intellectual stagnation. The country was divided into several small states. People developed parochial outlooks and identities. The historian Tarachand, in his book, the Influence of Islam on Indian Culture, observes that social and cultural revivalism in the South was due to the impact of Islamic culture.

**Contributions of Islam:**

- **Religious Impact:** The biggest contribution of Islam is the human equality and pride in one's religion that it brought to India. A legal system much more advanced than the codes of Hindu religion of the time. Islam gave the message of universal brotherhood, introduced equality in society, rejected caste system and untouchability. These ideas had a lasting effect on the minds of people and fostered the growth of liberal movements under religious reformers.
- **Impacts on Upper Class Hindu:** Mohammedan dress, etiquette, recreation and other activities attracted the rich Hindus.. The art of warfare was also influenced and developed as result of Islamic contact. Food of Muslims like Biryani, Kabab and Palan etc. were adopted by the Hindus.
- **Music:** New musical instruments were invented as a result of muslim contact - e.g, the Tabla was produced by modification of Hindu musical instrument, Mridanga. Sitar is a combination of Indian Veena and Iranian Tambura. Urdu poetry is known for its richness, multiple genres, traditions of live public performances through Mushairas, Qawwali and Ghazal singing in modern times.
- **Architecture:** According to Dr. Tarachand, "The craftsmanship, ornamental richness and general design remained largely Hindu, the arcaded form, plain doms, smooth-faced walls and spacious interiors were Muslim impositions." In the field of architecture new styles started of which Red Fort, Jama Masjid, Qutab Minar, Taj Mahal etc. are the living examples.
- **Art and Craft:** New art and crafts were introduced in the country; for example, paper-making, enamellings, metals and jewels etc. Many workshops were setup-for gold and silver articles and

embroidery. The Mughal rulers, except Aurangzeb, patronised architecture, fine art and paintings. Under Jahangir painting received considerable fillip.

- **Language and Literature:** Urdu is the outcome of a mixture of Persian, Arabic and Turkish words and of ideas with the concepts and languages of Sanskrit origin. The Urdu became the language of the masses in many parts of India. Akbar's great-grandson, the Prince Dara Shikoh (died 1659 CE), was himself responsible for translating the Upanishads into Persian under the title Surr-i Akbar (The Greatest Secret). Books like Hassan Nizami's Taj-ul-Moa' Sir, Minhaz-us-Siraj's Tabakat-i-Nasiri etc. influenced the Hindus. Many Arabized Persian language words found their way into the local languages.

#### 4. Impact of Christianity on Indian Society

The spread of Christianity in India came with the advent of the Europeans from the early 16th century onwards. Among the earliest missionaries were the Portuguese followed by the Dutch, the French and the British. It was a contact between a pre-modern and a modernizing cultural system. The missionaries preached in the mother tongue and also used English to adapt them to Christian civilization. This led to the growth of vernacular languages as well as English. Female missionaries did a remarkable job in educating Indian women.

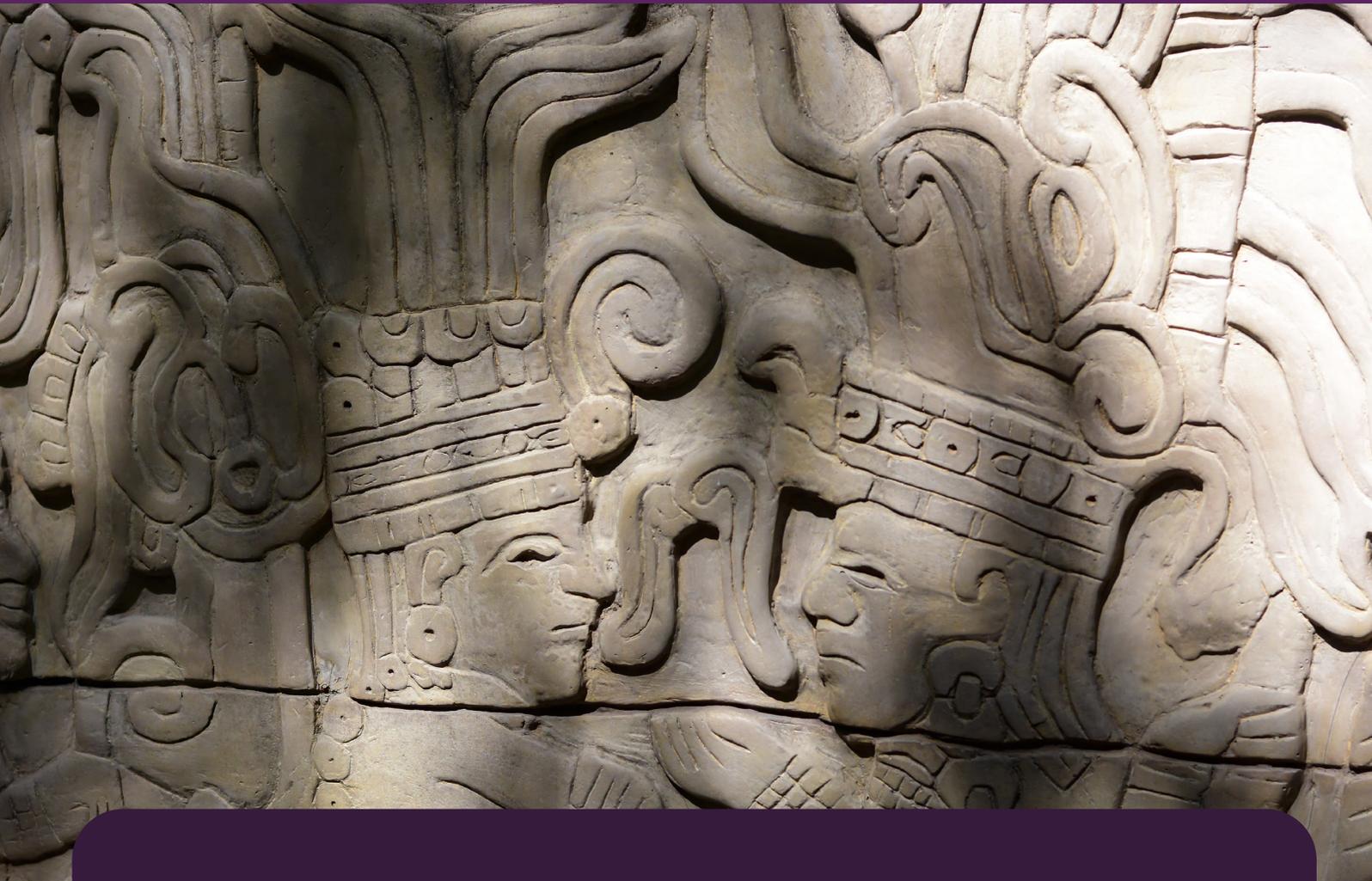
Christianity attacked the evils of the caste system and contributed immensely to loosening up the system through preaching the formation of an egalitarian society based on self respect and social justice. It helped in uplifting the victims of the oppressive caste system. It has been one of the earliest agencies of social welfare. Through the vast network of social services, it has been able to provide educational and medical facilities to the relatively isolated regions of India. In matters of legal justice and civil rights, it encouraged the values of equality, equity and universalism as opposed to those of status and hierarchy. In India, Christianity has been one of the important factors of modernization and economic development. The existing value structure was rendered more open, liberal, egalitarian and humanistic.

#### 5. Questions

1. What has been the impact of non-Hindu religions on the emancipation of Schedule Castes in India? (15 marks, 2019)
2. Explain the impact of Buddhism and Jainism on Indian society. (20 marks, 2018)
3. Explain how Buddhism influenced the economic and cultural transformations of Indian society. (20m, 2017)

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# ANTHROPOLOGY

## PAPER II

### UNIT 4

# **EMERGENCE AND GROWTH OF ANTHROPOLOGY IN INDIA**

**NOTES FOR CIVIL SERVICES EXAMINATION  
ANTHROPOLOGY PAPER II, CHAPTER 4**

## 1. Growth of Anthropology in India

### 1.1 Introduction

Anthropology began in India as a need for the British administrators to know more about those that they ruled and thus started creating detailed analyses of their culture and society in order to understand how best to rule over them. Along with this, there appeared on the scene a small number of Indian anthropologists who were being trained by the British masters to assist them in their anthropological work. By the beginning of the twentieth century, departments of Anthropology were set up in various universities which in time produced large numbers of students.

Sarat Chandra Roy used to regularly review the work done in anthropology over the years through a number of his articles in various journals. This had been taken up by D. N. Majumdar in 1950, where he took up the terms used by T. K. Penniman in 1935 to classify the various stages of Indian anthropology. In 1963, N. K. Bose gave an account of the rise of anthropology in India. In 1964, a paper was presented by L. P. Vidyarthi on the issue and in 1968 by Surajit Sinha.

Based on their reports it seems that Indian anthropology has gone through the following historically defined phases

#### N K BOSE

1. Publication of encyclopedic works of tribes and castes.
2. Descriptive monographs
3. Analytical studies of villages, marriage and family, caste, civilization etc.

#### D N MAJUMDAR

1. Formulatory phase (1774-1911)
2. Constructive phase (1912-1937)
3. Critical phase (1938 --)

#### L P VIDYARTHI

1. Formulative period (1774-1919)
2. Constructive period (1920-1949)
3. Analytical period (1950 --)

### 1.2 Formulative phase (1774-1919)

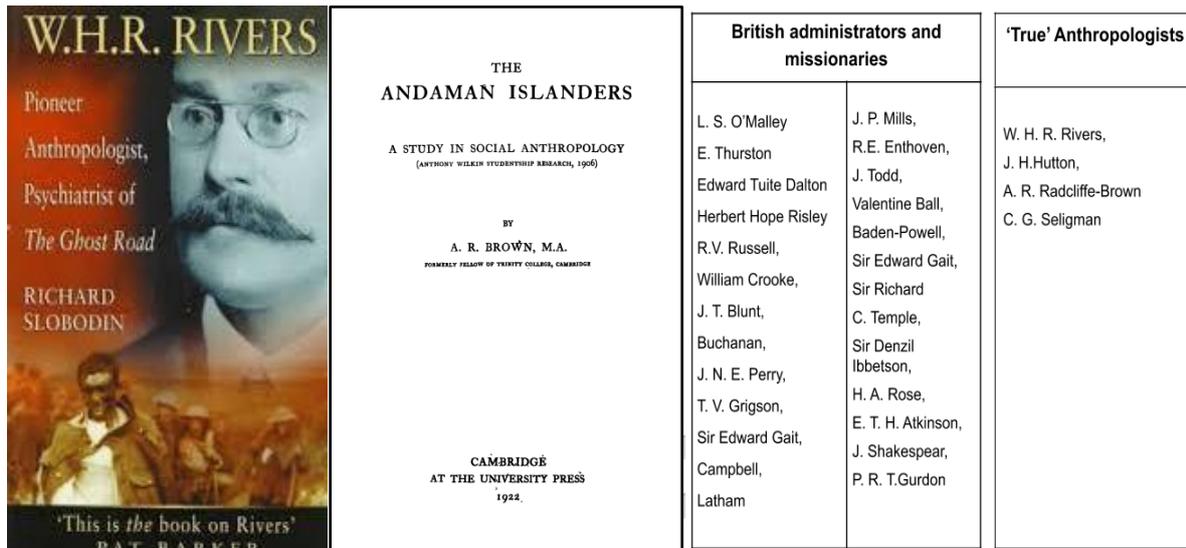
Majumdar is of the opinion that this phase ended in 1911, while according to Vidyarthi it extended to 1920. This period seems to have been characterized by an emphasis on tribes, a natural history approach and descriptions of the diversity of customs. Sir William Jones started Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1774 as its founder president to study nature and man in India.

Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal 1774 Indian Antiquary 1874 Journal of Bihar and Orissa research survey 1915 Publication of Encyclopedic Inventories on tribes Ethnological writings Monographs by missionaries Emergence of Indian Anthropologists
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Since then the British administrators, missionaries, travellers and anthropologists studied Indian tribes and published their accounts in the Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal (1784), Indian Antiquary (1872), Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society (1915), and Man in India (1921). Accounts were also published in a series of district Gazetteer, hand books and monographs on tribes. Data were collected on the tribes during the census in 1931 and 1941. Important contribution in this direction was made by scholarly British administrators such as **Risley, Dalton, O'Malley, Russel, Thurston and Crooks. Cambell, Latham and Risley** published general books on Indian ethnology. These were followed by detailed accounts of specific tribes by **Briggs, Shakespeare, Gurdon, Mills, Parry and Grigson.**

Apart from ethnographic reports, listings of customs, and administrative reports, there were also land revenue settlement reports that gave a more realistic functional idea of Indian rural society, like the works of Dalton, Buchanan and Lord Baden-Powell. Some missionaries also made important ethnographic and linguistic studies. Among these were P.O. Bodding and J. Hoffman, C.G. Seligmann, B.G. Seligmann and A.R.Radcliffe-Brown.

In 1911, W.H.R. Rivers's important work, *The Todas*, was published by MacMillan and Co., London. Again in 1911, Cambridge University Press published the work of B.G. Seligmann and C.G. Seligmann entitled *The Veddas of Ceylon*. In 1922, A.R.Radcliffe-Brown's work *The Andaman Islanders* was published by Cambridge University Press.



**Figure: (Left to Right) Psychiatrist of Ghost Road by W.H.R Rivers, The Andaman Islanders by A.R. Brown, British Administrators and true Anthropologists**

H. H. Risley first published his account of the tribes and castes of Bengal in 1891. Later, he was famous as head of census operations in India. This period resulted in *The People of India*. He developed a wing in the census operations that was devoted to ethnographic survey in 1905. Many others who were not anthropologists also influenced the discipline. These included Indians like Dadabhai Naoroji, G. K. Gokhale, R. C. Dutt, M. G. Ranade, Raja Rammohun Roy, K. C. Sen, Ramakrishna Paramhansa and Swami Vivekananda.

By 1915 journals like *The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* and *Man in India* in 1921 came out along with books and District Gazetteers which are still in print. After Grierson's linguistic survey of India, many associations brought out small monographs on the tribes of their region, their social and cultural mores and customs, as well as their language. The Mythic Society of Bangalore was also publishing a journal by this time.

### 1.3 Constructive Period (1920-1949)

According to Majumdar (1950), this phase began in 1912 and ended in 1937. In 1919 Social Anthropology was included in the curricula of Bombay University in Sociology. In 1921 Department of Anthropology was started at Calcutta University, in 1947 in the University of Delhi, in 1950 in Lucknow and in 1952 in Guwahati.

Among those who made important contributions to the growth of anthropology in India, the most notable were the studies of P.N. Mishra, L.KA. Iyer, K.P. Chattopadhyay, T.C. Das, and D.N. Majumdar in the East and North India, and G.S. Ghurye, Iravati Karve, L.K. Ananthakrishna Iyer and A. Aiyappan in the West and South India. All these scholars stimulated anthropological research and publication of articles, monographs and books.

In 1938 a joint session of the Indian Science Congress Association and the British Association reviewed the progress of anthropology in India. This was the first review of anthropological research in India. Among the most notable contributions made to anthropology during this period are the works of **D.N. Majumdar, M.N. Srinivas, Verrier Elwin, C. Von Furer-Haimendorf and N.K. Bose.**

Ethnology to ethnography  
 Department of Anthropology  
 Man in India  
 Emergence of field work  
 Trained Indian Anthropologists

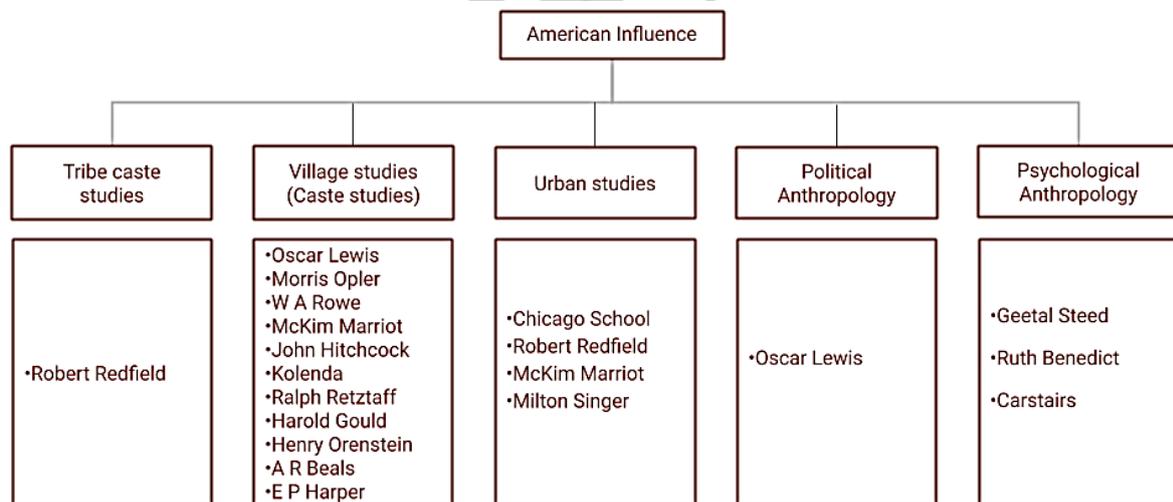
**Verrier Elwin** had commented that the tribes should be left alone and they should be allowed to develop in isolation, away from the mainstream. This would ensure that outside populations did not influence and exploit these tribal populations.

On the other hand, **G. S. Ghurye** had not even wished to enumerate the tribals separately in the census operations, thus enforcing his contrary idea that the tribals should be completely assimilated by the Hindus as a part of the mainstream. **J. H. Hutton** had claimed that tribals were to be seen as backward Hindus, and also that their assimilation into the Hindu fold had been going on for a long time.

During this period, the tribal studies continued to be the exclusive field of study by the enlightened British scholars, administrators, missionaries and later by the British and Indian anthropologists till the end of the forties of this century. Indian anthropology was characterised by ethnological and monographic studies with a special emphasis on research in kinship and social organization.

**1.4 Analytical Period (1950- )**

According to D. N. Majumdar, this phase began in 1938 and carried on to the present. During this phase, a shift was seen from the descriptive studies of preliterate villages to the analytical studies of complex societies. The Americans who came to India during this period made their works famous for all time and immortalized also the names of the villages they worked in.



**Field Studies**

Hitchcock, Kolenda, Retztaff-Khalapur, UP  
 Harold Gould-Faridabad, Faizabad, Sherpur  
 Beals-Namhalli, Mysore state  
 Harper-Mysore  
 Orenstein-Gujarat  
 Geetal Steed-Gujarat  
 Carstairs-Bihar

Indian anthropologists who were included in this group are **S. C. Dube**, **M. N. Srinivas**, **A. Aiyappan**, **D. N. Majumdar**, **Prof. Inder Pal Singh**, **K. S. Mathur**, **Yogendra Singh**, **G. S. Ghurye** etc.

A large number of village study monographs were published in the 1960s through the Census of India 1961 of which a study of Ghaghra by L. P. Vidyarthi was one of the first. The work of **L. P. Vidyarthi**, **B. K. Roy Burman**, **R. M. Sarkar**, **Baidyanath Saraswati**, **Makhan Jha**, **A. Danda**, **M. K. Raha**, **P. K. Misra**, **K. S. Singh**, **T. N. Madan** and others are memorable.

Among the important **seminars** conducted and published during this period are: Urgent Researches in Social Anthropology and Tribal Situation in India published by Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla, Numerous papers have been published by Anthropologists in India concerning (a) change leading to tribal identity, integration, vanishing culture and planning, (b) emergence of industrial anthropology, (c) increased emphasis on tribal demography, and (d) integrated study of tribal regions.

Important contribution has been made to **Action Research**, Socio-Psychological Research, and Folklore researches, Studies of Power Structure and Leadership and Anthropology of Religion. The role of the Indian social and religious traditions in economic development were studied with special emphasis on the theories of Max Weber. In spite of these influences from American cultural anthropologists, the influence of British anthropology on Indian anthropologists continued to be very important.

However, in **following the West** so assiduously, Indian anthropologists seem not to have followed a constructive trend in their own approaches to a logical conclusion. In 1952, **Ghurye** made a reference in Vienna to the mistrust of social workers and popular political leaders of anthropologists.

By 1953, attempts were being made in India to use anthropological knowledge to intervene, **train, develop and to help the tribals**. This was done through the setting up of the Tribal Research and Training Institutes all over India at the instance of the Commissioner for Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes. Such institutes would conduct research and their data would be used for all planning and welfare programmes.

In studying **culture change**, Indian anthropologists have been involved in studies relating to the determination of whether the caste system is disintegrating or whether it has been strengthened since Independence. Studies have also been conducted on adult franchise, urbanization, industrialization and their effects on the caste system.

Tribal to rural and village studies  
Culture personality school-Geetal Steed, Guha, Carstairs  
Interdisciplinary approach  
Substantivist approach  
Study of political systems  
Culture Change  
Training and Development of tribals  
New research methodology

The study of social science seems to have been restricted to universities between 1947 and 1969. After this period, it has come out of these centres to other institutes and organizations. One major event was the setting up of the **Indian Council of Social Science Research (ICSSR)** in 1969, which started funding a lot of social anthropological work.

Those who developed a **distinct research methodology** to conduct their studies included **Das** (using genealogies to study Purum society), **N. K. Bose** (spatial distribution technique used to date Indian temples, use of human geography in study of culture-historical issues as well as the use of family histories in studying social change in urban centres), **Chattopadhyay and Mukherjee** (use of statistics in studying social change), **Iravati Karve** (text analyses incorporated with kinship studies) and **L. P. Vidyarthi** (using the concepts of sacred centre, cluster and segment to study sacred complexes).

According to Sinha (1980), "it is unlikely that Indian anthropology will find a strong domestic orientation in the near future. For some time, the proliferation of trained manpower, random efforts at catching up with the latest developments in the West and a general increase in the number of publications will characterize the development of Indian anthropology."

### 1.5 Evaluative Phase (1990 onwards):

Recently we have entered silently into a phase of evaluation. Since western anthropology under the influence of British and American failed to explain the complexity of Indian society, a critical appraisal and reorientation of the discipline was needed for Indian situation. As a result, many anthropologists have proposed their **own theories**.

The alternative methodological framework did not merely help in establishing a refined concept; it also aimed at '**Indianness**' for maintaining the quality of national life. In fact, Indian anthropology demands an active, humanistic and critical outlook towards the subject matter in order to overcome the barrier of intellectual colonialism and neo-colonialism.

It has been understood that the Indian society on account of its vastness has to be dealt from three different perspectives:

1. Examining isolable wholes such as the village, the tribe, etc.
2. To note the change in those units following the intrusion of various factors from outside.
3. Minute study within the complex societies itself.

Indian anthropology from the 1990's has been much concerned with problems of its own society, both empirical and normative. New types of data are encountered; the concepts, methods and theories are continually shaped and reshaped. New ways of looking at new types of data have made Indian anthropology much more distinctive than ever before.

**M. N. Srinivas** seems to believe that due to its particular history, Indian anthropologists have gained much more expertise in studying their own histories and cultures. He advocates that this background should enable studies of others to understand the self (self-in-the-other) giving way to '**studies of the self**' itself as a valid mode of anthropological inquiry. Each life (one's own) thus becomes a case study, which the anthropologist self is uniquely placed to study (Srinivas; 1996).

However, it has become clear that not only are the earlier trends being maintained but many areas of anthropology are emerging anew and other sub-fields within are becoming active. An increasing interest in **Medical Anthropology, Religion, Development studies, Psychological studies**, as well as other areas is becoming more evident.

## 2. Contributions of British Anthropologists

### 2.1 James H. Hutton

- Political agent to the Naga hills - made thorough studies of the **Angami and Sema Nagas**.
- He studied the entirety of the cultural life of the tribal communities, including their language and physical characteristics.
- Tried to find the evolutionary origins of various socio-cultural institutions. He concludes from his study that the Nagas must have originated and migrated from somewhere close to China.
- He discusses the institution of head-hunting and the Negrito element among the Angamis.
- He was of the opinion that autonomy could be granted to these tribes for conducting their own affairs. This stood him in good stead with the local administration and he was appointed Political Agent to the Naga hills before he became the **Census Commissioner**.
- He was also appointed as the Chairman of Anthropology at Cambridge.
- He was first to be appointed the **President of the Indian Science Congress** in 1921.

### 2.2 Christoph Von-Fuhrer Haimendorf

- He wrote a travelogue in 1938 entitled 'The Naked Nagas'. In this work, a very subjective account was written about the **Konyak Nagas**, about which the world knew very little at the time.
- Later, he went on to study the **Chenchus of Andhra Pradesh**, a hunting-gathering community.
- He also went on to make a detailed study of the **Gonds of Adilabad**.
- He then went on to study the **Apatanis of Arunachal Pradesh**. He made an extensive study and was favourably impressed by their stage of development. The Apatanis were well educated and were able to compete for posts in the bureaucracy.
- Using this comparative background study of the tribes of India, he proposed **isolationism** for development of these communities.
- He has also written on the morals and merits in South Asian societies.
- Haimendorf has also worked on communities in Nepal.
- He retired as a Professor from the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), London.
- In 1976, he retired from the **Chair of Asian Anthropology at the University of London**.
- He is well-known for his many meticulously detailed ethnographies but is not so well-remembered for the few theoretical approaches that he used.

### 2.3 Verrier Elwin

- Verrier Elwin came to India as a Christian preacher, but took up anthropology as a primary interest.
- He was an ethnographer and in 1932 began to work among the Baiga tribe of Madhya Pradesh. This was later published as '**The Baiga**' in 1939.
- He had noted that the Baigas were being destroyed by the landlords and the missionaries. To protect them from exploitation he suggested that the State should prevent or control their interaction with outsiders.
- Similar to an approach by the United States government, he advocated separate 'reserved national parks' for tribals which he called '**Tribal Reserve Area**.'
- This was criticized by several nationalist leaders and pro-assimilation anthropologists. Finally, when Elwin wrote '**A Philosophy For NEFA**' he propagated an integrationist model following Nehru's **panchsheel** that the tribes should be allowed to develop according to their own dictates.

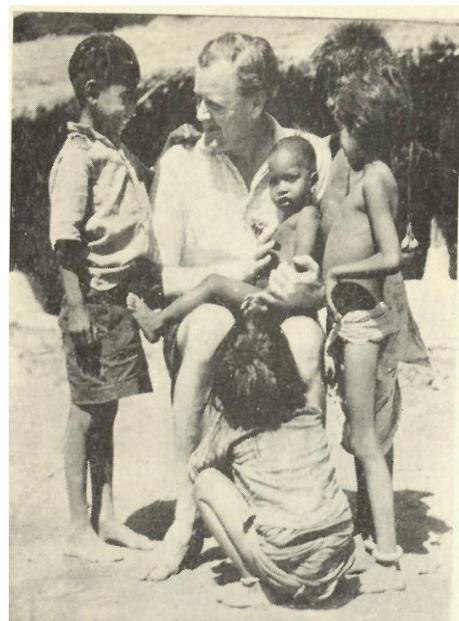


Figure: Verrier Elwin

- Elwin also studied the **Murias of the Bastar region**. He devoted one book to the study of the youth dormitories among the Murias there.
- Elwin wrote a book on the aspect of '**Murder and Suicide**' among the Gond tribes.
- He went on to become a member of several committees on tribal affairs and also an **editor of Man in India**.

### 3. Contributions of Indian Anthropologists

#### 3.1 RAI BAHADUR SARAT CHANDRA ROY

- S. C. Roy started his work among the tribals of Chotanagpur in the early years of 20th century.
- According to Roy (1937) anthropology is for use, for nation-building in a positive sense, for fellow-feeling among human beings and for writing the eternal history of humankind.
- **1912**: First monograph by an Indian National on a major tribe, The Mundas and their Country. He discussed their history and their land systems in great detail.
- **1915**: The Oraons of Chotanagpur was published.
- **1916**: he began a series of publications in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society on his excavations in Chotanagpur of a number of Asur sites.
- **1920**: Principles and Methods of Physical Anthropology was published based on Readership lectures given in Patna University
- **1921**: The journal Man in India was started by him in Ranchi in order to found an Indian School of Anthropology that would be the authority in finding out a current interpretation of the evolution of Indian Man in respect of racial affinities, mentality and culture.
- **1925**: The Birhors was published.
- **1928**: Oraon Religion and Customs was published. This book showed the effect of acculturation and rapid culture contact among the Oraons, as seen in the Bhagat movement.
- **1934-35**: Caste, Race and Religion in India was published.
- **1936**: Prof. J.H. Hutton in a Presidential Address to the Anthropological Society of India called him the 'Father of Indian Ethnology.'
- **1937**: The Kharias was published in two volumes with the help of his son Ramesh Chandra Roy. The anthropometric data was analyzed by P. C. Mahalonobis, the internationally renowned statistician. This book was a classical ethnography with both socio-cultural and physical anthropological data.

#### 3.2 N. K. Bose

- Normal Kumar Bose is a highly familiar and respected name in Indian Anthropology. He was born in 1901. He got his schooling at Patna and Ranchi and higher education at Calcutta. He did his Master's in Anthropology in 1925.
- He was involved in the freedom struggle and his academic career was interrupted several times by certain nationalist events. He taught anthropology at Calcutta University.
- N. K. Bose also served as a visiting scholar in the University of California, Berkeley and Chicago. He also acted as the Director, Anthropological Survey of India during 1959-64 and served as advisor on tribal affairs, Government of India.
- Though he was attracted by the works of the diffusionists and the functionalist Bronislaw Malinowski, he was greatly influenced by the works of M. K. Gandhi, Sigmund Freud and Karl Marx. He then saw himself as a 'social historian,' a school of thought of which he became the founder member.
- He conducted his fieldwork among the Juangs of Orissa in 1927, where he was impressed by the simple life of the poor tribals.
- He was also asked to look after the educational problems in NEFA in 1966.
- Apart from his work in archaeology, spring festivals in India and the underlying basis of the caste system, he was also trying to develop an idea of the culture zones within India and a social survey of Calcutta.

- He served as editor of Man in India. He also wrote profusely in Bengali and helped popularize anthropology and make it more relevant to contemporary society.
- He claimed that instead of following the West, Indian anthropology should attempt to develop its own indigenous models and theories based on Indian data in order to create a uniquely Indian identity to anthropology.
- Books
  - Cultural Anthropology in 1929
  - Canons of Orissan Architecture in 1932
  - Excavations in Mayurbhanj in 1949 with Dharani Sen
  - Peasant Life in India in 1961,
  - Calcutta: A Social Survey in 1964,
  - Culture and Society in India and Problems of National Integration in 1967,
  - Problems of Indian Nationalism in 1969,
  - Tribal Life in India in 1971
  - Anthropology and Some Indian Problems in 1972.

### 3.3 Iravati Karve

- She was born in 1905 in Burma and educated in Pune. She had a B.A. in Philosophy and then she completed her M.A. in Sociology in 1928 from Bombay University.
- She had worked under the tutelage of Eugene Fischer at Berlin University. She was also knowledgeable in both social as well as in physical anthropology.
- In 1939 when she came back to India she joined the Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute in Pune as Head of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology.
- In 1939 she was the President of the Archaeology and Anthropology section of the Indian Science Congress.
- By the 1940s she had worked with the famous H.D. Sankalia on prehistoric cultures and had published two papers with him.
- She concentrated on the racial composition of the Indian population, the kinship organization in India, the origins of caste and sociological studies of rural and urban communities.
- She conducted anthropometric studies in Maharashtra. These were published as a book in 1953, marking a new level of data collection in Indian caste studies.
- She wrote Kinship Organisation in India in 1953 and Hindu Society: An Interpretation in 1961. In the former she divided India's kinship pattern into four zones - North, South, Eastern and Central. To show the integration of Hindu society, she gave illustrative examples from various Hindu mythologies, trying to relate them with modern customs.
- She tried this again in her work Yuganta in 1967 (in Marathi). It became very popular and won the Sahitya Academy Award for that year. In this work she studied the cast of players in the Mahabharata, as well as its society in an anthropological manner.
- She was seen to be one of the three stalwarts who created a name for Deccan College, the other two being H.D. Sankalia and S.M. Katre.

### 3.4 HASMUKH DHIRAJLAL SANKALIA

- He learnt archaeology by going for excavations at Maiden Castle, a Roman castle being excavated by Mortimer Wheeler.
- However, his greatest teachers were the two volumes on the prehistoric antiquities in India by Robert Bruce Foote, the father of Indian prehistory.
- He became a Professor of Proto-Indian and Indian History at Deccan College in 1939
- He found a reference in the District Gazetteer of a suburb of Poona having some megalithic structures at Bhosari and investigated them.
- He explored Gujarat in 1940, taking clues from Bruce Foote and located new Palaeolithic and Mesolithic sites in the Sabarmati valley of Mehsana district. He also jointly excavated Langhnaj, the famous Mesolithic site with Iravati Karve, finding microlithic and other tools as well as faunal remains and human burials.

- In 1943-44 he investigated the Godavari Valley and its tributaries in the Nasik district of Maharashtra and found a flake tool industry made of chert and jasper. This became part of the Middle Palaeolithic in India.
- In 1950-51, he excavated Jorwe on the Pravara river, Ahmednagar district, Maharashtra.
- In 1952 he found a basalt industry in Gangapur near Nasik in the Godavari sediments exposed while constructing a dam.
- In 1953-54 he excavated Maheshwar and Navdatoli on the northern and southern banks of the Narmada in Nimad district, Madhya Pradesh. Navdatoli is likely to be drowned by the rising height of the water caused by the Narmada dam by now.
- In 1954-55, at Nevasa in Ahmednagar district he dug a Chalcolithic mound and found a three-tier chronology in successive gravel deposits of the Pravara river (a tributary of the Godavari). He called them Series I (consisting of typical Acheulian industry of hand axes and cleavers made on basalt and associated with mammalian fossils), Series II (sandy-pebbly zone with small flake tools of chert and jasper associated with mammalian fossils which formed the Middle Palaeolithic assemblage) and Series III (blade tools made on chalcedony and being a part of the microlithic phase). This disproved the Bruce Foote idea that the basalt area did not have human habitations. This distinct Middle Palaeolithic phase was reported by him in the famous journal Science in 1964.
- In 1957-58 and 1958-59 he excavated Navdatoli. They found through this largest of all, excavations at that time a Chalcolithic village of second millennium BC. Links were found to Iran and he thought that it must have contained an Indo-Aryan speaking people.
- In 1954-56 and 1959-61 he excavated Nevasa in Ahmednagar district, Maharashtra. He found remains of a Chalcolithic site here and after a gap the later historical periods. This region, then, as a whole, had sites from the Lower Palaeolithic to the present.
- In the 1960s he explored Saurashtra and found more sites. He excavated Sangankallu, a Mesolithic and pre-Mesolithic site in Bellary district, Karnataka.
- In 1961-62 he excavated the Chalcolithic site of Ahar near Udaipur in Rajasthan. It was a large settlement from the late third millennium BC to the mid-second millennium BC.
- In 1969 -70 he explored the Liddar River at Pahalgam in Kashmir and found a few early Palaeolithic tools there. He also excavated Inamgaon, in Pune district, Maharashtra, later carried out by his students, for twelve years in an elaborate manner. It was dated from 1600 BC to 700 BC and contained over two hundred human skeletons.
- He had also excavated Tripuri near Jabalpur in 1966 (Chalcolithic habitation) and Tekkalakota (Bellary district, Karnataka).
- He also excavated Dwarka in Gujarat but was unable to find anything beyond the Christian era.

### 3.5 MYSORE NARASIMHACHAR SRINIVAS

- Based on the fieldwork among the Coorgs, he introduced the concept of 'Brahminisation' as a mode of caste mobility for the first time in his Ph.D. work among them.
- He was trained by G. S. Ghurye, with whom he often disagreed.
- He was strongly influenced by the fieldwork of both A.R. Radcliffe-Brown and Bronislaw Malinowski. This interest enabled him to conduct his first fieldwork among the Coorgs of South India. This led to the publication of Religion and Society among the Coorgs of South India in 1952.
- For Srinivas, Sanskritization (a term he introduced in 1962) was a more inclusive term than Brahminization. It involved the taking up by the lower castes and other tribes of the rituals of the upper castes, especially the twice-born castes like the Brahmins.
- He also differentiated between the concepts of Varna and Jati and popularized the use of local terms to understand Indian society better.
- Srinivas' major fieldwork was conducted in Rampura in Mysore.

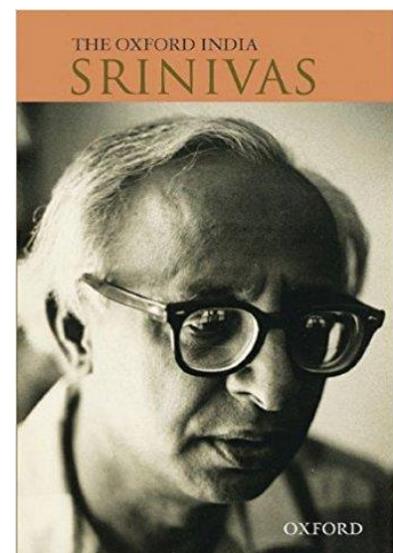


Fig: M.N Srinivas

He exposed the two kinds of statuses found in such societies – calling them ritual and secular statuses. To accommodate the two kinds of status the concept of a 'dominant caste' was found to be very useful.

- He introduced the term Westernization in 1966. Contemporary ground realities in Indian society could be understood from his 1959 paper on Dominant Caste in Rampura in American Anthropologist.
- In 1959, he founded the Department of Sociology at Delhi University, through the cooperation of the Vice-Chancellor V.K.R.V. Rao.
- Works
  - Marriage and Family in Mysore (1942)
  - Religion and Society Among the Coorgs of South India (1952)
  - Caste in Modern India in 1962,
  - Social Change in Modern India in 1966
  - India's Villages in 1955.
  - The Remembered Village (1976)
  - Indian Society through Personal Writings (1998)
  - Village, Caste, Gender and Method (1998)
  - Social Change in Modern India
  - The Dominant Caste and Other Essays (ed.)
  - Dimensions of Social Change in India
- His works and ideas regarding fieldwork are reproduced in The Fieldworker and the Field written in 1979 with A.M. Shah and E.A. Ramaswamy.
- In his last years, he had studied issues relating to national integration, dowry, bride wealth, the effect of industrialization on villages, urban communities, hospitals, gender issues, etc.

### 3.6 SHYAMA CHARAN DUBE

- S. C. Dube initially finished a degree in Political Science before he decided to join Anthropology.
- He then conducted a study of the Kamars of Raipur in order to do a doctoral dissertation in Sociology. Dube studied their society holistically using traditional anthropological methods.
- In the early 1950s, like all the American scholars of Anthropology who came to India, he became interested in village studies, especially of those villages which had a multi-caste social structure.
- He studied a village in Hyderabad called Shamirpet. He studied the interrelationships of Hindus and Muslims in the framework of jati relationships. He was able to show through his data that communalism was not a major problem in Indian villages. He showed that a distance was kept between different castes and different religions in the same village. Both Hindus as well as Muslims followed many folk customs. These customs united the people into a whole and thus communal feelings were kept in abeyance.
- He also worked in West Orissa.
- After these studies, Dube became interested in studying the impact of community development planning on villages. This formed a very important part of this period of his research interests, where he contributed both to Sociology as well as to Social Anthropology.
- Books
  - Indian Village in 1955
  - India's Changing Villages: Human Factors in Community Development in 1958
  - Power and Conflict in Village India.
- He wrote on Social Science in Changing Society where he advocated an inherently dynamic social science that was responsive to the changes occurring in society.
- To fulfill this, he himself put together Contemporary India and Its Modernization in 1973, Explanation and Management of Change in 1971 and Modernization and Development: The Search for Alternative Paradigms in 1988.
- Like M. N. Srinivas, Andre Beteille and a few others, Dube contributed both to Sociology as well as to Social Anthropology equally. He taught Political Science at Lucknow University and Sociology/Social Anthropology at Nagpur and Osmania.
- He served for some time at in the Anthropological Survey of India and also at the National Institute of Community Development (1961-64).

### 3.7 Dr. D N Majumdar

- Works:
  - A tribe in transition: A study of Culture Pattern
  - A fortune of Primitive Tribe
  - Races and cultures of India
  - Caste and Communication in an Indian Village
  - Social contours of an Indian City
  - Introduction to Social Anthropology
- Major Contributions
  - Ethnographies and fieldworks
  - Study of culture change
  - Development anthropology
  - Physical anthro
  - Defined Race
  - Cross cultural patterns of child growth
  - Ecological anthro-MARC
  - Study of evolution of Anthro in India
- D. N. Majumdar was also involved in the decennial census of 1941 and he carried out an anthropometric and serological survey for the United Provinces (now Uttar Pradesh). The legendary statistician P. C. Mahalanobis collaborated with him in this endeavour. His involvement and devotion to the subject may be gauged from the fact that he was the most knowledgeable anthropologist about the tribes and castes.
- Along with Verrier Elwin he initiated 'problem oriented ethnography'
- He founded the Ethnographic and Folk Culture Society, U.P. in 1945
- Brought a journal 'The Eastern Anthropologist'
- Race
  - 'Race is a group of people who by their possession of a number of common physical traits can be distinguished from others, even if the numbers of these biological groups are widely scattered'.
  - Though using racial factors in his analysis he was opposed to the concept of race and was not fond of single factor explanations in caste studies.
- MARC
  - The relationship between these four elements
  - guided the existence of any society.
  - Manhere refers to human beings having certain biological needs and physical properties.
  - Arearefers to the spaces which they occupy, the geographical referent which forms the basis of their existence.
  - Resourcesignifies the materials available in the spaces that they occupy.
  - Cooperationindicates the relationships 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
- Balancing social, physical and archeological anthropology.....
  - In decennial census operations of 1941, carried out anthropological and serological surveys in the United Provinces
  - Polyandrous societies like the Khasa of Jaunsar-Bawar in the Himalayas, the Korwas and the Tharus
  - Urban and Caste elements
  - Linked Physical anthro with caste
  - blood groups, anthropometric surveys, health and disease were studied.
  - Anthropometric and serological data was analysed statistically
  - In Uttar Pradesh, he tried to find out the biometrical correlates of caste hierarchy.
- Promoted a problem-oriented research work
- Tribes and castes of Bihar, Madhya Pradesh (studying the Gonds of Bastar), Uttar Pradesh, Gujarat (studying the Bhils) and West Bengal.

- In spite of his specialization in Social Anthropology, he managed to keep up with trends in Physical Anthropology and Prehistory.
- He laid the foundation of 'Ethnographic and Folk Culture Society' (EFCS) in Lucknow.
- Manav (in Hindi) and the Indian Journal of Physical Anthropology.
- Studies that were required for the future
  - Demarcated the social contours of an industrial city.
  - Incorporated an evaluation of administratively engineered social change

### 3.8 L P Vidyarthi

- Lalita Prasad Vidyarthi, popularly known as LPV is a familiar name in contemporary Indian anthropology.
- Vidyarthi did his masters in anthropology from Lucknow University and Ph.D. from Chicago. He was a student of D. N. Majumadar at Lucknow and Robert Redfield at Chicago, Perhaps, this was the last Ph.D. thesis supervised by the great patriarch of Chicago.
- L. P. Vidyarthi joined Ranchi University and almost single handedly raised the status of the anthropology department and added multifarious dimension to it a major department of anthropology in the country, centre of advanced studies in anthropology and a very productive area of anthropological research. Expansion of anthropology in the country was a passion for him.
- The concept of 'Sacred Complex' is an original contribution of Vidyarthi through which the cultural processes in the India Civilization are sought to be understood.
- His Rise to Anthropology in India, a two volume narration of the growth of Indian anthropology is perhaps the only detailed treatise on this subject.
- He did field work mostly among the tribes of Bihar and developed new insights into applied anthropology.
- When he headed the 'Task force for the Development of the Backward Areas, appointed by the Planning Commission on the eve of the Fifth Five Year Plan, it brought great honour to applied anthropology in India.
- The concept of 'Tribal Sub Plan' (TSP) now in vogue is a product of this effort. He has published several books and research papers on applied anthropology.
- By writing extensively on the impact of industrialization and urbanization on the tribes of Chotanagpur region, he contributed immensely to an 'Industrial Anthropology' in India.
- When the 'Tenth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences' was held in 1978 in India it not only brought a singular honour to India (because it was the first time when this congress was held in any Asian Country) but also to L. P. Vidyarthi who chaired the Congress.

- Applied and action anthropologist
- Geography to Anthro
- Expanded the scope of Anthropology - psychological, religion, social system, industrialisation etc
- Literary works
  - Sacred complex of Hindu Gaya
  - The Maler: N M S Complex of a Hill tribe of Bihar
  - Tribal Cultures in India
  - Rise of Anthropology in India: A Social Science orientation
  - Sacred Complex in Kasi
  - Harijan Today
  - Culture types in Tribal India
- Edited works
  - Aspects of Religion in Indian Society
  - Applied Anthropology in India
  - Anthropology and Tribal Welfare in India

- Sacred complex
- N M S Complex
- Tribal studies
- History of Indian Anthropology
- Urban and Industrial Anthropology
- Political Anthropology
- Psychological Anthropology
- Studies of SCs

#### 4. Questions

1. Discuss the contribution of L. P Vidyarthi and D. N. Majumdar to the study of Indian tribes. (20 marks)
2. Write about the role of colonial administration in the development of Anthropology in India. (15 marks, 2019)
3. Discuss the contribution of S. C Roy in the study of tribal cultures in India. (15 marks, 2018)
4. Assess the contribution of Varrier Elwin to Indian anthropology. (15marks, 2011)
5. Discuss the contribution of Nirmal Kumar Bose to the understanding of Indian society. (20m, 2017)

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# ANTHROPOLOGY

## PAPER II

UNIT 5

# INDIAN VILLAGE

NOTES FOR CIVIL SERVICES EXAMINATION  
ANTHROPOLOGY PAPER II, CHAPTER 5.1



## 1. Introduction

In one of his famous quotes, the most famous leader of 20th century India, Mahatma Gandhi said "India is not Calcutta and Bombay. India lives in her seven hundred thousand villages". This is what forms a clue to the magnitude of importance the 'village' acquires in the socio-economic sphere in India in particular & the world in general. The cosmopolitan cities of today, London, New York, Mumbai etc. have also had their genesis in being a village once upon a time, though quite long ago.

## 2. Definition & Size of a Village

To understand the importance of village studies, one has to first understand as to what qualifies as a 'village' in demographic terms. As per India Census' 2011, all places with a municipality, corporation, cantonment board or notified town area committee, etc. so declared by a state law are called statutory towns. Places which satisfy the following criteria are called census towns:

- (1) A minimum population of 5,000;
  - (2) At least 75 percent of the male main working population engaged in non-agricultural pursuits; and
  - (3) A density of population of at least 400 persons per sq. km. (i.e. 1000 per sq. Mile)
- The villages thus hold a residuary definition, i.e. the places which do not fall under the category of census or statutory towns, are termed as the villages.

As per Census 2001, total number of villages were 6, 38,596 out of which only 5,93,731 villages were inhabited. Approximately, 68.6% of total population of India resides in villages as per Census' 2011. In terms of number, it is approximately 84 crores persons out of total 121 Crore human populations. If the ratio of other countries is seen, one of the most developed regions, Scandinavian countries (comprising Denmark, Norway, Sweden & part of Finland) have 13-15% of population residing in rural areas while the United States of America (USA) has approximately 18% of its people as rural population. In developing countries of Asia, like China, India, and Thailand etc. the ratio is always more than 45%.

Having seen the size of the rural population in India & the world, it is now easier to comprehend that any socio-economic development indicator of a country or the world has to, necessarily, reflect the situation in villages.

According to Sir Charles Metcalfe, "The village communities are little republics having nearly everything that they want within themselves and almost independent of any foreign relations."

## 3. Significance of Village Studies

- The studies of social structures of small groups of individuals residing in a hamlet or a small village constitute the **first basis of studies of bigger groups** e.g. towns & semi-urban areas.
- According to **Srinivas (1975)**: The social sciences are drawing too heavily on a small range of human experience, viz. the western-industrial, and equating it with the global. (Built into that equation is an ethno-centric assumption on the part of many westerners that all societies are travelling towards the ultimate goal of a western-industrial type of society.)
- Lack of fieldwork in villages **affected the growth and development of the social sciences** by alienating them from grassroots reality, which in turn resulted in woeful ignorance about the complex interrelations between economic, political, and social forces at local levels.
  - According to **Srinivas**, the reason for the lack of a fieldwork tradition was the implicit assumption that people are like dough in the hands of planners and governments, and the illusion that, through "social engineering," "directed social change," and the like, governments could change the lives of the people.
- **Beteille (1972)**, focuses on constraints to fieldwork, and explains how these very constraints can serve as a source of insights into society and culture.

- By contrast, **Nehru** never identified with the idea of the village as the site of future transformation. He considered the notion of “village republics” as characterized by various ills. He was critical of caste hierarchies and saw no virtue in reviving the traditional social order.
- **Ambedkar** offered a radical critique of the Indian village. To him, the village is a sink of localism, a den of ignorance, narrow-mindedness, and communalism – marked by exclusion, exploitation, and untouchability. It was not representative of Indian civilisation.
- In the villages of India, the residential quarters are often built based upon a strong caste system. The loyalty a caste/community group feels may not surpass the religious or economic boundaries & tensions may be created.
  - One example of this nature was **Muzaffarnagar rioting** in the year 2013 where, for the first time in the history of the district, the large scale rioting happened in rural areas. Such scenarios, if studied well by village visits, will produce ways to tackle & prevent the law & order situations well within time in other rural & semi-rural centers.
- Similarly, the causes & impacts of gender-related unreported crimes, incidences of which are high in rural areas, can be studied by visiting the villages.
- A Credit Suisse report, *The Great Indian Equalization (2012)* found that over the preceding six years, rural districts delivered higher economic output than cities. According to the report, 75% of new factories built in India in the last decade were located in rural areas, indicating the diminishing role of agriculture in rural livelihoods.
  - But to study the real impact of these developments on the economy of such villages and to study the **impact of rural economy on Country** as well as factors responsible for stagnated growth of agriculture, it is imperative for policy makers, academicians & administrators to go for comprehensive & year-on-year village visits.
- To find sources & reasons of ineffective **implementation of welfare schemes** & other services under the indirect or direct supervision of Panchayats, it is necessary that village visits are undertaken.
- In **medical sciences** also, it is important to carry out field studies to find out the ways & means to tackle a disease which may be specific to geographical locations.
- The companies also undertake studies in villages to assess the markets as well as part of their **social corporate responsibilities**.
  - The motive of the former studies is to find ways & means to enhance profits of the company or the business while the purpose of the latter studies is to carry out welfare measures for the community.

#### 4. Types of Village Studies

It is now clear that to understand the problems & challenges faced by the large percentage of population of the country, village studies are the need of the hour be it in socio-political or economic fields. The question arises as to what kind of studies should be carried out- macro level (small number of samples representing large picture) or micro level (larger samples covering maximum number of permutations amongst geo-political differences). The answer depends upon the type of problem that one is trying to solve.

For example, the public delivery system (PDS) is more or less common across the country & the problem of leakages at various levels will also be the same. Hence, if smaller sample data but across the states is taken up, it should throw common thread of problems & likely solutions. However, if a social or political issue is taken up, it may need larger sample sizes spread across larger geographical space.

#### 5. Village Studies in India

Robert Redfield was the first anthropologist, who carried out systematic village study in a Mexican village, called, Tepoztlan. He, thus, provided a model for village study, which was later followed by anthropologists in the study of village life in different parts of the world.

- Village studies in India historically goes back to the year 1861 when **Sir Henry Maine** published his *Ancient Law* (London). The works of Maine lack empirical field work and devote themselves to the study of the land tenure system of India; but his work basically encouraged further studies in India.
- **Sir George Grierson**, the author of *Bihar Peasant Life* (1926), described factual data on the material culture related to the rural life of Bihar.
- **Prof. Gilbert Slater** published a book entitled 'Some South Indian Villages' in 1918 based on the survey data collected from twelve different villages.
- **W.H. Wiser**, an American missionary, who lived in a U.P. village, Karimpur, situated near Lucknow, doing field works for five consecutive years, was the first person, who carried out anthropologically oriented village studies in India. His two books **Hindu Jajmani System** and *Behind the Mud Wall* published in 1936 and 1930 respectively may be specially mentioned as the pioneering work of anthropological tradition.

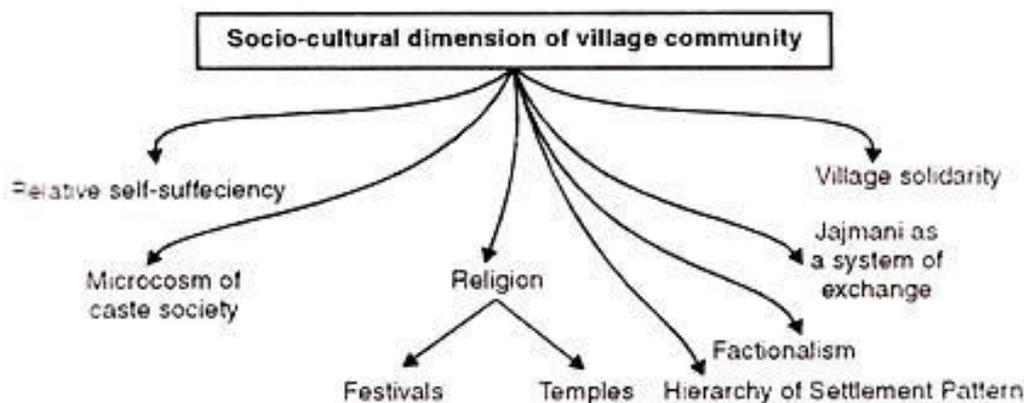
Anthropologically oriented village studies gained their momentum after national independence and it became academically fashionable in the post-independent period through the academic works of American anthropologists like Morris Opler, David Mandelbaum, McKim Marriott, Oscar Lewis and Indian anthropologists like M.N. Srinivas, S.C. Dube and D.N. Majumdar.

- The year 1955 was the most important turning point in the history of village studies in India. *Indian Village* by **S.C. Dube**, *Village India* (ed.) by **McKim Marriott** and *India's Villages* (ed.) by **M.N. Srinivas** was published in this year.
- **Dube's book Indian Village** is the first of its kind in anthropological research, which describes a complete picture of Indian village life. This study of a south Indian village, Shamirpet depicts an integrated and comprehensive picture of the village describing the historical, geographical and sociological perspectives of village life.
- **A.R. Beals**, in his paper "Interplay among Factors of change in a Mysore Village", describes, on the basis of his **diachronic study** on a village, Namheli, located near Bangalore, the external factors responsible for change in the social structure of the village.
- **Kathleen Gough** brings out, as recorded in her paper "The Social Structure of a Tanjore Village", the break-up of the traditional social structure of the village.
- **Oscar Lewis** formulated the concept of "**rural cosmopolitanism**" in his paper in *Village India* (edited by Marriott).
- **McKim Marriott**, who edited the book, *Village India*, postulated the theoretical concept of "**parochialisation and universalisation**" basing on the "little and great traditions"
- In her paper "Personality formation in a Hindu village in Gujarat" **Geital P. Steed**, on the background of her psychological knowledge, tries to analyse the personality formation in a village.
- **David G. Mandelbaum's** paper concentrates on the economic interrelationship of the Kota of Nilgiri hills with their neighbouring tribes, the Toda, the Kurumba and the Badaga. The paper also analyses the breakdown of the traditional economic interrelationship due to the advent of new comers.
- In her essay "**A Village in West Bengal**", **Jyotirmoyee Sarma**, the American trained Indian sociologist, depicts the rural life in West Bengal describing housing, agricultural pattern, caste hierarchy, village administration, religious activities, festivals etc. as observed in her village of field work.
- In his paper "An Oriya Hill Village: I", **F.G. Bailey** describes the changing economic life and village unity of the village Bisipara, especially highlighting that a village becomes less united as it integrates in a larger economy.
- **F.G. Bailey**, in another book, **Tribe, Caste and Nation**, published in 1960, attempts to discover the interaction of political organisation of the tribal system with its non-tribal counterpart. He presents a comparative study of Bisipara and Bedari, a Khond village. The study is concerned with the political cleavages found within not only the Khond villages and the Khond tribes but also the Khond and other castes.
- **M.N. Srinivas**, describes a village as a "vertical entity made up of several horizontal layers each of which is a caste" in his paper "**The Social system of a Mysore Village**". He has analysed the

different aspects of village unity and the kind of ties that bind together the members of the village . He also has postulated the concepts of the "vertical unity", which means the unity of different castes within a village, and the "horizontal unity" which means the unity of castes of same social cadre outside the village. He writes, "the village is an interdependent unit, largely self-sufficient, having its own village assembly, watch and ward officials and servants".

- **S.C. Dube**, in his paper, "A Decan Village", outlines the social structure of a mixed village, Dewara, as well as the **social symbiosis** of the different tribal, caste-Hindu and Muslim groups, who inhabit the village.
- **S.C. Dube's** 'India's Changing Village: Human Factors in Community Development'. based on the data collected from two villages of western U.P., attempts to show the impact of externally induced **community development plans** on the technologically under-developed Indian villages.
- **G.M. Carstairs's** The Twice Born: A Study of High Caste Hindus published in 1957 has analysed the social character and personality formation of three high castes the Brahmins, the Rajputs and the Baniyas, of Deoli (Rajasthan) by discussing the basic facts responsible for the formation of Hindu personality.
- **D.N. Majumdar's** Caste and Communication in an Indian Village, 1958 described the inter-caste relationship, religious beliefs and practices, leadership, factionalism and economy of a village Mohana near Lucknow.
  - He also discussed the fission and the fusion which are responsible for the formation of various social groups and recorded that **caste mobility is both vertical and horizontal**.
  - To him "an Indian Village is a concept because it is a constellation of values which change slowly so that the village retains its identity. It is a way of life because the people still live more or less as they did before."
- **K.S. Mathur**, in his Caste and Ritual in Malwa village published in 1964, analyses the function of Hinduism in the integration of caste society.
- **G.S. Ghurye**, in his Anatomy of a Rural Urban Community, published in 1963, attempts, in addition to his statistical analysis, to present the influence of urbanisation on the socio – religious and socio – economic lives of the various communities of Hawaii Taluka in Maharashtra.

## 6. Indian Village as a Social System



1. **Relative Self-Sufficiency:** In the past, a traditional village was very much self-sufficient in several respects. The village was a unit of production as well as consumption. Politically there was less interference from the outside world. Conflicts arising in the villages were solved in the village panchayat itself. There were also caste panchayats to give respective rights to each caste. But gradually, the village community In India has changed. It is no longer static; it has changed from time to time.

According to modern anthropological studies, the village community was not and is not self-sufficient. The whole nature of the traditional society is to militate against the independent isolation of a village. In earlier days there was a good deal of coming and going among villages.

There were several reasons:

- (i.) A village is usually multi-caste. The number of castes in each village is not sufficient to carry-out the multifunctional roles a village requires, of necessity.
- (ii.) The rule of caste endogamy was prevalent. A village, more often than not, is inhabited by a particular sub-caste of the endogamous caste group. This necessitates a villager to seek alliance from other villages or villagers.
- (iii.) (Markets are a major reason for travel within a locality. People from adjoining areas come to attend weekly markets and interact with one another.
- (iv.) Village folks, especially the elderly go on pilgrimage to visit certain places like Varanasi, Dwarka, Rameswaram and so on. This brings the villagers into contact with the town people as well as the people of other places.

Thus the village was never entirely a closed or self-sufficient unit.

2. **Microcosm of Caste Society:** The village is usually multi-caste. The pattern of Interactions among the various caste groups is governed by ritual hierarchy which in turn is manifested in rules governing, commensality, pollution, occupation and marriage. But the British rule in India gave a serious blow to the caste system in the villages. Caste panchayats became extinct. The caste system lost its traditional hold in the villages. But casteism is getting strengthened on account of selfish political interests.
3. **Hierarchy of Settlement Pattern:** The geography of a village follows a fixed pattern. Each caste usually has a separate settlement ward. In Gujarat, such areas are called "Phaliya", In Karnataka it is "Keri", in Maharashtra it is "Wada". Everywhere we find the so-called untouchables and Dalits live separately from the caste Hindus. The members of a ward show a strong sense of unity. Inter ward disputes occur occasionally like inter-village disputes.
4. **Jajmani as a system of exchange:** It has been the basis of economic, social and cultural solidarity in the villages. It involved both the relationship of dominance and reciprocity. Under this system some castes are patrons (Jajman) and others are service castes (Kamin). These service castes generally are under obligation to serve the patron castes and their families. But now-a-days, this system has been weakened due to the influence of market forces, migration, contacts with towns, impact of education etc.
5. **Village Solidarity:** People live in villages with close proximity and close interaction among them. They share the same familiar life-space, share the common experiences of natural forces/disasters/ calamities etc. A villager's closest economic associates are within his village. "The villagers have separate hearths and common homes." – Mandelbaum  
Their very life experiences develop a sense of unity and identity. This sense of solidarity is reflected in various contexts. Village solidarity is commonly expressed in village ceremonies. Ritual occasions, for example the life-cycle ceremonies require the cooperation of several castes. The functioning of the village as a political and social entity brings together members of all castes.
6. **Religion:** Religion provides the woof and warp of the community life in a village. The Hinduism that they follow is neither of the high spiritual order nor of the abstract intellectual type, nor even of the popular puranic nature. They worship a number of Gods and goddesses such as Durga-Kali, Lakshmi, Saraswati etc. People also worship the village deities. They also worship trees, especially "Pipal" and the "Tulsi". Beliefs in ghosts and witches are also prevalent.  
Temple-the place of worship is also a place where the people from all castes get together to celebrate religions and social occasions. It is a place of congregation. Festivals are also celebrated in each and every village with pomp and ceremony. Festivals strengthen the association of castes in the villages.
7. **Factionalism:** Every village witnesses elements of factionalism in its daily round of activities. There are many bases of factionalism such as economic, kinship ties, caste affiliation,



**Worship of Tree - Basic Nature of Religious Belief Prevalent in Rural Society**

Source: <http://themindunleashed.org>

new political consciousness etc. With the breakdown of Jajmani relations, many kamin (castes) have shifted their allegiance to new groups usually outside the village namely urban businessmen.

Modern politics has led to the strengthening of what sociologists call “horizontal solidarity” that is solidarity of caste. Now castes belonging to different villages come together to act as a “pressure group”. This has special bearing on the traditional power structure. Improved means of transport and communication systems have further consolidated this trend towards factionalism.

## 7. Traditional and Changing Patterns of Settlement

Patterns of settlement have been defined as the relationship between one house or building and another. The term ‘pattern of settlement’ deals with compact and semi-compact settlements only as each of the dispersed settlements has its own shape.

The rural settlements may be broadly classified under the following patterns:

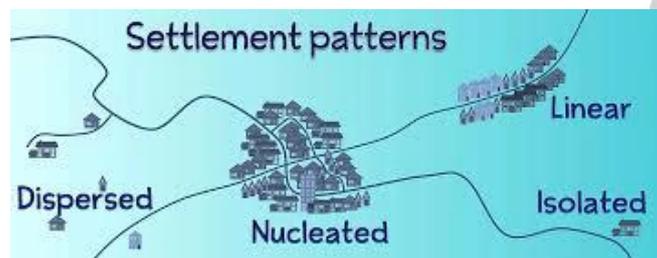


Figure: Settlement Patterns

1. **Rectangular or square pattern:** This pattern is mostly found in areas of uniform topography. The rectangular shape of the cultivated fields rise to this pattern. The main lanes of the villages intersect at right angles at the centre. Smaller lanes go to the interior of the housing more or less parallel to the former main lane. Such patterns are found in areas of Marwar plateau, Nirmar upland and in Narmada valley.
2. **Linear pattern:** This type of pattern is typical of the area where Main Street of the village runs parallel to the railway lines, roads or water front. Such patterns are found in the middle and lower Ganga plain, parts of the Himalayan region and along the coast ,especially in Malabar and Konkan.
3. **L - Shaped pattern:** The L- shaped pattern form where at the junction of main road two rectangular blocks of houses meet to give a L-shaped pattern. In some villages, a smaller limb extends towards the cultivated field giving the L-shaped pattern a T shaped pattern.  
**Circular pattern:** The settlement takes a circular pattern when the habitats are situated along the bank of a pond or lake. Such settlements are found in Upper Ganga-Yamuna doab. Settlements along the meandering bend of the river take horse shoe patterns. The fishermen and salt producers develop their settlements along the sea coasts and salt lakes, respectively.
4. **Triangular patterns:** Triangular patterns of rural settlement generally develop at the confluence of rivers. The lateral expansion of houses at the confluence is constrained by the rivers. Consequently, the settlement acquires a triangular shape
5. **Star-Like Pattern:** The star-like settlements develop on the sites and places where several metalled or unhealed roads converge. In the star-shaped settlements, houses spread out along the sides of roads in all directions. This pattern is common to both villages and towns, and is caused mostly by new development, spreading out along the major roads.
6. **Nebular Pattern:** When the shape of a settlement resembles a nebula, it is known as a nebular settlement. The arrangement of roads is almost circular which ends at the central location or the nucleus of the settlement. Generally, the size of nebular settlements is small and they develop around the house of the main landlord of the village or around the mosque, temple or church. There are several villages of this type in the Ganga-Yamuna doab.

## 8. Agrarian Relations in Indian Villages

Agrarian relations denotes the inter-relationships obtained among the groups engaged in agricultural operations. As each group operates in relation to its members and in relation to other groups in accordance with established procedures or institutions, study of agrarian social structure involves not only the complex totality of inter-relations of groups but also the complex standards, procedures or rules of institutions responsible for the formation of that totality of inter-relations of groups.

The division of class structure in villages is basically divided into landowner, tenants and peasants. The economy of agriculture provides the basic class stratification. The villages also contain local artisans, uneconomic holders of land. A.R. Desai has stated (i) the landowners constitute about 22% (ii) tenants about 27% (iii) Agricultural labourers about 31% and (iv) non-agricultural about 20%. Daniel Thorner's classified rural classes into three social categories namely; (a) maliks, (b) kisans, and (c) mazadoors

On the basis of size, the land possessed by the peasants and the other sources of income which they obtain, one can speak of a five-fold classification of agrarian classes. It is as follows:

- (i.) Big-farmers who hold more than four hectares of land.
- (ii.) Medium -farmers owning 2-4 hectares of cultivable land.
- (iii.) Small-farmers possessing 1-2 hectares of land.
- (iv.) Marginal-farmers having land whose size is less than one hectare.
- (v.) (Agricultural-labourers who may [or may not] possess a small piece of land, and who mainly rely on wage labours as their sources of income.

The impact of **land reforms and rural development programmes** introduced after independence has been significant. Land reforms led to the eviction of smaller tenants on a large scale. But the intermediate castes of peasants, e.g., the Ahir, Kurmi etc. in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh benefited. Power of the feudal landed families started declining all over the country.

The onset of the Green Revolution in the 1960s led to the emergence of commercially oriented landlords. Rich farmers belonging generally to upper and intermediate castes prospered. But the fortune of the poor peasantry and the agricultural labourers did not improve. This has led to accentuation of class conflicts and tensions. Agrarian unrest in India has now become a common feature in various parts of the country.

**P.C. Joshi (1971)** has summarised in the following manner the trends in the agrarian class structure and relationships.

- (i.) It led to the decline of feudal and customary types of tenancies. It was replaced by a more exploitative and insecure lease arrangement.
- (ii.) It gave rise to a new commercial based rich peasant class who were part owners and part tenants. They had resources and enterprise to carry out commercial agriculture.
- (iii.) It led to the decline of feudal landlord class and another class of commercial farmers emerged for whom agriculture was a business. They used the non-customary type of tenancy.

The process of social mobility has been seen in two directions. In his study of six villages in Rajasthan, **K.L. Sharma (1980)** observed that in some villages, not only the agricultural labourers but quite a few of the ex-landlords have slid down in class status, almost getting proletarianised. On the contrary, the neo-rich peasantry has emerged as the new rural bourgeoisie replacing the older landlords.

**Ramkrishna Mukherjee (1957)** in his work *Dynamics of a Rural Society* dealt with the changes in the agrarian structure suggesting that a number of classes (categories) were reduced, and that small cultivators were becoming landless workers. By the year 2001 the share of cultivators to the total work force declined to 31.7 percent and the share of agricultural labourers became 26.7 percent. The increase in proportion (and certainly numbers) of agricultural labourers has gone along with a general increase in wage labourers in the rural economy.

## 9. Impact of Globalisation on Indian Villages

### 9.1 Introduction

Political economist, Robert J. Samuelson says, "Globalization is a double-edged sword: A powerful vehicle that raises economic growth, spreads new technology and increases living standards in rich and poor countries alike but also an immensely controversial process that assaults national sovereignty, erodes local culture and tradition, and threatens economic and social stability."

### 9.2 Globalisation:

- Globalization means "the removal of barriers to free trade and the closer integration of national economies."
- Globalization is perhaps the most profound source of international transformation since the industrial revolution.
- It is the process by which the boundary line between different countries becomes insignificant and the whole world transforms into a group. Globalization broadly refers to the expansion of the global linkages, the organization of the social life on the global scale and the growth of the global consciousness and hence to the consolidation of the world society. It is the process by which the boundary line between different countries becomes insignificant and the whole world transforms into a group or global village.
- Globalization is emerging as a political response to the expansion of market power
- Globalization was introduced to India in 1991, when the Indian government introduced a set of reforms for the ailing Indian economy. These reforms were the Liberalization, Privatization and Globalization reforms. Globalization has opened India to the world and has brought in the much needed exposure. Globalization has had impacts in the economic, social, cultural and political way of India.

### 9.3 Various views on Globalisation:

Economic	Globalization refers to economic internationalization and the spread of capitalist market relations
Political	The focus is on the increasing density of interstate relations and the development of global politics.
Sociological	The concern is with the social changes and the emergence of "world society".
Cultural	The emphasis is on the global communications and their influence on culture and identity

### 9.4 Overall impacts of Globalisation:

All spheres of life-social, political, cultural and economic have been subjected to both the positive and negative elements of globalization.

S.no	Impacts
1	The world becomes more uniform and standardized through a technological, commercial and cultural synchronization coming from the west.
2	Interconnects individual, groups, states, communities, market, corporation and international governmental and non-governmental organization in complex web of social relationship
3	Accelerates the global interdependence
4	Local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa
5	Declining influence of the nation state
6	A social process in which the constraints of geography on social and cultural arrangements recede and in which people become increasingly aware that they are receding

7	The transnational circulation of ideas, languages or popular culture through acculturation.
8	Economic development has been influenced by domestic and international policies. The domestic economic policy lost its autonomy to some extent.
9	Increasing interaction of national economic systems-more integrated financial markets, economies and trade, higher factor mobility and spectacular change in information technology leading to spread of knowledge throughout the world
10	Universalizing of neo-liberal economic principles around the globe

## 9.5 Impacts on Indian Villages

Major aspects of globalization that relate to rural life or its development which includes the commercialization of agriculture and expansion of agro-industries, the liberalization of international trade and marketing for food and other agricultural products, the intensification and internal labour migration, the increasing privatization of resources and services and the wider use of information and communication and technologies

### 9.5.1 Cultural impacts:

**E.B.Tylor: "Culture is a complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, customs and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society"**

- Indian culture is rich and diverse and as a result unique in its very own way, and the villages have been the best examples of cultural mosaic of India
- With the expansion of the market and the globalization of media, the clout of popular culture eventually has a disruptive influence both upon the folk and elite forms of traditional culture. Culture is then increasingly converted into commodity
- The elements of the western culture and lifestyle occupy much space in the cultural life of the youth today. Also, Globalisation along with Westernisation downgrades the indigenous culture and rituals and promotes Western culture
- Globalization has caused intermingling of cultures. Though it has curtailed narrow mindedness of humans, it has caused cultural degradation also specially in India. Western ideas and culture have started killing the social ethics of Indian mass. More and more people have become ignorant about social, ethical and moral values.

### 9.5.2 Economic impacts:

- Globalization has increased the demand of people for more goods.
- The erstwhile self-sufficient village society of India have now turned towards material accumulation.
- The lack of opportunities in villages to earn more forces them to migrate towards urban localities, which further increases the problems such as internal migration, poverty, unplanned urbanization, health issues etc.
- Rural population is still suffering from unemployment as rural labour is mostly uneducated and unskilled. Machines and latest technologies have reduced the number of manpower a lot.
- The development of urban and peri-urban localities increases the dependence of the rural population on urban areas and urban economy.
- The erstwhile Jajmani system is overcome and along with the governmental land reforms, distribution of land and engagement of people from all caste groups in agricultural works has increased in the villages
- Govt. has not done satisfactory work for promoting small-cottage industries in villages. So educated rural youth remains unemployed and migrates to urban areas.
- Imports make the farmers' position worse as they are not able to compete with imported goods in terms of price and quality.
- The position of artisans is also bad in villages. They are also not able to compete with machine-made goods.

### 9.5.3 Societal impacts:

- Fragmentation of the traditional Indian family network is leading to an erosion of the available support within the immediate and extended family.
- Migration of younger generations from rural to urban and from urban centre to another as well as transnational migration has resulted in the elderly being left to fend for themselves at a time when family support becomes more crucial.
- While the nuclear family system is increasingly becoming the norm then the modern life styles and changing professional and personal expectations are impacting relationships of marriage and commitment.
- Consumerism has permeated and changed the very fabric of contemporary Indian society
- Globalisation has failed to solve the social evils prevailing in the Indian villages such as dowry, women abuse, illiteracy of women, poverty, class difference, untouchability etc.

### 9.5.4 Technological impacts:

- Globalisation as a whole has a positive impact on technological development as it leads to increase in accessibility.
- However, Indian villages lack the facilities of technical education and it is not always possible for everyone to get access to urban areas for technical education. That is why rural labour remains unskilled.
- As most of the villages don't have adequate electricity and modern means of communication, the knowledge-base in rural Indian mass becomes weak.

### 9.5.5 Impacts on agriculture:

- After the LPG reforms, India's economy started to bloom along with the growth of the service sector.
- The growth in the service sector along with the decline in Indian economy's dependence on agriculture has resulted in gross neglect of the agricultural sector.
- Although the growth is seen in non-farm employment sector in rural India yet Agriculture sector continues to be the largest employer of rural workforce
- With liberalisation, government's support to agricultural produce has declined.
- Growth of employment in other sectors resulted in brain drain and migration of youth to urban areas, which resulted in decline of collective labour in agriculture, family labour in agriculture, joint family system etc.

### 9.5.6 Impacts on tribal society:

- The impact of globalization is harshest on the tribal population perhaps more than any other because these communities have no voice and are therefore easily swept aside by the invisible hands of the market and its operators.
- Globalisation primarily focuses on economic development. However, tribal societies are self sufficient and hence they are alien to the concept of economic development.
- Also, Globalisation has a positive bias towards Westernisation, which is again opposite to the tribal cultural and world views.
- Globalisation all over the world due to the expansion of industries, mining and economic development has been causing a series of negative impacts on tribal life.

### 9.5.7 Positive impacts of globalisation on Indian villages:

- Globalisation provides the people in rural India, an easy view in the culture and practices of people all over the country and all over the world

- The globalisation's impact on technological development and the ability of any person to access technology such as internet was used by the government to create a negative attitude towards practices such as dowry, open defecation, violence against women etc.
- Increase in infrastructural facilities in the villages is another positive impact. Globalisation resulted in increased trade within India as well as with other countries. The need for good roads and storage infrastructure resulted in introduction of schemes such as Gram Sadak Yojana, and village electrification programmes
- India's real culture is still preserved in rural life even though the advancement of technology has much influence in rural areas. People still prefer to wear dresses of old fashion and celebrate festivals in old styles. Folk dances and folk songs are still popular among villagers. Meanwhile the villagers have awareness and culture is touched and affected by western influence.
- Increase in rural education, rural health and as a whole, there has been development in socio-economic indicators of the rural population of India
- Rural producers, including small scale producers are increasingly involved in global commodity chains.
- Decline in discrimination and restriction on vulnerable sections of the society such as Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and women.

#### 9.5.8 Case study: Globalisation and its impact on India's agriculture:

- After the liberalisation reforms, presently, over 58% of Indians depend on agriculture for their livelihood, and the sector contributes 17-18% to GDP, thus the lower per capita income of farmers and increasing rural indebtedness.
- The reasons for low agricultural growth are low investment, imbalance in fertiliser use, low seed replacement rate, a distorted incentives system.
- The import of agricultural products under the WTO agreement caused price fluctuations internally, and thus uncertainty over farmers' incomes.
- Farmers are facing a vicious circle of debt traps and farmers' suicides.

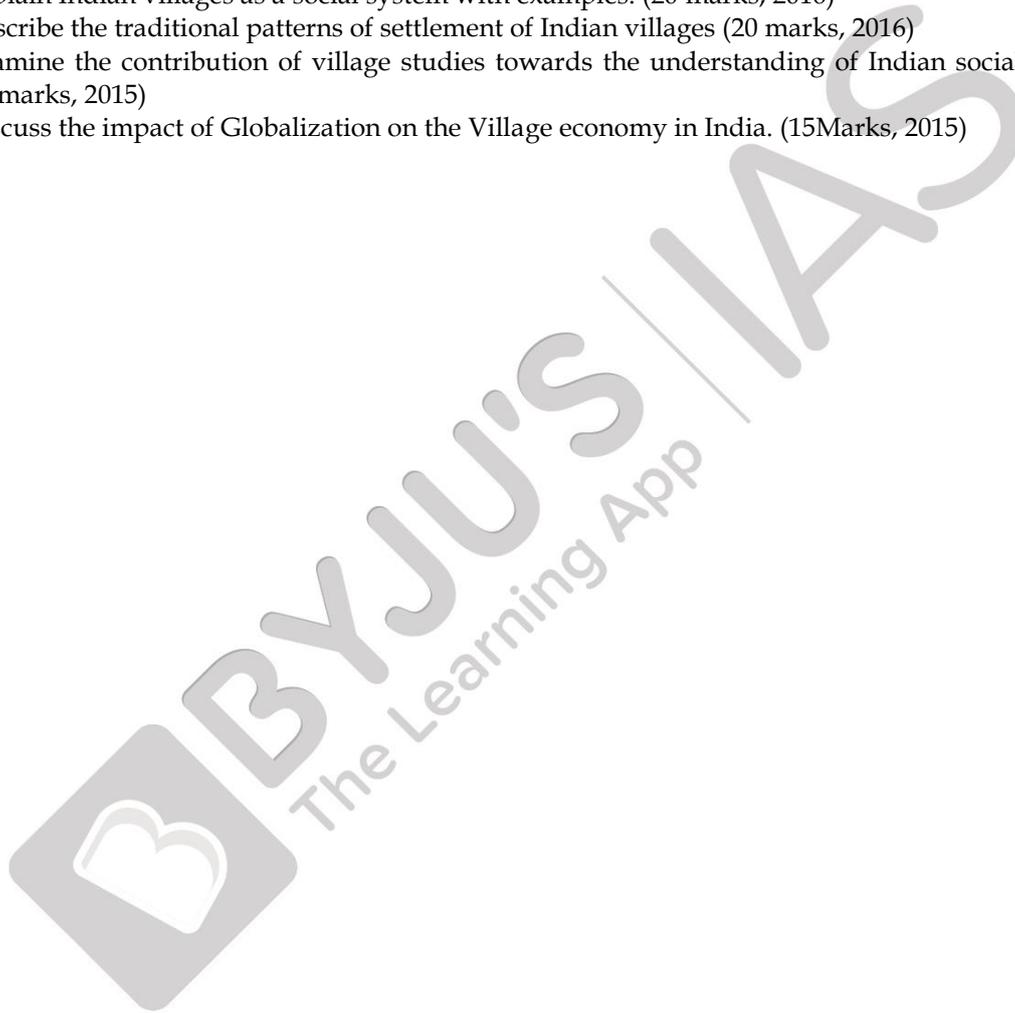
#### 9.5.9 Case study: Impact of globalisation in the district of Koraput, Bolangir and Kalahandi

- The undivided districts of Koraput, Bolangir and Kalahandi (popularly known as KBK districts) have since 1992-93 been divided into eight districts
- As per 2001 Census, about 38.41% people of these districts belong to the Scheduled Tribes (ST) communities including four primitive tribal groups (PTG), i.e., Bondas, Dadai, Langia, Sauras and Dangaria Kandhas
- The old Koraput and Kalahandi districts are portions of Bolangir districts that are mainly hilly. Severe droughts and floods also often visit this region and some areas in quick succession. Therefore, backwardness of this region is multi-faceted: (i) tribal backwardness, (ii) hill area backwardness and (iii) backwardness due to severe natural calamities.
- Globalization is not mere for the development of technology and the economy. At the same time it stands for an exchange of culture, language, artefacts in the global plane. Therefore the Orissa tribal culture became very popular, because of dance, handicrafts such as, wooden product stone product and some other hand maid product sale in the global market.
- The new generation of the tribals - many of them - have given up their traditional occupation and look to sell their labour to the new producers. The economy is created and the old economy is destroyed. Along with the old economy, the society and culture are also transformed.
- With the help of globalisation, some of the famous dances from the KBK area like Gumura, Sambalpuri and Dhemsas came to the forefront of mainstream media, which were only confined to Odisha. These dances are famous not only in India but also Worldwide. With the development of technology the tribal songs are also getting famous
- In earlier days the tribals used to practice agriculture and herding of cattle.
- But today the practices of agriculture and cattle herding is at its extinction level. Workings in factories and corporate offices have become the trend, and the agricultural practices are no more being carried amongst the tribes, with very few tribes today having any land-holdings.

- Along with positive impacts, there are a large number of negative impacts also. The region covering Rayagada and Kalahandi districts where the bauxite is to be mined by three big companies are predominantly inhabited by tribal people.
- The tribes feel threatened with losing their livelihoods based on agriculture and forest that would ensue if the projects go through.
- The globalization trend has alienated tribals from their mainstay. The new Industrial policy paved the way for Tribal Land alienation. This results in the alienation of tribal lands for various purposes like construction dams, mining projects, setting up of wildlife sanctuaries, construction of government infrastructure.

## 10. Questions

1. Explain Indian villages as a social system with examples. (20 marks, 2016)
2. Describe the traditional patterns of settlement of Indian villages (20 marks, 2016)
3. Examine the contribution of village studies towards the understanding of Indian social system. (20marks, 2015)
4. Discuss the impact of Globalization on the Village economy in India. (15Marks, 2015)



# LINGUISTIC AND RELIGIOUS MINORITIES

NOTES FOR CIVIL SERVICES EXAMINATION  
ANTHROPOLOGY PAPER II, CHAPTER 5.2

## 1. INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Minorities- definition:

- The Constitution of India uses the word 'minority' or its plural form in some Articles – 29 to 30 and 350A to 350 B – but does not define it anywhere. Article 29 has the word "minorities" in its marginal heading but speaks of "any sections of citizens having a distinct language, script or culture."
- In common parlance, the expression "minority" means a group comprising less than half of the population and differing from others, especially the predominant section, in race, religion, traditions and culture, language, etc.
- A special Sub-Committee on the Protection of Minority Rights appointed by the United Nations Human Rights Commission in 1946 defined the 'minority' as those "non-dominant groups in a population which possess a wish to preserve stable ethnic, religious and linguistic traditions or characteristics markedly different from those of the rest of population."

### 1.2 Minority in India:

- The National Commission for Minorities Act, 1992 says that "Minority for the purpose of the Act, means a community notified as such by the Central Government" - Section 2(7).
- Acting under this provision on 23-10- 1993, the Central Government notified the Muslim, Christian, Sikh, Buddhist and Parsi (Zoroastrian) communities to be regarded as "minorities" for the purpose of this Act.
- The Supreme Court in TMA Pai Foundation & Ors vs State of Karnataka and Ors (2002) Report of the National Commission for Religious and Linguistic Minorities has held that for the purpose of Article 30 a minority, whether linguistic or religious, is determinable with reference to a State and not by taking into consideration the population of the country as a whole.
- The State Minorities Commission Acts usually empower the local governments to notify the minorities e.g. Bihar Minorities Commission Act, 1991, Section 2(c)

### 1.3 International declarations on the rights of Minorities:

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights 1948	All human beings are equal in dignity and rights. It also Prohibit all kinds of discrimination – racial, religious etc
The UN Declaration against all Forms of Religious Discrimination and Intolerance 1981	Outlaws all kinds of religion-based discrimination
The UN Declaration on the Rights of Minorities 1992	Enjoins the States to protect the existence and identity of minorities within their respective territories and encourage conditions for promotion of that identity; ensure that persons belonging to minorities fully and effectively exercise human rights and fundamental freedoms with full equality and without any discrimination

## 2. RELIGIOUS MINORITIES IN INDIA

As regards religious minorities at the national level in India, all those who profess a religion other than Hindu are considered minorities since over 80 percent of the population of the country professes Hindu religion. At the national level, Muslims are the largest minority. Other minorities are much smaller in size. Next to the Muslims are the Christians (2.34 percent) and Sikhs (1.9 percent); while all the other religious groups are still smaller.

## 2.1 Constitutional Protection for Religious minority rights in India:

- Articles 15 and 16 of the Constitution prohibit the State from making any discrimination on the grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, descent place of birth, residence or any of them either generally i.e. every kind of State action in relation to citizens (Article 15) or in matters relating to employment or appointment to any office under the State (Article 16).
- Equality means relative equality and not absolute equality. Therefore, the Constitution permits positive discrimination in favour of the weak, the disadvantaged and the backward.
- Positive discrimination on the ground of caste or religion coupled with other grounds such as social and educational backwardness is constitutionally permissible and, therefore, under a given circumstance it may be possible to treat a caste or religious group as a "class".
- The Central Government and State Governments have included sections of religious minorities in the list of backward classes and have provided for reservation for them. Ex: the Government of Karnataka based on an extensive survey conducted by them, had identified the entire Muslim community inhabiting that State as a backward class and have provided for reservations for them
- Directive Principles of State Policy, Article 46 mandates the State to "promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people..... and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation
- Article 340 of the Constitution empowered the President to appoint a Commission "to investigate the conditions of socially and educationally backward classes" but did not make it mandatory.
- Freedom of conscience and free profession, practice and propagation of religion (article 25)
- Freedom to manage religious affairs (article 26)
- Freedom as to payment of taxes for promotion of any particular religion (article 27)
- Freedom as to attendance at religious instruction or religious worship in certain educational institutions (article 28)
- Special provision relating to language spoken by a section of the population of a State (article 347)
- Language to be used in representations for redress of grievances (article 350)
- Facilities for instruction in mother tongue at primary stage (article 350A)
- Special Officer for linguistic minorities (article 350 B)

## 2.2 Other safeguards for minorities in India:

S.no	Safeguards
1	Central Government had constituted a non-statutory Minorities Commission in 1978
2	In 1992, the National Commission for Minorities was enacted to provide for the constitution of a statutory Commission. The National Commission for Minorities was set up under the Act in 1993.
3	A Constitution Amendment Bill, viz. The Constitution (One Hundred and Third Amendment) Bill, 2004 has been introduced so as to add a new article, viz. Article 340A to constitute a National Commission for Minorities with a constitutional status.
4	The National Commission for Minority Educational Institutions Act, 2004 was enacted to constitute a Commission charged with the responsibilities of advising the Central Government or any State Government on any matter relating to education of minorities

## 2.3 Socio- Economic scenario of Religious minorities in India:

### 1. Demography:

- Population percentage: 18%
- A large proportion of them belong to Muslims (13.4 percent), followed by Christians (2.3 percent), Sikhs (1.9 percent), Buddhists (0.8 percent) and Zoroastrians (Parsis) (0.0069 percent).
- Population of those included in "Others" category has risen from 14.98 lakhs in 1961 Census to 66.39 lakhs in 2001
- Muslim population increased in both rural and urban areas

- The sex ratio among Christians at 1,009 females per 1,000 males is the highest. In contrast, it is the lowest among the Sikhs at 893. The over all sex ratio has marginally improved.
  - Jains have the maximum proportion of older persons (9.94 percent) followed by Sikhs (9.77 percent).
  - Total fertility rate is very high, among no religion category (3.91 percent), Muslims (3.59 percent), Scheduled Castes (3.15 percent) and Scheduled Tribes (3.06 percent). Total fertility rate is lowest among Jains (1.9 percent).
2. **Urbanisation:**
- Muslims are more urbanised than Hindus and Sikhs.
  - Besides Muslims, a greater proportion of Christians, Buddhists and Jains are urban residents. In fact Jains are the most urbanised as compared to any other religious minority group.
  - Poverty as a phenomenon was more acute in rural areas than urban areas for all religious communities except Muslims and Sikhs
3. **Status of Women:**
- In the case of females who married below 17 years of age, the percentage values were 37 percent Hindus, 43.2 percent Muslims, 41.0 percent Buddhists, approximately 25 percent Jains and 36 percent 'Others'.
  - Among the different religious communities the highest proportion of girl child marriage was found among Buddhists and Muslims.
  - The gender gap in male-female literacy for Christian and Jain religion is less than 10.
  - Among Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, no religion category, Scheduled Caste, Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Classes, more than 50 percent deliveries took place at home. Against this, among Christians and Jains most deliveries took place at Health Facility Centres comprising both government hospitals and private institutions.
4. **Literacy:**
- Literacy rate among the Jains is the highest at 94.1 percent, followed by Christians (80.3 percent) and Buddhists (72.7 percent).
  - Muslims have a literacy rate (59.1 percent) lower than the national average literacy rate.
  - Jains have the highest proportion of educated persons among all the religions among those who have completed graduation stage.
  - By and large all religious educational institutions impart education from the primary to the higher levels. However all of them concentrate on religious education. Thus, the religious educational institutions to a large extent provide religious knowledge and basic education but do not enable them to compete for admission to institutions of higher learning/professional courses and competitive examinations.
5. **Health:**
- Infant and child mortality rates among Hindus are much higher than Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, Jains, and Buddhists.
  - However, the infant and child mortality rate are higher among Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.
  - Among minorities infant and child mortality rates of other minorities are lower than Muslims.
  - Facility of doctors has been availed of by all the communities and castes but largely by Jains, Buddhists and Christians.
  - The nutritional status and antenatal care is relatively better among Jains, Sikhs and Christians. Use of contraceptives is comparatively less among the Muslims, Scheduled Castes, and Scheduled Tribes.
6. **Employment:**
- The Indian economic structure is showing a shift towards the non-agricultural sector. The category of 'Others Workers' includes all those workers who do not fall under the three distinct categories above. This includes workers in the tertiary sector, such as services, manufacturing, trade & commerce and allied activities.
  - Jains with 81.7 percent workers are classified as Other workers followed by 52.8 percent Christians and 49.1 percent Muslims. Among Hindus, Other Workers are 35.5 percent.

- The business character of Jain workers and the service sector work of the Christians are evident in this data set.
- About 37 percent of Hindu households were dependent on 'self-employment in agriculture'. The corresponding proportion was 35 percent for the Christians and 26 percent for the Muslims.

## 2.4 Major Socio- Economic issues faced by several religious minorities of India:

### 1. Parsis:

- The fertility rate among Parsis is very low and has affected its population. Reluctance of many couples to have children, in spite of being healthy and economically well off was responsible for a low replenishment rate to the existing Parsi members
- The socio-economically disadvantaged groups among Parsis are single woman often elderly without family support or any means of income; families on doles; rural based Parsi families without land and without able bodied persons, etc.

### 2. Sikhs:

- Foeticide and declining sex ratios in infants particularly female child are the major social problems with the Sikh community.
- Sikligar, Banjara, Labana and Ramgarhiah communities are most backward socially, educationally and economically among the Sikhs.
- Educationally, the girl child among the Sikhs lag behind others and she requires proper protection and care till they qualify secondary level of education.

### 3. Buddhists:

- Buddhists by and large are depending on agriculture and/or wage employment. Problem of landlessness among them is acute and wages paid to them are also quite low.
- Since Buddhists do not have enough capital, they have not set up industries, business enterprises, educational institutions or hospitals.

### 4. Christians:

- Christians are generally engaged in the service sector except in Nagaland and Meghalaya where they are engaged in agricultural related work.

### 5. Muslims:

- Muslims are behind other religious communities in the areas of literacy and education, industrial promotion and economic pursuits.
- They lack technical and vocational education as well as training in trades in demand.
- The Villages, the Tehsils and the Districts having the concentration of Muslims community many a time lack entrepreneurial ventures and market for their products.
- The Muslims have not been able to avail of the facilities of Waqf resources in the absence of proper management.
- The work participation rate among Muslim women has been found to be low affecting the quality of their life.
- Among Muslims those who are known as Religious Minorities and their Status Faqueer, Seengwala (traditional medicine practice), Arzals are both economically and socially backward.
- Various artisanal classes such as Weavers etc. are still languishing due to their old techniques of spinning and weaving, thereby they are not able to compete with artisans of neighbouring countries.

## 3. LINGUISTIC MINORITIES IN INDIA

As regards linguistic minorities, there is no majority at the national level and the minority status is to be essentially decided at the State/Union Territory level. At the State/Union Territory level – which is quite important in a federal structure like ours – the Muslims are the majority in the State of Jammu and Kashmir and the Union Territory of Lakshadweep. In the States of Meghalaya, Mizoram and Nagaland, Christians constitute the majority. Sikhs are the majority community in the State of Punjab. No other religious community among the minorities is a majority in any other State/UT.

According to the Supreme Court judgment in DAV College etc. v/s State of Punjab and others (SCR 688; AIR 1971 SC 1737 (5th May, 1971)) “a linguistic minority for the purpose of Article 30(1) is one which must at least have a separate spoken language; it is not necessary that the language should also have distinct script.”

### 3.1 Constitutional safeguards for Linguistic minorities:

<b>Article 345</b>	The Legislature of a State may by law adopt any one or more of the languages in the State or Hindi as language or languages to be used for all or any of official purposes.
<b>Article 347</b>	The President may direct that such language shall also be officially recognised throughout that State or any part thereof for such purpose as he may specify. It is a specific measure directed towards linguistic minorities inhabiting a State facilitating preservation, and even propagation, of such a language.
<b>Article 350-A</b>	It shall be the endeavour of every State and every local authority within the State to provide adequate facilities for instruction in the mother-tongue at the primary stage of education to children belonging to linguistic minority groups; and the President may issue such direction to any State as he considers necessary or proper for securing the provision of such facility
<b>Article 29(1)</b>	Linguistic minority has the fundamental right to conserve its own language
<b>Article 30</b>	All minorities, whether based on religion or language, shall have the right to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice
<b>Article 350-B</b>	Provides for appointment of a Special Officer for linguistic minorities by the President.

### 3.2 Other safeguards:

- To investigate all matters related to the safeguards provided for the linguistic minorities under the Constitution, and to report on these matters to the President at such intervals as he may direct, article 350-B provides for the appointment by the President of a Special Officer, now designated as Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities. The Commissioner at present submits his reports annually which are laid before each House of Parliament.
- Another machinery for suggesting recommendations to protect the interests of linguistic minorities is the Zonal Councils set up under the States Reorganisation Act, 1956. The main purpose is to enable the states in a Zone to evolve a common policy regarding these minorities.

### 3.3 Socio- Economic scenario of Linguistic minorities in India:

- The Constitution of India recognises 22 major languages which put together are spoken by a large majority of the people whereas hundreds of other languages and dialects are spoken by the people in rural/ tribal areas in the country.
- Languages spoken in South-Asian Region belong to at least four major language families: Indo-European (most of which i.e. 74.24 percent speakers belong to its sub-branch Indo-Aryan); Dravidian (with 23.86 percent speakers); Austro-Asiatic (1.16%) and SinoTibetan (0.62%)
- Among the modern Indo-Aryan languages, Hindi and Bangla happen to be the most well-known languages.
- Language cuts across social and economic barriers – people speaking languages enjoying the status of ‘majority’ or ‘minority’ can be classified as socially and economically forward or backward due to their differing levels of achievements.
- People speaking the same language (linguistic minority) can be classified under different castes, creeds, religions, etc. For example in U.P. and Haryana where Hindi is spoken by majority and Urdu and Punjabi by minorities, the socially and economically backwards are found among both i.e. in linguistic majority and linguistic minority.
- Therefore, linguistic minorities are a unique feature of this country. As per the Supreme Court judgment in TMA Pai Foundation and Others vs. State of Karnataka (8 (2002) SCC) linguistic

minorities have to be determined Statewise. As the status of the linguistic minority changes from State to State, place to place, one family to another, language cannot determine the social and/ or economic backwardness of the speaker.

- Linguistic minority like the linguistic majority in a State is a comprehensive whole and, therefore, comprises people belonging to each category and strata in the society.
- It cuts across the rich and the poor, the socially, economically and educationally backward and forward, the Brahmins and the Scheduled Status of Linguistic Minorities Castes and Scheduled Tribes and people belonging to all religions.
- It is, therefore, difficult to accept language as a criteria for determining the social and economic status of individuals or a group.

### 3.4 Major issues faced by Linguistic minorities in India:

- The reorganisation of States as political and administrative units on linguistic basis failed to reduce the conflict between the majority language speakers and minority language speakers.
- Different States of India might have been declared uni- or bilingual for political exigencies of administrative convenience, but basically each of them is a multilingual and politically complex entity. Consequently, even if the State boundaries were drawn rigidly on the principle of uni- or bilingual criteria, the problem of linguistic minorities would remain unsolved.
- Inadequate facilities for promoting minority language in the State, vacancies in the schools of minority language teachers, lack of residential schools teaching in the language of the minority community etc.
- The absence of translators and typists in the minority language, delay in the disbursement of salaries to teachers, lack of government programmes, lack of books in the minority languages, need for inclusion of some minority languages in the 8th Schedule etc.
- A majority community/ group in one State or district or taluka may become a linguistic minority in another State or district or taluka in the same or another State. This is basically due to migration of the population from one place to the other in search for a vocation or employment or otherwise.
- The minorities especially in rural areas may not have the necessary wherewithal to set up and maintain their own educational institutions.
- The Constitution has not enjoined upon the states to provide adequate facilities for instruction in the mother-tongue at the level of secondary education to the linguistic groups.
- Recruitment to the services is another problem area of the linguistic minorities. The governments not conducting exams in minority languages acts as a hurdle.
- Another form of discrimination against linguistic minority groups is the practice in certain states to prescribe a high standard of proficiency in official language of the state for entry into state services or by making this language the medium of various competitive examinations for state services. This practice tends to keep the state services a virtual monopoly of the dominant language group.

### 3.5 Some examples of problems faced by linguistic minorities in various states:

<b>Karnataka</b>	The tension in Karnataka came from an unexpected quarter- particularly from the bordering speech community of Marathi speakers and this as well as many other tensions later had to do with control over scratch resources like Cauvery water sharing dispute with Tamil Nadu or land etc.
<b>Meghalaya</b>	Tensions due to large scale migration of Bengalis, Marwaris, Biharis and Nepalise
<b>Assam</b>	The linguistic tensions have been quite volatile due to their linguistic composition as well as their inter group attitudes. Tensions also increased due to large scale migrations
<b>Manipur</b>	Remained volatile and unstable because of a long border with Myanmar and also due to ethnic - linguistic tensions, which may be due to their linguistic composition as well as inter-group attitudes

#### 4. POLITICAL STATUS OF RELIGIOUS AND LINGUISTIC MINORITIES

- State Minorities Commissions have already been set up in several States
- The Governments of AP and Karnataka have suggested that in order to empower the minority communities, their representatives should be in all State level Commissions, Committees, Boards and Corporations and the Chairmanship should be kept rotating among different religious groups with a view to provide a sense of participation.
- Independent Minorities Development & Finance Corporations have been set up in some States
- State Wakf Boards have been constituted in almost all States/UTs with sizeable Muslim population
- The Government of India (GOI) had constituted a National Commission to suggest criteria for the identification of socially and economically backward sections among religious and linguistic minorities and measures for their development and also suggest necessary constitutional, legal and administrative modalities, as required for the implementation of the recommendations.
- The Government of India had subsequently asked this Commission to examine the justification for specification of Dalit Christians (or SC converts to Christianity) and Dalit Muslim (or SC converts to Islam) as SCs for the purpose of reservation.

##### 4.1 Schemes by the Ministry of Minority affairs:

###### 1. Nai Roshni:

- The scheme is envisaged to reach out to women through nongovernmental organizations who will be provided with financial support for conducting leadership development trainings
- To help women to assume leadership roles and assert their rights collectively or individually

###### 2. Scholarship schemes:

- For students belonging to notified minority communities viz. Muslim / Christian / Sikh / Buddhist / Jain / Parsi (Zoroastrian) studying in India
- The scheme aims to empower the minority communities by assisting the economically weaker sections of students among them through coaching institutions for enhancing their skills and capabilities to make them employable in industries, services and business sectors in addition to the government sector
- Separate schemes for providing coaching to students belonging to scheduled caste, minority communities and backward classes were being implemented earlier. Such separate schemes were amalgamated into a combined Scheme of Coaching and Allied Assistance for Weaker Sections including Scheduled Castes, Other Backward Classes and Minorities.
- After creation of the Ministry of Minority Affairs, a new scheme called "Free Coaching & Allied Scheme for candidates belonging to minority communities has been formulated

###### 3. Seekho aur Kamao:

- To bring down unemployment rate of minorities during 12th Plan period
- To conserve and update traditional skills of minorities and establish their linkages with the market.
- To improve employability of existing workers, school dropouts etc and ensure their placement.
- To generate means of better livelihood for marginalised minorities and bring them in the mainstream.
- To enable minorities to avail opportunities in the growing market.
- To develop potential human resources for the country.

###### 4. Jiyo Parsi:

- The main objective is to reverse the declining trend of Parsi population by adopting scientific protocol and structured interventions, stabilize the Parsi population and increase the population of Parsis in India.
- 100 percent funded by the Ministry of Minority Affairs, Government of India.
- Medical interventions under Standard Medical protocols in empanelled hospitals/clinics.
- Confidentiality of the patients to be given utmost importance.

- The scheme is meant for only the Parsi community.
  - Parsi married couples of child bearing age who seek assistance.
  - Adults/young men/women/adolescent boys/girls for detection of diseases resulting with consent of parents/legal guardians.
5. **Padho Pardesh:**
- The scheme is implemented for providing 'interest subsidy' for minority students for overseas studies.
  - The loans for overseas studies for specific courses are sanctioned by the bank under the IBA model scheme.
  - The annual income of the parents should be less than 6 lakhs.
  - If the student is eligible, the Government of India provides full interest subsidy during the moratorium period.
6. **Nalanda Scheme:**
- It is a Faculty Development Program of the Union Ministry of Minority Affairs.
  - The Nalanda Project is being taken up at Aligarh Muslim University. The Aligarh Muslim University is also a Nodal Staff College of University Grant Commission.
  - The primary goal of faculty development is to help faculty learn new ways to achieve excellence and to grow as faculty members. Faculty development includes education, collaboration, resources and support.
  - Faculty development is an essential element of institutional effectiveness in higher education. It has become a priority at many academic institutions as a way to improve the quality of academic programs and to respond to emerging faculty, student, program and industry needs.
  - Through educational programs and workshops faculty can learn the skills necessary to reach excellence in a changing academic environment.
  - Faculty who engage in professional development experiences benefit also in terms of increased vitality, informed pedagogy, teaching innovations and scholarly teaching.
7. **Minority Cyber Gram:**
- The MCG programme seeks to introduce digital literacy skills in identified minority clusters in India
  - It is done through designated Digital Fellows towards knowledge empowerment and entitlement gains of minority focused groups and beneficiaries.
  - With basic literacy level low among the backward sections of the minorities, the social and economic profile is further aggravated due to lack of basic digital skills.
  - In order to mainstream minority groups and communities with national development goals and objectives, the scheme aims to introduce digital literacy skills to get benefits in knowledge based networks and in public schemes and other services through information empowerment.
  - To provide opportunities in information and knowledge networks for local communities

#### 4.2 Political issues faced by minorities of India:

##### 1. Electoral representation:

- India's minorities have long viewed the electoral system as detrimental to their interests. In today's India, the country's first-past-the-post system systematically disadvantages the country's minority population.
- Since the 1980s, Muslim representation in India's lower house, the Lok Sabha, has consistently declined, whereas the population of Muslims have increased. This shows the issue of low electoral representation.

##### 2. Political exclusion:

- The lack of political groups and parties which primarily care for minority rights has led to political exclusion of the minorities.
- Lack of representation has also resulted in lack of minority consciousness while framing national schemes and policies.

### 3. Reservation:

- Reservation has not led to participation. Reservation has not made any dent on the lives of the ultra-poor who happen to be these minorities.
- On the contrary, it has enshrined casteism constitutionally and politically – something that was to have been outlawed once in for all.
- It has led to unprecedented political patronage of the leadership of the poor, and to acts of extreme populism to manipulate electoral results.

### 4. Violence:

- Violence and discrimination against minorities by the majority has resulted in marginalisation of minorities in India.
- The very low representation of minorities in public employment also led to a sense of alienation from the mainstream society
- The vulnerability of some minority religious groups to get easily exposed to religious extremism and polarisation led to increased involvement in crimes

### 5. Communal votes:

- The issue of mobilisation of votes on the lines of religion is a major issue. This has also led to the emergence of certain political parties that engage in communal politics
- Voting by religious and linguistic minorities on the basis of religion and language has resulted in election of criminals in to the legislature

### 6. Other issues:

- No proper legal mechanism to ensure that minority communities and marginalised groups get a fair deal in matters of recruitment and employment.
- One factor for economic marginalisation of large sections of minorities, particularly Muslims, is the decline of several trades and crafts as a result of mechanisation.
- Minority educational institutions face a lot of difficulties in getting registration from appropriate Boards/Universities

## 5. MEASURES REQUIRED TO IMPROVE THE STATUS OF MINORITIES IN INDIA

- In the developmental process meant for minorities greater emphasis should be given to States in terms of allocation of funds/schemes where minority community families have a higher concentration.
- Presuming that minorities are engaged for less than 70 percent of their time in gainful activity and remaining 30 percent of their working time is available for further activity for economic benefit, additional working opportunities may be created at a location closer to the residence of poor families.
- There is a need to pay greater attention to reach Muslim households with better education facilities. Graduates and postgraduates among Muslims were also very few as compared to other communities. Thus, effort needs to be made to enhance access to education.
- The study reveals that most minority community households and in particular Muslim and Buddhist households are not aware of functioning of the Government Health Schemes and therefore there is an urgent need to create extension material about health schemes so that minority communities can take advantage of these schemes.
- It is necessary that Government sponsored health facilities are further strengthened in areas of habitation of minority communities
- There is an urgent need to pay greater attention to immunisation of female children. The Government may take an initiative to ensure immunisation, particularly, of female children of minority communities' upto a specified income level in coordination with several voluntary and Government organisations engaged in delivering immunisation
- There is a need for universal practice of small family norms among all households, especially, relatively poorer minority community households.
- A large percentage of Muslim families are staying in kuchha and semi-pucca houses closely followed by Christian families. Special schemes may be introduced to deliver ownership of houses to poorer religious minority communities.

- To deliver piped water to minority households, local NGOs may be engaged to create plans for piped water supply in coordination with local municipal bodies.
- 48.05 percent of the minority population was not aware of the various developmental schemes available to them. The Government may therefore work out a plan for creation of more awareness among minorities and bring more transparency while introducing various developmental schemes.
- There is urgent need for generating awareness on the sub sectors such as micro- finance assistance for design development, grant under various sector schemes, margin money loan scheme and marketing assistance to crafts persons.
- The National Minorities Commission should be empowered by the central government to collect information and report on the educational, social and economic conditions of minorities across the country. Autonomy in management must also be respected, with regulatory measures applicable to minority institutions being reasonable and appropriate.
- All the seats in the minority colleges should be given only to minority students and not to the majority students. Also, the qualifying marks for admission to professional colleges for candidates belonging to SC/ST are lower in order to promote education among them. Similarly, there can be some mechanism for minimum requirements for minorities.
- A state government can confer minority status on an educational institute only after considering the socio-economic backwardness of the minorities in that state.
- A study is required for assessments of social development in various states to see why the disparity has narrowed in some states but not in others.
- Socio-economic backwardness and indicators thereof should be tabulated and considered before framing educational policy or providing subsidy, rather than basing it on religion. This would enhance the overall development effort currently gaining momentum in the country.
- Administration of Wakfs should be studied in detail – A Waqf Development Corporation may be established

#### 6. PREVIOUS YEAR QUESTIONS:

1. What are the issues and socio-economic problems arising out of being a religious minority? Discuss.
2. "Linguistic and religious minorities are particularly vulnerable to political manipulation". Comment.
3. Discuss the socio economic status of religious minorities in India. Identify their role in politics
4. Distinguish between characteristics and problems of linguistic and religious minorities in India. Give examples of conflicts generated by such considerations and steps to resolve them

# **INDIGENOUS & EXOGENOUS PROCESSES OF SOCIO-CULTURAL CHANGE**

**NOTES FOR CIVIL SERVICES EXAMINATION  
ANTHROPOLOGY PAPER II, CHAPTER 5.3**

## 1. INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 What is culture?

E.B. Tylor	"Culture is a complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society."
Bronisław Malinowski	"Culture is a functioning, active, efficient well-organized unity, which must be analysed into component institutions in relation to one another, in relation to the needs of the human organism, and in relation to the environment, man made as well as natural"
A.L.Kroeber and Clyde Klukhohn	"Culture consists of patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behaviour acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievement of human groups, including their embodiment in artifacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional ideas and especially their attached values; culture systems may, on the one hand, be considered as products of action, on the others as conditioning elements of further action"

### What is society/ social structure?

- Social structure is a network or system of social relations including persistent social groups and different social classes and social roles.

### 1.2 Socio- cultural change:

- The formation and transformation of structural types may be applied universally to all the societies.
- Social change is a Variation from the accepted modes of life whether due to alteration in geographical conditions, in cultural equipment, composition of population, or ideologies, and whether brought about by diffusion or invention within the group.
- It is the significant alteration of social structures (that is, of patterns of social action and interaction), including consequences and manifestations of such structures embodied in norms (rules of conduct), values, and cultural products and symbols
- Social relations and its various forms cannot be understood without reference to culture.
- Social and cultural changes are dynamic processes. The changes in the social relationships are the direct effects of social change. The social and cultural changes are highly interrelated processes
- Socio-cultural change is a universal process. All societies at all times are subject to this process of change.

### 1.3 Factors of social change:

G.R. Madan (1979) has attempted to divide the factors of social change into five broad categories as follows-

Factors	Significance
Physical	The physical factors through inventions and others, creates larger changes in the society
Psychological	The psychological factors through imitation of customs and mores which may not be an exact copy
Biological	The biological factors may bring changes through inter mixture of races and increase or decrease of population as of the previous generation or through competition, conflict, etc.
Technological	In the modern era, the technological factor is the most important one as technological changes are shaping human interaction with the society
Cultural	Through change in ideas, beliefs, attitudes etc.

- Exogenous change is caused by agencies external to society itself, such factors as invasion, colonization, settlement, culture contact and disease are highly unpredictable and capable of effecting social disequilibrium and change.
- Endogenous/ Indigenous change occurs within the society.
- Endogenous change can be divided into two types according to their degree of predictability.
  1. **Episodic change:** Brought about within a society by some event which could not have been predicted from our own personal knowledge of the state of our society. It is applied particularly with the realm of inventions which have, sometimes, quite devastating effects upon the whole fabric and life-style of society.
  2. **Patterned change:** Changes within the society which permits more precise prediction. Such prediction is of a short-term order; it depends upon the increase in a society of mutual concern, planning, rationality and an organised programme of social welfare, as well as political and economic consensus.

#### 1.4 Characteristics of socio- cultural changes:

S.no	Characteristics
1	Social change necessarily gives rise to changes in overall institutional systems.
2	In all social life and change there is an interplay of causation, teleology and purely accidental
3	Changes in any one social structure could lead to changes in over all social relationship
4	Culture and social structure or the society is interrelated. Hence changes in social structure could result in changes in culture and vice versa
5	Changes in technology, education, exposure to other societies, etc. could also result in socio- cultural changes in a society

#### 1.5 Acculturation and Assimilation:

##### 1. Acculturation:

- Acculturation occurs when a society undergoes drastic culture change under the influence of a more dominant culture and society with which it has come in contact, such culture contact opens up new alternatives and thought of possibilities.
- The acculturating society alters its culture in the direction of adjustment and conformity to cultural ideology and patterns of the dominant society, however retaining its discrete identity.
- It therefore may be seen as a special kind of culture change.

##### 2. Assimilation:

- It is sometimes called acculturation also but the contact in such a case is the continuous first-hand contact which subsequently results in absorption so that the weaker ones may become alike with the dominant group in respect of ideas, knowledge and even language.
- The different European immigrants assimilated in America during the 19th and early 20th centuries so as to become Americans.

#### 1.6 Case study: Socio- cultural change among the Mizos:

- Mizos used to historically follow a social institution called the Zawlbuk, or bachelor's dormitory which is now completely extinct.
- The institution where young men used to live together at night as a rehearsal for active participation in the communal life of the society came to its disuse as soon as the Mizos realised the need of sending their children to school.
- However, the tradition of oral folklores and stories still persist in them as a way of transmitting the glorified past to the present progeny
- The gradual replacement of the Christian Pastors, as the prestige symbols of the society by the salaried class like office goers and professionals point out another ongoing trend of change. The transformation of an animistic society into an organised form

- The transformation of an animistic society into an organised form
- The cultural contact with the missionaries and the British officials had encouraged them to come to the Christian fold. It is effective to the extent that an entire group of Mizo turned to Christianity for their succour and existence.
- The Mizos are in a state of flux, changes are constantly occurring in their life patterns and have been able to adjust with different centripetal and centrifugal forces that are at work.

## 2. MODERNISATION

Modernisation is a process of social change in which development is the economic component. Modernization in the western concept also entails technological development. But presently the term has been used to mean the subordination of tradition to modern thoughts and needs, the process of changing the society in tune with the present day needs of a modern society. A diffusion of secular-rational norms in the culture content shall be emphasized along with mobility of the people.

- From a historical viewpoint modernisation is the process of change towards those types of social, economic, and political systems which were developed in Western Europe and North America from the 17th to 19th century and after that spread over to South America, Asia, and Africa during the 19th and 20th centuries"
- The term modernisation does not denote any philosophy or movement, but it only symbolises a process of change. In fact, Modernisation is understood as a process which indicates the adoption of modern ways of life and values

**S.C.Dube's comment on modernisation:** "Modernisation is an attractive feature of the concept that it showed an apparent concern for the cultural sensitivities of both the elites and the masses of the third world. The term modernisation was much less value loaded than its predecessor westernisation"

### 2.1 Three characteristics of modernisation:

<b>Empathy</b>	Empathy is the capacity to see things as others see them. It can make a qualitative change in human interaction
<b>Mobility</b>	It does not refer only to geographical mobility- it is used in a more comprehensive sense. It is the ability to achieve new statuses and learn to play associated roles. Unlike the traditional society, which had ascribed statuses and roles, the modernised society has an open status system.
<b>Participation</b>	It refers to the increased role of individuals in realising social goals and objectives in more active ways. High participation requires the capacity in individuals to visualise new goals or alter objectives and modify their roles accordingly. In traditional societies social objectives are not open to question; the core of modernisation is rationality

### 2.2 Characteristic features of modernisation:

S.no	Features
1	Modernisation is the interactive process of economic growth and social change
2	The process of modernisation is related to the industrialisation, urbanisation, high standard of living, development of civilization and broadness of view point.
3	Modernisation is the response of western social science to the many challenges faced by the third World in the decades immediately following the second world war.
4	Some scholars considered modernisation to be the child of westernisation
5	The concept of modernisation recognised the strength of roots. It did not pose any overt threat to the cultural identity of the people aspiring for rapid change
6	The people of third world accepted modernisation as a positive factor readily because it did not appear to offend their cultural dignity
7	Modernised societies operate through institutional structures that are capable of

	continuously absorbing the change that are inherent in the process of modernisation
8	There is no standard model of modernisation and no fixed path for its attainment. Developing societies can adopt a model of their choice and can chalk out their own path for it's realisation
9	Industrialisation of the economy and adopting a scientific technology in industry, agriculture, dairy farming, etc. to make them highly productive.
10	A spread of scientific and technical education.
11	Relatively greater measure of public participation in the polity

### 2.3 Impacts of Modernisation:

S.no	Impacts
1	Industrialisation, development of communication, capitalist economies proliferated
2	Modernisation and emergence of white-collared jobs based on formal education tended to make many traditional occupations obsolete
3	Brought to an end slowly but steadily many of the discriminatory practices and deformities developed in Caste system
4	Indian society became rationalised and integrated more with the global society
5	Economic access to all, non- discrimination, political and socio- economic representation and equality for all

### 2.4 Criticisms on Modernisation:

- During the period of modernisation structural changes mostly remain uneven. For example, industries may be modernised but the religious system, family system, etc. remain conservative.
- Modernisation demands that society must change in all ways at once. But such a regular and co-ordinated pattern of growth cannot be planned and materialised.
- Modernisation of social and economic institutions may create conflicts with the traditional ways of life. For example, trained M.B.B.S. doctors may pose a threat to the traditional medical practitioners
- Most often roles adopted by the people are modern, but their values continue to be traditional
- Though modernisation raises the aspirations of people, the social system does not provide enough chances to materialise them. This creates frustration, disappointment and social unrest.
- Narrow loyalties of caste and religion are encouraged in political arena even in the modern Indian democracy
- Family values diminished and marriages became more of contractual than pious
- Promotes evil effects on the Environment as it supports industrialisation.

### 2.5 Case study: Modernisation among Lambadas of Telangana:

- Most of the developmental reforms recognizing the development needs of the Lambada tribe were formulated and established as bills after India got Independence especially through the Constitutional Amendment.
- There has been major transformation in the behaviour and lives of Lambada tribe with many of them having access to proper education, connectivity with mainstream society, health, etc.
- Lambadas of Telangana in large scale have transformed themselves in order to be part of the mainstream society rather than being a distinct community and it is the modern democratic institutions along with education and health facilities that made it possible
- The cultural transformation has been possible only due to the welfare programmes implemented by the government during the 20th century that has allowed equal participation of the people from Lambada community through reservations.

### 3. WESTERNISATION

Westernisation refers to all cultural changes and institutional innovations in India as the Indian society came into political and cultural contact with the western nations specially Britain. British colonial rule had a profound impact on Indian society. During Colonial rule, social change took place both in the structure and functioning of the society.

- Different people defined the term westernization in different ways. Srinivas used this term for all those changes that affected all Indians during British rule (after establishment of Pax Britannica) and which accelerated later. Thus it refers to “the change brought about in Indian society and culture as a result of over 150 years of British rule, the term subsuming changes occurring at different levels, technology, institutions, knowledge, and values.”
- Westernization may mean the introduction of ideas, thoughts and ways of living of the western countries to the less developed non-West countries.
- The impact of Western domination over the countries currently known as developing countries has been profound.
- The people who became westernized in some domains of life (mostly in office) maintained tradition in other domains (for example at home).
- There were different Western influences on different people of India because different people in India came in contact with different types of British people: administrators, army men, traders, and Christian missionaries, etc.
- Srinivas also showed that the movement from tradition to Westernization was not linear. Westernization also produced revivalism, nationalism, communalism, casteism (vertical and horizontal solidarity), heightened linguistic consciousness, regionalism and passionate xenophobia (among Muslims). In some contexts Westernization led to rejection of the tradition while in others it led to mixing or combination of traditions and Western influences.

#### 3.1 Colonial policies that resulted in Westernisation:

- The British not only changed the land tenure systems changing the nature of land ownership, they also intervened effectively in the selection of crops, production system and their distribution.
- Christian missionary and English education played very important role in changing the face of Indian society
- The British colonial rulers, in order to bring about desired changes in the points of view of the people, brought out a new system of education.
- They brought out changes in the legal, cultural and even in the field of architecture.
- These, in turn, released new forces of change and the Indian society could never be the same again. Thus, in a way, the British colonial rule may be seen as the agent of cultural and technological modernisation of India.
- After independence western cultural elements have gained social sanction and western values are rapidly being absorbed into Indian culture and lifestyle.

#### 3.2 Features of Westernisation:

S.no	Major Features
1	More emphasis on materialism rather than spiritualism
2	Increased emphasis on individualism rather than the traditional joint family system
3	Liberal approach towards various problems of the society
4	Increase in the idea of humanism and human rights
5	Moves towards an egalitarian society, emphasis on equality and equal treatment of all and against the traditional caste based hierarchy
6	Increased emphasis on rationalism in dealing with day to day life
7	Westernisation primarily focuses on cultural changes
8	Westernisation results in the introduction of new institutions and brings changes in the old institutions.

### 3.3 Impact of Westernisation on Indian society:

- The emergence of a society which reflects the Western way of life and Western values
- Increase in people getting educated, employed in government services and engaging in material accumulation
- The Westernised section of Indian society in the Colonial times acted as the link between the Indians and the Britishers
- The Westernised section adopted not only various western elements such as dress pattern, food habit, ideas, values etc, but also the cognitive aspect of British culture as well as style of life.
- Westernisation along with modernisation resulted in a rise of social and cultural reformation movements.
- Introduction of industrialisation and urbanisation.
- Introduction of new institutions like election system, christian missions, etc
- It brought about changes in the old institutions through socio- economic reform movements. For example, the traditional inequalities that were part of Hindu caste system and rituals were overcome with the introduction of the British Procedural law.
- Change of giving importance to ascribed status to achieved status
- Growth of nationalism, technology, communication, transportation, business and economy
- Introduction of new ideas such as 'welfare state', 'parliamentary democracy'.
- Establishment of scientific technology and educational institutions, rise of nationalism, new political culture and leadership in the country are all by products of westernisation
- In the economic and political sphere it has disintegrated cottage industries, promoted variety in cultivation, introduced new measures in land management
- M.N. Srinivas found contradicting situations in relation to westernisation. That is, the manipulation of western technology does not mean that the manipulators have accepted a rationalistic and scientific attitude. Ex: The bulldozer driver of Rampura village was considered as a black magician by the locals. This situation represents a carryover of traditional magico-religious beliefs into the new world of modern technology.
- There are also instances where westernisation has given birth to forces which are mutually at cross-purposes. For example, the introduction of printing machines. Printing machine helps in the transmission of modern knowledge as well as knowledge of the traditional epics, mythology, religious literature etc.
- In the political and cultural field, westernisation has given birth to nationalism and also to revivalism, communalism, casteism, linguism and regionalism., etc.

### 3.4 Criticisms on Westernisation:

- Though Srinivas claimed that the concept of Westernisation is "ethically neutral", it is not really so. Ex: The facts of Western life such as racial prejudice, colour segregation and exploitative nature of the Western economy, etc.
- It is too local label and the model which is imitated may not be western country, but even Russia or Japan
- Westernisation in one area or level of behaviour does not result in Westernisation in another related area or level.

### 3.5 Case study: The impact of Westernisation on Kerala's society:

- The historical factors such as European Colonialism and Christian religious missionary activities have accelerated the pace of the westernisation in Kerala's social structure.
- Socio-cultural dualism exists in the Kerala society as a product of the ongoing process of westernisation juxtaposed with inherent traditionalism in the society.
- Socio-cultural dualism in Kerala are the outcome of pro-western attitude of the present generation.
- Social and cultural factors like family, marriage, divorce, sexuality, ageing generation, feminism, tourism, education, migration, media, language, literature, food and beverages, dress, fashion,

habits and hobbies are rapidly drifting towards the western pattern from the traditional way of life.

- The growth of westernisation has initiated economic changes in the Kerala society both in positive and negative ways.
- The growth of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), foreign remittance, foreign exchange, foreign trade, deposits and savings, employment etc. are positive economic effects of western interaction.
- On the other hand the growth of facilities for credits and borrowing, modern consumerism, inflation, financial dualism and economic imbalances are the negative results of this influence.
- One of the laudable effects of westernisation is that it has dealt a crushing blow at the dismal customs of feudalism especially at gross inequality and discrimination that were vogue in Kerala society

#### 4. SANSKRITISATION

Sanskritization is a term developed by M.N. Srinivas in the context of Indian Hindu society. The term Sanskritisation used by Srinivas in his study of Coorgs was primarily meant to describe the process of cultural mobility in the traditional rural India. Srinivas holds the view that Hindu caste system has never been so rigid that individuals or castes cannot alter or raise their status. Sanskritization had been occurring throughout the Indian history. It may be viewed as the model of social mobility in India.

- Originally, Srinivas used the term "Brahminization" to denote this process, however, when he was confronted with other models of emulation he gave up the term 'Brahminization' in preference to the term 'Sanskritisation'.
- Moreover, Sanskritisation is much broader a concept than 'Brahminization' because not only it encompasses non-Brahmin models like Kshatriya model, Jat model, Vaishya model and models of other 'twice born' castes but also denotes a wide spectrum of values and lifestyles.
- This process demonstrates the possibility and direction of movement in the status hierarchy of caste, a lower caste, especially in the middle regions of the hierarchy, can register an upward move "in a generation or two, by adopting vegetarianism and teetotalism, and by sanskritizing its ritual and pantheon".
- The process essentially consists of taking over by the lower castes of the customs, rites, and beliefs of the Brahmins and of the adoption by them of the Brahmanic way of life.
- This trend, first identified and scientifically articulated by Srinivas, is now widely accepted.
- With the establishment of British rule in India the lower castes got more opportunities to sanskritise themselves and subsequently raise their social status because the new rulers and a new political order were not socially involved in the dynamics of caste hierarchy.

##### 4.1 Features of Sanskritisation:

S.no	Features
1	It is a process by which not only a low caste, but also a tribe or other groups takes over the customs, rituals, beliefs, ideology and lifestyle of a higher caste
2	It provides upward mobility to the caste groups
3	The Sanskritization hypothesis is "Uni-directional" and has a single focus - the ritual theme.
4	Sanskritization is not only transforming the culture of all the castes, and especially that of the lower, but it is also contributing to the decrease of structural distance between the various castes.
5	Sanskritisation may result in the erosion of cultural autonomy of the womenfolk which includes erosion in the freedom to choose life partner and adoption of a rigid sexual morality.
6	M.N.Srinivas admitted that it is a "blanket term" to denote other processes like urbanization, industrialization and adoption of modern ideology.
7	Sanskritisation proves that the Indian caste system has never been absolutely rigid and static.

8	Sanskritisation refers to a cultural process, but it is essential to realise that it is usually a concomitant of the acquisition of political or economic power by a caste. Both are parts of the processes of social mobility.
9	Sanskritisation as a process of social mobility may be observed empirically even among the non-Hindu communities especially those with well defined social hierarchy such as Muslims and Sikhs and in lesser degrees among other communities too.
10	In several cases the motive force is not always cultural imitation of higher caste, but an expression of challenge and revolt against socio-economic deprivation and frustration like in the case of a lower caste insisting to carry his bride in a palanquin

#### 4.2 Impacts of Sanskritisation on a society:

S.no	Major impacts
1	Changes in family structure include a movement towards the orthodox Hindu joint family
2	Following the practice of a concomitant stronger authority of father
3	Following the practice of rigid marriage with monogamy
4	Adoption of dowry practices instead of the token bride price
5	A stronger caste organisation with increased tendency of outcasting/ostracism
6	A rigid commensality prevails along with changed food habits- outlawing beef and pork eating, and consumption of liquor etc.
7	More emphasis is placed on the acquisition of higher education
8	In the realm of religion and religious practices, it frequently results in the donning of sacred thread, giving up animal sacrifice and increased emphasis on pilgrimage etc.

#### 4.3 Impact of Sanskritization on the Indian society as a whole:

- Talking of new agents of Sanskritisation, Srinivas, talks of the festivals of the village deities and the calenderical festivals being increasingly sanskritised.
- Hari Kathas, Yagna, Jagran etc. are being celebrated with much more ostentation in Indian towns and cities.
- Religious figures, in ochre robes promising salvation or more concrete things to the people, continue to appear on the Indian scene.
- With the newspapers, the microphone and the radio/television becoming popular, such festivals have achieved large scale audiences.
- Indian films frequently make use of religious themes taken from the epics and Puranas.
- The availability of low priced books has enabled people to become acquainted with Hindu religious literature in a way not possible ever before.

#### 4.4 Case study: Bhangis of Jodhpur:

- For the last fifty years the Bhangis of Jodhpur have struggled consciously to reform their social ways of life, but their success has not been very great.
- Some two generations back the Bhangis of Jodhpur began to ban the eating of beef and dead animals in what proved to be a futile attempt to gain respect for the caste.
- Previously Bhangis had been considered degraded because of their eating of beef, dead animals and leftovers, and because of their practice of consuming alcoholic drinks.
- Though some Hindus suspect that a few Bhangis still eat dead animals, Bhangis maintain that dead animal eaters are boycotted immediately.
- Forty years ago the Bhangis of Jodhpur region Sanskritized their names by replacing their muslim names with Hindu names.
- In recent years they also made conscious efforts to suppress their distinctive traditional Gotra for further Sanskritization and emulated the specific Gotra forms of higher castes
- In addition to these changes in traditional caste symbols, modern secular education is playing a central role in the Bhangis' effort to improve their position.

- Domestic ceremonies of the Bhangis have been modelled increasingly upon domestic ceremonies of the higher castes.

#### 4.5 The relationship between Westernisation and Sanskritisation:

- M.N.Srinivas expresses the view that increase in Westernisation does not retard the process of Sanskritization and both go on simultaneously.
- In some cases, increase in Westernisation accelerates the process of Sanskritization.
- For instance, the expanding means of communication like postal facilities, railways, newspapers, western technology etc. have given fillip to pilgrimages, religious propaganda, and caste and communal congregations.
- Moreover, a significant by-product of Westernisation is that under its impact many higher castes, who are more exposed to Westernisation through English education, give up their traditional lifestyle.
- It is observed that usually the westernised ones live minimally in the universe of caste and maximally within the universe of class. They may practice non-traditional occupations, ignore rules of ritual pollution, dietary restrictions and may marry outside the caste/region/religion. They tend to adopt western models and lifestyle.
- The lower castes aspiring to attain higher status in the caste hierarchy try to fill this vacuum by adopting the sanskritic models given up by the higher castes under the impact of westernisation. This is yet another instance of westernisation and sanskritization going together.
- It may be observed that the lower castes spend a lot of energy on sanskritization while several higher castes turn to westernisation as a means of maintaining the social distance between themselves and the lower castes which is no longer possible within the old order as the lower castes have attained the ability to sanskritise themselves.
- Harold Gould comments that if one is already sanskritised, as the Brahmins, then one cannot go any higher up further in the traditional stratification system.
- If one cannot maintain things as they are through the application of political and economic power, then one can only go down or accept the notion of equality which means accepting the nullity of the caste system itself and hierarchical relationship in general. This is impossible for the higher castes with the deeply embedded conception of their inherent superiority and so they must ironically move outside the caste system, that is by Westernisation.
- This may be the reason that in a number of cases the well off and aspiring sections of the lower castes in towns and cities may be going straight to westernisation.

#### 4.6 Criticisms on Sanskritisation:

- It is criticised as a complex concept or a class of concepts.
- The term itself seems to be misleading, since its relationship to the term Sanskrit is extremely complicated.
- Yogendra Singh opines that sanskritisation fails to account for many aspects of cultural change in past and contemporary India as it neglects the non-sanskritic traditions.
- Sanskritic influence has not been universal to all parts of the country. In most of northern India, especially in Punjab, it was the Islamic tradition which provided a basis for cultural imitation.
- According to Dr. Srinivas, political and economic forces are normally favourable for Sanskritisation. But the "policy of reservation" a politico-constitutional attempt to elevate the status of lower caste, and class people, presents here a different picture.

#### 4.7 De-Sanskritisation:

- De-sanskritisation is the process by which a high or a low caste person or a tribal accepts the membership of an untouchable caste and thereby lowers his social as well as ritual position
- The process of de-sanskritisation also involves imbibing the customs and beliefs and adopting the way of life of an untouchable caste.

- Majumdar through 'de-sanskritisation', suggests a reverse process by which the Brahmin castes also try to emulate the practices of the lower castes in some matters.
- The major reason for desanskritisation is to achieve the advantages given by the government to the scheduled castes such as affirmative actions/ reservation in public jobs.

#### 4.8 Case study: Desanskritisation in Jodhpur:

- Among the Bhangis of Jodhpur, the beginning of the de-sanskritisation process can be traced back to as early as 1880. De-sanskritisation first began among the Muslims through their contact with Bhangis in the nagar palikas of Jodhpur
- De-sanskritisation among the Muslims came initially through the Niwargar Muslims (Weaver caste). Later, it gradually spread through the high caste Hindu population, whom the Bhangis served under the jajaman-kamin relationship.
- De-sanskritisation is not confined to conversion to the Bhangi caste, but has also occurred among other lower castes and groups, such as the Bairwa of Sawai Madhopur district during the last fifty years or so
- The process of de-sanskritisation began in British India. There were a few upper caste Hindus in their early conversion phase, and gradually, these individuals became an integrated part of the endogamous unit of the Bhangi caste.
- A potent source of de-sanskritisation in British India was the preponderance of famines. The famines were not limited to any particular part of Rajputana but spread everywhere. They constituted an important, though not the only spur to de-sanskritisation
- In 1989, the Northern Railway Workshop, Jodhpur, employed formally, for the first time, six high caste Hindus, tribals and Muslims as sweepers. Over the past four decades or so, the demand for 'Bhangi jobs' appears to have increased slightly with the Hindus and non-Hindus of Jodhpur.
- The various types of government facilities such as medical, loan and housing facilities, free pass (in the case of Railway sweepers), government accommodation to Bhangi employees in nagar palikas, Railways and in other departments, appear to have attracted high caste persons to convert to the Bhangi fold.

### 5. INTER-PLAY OF LITTLE AND GREATER TRADITIONS

it was the pioneering work of Robert Redfield of Chicago University, America, whose efforts brought movement in the history and development of anthropology by introducing the study of civilization. According to him the civilization has two main dimensions namely folk and urban. He studied folk-villages and urban centers and also he made an effort to understand the patterns and processes of interaction between them. And hence, he developed the concepts of folk society, urban society and folk-urban continuum.

- In development of a civilization religion holds an important place and in order to understand the role of religion in the development of civilization Robert Redfield had developed the concept of Great and Little traditions as he defines civilizations as a complex whole of great and little traditions.

<b>Great Tradition</b>	Great tradition refers to the formal literate tradition of a civilization, which is regulated by the elites of the society.
<b>Little tradition</b>	The little tradition refers to formal illiterate tradition of rural people living within a civilization
<b>Cultural Specialist</b>	The specialist who mediates between the two traditions

- Redfield and his followers visited India and studied Indian villages in order to understand the Indian civilization

### 5.1 Characteristics of a folk society as told by Redfield:

1. The folk society is isolated but has its own territory and it is physically immobile
2. It is a small society in accordance to the number of members and its members are in direct contact with each other
3. The folk society contains group sentiments. They know the members of their own society whom they include in 'we' and also who is from outside the group to be kept in 'they'.
4. People here know each other not only by name but by face also.
5. They have common interest of leading a good life and food produced commonly in the group is shared by the members of the group
6. Division of labor is not on the basis of specialization but on the basis of sex and gender
7. People of the folk society show similarity in terms of dress, customs, culture and way of life
8. In their life tradition plays a big role
9. They produce for subsistence and they are independent in that
10. The family relationships are established since birth and both types of Kinship system are found i.e., Patriarchal and Matriarchal
11. Magic has a very important place in this society
12. People consider certain objects as sacred and they offer worship to their implements, food items, hearths or any other object which satisfies their needs.
13. The entire society is status oriented rather than market-oriented. Barter system is present in them but it is also consumption oriented.

### 5.2 Characteristics of a peasant society:

1. A peasant society consider their land as their mother
2. The peasants produce surplus, and they keep the amount necessary for them with them and sell the rest into the cities.
3. Peasant societies are relatively self-contained, possess their own indigenous culture, structure and values.
4. It has developed market system; also they are in contact with the traders of the urban center
5. Characteristic features such as isolation, feeling of 'we' and 'they', personal relation, common interests, kinship systems; homogeneity and magic are similar to that of the folk-society
6. As the peasant society is in contact with the urban center so they have certain traits of the urban center also. Thus, it can be said that the peasant society is somewhere in between the folk and the urban society

### 5.3 Folk- Urban continuum:

- In 1941, Robert Redfield published a book named The Folk Culture of Yucatan. This book was based upon his comparative study of the four communities namely city society, town society, peasant society and folk and simple society
- Robert Redfield placed the folk society and the city society at both the ends of the poles. According to him the characteristics of the folk society and that of the city society are different from each other
- He concluded that the city society resembled more with the town society and the peasant society resembled to the folk society
- He said that the folk and urban societies are placed on the opposite poles and are very different.
- He said that the moral order is a typical characteristic of folk society. It signifies binding together of men through implicit conviction as to what is right, and through implicit ideals, which means, in turn, that members of folk society followed their own ideals of the "good life".
- The order of the urban society is based on the opposite attributes. The bonds that hold together the urban society are not based upon the "good life". They do not embed them into human sentiments. They instead are based on mutual usefulness, deliberate coercion and from necessity and expectancy.

- Redfield also observed that the folk society is coming in contact with the urban society and is inheriting some of its traits and thereby losing its own. Many of the peculiar folk

#### 5.4 Little and Great Traditions:

- While studying the peasant society Robert Redfield came across two types of traditions which were different from one another and had different origins but were inter-related, interdependent and interactive with one another.
- Amongst the two traditions he found that one was formal, in written form, literate and reflective few while, the other was informal, in oral form with no written format, illiterate and reflective many. The former was called as Great Tradition and the latter was called as Little Tradition by Redfield.
- During his fieldwork he observed that the Great Tradition was being cultivated in the schools and temples located at different places. These places were visited by the peasants.
- He also found that the priests and the teachers were the mediating link between the two traditions.
- Thus it can be said that the Great Traditions are being cultivated in the schools and temples with the help of teachers and priests while the Little Tradition works itself out and keeps itself living and going into the illiterate village communities. For an example we can take up the case of India.

#### 5.5 Great and Little Traditions in India:

- India has many religious centers such as Gaya, Kashi etc which have Great tradition.
- These places have their own traditional schools and temples, where worshipping and religious teaching along with teaching of Sanskrit, Hindu holy books etc take place.
- The Mahantha or the Pandit offers worshipping and teaches their disciples.
- The Mahantha along with his disciples move from village to village among the peasant communities to raise the funds to maintain Sanskrit teaching in the school and for worshipping. He also tells the peasants about the myths and legends associated with the place which strengthens the spiritual belief of the peasants.
- These teachings are passed on from generation to generation orally.
- Also the Mahantha teaches the importance of pilgrimage to the peasants. This results in the establishment of religious beliefs in the minds of the peasants which in turn results into the rituals performed by the peasants on different occasions.
- Hence it can be concluded that the cultural specialist's interaction with the peasant community resulted in the interaction of Great Tradition with the Little Tradition. Robert Redfield has used the Cultural Specialists for the people who mediate between the Great and Little Traditions.

#### 5.6 Universalism and Parochialism:

- Mckim Marriott in his "Little Communities in an indigenous Civilization" gave the concept of universalization and parochialization.

<b>Universalism</b>	Universalization is the process by which cultural traits of a little tradition are absorbed into a great tradition. Hence the local process/phenomenon becomes universalized
<b>Parochialism</b>	Parochialization is just the reverse of the universalization phenomenon and in this the written, literate things such as Vedas, Shastras are learnt and then modified by the folk or the peasant society and this culminates into their ritualistic practices.

- He examined the socio-religious organization in an Indian village Kishangarhi in Uttar Pradesh.
- According to Marriott, an indigenous civilization is one whose Great Tradition originates by universalization or a carrying forward of materials which are already present in the Little Tradition which it encompasses.
- He explains the concept by giving examples from the festivals of Little Tradition in Kishangarhi village.

- He refers to the Festival of Lights in which the local goddess of prosperity and wealth is propitiated.
- Marriott comments that Saurti of this Little Tradition could have been universalized into the goddess Lakshmi of the Great Tradition who stands for prosperity and wealth also.
- Parochialization is a process of localization of limitation upon the scope of intelligibility of deprivation of literary form, of reduction to less systematic and less reflective dimensions.
- The process of parochialization constitutes the characteristic creative work of little communities within India's indigenous civilization.
- He explains the process through examples from Kishangarhi, the festival of Navarathri in which Nine Durgas are worshiped for nine successive days.
- In Kishangarhi a female deity Naurtha made of mud is worshiped for nine deities. Marriott points out that Durga has been parochialized into Naurtha the name also being parochialized deriving from nava ratra or nine nights.
- Marriott concludes that seen through its festivals and deities the religion of the village of Kishangarhi may have originated as resulting from continuous process of communication between a little, local tradition and great traditions.
- Since both Great and Little traditions exist within the religion of little communities and these communities study of the religion of a little community can contribute to the understanding of processes of universalization and parochialization.

## 6. PANCHAYATI RAJ AND SOCIAL CHANGE

In the year 1992, the 73rd amendment of the constitution of Panchayati Raj in India played a significant role to commence the process to offer an empowerment to the poor. It gave an opportunity for eradication of poverty. It also started improving the quality of life of underprivileged society and that makes them self confident, conscious & powerful.

- The most significant role of Panchayat in poverty eradication is to help in the process of empowerment of the poor. When a development program involves poor people, it helps them to become self confident, conscious & powerful
- Panchayati Raj gave a nice base to the village people to make them self reliant
- one third of the seats at every stage are reserved for women, thus increasing women political participation.
- Formerly the lower rung of the various social categories exclusively SC, ST, OBC have not found a considerable place in panchayats which were earlier dominated by the feudal lords. After the introduction of Panchayati Raj, reservation for SC/ST has resulted in increased political representation
- The 2.5 lakh Gram Panchayats in the country have been entrusted to provide basic services in the villages and plan for local economic development. The decision making process of the panchayats is such that the Gram Sabha (GS) discusses the development work plans of the GP called Gram Panchayat Development Plan (GPDP) and the elected representatives execute the plans. Formulation of GPDP improves efficiency of public services.
- Since all eligible voters of the village can participate in the Gram Sabha, it is a channel to include the less privileged section of society and ensure their participation in the village level governance wherein they can advocate their developmental aspirations.

S.no	Social changes
1	Maximum amount of social and economic power have been transferred to the rural people to enable them and to establish their own future
2	Maximum involvement of women representatives in the village has started
3	Maximum involvement of SC/ST/OBC has commenced and those increases their capabilities as well as make them understand about the grassroots level planning and democratic process
4	A declaration of war on poverty, Illiteracy, ignorance, inequality, irrationality & oppression prevalent in Society
5	Improving the quality of life of all citizens

### 6.1 AC Nielson ORG Marg survey:

- It was found that the elected representatives of panchayats are strongly taking up social issues.
- Discouragement of child marriage attracted the highest intervention by 71% representatives followed by male child obsessions (44%).
- Problem of gambling was addressed by 41%.
- Alcoholism was a major problem reported by 40% households and it was addressed by 26% of panchayat leaders.
- The survey sought to test whether the process of empowerment through Panchayati Raj had helped in other areas like increasing female literacy levels or check incidents of domestic violence.
- On domestic violence, 62% women representatives admitted having come across these incidents which they tried to reduce, while 11% said intervention was not required.
- Interestingly, it is the men pradhans (79%) who made more efforts to sort out domestic violence matters compared to female ward members (58%).
- School enrolment, particularly for girls, was an area of priority area for many panchayat leaders and members. Eight out of every ten pradhans (80%) took initiatives to increase school enrolment.
- About four-fifths of them, including 78% of female pradhans, claimed to have made special efforts in getting girls enrolled and encouraging them to study in schools.
- The elected representatives are expected to pay door-to-door visits and organise awareness generation camps and look into reasons for dropouts and help resolve them. Results showed that 79% of pradhans were involved in awareness generation to reduce drop-outs 87% pradhans monitored Mid Day Meal scheme.
- When questioned on the developmental issues and the types of amenities they helped provide, the majority of elected representatives mentioned drinking water (86.4%), followed by road construction (74.3%) and sanitation (70%) as an area of priority.

### 6.2 Case study: Impact of Panchayati Raj on the village "Sikhera":

- The village, Sikhera is located near Meerut, in Uttar Pradesh.
- The village has a peculiar local 'little tradition' strongly entrenched within village culture.
- In Sikhera Rajputs, Brahmins, Baniyas, Dhimars, Jatavs, Balmikis, Muslims live together, but Rajputs, were till few years back defacto rulers of the village.
- But now due to implementation of provisions of new Panchayati Raj Act, much has changed within its socio-political structure and culture.
- Now the village Pradhan is a person belonging to the Balmiki caste, which is considered to be a lower caste.
- Most of the village land, which was lying vacant which was formerly owned by Rajputs, has been given on lease (patta) to lower castes by the government.

## 7. MEDIA AND SOCIAL CHANGE

The mass media is an important social institution which caters social and economic needs of wider social groups and it has been playing vital role in developing countries like India. Especially in the post globalization era, media has educated people for changing their traditional attitude to suite the modern progressive needs. Mass communication is a means whereby mass produced messages are transmitted to large, anonymous, and heterogeneous masses of people.

### 7.1 Four major functions of media:

1. Inform
2. Entertain
3. Educate
4. Promote culture, goods and ideas

## 7.2 Impacts of mass media in social change:

There is an urgent need for mass education and social change and it has been accepted that communication media are needed for accelerating social change, for creating awareness and inculcating scientific temper among the masses

- Though the industrial and communication revolutions have changed the face of our country, it still remains largely an agriculture-based socio-economic entity. Thus, the impact of mass media in India has to be seen in the background of our tradition and value bound social structure.
- In India, the Press has been closely associated with the freedom struggle. Newspaper readers, though numerically small in India, largely constitute the intelligentsia. It has a "multiplier effect", its message spreads far and wide, even into the villages.
- The power of the press is also seen to be mainly responsible for the major political developments in India
- Radio is serving as an effective medium not only to inform and educate people, but also to provide healthy entertainment. Radio, unlike the print media, can overcome the obstacle of illiteracy.
- Movies can carry not merely information; they can even create a yearning for change and modernisation. The Indian films followed the Hollywood model right from the start with heavy emphasis on entertainment. But individual film-makers, away from the mainstream, have always made socially purposeful film.
- Television has the power to instill desired attitudes necessary for national development among the masses. It has greater influence on the perception, emotions and the outlook of the masses than any other medium.
- The information technology revolution has increased the usage of mobile phones even among the poor section of the society. India is one of the largest internet consuming country in the world. The mass media in the present times is being dominated almost completely by the internet and smartphones.
- The capacity to get in touch with almost all of the world with the help of mobile phones, internet has turned out to be the chief stimulus of social change in India and all over the world
- People get to know the cultural significance of other countries, the social taboos and their impacts, the need to change, the positive bias towards globalisation etc.

## 7.3 Case study: The social change among Zeme Nagas due to the mass media

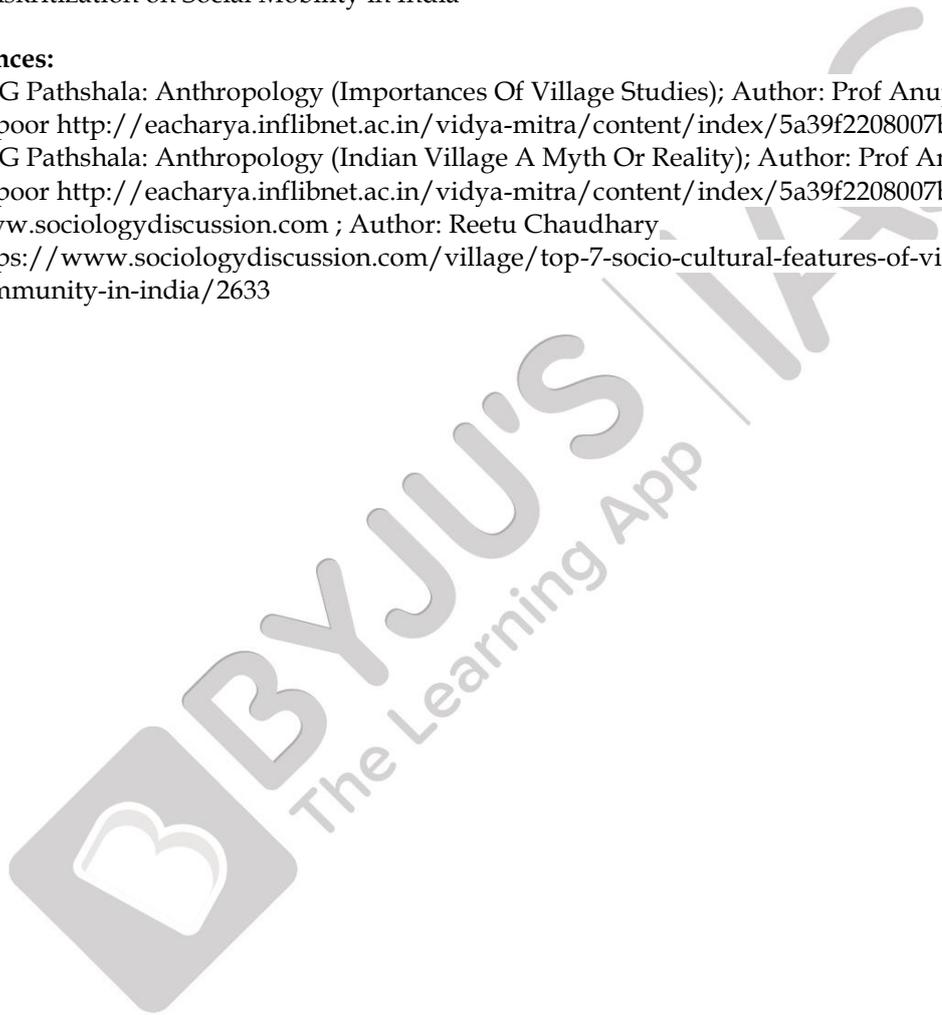
- Radio was introduced in the 1960s among the Zeme Nagas before the coming of first television in the 1980s among the Zeme Nagas.
- Earlier, it was understood that only few people could afford to have it and the house was filled with many people.
- In the present days, although not all, people could have access to television which helps the people to see what is happening outside their area.
- In the year 1999 few of the richer section of Zeme people started using mobile phones.
- But at present, many people could have mobile phones in their home which has made communication easier and faster. In the present times, in every Zeme Naga village electronic media are used to make public announcements at any time and in all important occasions.
- With the coming of modern media, changes took place in the Zeme Naga society. Instead of using symbols, signboards are popularly used.
- When anything happens in a village like death or marriage, etc. a messenger called "Hepaupaume" will pass the message to one village and it will be passed on to the other village and to another. But with the coming of the mobile, it has become very easy to communicate in a minute. So 'Hepaupaume' has to go only to those places where there is no mobile network.
- Data reveals that despite the poor network more than half of the total respondents use mobile phones.

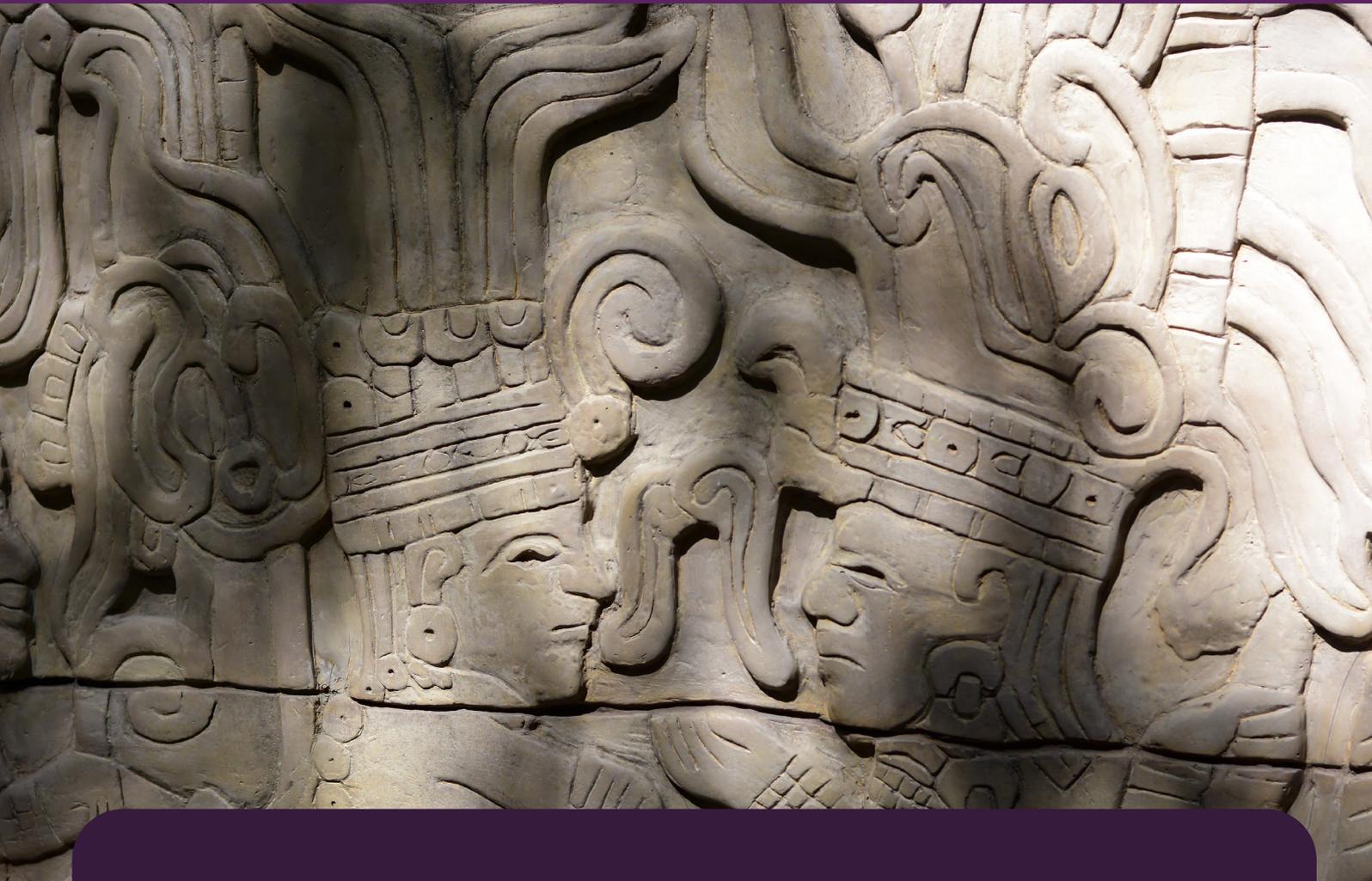
## 8. PREVIOUS YEAR QUESTIONS:

1. Critique of the concept of Great and Little Tradition
2. "Modernity has entered Indian character and society, but it has done so through assimilation, not replacement." Discuss
3. Sanskritization
4. Universalism and Parochialism
5. What are the various exogenous processes of socio-cultural changes in Indian Society?
6. Critically examine the concepts of little and Great Traditions for understanding the Indian Villages.
7. Critically review the process of social changes the contemporary Indian society is undergoing.
8. Distinguish between sanskritization and de - sanskritization. Critically examine the impact of Sanskritization on Social Mobility in India

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# ANTHROPOLOGY

## PAPER II

UNIT 6

# TRIBAL SITUATION IN INDIA

NOTES FOR CIVIL SERVICES EXAMINATION  
ANTHROPOLOGY PAPER II, CHAPTER 6.1



## 1. BIOGENETIC VARIABILITY

- Biogenetic variability is the naturally occurring genetic differences among individuals of a same species. The biogenetic variability is the result of adaptation of a particular group of individuals for the particular environmental conditions.
- Genotypic variations are caused by differences in number or structure of chromosomes or by differences in the genes carried by the chromosomes. Genetic variation which is a result of environmental adaptation results in phenotypic variation such as differences in height, hair, cephalic index, nasal index etc.
- DNA molecule of any two unrelated individuals differ just by 0.1%, as the remaining 99.9% of DNA is identical. Hence, all the human diversity is housed only in this 0.1%, apparently tiny portion of our DNA.

### 1.1 BIOGENETIC VARIABILITY OF TRIBES

- There are around 645 distinct tribes in India. The tribes of India are well distributed across the geographical stretch of the country. This has led to distinct biogenetic variabilities among the tribes. Hence there is a large diversity with respect to the physical as well as genetic features.
- Contemporary ethnic populations of India are highly variable, both biologically and culturally (Majumder, 1998).
- Indian tribal populations, 8% of the current population (1991 census), remain largely unassimilated into the caste system and, because of endogamous lifestyles and geographic isolation, may represent descendents of early immigrants into the subcontinent
- Over the last decade genetic analyses of mitochondrial DNA (mtDNA) have defined the relationships of populations within India, and their relationships with respect to other world populations based on maternal lineages.
- High mtDNA diversity have suggested that Austro-Asiatic speaking groups may be the original inhabitants of India
- Analysis of DNA from the contemporary populations belonging to Primitive Tribes in the main land and the Jarawa of Andaman and Nicobar Islands has revealed genomic foot prints in the Indian subcontinent dating back to first out of Africa migration i.e. 70,000 years before the present.

### 1.2 RACIAL CLASSIFICATION OF INDIAN TRIBES

#### 1.2.1 RISLEY CLASSIFICATION:

The first scientific racial classification of India was attempted by Sir Herbert Risely. He published his findings in 1915 in the book- The people of India. He classifies the entire Indian population into seven racial types:

1. Turko- Iranian
2. Indo-Aryan
3. Scytho- Dravidian
4. Aryo-Dravidian
5. Mongolo- Dravidian
6. Mongoloid
7. Dravidian

Significantly, he gave no separate classificatory scheme for the 'aboriginals' of India.

### 1.2.2 GUHA CLASSIFICATION:

The latest racial classification of Indian people are those made by 'Hutton, Guha and Majumdar, Guha lists six main races, with nine sub- types:

1. **The Negrito:** The tribals of the hills of Cochin and Travancore such as Kadar, Paliyan, etc., Angami Naga of Assam and the tribals of Rajmahal hill - of western Bihar are included in Negrito racial type which exhibits short stature, black skin colour, black wooly hair, thick lips and broad nose
1. **The proto-Australoid:** The Proto- Australoid racial type exhibits short to medium stature, long and high head, broad and small face and small flattened nose. Most of the middle or central Indian tribals come within this racial type but some south Indian tribes like chenchu, Bhils, etc, also exhibit the racial characteristics of this type.
2. **The Mongoloid:** As far as the Mongoloid racial stock is concerned most of the tribes of north- east India are included in this racial type and exhibit yellowish skin colour, straight and dark hair, flat, nose, prominent cheek bones and almond shaped eyes with epicanthic fold. The Naga, Chakma, Lepcha, etc, are some of the important tribes of this racial group. Three sub classification of mongoloid traits are- Palaeo Mongoloids; Long headed; Broad headed
3. **The Mediterranean:** Dark skinned people, with broad nose, plentiful hair with slight curls, dark eyes and long head. They are claimed to have come to India from the South West Asia. They could have built the Indus Valley Civilisation. Their remains are found in several Indus Valley sites. They are subclassified in to three groups- Palaeo- Mediterranean; Mediterranean; Oriental type
4. **The Western Brachycephals:** The Western Brachycephals are the category of broad headed people, includes the Alpinoids, Dinarics and Armenoids. The Parsis and Kodavas also fall in this category. Alpinoids represented by Gujarati Banias, Kathis of Kathiawar and Kayasthas of Bengal. Dinaric represented 'by populations of Alpinoids, Dinaric and Armenoid Bengal, Orissa and/Coorg (Karnataka). Armenoids represented by Parsis, Bengali Vaidyas and Kayastha
5. **The Nordic:** This group were the last one to immigrate to India. They came to India somewhere between 2000 and 1500 B.C. They are now mainly found in the northern and central part of India. Their racial features include tall stature, fair complexion, dark eyes, long heads, narrow and long nose. These tribes are now mainly found in the North West (Jammu & Kashmir, Gujarat, Punjab, Maharashtra and Rajasthan ) and the North West Frontier Province (NWFP).

### 1.2.3 NORTH EAST INDIAN TRIBES:

- At present majority of the States in North-East India are tribal states. North-East India is home to several tribes who differ from one another in their customs, cultures, dialects and identities. V. Venkatarao classified the people of Northeast India into three groups such as the hill tribes, the plain tribes and people of the plain.
- North-East India is the homeland for a large number of ethnic groups who came from different directions at different historical times. These groups belong to different racial stocks, speak different languages and have varied socio-cultural traditions.
- **MONGOLOIDS:** The region has been occupied by different streams of Mongoloid people who came from the north and east at different periods.
- **AUSTRO ASIATICS:** The Australoids came to this region before the coming of Mongoloids who partially or fully absorbed the Australoids strains. According to Bhattacharya, the Mon Khmer groups of Austro Asiatic linguistic groups are believed to be the earliest settlers of North-East India.
- Molecular analysis of Y chromosome variation showed differentiation and little evidence of gene flow between 10 ethnic groups of northeast India
- Another study, however, found appreciable haplotype sharing between castes and tribes in 7 Indian groups
- Y chromosomes shared between northeast Indians and southern Chinese suggest that Neolithic expansions into India via a northeast corridor have also contributed to the Indian gene pool

### 1.3 STATEWISE CLASSIFICATION OF NORTH EASTERN TRIBES

<b>NAGALAND</b>	Nagas, Kuki, Kachari, Garo
<b>MANIPUR</b>	Kuki and Naga
<b>ARUNACHAL PRADESH</b>	Galong, Nishi, Wancho, Adi, Dafla, Sulung, Sherdukpen, Aka, Monpa, Apatani and Miri
<b>ASSAM</b>	Bodo kachari, Mishings
<b>MIZORAM</b>	Mizos, Chakma, Dimasi, Garo
<b>MEGHALAYA</b>	the Khasis, the Garos and the Jaintiyas
<b>TRIPURA</b>	Bhils, Bhutiya,, Chakma, Garo

### 1.4 SOME IMPORTANT ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDIES ON BIOGENETIC VARIABILITY OF INDIAN TRIBES:

<b>Saha et.al. (1988)</b>	He concluded that Oraons and Bhils are nearest to Kurumba & Irula tribes of Nilgiri hills; whereas the Kota of Nilgiri & Chenchus of South India are the most distant tribes).
<b>Majumdar et.al (MtDNA analysis)</b>	Irrespective of their geographical location, or linguistic affinity, the sharing of one or two haplotypes across population groups within India show a harmony of mtDNA lineages in India along with the cultural and linguistic diversity. MtDNA is maternally inherited, hypothesized that female may be the founder of the lineages in India.
<b>Bhasin et.al (1985)</b>	During his study, he observed that there is no inter group differences in the same ethnic group i.e. Scheduled tribes (Vasava, Kotwalia, Choudhary & Gomit) from same region (West India Surat district of Gujarat).

### 1.5 BIOGENETIC VARIABILITY OF INDIAN TRIBES BASED ON HAEMOGLOBIN STUDIES:

- Haemoglobinopathies particularly haemoglobin S and E (HbS, HbE) and  $\beta$ -thalassaemia are important challenges for tribal populations in India. The HbS, HbE and  $\beta$ -thalassaemia genes are variably distributed across various tribal populations of India.
- HbE is mainly restricted in tribals of North-East, West Bengal, Odisha and those in Andaman and Nicobar islands.
- HbS has more extensive distribution in the country (10-40% trait frequency).
- Tribal populations of North-East predominantly show haemoglobin E (HbE) a structural haemoglobin disorder with variable combination of  $\beta$ -thalassaemia and  $\alpha$ -thalassaemia genes
- In the tribal populations of central India and eastern parts of Odisha and Jharkhand HbS emerges out as the predominant

### 1.6 BIOGENETIC VARIABILITY BY STUDYING SICKLE CELL:

- The sickle gene is widespread among many tribal population groups in India with prevalence of heterozygotes varying from 1-40 per cent. Co-inheritance of the sickle gene with  $\beta$ -thalassaemia, HbD Punjab and glucose-6-phosphate dehydrogenase (G6PD) deficiency has also been reported.
- The first description of sickle haemoglobin in India was by Lehman and Cutbush in 1952 in the tribal populations in the Nilgiri hills in south India. In the same year, Dunlop and Mazumder also reported the presence of sickle haemoglobin in the tea garden workers of Upper Assam who were migrant labourers from tribal groups in Bihar and Odisha
- The prevalence of sickle cell carriers among different tribal groups varies from 1 to 40 per cent. Madhya Pradesh has the highest load.

## 1.7 BIOGENETIC VARIABILITY OF INDIAN POPULATION:

- Recent studies points out that the majority of contemporary Indian populations have diverged from two distinct ancestral populations – the ‘Ancestral North Indians’(ANI) who are related to western Eurasians, and the ‘Ancestral South Indians’(ASI) who are not related to any group outside India.
- Subsequently, these two founding groups (ANI and ASI) have given rise to several populations and have mixed during the last 4,000 – 2,000 year before the present. However, for the last 2,000 years, every single population followed strict endogamy (within population) marriage practice.
- As a result, scientists have predicted that, existence of large number of population-specific diseases in India and genetic variations that cause diseases are India-specific.
- According to these researchers, the founder effects (origin of population from small number of individuals) are responsible for a higher burden of recessive diseases in India than consanguinity ( the fact of being descended from the same ancestor).
- Another important finding of the CSIR-CCMB scientists is that for the first time, with the help of genetic tools, they have proved that there was no Aryan invasion in India.
- India, the world’s second most populous nation is uniquely distinct for its varied diversity. Be it geographic or climatic diversity, be it the diversity in languages, religions and cultures of its people, or be it the genetic diversity as evident today

## 1.8 PREVIOUS YEAR QUESTIONS BASED ON "BIOGENETIC VARIABILITY":

1. Discuss the distinctive features of tribes in North east India.
2. “Tribes in India are not homogeneous group.” Discuss.
3. Mediterranean element in Indian Population
4. Do you think that Indian tribes have rich biogenetic variability? Discuss.
5. Discuss the biomorphic variations of Tribes of North Eastern India
6. Genetic diversity among Indian Tribes
7. Biogenetic variability in tribal populations.
8. Key characteristics of STs in India

## 2. LINGUISTIC CLASSIFICATION OF INDIAN TRIBES

Languages spoken by tribals broadly fall into 4 major linguistic families:

Austro-Asiatic Family	1. Mon-Khmer Branch: Khasi, Nicobari 2. Munda Branch: Santhali, Karwari, Ho, Munda, Gondi, Kharia, Savara, Khond, Gadaba etc
Sino- Tibetan	1. Siamese-Chinese sub family: Khampti, Phakial etc 2. Tibeto-Burmese sub family-Bhotia 3. Western sub group of Himalaya: Chamba, Swangli, Kanauri etc 4. Himalayan group: Lepcha, Toto etc 5. Arunachal group: Aka, Abot, Miri, Dafla, Mishmi etc 6. Assam-Burmese branch: Nagas- Angami, Ao, Sema, Rengma etc, Singhpo, Manipuri, Lushai, Sokte etc
Dravidian family	Korawa, Yerukula, Yarava, Baaga, Toda, Kota, Kurukh, Malto, Khondi etc
Indo-Aryan family	Hajong, Bhili etc

## 2.1 LINGUISTIC CHARACTERISTICS OF INDIAN TRIBES

### 1. AUSTRO-ASIATIC FAMILY:

- The communities affiliated to the Austro-Asiatic linguistic family are perhaps the first to settle in India
- The Austro-Asiatic speakers, represented by over 30 different tribal groups, either genetically constitute a homogenous single entity or are a heterogeneous conglomeration, derived from different sources
- The Austro-Asiatic groups, particularly the Mundari speakers, with certain exceptions, show greater homogeneity among them when compared to the other linguistic groups, although certain groups show as outliers. However, traditional genetic markers show lower within population heterozygosity compared to Dravidian and other Indian populations.
- The two main branches that represent the Austro-Asiatic linguistic family in India are: (i) the Mundari, spoken mostly in and around Chota-Nagpur plateau and (ii) the Mon-Khmer spoken in northeast and in the Andaman and Nicobar islands
- The Mundari branch is further trifurcated into Western, Southern and Northern Mundari groups. About 25 tribal communities, belonging to the central and eastern region of India represent these languages.
- The Mon-Khmer branch in India includes three groups - the Khasi tribe with a number of subdivisions confined to the Khasi and Jaintia hills of Meghalaya and Nicobarese and Shompen of the Nicobar islands

### 2. SINO- TIBETAN FAMILY:

- The Proto-Sino-Tibetan homeland seems to have been somewhere on the Himalayan plateau
- The key component of Sino Tibetan, the branch with the most numerous and highly differentiated individual languages, is Tibeto Burman.
- Kuki-Chin-Naga, Abor-Miri-Dafla, and Bodo-Garo subgroups, spoken in North East India and adjacent regions of Burma, are lumped together under the purely geographical rubric of Kamarupan (from Kamarupa, the Sanskrit term for Assam). These languages constitute the center of diversification of the whole Tibeto Burman family
- Himalayish comprises relatively well-known languages as Tibetan, Lepcha (Sikkim), and Newari (spoken in the Kathmandu valley of Nepal), as well as dozens of others, some on the verge of extinction.

### 3. DRAVIDIAN FAMILY:

- Apart from Southern states of India, the Dravidian family languages are also spoken in northern part of Srilanka
- They are divided into four groups (Northern, Central, South-Central, Southern) which started to separate from the hypothetical precursor Proto-Dravidian around 4000 BCE.
- The Nilgiri mountains harbor tribal populations, the Kotas and Todas, which until recently, protected of external contacts by the relief, managed to preserve their languages. Other Nilgiri tribes are the Irula whose language is very similar to Tamil and the Badaga whose language is akin to Kannada.
- Among the central Indian tribes, Gondi (Gond tribes), Kui and Kuvi (Khond tribes) belong to the Dravidian family.

### 4. INDO- ARYAN FAMILY:

- The tribes of Gujarat, Rajasthan and the Indo-Gangetic Plain speak languages belonging to the Indo-Aryan language family.
- Some of the languages belonging to this family include Baigana spoken by the Baigas, Banjari spoken by the Banjaras, Bhili spoken by the Bhils, Gujjari spoken by the Gujjars, Lamani spoken Migrant Tribes / Nomads by the Lambadis, Baghelkhandi spoken by the Paos

## 2.2 THREAT TO TRIBAL LANGUAGES IN INDIA

- A number of small and relatively lesser-known tribal languages spoken in remote corners of India have shown a decline, as per the findings of the 2011 Language Census
- These include the Sema language of the Naga tribe of the same name, which showed a decadal growth increase (between 2001-2011) of -89.57, the Monpa language of Arunachal Pradesh (-75.48), Nagaland's Phom (-55.58), Odisha's Jatapu (-49.08), Himachal Pradesh's Lahauli (-48.89) and Bhumij of Eastern India (-42.02).
- Two major tribal languages that are included in the Eighth Schedule such as Bodo and Santali have also shown declines though not negative growth.
- Many of the tribal languages that have shown negative growth belong to either the Tibeto-Burman or Austro-Asiatic language families and are spoken in the Himalayas, the Northeast, Central and Eastern India.
- The negative growth of these tribal languages as the findings show, could be the phenomenon known in linguistics as "Language Shift".
- Although India is not a monolingual society, there is a growing prevalence of a few regional languages.
- Languages in India are not just about communication, identity and culture but also about chances. Speakers of a small and not very well-known language may see economic reward and upward mobility in shifting towards a dominant tongue.
- "Tribal languages are a treasure trove of knowledge about a region's flora, fauna and medicinal plants. Usually, this information is passed from generation to generation. However, when a language declines, that knowledge system is completely gone. With the loss of language comes the loss of everything in a culture and loss of solidarity, the loss of Man himself."

## 2.3 PREVIOUS YEAR QUESTIONS:

1. Threat to tribal languages in India.
2. Linguistic classification of Indian tribes
3. Write a brief note on the linguistic diversity among Indian tribes.
4. Linguistic diversity among the tribes of Chota Nagpur
5. Languages spoken by the scheduled tribes

## 3. SOCIO- ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF INDIAN TRIBES

### 3.1 TRIBES AND ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

Food gatherers and hunters	Chenchus, Challa Yanadi, Malaya Pandaram/ Hill Pandaram, Cholanaikkan and the Great Andamanese etc
Pastoralists	Bakarwals, Bharwads, Broqpas, Gujjars, Todas etc
Hill cultivators	Adis, Akas, Birjhias, Bondos, Chakmas, Chirus, Gangtes, Hmars, Jamatias, Juang etc.
Agriculturalists	Hos, Jaintias, Khambas, Kharias, Khasis, Kolams, Tiwas, Rabhas etc
Artisans	Kotas, Tharus etc
Folk artists	Kalbelias, Mons, Paradhias
Labourers and industrial workers	Santhals and Hos of Chottanagpur engaged as mining labourers

### 3.2 SOCIO- ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS

#### 1. POPULATION:

Year	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011
Population (%)	6.93	7.85	8.08	7.86	8.27

- As per 2011 census, 8.27% of Indian population comprised Scheduled Tribe people.
- Majority of (83 percent) the scheduled tribe population in the country lives in the so called central tribal belt running through the hilly terrains of Maharashtra, Gujarat, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, West Bengal, Orissa and Andhra Pradesh.

#### 2. EDUCATION:

- The literacy rate of the tribes according to the 2011 census is 59%, which is far lesser than the national average of 73%. However, the literacy rate has been increasing.
- The major issue is the drop out rate of the ST students from schools. Also, the literacy rate among the North East tribes are much higher and that of tribes such as Birhors are much lesser.

#### 3. HEALTH:

- Studies have shown that tribals have distinctive health problems governed by their habitat, difficult terrains and ecological conditions
- Both the fertility rates as well as infant mortality rates have been lower between the STs. Similarly, the morbidity and the disability rates are generally also lower
- Malnutrition, absence of safe drinking water and sanitary conditions, poor maternal and child health services and ineffective coverage of national health and nutritional services are the factors responsible for the dismal health conditions prevailing among the tribal population in India

#### 4. ECONOMY:

- The main source of income for ST's is allied agriculture activities.
- The economic life of the tribals is specific in nature. They are generally involved in food gathering and hunting, shifting cultivation, agriculture, artisanship, as pastoralists and cattle herders, folk artists and wage labourers.
- Historically, the economy of most tribes was subsistence agriculture or hunting and gathering. A large number of tribals in rural areas are still dependent on forests for their livelihood.

#### 5. SOCIO- ECONOMIC ISSUES:

- The tribes always face difficulties in their socio-economic development due to various factors like geographical and cultural isolation, lack of proper health facilities, inability to satisfy basic needs, lack of control over resources and assets, lack of education and skills, malnutrition, lack of shelter, poor access to water and sanitation, vulnerability to shocks, violence and crime, lack of access to proper infrastructure facilities and technologies and lack of political freedom and voice.
- There is a higher incidence of poverty among the ST population. More than half of the ST population is reported to be below poverty line.
- On an average, access to wage employment is only 145 days for STs

### 3.3 SHIFTING CULTIVATION AMONG INDIAN TRIBES

- Shifting cultivation, commonly known as Jhuming, is one of the most ancient system of farming believed to have originated in the Neolithic period around 7000 B.C. Shifting cultivation is also called the slash and burn method of cultivation
- Jhum cultivation was once widely practised in the tropical forest of south-western, central and eastern India. Currently, this practice is predominant in the seven states of North-Eastern India,

especially in the humid forest of the hill tracts. About 14 percent of the geographical area of North-Eastern India is under Jhum cultivation. Over 100 tribal communities composed of more than 620,000 families in the region depend on Jhum for their livelihood

- The social organisation of hill tribes is often built around concepts of community ownership, participation and responsibility. The process of shifting cultivation in the region begins with the selection of a plot on or near the hill side or jungle by the village elders, clan leaders and households, usually from October to December. In some tribes, the community as a whole is collectively responsible for clearing the selected jhum plots, while in others the clearing of trees and shrubs is done by the respective family to whom the plot is allotted.

#### ADVANTAGES

- The major advantage of Jhum cultivation of the hill people is that it provides a very easy method for preparing land for cultivation.
- Weeds and jungle can be easily cleared by slash and burn process and yield can be obtained in short period of time.
- This form of agriculture was evolved under the conditions of physiographic remoteness, lack of communication and where density of population is low.
- The system is self sustained involving no capital and inputs except manual labour.

#### DISADVANTAGES:

- The destruction of forest in the hill area causing heavy soil erosion due to rainfall.
- Drastic shortening of the Jhum cycle which previously was 25 to 30 years but has now come down to 4 to 5 years.
- It leads to environmental degradation and disturb the fragile ecosystem of the NorthEastern Region.

#### SOLUTION:

- The State Forest Departments have implemented afforestation programmes to stop shifting cultivation since pre-independence.
- Three task forces were appointed by the Government of India, i) Ministry of Agriculture, 1983, ii) MoEF, 2002 and iii) Inter-ministerial Task Force of MoEF, 2008. Each suggested actions to be taken up by their respective ministries.
- Considering the importance of the problem and in order to improve the livelihoods of the people, eradicate poverty and stop the degradation of land, the NITI Aayog, Government of India constituted a thematic Working Group on 'Shifting Cultivation: Towards a Transformation Approach' and suggested five action points:
  1. Consolidate the learning on magnitude of the problem,
  2. Identify viable best practices with potential for upscaling,
  3. Assess institutions (formal and traditional) and need for transformation,
  4. Ascertain to what extent and which "co-benefits" could be delivered (to jhumias and State agencies), and
  5. Suggest an action agenda (short, medium and long term)

#### CASE STUDY- SALT APPROACH IN MANIPUR

- The SALT approach (Sloping Agriculture Land Technology) when suitably adapted to the local conditions has the potential to offer the hill tribes with an alternative method of agriculture, which while being climate smart, will also provide the farmers with a means of sustainable livelihoods.
- A pilot SALT project has been initiated in village Aben of Manipur state during the 2017 monsoon season. Goatery, fishery, duckery and apiculture will be incorporated into the model for added benefit.
- SALT has been successfully demonstrated in south and south-east Asia as a sustainable method of cultivation for sloping lands in high rainfall areas. The approach involves creation of vegetative barriers (hedgerows) of nitrogen fixing plants (NFPs) along the contours to control soil loss and surface run-off of rain water while improving soil fertility through nitrogen-fixation.

- Field crops, vegetables and tree crops are cultivated on the strips in between the hedgerows. Small livestock such as goats are incorporated into the system.
- Animal dung is also composted and applied to the soil to maintain soil fertility. This system is less labor intensive, requires low external inputs, provides food for the family, marketable produce for income generation and is a sustainable and climate friendly form of settled agriculture.

### 3.4 PREVIOUS YEAR QUESTIONS:

1. Discuss alternatives for shifting cultivators in the context of ecological costs and humanistic concerns
2. Shifting cultivation, its merits and demerits
3. Shifting cultivation in the context of land use pattern
4. Problem of shifting cultivation in Indian tribes
5. Briefly describe the linguistic and socio-economic characteristics of the tribal peoples either (a) Of central India including the Chota Nagpur plateau or (b) of North East India.
6. Hunting and food gathering tribes of India
7. Describe the racial, linguistic and socio economic characteristics of a tribe of Central India or of South India

## 4. GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION

L.P.Vidarthi classified the Indian tribes based geographical, ecological, social, economic, administrative, ethnic and racial factors into 4 regions and an islands subregion as follows.

### 1. HIMALAYAN REGION:

- It includes the North Eastern Himalayan region which includes all the 8 Northeastern states and Darjeeling region of West Bengal; the Central Himalayan region which includes the state of Uttarakhand and the North Western Himalayan region which includes states of Himachal Pradesh and Jammu and Kashmir.
- The tribes inhabiting this region are the Akas, Daflas, Apatanis, Mishmis, Khamptis, Singphos, Kukis, Khasis, Garos, Lepchas, Bhotias, Tharus, etc.
- More than one third of the population in this particular region includes tribal population.
- The economic activities of the tribes of Himalayan region includes agriculture, animal husbandry, weaving, metal craft, architecture, and certain invaluable traditional knowledge systems (ethnobotany, medicine)

#### CASE STUDY- GUJJARS AND BAKARWALS:

- The Gujjars and Bakarwals are the two unique ethnic groups that rear flocks of sheep and goat between high and low altitudes of Western Himalayas. Some are of the opinion that the Gujjars are the descendants of the Kushan and the Yuchi tribes of Eastern Tatars (Russia). Some experts however, hold the view that they are of Indian origin.
- **TRANSHUMANCE:** In summer, these groups migrate to upper reaches of the valley and in winter, they take their flocks to the lower areas of the valley to protect themselves from the harsh cold. The annual migration starts when the summers hit the northern hemisphere in the months of April and May and the tribes start their migration from the hotter areas of Jammu region to colder, mountainous region of Kashmir. They travel back to Jammu in the month of October before the onset of winters in Kashmir Valley.

### 2. MIDDLE INDIAN REGION:

- It includes the states of Bihar, West Bengal, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh. About 55% of the total tribal population of the country lives in this region.
- The tribes inhabiting this region are the Juangs, Kharia, Khonds, Bhumijis, Baiga, Muria, Marias, Mundas, Gonds, Santhals, Oraons, etc.

### CASE STUDY- BAIGAS:

- The Baiga are a tribe with around 200,000 members that live in central India in what is now Madhya Pradesh state. They are a Munda or Kolarian tribe and have traditionally been slash-and-burn agriculturalists and hunters.
- The Baiga prefer to build their villages on top of steep hills, with limited access, surrounded by a 30-meter wide no man's land and magic wall intended to keep away wild animals and disease.
- They keep cattle and pigs and grow sweet potatoes, corn and tobacco.
- Baiga society is relatively egalitarian. Both men and women perform a variety of chores although hunting is primarily the domain of men.
- The Baiga worship an ever-changing pantheon of deities, which are roughly divided into those that are good and those that are evil and includes some Hindu gods. Their religious practitioners include priests that presides over agricultural and anti-earthquake rituals; medicine men who use magic to cure diseases; and clairvoyants who communicate with spirits through dreams and visions.

### 3. WESTERN INDIAN REGION:

- It includes the states of Rajasthan, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Goa and the Union Territory of Dadra and Nagar Haveli.
- The tribes inhabiting this region are the Barodias, Bharwads, Bhils, Damors, Dhanwars, Dhodias, Girasias, Gonds, Katkaris, Koknas, Kolis, Minas, Siddi, Warlis, etc.

#### CASE STUDY- BHILS:

- The Bhils are not a very heterogenous group, they are best viewed not as a tribe but rather as a tribal group made up of many tribes and subtribes, including the Vassas, Dhankas, Barelas and Tadvis to name a few.
- Bhil tribal groups are divided into clans, which are each led by a chief who has power over matters concerning clan and caste.
- The caste system is observed with the tribes, sub tribes and clans often hierarchically ranked. Villages are led by hereditary headmen.
- The Bhils merge animism and Hinduism and many are Muslims and Christians.
- The Bhil generally live in villages with three to 40 families that are established on a hill surrounded by crop fields. In the old days the Bhil were hunters and gatherers who collected edible plants, tubers and fruits from the forest.

### 4. SOUTHERN INDIAN REGION:

- It includes the states of Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka and Kerala.
- The tribes inhabiting this region are the Chenchus, Irulas, Paniyans, Kurumbas, Kadars, Todas, Badagas, Kotas, etc.

#### CASE STUDY- CHENCHUS:

- The Chenchus are a Dravidian-speaking nomadic jungle tribe of hunters and gatherers in Andhra Pradesh that subsists on wild roots, tubers, berries and game.
- Chenchu families have hereditary rights to certain parcels of land. Men usually hunt and make baskets. Women cook. Both sexes collect food. There are believed to be around 25,000 of them.
- The Chenchus live mostly north of the Kistna River on the Amrabad Plateau. This region get quite a bit of rain in the monsoon season but is quite dry in the dry season.
- The Chenchus traditionally wandered through the forest hunting and collecting, relying on natural sources for 90 percent of the food. They lived under trees and in rock shelters and sometimes lived in houses made of bamboo and thatch.
- Chenchu believe in anthropomorphic gods and invisible spirits that affect "human spirits as part of the natural order." They do not have a creation theory and their attitude towards their gods is "free of emotional involvement." The most important god is a female deity called Garelaisama.

#### 5. THE ISLAND REGION:

- It comprises the islands of Andaman and Nicobar in the Bay of Bengal and Lakshadweep in the Arabian Sea. The tribes inhabiting this region are the Jarawas, Onges, the Great Andamanese, North Sentinelese, etc.

#### CASE STUDY: THE SENTINELESE

- The Sentinelese are regarded by anthropologists as the world's only Paleolithic tribe without regular contact with the outside world. They are isolated by topography and hostile to outsiders.
- They live on 20-square-mile North Sentinel Island, and were the last group of Andamanese to have contact with modern civilization. They are still for the most part isolated and untouched by the modern world.
- The Sentinelese live like hunter gatherers. They plant no crops, wear no clothes and have only minimal use of fire.



# **PROBLEMS OF THE TRIBAL COMMUNITIES**

**NOTES FOR CIVIL SERVICES EXAMINATION  
ANTHROPOLOGY PAPER II, CHAPTER 6.2**

## 1. INTRODUCTION

From the beginning of the planning process, efforts have been made to ensure that the tribes are included in the growth process. However, tribes being one of the most vulnerable sections of the Indian population, there is still a considerable gap in human development indices between Scheduled Tribes (STs) and other social groups. As per Census 2011, National Family Health Survey-3 (2005-06) and other surveys, the status regarding Scheduled Tribes population is as follows:-

(Figures in %)		
Indicators	All Social Groups	STs
Persons below poverty line in rural areas, 2011-12 (Tendulkar Methodology)	25.7	45.3
Prevalence of Anemia in women (<12.0 grams per deciliter)	55.3	68.5
Child Mortality Rate	18.4	35.8
Infant Mortality Rate	57.0	62.1
Literacy Rate (Male)	80.9	68.5
Literacy Rate (Female)	64.6	49.4
Drop-out Rates (Class I - X) (2013-14 provisional)	47.4	62.4
Good Houses	53.1	40.6
Households availing latrine facilities within premises	46.9	22.7
Households with drinking water facilities at premises	46.6	19.7
Households using electricity as source of light	67.3	51.8

## 2. LAND ALIENATION

- The separation of land from the tribal communities is known as land alienation. Land alienation is the result of exploitation of tribal people by other groups.
- The origin of land alienation may be traced to the periods of deprivation of tribal lands or to periods of the withdrawal of their rights to exploit forest.
- Gradually, due to various structural changes within and outside the tribal systems, the more advanced groups forced the tribals either to retreat to the nearest jungles or to become landless labourers.
- Though land is the only source of their livelihood, as their other assets being extremely meagre, tribals were severally deprived.
- Moneylenders, traders, the feudal lords, or the rich peasants have historically exploited the tribals and used their illiteracy and innocence to acquire their land illegally.
- The phenomenon of land alienation has further been ruined by the emergence of new forces of production.
- The National Commission on Backward-Areas Development (1980) says, "In a number of areas new industrial and mining complexes, many major irrigation projects were located in the tribal areas resulting in the submergence of extensive lands belonging to the tribals"

### 2.1 FORMS OF LAND ALIENATION

1. The first and foremost is the **manipulation of land records**. The unsatisfactory state of land records contributed a lot to the problem of land alienation. The tribals were never legally recognized as owners of the lands which they cultivated.
2. The second form of land alienation is reported to have taken place due to **'benami' transfers**. The report of the study team of the Union Home Ministry (May 1975) pointed out that large scale transfers of ownership of the Adivasis' lands are being allowed to go out of hands through illegal

and benami transactions, collusive civil proceedings etc., in which land remains to be in the names of the original owners who are reduced to the level of share croppers.

3. Another form of land alienation is related to the **leasing or mortgaging of the land**. To raise loans for various needs the tribals have to give their land as mortgage to the local moneylenders or to the rich farmers.
4. **Encroachment** is another form of dispossessing the tribals of their lands and this is done by the new entrants in all the places where there were no proper land records. Bribing the local Patwari for manipulating the date of settlement of land disputes, ante-dating etc., are resorted to claim the tribal lands.
5. **Concubinage or marital alliance** is another form to circumvent the law and grab tribal lands at no cost at all.
6. Fictitious adoption is also another method to snatch the lands of the tribals.

S.No	SOME COMMON FACTORS THAT CAUSES LAND ALIENATION
1.	Illiteracy and innocence of tribes
2.	State apathy
3.	Failure of the state to provide proper legal assistance
4.	Existence of bondage labor in several different forms
5.	Government projects without proper rehabilitation of tribes
6.	Mining activities in tribal areas
7.	Isolated existence of tribes from the mainstream society
8.	The excessive dependence of tribal communities on land for their income and employment
9.	Existence of poverty, forcing tribals to depend on money lenders and non-payment of the money results in land alienation

## 2.2 CASE STUDY: LAND ALIENATION AMONG TRIBES OF MAYURBHANJ

- Mayurbhanj is one of the most tribally dominated districts, lying at the Northern border of Orissa.
- Principle tribes of Majurbhanj: the Santals, Hos, Bhunyas, Bhumijas, Bathuris and Gonds etc
- Land alienation is rampant here. Due to poor economic conditions and illiteracy the tribes have not been able to understand the vicious circle thrown by their non-tribal exploiters.
- The Tribal Research Bureau conducted surveys and studies to analyze the relationship between the tribals and non-tribals who settled down in tribal areas e.g. Dom and Pano, the first non-tribals to settle down on the hills, live in intimate relationship with the Kandhas and Saoras of South Orissa.
- Similarly milkmen oilman and others live with the Juangs and Paudi Bhunyas of North Orissa.
- Many researchers put this relationship of the tribals with the non-tribals as parasitism but sometimes a symbiotic relationship is also found between them.
- The tension between the tribals and non-tribals often resulted in violent outburst leading to direct intervention by the Govt.

## 2.3 GOVERNMENT MEASURES TO PREVENT LAND ALIENATION

### 1. Article 244 (1) of the Constitution:

- The Governor may make regulations for the peace and good government of any area in a State which is for the time being a Scheduled Area.
- Thus the Governor can prohibit or restrict the transfer of land by or among members of the Scheduled Tribes in such area, regulate the allotment of land to members of the Scheduled Tribes in such area; regulate the carrying on of business as money-lender by persons who lend money to members of the Scheduled Tribes in such area.

## 2. The Panchayats (extension to the Scheduled Areas) Act, 1996:

- It provides for the extension of part IX of the Constitution relating to Panchayat to the Scheduled areas.
- The Act, inter-alia, provides that the Gram Sabha or Panchayats at the appropriate shall be consulted before making the acquisition of land in the scheduled areas for development projects and before resettling or rehabilitating persons affected by such projects in scheduled areas.

## 3. The Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights):

- The Act seeks to recognize and vest the forest rights and occupation in forest land in forest dwelling STs and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers who have been residing in forests for generations.
- As per section 41 of the Act, as far as possible, no land is to be acquired in the Scheduled Area.
- In case acquisition or alienation of any land in the Scheduled Areas, prior consent of Gram Sabha or the Panchayats or the Autonomous District Councils, as the case may be, is required to be obtained.

## 2.4 MEASURES REQUIRED

- Land problem of a particular area has to be understood from its historical perspective. Historical evidences are ample which proves the conception of de-peasantization due to the commoditization of the tribal economy in which land plays a critical and predominant role
- There is a need for the governments to cooperate with Non Governmental Organisations in solving the problem of land alienation
- Awareness creation among the tribals with involvement of gram sabhas
- Strict implementation of Forest Rights Act in all the states
- Providing legal documents such as land pattas to the tribal residents of the forest as soon as possible
- Strict implementation of environmental impact assessment and social impact assessment before starting of any development projects in tribal regions.

## 3. POVERTY AND INDEBTEDNESS

Poverty indicates want or deficiency or scarcity of means of livelihood. It is a condition of insufficient means of livelihood. According to Elvin committee of 1960 the main problem of S.T. is poverty.

- The National Family Health Survey 2015-16 (NFHS-4) shows the following: 45.9% of scheduled tribe members were in the lowest wealth bracket compared to 26.6% of scheduled castes
- Despite a decline of one-third in their poverty rate between 1983 and 2011, poverty rates remain high

### 3.1 INDEBTEDNESS

- Landlessness and impacts on livelihoods of tribals are the major cause of indebtedness among the tribals in India.
- Land alienation has natural consequence of indebtedness, which further lead to dispossession of tribal land. The poverty, land alienation indebtedness and landlessness is working a cyclical way, resulting in a vicious cycle.
- Tribals are isolated self contained people and hence they lack the concept of loan and interest. However, indebtedness is an outcome of interaction between non tribal and tribal people. The tribal's lack of education and understanding of loan and interests have provided the incentives to the non tribals to systematically exploit them.
- It is also an outcome of deficit family income and social compulsions.

### 3.1.1 REASONS FOR INDEBTEDNESS AMONG TRIBALS

- The money lenders and traders still remains the major source of small loans in the tribal areas.
- The money lenders have no hesitation in advancing loans, for not only heavy compound interest, but also preemptive rights to purchase the standing crops at rock-bottom price are their privilege.
- The tribal people approach the local money lenders for small loans such as festivals, marriages etc.
- The tribal people are illiterates. They don't know arithmetic. Due to this they always leaves a comfortable arrear in favour of the creditor.
- Loan is available at all times and under any circumstances and the procedure is also so simple. So money lender easily attracted to the tribal people.
- One of the effects of indebtedness has been the increase in their poverty. Out of their inadequate incomes, some money goes to the money lenders by way of interest and thereby making them still poor.
- In many areas, Governmental institutions have not able to enter the interior tribal areas is also leads to increase the problem of indebtedness in the tribal people.

### 3.1.2 CASE STUDY: Study of 373 tribal households in Koraput District of Orissa

- This study reveals the sources, purposes and extent of indebtedness among the sample households.
- The problem of tribal indebtedness was a product of primitive existence, social extravagance and market inadequacy.
- In spite of expansion of co-operative, the money lenders constitute an important source of borrowing in the area under study.

### 3.2 MAJOR REASONS FOR POVERTY

S. No	Reasons
1	Illiteracy
2	Partnership or engagement of children in day to day economic activities
3	Backwardness in agriculture such as shifting agriculture
4	Alcoholism
5	Unaware of the concept of saving money
6	Attitude of fatalism
7	Easy target for money lenders
8	Loss of livelihood due to developmental projects and mining projects
9	Payment of less salary for heavy manual work
10	Lack of socio- economic development

### 3.2.1 CASE STUDY: Bhils of Santrampur taluka of Gujarat

- Their main economic activity is farming and to collect forest production.
- They use less of mechanical instrument and technology in farming wells are constructed under Jivandhara Scheme for irrigation
- They harvest only one crop and that also depends upon rain, hence they have to face problem of livelihood during some problem of livelihood during some period of year.
- They engage in paddy and ground nut work in other districts where there is no rain. Farmers exploit them by not giving full rate of salary to their work. Hence they live with poverty

### 3.2.2 MEASURES TAKEN BY GOVERNMENT:

#### 1. Grants-in-aid under Article 275(1) of the Constitution:

- Grants-in-aid under Proviso to Article 275(1) of Constitution of India is 100% annual grant from Government of India to States.
- It is charged to Consolidated Fund of India (except grants for NE States, a voted item) and is an additive to State Plan funds and efforts for Tribal Development

#### 2. Development of Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PVTGs):

- The scheme of Development of PVTGs covers 75 identified PVTGs.
- It concentrates on activities like housing, land distribution, land development, agricultural development, animal husbandry, construction of link roads, installation of non-conventional sources of energy for lighting purpose, social security including JanashreeBima Yojana or any other innovative activity meant for the comprehensive socio-economic development of PVTGs.

#### 3. Institutional Support for Development & Marketing of Tribal Products / Produce (Central Sector Scheme)

- Under the scheme, Grants-in-aid are released to State Tribal Development Cooperative Corporations (STDCCs) and Tribal Cooperative Marketing Development Federation of India Ltd. (TRIFED) which is a multi-State Cooperative under Ministry of Tribal Affairs (MoTA).

#### 4. Minimum Support Price for Minor Forest Produce:

- Mechanism for marketing of Minor Forest Produce (MFP) through Minimum Support Price (MSP) and Development of Value Chain for MFP is a measure of social safety for MFP gatherers who are primarily member of Scheduled Tribes and other traditional forest dwellers whose very livelihood depends on collection and selling of MFP.
- The scheme seeks to establish a system to ensure fair monetary returns for their efforts in collection, primary processing, storage, packaging, transportation etc.
- It also seeks to get them a share of revenue from the sales proceeds with cost deducted. It also aims to address other issues for sustainability of process.

### 3.2.3 MEASURES REQUIRED:

- If circumstance producing poverty is removed and new circumstances like employment which can give constant and sufficient income, increase in chances, training, skills, education, professional education, nutritional food, facilitated dwelling, technology etc. should be developed
- The need for state specific and tribe specific approach and action plans to prevent poverty
- Enhancing the livelihood of tribes by providing mechanism to collect tribal craftworks and exporting tribal products
- Engaging tribes in sports and similar activities
- Training the tribes in basic arithmetic skills
- Implementation of PESA Act in the tribal regions with full effect and empowering the gramshabhas to act against money lenders and alcoholism

## 4. HEALTH AND NUTRITION

In India, 44 percent of tribal children under 5 years of age are stunted, (low height for age); 45 percent are underweight, (low weight for age) and 27 percent are wasted (low weight for height).

### 4.1 HEALTH AND NUTRITIONAL ISSUES FACED BY TRIBES OF INDIA:

- Nutritional deficiency is found as a major problem and there is a wide variation at the level of nutrition of tribal groups.
- High rates of malnutrition and communicable diseases (TB, leprosy, HIV etc)
- The advent of rapid urbanisation, and changing lifestyles and environment, has led to a rise in non-communicable diseases as well (cancer, diabetes, and hypertension).
- The burden of mental illness and subsequent addiction.

- Almost 25% of the tribal population is without adequate access to health services
- Almost 20% of the PHCs in tribal areas are not staffed with doctors (15% in non-tribal areas) and 15% of the posts of paramedical workers is vacant.
- Non-availability of essential drugs and equipments, lack of proper building facilities, difficult terrain and constraints of distance and time (one ANM may typically be entrusted with 15-20 scattered villages), and lack of transport and communication facilities hinder the provision of health care.

#### 4.2 HEALTH INDICATORS OF S.T (Vs) GENERAL POPULATION:

Indicators	S.T population	General population
Malnutrition in children	54.5	33.7
Anaemia in women	68.5	51.3
Median age at marriage	16.3	18.1
Fertility rate	3.12	2.68
Infant Mortality rate/1000 live births	62.1	57
Under fiver mortality rate/ 1000 live birts	99.8	74
Completion of primary immunisation	31.3	53.8

(Table based on NFHS-3 data)

S. No	Major reasons for the poor health scenario of tribal population
1	Geographical isolation
2	Discrimination
3	Tribal hamlets remaining difficult to reach out for the government officials
4	Dependence on forest produce and shifting agriculture for food
5	Absence of nutritious meals
6	Frequent contact with non tribal population resulting in communicable diseases
7	Dependence on magic and similar rituals to treat health issues
8	Illiteracy and ignorance
9	Shortage of health personnel in scheduled and tribal areas
10	Financial incapability as a major hindrance to using health-care facilities
11	Substance abuse, unhygienic living environment and malnourishment

#### 4.3 CASE STUDY: Muthuvans and Mannans of Kerala

- Jose Boban's (1998) study on the two tribal communities of Kerala namely, Mutuvans and Mannans examines the medical practices and healing rituals among them to evaluate the changes occurring in the traditional medical system as a result of the influence of modern medicine.
- His study describes the ethnomedical system of the two tribes not as a set of abstract belief, but as an essential part of the social structure.
- Both the tribal communities have a rich knowledge of ethnomedicine and depend upon it for their health care.
- Their concept of etiology consists of both natural and supernatural causes for the origin of diseases. On the other hand, both the tribes have been exposed to modern medicine in the same period, though they did not accept it in the early stage of implementation.
- Hence this study proves that with persuasion and awareness, tribes can adopt modern medical technologies and medicines

#### 4.4 MEASURES TAKEN BY THE GOVERNMENT:

1. **National Nutrition Mission:**

- Annual targets have been set for reduction in levels of stunting, undernutrition, anaemia and low birth weight, to be achieved by year 2022.

2. **National Health Mission:**

- Setting up of the health centres under National Health Mission (NHM), taking into account the scattered and sparse population in a number of tribal habitations.

3. **State specific schemes:**

- Some states have introduced state-specific schemes specifically for tribal people; such as Maharashtra's APJ Abdul Kalam Amrut Aahaar Yojana, a full-meal scheme for pregnant and lactating women.

4. **National Rural Health Mission (NRHM) and National Urban Health Mission (NUHM):**

- To improve the availability of and access to quality health care to people, especially for those residing in rural areas, the poor along with scheduled tribes and other vulnerable communities

5. **Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP):**

- It is the dedicated source of fund for tribal development across the country.
- Major part of infrastructure development in tribal dominated areas and provision of basic amenities to tribal people in the country including provision of medical facilities is carried out through this fund.

#### 4.5 MEASURES REQUIRED:

- Shortage of basic infrastructure as well as human resources for delivery of government schemes, constrain the quality as well as outreach of these services in tribal areas. This must be overcome
- The government needs to play a more proactive role and form a policy for coordinated action across ministries, such as tribal affairs, women and child development, agriculture, rural development, drinking water and sanitation, and human resource development (education), to inform and strengthen their efforts towards tackling tribal undernutrition.
- There is a need to train tribal health volunteers to provide advise and primary treatments and to act as a bridge between the government and the tribals
- The study of tribal health should be with reference to their distinctive notions regarding different aspects of diseases, health, food, human anatomy and faith as well as in the process of interaction with modern world.
- Bridge the gap in healthcare for tribal communities, and to bring health coverage and indicators at par with the state average by at least 2027.
- A Tribal Health Council and Directorate for Tribal Health – must be established at both state and union levels

### 5. LOW LITERACY AND POOR EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES

#### 5.1 LITERACY INDICATORS OF SCHEDULED TRIBES IN INDIA:

- About 41% of Scheduled Tribes population in India is illiterate
- The percentage of literacy of tribes was only 8.54 per cent in 1961 which has increased to 63.1 per cent in 2011. But female literacy of tribes is only 54.4 per cent compared to male literacy of 71.7 per cent.
- Gross enrollment ratio of ST boys is more than ST girls in all classes.
- The dropout rate of ST children is higher as compared to all children in India

**5.2 REASONS FOR LOW LITERACY RATE AMONG SCHEDULED TRIBES:**

S. No	Reasons
1	Tribal lifestyle different from the lifestyle of general population
2	No special tribal education system
3	Unavailability of books in tribal languages such as Gondi, Santhali etc.
4	Tribes have existed from the beginning without any institutionised educational system
5	Involvement of tribal children in daily economic activities such as food collection and agriculture deters education
6	Lack of awareness about the importance of education
7	Lack of primary schools and anganwadi centres
8	Teachers and other workers' hesitation to work in remote tribal regions
9	Lack of involvement in economic activities deters education
10	Tribes are self sufficient isolated people. Hence Western education system is alien to their culture

**5.3 CASE STUDY: Low literacy among the tribals of "Ho" and "Mahali" in Jharkhand and "Lodha" in West Bengal**

- Despite low literacy rate, female enrolment ratio of the tribals is much lower among these tribals than that of their males.
- A further sharp decline of enrolment was observed immediately after the primary education, and this trend continued among males and females.
- During the cultivation period, the drop-out rate is more because children are required to assist their family members in sowing, weeding, plantation, and harvesting activities.
- Economic hardship is also a major factor for the drop out of the tribal children.

**5.4 GOVERNMENT MEASURES:****1. Setting up of anganwadi and mini-anganwadi centres under Integrated Child Development Services scheme:**

- Assures basic primary education to the scheduled tribes of India.

**2. Scheme of Girls & Boys Hostels for STs:**

- Central assistance is given to States/UTs/Universities for construction of new hostel buildings and/or extension of existing hostels.
- State Governments are eligible for 100% central share for construction of all Girls' hostel and also for construction of Boys' hostel in naxal affected areas

**3. Scholarship Schemes:**

- Pre-Matric Scholarship for ST students (9th& 10thStd)
- Post-Matric Scholarship for ST students (Class 11th onwards)
- National Fellowship and Scholarship for Higher Education of ST students
- National Overseas Scholarship (NOS) for ST candidates for studying abroad

**4. Tribal Research Institutes (TRIs):**

- TRIs have been set up by various State Governments.
- It is envisaged that TRIs should work as body of knowledge & research more or less as a think tank for tribal development, preservation of tribal cultural heritage, providing inputs to States for evidence based planning and appropriate legislations, capacity building of tribals and persons / institutions associated with tribal affairs, dissemination of information and creation of awareness.
- Funding under this Scheme is 100% Grant-in-Aid by the Ministry of Tribal Affairs to the TRIs on need basis.

### 5. The Janshala Programme:

- A collaborative effort of the Government of India (GOI) and five UN Agencies – UNDP, UNICEF, UNESCO, ILO and UNFPA.
- It is a community based primary education programme, aims to make primary education more accessible and effective, especially for girls and children in deprived communities, marginalised groups, Scheduled Caste/Scheduled Tribes/minorities, children with specific needs.

### 5.5 MEASURES REQUIRED:

1. **Literacy campaign:** Proper awareness campaign should be organized to create the awareness about the importance of education.
2. **Relevant study materials in local languages:** All study materials should be supplied in local languages of tribes along with appointment of Local teachers and female teachers. The ecological, cultural, psychological characteristics of tribal children should be considered carefully by the teachers in tribal areas.
3. **Stipends and various scholarships:** Since higher education among the tribes is less, special ST scholarships should be provided to the tribal students perusing higher education, particularly in medical, engineering, and other vocational streams. More residential schools should be established in each states and districts and extended up to PG level in tribal areas.
4. **Social security:** Social security of students, especially of adolescent girls is of great concern in residential schools.
5. **Proper Monitoring:** Higher level officials should check the functioning of schools frequently relating to the teaching methods, working hours, and attendance registers.

## 6. UNEMPLOYMENT AND UNDER EMPLOYMENT

Poverty and Unemployment are the two sides of the same coin. Though unemployment is a source of poverty, the most common cause of poverty in the country is underemployment, i.e, the employment which yields less income than it should yield. The unemployment rate among scheduled tribes has increased in urban and rural areas between 2004-05 and 2011-12, according to figures in the NSSO's report on Employment and Unemployment among Social Groups in 2011-12.

### 6.1 INCREASING TREND OF UNEMPLOYMENT AMONG SCHEDULED TRIBES:

	2004-05 (%)	2011-12 (%)
S.T men (urban)	2.9	3.4
S.T women (urban)	3.4	4.8
S.T men (rural)	1.1	1.3
S.T. women (rural)	0.4	1.1

### 6.2 REASONS FOR PERSISTENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT AND UNDEREMPLOYMENT AMONG THE TRIBAL POPULATION:

S. no	Reasons
1	Poverty forces the tribal people to engage in manual labour with meagre income
2	Illiteracy and lack of awareness on job market
3	Threat to livelihood sources such as land and forest forces them to move out of their natural habitat
4	Improper implementation of labour codes in India
5	Lack of handholding of state in tribal employment
6	The vulnerable nature of tribes leads to exploitation

### 6.3 CASE STUDY: Dublas tribe of Gujarat

- Dublas tribes were merely agricultural serfs tied as bonded labourers to their masters (owner/landlord/dhaniama).
- The system is known as 'hali pratha' in local which compiled not only the householder in Dubla family to serve the masters for life time, Dublas wife, daughters and sons had to work from dawn to dusk.
- Shah.P. G. observed that village development programmes and schemes do not seem to have kept the interests of the Dubla families in view.
- Debts incurred by their parents forced their children to remain in perennial chains of bonded labour.
- The study also found that urbanisation of rural areas and conversion of agriculture into non-agricultural lands has certainly brought about occupational change among Dublas. This change has now brought Dublas out of narrow, constructed nexus of the village and placed them into more open, secular and formal economy nexus.

### 6.4 GOVERNMENT MEASURES:

#### 1. Term Loan scheme:

- Term Loan for any income generation scheme costing upto ₹25.00 lakhs per unit.
- The financial assistance is extended upto 90% of the cost of the scheme and the balance is met by way of subsidy/ promoter's contribution/ margin money.
- The interest rate chargeable is 6% p.a. for loan upto ₹ 5 lakhs, 8% p.a. for loans ranging between ₹ 5 lakhs to ₹ 10 lakhs and 10% p.a. for loan exceeding ₹10 lakhs on the entire amount of loan.

#### 2. Adivasi Mahila Sashaktikaran Yojana (AMSY):

- Under the scheme, Scheduled Tribes women can undertake any income generation activity. Loans upto 90% for scheme costing upto ₹1 lakh are provided at a concessional rate of interest of 4% p.a.

#### 3. Micro Credit Scheme for Self Help Groups:

- The Corporation provides loans upto ₹50,000/- per member and ₹ 5 Lakhs per Self Help Group (SHG). The interest rate chargeable is 6% p.a.

#### 4. Adivasi Shiksha Rrinn Yojana:

- Under this scheme, financial assistance upto ₹5.00 lakh at concessional rate of interest of 6% per annum is provided to ST students for pursuing professional/ technical education including Ph.D. in India.

#### 5. State specific measures such as tribal employment exchange :

- The first tribal employment exchange and career development centre in the country has started functioning at Palode in Kerala.

### 6.5 MEASURES REQUIRED:

- Since most of the SCs and STs are working as casual wage labourers or as self-employed workers in low-paying occupations under poor working conditions, discrimination in hiring practices and wage payments should be overcome
- It is imperative for the proposed policies to break this vicious circle of poverty and low earning levels. The existing policies also need to be evaluated to determine their success in improving employment and income generation for the tribals.
- The development strategy, therefore, has to create productive employment opportunities
- Continuous monitoring of the tribal people on their employment status and wages by state agencies is required
- Schemes to develop self-employment based on the traditional skills of tribes such as craftworks, artefacts, tribal art works along with state developed marketing mechanism is the need of the time

## 7. DE-NOTIFIED TRIBAL GROUPS

The term, 'De-notified and Nomadic Tribes', can be traced to the Criminal Tribes Act (CTA) of 1871. The colonial government notified nearly 200 tribal communities to be hereditary criminals, cementing their societal identity as outcasts and subjecting them to constant harassment by the administration. After India gained Independence, these tribes were 'de-notified' from the list of Criminal Tribes, and, hence, the term.

### 7.1 CRIMINAL TRIBES ACT:

- The CTA allowed for close supervision and control over the mobility of the tribes which were notified by the provincial governments.
- The Act was amended in 1897, 1908 and 1911 to give sweeping powers to the authorities, some as draconian as allowing the state to remove any child of the age of six and above from its 'criminal' parents.
- By 1924, certain provisions were amended, and the Act was finally applicable to the whole of British India. Along with the introduction of laws such as the Forest Acts and the Salt Tax Act, the British threw a noose around the the lives of DNTs using stringent regulations.

### 7.2 HABITUAL OFFENDERS ACT:

- It is only in independent India that the need was felt to shift the collective burden of criminality to the individual, which led to the CTA being repealed and the Habitual Offenders Act (HOA) being enacted in various States.
- Not all States enacted it, Currently, a variant of the HOA Model Bill as proposed by the Union Government then stands enforced in 10 States across the country, having been enacted in many more.
- However, the HOA functioned as a mere extension of the CTA.
- Nomadic and semi-nomadic communities continued to face harassment at the hands of law enforcement agencies.
- Given their centuries-old tradition of constant movement, they often do not possess any residential proof, which leaves them out of the majority of the government's developmental schemes.

### 7.3 IDATE COMMISSION RECOMMENDATION:

- Repeal of the Habitual Offenders Act
- Provision of PDS cards
- Special housing schemes
- Special education and health schemes etc.

### 7.4 RENKE COMMISSION RECOMMENDATION:

- Advisory Committees may be made at District and State level to assist the socio-economic condition of the DNTs, so that action plan can be drawn for their welfare.
- Special campaign for issue of voter ID to the eligible members of DNT.
- Caste Certificates and ration cards to every member of DNT, and BPL Certificates and to the concerned members
- Central should modify the existing Housing Schemes in urban/rural areas and earmark specifically for DNTs.
- Skill Development Programmes be taken up for DNTs to improve their self employability and wage employment, in collaboration with National Small Industries Corporation (NSIC), Khadi & Village Industries Commission (KVIC), the Central Cottage Industries Corporation of India Limited, the Handicrafts and Handlooms Exports Corporations of India Limited.
- Basic civic amenities be provided to the DNTs living in colonies and clusters.

- DNTs be given 10% reservation in Government jobs even if the total reservation exceeds 50%.
- Research Institutes should be set up by the States/UTs for DNTs.
- The Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, 1989 be, made applicable to DNTs, and the implementation of the same be reviewed and monitored from time to time.

## 8. PREVIOUS YEAR QUESTIONS

1. The problem of bonded labour among Indian tribes
2. Tribal displacement
3. Indebtedness in Tribal Communities
4. Land Alienation
5. Land alienation among the tribals
6. The problems of de-notified groups
7. Land Alienation in Tribal India



# **DEVELOPMENTAL PROJECTS & THEIR IMPACT FOREST POLICY IMPACT OF URBANIZATION & INDUSTRIALIZATION**

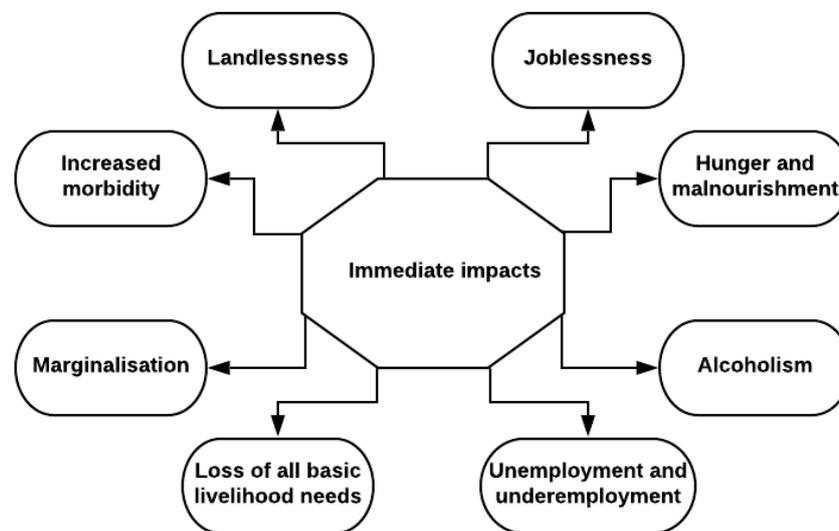
**NOTES FOR CIVIL SERVICES EXAMINATION  
ANTHROPOLOGY PAPER II, CHAPTER 6.3**

## 1. INTRODUCTION

India focused on various developmental projects as well as dam construction after independence. But these mega projects also resulted in displacing millions of people from their ancestral land. The inadequate planning and implementation of various resettlement and rehabilitation policy made lives of displaced people even worse.

Displacement, resettlement and rehabilitation have been serious concern for all developing countries including India. Since, last 60 years large numbers of hydropower projects has been constructed and more than 50 million people have been displaced and only 25% of displaced people were rehabilitated. In Madhya Pradesh people were displaced four times since last 30 years by development projects such as Rihand Dams project. In Karnataka, the Soliga tribals were also displaced two times by Kabini dam projects and also by Rajiv Gandhi National Park.

## 2. IMMEDIATE IMPACTS OF DEVELOPMENTAL PROJECTS ON TRIBAL INHABITANTS



### 2.1 IMPACTS OF DEVELOPMENTAL PROJECTS ON TRIBAL DISPLACEMENT

The tribals happen to be among the most depressed and underprivileged communities in India. Even after four decades of development they still remain outside any form of visible material change. Thus, the affect of displacement is more disastrous in case of tribal people

#### 1. Cultural impact:

- For a majority of the tribals, geographical space and an evolved relationship with it has contributed to their cultural identity and their complex patterns of subsistence which have primarily depended on land, forests, water bodies, and animal and plant life.
- In addition, most do not live in discrete nuclear families but in extended ones that are integrally linked to a larger community fabric.
- Displacement from their natural habitat and settlement in a new environment totally changes their culture and societal beliefs

#### 2. Social impacts:

- People are forcibly displaced by the dam projects from their ancestral land, ancestral property, and disrupted their social relation, family structure and kinship structure.
- They are alienated from their traditional ancestral shrines, holy rivers, mountain, forests and traditional place of worship

**3. Environmental impacts:**

- Large number of development projects have been poorly constructed and not properly implemented resulting in an undesirable impact on environment affecting the quality of people’s lives
- Further, projects such as mining would result in pollution of rivers and devastation of trees in the forest, which results in impacts on the food source of the tribal settlements such as fishes.

**4. Economic impact:**

- Displaced people were given only monetary compensation and not livelihood needs
- Experience from across the tribal areas in the country illustrates the difficulties that displaced tribals have been dealing with in the market economy.
- Their low level of modern skills coupled with almost non-existent official efforts to facilitate an easier entry into the dominant economy, pushes a majority of tribals into conditions of servility and bondage.

**5. Psychological impacts:**

- Moving to new places is just unthinkable for the tribals as they are deeply attached to their socio-economic system and environment. The word "resettlement" does not exist in many tribal language

**6. Health impacts:**

- Resettlement from natural habitat leads to mental as well as physical stress
- Also, displaced tribal people are studied and found out that they are engaged in alcoholism and gambling. This further deteriorates the health conditions
- Tribal children who are displaced by development projects suffer from malnutrition due to the unavailability of proper food. Also, tribal women suffer from anaemia.
- Sudden exposure to outside world make them a easy target for communicable as well as non-communicable diseases

**2.2 ISSUES WITH THE REHABILITATION POLICIES OF INDIA:**

- Millions of people were displaced through different kinds of projects in India and very less were rehabilitated.
- In the absence of a national Rehabilitation and Resettlement (R&R) policy, state government or even specific project authorities introduced their own principles and handled the R&R of the displaced by way of ad hoc plans
- Till 1990, more than two crores people were forcibly displaced by dam’s projects in India. Majority of them was tribal community and only 24.9% have been rehabilitated and a staggering 75.1% still await rehabilitation
- Women and children are the worst victims as they are not considered in the resettlement and rehabilitation policies. Women have hardly any property rights on the land so they are not entitled to compensation.
- Insufficient compensation received by displaced people resulted in impoverishment. Compensation is based on the value of the land at the time of notification, which may be much less than its value at the time of dispossession.
- It has also been found that even though the displaced people are given land for land compensation by the government, but still they are not given legal ownership of that land.

**Examples of failure in resettlement and rehabilitation:**

Projects	Rehabilitation status
Bhakranangal project	Out of 36,000 households displaced by the project, only 12,000 were rehabilitated.
Ukai project	Only 3,500 out of 18,500 ousted families were resettled.
Pong dam	The number of rehabilitated families was 9,000, out of 33,000 ousted households

### 2.3 CASE STUDY: HIRAKUD DAM PROJECT

- Hirakud Dam is the largest multi purpose river valley project in Orissa. Primarily conceived as a flood control measure the water thus stored could also be used for irrigation and power generation.
- Land for Hirakud reservoir was acquired under the Land Acquisition Act, 1894. Most of the submerged land was agricultural land
- Even after independence, the Orissa government did not have any well-formulated rehabilitation policy. Just before the plan of constructing the Hirakud Dam developed through five-year plans, the problems of rehabilitation assumed a historical importance.
- The Government of Orissa announced its rehabilitation policy which includes both the methods of cash compensation and physical rehabilitation.
- The government promised that the resettled villages would be provided with modern amenities like water, electricity and the re-settled evacuees would be vested with the proprietary right on the lands allotted to them
- However, the promises made by the government were not kept in many instances. Besides, many shortcomings in the implementation of rehabilitation policy of the government were pointed out. Some of them are
  - (i) Underestimation of the number of the displaced persons
  - (ii) Inadequate compensation
  - (iii) Those who are deposited money for land have been asked to take the money back without allotting land
  - (iv) Living conditions in the re-settled colonies are unsatisfactory

### 2.4 MAJOR REASONS FOR THE FAILURE OF REHABILITATION AND RESETTLEMENT OF TRIBES IN INDIA:

S. No	Reasons
1	Administrative apathy
2	Failure in implementation of environmental and social impact assessment
3	Failure in providing land documents and pattas to the tribes
4	Non-Governmental Organisations and governments not working in tandem
5	No studies of the status of tribes after rehabilitation and resettlement
6	Illiteracy and isolated existence of tribal society
7	Rehabilitation plans developed without consensus of the tribal people
8	Monetisation of erstwhile self-sufficient tribal society
9	Rehabilitation packages calculating benefits on monetary needs and not livelihood and societal needs
10	Rehabilitated people are highly susceptible to discrimination and unemployment and underemployment

### 2.5 ISSUES FACED BY TRIBES POST REHABILITATION AND RESETTLEMENT:

- When people are displaced they face lot of problems at new resettlement site and they are forced to adopt new social environment.
- It has been seen that it is very difficult for displaced people to adjust to new environment with socioeconomic disturbance.
- People are forcibly resettled without psychological and cultural preparation. As a result they always lived under depressed conditions.
- In the new social environment, the displaced people face problems such as cultural crises, and adjustment problems, particularly women, children's, and elder people.

- The kinship relation gets totally disturbed and all the relatives, kith and kin started living in scattered places.
- The younger generation find it's difficult to cope up with the old and new cultural identity.
- In the new location, women face additional burden of workload as they loss their livelihood, breakdown of community network create problems of marriage of daughters, rise in alcoholism and increased in domestic violence
- The involuntary displacement created conflicts between the host community and displaced people.
- Displacement resulted in competition over the use of natural resources and employment opportunities

## 2.6 CASE STUDY: Displacement in Singrauli

- Displacement in Singrauli region tore apart the social network of the displaced tribal.
- Before displacement the tribal were living a simple and honest life without any greed.
- But implementation of various developmental projects in the region resulted and creating a greed and hunger for money among the otherwise simple and honest tribal people
- In the new environment, people lost their traditional family values and cultural ethos, respect of elders and started quarrelling about trivial money matter, resulting in breakdown of family norms.
- The elderly people were the most seriously affected one. Most of them lost their life as they could not adjust the new environment and culture.
- On the whole, the region became victim of social evils.

## 2.7 LEGISLATIVE MEASURES IN PLACE TO SAFEGUARD TRIBAL RIGHTS IN LAND ACQUISITION AND REHABILITATION:

Land and its management fall under the exclusive legislative and administrative jurisdiction of states as provided under the Constitution of India (Seventh Schedule – List II (State List) – Entry No. (18). The Government is aware of the impact on tribal community due to such acquisition of tribal land. To address the issue of Land Acquisition and displacement of tribals, Constitutional and legal provisions for safeguarding the rights of tribals to land are as follows-

1. **The Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act, 2006:**
  - No member of a forest dwelling Scheduled Tribes or Other Traditional Forest Dweller shall be evicted or removed from the Forest Land under his occupation till the recognition and verification procedure is complete.
2. **Right to Fair Compensation and Transparency in Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Act, 2013:**
  - To ensure, in consultation with institutions of local self-government and Gram Sabhas established under the Constitution, a humane, participative, informed and transparent process for land acquisition with the least disturbance to the owners of the land and the other affected families and provide just and fair compensation to the affected families whose land has been acquired or proposed to be acquired.
  - A National Level Monitoring Committee for Rehabilitation and Resettlement has been constituted
3. **The Panchayats (Extension to Scheduled Areas) Act, 1996:**
  - The Gram Sabha or the Panchayats at the appropriate level shall be consulted before making the acquisition of land in the Scheduled Areas or development projects and before resettling or rehabilitating persons affected by such projects in the Scheduled Areas
  - The actual planning and implementation of the projects in the Scheduled Areas shall be coordinated at the State Level

## 2.8 LAND ACQUISITION ACT OF INDIA

### **The land acquisition act, 1894 (amended in 1984):**

- The law originally was passed by the colonial government to make it possible for the state to acquire private land for 'public purpose'.
- The act provides for payment of only cash compensation and only to those who have a direct interest in the title to such land.
- Under the Act, the legal obligations of the project authorities do not go beyond 'monetary compensation' to a narrowly defined category of project affected persons (PAPs).
- The underlying rationale is that the displaced people should be able to rehabilitate themselves with the money given as compensation. The interpretation of resettlement stops at monetary compensation.
- This, according to the act, is calculated on the basis of prevailing market price of land and other properties
- Cash compensation under the act is based on prevailing market price, which very often understates the real value of land even in the narrow economic sense.
- Only those who hold legal title to land are entitled to the compensation. Those without legal titles (pattas) such as land less agricultural labourers, artisans, forest produce collectors, encroachers on government land, forestland and others are not entitled to compensation under the act.
- Tribals who constitute a major proportion of those displaced and who may have only customary (right) titles, are denied their due

### **The Right to Fair Compensation and Transparency in Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement (Amendment) Bill, 2015:**

- The Bill amends the Right to Fair Compensation and Transparency in Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Act, 2013 (LARR Act, 2013)
- The LARR Act, 2013 exempted 13 laws (such as the National Highways Act, 1956 and the Railways Act, 1989) from its purview. The Bill brings the compensation, rehabilitation, and resettlement provisions of these 13 laws in consonance with the LARR Act, 2013.
- The Bill creates five special categories of land use: (i) defence, (ii) rural infrastructure, (iii) affordable housing, (iv) industrial corridors, and (v) infrastructure projects including Public Private Partnership (PPP) projects where the government owns the land.
- The LARR Act, 2013 requires that the consent of 80% of land owners is obtained for private projects and that the consent of 70% of land owners be obtained for PPP projects. The new Bill exempts the five categories mentioned above from this provision of the Act.
- The LARR Act, 2013 required land acquired under it which remained unutilised for five years, to be returned to the original owners or the land bank. The new Bill states that the period after which unutilised land will need to be returned will be: (i) five years, or (ii) any period specified at the time of setting up the project, whichever is later.
- The LARR Act, 2013 excluded the acquisition of land for private hospitals and private educational institutions from its purview. The Bill removes this restriction.
- While the LARR Act, 2013 was applicable for the acquisition of land for private companies, the Bill changes this to acquisition for 'private entities'. A private entity is an entity other than a government entity, and could include a proprietorship, partnership, company, corporation, non-profit organisation, or other entity under any other law.
- The LARR Act, 2013 stated that if an offence is committed by the government, the head of the department would be deemed guilty unless he could show that the offence was committed without his knowledge, or that he had exercised due diligence to prevent the commission of the offence.
- The Bill replaces this provision and states that if an offence is committed by a government official, he cannot be prosecuted without the prior sanction of the government.

### 3. DEVELOPMENT OF FOREST POLICY AND TRIBALS

In the constitution of India, 'forestry' appears on the 'concurrent list' meaning that both central as well as state governments have control over forestry activities but the central government, as a policy-making body, has overriding authority. However, management authority is with the state governments.

#### 3.1 COLONIAL FOREST POLICIES:

The arrival of British and their perception about forest resources created enormous change in the forest cover, forest resources and the rights of tribal people in India. The first Conservator of Forests was appointed in the year 1850 by the British, in Bombay, and the first Forest Department was set-up in the year 1864. The forest policies of colonial government was to plunder the natural wealth of the nation as much as possible, since timber trade was a highly lucrative trade during those times.

##### 1. Forest Policy, 1855:

- Lord Dalhousie's new forest policies greatly expanded British authority over the land and people of India
- To support modern scientific forestry methods and conservation.

##### 2. The Forest Act of 1865:

- Classified the forests into reserved forests and unclassified forests.
- Reserved forests were out of bounds of the local people and the un-surveyed forests were progressively reclassified as reserved forests before the end of the century.
- The objective was to assert state monopoly on forest resources

##### 3. The Forest Act, 1878:

- By the Forest Act of 1878, the British Administration acquired the sovereignty of all wastelands which by definition included forests.
- This Act also enabled the administration to demarcate reserved and protected forests.
- The local rights were refused in the case of protected forests while some privileges which were given to the local people by the government which can be taken away anytime
- This Act classified the forests into three - reserved forests, protected forests and village forests.

##### 4. National Forest Policy, 1894:

- Through this policy the British Administration encouraged the Zamindars to convert the open forests into agricultural land for enhancing the revenue earning of the state.
- In this policy, the forests were divided into four classes.
- The first class generally situated in hill slopes and essential to protect the cultivated plains from landslides and they played a conservation role for the benefit of cultivated plains and assured revenue to the state.
- The second class of forests consisted of valuable timber trees like devadharu (*Cedrus deodara*), sal (*Shorea robusta*) and teak (*tectona grandis*), and due to commercial interest natural regeneration of devadharu and sal are promoted and artificial regeneration of teak was developed.
- The third class of forests as per the classification under this policy meant for minor forests, which yields low quality timber, fuelwood and fodder and for meeting the demands of local people.
- Finally, the fourth class covered the pastures and grazing lands, the local people were allowed to use them with restrictions

##### 5. Indian Forest Act, 1927:

- This Act impacted the life of forest dependent communities.
- The penalties and procedures given in this Act aimed to extend the state's control over forests as well as diminishing the status of people's rights to forest use.
- The village communities were alienated from their age-old symbiotic association with forests.

### 3.2 POST COLONIAL FOREST POLICIES:

Since 1974 the Independent India formulated policies for forest conservation and management

#### 1. **Indian Forest Policy, 1952:**

- The Indian Forest Policy, 1952 was a simple extension of colonial forest policy.
- However it became conscious about the need to increase the forest cover to one-third of the total land area
- The use of forest by adjoining village communities was relatively restricted at the cost of national interests
- Forests are classified as protected forests, national forests, village forests and tree lands according to this policy with distinct uses.
- The protected forests are preserved for maintaining physical and climatic conditions and the commercial forests are to meet the demand from defence and communication industry.
- The forest dependent community can extract the produce of village forests for domestic uses.
- In 1953, the Indian government nationalized the forests which were earlier with zamindars.

#### 2. **Forest Conservation Act, 1980:**

- Aims to check the diversion of forest land for non-forestry purposes
- The central permission is necessary to practice sustainable agro-forestry in forest areas.
- Though this Act provides greater hope towards forest conservation it was not successful in its target.
- It resulted in increased deforestation and loss of biodiversity and wildlife because the rural population ignored the regulations and continued to use the forests for their survival.

#### 3. **Indian Forest Policy, 1988:**

- The first forest policy which recognized the role of local people in forest protection and management of forests for achieving improvements in community livelihood
- The ultimate objective of this forest policy is maintaining environmental stability and ecological balance through conservation of forests as a natural heritage.
- It made a very significant and categorical shift from commercial concerns to focus on the ecological role of the forests and participatory management
- The Joint Forest Management implies a historical shift towards decentralization of forest management in India through the New Forest Policy of 1988

#### 4. **Community based forest management from 1990:**

- An institutional arrangement involving the local people to jointly protect and manage the forest resources in return for benefits from it.
- The village committees in association with the Forest Departments will manage specific forest blocks.

#### 5. **Scheduled Tribes and other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act, 2006:**

- To recognize and vest the forest rights and occupation of forest land in forest dwelling Scheduled Tribes and other traditional forest dwellers, who have been residing in such forests for generations, but whose rights could not be recorded
- Rights recognised under this Act are as follows:
  - a) Rights to hold and live in the forest land under the individual or common occupation for habitation
  - b) Self-cultivation for livelihood
  - c) Right of ownership
  - d) Access to collect, use and dispose of minor forest produce
  - e) Community rights such as nistar
  - f) Habitat rights for primitive tribal groups and pre-agricultural communities
  - g) Right to protect, regenerate or conserve or manage any community forest resource
- The Act also provides for diversion of forest land for public utility facilities managed by the Government, such as schools, dispensaries, fair price shops, electricity and telecommunication lines, water tanks, etc. with the recommendation of Gram Sabhas.

### 3.3 IMPACTS OF FOREST POLICIES ON TRIBES OF INDIA

The livelihood activities of the tribes are centered on the forest in which they live. They have maintained a time immemorial relation with forest and always interact for their sustenance and follow traditional conservation systems. But as soon as the tribal relation to forest got transformed due to the assertion of state monopoly rights over large areas of forest, it has resulted in large scale eviction and the uprooting of traditional tribal villages.

S. No	IMPACTS OF COLONIAL FOREST POLICIES ON TRIBALS
1	Commercial exploitation of forest was encouraged at the cost of tribals
2	The British forest policies were mainly aimed at supplying the raw material for the British based industries
3	Tribes were named as violators of forest laws
4	Restriction of tribes from accessing forest produce, fuel woods and other forest resources
5	Impoverishment of tribals
6	Outsiders and zamindars exploited forest resources
7	Encroachment of forests by non-tribal communities
8	Tribals were enrolled under bonded labours

S. No	IMPACTS OF POST INDEPENDENCE FOREST POLICIES
1	It is widely criticized that the Forest policies of independent India were the mere extension of government authority over forest to the detriment of tribal economy and life and changes in the rights of the tribal communities over the forest.
2	The Forest Rights Act of 2006 effectively recognizes the rights of forest dwellers who previously were considered encroachers on state land.
3	Joint Forest Management is not being adopted in letter in spirit all over the country
4	Failure of forest policies to protect displacement of tribals due to development projects
5	The diversion of forest land for other purpose in the name of developmental projects
6	Afforestation projects have resulted in mono-cropping in forests, further commercialising forest resources.
7	Failure of the forest policies in considering tribes as partners in conservation

### 3.4 WHY THE GOVERNMENT POLICIES DO NOT MEET TRIBAL INTERESTS?

S. No	Reasons
1	The forest is the pivot around which the tribal life revolves, but for the state, the forest is simply a source of raw materials for industry and revenue for itself.
2	In some states the Forest Department is a major source of revenue for the government.
3	The unavailability of technical expertise in government results in ignorance of tribal way of life by the government
4	Lack of researches and studies with respect to tribal livelihood
5	Affected tribals being lured by extremists to involve in anti-national activities
6	The tribal way of independent and isolated existence is alien to the concept of state and government
7	Over dependence of the government on technocracy and policing

### 3.5 CASE STUDY: Success of Forest Rights Act

- In Panchgaon village in Chandrapur district and Mendalkha village in Gadchiroli the communities were given the ownership right over bamboo in the forest in 2014 which helped double the productivity of bamboo in about three years. Besides, the communities successfully bargained collectively with traders for higher prices.
- The village communities, in Nayakheda, Upatkhedha and Khatiyapur, have regenerated degraded forest lands and are growing species such as bamboo, amla and teak along with intensive soil and moisture conservation.

### 3.6 CASE STUDY: Failure of Forest policies to address the plights of tribes of Wayanad, Kerala

- In Kerala, Wayanad is the district with the highest percentage of Scheduled Tribes- 17.43%
- The major Adivasi communities living in this region are Paniyas (44.77%), Mullukurumas (17.51%), Kurichiyas (17.38%), Kattunaikas (9.98%), Adiyas (7.10%) and Uralikurumas (2.69%).
- Mullukurumas and Kurichiyas tribal groups were the regions land holding agriculturists.
- The expansion of the administrative system of Kottayam to Wayanad resulted in a far reaching transition of land relations. Temple economy and village division of labour replaced tribal self governing
- Paniyas and Adiyas became bonded labourers under the upper caste land lords
- The Kerala Act 1975 was enacted to address the issue of land alienation. Unfortunately this Act had hardly been implemented. It benefited only other Adivasis mostly (higher ranking) Kurichiya and Kuruma, who had possessed proper land records prior to their alienation.

## 4. IMPACT OF URBANISATION AND INDUSTRIALISATION ON TRIBAL POPULATIONS

### An urban area in India is defined as follows:

- (a.) All administrative units that have been defined by statute (i.e., settlements declared based on state government definition).
- (b.) Administrative units satisfying the following three criteria:
  - (i.) A minimum population of 5,000 persons;
  - (ii.) 75 percent and above of the male main working population being engaged in non-agricultural pursuits; and
  - (iii.) A density of population of at least 400 persons per sq. km. (1,000 per sq. mile).

### 4.1 URBANISATION OF TRIBES:

- Tribes in India were traditionally associated with land and forest-based livelihoods.
- Accordingly, their traditional habitats have been rural and forested areas.
- However, this changed during the colonial period. Tribal people were not only integrated into the modern state, but also into the wider economy and society.
- Following independence, the process of change has accelerated. Example, some of the most striking changes in the tribal society of Meghalaya are the transition from agriculture to modern occupations, the expansion of modern education and the emergence of the middle class, the switch from traditional political institutions to modern institutions of governance, and the shift from traditional religions to different denominations of Christianity.

TABLE: Share of tribal population living in urban areas

Year	Share of population in urban areas (%)
1961	1
1981	3
2001	7
2011	11

#### 4.2 WHY URBANISATION IS TAKING PLACE IN TRIBAL REGIONS?

S. No	Reasons
1	Expansion of administrative centres and the initiation of industrial and infrastructure projects
2	Development projects opened up avenues of employment for tribal people
3	Percolation of modern education and the emergence of newer, modern employment opportunities
4	Development of peri-urban region have a pulling effect on tribes inhabiting near by regions
5	Exploitation of forest resources forces the tribes out of their natural habitat
6	Modernisation and Westernisation of tribes, especially the tribes of North East India
7	Tribes being exposed to modern technologies due to the growth in communication
8	Governments facilitation urbanisation as a way of economic development

#### 4.3 IMPACTS OF URBANISATION ON TRIBAL POPULATION:

- This increase in the number of tribal people in urban areas is far from uniform across regions or subregions. The larger proportion of the tribal population lives in urban areas in the North East region than in the rest of mainland India
- Tribes without skills, when urbanised are exposed to exploitation as daily wage labours
- The entire tribal societal set up gets changed. For example, the relationship of clans and lineages changes to nuclear family set up
- Tribes are natural conservators. They have a symbiotic relationship with forest. Migration of tribals have a negative impact on forest eco system
- The tribal values and ethics become extinct and they are exposed to crimes, gambling and alcoholism
- The role played by religious leaders such as Shamans and Magic men become extinct in urban society
- Tribals when urbanised, mostly occupy the bottom layer of the society
- The traditional self-sufficient lifestyle of the tribal people changes to one with poverty and indebtedness

#### 4.4 CASE STUDY: Urbanisation of Barmans of Silchar:

- Traditionally the Dimasa follow nuclear family system. But the section of Dimasa who migrated in the plains of Cachar district, i.e., the Barman adopted joint family system as a highly Hinduized tribal community of this region.
- But presently the joint family system could not retain its preponderance among the Barman population in Silchar town and most of the families (72.97%) are nuclear type.
- Most of the Barmans migrated individually to the in Silchar town in search of jobs or education
- In their customary law of inheritance, daughters have exclusive rights over mothers' property like cloths, ornaments and utensils whereas sons have exclusive rights over paternal property like land, house and cash. But the urban Barmans do not follow the custom.
- Barmans face several issues like spatial shortage, work burden, cost of living and so on.

### 5. INDUSTRIALISATION AND IMPACTS ON TRIBAL SOCIETY

Industrialization is the period of social and economic change that transforms a human group from an agrarian society to an industrial one. It is the part of a wider modernization process, where the social and economic developments are closely related with technical innovation. It is the process in which a society or a country transforms itself from a primarily agricultural society into one based on the manufacturing of goods and services.

## 5.1 HOW TRIBAL POPULATION ARE INDUSTRIALISED IN INDIA?

S. No	Reasons
1	Central India, which includes the states of MadhyaPradesh, Chattishgarh etc. are tribal dominated areas, however they are also rich in mineral sources
2	Mining in tribal area resulted in tribes ending up as mining labours
3	Tribes being exploited as cheap labour force
4	Government focusing on manufacturing and industries as national priority
5	Exposure to modern lifestyle instilling desire to lead monetary way of life
6	Failure of governments to establish tribal cooperatives all over the country
7	Land alienation, hunger, indebtedness and loss of livelihood forces distress migration

## 5.2 IMPACTS OF INDUSTRIALISATION:

- Displacement from their traditional livelihood and their self-sustaining subsistence system of production.
- For example, extensive mining activities in areas such as Panposh and Bonai sub-division of Sundargarh have destroyed dense forest and fertile agricultural lands, and the tribal are now dependent upon the unsustainable mining economy by employing themselves as daily wage workers
- Migration to the city creates problem for tribals to meet their needs in township
- The emergence of industry and market economy has disturbed the age old tribal and nature relationship
- Distress migration to industrial cities
- The displaced Adivasi families have lost their ancestral land and assets which results in land alienation and poverty.
- The isolation and comparatively independent economic system of the tribal communities were broken down very slowly, by the establishment of mines and quarries in their area and also by employing the tribal people as unskilled labourers in these labour intensive industries.

## 5.3 IMPACT OF MINING PROJECTS ON TRIBAL POPULATION:

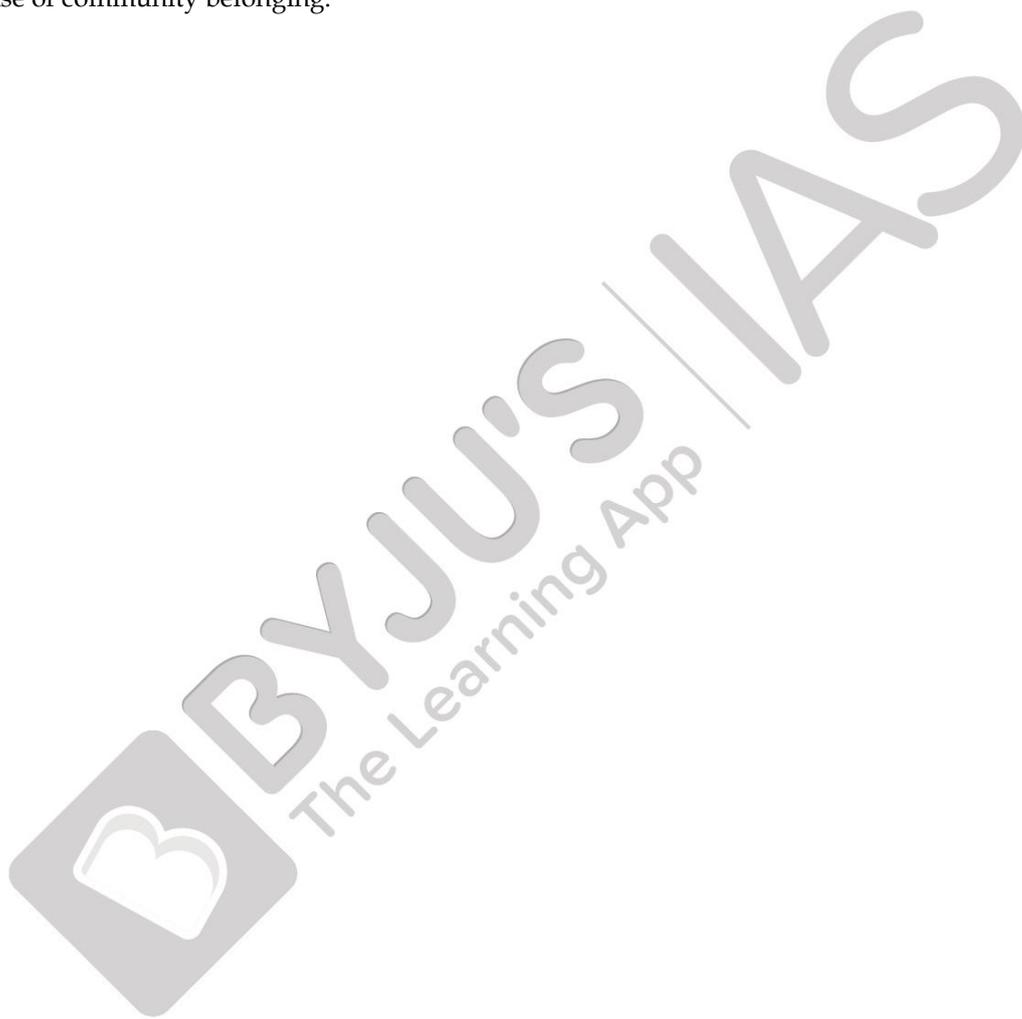
- In tribal region, Industrialization became a biggest cause of tribal displacement.
- In tribal region 3.13 lakh people have been forcibly displaced due to mining projects and 13.3 lakhs tribal have been displaced directly from their ancestral land.
- Beside the direct displacement, mining projects have also affected their livelihood of displaced people and put additional pressure on tribal families for their survival.
- Mining of coal and other minerals have resulted in deterioration of the geography
- Tribes maintain a symbiotic relationship with nature. Thus ecological degradation directly impacts the livelihood of tribes. Ex: pollution of rivers and streams in Odisha impacts tribal livelihood

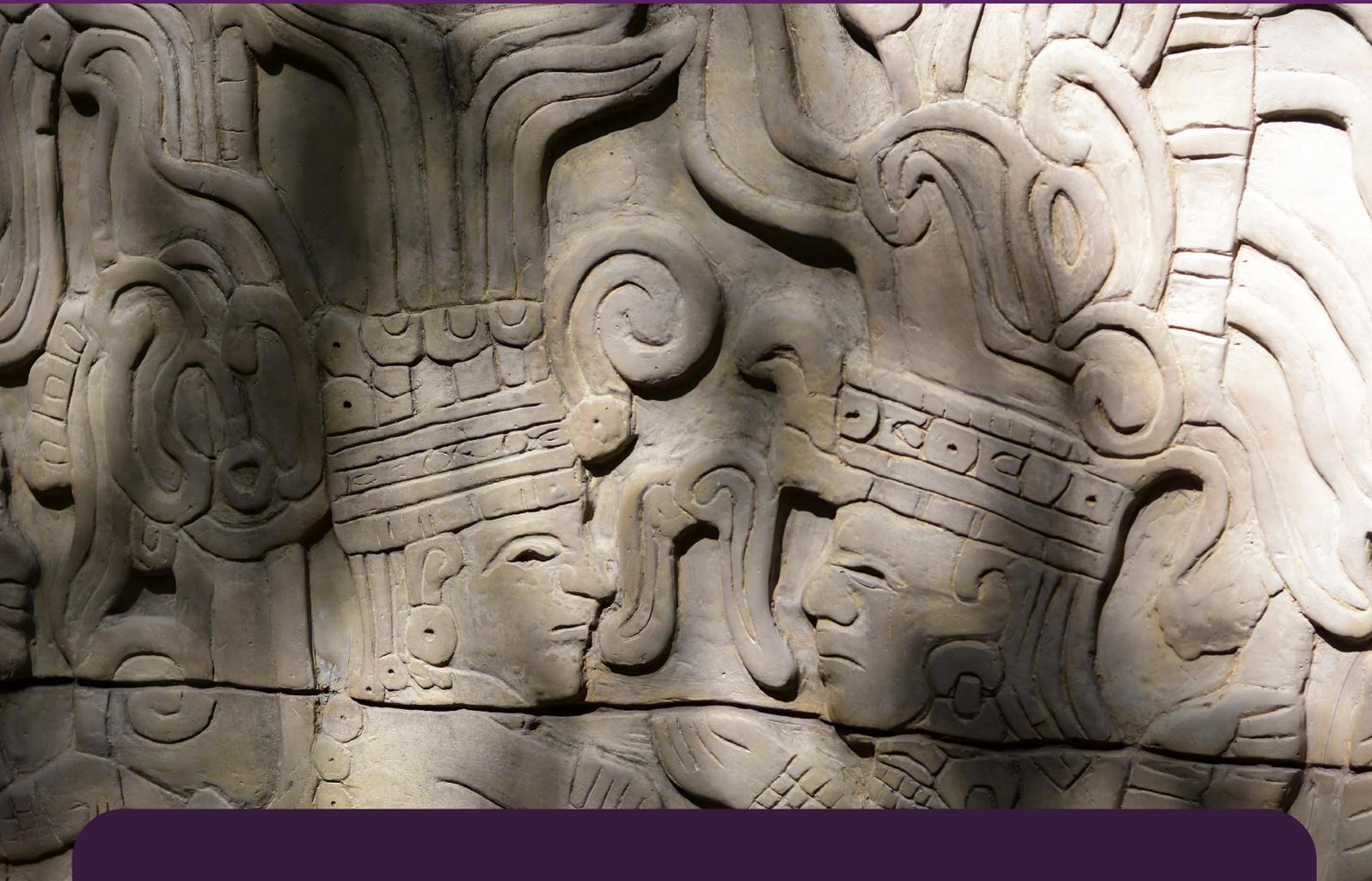
## 5.4 CASE STUDY: Industrialisation of tribes of Sundargarh district

- After the Rourkela Steel Plant (RSP) came up in the district, the tribal population in and around Rourkela were absorbed as skilled and unskilled workers in the mining area and the steel plant.
- Their economic condition improved dramatically, but due to their drinking and eating habits, they were exploited by people from other States.
- Habits of gambling and drinking ruined their life instead of improving their family and society. Sedentary lifestyle which resulted in diabetes and high blood pressure among them towards the 1970s.

## 6. PREVIOUS YEAR QUESTIONS:

1. Critically examine the National Policy on Rehabilitation and Resettlement substantiating it with experiences from different parts of India
2. Forest Rights Act – 2006
3. Discuss the problem of displaced tribal communities with the help of recent examples.
4. Critically examine the evaluation of Forest Policy in India since the British period. Discuss its impact on tribals
5. Impact of Industrialization on Tribes.
6. Examine the impact of urbanization and industrialization on tribal economy in India.
7. Indicate the main thrust of anthropological studies on development induced displacement and rehabilitation. Suggest a worthwhile rehabilitation package for displaced tribals to retain their sense of community belonging.





# ANTHROPOLOGY

## PAPER II

### UNIT 7

# PROBLEMS OF EXPLOITATION

NOTES FOR CIVIL SERVICES EXAMINATION  
ANTHROPOLOGY PAPER II, CHAPTER 7.1



## 1. PROBLEMS OF EXPLOITATION AND DEPRIVATION OF SCHEDULED CASTES IN INDIA

### 1.1 Introduction

#### Scheduled Castes:

- Scheduled castes are those castes/races in the country that suffer from extreme social, educational and economic backwardness arising out of the practice of untouchability and certain others on account of lack of infrastructure facilities and geographical isolation
- This includes those communities who need special consideration for safeguarding their interests and for their accelerated socio-economic development.
- These communities were notified as Scheduled Castes as per provisions contained in Clause 1 of Article 341 of the Constitution.

<b>Article 341- (1)</b>	The President may with respect to any State or Union Territory and where it is a State after consultation with the Governor thereof, by public notification specify the castes, races or tribes or parts of or groups within castes, races or tribes which shall for the purposes of this Constitution be deemed to be Scheduled Castes in relation to that State or Union Territory, as the case may be.
<b>Article 341- (2)</b>	Parliament may by law include in or exclude from the list of Scheduled Castes specified in a notification issued under clause of any caste, race or tribe or part of or group within any caste, race or tribe, but save as aforesaid a notification issued under the said clause shall not be varied by any subsequent notification.

### 1.2 PROBLEMS OF EXPLOITATION AND DEPRIVATION

#### Hierarchy:

- The caste system is still practiced in India and caste based employment is a reality in several parts of India, especially rural India
- The SCs being the lowest occupants of the caste hierarchy, are still engaged in land less agricultural labour and manual scavenging

#### Untouchability:

- Untouchability is illegal in India (Article 17 of the Constitution) . However, the problem of untouchability still exists in the society
- The protection of civil rights Act, 1955, The untouchability offences Act, 1955, The Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, 1989, has also been passed in which there is a provision to punish those practicing untouchability and committing atrocities on them.
- However, lack of awareness of legal barriers, official apathy towards SC atrocities and lack of literacy have historically played as hurdles in preventing untouchability.

#### Poverty:

- Poverty levels are highest among SCs and STs.
- More than half of the SC population belongs to the poorest two quintiles (based on consumption expenditure data) .

#### Economic deprivation:

- SCs are mired in deep distress and lag behind in ownership of productive resources in farming
- NSSO data show that Dalits are the least likely to start their own enterprises and most likely to work as labourers for others, with SCs having the lowest relative share in self-employed category and the highest share in casual labourer category.
- Although, due to reservation in employment, there has been an increase in the representation of the scheduled castes in various government/semi-government services, but their number is very less.

- Even in government services also, there is a significant backlog of the posts to be filled up on the basis of reservation.

**Educational deprivation:**

- A majority of the scheduled castes live in rural areas and are hence deprived of better education including higher education.
- Although there has been a gradual increase in the literacy rate of the scheduled castes over the years yet the gap between the higher castes and scheduled castes in their educational achievement is still very wide.

**Social deprivation:**

- The scheduled castes in the village communities have suffered from the dual disabilities of severe economic exploitation and social discrimination

**Political deprivation:**

- The provision of political reservation although has provided an opportunities to the scheduled castes to get elected to the local bodies, state legislatures and the Parliament, yet their say in decision making, be it at the grassroots level or district level or at the state level or the national level, it is hardly given the due weightage and consideration.
- The elected scheduled castes leaders are often used by their higher caste political leaders to meet their own political and personal needs.

<b>Other forms of exploitation faced by SCs</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Economic exploitation by not providing minimum wages</li> <li>2. Subjected to violence by upper caste landlords in rural India</li> <li>3. Politicisation with improper representation</li> <li>4. Lack of representation in higher levels/ managerial levels of public services as well as private jobs</li> <li>5. Landlessness and unemployment forcing to internal migration of SCs</li> </ol>
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**Case studies on Scheduled Caste discrimination in India:**

1	In 1996, a nongovernmental organization undertook a door-to-door survey of 250 villages in the state of Gujarat and found that, in almost all villages, those who had title to land had no possession, and those who had possession had not had their land measured or faced illegal encroachments from upper castes
2	An estimated one million Dalits in India are "manual scavengers" (a majority of them women) who clear feces from public and private latrines and dispose of dead animals. Handling of human waste is a caste-based occupation, deemed too "polluting and filthy" for anyone but Dalits. Manual scavengers exist under different caste names throughout the country, such as the Bhangis in Gujarat, the Pakhis in Andhra Pradesh, and the Sikkaliars in Tamil Nadu.

**2. PROBLEMS OF EXPLOITATION AND DEPRIVATION OF SCHEDULED TRIBES IN INDIA**

**2.1 INTRODUCTION**

**Scheduled Tribes:**

- G.S. Ghurye, in his book *The Scheduled Tribes* (1963) : "The Scheduled Tribes are neither called the 'Aborigines', nor the 'Adivasis', nor are they treated as a category by themselves. By and large, they are treated together with the Scheduled Castes and further envisaged as one group of the Backward Classes."
- Several ethnographers have distinguished tribes from castes in terms of physical traits. These include Sir Herbert Risley, G.S.Ghurye, J.H. Hutton and B.S. Guha.
- The Constitutional definition of Scheduled Tribes is as follows:

Article 342 (1)	The President may with respect to any State or Union Territory and where it is a State, after consultation with the Governor thereof by public notification, specify the tribes or tribal communities or parts of or groups within tribes or tribal communities which shall for the purpose of this Constitution be deemed to be Scheduled Tribes in relation to that State or Union Territory
Article 342 (2)	Parliament may by law include in or exclude from the list of Scheduled Tribes specified in a notification issued under clause (1) any tribe or tribal community or part of or group within any tribe or tribal community, but save as aforesaid a notification issued under 'the said clause shall not be varied by any subsequent notification.

## 2.2 PROBLEMS OF EXPLOITATION AND DEPRIVATION

### Cultural deprivation:

- Tribes such as Baiga, Bhil, Gond, Kol, Korku, Meena, Santhal, Etc, have not only adopted Hindu pantheon and rituals, but have also taken up various versions of Hindi, Marathi, Bengali and other languages.
- Some of these tribes do not accept meals from lower and 'untouchable' Hindu castes.
- Tribal languages become extinct very fastly and in the era of globalisation, tribes adopting the culture of mainstream population has been on the rise

### Deprivation of livelihood sources:

- The tribes are deprived of their land sources historically by land alienation and indebtedness and bonded labour
- The prevalence of illiteracy and non availability of land documents have resulted in encroachment of tribal land by outsiders
- The improper implementation of Forest Rights Act, 2006 is also a major reason

### Disparity among themselves:

- Tribes are distributed all over the country
- They are divided by borders of states and live in isolation
- Some tribes represent aristocracy, landlords and noblemen, others consist of the Hinduised sections of tribesmen, and thirdly, there are tribes and some sections from amongst them who are still largely isolated from the non-tribal population.

### Hinduisation:

- Hinduisation has also contributed to indebtedness and exploitation, as the tribals adopted Hindu ways of life and rituals which forced them to spend money for rituals.
- Tribals occupied a very low rank in Hindu society after they adopted Hinduism.
- This also resulted in monetisation of tribes who were erstwhile self sufficient society

### Economic deprivation:

- At some places, the tribals have been made to serve as bonded labourers due to the lack of knowledge of tribals on legislations and illiteracy
- The tribal population which is project affected and settled away from their natural habitat is known to engage in manual labours
- ST population of India is highly susceptible to poverty due to economic deprivation.
- Lack of alternative employment facilities makes them to be dependent on practices such as shifting cultivation

State	Various forms of Bonded labour system used on tribal population in India
Rajasthan	Sagri system
Andhra Pradesh	Vetti system
Odisha	Gothi system
Karnataka	Jetha system
Chhatisgarh	Naukri nama system

**Social deprivation:**

- Among scheduled tribe boys under five years of age, 32-33% are underweight, compared to 21% in the general population
- Further, social exclusion prevents scheduled castes and scheduled tribes from accessing government health services and programmes and this worsens their health and nutritional status
- Lack of measures by the government to create awareness among tribal population on their rights has increased social deprivation

**Poverty:**

- The National Family Health Survey 2015-16 (NFHS-4) shows that 45.9% of scheduled tribe members were in the lowest wealth bracket
- The vicious cycle of poverty, hunger, malnourishment, indebtedness, bonded labour and land alienation have historically haunted the tribal population of India.

**Political discrimination:**

- The Indian constitution assures reservation in political representation for Scheduled Tribes in central, state as well as local levels.
- However, the scattered population of tribes in various parts of the country and lack of education have resulted in improper political representation

<b>Other forms of exploitation faced by STs</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Landlessness due to developmental projects such as mining</li> <li>2. Prone to illicit activities such as animal trafficking, child and women trafficking</li> <li>3. Alcoholism</li> <li>4. Distancing from traditional subsistence form of life</li> <li>5. Tribal arts and cultures being used by corporate entities</li> <li>6. Pollution of river streams and deforestation leads to livelihood deprivation of tribes</li> </ol>
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**Case study on tribal deprivation and discrimination:**

- Baigas are a Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Group (PVTG) , categorised as the most vulnerable amongst indigenous communities in India.
- The Baiga suffer poor nutritional status and poverty, out of proportion with district and state averages.
- Baiga women's forehead tattoo, a marker of their identity, is used to deny them contraceptive services.
- Baiga women either have to travel to the neighbouring state to avail themselves of services, or lie about their identity.
- They are usually unable to access even the temporary methods. This coercive policy has led to their further impoverishment.

### 3. PROBLEMS OF EXPLOITATION AND DEPRIVATION OF OTHER BACKWARD CLASSES IN INDIA

#### 3.1 INTRODUCTION

##### Other Backward Classes:

- The OBC list presented by the National Commission for Backward Classes is dynamic and is subject to change from time to time depending on social, educational and economic factors.
- The OBCs are entitled to 27 % reservations in public sector employment and higher education.
- In the Constitution, OBCs are described as 'socially and educationally backward classes', and the government is enjoined to ensure their social and educational development.
- Backward Classes means such backward classes of citizens other than the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes as may be specified by the Central Government in the lists prepared by the Government of India from time to time for purposes of making provision for the reservation of appointments or posts in favour of backward classes of citizens which, in the opinion of that Government, are not adequately represented in the services under the Government of India and any local or other authority within the territory of India or under the control of the Government of India.

#### 3.2 PROBLEMS OF EXPLOITATION AND DEPRIVATION

##### Social disparity:

- While the STs and SCs still lag behind other castes on most socio-economic criteria, the OBCs also lag behind the forward section of the population.
- Looking at years of education, the gap between "Others" and OBCs remains as large as 2.21
- The average wages of the OBCs and SC-ST are only 55% and 42% respectively of the average wage of "Others", and the share of labour force employed in white-collar prestigious jobs is just one-fourth and one-half respectively of the "Others".
- SC-ST percentages with access to public sector jobs are consistently higher than those for OBCs

##### Status in agricultural sector:

- The OBCs are almost at par with upper castes in terms of composition of rural incomes and are investing equal to the latter in agriculture.
- However, the improper implementation of land reforms in India have resulted in accumulation of agricultural lands among some sections of the OBCs and several sections were deprived of land holdings
- Landless labourers are high among the OBCs

##### Status in other economic activities:

- The ownership of SCs/STs and OBCs in non-agricultural establishments is lower than overall figures, suggesting that India's socially deprived groups typically face greater barriers in the non-farm sector of the economy.
- The scale of deprivation is however far higher for SCs and STs than for OBCs
- Reason for such economic inequality could be lack of access to capital and social discrimination

##### Developmental disparities within OBCs:

- While a section of OBCs matches upper castes in terms of socio-economic indicators, the socio-economic status of several sections within the OBCs were even worse than SCs.

##### Poverty:

- A huge section of OBCs comes under the poor category based on consumption expenditure

##### Political deprivation:

- OBCs have a share of around 20% among elected MPs in the Lok Sabha
- While this figure is much more than the share of SCs, it still falls short of a proportionate share given the fact that OBCs have a population share of around 40% in India's population.

**Case study: Increase in representation in Lok Sabha:**

- Political scientists Christophe Jaffrelot and Gilles Verniers have pointed out that the Lok Sabha became more representative of the caste composition of India between the late 1980s and 2000s when the proportion of upper caste parliamentarians declined from nearly half to 34 per cent, while that of OBC members went up from 11 to 26 per cent.
- This was largely due to the emergence of regional parties with a strong OBC representation.

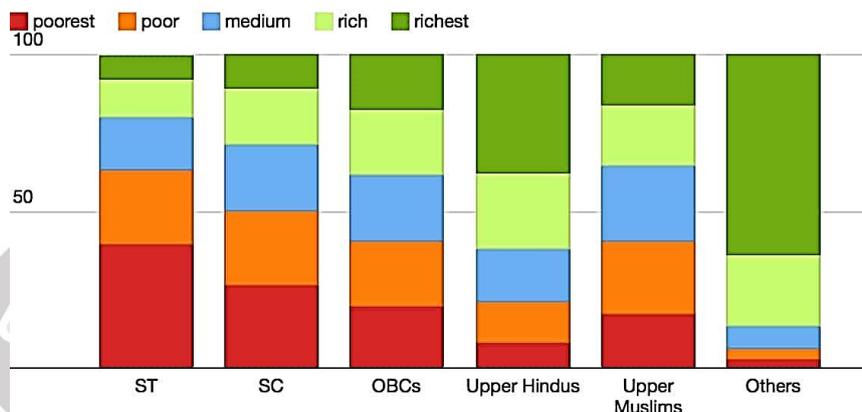
<b>Other forms of exploitation faced by OBCs</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Untouchability</li> <li>2. Lack of representation in higher levels of employment</li> <li>3. Political mobilisation without development</li> <li>4. Lack of ownership of agricultural lands</li> <li>5. Internal migration</li> <li>6. Less proportion of OBCs enrollment in higher education</li> </ol>
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**Data on Socio- Economic disparities faced by SC, ST and OBCs:**

	SC (%)	ST (%)	OBC (%)
<b>Malnourishment</b>	21	28	20
<b>Below Poverty Line</b>	31.5	45.3	30
<b>Population</b>	19.5	8.63	41
<b>Proportion of population in rural</b>	79.8	91.4	78
<b>Unemployment</b>	7.3	5.6	5.3

**Well-being levels follow caste hierarchy**

Columns show that STs and SCs have the highest percentage share of people in the lowest consumption expenditure quintile



Source: 2011-12 NSSO Data from Indian Labour and Employment Report 2014

**4. CONSTITUTIONAL SAFEGUARDS FOR SCHEDULED TRIBES AND SCHEDULED CASTES**

- The Constitution of India has prescribed, protection and safeguards for the Scheduled Castes (SCs), Scheduled Tribes (STs) and other weaker sections either specially or the way of insisting on their general rights as citizens with the object of promoting their educational and economic interests and removing social disabilities.
- These social groups have also been provided institutionalized commitments through the statutory body, the National Commission of SCs.
- The Ministry of Social Justice & Empowerment is the nodal Ministry to oversee the interests of the Scheduled Castes.
- The Ministry of Tribal Affairs is the nodal ministry

Article 15 (4)	Special provision for the advancement of any socially and educationally backward classes of citizens or for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes
Article 15	Prohibition of discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth
Article 16 (4)	Provision for the reservation of appointments or posts in favor of any backward class of citizens which, in the opinion of the State, is not adequately represented in the services under the State
Article 17	Abolishes Untouchability
Article 23	Prohibits traffic in human beings and begar and other similar forms of forced labour has a special significance for Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes.
Article 24	Prohibits employment of Children below the age of 14 years in any factory or mine or in any other hazardous activity is also significant for Scheduled Tribes as a substantial portion of child labour engaged in these jobs belong to Scheduled Tribes.
Article 46	The State is obligated 'to promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and, in particular, of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, and to protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation.
Article 164	Appoint special minister for tribal welfare in the states of Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, and Orissa.
Article 275	Allows special grant in aids to states for tribal welfare
Article 330	Reservation of seats for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the House of the People
Article 330 (2)	The number of seats reserved in any State or Union territory for the Scheduled Castes or the Scheduled Tribes under clause (1) shall bear, as nearly as may be, the same proportion to the total number of seats allotted to that State or Union territory in the House of the People as the population of the Scheduled Castes in the State or Union territory or of the Scheduled Tribes in the State or Union territory or part of the State or Union territory
Article 332	Reservation of seats for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the Legislative Assemblies of the States
Article 332 (3)	The number of seats reserved for the Scheduled Castes or the Scheduled Tribes in the Legislative Assembly nearly as may be, the same proportion to the total number of seats in the Assembly as the population of the Scheduled Castes in the State or of the Scheduled Tribes in the State or part of the State
Article 335	The claims of the members of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes shall be taken into consideration, consistently with the maintenance of efficiency of administration, in the making of appointments to services and posts in connection with the affairs of the Union or of a State.
Article 338	Provides for a National Commission for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes with duties to investigate and monitor all matters relating to safeguards provided for them, to inquire into specific complaints and to participate and advise on the planning process of their socio-economic development etc.
Article 339	Allow the central govt. to direct states to implement and execute plans for the betterment of SC/STs.
Article 340	Allows the president to appoint a commission to investigate the condition of socially and economically backward classes and table the report in the parliament.
Part IX	Reservation for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in Panchayats
Part IXA	Reservation for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in Municipalities

Fifth schedule	Deals with the administration and control of Scheduled Areas as well as of Scheduled Tribes residing in any State other than the States of Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura and Mizoram.
Sixth schedule	Deals with the administration of the tribal areas in the four northeastern states of Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura and Mizoram. The Governor is empowered to increase or decrease the areas or change the names of the autonomous districts.

**Fifth schedule- Scheduled Areas:**

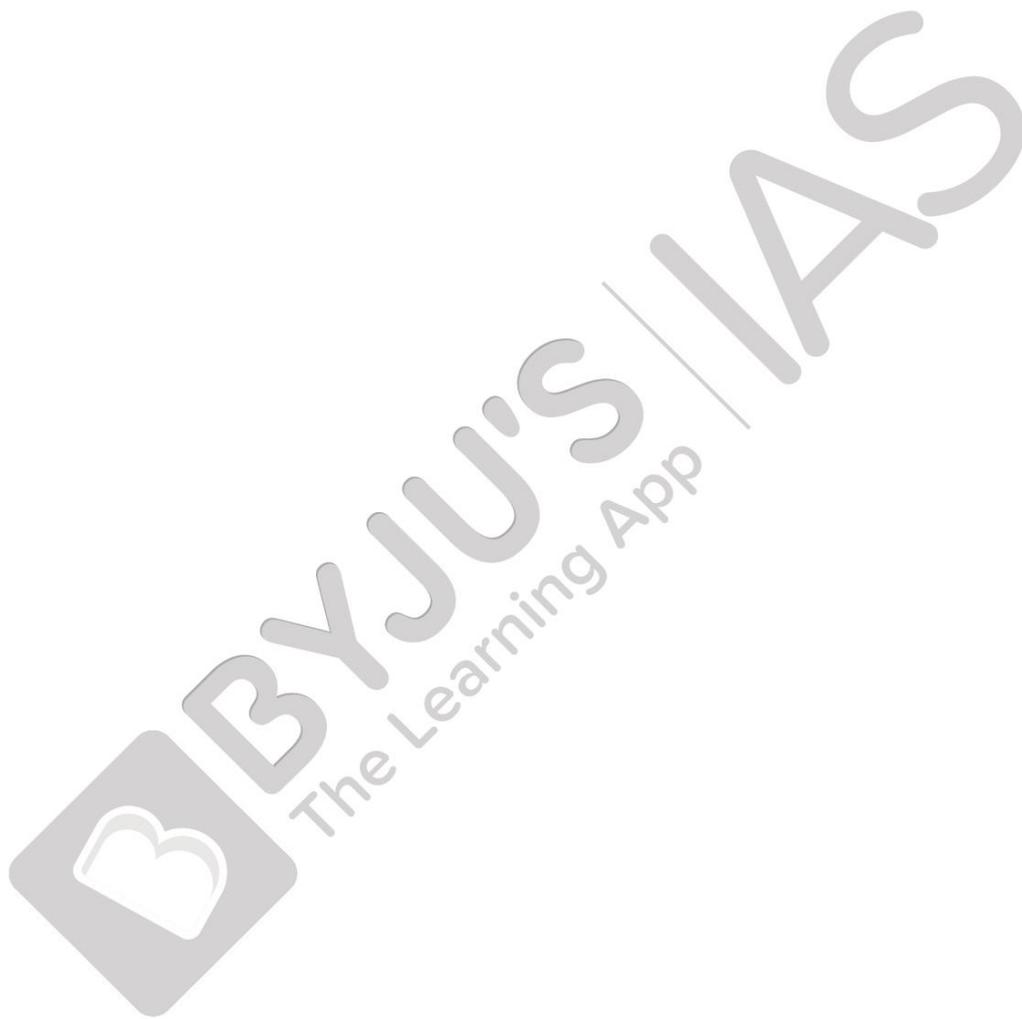
- Article 244 (1) provides for Fifth Schedule which shall apply to the administration and control of Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes (STs) in any state other than the states of Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura and Mizoram.
- 'Scheduled Area' was those areas that the President declares to be Scheduled Areas.
- The President may at any time
  - (a) direct that the whole or any specified part of the scheduled area shall cease to be a scheduled area or a part of such an area;
  - (b) increase the area of any Scheduled Area in a State, after consultation with the Governor of that State;
  - (c) alter, but only by way of rectification of boundaries in any Scheduled Area;
  - (d) on any alteration of the boundaries of the State or on admission into a union or the establishment of a new State, declare any territory not previously included in any State to be or to form part of a Scheduled Area; and
  - (e) rescind, in relation to any State or States, any order or orders made and in consultation with the Governor of the States concerned, make fresh orders refining the areas which are to be Scheduled Areas.
- The Governor could also make regulations for the peace and good government of Scheduled area to prohibit or restrict the transfer of land by or among members of the STs and to regulate the allotment of land to members of STs in such area and to regulate the business of money lending to the members of Scheduled Tribes
- Tribes Advisory Councils (TAC) are to be established in States having Scheduled Areas.

**Sixth schedule:**

- Article 244 (2) provides for the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution and applies to the administration of certain 'tribal areas' in the States of Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura and Mizoram.
- These areas are governed by District Councils, Autonomous Councils and Regional Councils constituted for Autonomous Districts and Autonomous Regions.
- They have wide ranging legislative, judicial and executive powers with power to make rules with the approval of the Governor.
- Their powers cover matters such as primary schools, markets, dispensaries, ferries, cattle ponds, roads, fisheries, road transport and water-ways etc.
- Additional powers to make laws with respect to other matters like secondary education, agriculture, social security and social insurance, public health and sanitation, minor irrigation etc were granted to the Autonomous Councils of the North Cachar Hills and Karbi Anglong in Assam.
- Powers under the Civil Procedure Code and Criminal Procedure Code for trial of certain suits and offences, the powers of a revenue authority for their area for collection of revenue and taxes, and powers for the regulation and management of natural resources have been conferred on the Councils (excepting in Bodoland and Tripura) .
- However, certain subjects such as reserved forests and acquisition of land by the State government are specifically excluded from the purview of the Sixth Schedule.
- Tribal habitations in the states of Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh and Jammu & Kashmir have not been brought under the Fifth or Sixth Schedule.

## 5. PREVIOUS YEAR QUESTIONS

1. Constitutional safeguards for SCs
2. Fifth Schedule of the Constitution.



# **SOCIAL CHANGE & CONTEMPORARY TRIBAL SOCIETIES**

**NOTES FOR CIVIL SERVICES EXAMINATION  
ANTHROPOLOGY PAPER II, CHAPTER 7.2**



## 1. INTRODUCTION

- Social formation of India has mainly three components - tribal settlements, villages and towns.
- It has also been argued that there is no basis for treating tribes as 'pristine' i.e. original or pure - societies uncontaminated by civilization.
- With the process of globalization along with the fast spread of information technology and mass media in the 21st century tribal people have started increasingly participating in a wider, more generalized culture and in plural social community. Hence social change happens among tribal people.

## 2. IMPACT OF MODERN DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS ON TRIBES AND WEAKER SECTIONS

### Impact of Colonial institutions:

- It is during the Colonial rule, the tribes were first exposed to modern democratic institutions
- In many other parts of India, the British imposed upon the tribes the system of private property and landlordism, in place of lineage or community based ownership of land.
- The revenue collectors/administrative officials were like the owners and the landlords. This led to large-scale eviction of the tribes from their land and the settlement of the non-tribes in their lands.
- Over and above, the colonial state took upon itself the right over the forest thereby, denying tribes the right to collect fuel and other daily necessities of life for which they were so heavily dependent on the forest
- The root cause of injustice suffered by the tribes has been the state laws and regulation themselves.

### Impact of post independence democratic institutions:

#### Constitutional impacts:

- The framers of the Indian Constitution took note of the problems of the tribals. Accordingly, they provided for various kinds of provisions for them in the constitution.
- They have been given fundamental rights. In addition to this, there are special provisions for them such as statutory recognition as Scheduled Tribe (Article 342), 'proportionate representation' in the Parliament and State Legislatures (Articles 330 & 332), reservation in state employment (Article 16-4) etc.

#### Economic impacts:

- The process of integration of the tribes into the national level land, labour and the credit market went on unabated at varying paces, scales and intensity in the tribal areas, leading to deep cleavages between the tribes and the non-tribes.
- Most of the instances resulted in deprivation of tribes such as land alienation, migration etc.
- Industries, dams, hydro-electricity projects, minerals and forest exploitation, had become an integral part of post- independence development. However, most of these projects had come up in the tribal areas, as these were rich in natural resources. Yet, the benefits arising from these have not gone to the tribes of that region.

#### Political impacts:

- The tribes were given space to participate in the state structure to which they were already incorporated during the colonial rule.
- Politicization of tribes and emergence of new leaders among the tribes
- Special provisions such as the 5th and 6th schedule created autonomous tribal areas that took care of the issue of self- governance of the tribes
- Also legislation such as the 73rd Amendment Act, 74th Amendment Act along with the Panchayat Extension to Scheduled Areas (PESA) Act further provided legislative power to the tribes of India

**Tribal participation in democratic institutions:**

- Most of the political parties have been obliged to build cadres from within the tribes because of the Constitutional mandate of affirmative action and a kind of a moral obligation
- However, the tribes have, on the whole have been deprived of position of importance in the political parties

**Tribal movements:**

- Formation of states such as Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh and Uttaranchal (Later Uttarakhand) was the result of tribal movements.
- Exposure to democratic institutions and political mobilisation along with tribal deprivation has resulted in tribal movements
- In several parts of India such as the North East, this has also resulted in secessionism and Naxalism in Central India. Ex: Some of the movements, such as those of the Nagas and the Mizos, have gone to the extent of demanding secession from India; In Gujarat there was a stir for autonomy among tribes living in the southern part of the state

**Case study: Tribes of tea gardens of Assam and West Bengal:**

- The tea gardens tribes in West Bengal and Assam has not been accorded the Scheduled Tribes status
- There are a large number of trade unions, affiliated to different political parties, which have been working among the tea garden population but, without the leadership, even at block levels, in the hands of a tribe.
- It is always with the people from outside the tribe and even from outside of the labour force.

**3. IMPACT OF DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES AND WELFARE MEASURES ON TRIBES AND WEAKER SECTIONS**

The establishment of Indian republic led to several measures by the government in order to protect and handhold the most vulnerable sections of the society, that is the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

**Protective arrangements:**

Such measures as are required to enforce equality, to provide punitive measures for transgressions, to eliminate established practices that perpetuate inequities, etc. A number of laws were enacted to implement the provisions in the Constitution. Examples of such laws are as follows

1. The Untouchability Practices Act, 1955
2. The protection of civil rights Act, 1955 amended in 1976 has been equipped with a legal weapon under which untouchability was made an offence by the Government of India
3. Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, 1989
4. The Employment of Manual Scavengers and Construction of Dry Latrines (Prohibition) Act, 1993, etc.
5. Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act 1976 (in respect of Scheduled Tribes);
6. The Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act 1986;
7. States Acts & Regulations concerning alienation & restoration of land belonging to STs;
8. Forest Conservation Act 1980;
9. Panchayatiraj (Extension to Scheduled Areas) Act 1996;
10. Minimum Wages Act 1948.

**Affirmative action:**

- Provide positive or preferential treatment in allotment of jobs and access to higher education as a means to accelerate the integration of the SCs and STs with mainstream society.
- Affirmative action is popularly known as reservation.

**The Ministry of Tribal Affairs:**

It was constituted in 1999 with the objective of providing more focused attention on the integrated socio-economic development of the most underprivileged sections of the Indian society namely, the Scheduled Tribes (STs), in a coordinated and planned manner.

S. No	Activities undertaken by the Ministry of Tribal Affairs
1	Social security and social insurance to the Scheduled Tribes
2	Tribal Welfare: Tribal welfare planning, project formulation, research, evaluation, statistics and training
3	Promotion and development of voluntary efforts on tribal welfare
4	Scheduled Tribes, including scholarship to students belonging to such tribes
5	Development of Scheduled Tribes
6	All matters including legislation relating to the rights of forest dwelling Scheduled Tribes on forest lands
7	The nodal Ministry for overall policy, planning and coordination of programmes of development for the Scheduled Tribes.

**National Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Finance and Development Corporation (NSFDC):**

- NSFDC was setup by the Govt. of India in 1989 with the name National Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes Finance and Development Corporation (NSFDC).
- It was incorporated as a fully owned Government Company under Section 25 of the Companies Act, 1956.
- It has been assigned the task for financing, facilitating and mobilizing funds for the economic empowerment of persons living below Double of the Poverty Line (DPL).
- It provides financial assistance for income generating schemes for the target group through state Channelizing Agencies (SCAs) which are nominated by respective State/UT Government.

**The National Commission for Scheduled Tribes (NCST)**

It was established by amending Article 338 and inserting a new Article 338A in the Constitution through the Constitution (89th Amendment) Act, 2003. The functions of NCST are as follows

- To investigate & Monitor matters relating to Safeguards provided for STs under the Constitution or under other laws or under Govt. Order, to evaluate the working of such Safeguards.
- To inquire into specific complaints relating to Rights & Safeguards of STs;
- To participate and Advise in the Planning Process relating to Socio-economic development of STs, and to Evaluate the progress of their development under the Union and any State;
- To submit report to the President annually and at such other times as the Commission may deem fit, upon/ working of Safeguards, Measures required for effective implementation of Programmes/ Schemes relating to Welfare and Socio-economic development of STs;
- To discharge such other functions in relation to STs as the President may, subject to the provisions of any law made by Parliament, by rule specify;
- The Commission would also discharge the following other functions in relation to the protection, welfare and development & advancement of the Scheduled Tribes, namely:-
  1. Measures that need to be taken over conferring ownership rights in respect of minor forest produce to the Scheduled Tribes living in forest areas.
  2. Measures to be taken to safeguard rights to the Tribal Communities over mineral resources, water resources etc. as per law.
  3. Measures to be taken for the development of tribals and to work for move viable livelihood strategies.
  4. Measures to be taken to improve the efficacy of relief and rehabilitation measures for tribal groups displaced by development projects.
  5. Measures to be taken to prevent alienation of tribal people from land and to effectively rehabilitate such people in whose case alienation has already taken place.

6. Measures to be taken to elicit maximum cooperation and involvement of Tribal Communities for protecting forests and undertaking social afforestation.
7. Measures to be taken to ensure full implementation of the Provisions of Panchayats (Extension to the Scheduled Areas) Act, 1996 (40 of 1996).
8. Measures to be taken to reduce and ultimately eliminate the practice of shifting cultivation by Tribals that lead to their continuous disempowerment and degradation of land and the environment.

#### Welfare measures under planned economy:

A number of Constitutional provisions exist for protection and promotion of the interests of the weaker sections. In conformity with the directive principles of State Policy, social justice has been an avowed goal of development. During the six decades of planning, a variety of programmes were launched with the objective of improving the socio-economic condition of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

<b>First Plan</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The programmes under various sectors of development would benefit all sections of the population including SCs &amp; STs</li> <li>• Special programmes under the Backward Classes Sector were formulated, keeping in view the special requirements of SCs.</li> </ul>
<b>Second Plan</b>	Promised to ensure that the benefits of economic development accrue more and more to the relatively less privileged classes of society in order to reduce inequalities.
<b>Third Plan</b>	Advocated greater 'equality of opportunity' and a reduction in disparities in income and wealth and the even distribution of economic power.
<b>Fourth and Fifth Plans</b>	Envisaged the 'basic goal as rapid increase in the standard of living of the people through measures which also promote equality and social justice'.
<b>Annual Plan (1979-80)</b>	Launching of the special mechanism of Special Component Plan (SCP) for SCs to ensure that these groups receive their due share of funds/benefits from the other developmental sectors
<b>Sixth Plan</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Special emphasis was laid on the implementation of the newly launched SCP for SCs facilitating easy convergence and pooling of resources from all the other developmental sectors in proportion to the population of SCs</li> <li>• Monitoring 130 of various developmental programmes for the benefit of SCs.</li> </ul>
<b>Seventh Plan</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• SCP for SCs was strengthened, while the other schemes for the welfare and development of SCs continued.</li> <li>• Substantial increase in the flow of funds for the development of SCs under SCP from State Plans, Central Plans, Special Central Assistance (SCA) and Institutional Finance</li> <li>• Expansion of infrastructural facilities and enlargement of their coverage</li> <li>• Priority to the educational development of SCs</li> <li>• Setting up of a National Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Finance and Development Corporation (NSFDC) to extend loans-cum-subsidies and thus encourage to become gainfully engaged in various income-generation activities.</li> </ul>
<b>Eighth Plan</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Intensify the efforts and to bridge the gap between the development of SCs, OBCs and Minorities and other sections of the society</li> <li>• All forms of oppression of SCs, suppression of their rights, untouchability, non-payment of minimum wages etc., would be eliminated</li> </ul>
<b>Ninth Plan</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Empower the Socially Disadvantaged Groups as agents of socio-economic change and development through creating an enabling environment conducive for SCs &amp; STs to exercise their rights freely</li> <li>• Ensuring removal of disparities</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Eliminating exploitation and suppression and providing protection to the disadvantaged groups</li> <li>• Ensuring developmental benefits to 'reach the un-reached' through equitable distribution and social justice</li> <li>• Ensuring participation of these Groups in the process of planning not merely as beneficiaries but also as participants in planning programmes</li> </ul>
<b>Tenth Plan</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Finding solutions to the unresolved Issues of Tribal Development</li> <li>• Adopt eradication of deprivation/exploitation of tribes as the Centre-point in its approach, while pursuing simultaneously the Ninth Plan commitment of empowering the tribes</li> </ul>
<b>Eleventh Plan</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Kept the the issues related to governance at the Centre.</li> <li>• The operational imperatives of the Fifth Schedule, Tribal Sub Plan 1976, PESA 1996, RFRA 2006; the desirability of a tribal-centric, tribal-participative and tribal managed development process; and the need for a conscious departure from dependence on a largely under-effective official delivery system were kept in view during this shift.</li> </ul>

### The Scheduled Castes Sub-Plan (SCSP) of 1979

- Mandated a planning process for the social, economic and educational development of Scheduled Castes and improvement in their working and living conditions.
- A targeted flow of funds and associated benefits from the annual plan of states and Union Territories (UTs) in at least a proportion to the national SC population.
- Massive fund flow has helped in building up infrastructure facilities like irrigation dams, road network, electrification, health and education in the tribal areas.
- All these have affected the living standards and quality of life of SC /ST people.
- The focus of the plan was on improving the economic status of backward and providing basic infrastructure facilities in the tribal areas.

### Twelfth Plan:

- Human resource development of the scheduled tribes by providing them economic & health services and development of the confidence among them through intensive educational efforts.
- Development and strengthening of infrastructure base for further economic exploitation of the resources (physical and human both) in tribal areas.
- Providing physical & financial security against all types of exploitation
- Women education was given special importance because the literacy level of tribal women is very low.
- Facilities like hostels, residential schools and multipurpose hostels up to college level were provided during the 12th plan period

### Panchayati Raj and Tribes (PESA Act):

- Article 40 in the Directive Principles of State Policy of the Constitution states, "The state shall take steps to organize village panchayats and endow them with such powers and authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as units of self-government."
- After the adoption of Panchayati Raj institutions through 73rd Constitutional Amendment, to make the law enforceable in Scheduled Areas, the Panchayat Extension to Scheduled Areas (PESA) Act was adopted.
- On extension of Panchayati Raj to Scheduled Areas, The Bhuria committee recommended that :
  1. The autonomy should be non-manipulable
  2. The Gram Sabha at the hamlet/village level should exercise the different functions as traditionally prescribed. More specifically, management of Land, Forest, Water, Air etc. resources should be vested in it
  3. We feel that tribal aspirations can be satisfied if tribal regions are conferred sub-state status. It may be recalled that Meghalaya had received a sub-state status in 1971.

4. Further, we regard the autonomous district council status for districts in central Indian tribal tracts as in the nature of sub-federalism.
- PESA is a unique legislation, often described as a Constitution within the Constitution, which attempts to bring together in a single frame two totally different worlds - the simple system of tribal communities governed by their respective customs and traditions, and the formal system of the State governed exclusively by laws
  - It provides a central role to the village recognizing a habitation to be a natural unit of the community.
  - Every Gram Sabha shall approve of the plans, programmes and projects for social and economic development before such plans, programmes and projects are taken up for implementation by the Panchayat at the village level
  - Every Gram Sabha shall be responsible for the identification or selection of persons as beneficiaries under the poverty alleviation and other programmes
  - The reservation of seats in the Scheduled Areas at every Panchayat shall be in proportion to the population of the communities in that Panchayat for whom reservation is sought to be given under Part IX of the Constitution
  - The Gram Sabha or the Panchayats at the appropriate level shall be consulted before making the acquisition of land in the Scheduled Areas for development projects and before resettling or rehabilitating persons affected by such projects in the Scheduled Areas; the actual planning and implementation of the projects in the Scheduled Areas shall be coordinated at the State level

#### Case study: Tribes and Panchayati Raj of Lamtapur

- The Lamtapur block is situated in the southern part of Koraput district.
- The block is predominantly hilly and has a thin forest cover. It consists of different communities such as Gadaba, Rana, Domb, Paraja, Gauda, Mali and Kamar
- The tribals collect forest product for their subsistence. Mostly, they used to collect Minor Forest Produce (MFP)
- The PESA Act, 1996 is a significant step, to devolve power to the local self-government to preserve, protect and manage the forest resources in regards to traditional rights of the forest dwelling communities.
- The Act also empowered the Gram Sabha to preserve and protect the traditional rights and ownership of Minor Forest Produce (MFP) at the village level.
- As per the reservation provision under the PESA Act the tribal people are getting elected to the Panchayats. However, the activities and function of the Gram Panchayat is carried out by the direction of the influential person of non-tribal communities.

#### Other welfare schemes:

Various welfare schemes are run by the Central Government itself and also through the State Governments. They are run by the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment. They provide grants for hostels, book banks, Ashram schools, grants to voluntary organizations, research and training, investment in share capital, low literacy pockets for girls, vocational training centers, scheme of village gram bank, post-matric scholarships, national overseas scholarships, coaching and allied scheme, scheme for liberation of scavengers etc

- Central Sector Scheme of 'Rajiv Gandhi National Fellowship' for Providing Scholarships to Scheduled Caste Students to pursue Programmes in Higher Education such as M. Phil and Ph. D.
- Interviews for final Selection of awardees under the Scheme of National Overseas Scholarship for SC etc.
- Centrally-sponsored Pilot Scheme of Pradhan Mantri Adarsh Gram Yojana (PMAGY)
- Babu Jagjivan Ram Chhatrawas Yojana.
- Post-Matric Scholarship for SC Students.
- Pre-Matric Scholarships for the Children of those Engaged in Unclean Occupations.
- Central Sector Scholarship Scheme of Top Class Education for SC Students.
- Self Employment Scheme for Rehabilitation of Manual Scavengers.
- National Overseas Scholarships for Scheduled Castes (SC) etc.

- Special Educational Development Programme for Scheduled Castes Girls belonging to low Literacy Levels.
- Scheme of free Coaching for SC and OBC Students.
- National Scheduled Castes Finance & Development Corporation (NSFDC).
- National Safaikaramcharis Finance & Development Corporation (NSKFDC).
- Assistance to Scheduled Castes Development Corporations (SCDCs) Supporting Project of All India Nature of SCs.
- National Commission for Safai Karamcharis.
- Special Central Assistance & Grants Under Article 275(1) Of The Constitution.
- Scheme of Development of Primitive Tribal Groups.
- Tribal Research Institutes.
- Ashram Schools in Tribal Sub-Plan Areas.
- Vocational Training Centers in Tribal Areas.
- Grants-in-aid to State Tribal Development Cooperative Corporations and others.

#### **Critical Analysis of the impacts of development and welfare programmes:**

- The benefits of developmental programmes and welfare measures were, however, not evenly distributed among all communities.
- As such, a lot remains to be done to achieve the goal of bringing these groups on par with the rest of the society.
- No effective monitoring system to pinpoint the failures of the plan objectives.
- There are diversion of resources and lack of utility of the schemes.
- Most of the SC and ST communities are still striving to fulfill their basic needs of food, clothing and shelter. Besides these, today they require better opportunities to live in dignity and self-respect.
- Though Government has initiated several schemes for uplifting the status of this community, most people had low knowledge about these rights and provisions
- As per the UNDP India Report 2007 on Human Poverty and Socially Disadvantaged Groups in India the HDI for Scheduled Tribes at the all-India level is estimated at 0.270, which is lower than the HDI of SCs and non-SC/ST for the period 1980-2000.
- The loan facilities and self-employment schemes more often have not reached the needy persons and are often being used by the upper castes and in some cases even by the rich among the scheduled castes.
- It has been observed that only those respondents who are well educated, exposed to mass media and urban places, are in government and semi government jobs have the knowledge about these schemes and plans.

#### **Case study: Impact of development and welfare programmes on Kanikkars of Kerala:**

- Majority of the Kanikkars are farmers. They get income from coconut and arecanut trees.
- They seem to have no problem in marketing their products, nor are they exploited.
- Some of them are casual labourers and are getting proper wages. Every Kanikkar possesses land assigned to him by the Government.
- Housing scheme of Government is seen to have considerably helped them as most of the houses owned by them had been constructed with the assistance of Harijan Welfare Department.
- Kanikkars here are also supplied with coconut seedlings, rooted pepper cuttings, cocoa plants, etc. from the Agricultural Department

#### **4. PREVIOUS YEAR QUESTIONS**

1. Panchayati Raj and the tribe
2. How have modern democratic institutions influenced the Indian tribal societies? Assess.
3. Illustrate with suitable examples) the impact of Developmental Programmes on tribes and weaker sections
4. Tribal Sub plan

# **ETHNICITY, REGIONALISM, SOCIAL CHANGE AMONG TRIBES**

**NOTES FOR CIVIL SERVICES EXAMINATION  
ANTHROPOLOGY PAPER II, CHAPTER 7.3**



## 1. THE CONCEPT OF ETHNICITY

The term ethnic is derived from the Greek word *ethnos* which was loaned into Latin as *ethnicus*.

- Ethnicity refers to an ethnic group that a person identifies with or feels a part of to the exclusion of other groups. An ethnic group shares similar values and norms defined by such things as language, geography, religion, or race
- An ethnic group, is a category of people who identify with each other based on similarities such as common ancestry, language, society, culture or nation.

**Characteristics of ethnicity/ an ethnic group:**

S. No	Characteristics
1	Ethnicity is usually an inherited status based on the society in which one lives.
2	Membership of an ethnic group tends to be defined by a shared cultural heritage, ancestry, origin myth, history, homeland, language or dialect, symbolic systems such as religion, mythology and ritual, cuisine, dressing style, art, and physical appearance.
3	An 'ethnic group' has been defined as a group that regards itself or is regarded by others as a distinct community by virtue of certain characteristics that will help to distinguish the group from the surrounding community.

**Ethnicity in India:**

- India's present day population is a conglomeration of people belonging to different racial groups with different ethnic backgrounds
- people entered India from different parts of the world at different time periods adopting themselves.
- India has been a meeting point of different races and tribes
- As a result, India has a varied population and diversified ethnic composition
- However, different Anthropologists classify racial composition of Indian people based on their works. Ex: Sir Herbert Hope Risley, B.S. Guha, A.C. Haddon, S.S. Sarkar etc.
- Studies based on DNA markers and Y- chromosome studies gives the following results:

S. No	Findings
1	There is an underlying unity of female lineages in India, indicating that the initial number of female settlers may have been small
2	The tribal and the caste populations are highly differentiated
3	The Austro-Asiatic tribals are the earliest settlers in India
4	A major wave of humans entered India through the northeast
5	The Tibeto-Burman tribals share considerable genetic commonalities with the Austro-Asiatic tribals
6	The Dravidian tribals were possibly widespread throughout India before the arrival of the Indo-European-speaking nomads, but retreated to southern India
7	Formation of populations by fission that resulted in founder and drift effects have left their imprints on the genetic structures of contemporary populations
8	The upper castes show closer genetic affinities with Central Asian populations, although those of southern India are more distant than those of northern India
9	Historical gene flow into India has contributed to a considerable obliteration of genetic histories of contemporary populations

## 2. ETHNIC CONFLICTS AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

India is a multi-ethnic country with secular polity. However, with the arrival of identity politics during the 1980s, whereby people mobilise politically around particularistic identities, such as religion, caste, jati or language, has promoted the concept of ethnic conflicts

### Difficulties in identification of ethnic groups in India:

- Several cultural markers - language, race, tribe, caste, religion, and region serve as identity for ethnic groups and their mobilization. In most of the ethnic groups, more than one of these cultural markers are pertinent for identification.
- India's ethno-communities have multilayered and multidimensional identities that impinge on each other in a non-stratified and dynamic manner.
- The identity composition of ethno-communities has been further complicated by the imposition of class distinctions, not only between one and another ethno-community, but also within each
- The ethnic groups do not have territories marked out for them because the cultural markers identifying such groups do not coincide with territorial boundaries. Accordingly, people belonging to specific religions, tribes, castes, races, and languages are found scattered in various territorial regions.
- The people of India are bound together by strong bonds of culture, common objectives, friendship and affection

### Characteristics of ethnic conflicts in India:

- The British policy of divide and rule and communal representation resulted in communal conflicts and reiteration of communal ethnic groups
- Multilayered, non-stratified identity composition has enabled ethnic groups to assert and reshuffle their cultural markers to advance their perceived objectives.
- The patterns of conflicts and contradictions between ethno-communities vary along scales of time and place.
- India has witnessed ethnic conflicts in the process of its historical evolution
- Political mobilization for given goals leads to the building up of an ethnic movement which subsequently may or may not be transformed from one stage to another
- Ethnic conflicts have been resolved and reduced, but also re-created.

S. No	Factors which play a major role in ethnic movements
1	State policies
2	Pattern of economic development
3	Exclusion of certain section of people from the process of development
4	Migration
5	Political elites and political policies of parties
6	Governmental apathy towards a particular region
7	Poverty concentrated in certain parts of the country
8	Less representation of an ethnic group in public employment
9	Absence of participative governance
10	Denial of language rights, property rights, special privileges to ethnic minorities etc.

### Ethnic conflict in Punjab:

- The ethnic conflict in Punjab had a dominant linguistic thrust during the mid-1960s.
- Late 1970s and early 1980s it was rekindled by the rivalry between competing Sikh sects, the Nirankaris and the Akalis.
- Subsequently, it assumed both religious and economic dimensions in the form of the Anandpur Sahib Resolution.

- Later, it acquired a Sikh fundamentalist character, with growing emphasis on the assertion of Sikh religious and cultural symbols to legitimize militancy and violence.
- The ethnic movement resulted in the extremist Khalistan movement and state suppression of the movement which led to the death of a large number of people.

**Ethnic conflict in Kashmir:**

- The initial movement of the state's political and economic neglect has caused concerns and a sense of neglect among the native population.
- It later resulted in Islamic religious assertion, to the extent of becoming fundamentalist.
- Accordingly, the earlier concept of Kashmir identity, or Kashmiriat, has been replaced by communal confrontation, wherein the Muslim militants have pushed Hindu Kashmiris out of the valley.

**Ethnic conflict in Assam:**

- Despite the existence of an international border, the migration from East Pakistan continued alongside migration from West Bengal.
- The dominance of Bengali population in public employment and property accumulation has resulted in exclusion of the native Assamese population
- After independence the Assamese middle class elite became increasingly assertive of their socio-cultural and linguistic rights.
- Relatively better economic opportunities have encouraged mass migration from Bangladesh into India, particularly into the bordering state of Assam
- The native Assamese have mobilized in protest against the new migrants.
- As a result, in the late 1970's and in the mid 1980's, a largescale movement was led by a student organization and some political parties, namely, All Assam Students' Union (AASU) and All Assam Gana Sangram Parishad (AAGSP) in Assam
- The Assamese have been agitating not only to expel foreigners, but also to protect the Assamese language and culture and preserve Assamese dominance in the state's political arena.
- The anti-foreigner movement rocked Assam between 1979 and 1985 and led to large-scale, free-for all types of ethnic riots. The United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA), the leading separatist organization in Assam, was born out of this movement. Its initial credo was ethnic cleansing. It sought by the force of arms to drive the "foreigners" out of Assam.
- The signing of Bodo accord is seen as a solution to Assam ethnic movements.

**Ethnic movement in Nagaland:**

- The Naga Hills District was formed in 1866 as part of Assam. The promulgation of the Inner Line Regulation in 1873 restricted contact of outsiders with the Nagas. This was to protect the tribal from exploitation, mainly from traders. But exclusion resulted in isolation of Nagas from the mainstream.
- There are in total 35 Naga tribes, 17 of which are in Nagaland (Census of India, 1991), the remainder living in Manipur, Arunachal Pradesh and Myanmar.
- The emergence of Naga ethnicity lay not in the feeling of commonality but in the desire to be left alone.
- There was also a deep distrust of Indian as it is a vast heterogeneity, there was a fear of exploitative, unpleasant stereotype.
- The Naga Club presented a Memorandum to the Simon Commission expressing their unwillingness to merge with India.
- In June 1947, a Nine Point Agreement was signed between the Government of Assam and the NNC giving considerable autonomy to the Nagas, safeguarding their customary laws and ensuring that there would be no alienation from their land and forests. The Agreement was not referred to the Sub-Committee of the Constituent Assembly. This resulted in Naga ethnic leader Angami Phizo declaring Naga independence from India on August 14, 1947
- The Naga extremist groups started violent struggle for separate Naga nationhood, which went on for decades

- Later, due to suppression by the government, the Naga groups were brought in to talks which finally resulted in the signing of Naga Accord.

#### Political developments:

- Indian secularism did not evolve on the pattern of European secularism.
- In India, all religions were accepted on an equal footing. The state gave equal rights to all religious and ethnic groups so that they could protect and promote their educational and cultural interests, by virtue of the Indian Constitution
- An exception was made for scheduled castes and tribes, which were brought under the umbrella of "protective discrimination," according to Part X, arts. 30, 46, 244, 244A, and 335 of the Indian Constitution.
- With the growth of globalisation and industrialisation, capital, technology, industry and commerce, and labour have moved from one region to another, cutting across and subordinating ethnic diversities.
- Also, economic maldevelopment has fuelled diverse ethnic insurgencies in India.
- The situation in Kashmir, Assam, and the North-East has been one of economic neglect and discrimination in the perception of the affected masses.
- Even when national funds were allocated, they did not reach the targeted groups, because of the corruption of bureaucrats, politicians, and other mediators which further fuels ethnic conflicts.
- India's basis of structuring the federation was "administrative convenience". However, provisions for religious or cultural minorities were incorporated. Provisions for self-government under special administrative provisions to the tribal areas of North-East (Nagas, Mizos, Manipuri, Tripura, under articles 371 and 371A-I) and Schedule V and schedule VI are examples.
- The linguistic basis of state reorganisation brought together the ethnic groups with same language
- The structure of federalism and its inherent resilience can cope with the pressures of ethnicity and conflicts. With proper federal devolution of power and obligations of mutual accommodation and adjustment, India achieved the diffusion of Tamil militancy and separatism during the 1960s and moderation of tribal insurgencies in the North-East and Assam during the 1980s.
- Politically motivated distortions and manipulation of federal powers and institutions can worsen ethnic conflicts.
- Adult franchise and Panchayati Raj institutions in India have brought people together to communicate and interact. This has given them a sense of sharing and access to decision-making power. This has bound them together in non-ethnic ties and prevented the state from acquiring a specific ethnic character or bias.
- Freedom of expression and the presence of national media not only promote a broader national consensus but also alert the state and society when ethnic distortions and conflict formations become imminent.

### 3. UNREST AMONG TRIBAL COMMUNITIES

#### Unrest in Colonial India:

- During colonial rule, the British introduced the system of landownership and revenue.
- Annual tax was beyond the paying capacity of tribal cultivators. Also, forest laws were discriminatory to the tribals.
- Many nontribals began to settle in the tribal areas offering credit facilities. Initially it provided relief to tribals but gradually the system became exploitative.
- Over the years the tribal population faced all types of exploitation. This aroused the tribal leaders to mobilize the tribals and start agitations.
- Some of the noted 19th century tribals revolts are -Mizo (1810), Kols (1795 and 1831), Mundas (1889), Daflas (1875), Khasi and Garo (1829), Kacharis (1839), Santhals (1853), Maria Gonds (1886), Nagas (1844 and 1979), Bhaiyas (1868), and Kandhs (1817).

**Unrest in independent India:**

- Independent India's Constitution envisages a comprehensive and well-designed scheme of action for the tribal protection and development.
- However, land continues to pass out of the tribals to non-tribals. Money lenders continue to exploit them. There has been a heavy influx of outsiders into the tribal areas
- Even after independence, the tribals of several regions such as Central India and North East India faced discrimination and exclusion, which resulted in tribal unrest in several parts of the country
- Lands traditionally owned and cultivated by the tribals have been branded as "forest lands" under the earlier forest policy. As a result, the tribals have become strangers and encroachers in their own land.
- Some of the contemporary movements are- Jharkhand movements, Gond movement, Naga movement, Mizo movement, Bodoland movement etc.

S. No	Types of tribal movements
1	Religious and social reform movements
2	Statehood within Indian Union or for autonomy for tribal area
3	Independent movement from Indian Union
4	Movements for asserting cultural rights

**Major reasons for tribal unrest in India:**

S. No	Reasons
1	Indifference from administrators and bureaucracy in dealing with tribal grievances.
2	Harsh and unfriendly forest laws and regulations.
3	Lack of legislation to prevent the passing of tribal land into the hands of non-tribals.
4	Lack of credit facilities.
5	Ineffective government measures to rehabilitate tribal population.
6	Delay in implementation of recommendations of different committee
7	Discrimination in implementation of reform measures.
8	Mining and industries in tribal land without proportionate compensation
9	Apathy towards tribal sentiments while preparing legislation which impact tribal life
10	Lack of participative governance, awareness of panchyati raj etc.
11	Slow pace of industrialization and modern development in tribal areas
12	Lack of effective tribal leadership o fight the tribal cause in legal way

**Tribal unrest in North Eastern India:**

- Ethnic tension in the northeastern part of India which is not a new problem may be traced back to the beginning of the British rule in India
- The region is a homeland of various tribal societies with distinct cultural diversities. These communities, though originating from the Mongoloid racial stock, are culturally and linguistically different from one another
- The British has superimposed their own administrative pattern in tribal areas and deprived the tribals of their traditional methods of interacting with people
- Relations between tribals and non-tribals have started worsening. In States like Mizoram, Nagaland, Meghalaya, Bihar, Manipur, Tripura and Arunachal Pradesh demand for separate State for tribals took the shape of insurgency, revolt, terrorism and so on.
- The conflict between the modern state concept and the tribal independent existence resulted in several movements such as the Naga movement, Mizo movement, Kuki movement, Etc.

### **Tribes and the Left Wing Extremism:**

- The Naxalite movement was started by land tillers against landlords in village Naxalbari of West Bengal.
- The main agenda behind this movement is to assert the rights of tribes over their ancestral (land, forest) resources by armed conflict with the government.
- Earlier this movement was limited to only four states but now spread over '165 districts of 14 states' of our country
- More than 50 millions of people have been displaced due to the developmental projects in over 70 years. In which tribal peoples are victim in big ratio as compare to any other people. There has not been proper rehabilitation of such displaced people.
- The naxals propagated their ideology to such distressed tribals, which along with the government ignorance have resulted in the growth of the movement

### **Case study: Tribal unrest in the jungles of Vijaynagar in north Gujarat's Sabarkantha district**

- The region has become an ecotourism destination.
- Pucca roads crisscross the forests and the state Government's Jyotigram scheme ensures that every village gets 24-hour domestic power supply, affording tribals the opportunity to pursue various vocations sitting at home.
- In 2008, a mob of about 600 tribal men and women armed with bows and arrows, pickaxes and swords forcibly took possession of forestland by felling 6,000-8,000 trees, some dating back a 100 years.
- They also mounted an attack on the local Forest Department office to free six of their activists, who had been arrested for deforestation. Officials were injured and two tribals were killed in retaliatory police firing.
- At the root of the tribal unrest was the Backward and Minority Communities' Employees Federation (BAMCEF), an all-India outfit with moorings in Maharashtra, whose operations remain secretive.
- According to villagers, BAMCEF activists have been inciting violence by preaching that tribals are the original inhabitants of the forests and therefore should throw out all non-tribals.
- They were also inciting the tribals by saying that the forest is going to be converted into an SEZ that will be sold to big companies by the Government.

## **4. REGIONALISM AND DEMAND FOR AUTONOMY**

A region can be understood as a territorial unit with particular dialect, ethnic group, social and cultural institution. Regionalism is the concept developed among the inhabitants of a particular region who consider themselves as the deprived sections of the country in relation to the whole country. These deprivations generally arise out of the negligence of the government.

### **The major factors used to promote regionalism are:**

- Geography/ topography
- Religion
- language and customs
- Socio-economic and political stages of development
- Common historical traditions and experiences
- A common way of living
- A widely prevalent sentiment of togetherness.
- At the core of regionalism is a profound sense of identity, which is a real, and as dear to a people than their feeling of identity with a state or a nation or a religious group, or a linguistic group.

### **Assertion of regionalism and claim for regional autonomy are done mostly to fulfill the following demands:**

- Aspiration to manage their internal affairs
- Claims on national resources of the region
- Competition for resources

- Assertion of language, culture, religion, Etc.
- Economic advancement and administrative coherence are used as a basis of identity.

#### Characteristics of regionalist movements in India

- In India despite occasional indications of potential secessionism, regional movements do not usually go beyond claiming resource sharing within the border of national context
- Historically it is found that the regional forces played a very glorified role against the anti-imperialist forces to liberate the country on basis of national movement.
- In Indian context, regionalism refers to assertion of distinct ethnic, linguistic or economic interests by various groups within the nation.
- **Various forms of regionalism in India:** It can be classified as economic regionalism, linguistic regionalism, political regionalism and even sub-regional movements in the general frame of regionalism. The Bodo movement in Assam, for example is an ethnic regional movement, social movement and a political movement for separate state at the same time.
- Regionalism in India has found expression in different ways, where boundaries cannot be considered sacrosanct, states can be taken as vital components for evolving different forms of regionalism
- **Supra-state regionalism or secession from the Indian Union:** It can be classified as the most dangerous form of regionalism as it is based on the policy of division from the Indian Union. Ex: The Kashmiri issue
- **Inter-state regionalism:** Demands of certain areas for separate state, this type of regionalism is noticeable with demands for parts within the state for fulfillment of self identity and gaining more autonomy. Ex: The Gorkhaland movement
- Examples of Regional Movements like Uttarkhand, Bundelkhand, Jharkhand, Vidarbhas Khand, Boroland, Karbianglong, Garoland, Bhilland, Telangana etc. demanding/ demanded separate states on the basis of their language, race, culture, economic development etc.
- The regional movement is also considered as the 'diverse trend detrimental to national unity'. In popular parlance, it is supposed to be a synonym of provincialism, which breeds localism, isolationism and separatism.

#### Case study: Telangana movement:

- Telangana, was part of the erstwhile Hyderabad state which was merged into the Indian Union on 17 September, 1948.
- Eventually, under the States Re-organisation Act, Telugu-speaking areas of Hyderabad state were merged with Andhra state, giving birth to the state of Andhra Pradesh
- An agreement was reached between Telangana leaders and Andhra leaders to merge Telangana and Andhra with promises to safeguard Telangana's interests. A "Gentlemen's Agreement" was then signed to the effect
- In 1969, an agitation began in Telangana region as people protested the failure to implement the Gentlemen's Agreement and other safeguards properly.
- Telangana Praja Samiti was found and it espoused the cause of a separate state. The agitation intensified and turned violent with students in the forefront of the struggle and about 300 of them were killed in violence and police firing that ensued.
- Later, the Telugu Desam Party became the torch bearer for a separate Telangana state. The Centre announced in 2009 that it was putting Telangana issue on hold. This fanned protests across Telangana with some students ending their lives for a separate state.
- Later Justice Srikrishna Committee was formed on the Telangana issue and the state of Andhra Pradesh was bifurcated in to Telangana and Andhra Pradesh

#### 5. PSEUDO TRIBALISM IN INDIA

- The Indian state after independence, with the adoption of Constitution, guaranteed several special provisions for the tribal population of the country. This includes affirmative action, creation of National Commission of Scheduled Tribes, tribal cooperative organisations and several other protective legislations.

- In this context, in several parts of the country, there were attempts by traditionally non-tribal communities to adopt tribal practices to showcase themselves as tribes. This practice is known as Pseudo tribalism. In most cases, it is practiced to make use of the socio-economic benefits given by the state to the Scheduled Tribes.
- Pseudo Tribalism is different from tribalism. 'Tribalism' refers to how indigenous societies uphold and defend their culture and resources from being exploited, assimilated and appropriated.

#### Major reasons:

S. No	Reasons
1	Lower caste groups adopt tribal practices to escape the caste hierarchy
2	Modern state concept destroyed the traditional caste hierarchies
3	To avail reservation benefits in the public employment
4	Pseudo tribalism in some parts of the country is a result of Desanskritisation process
5	As tribes have forest land rights and rights to minor forest produce, availing tribal status can open up such resources
6	Pseudo tribalism is also a result of official misrepresentation. That is, some tribal groups are considered as tribes in some states, whereas OBCs or Scheduled Castes in some other states. Ex: Bnjaras

#### Some examples of pseudo tribalism in India:

1	Untouchable castes of Nilgiris following Toda tribal practices to consider themselves as Todas
2	Lower caste groups of Nallamala hills trying to emulate the practices of Chenchu tribes

## 6. SOCIAL CHANGE AMONG THE TRIBES DURING COLONIAL AND POST-INDEPENDENT INDIA

Social change refers to changes that are significant - that is, changes which alter the 'underlying structure of an object or situation over a period of time'. Thus social change does not refer to any and all changes but only such changes which transform things fundamentally

#### Agents of social change:

- Technology: Ex- Industrialisation, Green revolution
- State policies: Ex- Economic policies such as liberalisation
- Law: Ex- adoption of new Constitution
- Political forces: Ex- emergence of new way of representation through social groups and political parties

#### Social change among the tribes during colonial rule:

- The British government, described the tribals as a distinct group, isolated people. They considered the tribals not only an autonomous political unit but also culturally an autonomous entity.
- During the British period the tribals were brought nearer and closer to the non-tribal society because of the expansion of transport and communication.
- The contact of the tribals with the nontribals during the British period was through government bureaucracy, revenue, forest guards, occasionally teachers and traders and money-lenders. These inroads into tribal life during British period created many problems.

**Isolationism:**

- It is a model which emerged out of the British view of the tribals.
- It was oriented towards keeping the tribals in their areas untouched by outside civilization.

**Christianisation:**

- Christian Missionaries' close and uncontrolled contact with tribals, resulted in Christianisation of tribes especially in the North Eastern states of India

**Sanskritisation:**

- The colonial system also created divisions in a more or less unstratified tribal society.
- Sanskritization, the process of upward mobility which had been restricted to a family or a group of persons in the pre-colonial situation took the shape of movement under the colonial impact.

**Migration:**

- Migration of thousands of tribals to tea-gardens from their natural surroundings on low wages resulted in impacts on the native social classification of tribes

**Detribalisation:**

- The breakdown of the communal mode of production and the emergence of private right in land.
- By and large major tribes in the 19th century were emerging as a community of peasants.

**Exposure to market forces:**

- The colonial system created a demand for money in no-money economies and slowly and gradually the penetration of tribal economy by market forces.
- With the market came middlemen, merchants and moneylenders. The concept of diku, baji, and the aliens was the creature of the colonial system.

**Social change among the tribes in post- independent India:**

Post- independence period looked at the tribal problem from an altogether a different perspective. The tribals are considered equal partners in the process of nation-building.

**Constitution:**

- Incorporation of the provisions for the safeguard of the tribes in the Indian constitution
- Protection of tribal culture and tribal rights
- Inclusion of provisions such as the Forest Rights Act, 2006 to ensure tribal land rights

**Hinduisation:**

- The Hindus being the majority in India, Hinduisation in the form of Sanskritisation has been noted even during colonial times.
- However, due to the increase in interaction of tribes and non- tribes in the post independence era, in many cases it has led to the gradual assimilation of entire tribes in the Hindu fold.

**Globalisation:**

- Globalisation resulted in liberalisation of Indian economy, which led to monetisation of tribes and commodification of tribal arts and crafts
- Globalisation resulted in increase in labour force and tribes got pulled in for cheap labour
- Increased usage of technology among the tribal population
- A threat to traditional tribal community set up due to the exposure to outer world.

**Modernisation:**

- Expansion of transport, communication and media networks, different government projects to improve the lot of tribals, process of modernization have created awareness among the tribals themselves.
- Providing basic education and prevention of age old methods of human sacrifice and similar practices

**Loss of political authority:**

- The emergence of electoral politics have resulted in enforcement of majority decisions on the tribes.
- Along with other forces such as modernisation and state forces such as legislative and judiciary have taken away the traditional rights enjoyed by the tribal headman and tribal chiefs
- Ex: Chero tribes enjoyed great political power in the entire neighbourhood a couple of centuries ago. At the present, they have not only lost their authority but have been subjected to miserable poverty.

**The question of ethnicity:**

- Job opportunities outside the villages, education, political participation etc. have changed the scenario.
- State-sponsored development programmes, neighbouring caste-Hindu community's influence, and forces of Christianity and Hinduism etc. have been raising issues of identity and ethnicity among them.

**Advantages of social change of the tribal population:**

- Slow but steady emergence of an educated middle class among tribal communities.
- Assertions of tribal identity are on the rise. This can be due to the emergence of a middle class within the tribal society.
- Middle classes themselves are a consequence of modern education and modern occupation, aided in turn by the reservation policies.
- In spite of conscious involvement of the tribes in adopting many cultural traits of the neighbouring larger caste ridden society, they, however do not totally forgo their tribal identity. There are examples of revivalistic movements

**Disadvantages for tribals due to the social change:**

It is undeniable and indisputable that forced incorporation of tribal communities into mainstream processes has had its impact on tribal society, its culture as well as on its economy. Interaction with the mainstream has generally been lackadaisical and on terms unfavourable to the tribal communities.

- Article 46 of India's constitution says: "The State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and, in particular, of the Schedule Castes and the Schedule Tribes." But there are tribes who have remained outside the schedule list of constitution and form weaker sections of India's population.
- Despite the statutory provisions made in the Indian constitution and series of planned programmes, the problem of tribal development still remain unsolved
- The tribal societies in India are in a continuous process of flux and change in the wake of modernization.
- A large number of tribes have been converted to different religions - leaving their tribal identity
- Increase of secessionist and fissiparous tendencies among some tribes due to the issues caused due to land alienation and impacts of developmental projects such as dams and mining in tribal land

**Case study: Hinduisation of Gonds:**

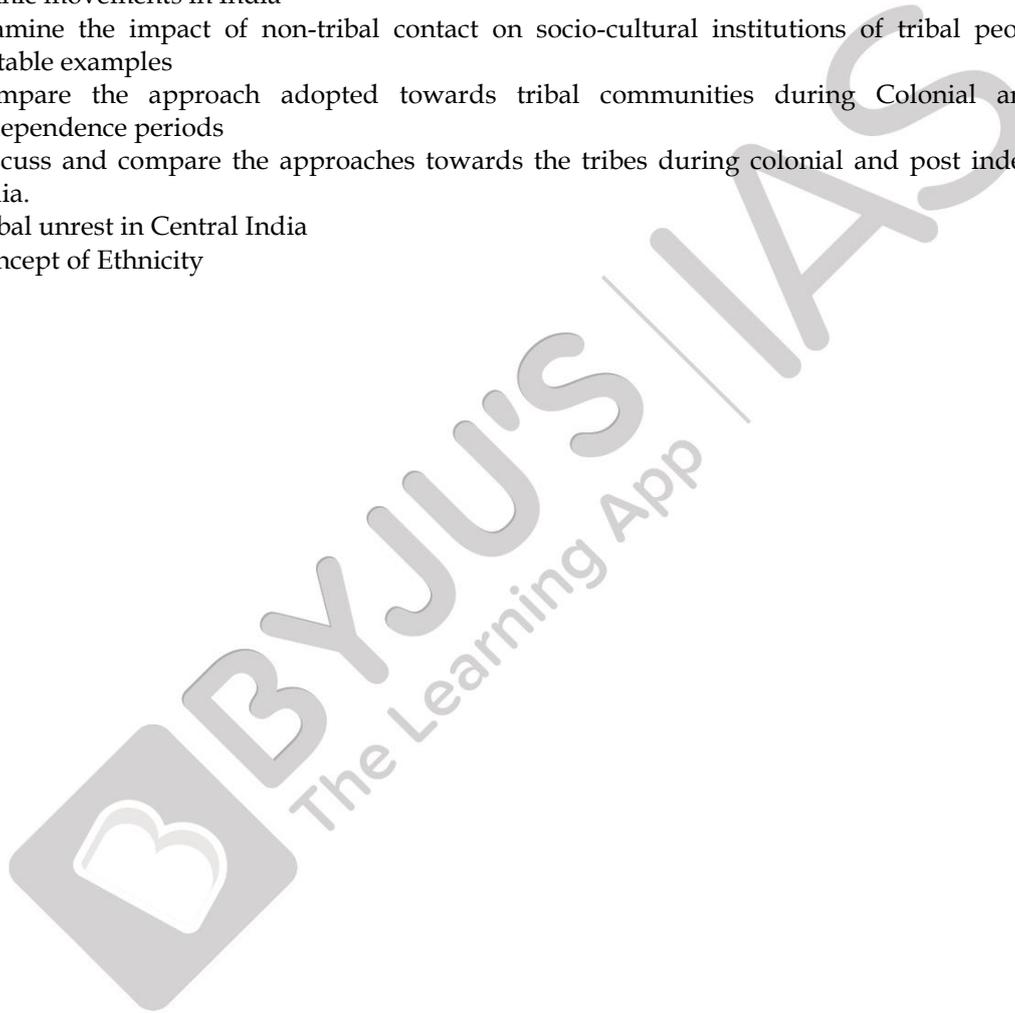
- Sachchidanand in his study of the Gond in Bihar has demonstrated how parts of the same tribe are at different points in the tribe-caste continuum.
- While some groups claim Kshatriya status, others are satisfied to get the status of some lower Hindu castes.
- The life of the Gond in Saran and Champaran is marked by heterogeneity, multi-ethnic residence and participation along with other communities in an economy involving specialization.
- In some areas he also find the emergence of the elite and notions of social stratification.
- While their brethren in Ranchi, Palamau and Singhbhum are nearer the tribal pole, they have become part of society as a caste.

**Case study: Culture change among Garos:**

- D.N.Majumdar made an intensive study of culture change in two Garo villages.
- The study of change in the family pattern of the Garo, he found that Christianity has not brought any change in their family pattern, though it has profoundly affected or influenced other aspects of their life.
- Instability of the joint family and other changes are apparent to an equal extent in Christian and non-Christian families.
- The urban family pattern is gradually emerging as a model for the educated and well-to-do families.

**7. PREVIOUS YEAR QUESTIONS**

1. Ethnic movements in India
2. Examine the impact of non-tribal contact on socio-cultural institutions of tribal people with suitable examples
3. Compare the approach adopted towards tribal communities during Colonial and post-independence periods
4. Discuss and compare the approaches towards the tribes during colonial and post independent India.
5. Tribal unrest in Central India
6. Concept of Ethnicity





# ANTHROPOLOGY

## PAPER II

UNIT 8

# **IMPACT OF HINDUISM, BUDDHISM, CHRISTIANITY, ISLAM & OTHER RELIGIONS ON TRIBAL SOCIETIES.**

**NOTES FOR CIVIL SERVICES EXAMINATION  
ANTHROPOLOGY PAPER II, CHAPTER 8.1**

## 1. TRIBAL RELIGIOUS PRACTICES

Tribes are historically self-sufficient society, isolated from the mainstream society. Along with geographical isolation, they enjoy a symbiotic relationship with the forest. Their religious beliefs are mostly primitive in nature. Their socio- economic existence and practices depends on the religious rules and customs.

### Three essential elements of tribal religious system:

S. No	Elements
1	Belief in the existence of a superhuman world
2	Human relationship with the superhuman world
3	Practice of some rituals as an instrument of establishing relationship with the super human world

### Characteristics of tribal religion in India:

- Among the tribes religious myth, belief, religious value and religious action are not treated as something apart from other kinds of belief and behaviour, as followed in social, economic and political contexts.
- Religion pervades all aspects of tribal life.
- Tribal life and society cannot be fully understood without understanding their religion
- 'Animism' is the common phenomenon among the tribes. Therefore, the religious beliefs and its performances among the tribals consist with their life cycle rites, communal rites and worship practices along with their ancestral worship practices followed by their different totems and taboos.
- In some societies religion plays a much more important role in group structure than it does in others. Ex: African tribes
- Usually tribal religion believes in Spirits. Ex: The Santhals believe that the creator Thakur Jiu dwells up in the sky
- Tribal religion is very much associated with the sacred groves of the forests. Ex: The Santal consists of a clump of sal tree with one mahua standing near
- The tribes order their ritual time on the Nature's signal, i.e., on the blossoming plants and trees, on the position of stars and moon, the biological time, and, if the circumstances so demand, by direct divination. Ex: the principal festival of the Oraon is called Sarhul, the Feast of the Sal Blossoms
- The mantra used by the tribes in the performance of a ritual are simple words of everyday language.
- In tribal dance the movement of steps, interlocking of hands and other hand gestures have both aesthetic and ritualistic significance
- The primitive societies make no difference between the technical order and the spiritual order, and hence in their case the consideration of social and psychological factors influencing the religious life is totally irrelevant.
- Tribal traditions make no real distinction between man, animal and god (spirit).

### Case study: Tribal religion of Todas of Nilgiris:

- The Toda and their long horned buffaloes were created on the high massif of the Nilgiri Hills by the great goddess Teikirzi.
- Their settlement is marked by the unique barrel-vaulted houses and dairy buildings. The dairy buildings are temples.
- The Toda are socially organised into two endogamous sections, named Tarthoral and Teivaliol. The division is based on ritual specialisation.
- The Tarthar people alone can own the most sacred dairy temples with their associated herds
- The Teivaliol men, called 'the servants of the gods' fulfil the highest priestly tasks associated with them.

- Their economic and social lives are centered on the buffaloes. The greater part of their religious observance is also focused on buffalo
- Life's major events are highly ritualised among the Toda. The first pregnancy of a Toda woman is seen as ritually contaminating and hence in approximately fifth month she spends a complete lunar month in a temporary 'pollution hut' outside her hamlet.
- Purification rite is performed on or just before the day of the new moon after birth.
- As death approaches, the elders can look forward to an afterlife not radically different from their present one. As the goddess Teikirzi rules over the living Toda and their buffaloes, so does her brother, On, who reigns over the dead.
- The organisation of their territory, society and economy, is the great importance of religion
- The Toda perform their rituals according to the position of stars and new moon
- All Toda dairies must be kept in a state of high ritual purity. Dairies are participants in the divinity of the gods of the sacred places believed to be able to grant boons and punish wrong doers.

## 2. IMPACT OF HINDUISM ON TRIBAL SOCIETIES

Hinduism is one of the world's oldest Religion, with roots and customs dating back more than 4,000 years. Today, Hinduism is the third-largest religion behind Christianity and Islam. Roughly 95 percent of the world's Hindus live in India. Hinduism is unique in that it's not a single religion but a compilation of many traditions and philosophies.

- Hinduism embraces many religious ideas. Hence, it's a "way of life" or a "family of religions," as opposed to a single, organized religion.
  - Most forms of Hinduism are henotheistic, which means they worship a single deity, but still recognize other gods and goddesses. It is a belief that there are multiple paths to reaching their god.
  - Hindus believe in the doctrines of samsara (the continuous cycle of life, death, and reincarnation) and karma (the universal law of cause and effect).
  - One of the key thoughts of Hinduism is "atman," or the belief in soul. This philosophy holds that living creatures have a soul, and they're all part of the supreme soul. The goal is to achieve "moksha," or salvation, which ends the cycle of rebirths to become part of the absolute soul.
  - One fundamental principle of the religion is the idea that people's actions and thoughts directly determine their current life and future lives.
  - Hindus strive to achieve dharma, which is a code of living that emphasizes good conduct and morality.
  - Hinduism is closely related to other Indian religions, including Buddhism, Sikhism and Jainism.
- |                          |  |
|--------------------------|--|
| <b>1961 Census data:</b> | 89 per cent of the tribals claimed to profess Hinduism |
|--------------------------|--|
- L.P. Vidyarthi said that the tribals in India are mainly Hindu.
  - Most of the tribals in India follow some or the other form of Hinduism

### Why tribes in India follow Hinduism?

S. No	Reasons
1	Due to the contacts the tribals had with their Hindu neighbours
2	The tribal population of India has contributed to the making of Hinduism
3	In some places it happened as an outcome of tribal will for social reforms and economic development
4	Historically tribes have been an integral part of Indian society
5	Modernisation resulted in emulation of Hindu practices by the tribes
6	Establishment of British rule hastened the process of culture contact with the outside world as a consequence of increased communication.

**Hinduisation of tribes and its impacts:**

- Apart from tribes being Hinduised, impact of tribal religions on the practices of certain Hindu groups living in tribal villages are also found. For example, the process of tribalisation in the Bastar region of Madhya Pradesh reflected in acceptance by high caste Hindus of tribal morals, rituals and belief
- The Hinduisation of tribes, especially in Central India resulted in emulation of Hindu rituals and practices. This resulted in several social reform movements such as the Millenarian movement
- By adopting Hindu practices, the tribes adopted the hierarchical caste system
- The tribal population were able to participate as labours in the traditional village economy
- Also, Hinduisation increased the contacts between tribes and mainstream society and thus increased trade
- The role of traditional tribal magicians and tribal headmen changed. Hindu practices of idol worship and even mantras were adopted
- During independence struggle, the social reform movements among the tribal population also resulted in leaving behind the tribal practices such as animal sacrifice and human sacrifice and adopting Hindu ritual practices of vegetarianism and settled way of life
- Adopting a mainstream religion made the tribes to adopt modern agricultural practices and trades
- Adopting Hindu rituals and practices resulted in Sanskritisation and Modernisation
- It is a universal tendency of all partially civilized tribes in India to accept Hinduism to increase their superiority over the neighbouring tribes
- Hinduisation resulted in discarding the egalitarianism of tribal religion and adopting caste based hierarchies.

**Case study: Kora tribes**

- Kora religious beliefs are absolutely influenced of Hindu religion
- Kora people had been simultaneously beliefs Hindu god and goddess and natural worships.
- Kora people beliefs undressed pieces of stones are generally considered as the resting place of certain deities where propitiation is being done which is the existences of ancestral spirits as they believe
- Kora people keep the figures or pictures of some deities into their living room.
- They also believed in Sharul worship which is animal sacrifices worship.
- For different divinity the Kora people sacrificed various types of animals which to be made to complete their traditional worship
- Kali is a goddess of power but in Kora society they practice it because they believe she is responsible for causing different types of fever, bloodshed and accident
- One of the hindu goddess 'Saraswati' worship has been practiced by the Kora people in Naudiha village.

**Some examples of Hinduised tribes in India:**

Tribes	Practices
The Tharu and the Khasa	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Adopted Hindu caste names</li> <li>• Wearing the sacred thread</li> <li>• Establishing social links with the local Rajput and Brahmin groups</li> <li>• Incorporated their identity with high caste Hindus.</li> </ul>
Chero and Paharias	Kshatriya model of Hinduism has been adopted
Bhumij	Tribal Rajput continuum
Mahali	Beliefs in the Hindu concepts of Karma, pollution, merit (punya) and observing Hindu life cycle rituals
Oroans	Hindu gods and goddesses are worshipped

**Millenarian movements:**

- The word millenarian means, literally, a thousand years and refers to the belief that the world order is soon going to end, giving way to a new and perfect society. Millenarian movements reflect the influence of Hinduism and its practices on tribal society.
- Examples of such movements among the tribals are the Munda Rebellion, Jatra Bhagat Movement and Kharwar Movement.
- All these examples show that the tribals were never totally isolated from the main currents of Indian society.
- Secondly, the exploitative forces were not only colonisers, but also the non-tribal upper castes.
- Thirdly, the influencing contact with the out-group did not come only from Christian missionaries but also from Hindus and Muslims.
- In the case of tribal India, large scale changes were introduced by the missionaries. These changes, in turn, produced disturbance in the way society was previously organised among the tribals.
- The disturbances caused many a dilemma for the people, leading to both psychological social deprivations. These are the situations, which triggered the path to socio-religious movements.
- The tribal leaders of the respective movements were essentially fighting the foreign exploiters, like the landlords and contractors. The tribals, feeling deprived and isolated, found through these movements a sense of unity and a common identity.

**The Tana Bhagat Movement among the Oraon of Bihar:**

- In Tana Bhagat Movement, as in other Bhagat movements, an attempt is made to emulate the way of life of the Hindu higher castes.
- The term Bhagat has been employed in many parts of Bihar and Jharkhand to refer to sorcerers and magicians.
- Among the Oraon it is however applied to a distinct section of the tribe which subscribes to the cult of Bhakti.
- The entire Bhagat movement, attempting as it did to raise the status of its members in the eyes of the surrounding Hindu society, is characterised large scale incorporation of Hindu belief-practices into its ideology.
- The leader of Tana Bhagat movement was called Jatra Oraon

S. No	Practices professed by the Tana Bhagat movement
1	Give up the worship of ghosts and spirits and the practice of exorcism
2	Refrain from animal sacrifice, meat eating, liquor drinking etc.
3	Cultivation by plough with the use of animal power was rejected
4	Believed that the tribal spirits and deities whom they had been worshipping were of no use to them since it did not help them alleviate the socio-economic ills of their community.
5	Programme of proselytisation and agitation for the exorcism of the foreign spirits and deities.
6	The cult emphasised a return to the original Oraon religion.
7	Expulsion of evil spirits imported from the Mund
8	Active rebellion against unfair landlords who exploited them

**Munda movement:**

- The old Munda system of khuntkatti tenure gave way to a new and alien system of exploitation by the landlords known as Jagirdar and Thikadar. Under their greed and cruelty the tribal population was squeezed out of their land and other possessions.
- Suffering economically and politically, the Munda were assigned low social status.
- Christian missionaries tried to give the Munda back their rights on their land.

- A large number of the Munda did convert to Christianity. But in due course they realised that this was not the solution. The missionaries had failed to redeem them from abject poverty and oppression.
- Birsa Munda gave them leadership, a religion and a code of life. He held before them the prospect of Munda Raj in place of a foreign rule
- Birsa Munda became a vegetarian and the religion that he preached had elements of both Hinduism and Christianity. His religion promised to end the misery of his community and so it was a means to an end.
- Birsa came to be regarded as an embodiment of god 'Birsa Bhagwan'
- 'Jharkhanda Movement', which ultimately culminated in the formation of the Jharkhand State has its roots in this movement

### 3. IMPACT OF BUDDHISM ON TRIBAL SOCIETIES

#### Buddhism in India:

- Buddhism in India began with the life of Siddhartha Gautama (ca. 563-483 B.C.), a prince from the small Shakya Kingdom located in the foothills of the Himalayas in Nepal.
- By the third century B.C., the still-young religion based on the Buddha's teachings was being spread throughout South Asia through the agency of the Mauryan Empire
- By the seventh century A.D., having spread throughout East Asia and Southeast Asia, Buddhism probably had the largest religious following in the world.
- The Basic Teachings of Buddha which are core to Buddhism are: The Three Universal Truths; The Four Noble Truths; and The Noble Eightfold Path.
- The ethical code of Buddhism was based on charity, purity, self sacrifice, and truthfulness and control over passions.
- Rejecting the caste system and its evils including rituals based on animal sacrifices, conservation, fasting and pilgrimage, it preached total equality.
- Most other Buddhists in India follow Theravada Buddhism, the "Doctrine of the Elders," which traces its origin through Sri Lankan and Burmese traditions to scriptures in the Pali language, a Sanskritic dialect in eastern India.
- Since the 1840s, archaeology has revealed the huge impact of Buddhist art, iconography, and architecture in India.
- Buddhism as an organized religion had practically disappeared from India. It survived only in Bhutan and Sikkim, both of which were then independent Himalayan kingdoms; among tribal groups in the mountains of northeast India; and in Sri Lanka

#### Impacts of Buddhism on tribes of India:

- The roles of Buddhism and Islam is seen as marginal and not very significant as compared to Hinduism and Christianity
- The impact at Buddhism may be seen on the Bhots of north-west Himalaya. The Bhutias, Lepchas, Chakmas and Nagas are noticed in the north-east Himalayan region and some of the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh and Ladakh.
- The Buddhist Sanghas itself were modelled base on the tribal pattern of social interaction that stressed gender equality, and respect for all members.
- Buddhism in principle had egalitarianism as its core concept, and egalitarianism is the spirit of almost all tribal societies
- The Pali language which was used by the early Buddhist to spread the Buddhist philosophy is known as the language of common people. The Pali words had spread to several tribal languages also
- The Buddhist philosophy of not causing harm to animals and even plants is also close to the tribal spirit of non-exploitation of natural resources and subsistence way of life, nature worship such as forest groves, animal worship etc.
- The religion Buddhism have very less impact on the tribal population of India, as the Buddhism itself is concentrated in very small pockets or North Eastern and Himalayan regions of India

- With the successful works of Christian Missionaries in the North East, several tribes were converted to Christianity and hence, the population of Buddhism following tribes got reduced

#### Case study: Buddhist tribes of Arunachal Pradesh

- In the Arunachal Pradesh there are 6 Tribes inhabiting in western, central and eastern region
- Population wise Monpa is the largest among the 6 tribes and they are followers of Buddhism.
- The Arunachal Pradesh is one of the most Buddhist flourished state in the North-East region of India.
- However, in Arunachal Pradesh Buddhism can be termed as Tibetan form of Buddhism due to influence of Tibet to a great extent. But the tribes like the Khamti, the Singpho and the Tikahk Tangsa are still believer of Theravada form of Buddhism.
- These Buddhist tribes have contributed immensely to the art and culture of the state and their socio-cultural-religious life, monuments etc.

#### Case study: Buddhist tribe- Monpa:

- The Monpas are the habitant of Tawang and West kameng district of the easternmost state of India, Arunachal Pradesh bordering China and Bhutan.
- The Monpas are one of the major tribes of the state. The term Monpa refers to people living in low land, but in context of the state of Arunachal Pradesh it refers to a particular ethnic group.
- After accepting Buddhism many changes took place in socio-cultural life of the Monpa people like - marriage system, food habits, customary law etc.
- In terms of economy, Buddhism has served as winds of change in the mindsets of the Monpa people. It has brought forth the change in occupational pattern, vocation and notion of property right.

## 4. IMPACT OF CHRISTIANITY ON TRIBAL SOCIETIES

Saint Thomas, the disciple of Jesus, first introduced the Christian faith to India nearly two thousand years ago. However, it is during the Colonialisation, the spread of Christianity in India reached new heights. The Colonial policy of religious conversion was practised by the Portuguese, Dutch and by the English in the later periods.

- Christian missionary activity in India generally involved the establishment of high-quality schools, literacy to common people and primary health.
- Apart from the schools came printing presses, which were helpful in the dissemination of literature of all kinds.
- Religious conversion to Christianity was a success in some pockets of India such as the North East, however, the upper caste Hindus didnot adopt Christianity in high numbers
- The British education policies promoted English as the medium of instruction, which also paved way for evangelisation.

<b>1961 Census data:</b>	5 per cent of the tribes in India had converted to Christianity
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#### Why some tribes in India follow Christianity?

S. No	Reasons
1	Due to the Colonial invasion
2	The British policy promoted religious preaching by the Christian missionaries
3	The Christian missionaries promoted education and basic health facilities in the tribal region
4	Education helped the tribes to overcome the age old exploitation faced by them
5	Conversion to Christianity gave the tribals a model of westernisation.
6	They were brought closer to the concept of state, employment, money etc.
7	Many of the tribal areas hitherto closed were thrown open during Colonial rule

### **Tribes and impact of Christianity:**

- Christianity has brought about many changes in the cultural life of the tribals in India.
- The missionaries attempted to convert numerically major tribes. As a result, minor tribes remained untouched by the new religion
- Of the total population of Christians in India at least one sixth belong to tribes.
- Most of the tribal Christians are found in the North-East Himalayan zone. Ranging from half to almost the entire population of the Mizo, Garo and Naga tribes professed Christianity.
- In middle India, two-thirds of the Khasi, one-fourth of the Munda and one fourth of the Oraon follow Christianity
- In South India, Hill Pulaya, Malayarayan and Palliar tribals of Kerala have been proselytised and nearly two-third of their population has accepted Christianity.
- The Church organisation, western education, values and morals reached the tribals through Christianity.
- Their introduction implied a demand to give up tribal belief and practices.
- In some cases, traditional festivals were reinterpreted in terms Christianised myths. For example, origin of the festival Sarhul of the Munda was, after conversion, associated by them to the fight between Alexander and King Porus in 400 B.C.
- Considerable changes in celebration of festivals, village organisation, economic life and other aspects of their culture.
- Under the rubric of one denomination of Christianity some of the previously separated tribal groups came together and even accepted marital relations across tribal boundaries.
- Under the Church organisational network, many tribal groups scattered over a wider area came together and built contacts not only with the provincial and national but also international Church bodies.
- There is a change in dress, increased devotion to education, acceptance of the new system of medicine as well as loss of faith in magic and witchcraft.
- Adopting Christianity equipped tribes to adopt modernisation and westernisation.
- Under the patronage of British rule, conversion to Christianity had found a favourable environment while in independent India, many revivalist movements among the tribal groups have led the tribals to go back to their traditional religious beliefs and practices

### **Case study: Impact of Christianity on tribes of Manipur:**

- For centuries the tribal areas of Manipur was a neglected region. The tribal people lived in isolated in the hilly region and they had also little inter-tribal contact
- The advent of British rule in the last decade of the 19 century however, brought significant changes in their social life, the most prominent being a change in their religion
- The traditional religion of the hill tribes was animism. All the hill tribes had belief in one supreme God.
- Initially Christianity was mainly confined to the Tangkhul tribes inhabiting the Northeastern part of Manipur and then to the Kuki in the Northwestern hills of Manipur
- The method adopted by the missionary for spreading of the new faith was through education and health care. The spread of Christianity was through the converted students who have attended those schools run by the missionaries
- The advent of Christianity brought about far reaching impacts on the tribal society of Manipur, pervading all spheres of activities, outlook, ways of life, cultures and customs. It also brought anew awareness and concern leading the society to move toward modernism.
- The early animism practices were not practiced after adopting Christianity

## **5. IMPACT OF ISLAM ON TRIBAL SOCIETIES**

### **Islam in India:**

- The spread of Islam in India began in the 8th century, when the Arabs began invading north India and present day Pakistan.
- The Muslims of India like the Muslim world is divided into two main sects, Sunni and Shia. Each sect has many different schools.

- Different communities who adopted Islam in different ways have different community names. Ex: In west India the Bohra and Khoja are Muslim communities who adopted Islam influenced by different Muslim preachers.
- Sufism played a major role in spread of Islam in India. Sufi means saint or sect of Pantheistic Mohammedan devotees.
- The Sufi Saints believed in love in place of enmity, constructive in place of destructive, peace in place of Terror.
- The Sufi saints positively impressed the culture and civilization, society and language, Art and Poetry of India
- One of the major reasons for conversion to Islam was due to the principle of equality and egalitarian society, which was preferable over the hierarchy based caste and varna society.
- Islamic principle of universal brotherhood and devotion was spread to the common masses by the Sufi saints
- The doctrines of Islam viz., Universal Brotherhood, Equality, Unity of God and Non-ritualistic matters promoted the leading exponent and saintly reforms to interpret Hinduism in terms of their new ideas.
- The impact of Islam on Indian culture has been inestimable. It permanently influenced the development of all areas of human endeavour - language, dress, cuisine, all the art forms, architecture and urban design, and social customs and values.
- Conversely, the languages of the Muslim invaders were modified by contact with local languages, to Urdu, which uses the Arabic script. This language was also known as Hindustani, an umbrella term used for the vernacular terminology of Urdu as well as Hindi, both major languages in the Indian subcontinent today.
- Muslim rule saw a greater urbanization of India and the rise of many cities and their urban cultures.

#### **Impact of Islam on tribes of India:**

- The siddi of Gujarat, Gujars of the north-western Himalayan regions Bakrewal of Jammu & Kashmir, some Bhils, Kotis and Dhankasi of Rajasthan are the examples of muslim tribes. Almost the entire tribal population of lakshdweep
- Islam had a very less impact on the tribes of India as the spread of Islam in India was not drastic.
- Also, they are concentrated only in some regions of the country such as the Western India and North Western Himalayan region
- The nomadic tribes such as Gujjars were historically exposed to the Islamic principles and preachers. Hence they have adopted the religion.
- However, among most of the Islamised tribes of India, there also exists several practices of their ancient tribal religion as well as Hindu ritual practices
- In several cases the Islamic tribes were found to be practicing dual religions such as Hinduism and Islam by Gujjars.
- The Islamic tenets of universal brotherhood and equal treatment of all human being closely resembles the tribal spirit of equality.

#### **Case study: Mir tribes of Gujarat:**

- The government does not consider that the Mirs belong to the nomadic de-notified tribes. The Mirs are classified instead as an economically and socially backward class, and tagged as Muslims, along with the Mirasis and Dholis
- The Mirs are also susceptible to pressures from religious ideologues – both Hindu and Muslim. Most Mirs have two names, a Hindu one and a Muslim one.
- The Book of the Mirs, traces their history back several hundreds of years. It dates back to a time when their births were registered under the Rabari tribe during the rule of the Solanki or Chalukya king Jayasimha Siddharaj. By historical estimation, that would date the records back to the 11th century.
- Other versions claim the Mirs are descendants of Kashmir's Butt tribe, which migrated into Gujarat.

- The confluence of multiple influences makes theirs a 'liminal religion' representing the unique syncretic cusp of both Hinduism and Islam.
- The Mirs bury their dead, are circumcised and marry by nikaah the Islamic way, but they do not practise polygamy. Some eat meat and beef, but not of the cow.
- They read the Namaz every Friday but also perform godhbharai ceremonies and celebrate Janmashtami and Navratri the Hindu way. Holi is a major festival for them.

## 6. PREVIOUS YEAR QUESTIONS

1. Using ethnographic examples highlight the processes of religious conversions in Tribal India
2. Discuss the impact of Hindu Society on tribal population in India
3. Analyze the impact of Christianity on tribal communities with special reference to North-East India
4. Bases of tribal religion
5. Impact of Christianity on tribal societies



# TRIBE AND NATION STATE

NOTES FOR CIVIL SERVICES EXAMINATION  
ANTHROPOLOGY PAPER II, CHAPTER 8. 2



## 1. INTRODUCTION

### The concept of nation state:

- Traditionally, the term “nation” had its roots in what is now referred to as ethnicity or to shared cultural practices, perspectives, and distinctions that set apart one group of people from another.
- However, in reality, most modern states are composed of multiple and distinct ethnic groups or nations
- The nation added an interior life to the state. The nation was a soul added to the body of the early modern state machinery.

### Nation state (Vs) Tribal way of life:

**L. H. Morgan's definition of tribes:** one of anthropology's founding fathers, delineated tribes as social forms “individualized by name, by a separate dialect, by a sovereign government and by the possession of a territory which it occupies and defends as its own.”

**With the works of anthropologist Franz Boas, the “Father of American Anthropology:** Anthropologists have begun to study tribes in a less prejudicial manner, rather than treating the social form as an anachronism. Furthermore, the positive reassessment of tribal life has led to the conclusion that, ironically, tribal life is in reality a relaxed and nonviolent form of existence that is characterized by a combination of leisure and lack of want.

Nation state	Tribal practices
Nation state is the modern way of classification and reality of existence. Although nationalism never fully supplanted tribalism in some former colonial territories, the transition from tribe to nation was mostly completed by the mid twentieth century	Tribalism retains a connotation of primitiveness, and it continues to be framed as a social form antithetical to modernity
The modern state concept is based on established well defined borders and restriction to movements across the borders etc.	Tribal societies are known for malleability and flexibility/ fission and fusion of tribal belonging. The malleability and flexibility of tribal belonging ensure its ongoing vitality
Since the emergence of the concept of state sovereignty and the Westphalian System in the 17th Century, in the newly formed nation-states the terms “nation” and “state” became synonymous. A “national identity” evolved within the newly sovereign states was well formed in some states.	The tribes have their own identities. Each tribe is different from others and different from the national identity. They have historical significance and significant cultural traits and customs
Historically, for a "nation" to arise there had to come first the development of private property, of social classes, rulers and ruled, masters and subjects.	Tribal societies exist with the spirit of common belonging. Ex: the clan property. They are mostly against private property.
Nation states concentrate on economic development	Tribes follow subsistence way of life
The State must have definite territorial boundaries	There are several nomadic tribes which has existed several centuries without the concept of an established boundary. Also, tribes following transhumance still exists.
New national ethnicities did emerge in former colonies. Ex: Brazil	Even with the emergence of nation states, not all indigenous cultures became extinct. Indigenous nations persevered as national minorities striving to protect and preserve their separate political and cultural identities vis-à-vis national majorities.

Nation state depends on a common code and law and in some nations, even common religion	Each tribe has their own religious practices, customs, leadership and laws.
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## 2. TRIBE AND NATION STATE- INDIA

- India has a large number of tribal people. They constitute about 8.08% of the total population. The tribal people are believed to be the earliest settlers in Indian Peninsula.
- They are called Adivasis, meaning the first settlers.
- The traditional tribal institutions were vested with legislative, judicial and executive powers. The 'Maniki' and 'Munda' system in Singhbhum and the 'Manjhi' system in Santal Pargana are examples of tribal institutions.

**Nadeem Hasnain:** "it has now become an established fact that the aboriginal tribes in India are, in most cases, survivals from the later prehistoric groups"

### During Colonial rule:

- With the advent of the East India Company, the British penetrated into tribal regions.
- They used forest produces for their business. Trees were cut down for timber. Forestland was used for tea, rubber and coffee plantations. Train lines and roads were built in forest areas. Routes from forest to sea coasts were built to transport goods.
- The so-called outsiders dominated the tribals in many ways. Most of the tribal families lost their agricultural lands and lived in a state of starvation.
- The tribals were also victims of a host of middlemen who operated between the new rulers and the tribals.
- The Christian missionaries also came in with the patronage of the government. They spread Christianity among the tribals, and helped them with health care and education
- Opposing the Colonial exploitative regime, the tribal India saw several movements. Notable among them are the Kherwar movement (1871-80), the Birsa Munda Movement (1874-1901), the Bhil Rebellion (1879-80), the Sardari Movement (1881-95), the Bastar Uprising (1910-11), and the Tana Bhagat Movement (1920-35).

### Tribes in Independent India:

- At the time of independence, Verriar Elwin a famous anthropologist proposed that the tribes of India after independence should be administered with the policy of isolation, i. e, isolation from the mainstream society.
- The policy of isolation was opposed by by A. V. Thakkar, who propagated the idea of assimilation of the tribes instead of isolation
- The principle of partial and full exclusion was later embodied in the Indian Constitution. Constitutional guarantees of protection had to be combined with programmes of rapid development which did not find any place in the colonial framework.
- After Independence, the government chalked out a number of provisions to safeguard the interests of the tribals and their development without hampering their culture.
- The Indian Constitution adopted by the Constituent Assembly on 26 January 1950 visualized a policy of progressive acculturation of tribal communities.
- According to the constitutional provision certain tribes were listed as Scheduled Tribes and special facilities were to be provided for their uplift and education.

S. No	Criteria for Scheduled Tribes
1	Traditional occupation of a geographical area and
2	Distinctive culture which includes whole spectrum of tribal way of life (language, customs, traditions, religious beliefs, arts, crafts etc. .)
3	Primitive traits depicting occupational pattern, economy etc.
4	Lack of educational and techno-economic development.

- The spirit of tribal administration in India is primarily based on the principles of "Nehruvian Tribal Panchsheel"

S. No	Nehruvian Panchsheel
1	People should develop along the lines of their own genius, and the imposition of alien values should be avoided.
2	Tribal rights in land and forest should be respected
3	Teams of tribals should be trained in the work of administration and development.
4	Tribal areas should not be over administered or overwhelmed with a multiplicity of schemes.
5	Results should be judged not by statistics or the amount of money spent, but by the human character that is evolved.

- Apart from that the tribes enjoy several Constitutional special provisions such as affirmative action, schedule five and schedule six, National Commission of Scheduled Tribes, etc.
- The statutory provisions to protect tribal population of India include several legislation such as The Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, the Prevention of Untouchability Act, the Prevention of Child Labour Act, the Minimum Wages Act, The Forest Rights Act, 2006, etc.
- However, the socio- economic scenario of the tribes shows that the tribes of India even today are one of the most vulnerable sections of the society. The face several issues such as land alienation, poverty, illiteracy, lack of health facilities, internal migration, project affected families, etc.
- Though socio- economic profile of the tribes have been increasing every year, several issues such as mal-administration of tribal areas, awareness creation and proper implementation of all laws are significant measures to be adopted to improve the status of tribes in India.

#### Case study: Niyamgiri referendum by Dongria Konds

- The Supreme Court asked the forest dwellers to decide if mining in Niyamgiri hills will affect their religious and cultural rights. Following this, the Odisha government drew a list of 12 villages “likely to be affected” in Rayagada and Kalahandi districts, to hold palli sabha.
- The palli sabhas had unanimously rejected mining. The people stressed that the Niyamgiri hills, spanning 250 square kilometre, is abode of their supreme deity and ancestral kin Niyamraja, who is the protector and preserver of Niyamgiri, the mountain of law.
- At the Niyamgiri palli sabhas, the Dongrias claimed the entire Niyamgiri hills, including the bauxite mining site, as their territorial right.
- After the gram sabhas of tribal villages in Odisha's Niyamgiri hills rejected multinational company Vedanta's proposal to undertake bauxite mining in the area, the Union Ministry of Environment and Forests (MoEF) said a final “no” to the project.

### 3. TRIBE AND NATION STATE- MIDDLE EAST

#### The concept of nation states in Middle East:

- The Arab Revolt aided colonial powers in ensuring that the Ottoman Empire was ousted as World War I.
- Britain promised the Arabs independence and sovereignty in the Middle East.
- Two separate agreements, the Sykes- Picot agreement and the Balfour declaration were made, which set to divide the region in to separate countries with established borders.
- However, such agreements ignored one crucial factor regarding the Arab world, namely that it had not experienced the kind of rise of nationalism that had led to the formation of modern-day nation-states in the West.
- Nationalism in Europe and North America relied on common roots, language, religion or culture, perceived enemies, in order create a shared identity.
- The Arab world, however, has been historically comprised of groups of various tribes, clans, cultures and religious sects.
- Hence, the majority of Arabs, though, continued to remain unaffected by sentiments of nationalism.

- When the Colonial forces left the Middle East, they left behind a region fraught with deep-seated political and social instability, the consequences of which are felt to this day.

#### **Nation state and the conflict with ethnic groups:**

- The establishment of a nation-state system onto a territory primarily comprising numerous groups with no shared nationalistic beliefs has led to sectarian violence and a host of other problems that continue to plague to region to this day.
- Iraq, a country that was carved out of a land that is home to Arabs, Kurds, Turkmens and various other ethnic as well as religious groups, is the example of a nation-state that is merely a state with physical borders but not a nation in the ideal sense of the word.
- In Arabia, agriculture was mostly impossible in the pre-modern era, and sedentarization was prohibitively challenging for much of human history. In such environs, pastoral nomadism comprised one of the only viable modes of production for human survival.
- The idea of tribalism was configured to weld together a population dispersed over vast tracts of land and who, as a result, may encounter one another only seasonally.
- In such a dispersed existence, kinship, genealogy, and ancestry allow individuals to socially place almost anyone they encounter, and to maintain asabia- the sense of belonging.
- Tribalism, is a social and political form, to collective survival in the arid environs of the Saharan belt
- In the recent times, there is a resurgence of tribalism due to the absence of the state. That is, due to several conflicts and wars, the idea of nation state in several parts have declined and the concept of tribalism is resurging.
- Tribalism is useful in the contemporary terrain for survival and for aggrandizing social power.
- People turn or return to the tribe in the absence of the state. Against the backdrop of a sea of foreigners, tribalism provides a mode of belonging

#### **Case study: The Kurds**

- The Kurdish ethnic minority, mainly Sunni Muslims, speaks a language related to Farsi and lives mostly in a mountainous region straddling the borders of Armenia, Iraq, Iran, Syria and Turkey.
- The Treaty of Lausanne, ratified in 1924, divided the Kurds among the new nations of the Middle East.
- The Baathist state of Syria, championing Arab nationalism, had deprived thousands of Kurds of citizenship rights, banned their language and clamped down on Kurdish political activity.
- Kurds form about 20 percent of Turkey's population. The Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) took up arms against the state, waging an insurgency for autonomy in Turkey's largely Kurdish southeast. Since then, more than 40,000 people have been killed in the conflict.
- Kurds form 15-20 percent of the population of Iraq, mainly inhabiting the three northern provinces of Iraqi Kurdistan. Saddam Hussein's rule targeted Iraqi Kurds in the late 1980s when chemical gas was used, villages were razed and thousands of Kurds were forced into camps.
- Kurds form about 10 percent of the population of Iran. Rights groups say Kurds, along with other religious and ethnic minorities, face discrimination under the ruling clerical establishment.
- The absence of a common autonomous territory or a common country for the Kurdish people and their division across several nation states has caused trouble in the Middle East.

#### **4. TRIBE AND NATION STATE- USA**

- There are more than 500 years of history concerning the Native peoples of North America and their relationship with non-Natives.
- The relationship began as a political and military reality in the 18th century with the signing of treaties between sovereign nations.
- In the 19th century, the relationship was strained as the United States varied its approaches from co-existence to subjugation to assimilation.
- In the 20th century, the relationship went from reorganization to termination to de facto federal control, and more recently to federal support for self-determination and selfgovernance.

**Tribal administration:**

- There are 574 federally recognized Indian Nations (variously called tribes, nations, bands, pueblos, communities and native villages) in the United States. Approximately 229 of these ethnically, culturally and linguistically diverse nations are located in Alaska; the other federally recognized tribes are located in 35 other states.
- Additionally, there are state recognized tribes located throughout the United States recognized by their respective state governments.
- Native peoples and governments have inherent rights and a political relationship with the U. S. government that does not derive from race or ethnicity. Tribal members are citizens of three sovereigns: their tribe, the United States, and the state in which they reside.
- The U. S. Constitution recognizes three levels of government: federal, state and tribal. There are consistent patterns and some hard rules concerning the jurisdictional authority of all federally recognized tribes
- The U. S. government's relationship with federally recognized tribes is one of "government to government."
- American tribes have extensive experience in the internal management of their political affairs, as they have been empowered to develop their own institutions, constitutions, law codes, tribal courts, police services, correctional facilities, and to enact civil laws to regulate conduct and commerce.
- Federal courts have an expectation that consultations will be evident in matters that affect the tribes

**Tribe as Nation:**

- Self-government is essential if tribal communities are to continue to protect their unique cultures and identities.
- Tribes have the inherent power to govern all matters involving their members, as well as a range of issues in Indian Country.
- The essence of tribal sovereignty is the ability to govern and to protect and enhance the health, safety, and welfare of tribal citizens within tribal territory.
- Tribal governments maintain the power to determine their own governance structures and enforce laws through police departments and tribal courts.
- The governments exercise these inherent rights through the development of their distinct forms of government, determining citizenship; establishing civil and criminal laws for their nations; taxing, licensing, regulating, and maintaining and exercising the power to exclude wrongdoers from tribal lands.
- In addition, tribal governments are responsible for a broad range of governmental activities on tribal lands, including education, law enforcement, judicial systems, health care, environmental protection, natural resource management, and the development and maintenance of basic infrastructure such as housing, roads, bridges, sewers, public buildings, telecommunications, broadband and electrical services, and solid waste treatment and disposal

**5. TRIBE AND NATION STATE- AUSTRALIA**

- Since the European invasion of Australia in 1788, the Aboriginal people have been oppressed in several forms.
- The influx of the strangers(Europeans) who carried with them diseases, decimated the immediate population of the Sydney tribes.
- It is estimated that over 7,50,000 Aboriginal people inhabited the island continent in 1788.
- The colonists believed that the land was terra nullius ('no one's land'), which Lt James Cook declared Australia to be in 1770 during his voyage around the coast of Australia. But in reality, the Island continent was owned by over 400 different nations at the time of this claim by Cook.
- Self-sufficient and harmonious, they had no need to travel far from their lands, since the resources about them were so abundant, and trade with other tribal groups was well established.
- Upon his arrival, Lt Cook declared the land he called New South Wales to be the property of Britain's King George III, and ignored the inconvenient fact that the land was already well populated.

**Issues faced by the tribals due to Colonialisation:**

- Aboriginal lifestyle was based on total kinship with the natural environment.
- Wisdom and skills obtained over the millennia enabled them to use their environment to the maximum.
- For the Aboriginal people, acts such as killing animals for food or building a shelter were steeped in ritual and spirituality, and carried out in perfect balance with their surroundings.
- The British arrival brought armed conflict and a lack of understanding, which heralded the demise of the northern Sydney clans, along with the other peoples of the Sydney basin – the Dharawal to the south and the Dharug to the west.
- Food shortages soon became a problem. The British depleted the fish by netting huge catches, reduced the kangaroo population with unsustainable hunting, cleared the land, and polluted the water. As a result, the Aboriginal people throughout the Sydney Basin were soon close to starvation.
- The indigenous population also suffered from deadly viruses carried by the sailors and convicts such as smallpox, syphilis and influenza. In less than a year, over half the indigenous population living in the Sydney Basin had died from smallpox.

**Attempt to destroy the indigenous identity:**

- From the end of the nineteenth century, various State and Territory laws were put in place to control relations between Aboriginal people and other Australians. Under these laws, protectors, protection boards and native affairs departments segregated and controlled a large part of the Aboriginal population.
- In 1937, the Commonwealth Government held a national conference on Aboriginal affairs which agreed that Aboriginal people 'not of full blood' should be absorbed or 'assimilated' into the wider population. The aim of assimilation was to make the 'Aboriginal problem' gradually disappear so that Aboriginal people would lose their identity in the wider community.
- Protection and assimilation policies which impacted harshly on Indigenous people included separate education for Aboriginal children, town curfews, alcohol bans, no social security, lower wages, State guardianship of all Aboriginal children and laws that segregated Indigenous people into separate living areas, mainly on special reserves outside towns or in remote areas.
- Another major feature of the assimilation policy was stepping up the forcible removal of Indigenous children from their families and their placement in white institutions or foster homes.
- Such children were forbidden to speak their Aboriginal language, they were told their parents did not want them, they experienced neglect as well as physical, emotional and sexual abuse, they received little or no education, and were refused contact with their families.

**Tribal administration in Australia at present:**

- The Australian Constitution came into effect on 1 January 1901.
- Aboriginal people comprise diverse Aboriginal nations, each with their own language and traditions and have historically lived on mainland Australia, Tasmania or on many of the continent's offshore islands.
- In May 1967, a Constitutional referendum to include Indigenous people in the national census and to enable the Commonwealth Government to make laws on Aboriginal affairs passed with a 'Yes' vote of almost 91%.
- The government adopted the policy of 'self-determination' for Indigenous communities in 1972. This policy was described as 'Aboriginal communities deciding the pace and nature of their future development as significant components within a diverse Australia'. It recognised that Aboriginal people had a right to be involved in decision making about their own lives.
- In the Mabo case of 1992, the High Court of Australia rejected the long-standing doctrine of terra nullius. It found that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples who have maintained a continuing connection with their land, according to their traditions and customs, may have their rights to land under traditional law recognised in Australian law. This is native title.
- Generally, Indigenous people receive the same level of public benefits as non-Indigenous people. Individuals do not get extra funding because they are Indigenous.

- However, specific government programs, not additional income, have been introduced for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples because they are the most economically and socially disadvantaged group in Australia. Special programs are necessary to help overcome disadvantage.
- Public and private expenditure on health services for Indigenous Australians rose by at least 15% per person between 1995-96 and 1998-99.
- Public expenditure on education for Indigenous people is 18% higher per capita than for non-Indigenous people aged 3-24 years

## 6. TRIBE AND NATION STATE- CANADA

- In Canada, there are 614 federally recognized "Indian" bands, also referred to as First Nations.
- Section 35 of the Constitution Act recognizes the "Rights of the Aboriginal (Indigenous) People of Canada"
- Aboriginal peoples of Canada include the "Indian, Inuit and Métis peoples of Canada"
- In recent years, steady improvement in the educational attainment for registered aboriginal Indians (both on and off reserve) has been achieved. Also, socio- economic development has been increasing

## 7. TRIBE AND NATION STATE- AFRICA

- In Africa, "state" is the least politically charged, and therefore, perhaps the best term to describe countries, the largest political unit that people recognize.
- Even "state," however, is not a term that all peoples of Africa would use to describe accurately the political system of which they find themselves a part. Ex: Bushmen do not refer to themselves as either a tribe or Bushmen.
- The nation states in Africa were an artificial phenomenon. They did not emerge based on revolutionary struggles or independence movements. They were created by the Colonial powers to divide and rule the African continent
- The African continent historically was a constituent of a large number of tribal populations. However, the Colonial occupation of the continent by various powers resulted in division of the territories based on geography and not based on tribal population.
- This resulted in division of tribal groups between two or more countries.
- The countries became constituents of several tribal groups endlessly struggling against each other for power.

### Sub- Saharan Africa:

- After independence, sub-Saharan African countries were expected to develop political systems styled after Western democracies. It was assumed that ideology and class alliances would counter the potentially harmful effects of tribalism.
- As different parties came to power, they ruled with their own group's interests coming first. Plural societies did not develop.
- Some African states have invested considerable sums on public education in the belief that it would eventually eliminate racial prejudice most commonly referred to as tribalism
- New African states made people dissatisfied with their own cultures

### Case study: Tribal conflicts/ ethnic conflicts in Ethiopia:

- Members of numerous, culturally distinct groups in Ethiopia, insist that they were conquered and never allowed to choose to join the country.
- Many of these groups do not even officially recognize Ethiopia as a legitimate political entity.
- Therefore, they insist, until they have equal representation in the central government and the freedom to choose their political affiliation, Ethiopia is more accurately referred to as an "empire."
- The Ethiopian government, which is overwhelmingly dominated by Amhara, a minority group accounting for less than 15% of the country's population, refers to other groups in the country as

nationalities, a term which they use to imply that such groups have narrow, cultural interest which must, one day, give way to allegiance to the central state.

- The Amhara, like many other distinct cultural groups that dominate African countries, have attempted to create a "nation" in their own image.
- Ethiopia is a "nation," Amhara is the "national" language, and Amharic values are the basis of the legal, political and educational systems; other "national" values and languages must be eliminated.
- The Oromo, 60% of Ethiopia's population, with a different language, culture, religion and history, do not accept their lot within the empire. They, as well as other groups within Ethiopia, see the Amhara-dominated government as an illegitimate, colonial government
- The official position of the Oromo Liberation Front is that the Oromo must become independent of Ethiopia in order to determine the possibility of them joining a confederation of equal nations in the Horn of Africa.

### **The resurgent tribalism (Vs) Nation state:**

Among the many challenges that nation-states face currently is the challenge of a resurgent "tribalism."

#### **1. The concept of self-determination:**

- The movements seeking self-determination in Scotland, Catalonia, and other European nations suggests, the fragmentation of national identities can occur in territories once considered united nation-states with fully formed national identities and civil societies.
- Cases in point are also Syria, Iraq, and parts of Asia. All of these countries are experiencing strong calls for separatism and independence from their central governments
- In pursuing their goal of greater self-determination, these "global tribes" are implicitly, and sometimes explicitly, challenging the hegemony of the nation-state and civil society.

#### **2. Transnational tribalism:** Transnational tribalism, when indicating conformity refers to a tendency "...to a way of thinking or behaving in which people are more loyal to their tribe than to their friends, their country, or any other social group

#### **3. The emergence of tribal struggles:** Emergence of such struggles in several parts of the world is mostly due to the growth of politics based upon narrow concerns, rooted in the exploitation of divisions of class, cash, gender, region, religion, ethnicity, morality and ideology, etc.

#### **4. Globalisation:** Political scientists have been warning that with the growth of information and technology in the globalised era, the ideas of distinct tribal culture and practices from the common nation state has been spreading, which could further propagate the separatist ideology among the tribes.

#### **5. Identity politics:**

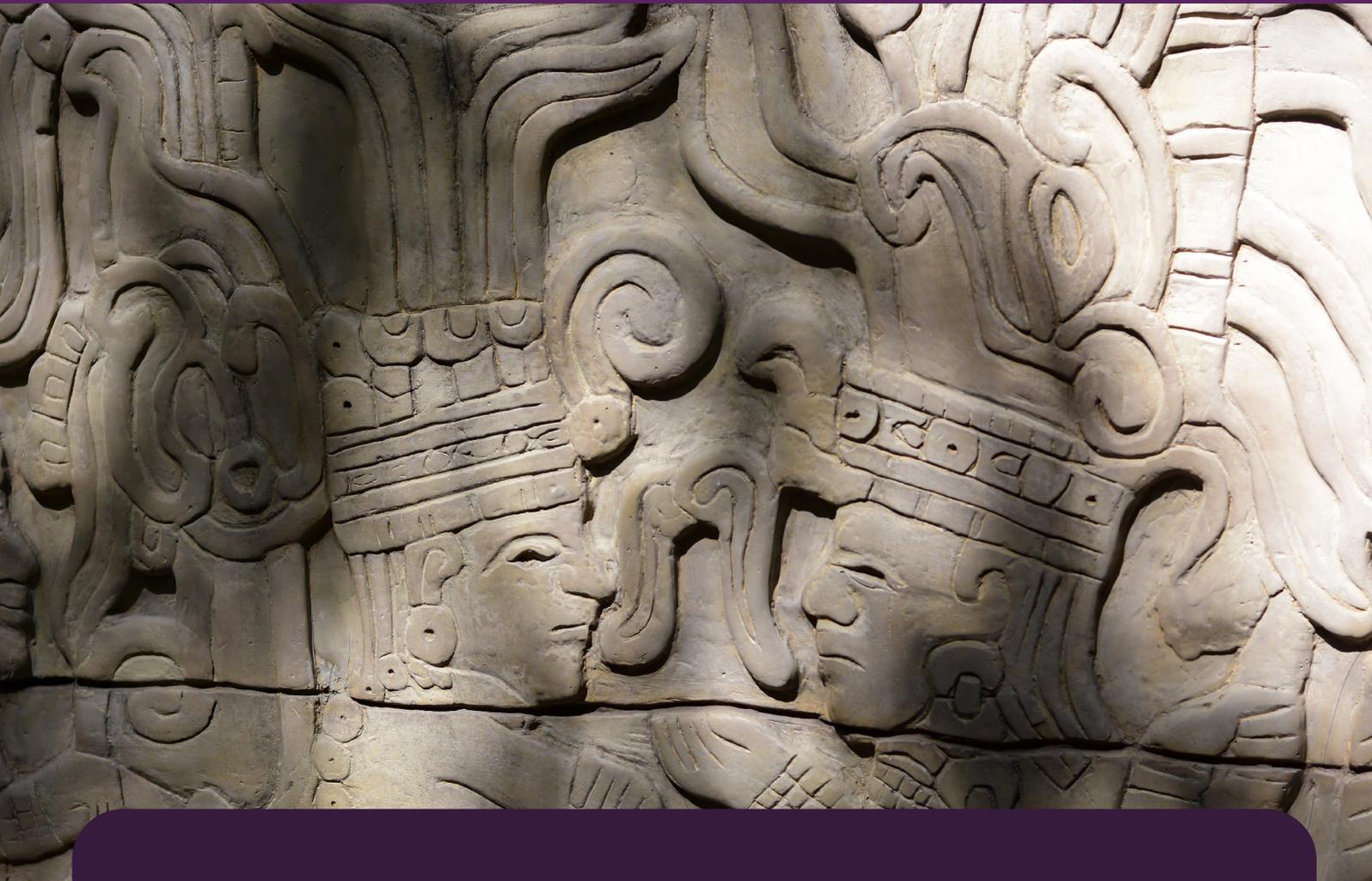
- "Identity politics" has come to signify a wide range of political activity and theorizing founded in the shared experiences of injustice of members of certain social groups.
- Rather than organizing solely around belief systems, programmatic manifestos, or party affiliation, identity political formations typically aim to secure the political freedom of a specific constituency marginalized within its larger context.

#### **6. External factors:**

- Many environmentalist NGOs have made common cause with indigenous groups seeking to achieve "alternatives" to the hegemony and sovereignty of nation-states.
- Enmity between countries result in clandestine support of separatist tribal movements by the enemy countries.

## **8. PREVIOUS YEAR QUESTIONS**

1. Critically examine the relationship between tribal communities and the Nation-State on issues of governance.
2. Discuss the Anthropological understanding of rising ethnicity among Indian Tribes in the context of Nation Building
3. What do you know by tribe and nations? How do states carved for tribals in India differ from tribalnation states in Africa? Discuss.



# ANTHROPOLOGY

## PAPER II

### UNIT 9

# **HISTORY OF ADMINISTRATION OF TRIBAL AREAS**

**NOTES FOR CIVIL SERVICES EXAMINATION  
ANTHROPOLOGY PAPER II, CHAPTER 9.1**

## 1. HISTORY OF ADMINISTRATION OF TRIBAL AREAS IN INDIA, TRIBAL PLANS, PROGRAMMES OF TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT

The British Colonizers categorized the Indian population into certain dwelling and occupational groups and started implementing various laws, acts and policies for the development and benefits of these people.

### History of tribal area administration in pre- independence India:

- The history of the tribal polices during Colonial time was noted for their interest in forestry. In 1806, the reservation of teak forest in Malabar was announced.
- In 1865, the forest act of 1865 was ordained that empowered the free movement of tribal forest dwellers on the forest.
- The administration based on isolation approach began with the enactment of the Government of India Act of 1870. The Act specified certain areas in the country as the "Scheduled Tracts".
- In 1878 another act was made which was particularly concerning with removing uncertainty about the absolute Proprietary Right of the State. This act was designed to make easy strict state control over forest resources.
- The Government of India Act of 1900 used the term Backward Tracts for certain territories in the country
- The Indian forest Act of 1927 recognized yielding and privileges of the forest dwelling tribal people and labourer in respect of cultivations, collection of firewood, timbers for household, consumption of raw materials for crafts etc
- Increasing instances of exploitation of tribals by non- tribals or outsiders resulted in change in approach by the Colonial policymakers. British rulers realized that isolation would protect the tribal's against the aggression and exploitation,
- The scheduled district act of 1875 provided for special tribal administration. This excluded the tribal areas from the operation of common laws country.
- The expulsion from the jurisdiction of provincial government was suggested by Montague-chelmsford report of 1918.
- According to government of India act, 1919 the tribal areas were divided into wholly excluded areas and area of modified exclusion
- The Government of India Act of 1935 was based on the report of the Simon Commission. The Simon Commission in its report in 1930 questioned the policy of perpetual isolation.
- The commission was of the view that continued isolation of the tribals from the rest of the people will hinder their growth and progress. To ensure their development, it is necessary to educate the tribal people and make them self-reliant.
- The Act of 1935 incorporated some of the recommendations of the Commission which incorporated some special measures for the protection of tribals.
- The tribal areas were reclassified. They were reclassified into the Excluded Areas and Partially Excluded Areas. These areas were self-governing units.
- The Excluded Areas included those areas that were inaccessible and where the possibility of any regular system of administrative set up was not possible.
- Partially excluded areas had a system of administration led by civilian officials.
- The Government of India Act of 1935 gave Governor special powers in the tribal areas. In the Excluded Areas, he had full discretion in administration. In Partially Excluded Areas, the Governor if needed can consult ministers.
- The Act also made a provision for the institution of Tribal Inquiry Committee that was intended to improve the administrative apparatus in the tribal areas.

**Impacts of Colonial tribal administration:**

S. No	Impacts
1	The policies went against the tribal as well as non-tribal communities.
2	Colonial control of Indian forests
3	The loss of rights and the resulting loss of control over the natural resources for the tribals
4	The colonial policies stirred up the forest dwellers giving rise to revolts in tribal areas
5	Increase in exposure of the tribes to the outside world
6	Increase in instances of tribal armed revolt
7	Difficulties resulted in socio- economic reform movements among several tribes such as Millenarian movement
8	Loss of livelihood, poverty, bonded labour etc. increased
9	Colonial policies of isolation also resulted in secessionist sentiments among some tribes.
10	From the pure exploitation and neglect, where tribals were preserved as mere anthropological specimen and for academic interest, very few welfare measures were taken for these people
11	Though attempts of assimilation were made and some were successful but tribals mostly remained isolated. This isolation was justified to preserve tribal identity.

**History of tribal area administration in post- independence India:**

In the post-independent period, the British policy of isolation was switched to the integration model of tribal development. Programmes were started in the tribal areas for bringing about social and economic change among the tribal people. There are two great influences on tribal policy in India. They are Verrier Elwin and Jawaharlal Nehru. Verrier Elwin proposed by policy of isolation to administer tribals, whereas Thakkar opposed it and proposed the policy of assimilation and development.

**1. Nehruvian Tribal Panchsheel:**

- Nehru pursued the policy of integration. Jawaharlal Nehru, based on his integrationist model gave the policy of panchsheel . The main characteristics of the policy were:

S. No	Nehruvian Panchsheel
1	People should develop along the lines of their own genius, and the imposition of alien values should be avoided.
2	Tribal rights in land and forest should be respected
3	Teams of tribals should be trained in the work of administration and development.
4	Tribal areas should not be over administered or overwhelmed with a multiplicity of schemes.
5	Results should be judged not by statistics or the amount of money spent, but by the human character that is evolved.

- Nehru also reflected on the mode of administration. He was against over administration in tribal areas, which is an assimilation attempt by imposing ideas and opinions. Nehru worked for active participation of tribals in administration and development
- The approach of Integration was implemented through five year plans and other policies. Nehru's concept of tribal integration was reflected in the successive five-year plans.
- Recognition was given to the indigenous techniques involved in the economic structure of tribal India and efforts were made for evolving an amicable economic planning with the assistance of the resources available in these areas.

- Nehru’s emphasis was on optimum utilization of the tribal genius embodied in the techniques of the production process and tribal agriculture.

<b>B.K. Roy Burman Committee recommendations</b>
1. There is a symbiotic relationship between the tribal social organization and forest economy in the specific historical context of our country
2. Tribals are not only forest dwellers but also they have evolved a way of life which, on the one hand is woven round forest ecology and forest resources is protected against degradation by man and nature
3. The symbiosis between the tribal communities and forest management should be established through imaginative forestry programmes and conservation and reorganization of traditional skill of labour

**2. Constitution:**

- The Constitution of India adopted a two-way strategy for tribal development. The first strategy is to ensure protection against exploitation. The second strategy is to ensure socio-economic development of tribals.
- The Constitution through its various Articles has protected various rights – Political Rights, Economic Rights, Social Rights, Employment Rights and Cultural and Educational Rights.

**3. Five Year Plans:**

- The Five Years Plans suggest many schemes and policies. Development of the Scheduled Tribes has been one of the priorities in the twelve Five Year Plans that have been formulated in India thus far.
- These Plans seek to ensure all round development of the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes.
- They also promote development of educational facilities, health care, communication, infrastructure as well as promotion and protection of tribal culture and their traditional rights.

	<b>Various Tribal Development Programmes under the Planned Regime</b>
<b>Community Development Programme</b>	Under the Community Development Programme envisaged during the first Five Year Plan, a comprehensive approach aimed at balanced development of the entire country was adopted to encourage peoples’ participation in development and cater to the needs of the smallest units.
<b>Special Multipurpose Tribal development (SMPT) blocks</b>	As the tribal areas needed special treatment, a few Special Multipurpose Tribal development (SMPT) blocks were launched in 1954, covering a few blocks. The SMPT Block was the first systematic effort for the development of tribal areas. It was used to speed up the process of development in the areas of the largest tribal concentration. The administrative structure of these blocks was patterned after the CD blocks but additional allotments were made to these blocks by Tribal Welfare Departments.
<b>Tribal Development Blocks</b>	SMPT blocks were converted into Tribal Development Blocks (TDBs) from Third Plan onwards. In addition to these SMPT Blocks converted into TD Blocks, more TD Blocks were also started to cover many tribal areas.
<b>Modified Areas Development Approach (MADA)</b>	The criterion for selection of this area was areas having a population of 10000 or more with at least 50 percent tribal concentration. In these pockets individual family-oriented schemes as well as community benefit oriented programmes are to be implemented.

#### 4. Scheduled Tribes and PVTGs:

- Scheduled Tribes are those which are notified as such by the President of India under Article 342 of the Constitution. The first notification was issued in 1950.
- The President considers characteristics like the tribes' primitive traits, distinctive culture, shyness with the public at large, geographical isolation and social and economic backwardness before notifying them as a Scheduled Tribe.
- Seventy-five of the 698 Scheduled Tribes are identified as Primitive Tribal Groups considering they are more backward than Scheduled Tribes. They continue to live in a pre-agricultural stage of economy and have very low literacy rates. Their populations are stagnant or even declining.

#### 5. The Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission:

- Under the Article 339 of the Constitution of India, the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission were constituted in 1960. The Commission was headed by U. N. Dhebar.
- The Dhebar Commission recommended comprehensive legislation and simple administrative structure for the development in scheduled areas
- Tribal Development was also analyzed by the Study Team on Tribal Development Programmes (Shilu Ao Committee). The Committee found that Tribal Development Blocks were too small a unit to deal with the complex problem of tribal development.
- A TDB could not ensure proper planning and effective implementation of development programmes.
- The Committee suggested that tribals should receive a reasonable share out of the general development programmes.
- The Shilu Ao Committee was of the view that to ensure socio-economic upliftment of tribals, there needs to be synthesis of the Area Development Approach and Tribal Development Block Strategy.
- It also emphasized on the timely implementation of the recommendations of the Dhebar Commission.

#### 6. The Planning Commission Task Force on Development of Tribal Areas headed by L.P. Vidyarthi:

- The Committee was tasked to examine the problem of tribal development and to suggest a strategy for tribal development.
- Besides the Task Force, the Government of India also set up the Informal Expert Committee headed by S.C. Dube to consider the question of tribal development.
- Like Shilu Ao Committee, the Task Force on Development of Tribal Areas highlighted the shortcoming of the Tribal Development Block as a small unit to ensure holistic development of tribals.
- The Task Force suggested that outlays for tribal development were small and were earmarked under the sector of development of Backward Areas.
- The approach to the tribal development in the Fifth Five Year Plan was "based on the Report of Shilu Ao Committee, Expert Committee and the Task Force on Development of Tribal Areas."
- This new approach for the development of tribals popularly came to be known as Tribal Sub Plan.

#### 7. Tribal sub-plan:

- This approach is essentially an area development approach and the focus is on the problems of tribal people.
- It is an integrated approach in which all departments work together for tribal development in a coordinated manner.
- Tribal Sub Plan is basically a Plan within a Plan. Tribal Sub Plan involves preparation of plan for the welfare and empowerment of tribals and it is called a Sub Plan because it is specifically for tribals and is part of the plan of a State or Union Territory (UT).

- The funds that are provided under the Sub Plan should be at least equal in proportion to the Scheduled Tribe (ST) population of each State or UT.
- Tribal Sub Plan is not the only benefit provided to tribals and tribal areas. It is in addition to other benefits that flow from the general Plan of a State.
- TSP is in operation in 22 states and 2 UTs. Tribal Sub Plan is not applicable to some states like Arunachal Pradesh, Meghalaya, Mizoram and Nagaland and in the Union Territories of Lakshadweep and Dadra & Nagar Haveli because these are tribal majority States/UTs with more than 60% of the population as Tribals. The Annual Plan in these States/UTs is basically a Tribal Plan.
- The TSP recognize that there is no uniform solution to the variety of problems facing tribal regions and tribal communities.
- Therefore, accept the uniqueness and formulate policies, programmes and schemes to suit each individual situation and especially for vulnerable sections like Primitive Tribal Groups, bonded labourers, shifting cultivators, forest villagers, displaced persons, etc.
- It evolves appropriate frame for development with emphasis on tribal people at the national and State level through Sub Plan exercise, ensuring adequate quantification from State and Central Plan Funds with budgetary mechanisms to ensure accountability, non-divert ability and full utilization.
- Accord highest priority to protective measures for elimination of exploitation of tribal people.
- Restructure the administrative and institutional set up to suit the local needs and aspirations.
- Supplement State efforts substantially by the Union Government through Special Central Assistance (SCA).
- Funds for Tribal Sub Plan flow from the following sources: State Plan Outlays; Central Ministries; Special Central Assistance and Institutional Finance. Besides, these identified sources there is a Constitutional obligation on the Union Government under Article 275(1) to provide financial allocation from the Consolidated Fund of India to improve the administration in TSP areas and improve the implementation of the schemes for tribal development. There is no permission for diversion of TSP funds and these funds do not lapse at the end of a financial year.
- States have to provide funds under TSP equal to the proportion of the tribal population to the total population in the State. The Union Ministries are also expected to contribute to the TSP.

#### 8. Ministry of Tribal Affairs:

- The Government of India formed a Ministry of Tribal Affairs for the first time in October 1999 to accelerate tribal development.
- A number of schemes have been undertaken by the ministry for tribal welfare and development
- The ministry works with several NGOs and employs experts to accelerate the development process in the isolated tribal areas.

#### 9. Narendra Jadhav Task Force:

- The Planning Commission was approached by the Ministry of Tribal Affairs in the year 2009 to devise a strategy for Central Ministries on TSP.
- A Task Force under the Chairmanship of Dr Narendra Jadhav constituted by the Planning Commission helped to evolve a strategy.
- The Task Force classified central ministries according to their obligation to earmark funds for TSP.
- Twenty-eight Ministries/ Departments were advised to ensure appropriate earmarking of funds under TSP. Other ministries were urged to contribute to TSP on voluntary basis.
- The Planning Commission issues guidelines to the States to earmark funds for TSP. These guidelines are related to Special Central Assistance to TSP.

#### 10. Special Central Assistance to the Tribal Sub Plan:

- Under the programme of SCA to TSP, an amount equivalent to 10% of the total budget allocation of SCA to TSP is earmarked and released to those States who qualify for incentive based on the past performance of TSP implementation i.e. those which have utilized more than 75% of the approved Tribal Sub-Plan funds to the implementing agencies through the budget head of the Tribal Development Department of the State.
- There are several steps in the formulation of Tribal Sub Plan. In first step the areas of tribal concentration are identified and clearly demarcated.
- Then social and cultural roadblocks are identified along with identification of promoters of change and development.
- Then, needs and problems of the tribal areas and the potentialities are assessed.
- In the next step, there is the assessment of availability of resources for the Tribal Sub Plans and formulation of sectoral plans.
- Finally, suitable administrative machinery is devised for successful implementation of programmes.

#### 11. Integrated Tribal Development Projects (ITDP)

- Integrated Tribal Development Projects strategy is an important part of Tribal Sub Plan.
- An Integrated Tribal Development Project is a unit of administration in the TSP approach at the district level.
- The Integrated Tribal Development Project includes a number of contiguous blocks within a district. It includes all those blocks within a district which have more than 50% of their population as tribals.
- The ITDP is considered integrated because various sectoral resources are clubbed together under it to ensure benefits to tribals in the development process.
- It emphasises on integration of tribals into the development process through popular participation as a way to know their needs.
- The grass root planning was deemed as necessary in the Fifth Five Year Plan.
- To start with in the Fifth Five Year Plan, ITDP was an area development approach.
- The goal is to meet the specific needs of tribals, the method used is grass root planning.
- Each block formulates a plan for a five year period and enlists in it both needs and resources of the block.
- At the State level these block level plans are aggregated and included into the Tribal Sub Plan of the State.
- ITDP are headed by Project Administrators who function under the overall supervision of the Collector, the head of the district administration. The State authorities then communicate to these Project Administrators detailed outlays for the five year plan period as well as annual outlays.
- The ITDP seeks to ensure tribal development through economic protection, economic promotion, popular participation, infrastructure development and the provision of social services.
- The important part of economic protection is to prevent exploitation especially land exploitation.
- Economic promotion is sought through employment generation mainly through development of employment generation activities like agriculture and allied activities.
- As part of development strategy even officers are advised to learn local languages to make participation and communication more meaningful. Infrastructure development is also an area of special significance especially transport and communication infrastructure.
- Social services like health facilities, education facilities and drinking water facilities are provided to tribals.

**12. Twelfth five year plan:**

- The 12th Plan has noted the these challenges and proposed certain measures to make TSP strategy effective.
- These measures include earmarking of the TSP funds from the total plan outlay well in advance of the commencement of the financial year, preparing proactive planning document as Sub Plan, an effective mechanism for monitoring and evaluation of TSP.
- At the State level, there will be an apex body headed by the Chief Minister and designated Nodal Department, which will appraise ST Sub-Plan for the State from time to time.

**A critical analysis of post independence tribal administration on tribes of India:**

S. No	Analysis
1	Rise in social indicators such as education, health etc, However, tribes remain one of the most backward sections of the country
2	Industrialisation resulted in increased mining activities and exploitation of tribes
3	Economic reforms without proper tribal plans have resulted in tribes occupying the lowest levels of economic pyramid.
4	The Nehruvian Panchasheel was long on generalities and short on specifics
5	It was not easy to identify concrete benefits to tribals and non-tribals gained more out of the ITDP
6	The Tribal Sub Plan has not been implemented effectively as was expected. The allocation of allocation of funds in many states is inadequate. No proper budget heads have been created to stop diversion of funds
7	The planning is not fully grass root planning and the control and monitoring mechanism is not effective
8	Even the Central Ministries have not contributed to TSP and other programmes as is expected out of them
9	The tribal development administration has developed to a great extent in India. At the national level, there is both administrative and policy framework
10	A rich knowledge reservoir has developed for tribal development in India
11	The main issue continues to be the implementation of various tribal policies, programmes and schemes and effective working of tribal institutions for development

**2. TRIBAL POLICIES****Bhuria Commission:**

- The Bhuria Commission, was tasked with investigating and reporting on the problems of the Scheduled Tribes (STs) in India, formulating a comprehensive tribal policy and outlining a vision for the future of STs.
- The Commission examined problems related to Fifth Schedule of the Constitution, the Tribal Sub-Plan, land, the tribal economy, forests, panchayats, tribal health and medical services, tribal women, policies related to tribal communities, and reservation in jobs, services, and politic
- The significant findings of the Commission are as follows:
  1. Many tribal communities depend on forests and farms for subsistence, and the large-scale destruction of wildlife and depletion of forests have affected the availability of food for them.
  2. Around 44 per cent of self-employed tribal families earn their livelihood from farming, and only 2 per cent have access to non-agricultural self-employment.
  3. Overall, occupations such as hunting and food-gathering are insignificant among STs.
  4. The number of ST land holdings increased. However, the average size of the holdings came down. The report says that this can be attributed to the fragmentation of holdings due to Partition and the sale or transfer of land.

5. The PESA Act, 1996, lays down guidelines that state legislatures should follow while enacting laws for Scheduled Areas. However, the Commission says that states have not followed these guidelines.
6. Hardly any land was ceded to STs after land reforms for various reasons, including poor land records in zamindari areas and the manipulation of lower-rank revenue officials.

<b>Important Recommendations</b>
1. It is important for us, as a nation, to introspect on how changing legislations and policies have "disrupted" the lives of STs
2. The Commission recommends a comprehensive survey of tribal habitats where the economy is driven by pastoralism or hunting and food-gathering.
3. State laws may have to be amended for proper implementation of PESA Act. It also stresses that panchayats in Scheduled Areas, particularly gram sabhas, should be regarded as the "sheet anchor of socio-economic development activities" in their jurisdictions.
4. A Village Health Guide for each village and says that he/she should preferably be a traditional medicine practitioner.
5. One health sub-centre for every 3,000 people in tribal areas, in addition to primary health centres (PHCs) covering vast areas
6. For greater equality and gender justice, the Commission recommends political, social and economic empowerment, especially affirmative discrimination for ST women, and their presence in decision-making bodies.

#### **National Policy on Scheduled Tribes (Draft):**

The ninth plan acknowledges the need for a National Tribal Policy, and reiterates to formulate a comprehensive Tribal Policy with a special focus on Primitive Tribal Groups and displaced tribes. The Constitution through several Articles has provided for the socio-economic development and empowerment of Scheduled Tribes. But there has been no national policy, which could have helped translate the constitutional provisions into a reality. For the first time after the country became Independent, the Government of India is proposing the formulation of a National Policy on Scheduled Tribes.

- The policy seeks to bring Scheduled Tribes into the mainstream of society through a multipronged approach for their all-round development without disturbing their distinct culture.
- The National Policy recognises that a majority of Scheduled Tribes continue to live below the poverty line, have poor literacy rates, suffer from malnutrition and disease and are vulnerable to displacement. It also acknowledges that Scheduled Tribes in general are repositories of indigenous knowledge and wisdom in certain aspects.
- The National Policy aims at addressing each of these problems in a concrete way. It also lists out measures to be taken to preserve and promote tribals' cultural heritage as follows.

#### **1. Education:**

- Ensure that the tribals are included in the national programme of Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan
- Increase the number of schools, residential complexes, better teaching facility, textbooks etc.
- Curricula for meta skill upgradation are to include aspects of tribal games and sports, archery, identification of plants of medicinal value, crafts art and culture, folk dance and folk songs, folk paintings etc
- Emphasis is laid on vocational/professional education

#### **2. Traditional Wisdom:**

- Preserve and promote traditional knowledge and wisdom and document it
- Establish a centre to train tribal youth in areas of traditional wisdom
- Disseminate such through models and exhibits at appropriate places
- Transfer such knowledge to non-tribal areas

### 3. Health:

- Strengthen the allopathy system of medicine in tribal areas with the extension of the three-tier system of village health workers, auxiliary nurse mid-wife and primary health centres.
- Expand the number of hospitals in tune with tribal population
- Encourage, document and patent tribals' traditional medicines
- Encourage qualified doctors from tribal communities to serve tribal areas
- Formulate area-specific strategies to improve access to and utilisation of health services
- Eradicate endemic diseases on a war footing

### 4. Displacement and resettlement:

- Each scheduled tribe family having land in the earlier settlement shall be given land against land.
- A minimum of two hectares of cultivable land is considered necessary and viable for a family
- Tribal families having fishing rights in their original habitat shall be granted fishing rights in the new reservoir or at any other alternative place
- Reservation benefits enjoyed at the original settlement shall be continued at the the resettlement area.
- Additional financial assistance equivalent to nearly one and a half year's minimum agricultural wages for loss of customary rights and usufructory rights of forest produce shall be given.
- Tribals are to be resettled close to their natural habitat by treating all the people so displaced as one group to let them retain their ethnic, linguistic and socio-cultural identity and the network of kinship and mutual obligations
- If resettlement is possible only away from the district/taluka, then substantively higher benefits in monetary terms shall be given.
- When tribal families are resettled en masse, all basic minimum amenities shall be provided at the new sites. They include roads and passages, electricity, drainage and sanitation, safe drinking water, educational and health care facilities, fair price shops, a community hall and a panchayat office.

### 5. Forest Village:

- Educational and medical facilities, electricity and communication, approach roads and such other basic amenities be provided to forest villagers.
- Public Distribution System (PDS) and Grain Banks be established to prevent food problems.
- Advanced agriculture and animal husbandry technologies be introduced so that forest villagers raise their production, incomes and economic standards.
- Bank and other institutional loans be made available for entrepreneurs with viable projects of income generation
- Tribals be given opportunities to partake in joint forest management and encouraged to form cooperatives and corporations for major forest related operations
- Integrated area development programmes be taken up in and around forest areas
- Tribals' rights in protection, regeneration and collection of minor forest produce (MFP) be recognised and institutional arrangements made for marketing such produce
- Efforts be made to eliminate exploitation by middlemen in cooperatives like Tribal Development Cooperative Corporations (TDCCs), Large Sized Multi Purpose Societies (LAMPS) and Forest Development Cooperatives by introducing minimum support prices for non agricultural produce on the lines of minimum support prices for agricultural produce

### 6. Shifting cultivation:

- Land tenure system will be rationalised giving tribals right to land ownership so that they will invest their energy and resources in checking soil erosion and fertility
- Agricultural scientists will be asked to focus on shifting cultivation and evolve suitable technologies to improve production.

- The shifting cultivators will be ensured sufficient food supply through the public distribution system and grain banks.
  - Tribals will be encouraged to raise cash crops and horticultural plantations.
  - Training and extension programmes will be organised to sensitise tribals about alternative economic strategies so that they can come out of shifting cultivation.
- 7. Land alienation:**
- Tribals have access to village land records
  - Land records be displayed at the panchayat
  - Oral evidence be considered in the absence of records in the disposal of tribals' land disputes
  - States prohibit transfer of lands from tribals to non-tribals
  - Tribals and their representatives be associated with land surveys
  - Forest tribal villagers be assigned pattas for the land under their tillage since ages
  - States launching development projects take adequate care to keep tribal lands intact and when not possible, allot land even before a project takes off
- 8. Intellectual property rights:**
- Legal and institutional arrangements to protect their intellectual property rights and curtailing the rights of corporate and other agencies to access and exploit their resource base.
- 9. Tribal languages:**
- The National Policy aims at preserving and documenting tribal languages.
  - Education in the mother tongue at the primary level needs be encouraged.
  - Books and other publications in tribal languages will be promoted.
- 10. PVTGs:**
- Efforts shall be made to bring them on par with other Scheduled Tribes in a definite time frame.
  - Effective preventive and curative health systems shall be introduced.
  - PTGs' traditional methods of prevention and cure shall be examined and validated.
  - To combat the low level of literacy among PTGs, area and need specific education coupled with skill upgradation shall be given priority.
  - Teaching shall be in tribals' mother tongue/dialect. Considering PTGs' poverty, school-going children shall be provided incentives.
  - Emphasis shall be on laid on vocational education and training.
  - PTGs shall enjoy the 'right to land'. Any form of land alienation shall be prevented and landless PTGs given priority in land assignment.
  - Public distribution system (PDS) shall be introduced to ensure regular food supply. Grain banks shall be established to ensure food availability during crises.
  - PTGs' participation in managing forests shall be ensured to meet their economic needs and nourish their emotional attachment to forests.
- 11. Scheduled Areas:**
- The regulation making powers of State Governors to maintain good governance, peace and harmony in tribal areas will be further strengthened.
  - It will be ensured that Tribal Advisory Councils meet regularly and focus on speedy developmental works and prohibition of land transfers.
  - Money lending menace shall be curbed through implementation of money lending laws.
  - Tribal Advisory Councils will be established in States which have Scheduled Areas and even in States where a substantial number of tribal people live although Scheduled Areas have not been declared.
  - The Autonomous District/Regional Councils in North-Eastern States will be further strengthened.
  - The Councils are elected bodies having powers of legislation and execution and administration of justice.

### 3. THE CONCEPT OF PTGs, THEIR DISTRIBUTION AND SPECIAL PROGRAMMES FOR THEIR DEVELOPMENT

There are 75 total number of Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PVTGs) identified in the Country. PVTGs are the most vulnerable tribal community, and hence it becomes necessary to allocate adequate funds from Central Sector/ Centrally Sponsored and State Plan schemes for the socio-economic development of PVTGs.

S. No	Criteria for determination of PVTGS
1	A pre-agricultural level of technology
2	A stagnant or declining population
3	Extremely low literacy
4	A subsistence level of economy

- PVTGs are more vulnerable among the tribal groups itself. Hence, there is a need to differentiate them from the comparatively more developed and assertive tribal groups. Also, PVTGs need more funds directed for their development.
- In this context, in 1975, the Government of India initiated to identify the most vulnerable tribal groups as a separate category called PVTGs. Examples of PVTGs: Bodo, Gadaba, Asur, Koraga, Kaatu Nayakans etc.
- In 1973, the Dhebar Commission created Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs) as a separate category
- In 2006, the Government of India renamed the PTGs as Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PVTGs).
- PVTGs are usually homogenous, with a small population, relatively physically isolated, social institutes cast in a simple mould, absence of written language, relatively simple technology etc.
- Among the PVTGs, Sahariyas has the highest population and the Sentinelets and Andamanese has a very small population of 39 and 43, respectively.

#### Distribution of PVTGs:

States	Some PVTGs in respective states
Andhra Pradesh	Chenchu, Bodo, Gadaba
Bihar	Asur, Birhor, Mal Paharia
Gujarat	Siddi, Kotwalia
Karnataka	Koraga
Kerala	Cholanaickan, Kadar
Madhya Pradesh	Kamar, Saharia, Baiga
Maharastra	Kolam, Maria Gond
Tamilnadu	Irular, Kotas, Kurumba
Tripura	Riang
Rajastan	Seharia
Uttar Pradesh	Buksa
West Bengal	Birhor
Andaman and Nicobar	Sentinelese, Shompen, Onges, Great Andamanese, Jarawas

**Issues faced by the PVTGs:**

S. No	Major issues
1	Geographically, the PVTGs are spread all over the country.
2	The PVTGs are the most deprived and backward tribal groups among the already deprived tribal population of India
3	The isolated existence of the PVTGs are the greatest challenge to the state machinery to identify them
4	Most of the PVTGs lack any sort of identity cards and face serious issues such as hunger and malnourishment, loss of livelihood etc.
5	Also, the issues faced by them cannot be generalised. Each tribe face separate issues based on the geography and other factors
6	PVTGs are those tribal groups who depends on the forest for their livelihood, comparatively more than any other tribe. With the increased exploitation of forest for the resources, the existence of PVTGs itself is a major challenge
7	Tribes historically have depended on the ecology for their symbiotic existence. However, in the event of population explosion and the exposure of the PVTGs to the outside world, the risk of communicable disease have increased. With the lack of even primary health centres in the forest, this is a major problem.
8	Tribes such as the Sentinalise remain completely away from the governmental supervision.
9	One of the major issue of several PVTGs is the declining population.

**The Scheme for Development of Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups:**

- The Ministry is implementing the scheme for 'Development of Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PVTGs)' for the welfare of the PVTGs.
- The scheme covers 75 identified Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups in 18 States and UT of Andaman & Nicobar Islands.
- The scheme is flexible as it enables the States to focus on areas that they consider are relevant to PVTGs and their socio-cultural environment.
- Activities under it include education, housing, land distribution, land development, agricultural development, animal husbandry, construction of link roads, and installation of non-conventional sources of energy for lighting purpose, social security including Janashree Bima Yojana or any other innovative activity meant for the comprehensive socio-economic development of PVTGs.
- Funds are not released district wise. Annual Plans of the State Governments are appraised and approved
- The Scheme for Development of Primitive Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PVTGs), came into effect in 2008.
- The Scheme seeks to prioritise their protection and development.
- The scheme gives state governments flexibility in planning initiatives that are geared towards the specific socio-cultural imperatives of the specific groups at hand.
- Funds are made available only for activities essential for the survival, protection and development of PVTGs and not already funded by any other Scheme
- Each state and the Andaman and Nicobar Islands' administration, is required to prepare a long term Conservation-cum-Development (CCD) plan, valid for a period of five years for each PVTG within its territory, outlining the initiatives it will undertake, financial planning for the same and the agencies charged with the responsibility of undertaking the same.
- The CCD Plan is approved by an Expert Committee, appointed by the Ministry of Tribal Affairs. The Scheme is then funded entirely by the Central government.

### Other important schemes:

#### 1. Vanbandhu Kalyan Yojana:

- The Scheme “Vanbandhu Kalyan Yojana (VKY)” has been included as a Central Sector Scheme
- The VKY is broadly a process, aiming at overall development of tribal people with an outcome-base approach, which would ensure that all the intended benefits goods and services to the tribal people through various programmes/schemes of Central and State Governments covered under the respective Tribal Sub-Plans actually reach them by way of appropriate convergence.
- Through VKY, it is envisaged to develop the backward blocks in the Schedule V States as model Blocks with visible infrastructural facilities to further the mission development while ensuring Qualitative and sustainable employment, Emphasis on quality education & higher education, accelerated economic development of tribal areas, Health for all, Housing for all, etc.

#### 2. Eklavya Model Residential Schools(EMRS):

- EMRS was started to impart quality education to ST children in remote areas in order to enable them to avail of opportunities in high and professional educational courses and get employment in various sectors.
- The schools focus not only on academic education but on the all-round development of the students.
- Grants were given for construction of schools and recurring expenses to the State Governments under Grants under Article 275 (1) of the Constitution.
- It has been decided that by the year 2022, every block with more than 50% ST population and at least 20,000 tribal persons, will have an EMRS.
- Eklavya schools will be on par with Navodaya Vidyalaya and will have special facilities for preserving local art and culture besides providing training in sports and skill development
- **Eklavya Model Day Boarding Schools (EMDBS):** Wherever density of ST population is higher in identified Sub-Districts (90% or more), it is proposed to set up Eklavya Model Day Boarding School (EMDBS) on an experimental basis for providing additional scope for ST Students seeking to avail school education without residential facility.
- **Centre of Excellence for Sports (CoE for Sports):** Dedicated infrastructure for setting up Centre of Excellence for sports with all related infrastructure (buildings, equipment's etc.) is supported. This Centre of Excellence will have specialized state-of-the-art facilities for one identified individual sport and one group sport in each State. These CoE for Sports will have the State-of-the-Art facilities, equipment and scientific back up along with specialized training, boarding and lodging facilities, sports kit, sports equipment, competition exposure, insurance, medical expenses etc. as per norms of Sports Authority of India.

#### 3. Vocational Training Centres in Tribal Areas:

- The scheme will be implemented for the benefit of the Scheduled Tribes as well as PTGs and can be taken up anywhere in the country but priority will be given to remote tribal areas, areas inhabited by particularly vulnerable tribes and areas affected by extremist activities.
- The training for trades including modern trades having employment potential in the region should be provided.
- The organization running VTC will admit the ST youth irrespective of the region/State to which they belong.
- It will be imperative on the part of the concerned organization (i.e. States/UTs/NGOs/other organizations) to assess the employment potential in a particular area in advance depending on the educational qualification of the target population, type of industries available in that region/State, present economic trend and market potential, etc. before proposing the trades.
- The organizations will establish linkages with recognized institutions which can provide a Certificate/Diploma to the candidates for the trades in which they have been trained. 4
- The organization should establish linkages with placement services, and for the candidates interested in self employment after availing the training, the organization shall arrange easy

micro finance/loans for them through financial institutions, National Scheduled Tribe Finance Development Corporation (NSTFDC), banks, etc.

- As far as possible, minimum 33% seats will be reserved for tribal girl candidates.
- 100% grant-in-aid will be provided to the States/UTs/State owned institutions/VOs/NGOs/other private organizations, eligible for assistance

#### 4. ROLE OF NGOs IN TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT

##### World Bank's definition of NGOs:

- "The diversity of NGOs strains any simple definition. They include many groups and institutions that are entirely or largely independent of government and that have primarily humanitarian or cooperative rather than commercial objectives. They are private agencies in industrial countries that support international development; indigenous groups organized regionally or nationally; and member-groups in villages. NGOs include charitable and religious associations that mobilize private funds for development, distribute food and family planning services and promote community organization. They also include independent cooperatives, community associations, water-user societies, women's groups and pastoral associations. Citizen Groups that raise awareness and influence policy are also NGOs"

##### Positive aspects of NGOs in tribal welfare/ development:

- They supplement the effort of the Government in such fields where the government is unable to reach the outreach
- They could create awareness and act against the policies and actions of the Government which result in injustice and exploitation
- The NGOs are known for their virtues of human touch, dedication, great initiatives, flexibility, positive orientation, bonding with the society to reach the masses in a very effective manner. They are often regarded as the partners of development.
- The failure of the Government gives a fertile ground to the NGOs to work upon and extend a helping hand to their tribal brethren
- NGOs can contribute in a positive note to the development of tribal health and in the protection of their indigenous knowledge base which is either ignored or exploited.
- International agencies and multinationals often pirate the age old knowledge of the tribals for preparing drugs. The NGOs may create awareness among the tribals by demonstrating the conservation and preservation of the medical plants. NGOs play a major role in preserving the intellectual property rights of tribals.
- In certain cases, it is the voluntary organizations that are in better position to implement the schemes of the Government.
- The Ministry of tribal affairs identified a few voluntary organizations as "Established Voluntary Agencies (EVAs)", so as to partner with them, they being credible. Collaborating with them to implement government schemes is highly successful in some of the cases.
- The Central Government and State Governments implement a number of schemes for the welfare & development of STs. However, VOs/NGOs also play an important role in enhancing the reach of Government Schemes and in filling the critical gaps of service deficient tribal areas.
- The government of India ensured a significant role to NGOs through its plan documents. First 5-year plan document states that the "public co-operation through voluntary service organizations is capable of yielding valuable results in channelling private efforts for the promotion of social welfare"
- Several NGOs are successful because they train local youth as resource persons according to the needs of development initiatives

**Important NGOs and their works in Tribal welfare:**

NGOs	Activities
Seva kendra in Ranchi	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Implemented plans on tribal education</li> <li>• Scheme of Khadi production, Cottage industries</li> <li>• Crusade against alcoholism</li> <li>• Distribution of ayurvedic medicines and to form Gram panchayat and cooperative societies</li> </ul>
Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh	Publishing tribal problems
Nagaland Gandhi Ashram	Tribal health care
Ramakrishna mission	Relief and rehabilitation, medical services, educational work etc

**Major issues of NGOs:**

- There should be more transparency in the function of the NGOs
- Fragmentation, powerlessness, corruption, nepotism, and internal weaknesses are some of the negative traits of the NGOs.
- The NGOs hardly disclose their funding source and expenditure pattern.
- NGOs are often alleged of using foreign money to undermine the state's authority
- Access to easy money often alters the operation style, the cost calculus, basic ethos, motivations, idealism and ideological underpinning of the NGOs.
- With the easy availability of foreign aids, working for an NGO has become a very good career option.

**Scheme of Grant in Aid to Voluntary Organizations working for welfare of STs:**

- Under the scheme, grants shall be sanctioned in favour of VOs/NGOs subject to prescribed financial norms as stipulated by this Ministry and revised from time to time.
- The extent of assistance under the scheme would be 100% for those projects being implemented in the Scheduled Areas.
- For those projects being operated in areas other than Scheduled Areas, 90% of the total project cost will be funded by the Government and the rest 10% will be borne by the concerned Organization.

**Case study: Chenchus of Nallamala hills:**

- The Chenchus are a Telugu-speaking Jungle tribe inhabiting the hills of the Kurnool and Nellore districts
- Even today, they use caves as places of temporary habitation
- They are identified as a PVTG in 1975. A small portion of the community practice seminomadic life and depends on hunting and food gathering for the subsistence. The Chenchus from peripheral region of Nallamalai forest into wage labor. Very few Chenchus are practicing cultivation.
- There are some alarming problems that concern the state and nonstate actors. The population of Chenchus is not increasing on the lines of other communities.
- Malnutrition, lack of safe drinking water, inaccessibility to health care facilities, lack of awareness, and education are important in this regard.
- In some cases, the policies and programs have a negative impact. In such cases, NGOs are playing a vital role with their bottom-up approach.
- There are many NGOs working for the well-being of Chenchus. They create awareness about persistent problems and act as agents of change. Red Cross Society, Department for International Development (DFID), Sakthi, Conservation of Nature Through Rural Awakening (CONARE) are some of the NGOs
- The NGOs are playing an important role in motivating the Chenchus to send their children to the schools. Vanavasi Kalyan Parishad (VKP) is working for the educational upliftment of the Chenchus.
- The Red Cross Society is playing a vital role by offering better health care services to the Chenchus.

## 5. PREVIOUS YEAR QUESTIONS

1. Fifth Schedule and Sixth Schedule of the constitution are built on the foundations laid by the colonial Government. Discuss
2. Discuss the criticism leveled against anthropology in the context of 'Isolation, and assimilation debate' on tribal populations
3. Discuss how British policies dispossessed tribal's of their communal properties and agricultural lands
4. Examine the relevance of Tribal Panchsheel by Jawaharlal Nehru in the light of emerging Development practices
5. Tribal Panchsheel.
6. NGOs and tribal development
7. Revivalistic Movements
8. Role of NGOs in Development
9. Programmes of Tribal Development
10. Elucidate the nature of changes in administration of tribal areas from colonial period to post-Independence era in India



# **ROLE OF ANTHROPOLOGY IN TRIBAL & RURAL DEVELOPMENT**

**NOTES FOR CIVIL SERVICES EXAMINATION  
ANTHROPOLOGY PAPER II, CHAPTER 9.2**

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Even during the colonial times, Anthropologists have played a major role in tribal welfare and development. Tribes are comparatively isolated societies with their own customs, laws and way of life. In this context, the role of Anthropologists is significant, as they are the experts who study the tribal way of life, and could understand their views with an emic (insiders' view) perspective. Thus anthropologists play the role of a bridge in between the state and the tribes.

### Development:

- There is no singular well accepted concept of development. Development varies according to different perceptions and different contexts.
- For United Nations Organisation, development involves providing increasing opportunities to people for a better future.
- Well known economist, Gunnar Myrdal viewed development as a process by which poverty is alleviated, inequality reduced, and opportunities for self-actualisation increased.
- Marxian concept of development is based on egalitarian values, a social order free from exploitation leading to freedom, mobility towards better quality of life, a classless society
- Most of the concepts of development were used as a synonym to economic development, identified through increased production leading to generation of wealth. Later, development came to be understood not just as increase in productivity, but also as broader redistribution of the increased production. Now, Human Development Index is considered as the most acceptable measure. This index gives importance to health and education along with income.
- For anthropologists, development is not just using new technologies for increased production, but involves a change in objectives, outlook, ideas and relationships.

### Anthropological works showing the perspective of social progress:

Anthropologist	Concept of social progress
Lewis Henry Morgan	savagery, barbarism and civilisation
Karl Polanyo	Redistribution, and market exchange
Henry Maine	Status based relations to contractual relations
Emile Durkheim	Mechanical solidarity to organic solidarity
Auguste Comte	Theological to positivistic outlook
Herbert Spencer	Religious and militaristic societies to modern and industrial societies

### Anthropological guidance in Colonial administration:

- During Colonial time, Anthropologists were used to assist the administrators in finding solutions to practical problems.
- The importance of the knowledge of anthropology for effective administration was, realized as early as 1807 when the Court of Directors of the East India Company made a formal decision that "Such Knowledge would be of great use in the future administration of the country"
- The works of Risley (1891), Thurston (1909), Gurdon (1914), Grigson (1938), and Dalton (1972) have become monumental volumes of first recording/ documentation about the people, their culture and traditions.
- Anthropologists prepared ethnographic accounts describing the customs and practices of people, and served as advisers.
- Knowledge of the language, customs, and traditions of people was found useful by the administrators to deal with the people in the colonies they administered.
- Anthropologists with their special comparative knowledge of cultures are considered to be best suited to help in dealing with people. Anthropologists were also offering training to colonial administrators on dealing with 'natives'.

## Role of Anthropology in tribal and rural development in post- colonial India:

E B Tylor, considers Anthropology to be a 'policy science' and argued for its use in improving human conditions.

Paul Bohannan suggested a quarter century ago, "applied Anthropology will provide leadership toward the policy sciences"

- International aid agencies providing financial and infrastructural assistance to third world countries recognised the value of anthropological knowledge and employed anthropologists as consultants and advisors.
- Anthropologists participate along with agents and agencies of development
- Anthropologists analyse the impact of global, national, and regional processes on local populations. They analyse the impact of governmental policies on the tribes.
- They deal with issues related to economic development, different types of inequality, poverty, hunger, issues related to environment, international migration, identity, ethnic conflict, resettlement, displaced people, refugees, and human rights.
- Anthropologists play the role of translators of culture, analysts, spokespersons on behalf of people, and students of change
- The Participant Observation, fieldwork methodology, empirical studies and microlevel analysis focuses on intricate human relationships and social bonding and highlights the multitude factors which underlie the behavior patterns of a society.
- Anthropologists assisted administrators to plan for development programmes, by applying their knowledge of people.
- They played a role in understanding the resistance of people to development innovations.
- They analysed the social framework of the communities as reflected in beliefs and values, in order to suggest suitable measures to minimise resistance to development innovations.
- The expertise of anthropologists helps in framing of policies, relevant and meaningful to the people.
- The holistic approach of anthropologists makes them realise the overall consequences of development such as changes in relations, institutions, values, etc.
- In a developmental scenario, the anthropologists focus on the perceptions or the points of view of the people. Anthropology highlights the need for tolerance towards cultural variation, and disapproves ethnocentric imposition of alien ideas and practices in the name of development.
- Biological anthropologists work in public health, nutrition, genetic counseling, substance abuse, epidemiology, aging, mental illness, and forensics.
- Applied archaeologists locate, study, and preserve prehistoric and historic sites threatened by development.
- Cultural anthropologists work with social workers, business people, advertising professionals, factory workers, medical professionals, school personnel, and economic development experts.
- Linguistic anthropologists frequently work with schools in districts with various languages.
- Anthropologists are experts on human problems and social change. They can make a significant contribution in policy affecting people.
- Professional anthropologists work for a wide variety of employers such as tribal and ethnic associations, governments, nongovernmental organizations, etc.

## 2. ROLE OF ANTHROPOLOGY IN TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT

### The need for Anthropological guidance in tribal welfare programmes:

#### Failure of tribal welfare schemes:

- The development of the tribal population in India has been one of the major concerns of the Government of our country since the attainment of independence. The tribes constitute the weakest section of the Indian population from all angles.
- Although the tribes are the 'sons of the same soil', yet they are deprived from all civic facilities and amenities for centuries.

- The government of India have conceived and implemented schemes after schemes but in most cases they have failed to yield the expected results.

**Reasons for the failure:**

- The tribes are generally a homogeneous category who resides in a particular geographical territory and indulges in a traditional mode of living. The governmental schemes are generalised and do not take in to consideration the unique aspects of tribes
- Tribes unlike the general population are very less exposed to the government machinery and hence unaware of the developmental schemes
- The term development itself means a very different concept for the tribes. For general population and the government, development means economic development, accumulation of wealth and change in status.
- However, tribes are historically self- sufficient societies. They have a symbiotic relationship with the nature. They resent accumulation of wealth. They also care about the maintenance of balance with the eco-system
- Hence there is a lack of understanding by the government on the livelihood of the tribes. The lack of anthropological knowledge in dealing with the tribal welfare and development is stark in India.
- Even after implementing a lot of tribal welfare programmes, several tribals, especially the Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups face problems such as decline in population. This shows that there is a lack of targeted approach
- The spirit of Nehruvian Tribal Panchsheel is not adopted properly by the government. The Panchsheel advises us to include tribals in implementing tribal welfare programmes. However, most of the times, implementation of schemes and programmes are in a top down manner.
- Tribes believe in primitive economic system, sometimes even barter system with the neighbouring tribes. The modern concepts of economy seldom applies to the tribes
- The government focuses more on economic welfare, health and education and less on cultural safeguards of the tribes. However, the tribes consider their culture and religious practices sacred. The loss of culture of the tribes, peasantisation and detribalisation has deprived the tribes of their identity
- The Backward Class Commission which is famously known as the Kaka Kalelkar Commission gave an insight to the deplorable condition of the tribals and summed up three reasons behind their underdevelopment as apathy, lethargy and negligence.

**The need for Anthropological expertise:**

- The failure of several governmental approaches shows that there is a need for expertise to plan and implement tribal friendly schemes
- Tribes are generally shy in nature to communicate with outsiders. However, anthropologists with their participatory observation can study the tribes in close quarters and understand their requirements
- Renuka Ray Committee made certain viable recommendation for strengthening the institution through recruitment of adequate and qualified staff with expert knowledge while working on tribal welfare.
- The Committee also said that a mere multiplication of schemes and projects without regard for their quality is harmful. They might indicate progress in statistical terms without maintaining the minimum standard of quality. This creates a sense of frustration among the people and draws them away from participating in future programmes
- Anthropological studies have proved that certain tribes are well adapted for excellence in certain sports such as the Bhils in archery. With Anthropological expertise, we could easily tap in to the tribal knowledge base and talents. This is a win- win situation for the country as well as the tribal population.

**Limitations faced by the field of Anthropology in dealing with tribal development:**

- The number of anthropologists employed in planning, policy making, and development administration is limited.
- Generally, it is believed that anthropologists are committed to gradualism which is not popular with planners and policymakers, who think that anthropologists are neither accustomed nor fully equipped to think in terms of planning.
- The common belief that anthropologists seek to preserve traditional ways of life when people seem to seek faster modernisation.
- Anthropologists have been kept away from development agencies by labeling them as isolationists and conservationists
- Anthropological approach for fieldwork involving long term stay and participant observation is not popular with development administrators, as they want feedback and inputs at the earliest for grounding time bound action programmes at the earliest.

**Role of Applied Anthropology in tribal and rural development:**

Applied Anthropology refers to the application of anthropological data, perspectives, theory, and methods to identify, assess, and solve social problems. Applied Anthropology is the practical application of anthropological techniques to areas of social concern and to the growth and development of society

**Urban Anthropology:**

- Urbanization has brought together people of various cultural differences and ethnic backgrounds.
- Hence, Urban Anthropology is a cross-cultural and ethnographic study of global urbanization and life in the cities. There is a marked difference between rural groups and urban dwellings.
- Urban Anthropology in the 1960s and 70s focused on particular issues such as migration, kinship, and poverty
- Contemporary issues of urban Anthropology include rural-urban migration, demography, adaptation and adjustment of humans in densely populated environments, the effects of urban settings upon cultural pluralism and social stratification, social networks, the function of kinship, employment, the growth of cities, architecture, crime, etc.

**Policy research:**

- Administrations can utilize the services of Anthropologists and their works, for policy making and administration of various regions in a heterogeneous or multinational state by utilizing their knowledge of the cultural variations and felt needs of the people.
- Anthropologists can render greater service in terms of Action Anthropology i.e. by involving themselves in planning, administering the policy of growth and development and towards creating a harmonious society.

**Participant Observation:**

- Participant observation provides a better understanding of socio-cultural realities than relying on secondary sources alone.
- The specialized role of Applied Anthropologists is of policy researcher, who provides cultural data to policymakers to help them make informed decisions.
- Bronislaw Malinowski founded the Functionalist school of Social Anthropology. He held the belief that all components of society interlock to form a well-balanced system. In the year 1915-18, Malinowski studied the Trobriand Islanders of New Guinea in the southwest Pacific. He used a holistic approach in studying the native's social interactions including the annual Kula Ring Exchange, finding it to be associated with magic, religion, kinship and trade.

**Development Anthropology:**

- Development anthropologists study the incorporation of local societies in larger, regional, national, and world economic systems, and the resultant effects.
- 'Development Anthropology' involves active engagement with development institutions on behalf of the poor, with the aim of transforming development practice from within

**Role played by Anthropologists in tribal development:**

Anthropologists	Role
Verrier Elvin	In 1919, studied the Baiga tribe and recommended the creation of national parks for the tribes in which they could be given a certain measure of autonomy and in which the access of missionaries and exploiters would be restricted. Inspired by Verrier Elvin, Jawaharlal Nehru enunciated the guidelines for state policy in the form of Panchsheel for tribal Development.
Hutton	Suggested in 1931, the creation of self-governing tribal areas with the power of self-determination rather than joining adjacent provinces or states
Ghurye	Suggested that the assimilation of tribes into Hindu fold is a way to overcome the problems of the tribes
S.C.Roy	His study of tribes of Bihar found that the tribals consider themselves as the lords of the forests with exclusive right over them.
Aiyappan	Submitted a report to the government suggesting vocationally based education, prizes and literacy programmes for youth
Biswas	Advocated the setting up of a board of tribal education consisting of experts in tribal affairs
Chattopadhyay	Framed a syllabus up to class 4 trying to link up agriculture and farming with school teaching in tribal areas
Madan	Wanted educational activities to be carried on along with economic uplift in such areas as are in contact with urban centers.
Srivastava	By his study of Munda and Oraon, concluded that the educated tribes were fast moving towards modernization while the non-educated one, are still tradition bound.
Vidyarthi	Started an endeavor to train the development administrators as early as 1980 under the financial assistance of the ministry of training and personnel. Such programs have been carried out in Ranchi for over 20 years.

**Case study: Contribution of Sarath Chandra Roy:**

- Sarat Chandra Roy is considered as the Father of Indian Ethnography. Roy borrowed from the theoretical constructs of the West and applied these to the Indian context.
- He participated in the debates between the protectionists and the interventionists.
- His studies laid the foundation of anthropological knowledge of the tribal population of Bihar and adjacent areas
- He wrote on a variety of topics namely caste, Hindu religion, racial migration, cultural ethnography and so on.
- While dealing with a particular tribe, he tried to cover different aspects of their life like arts and crafts, traditions and customs etc. which were very important for ethnology
- He contributed in strengthening the integrated character of anthropology in India
- According to Roy, the intervention of the colonial masters was crucial for the future of the 'primitive tribes' of Chhotanagpur Providence. His persuasion brought the British to introduce law and order' into the 'distracted country' of Chhotanagpur.
- The Oraons constituted one of the many tribes of Chhotanagpur about whom Roy wrote extensively. His ethnographic monographs on the Oraons were written with the intention of presenting a 'complete picture' of tribal culture.

### Case study: Christoph von Furer-Haimendorf and his anthropological knowledge for tribal welfare:

- He worked in the tribal heartland of Adilabad district, then a part of the Nizam's dominion
- He was in Adilabad initially as a researcher and later as an 'empowered' advisor to the Nizam's government on backward classes and tribal affairs.
- His mandate was to look into the problems faced by the Raj Gond tribe which lives in an area demarcated by river Penganga on the north and Godavari in the south in the present day Adilabad, Kumram Bheem Asifabad, Mancherial and Nizamabad districts.
- He studied and understood the nature and psyche of the Adivasis for whom the struggle for land had just started
- In order to protect the Raj Gonds from encroachers and exploiters, he first had the government grant pattas to 30,000 tribal families to an extent of 1.6 lakh acres of land, the title papers gaining popularity as Haimendorf patta.
- Heimendorf also helped and took measures to improve education of the tribes in that region. He opened primary schools with Gondi as medium of instruction and opened teacher training institute at Marlavai.
- Furer Haimendorf was of the view that the ethnographers are ignoring the need for development among the tribes and he concentrated on developmental requirements of the isolated and deprived tribes of Adilabad.

### 3. ROLE OF ANTHROPOLOGY IN RURAL DEVELOPMENT

Major population in India is rural based and hence, rural development plays a major role in the development story of India. Majority of the rural population depends on agriculture for their sustenance. Hence the rural developments policies and schemes in India are mainly focused on development of agriculture, prevention of poverty, providing basic infrastructure and livelihood needs to the people. The involvement of anthropologists with development projects has been growing steadily since the mid-1970s.

- Anthropological contributions to the macro-analysis of social processes, and the implications of empirical field studies for development theory and interpretations plays a major role and a supportive role to the policy makers for successful planning and implementation of the policies.
- Anthropologically speaking, when one society is developed and another underdeveloped, the former is, by comparison with the latter, able to make much more complicated decisions and do more complicated things.
- It is widely assumed that an improvement in development implies an improvement in satisfaction or welfare.
- Micro field studies and macro interpretations are becoming increasingly necessary, which brings in to the fore the role of experts such as the Anthropologists and Sociologists.
- More than any other social scientist they are aware of the gap between general theory and broad interpretations on the one hand, and empirical, down to earth interpretations on the other
- Till the emergence of new economic policy of Government of India and consequently liberalization of economic policies it is felt that the responsibilities of a welfare state must be not only as regulator but also provider of infrastructure so that the poor get freed themselves from the cycle of poverty
- With the Libralisation policy, the Indian government opened floodgates for the entry of local, international non-government organizations (NGO's) as benefactors to the poor alongside the state. NGOs are known as the partners in implementing welfare programmes and these NGOs employ Anthropological knowledge and fieldwork study for better implementation of their programmes.
- Rural anthropology meets the challenge of analyzing the vexing problems and complex issues of the rural. It highlights important differences and parallels that occur along a rural-urban continuum of geography and culture.
- Rural Anthropology brings out the particular problems the rural communities face and the particular solutions they find, which may have very little to do with the urban.

- Rural anthropology is a particularly appropriate lens through which to explore the uses and limits of concepts that often guide social science and popular discourse, especially ideas about socially constructed difference, place, tradition and modernity, community, and identity.
- Development Anthropologists are employed as consultants and experts in the World Bank, the U.S. Agency for International Development (U.S. AID), and other important welfare and aid organisations and nongovernmental organizations

### **Anthropological expertise and rural development in India:**

#### **1950's:**

- In the 1950s, Community Development Workers were identified as the partners for the government to work for rural development. Their task was stated primarily in terms of community organization and motivation.
- In order to carry out the task it was necessary to judge local development potentials and draw in external aid where local resources were inadequate.
- However, the typically isolated, undereducated, often urban-bred worker could not cope with such a task without massive backup support that never materialized.
- The system was horizontally integrated at the local level but not vertically integrated to higher levels of government.

#### **Green revolution:**

- In the 1960s, the agronomists achieved major breakthroughs in tropical crops technology and the Green Revolution began to spread
- Though the Green revolution was a success, it also led to highly visible increases in social inequalities.
- Social scientists from academic and government consultancy pointed out the implications of these changes in journals.
- As a result, international development ideology returned to "integrated" rural development and to direct concentration on the poor, looking for an effective methodology to anticipate and modify negative effects of sectoral programs.

#### **Globalisation:**

- Globalization is the process by which the people of the world are unified into a single society and function together.
- The international movement in relation to globalization of goods and services across borders, and people's integration into both the formal and the informal sectors of the labor force, takes many forms throughout the world.
- However, the Globalisation has resulted in significant negative impacts to local small scale businesses. Ex: Indian locksmiths in Aligarh faced serious issues due to the widespread popularity of cheap Chinese locks
- Such issues had to be examined in terms of their human impact, including their potential for exacerbating conflict.
- Anthropologists in combination with other social scientists have documented the impact on Human Development of these "development" policies, which are actually designed to reduce social safety nets, and how they have had different consequences depending on a family's class position. Today there are a growing number of people and organizations world-wide examining and critiquing such policies.

#### **Anthropological studies:**

- Development in India is not attained equally in all parts of the country.
- Some states and regions are comparatively well developed than other regions. In such cases, expert studies are required to understand the reasons for the success in some states and failures in some other.
- Several Anthropological and Sociological studies shows for example, In the case of Kerala, the better health care was a direct result of a strong leftist government, which supported rural clinics. However in reality, the Central governments have focused on privatization of health care.

**Case study: Application of Anthropological knowledge in tribal/ rural welfare:**

- Wayanad, a tourist paradise in Kerala is home to a large number of tribal people. One of the government tea estates, Priyadarshini has been plagued by corruption and mismanagement.
- The estate saw several strikes and lockouts for prolonged periods, and misery befell the lives of the tribal people. With no work and no income, the worker families started going hungry.
- They resorted to tobacco chewing, not as much for intoxication as for suppressing hunger. As late as 2005/06, people were dying due to starvation and there were suicides too.
- The government intervened with the hope of bringing better governance and reviving Priyadarshini, the state decided to bring the estate under the direct supervision of the sub-collector of the area.
- Wayanad is a charming hill station on the Western Ghats and there was a huge demand for accommodation facilities for tourists.
- The officials decided to make Priyadarshini a tea plantation resort, christening the resort 'Wayanad County'.
- A few tribal youngsters were trained to become guides. Some were even sent far down the hills to learn to become chefs. A trekking route was mapped out and slowly, tourists started coming in and Wayanad County became a much sought-after resort.
- Linking tourism to tribal welfare saw the tea production at Priyadarshini peaked, new houses for the workers and Bank accounts were opened for every worker.
- Wayanad Tea County added more rooms and brought in more tourists throughout the year. Priyadarshini continues to provide free meals for its 300 workers.

**4. PREVIOUS YEAR QUESTIONS**

1. Discuss the Significance of cultural and administrative factors in tribal development.
2. Using examples, comment on how anthropology can be utilized in policy making
3. Discuss the role of Anthropology' in Tribal Development
4. Role of anthropologists in rural development
5. Anthropologists are better equipped to play an effective role in rural and tribal development. Discuss.

# **CONTRIBUTIONS OF ANTHROPOLOGY TO THE UNDERSTANDING OF REGIONALISM, COMMUNALISM, & ETHNIC & POLITICAL MOVEMENTS**

**NOTES FOR CIVIL SERVICES EXAMINATION  
ANTHROPOLOGY PAPER II, CHAPTER 9.3**

## 1. REGIONALISM

- Regionalism is feeling or an ideology among a section of people residing in a particular geographical space characterized by unique language, culture etc.
- The term “regionalism” has two connotations. Positive regionalism encourages the people to develop a sense of brotherhood and commonness on the basis of common language, religion or historical background.
- The negative sense regionalism is a great threat to the unity and integrity of the country.
- Regionalism at times is a psychic phenomenon
- Regionalism is built around as an expression of group identity as well as loyalty to the region.
- Regionalism presupposes the concept of development of one's own region without taking into consideration the interest of other regions.
- Regionalism prohibits people from other regions to be benefited by a particular region

### Types of Regionalism:

#### 1. Supra-state regionalism:

- It is an expression of group identity of several states.
- In this type of regionalism, the group of states joins hands to take common stand on the issue of mutual interest vis-à-vis another group of states or at times against the union.
- The group identity thus forged is negative in character and based on specific issues.
- It is not an instance of permanent merger of state identities in the collective identity.
- Even at times of intergroup rivalries, tensions and conflicts may tend to persist, simultaneously along with their cooperation.
- Northeastern states in India may be said to have possessed the suprastate regionalism.

#### 2. Inter-state regionalism:

- It is coterminous with provincial territories and involves juxtaposing of the identities of one or more states against another.
- It is also issue-specific. Disputes between Karnataka and Tamil Nadu over the distribution of Kaveri water may be construed as interstate regionalism.

#### 3. Intra-state regionalism:

- This indicates that wherein a part of the state strives for self-identity and self-development and therefore, it is taken in a positive sense.
- In negative terms, it militates against the collective interest of the state as well as the nation. As for instance there is often a feeling of coastal region and western region in Odisha, coastal region and Telangana region in Andhra Pradesh, and so on.

### Regionalism in India:

India is a multicultural, multilingual and a multifaceted nation. In Indian context, regionalism refers those people in who try to assert their love on their region through means of socio-cultural and political aspects and to develop their regional power. The roots of regionalism in India lie on different aspects like linguistic, cultural, political, economic etc. basis.

- The Indian state was confronted with demands for the reorganization of the states immediately after independence. The movements to claim reorganisation of states on linguistic basis resulted in regionalistic ideas among state such as Andhra Pradesh, Maharastra etc.
- Later, this also grew in to claim for autonomy among states of North Eastern India. The aspirations of the tribal groups were soon recognised by the Indian state. The states of Manipur, Tripura, and Meghalaya were formed in the late 1970s.
- The restive Nagas and the Mizos, however, were granted statehood only after violent encounters with the Indian state. The Naga insurgency continues until the present day, even after the formation of the state of Nagaland in 1956.
- The Telengana movement raged on until the 1980s in the less developed Telugu-speaking region in Western Andhra Pradesh, which was under the rule of the Nizam of Hyderabad and was later merged with the more economically developed, Telugu-speaking,- coastal Andhra Pradesh. The Telangana movement gained success by the creation of separate Telangana state.

- The less assertive Kosal movement in western Orissa still continues.
- Similarly, the movements for Chhattisgarh in Madhya Pradesh, the Jharkhand movement in Bihar, Orissa, and Madhya Pradesh, and the movement for Uttaranchal/ Uttarakhand in Uttar Pradesh, have been active since the 1950s until they were granted statehood in 2001.
- The success of several regionalistic movements in attaining statehood has led to an intensification of demands for autonomy from other ethno cultural groupings within Indian society. Recent forceful demands for statehood for Vindhyanchal, Vidarbha, Haritdesh, Coorg, Kamtapur, Gorkhaland, Madhyadesh, Bundelkhand, and Purvanchal have demonstrated the rising aspirations of sub cultural group-ings to have their own autonomous administrative units.
- The Regionalism developed in a massive way in the Southern states of India as a result of the steps taken by the Centre to announce Hindi as the only official language of the Country.

**Anthropological understanding of Regionalism:**

- Regionalism in Indian politics in generally has been regarded as something that is anti-system, anti-federal and against basic interest of a well integrated polity
- In India despite occasional and remote indications of potential secessionism, regional movements do not usually go beyond claiming resource sharing within the border of national context
- At the core of regionalism is a profound sense of identity, which is a real, and as dear to a people than their feeling of identity with a state or a nation or a religious group, or a linguistic group. These are cultural realities and one cannot just wish them away
- The meaning of the word ‘regionalism’ is very ambiguous in nature, there are scholars who regard regionalism as a threat to national integration and on the other hand, there are scholars who view that regionalism inculcates a strong feeling of loyalty and togetherness in the people which is highly impactful in generating political participation through regional mobilization.
- In Indian context, regionalism refers to assertion of distinct ethnic, linguistic or economic interests by various groups within the nation.
- Regionalism in India is the Expression of the neglected socio-political elements which not succeed to find expression in the mainstream polity and culture. These feelings of frustration and annoyance resulting from exclusion and neglect find demonstration in regionalism
- Regionalism in India has found expression in different ways, where boundaries cannot be considered sacrosanct, states can be taken as vital components for evolving different forms of regionalism. Supra-state regionalism or secession from the Indian Union; this kind of regionalism can be classified as the most dangerous form of regionalism as it is based on the policy of division from the Indian Union

**Major factors that causes Regionalism:**

<b>Geographical factor</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Sometimes people live, in such area which appears as a separate region cut off from the rest of the country and thereby may give rise to feelings of separatism among the inhabitants of the region.</li> <li>• When a region and its people has a comparatively unique geography from the rest of the country</li> </ul>
<b>Economic factors</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Certain regions in the country are more prosperous than other. Industries and factories have been concentrated, educational and health facilities are adequately provided, communication network has been developed, rapid agricultural development has been made possible.</li> <li>• Economically backward regions where the worth of independence is yet to be realized in terms of socioeconomic development feels left out</li> </ul>
<b>Political and Administrative Factors</b>	Political parties, particularly regional parties and local leaders exploit the regional sentiments to capture power
<b>Historical and cultural factors</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The historical and cultural components interpret regionalism by way of cultural heritage, folklore, myths, symbolism and historical traditions</li> <li>• Some people/ regions are historically isolated from the mainstream</li> </ul>

<b>Caste and religion</b>	One particular castes and religion concentrated in a specific region
<b>Language</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The efforts of the Central govt., after independence, to make Hindi the national language led to widespread agitations and led to the rise of regionalism.</li> <li>The Southern states thought this as a major step by the center to impose its will on them.</li> <li>People of minority languages feels discriminated when the government promotes one particular language</li> </ul>
<b>Demand for autonomy</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The desire of the various units of the Indian federal system to maintain their sub cultural regions and greater degree of self-government</li> <li>The continuous neglect of people belonging to certain region within a state and not allowing them to participate in the activities of politics to assert themselves, using up their resources without concerning them etc. led to agitations to decentralize the governmental activities.</li> </ul>
<b>Socio-cultural Factor</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Socio-cultural differences, regional caste, sub caste and kinship differences motivate regional feeling within a broad socio-linguistic area.</li> <li>The failure of people to relate their own regional interest with that of the national interests.</li> </ul>

Apart from the above, some other factors such as growing population, Interstate dispute among states, feeling of separateness, discriminatory attitude of the central government towards the state governments, growing importance and powerful role of the regional leadership, the role of neighboring countries in inciting regional feelings in certain parts of the country and lower level of infrastructural facilities in backward states are also the major factors that results in promotion of Regionalism

#### Positive impacts of Regionalism:

S. No	Impacts
1	Regionalism plays important role in building of the nation, if the demands of the regions are accommodated by the political system of the country
2	Regional recognition in terms of state hood or state autonomy gives self-determination to the people of that particular region and they feel empowered and happy.
3	Internal self-determination of community, whether linguistic, tribal, religious, regional, or their combinations, has remained the predominant form in which regionalism in India has sought to express itself, historically as well as at present time
4	It increases autonomy of the people
5	It results in bottom- up approach rather than the top- down approach in administration and development.
6	Historically it is found that the regional forces played a very glorified role against the anti-imperialist forces to liberate the country on basis of national movement
7	Regionalism is a movement against social, political and economic deprivations and it is also a movement against the hegemonic groups who are dominant in the mainstream of the country

#### Negative impacts of Regionalism:

S. No	Impacts
1	If taken beyond a limit, then regional feeling comes direct conflict with the feeling of nationalism, leading to the emergence of the process of disintegration and secessionism.
2	Any ethnic minority group within a state can be encouraged by external/ internal forces to start regional movements
3	Regionalist movements leads to violent protests and disruption to the normal way of life

4	They could also result in terrorist or extremist attacks
5	Regionalism acts as an anathema to the Globalisation
6	The political stability of the nation itself is affected
7	It is an example of parochial way of world view
8	Regional diversity in India has assumed political significant in the form of regionalism. According to Morris Jones, regionalism has posed a serious threat to the national unity and integrity.

### Regionalism as Sub- National movements:

- Regionalism is a movement of a Sub-nationality against a prevailing nationality.
- It is often distinguished by a particular racial, linguistic or religious group settled in a particular part of the country which demands either separation or sovereignty of special constitutional, administrative, economic or political status for themselves to the exclusion of the rights and interest of other communities
- It takes recourse to necessary political measures with a view to coercing the authorities to accede to their demands.
- Hence, regionalism is the other name of distinctive and restrictive political movement having no broad based liberal and democratic elements.
- The regional movement is also considered as the 'diverse trend detrimental to national unity'.
- In popular parlance, it is supposed to be a synonym of provincialism, which breeds localism, isolationism and separatism.
- Regionalism in India, in its present form, has various connotations like 'provincialism', 'localism', 'son of the soil theory', 'disintegration of Indian States', struggle for separate statehood or provincial autonomy, struggle for more power, especially economic power etc.
- The concept of regionalism has now become a separatist movement in different parts of India in various forms.
- India is now infected with regional upsurge of different kinds like geographical regionalism, linguistic regionalism, cultural regionalism, ethnic regionalism and so on.

### Some cases/ examples of Regionalism in India:

#### 1. Demand for Dravida Nadu:

- It emerged with Dravidian Movement, which started in Tamil Nadu in 1925. This movement, also known as 'Self-Respect Movement' initially focused on empowering Dalits, non-Brahmins, and poor people.
- Later it stood against imposition of Hindi as sole official language on non-Hindi speaking areas.
- But it was the demand of carving out their own Dravidistan or Dravida Nadu, which made it a secessionist movement.
- As early as 1960s the DMK organised a joint campaign throughout Madras state demanding its secession from India and making it an independent sovereign state of Tamilnad.
- DMK proposed that the states of Madras, Andhra Pradesh, Kerala and Mysore should secede from the Indian union and form an independent "Republic of Dravida Nadu. Later, the movement was stopped and the regional political parties supported unified India.

#### 2. Khalistan movement:

- It was during the era of 1980s that Khalistan movement with its aim to create a Sikh homeland, often called Khalistan, cropped up in the Punjab region of India and Pakistan.
- In fact this demand has also the colours of communalism, as their demand is only for Sikhs.

#### 3. Attacks on Bihar Labourers by the ULFA:

- ULFA continues to attempt ambushes and sporadic attacks on government security forces.
- In 2003, the ULFA was accused of killing labourers from Bihar in response to molestation and raping of many Assamese girls in a train in Bihar.

- This incident sparked off anti-Bihar sentiment in Assam, which withered away after some months.
- In 2004, an explosion occurred in Assam in which 10-15 people died, including some school children. This explosion was reportedly carried out by ULFA. The ULFA has obliquely accepted responsibility for the blast.
- In January 2007, the ULFA once again struck in Assam killing approximately 62 Hindi speaking migrant workers mostly from Bihar.

## 2. COMMUNALISM

In India, community usually refers to a racial, caste, linguistic or religious group, Communalism is an ideology which holds that the believers in one religion have common social, economic and political interests. Communalism is based on the belief that there is a socio-economic and politico-cultural conflict between groups because they follow different religions. Communalism means seeking of advantage in social rivalry by exploiting religious appeal.

### Major characteristics of Communalism:

- It is an ideology based on prejudices.
- It drives masses towards violence.
- It is opposed to secularism and integration.
- It negates the concept of pluralism.
- It recognizes only its own religious community and not the nation or its welfare.
- The implicit assumption of a communal identity explanation is that the interests of various groups identified as Sikhs, Hindus, Muslims, etc., are conflicting and divergent.
- It perceives other religious communities as enemies.
- It is based on economic, political and social interests within whom it finds manifestation.
- In Indian context, communalism has primarily come to mean the widespread feelings of fear, rivalry, suspicion, vengeance and violence that exist between different religious groups.

### Types of Communalism:

Communal nationalism	The belief that the political and socioeconomic interests of members of each religious group were similar but they also thought that it was possible to somehow reconcile them with national interests.
Liberal communalism	The belief that the religion comes first and nation second
The extreme or fascist form of communalism	Garnering mass support by arousing irrational fears for which aggressive politics, extremist demands and a fascist outlook are consciously adopted

### Communalism in India:

#### Colonial period:

- Communalism in India is a major outcome of the British policies of "Divide and Rule" and "Carrot and Stick"
- Communal nationalism came in to the lime light during the 20th century independence struggle, where the voices of separate Islamic nation of Pakistan was proposed by several conservative Muslim leaders such as Muhammad Ali Jinnah. Several right wing Hindu nationalist groups were also developing.
- Liberal communalism came with cries of 'Hindu or Muslim first and nation later.' The Muslim League followed this form
- The extreme or fascist form of communalism was unleashed after 1937. This was when the cries for a separate Pakistan gained militarist trend
- The Congress's Kanpur Riots Enquiry Committee in 1931 had argued that social, religious and political factors were mainly responsible for the rise and growth of communalism.
- Commun'al politics was one of the outcomes of the ideology and practice of communalism

- Colonial ethnographers believed that the instincts of castes arose from 'primitive religiosity' and fed the culture of communalism
- So, communalism was considered by them to be a byproduct of certain 'essentialist' characteristics and 'primitive religiosity' of Indians.

#### **Post- Colonial period:**

- When the Indian Constitution came into force on January 26, 1950, India became a republic with Secular polity
- A great challenge for independent India was how to cope with the volatile situation caused by continuation of the social structures based on castes and religious division established under the colonial rule
- However, Communalism still existed and even prospered post- independence due to the events such as the impacts of partition and became widespread under the influence of the second and third India-Pakistan wars in 1965 and 1971
- A communal incident that symbolised the period was occasioned by the massive conversion to Islam of former untouchables in the village of Minakshipuram, in the State of Tamil Nadu in southern India, in February 1981. In response, a Hindu communalist organisation in the Tamil area launched a movement to convert them back to Hinduism.
- The Khalistan movement in the 1980s demanded a separate Sikh nation, which is also a major communal movement after independence. It resulted in the assassination of then Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in 1984. This further ignited communal clashes between Hindus and Sikhs
- Political instability in the 1990s in India led to several issues such as lack of development, economical downfall and socio- economic problems. These incidents further paved way for hate and communal incitements and clashes.
- The destruction of the Babri Masjid in 1992 is a major incident in the post- independence history of India. This led to multiple communal clashes and also resulted in the upsurge of extremist terrorist attacks in India.
- Radicalisation of the youth, propagation of communal ideologies to spread hate, violence as a means to attain communal goals became a reality in Kashmir due to the cross order terrorism sponsored by Pakistan

#### **Communal Politics:**

- Communal politics is the usage of Communal ideologies to mobilise the masses to achieve political goals.
- Communal politics emerged in India in a major way especially during the 1930s, where the political end of an independent Pakistan was tried to achieve with the means of communal mobilisation of the masses and communal riots.
- The chief characteristic of Communal politics in the Colonial days was the separate electorates and it was sustained by bigoted ideologues as well as by sectarian communal organisations.
- Several symbols of community identity, like dress, places of worship and religious celebrations, all acquired new antagonistic meanings with the acceleration of political mobilization along communal lines
- Communal riots were 'propaganda by deed' and they were the most intense manifestation of communalism.
- Communal politics was a modern phenomenon like communalism.
- Issues generated by sectarian ideologues, propagated by communal organizations and publicised by sundry newspapers went into the making of communal politics in the Colonial times.
- In the modern age of new mass political movements, nationalists, socialists and even communalists were in 'competition for the same masses' and this indicates that people were ready to entertain the various appeals of different organizations/ ideologies.
- Communalism in the present times has been growing due to the spread of information and technology and the lack of regulations to stop the spread of fake news and hate contents in the social media platforms

**Major reasons for Communalism:**

S. No	Reasons
1	External enemies of state sponsoring hate among a communal group
2	The failure of the state to take in to consideration the special needs of religious minorities
3	The lack of development among some community groups when compared with other
4	Socio- economic disparity faced by the people belonging to one particular religion
5	Lack of political representation
6	Dominance of one religious group in public employment
7	The failure of the state in providing measures to safeguard all religions equally
8	National policies promoting one religion and neglecting others
9	Valorisation of community identity.
10	Prejudices against community/ religious groups
11	The aggressive attitude of fundamentalists of majority community towards other communities creates a sense of fear and insecurity amongst the later

**Impacts of communalism:**

- Communalism is a negative term, harmful to the healthy growth of people and the nation.
- It creates enmity, hatred, violence and revenge, which hamper the growth and development. It develops at the cost of human values adversely affecting the property of the community.
- It is understood as implying hatred and enmity towards the other, it disturbs the peace, and it is also the cause of communal violence.
- When one community suffers from the antagonistic feelings towards the other, it inflames community feelings. When antagonism amongst people is felt, the community is divided in a number of factions.
- Communalism leads to factionalism and division of the society against integration of the society
- Communalism is widely seen as an idea that conflicts the globalised world, which believes in a world without any borders.
- Communal violence is continued due to communal politics, nexus between goondas and the politicians, and rumours.

**Some examples:**

S. No	Incidents
1	In 1967, the attempt to make 'Urdu', the second official language in Bihar, was the cause behind communal violence in Ranchi.
2	In 1929, Mumbai riots were explained at the time as the outcome of an economic conflict between Hindu strikers and Muslim strike breakers, mixed in with Hindu antipathy towards Muslim moneylenders in the city
3	In 1950, rumours about alleged ill treatment of Hindus in certain districts of East Bengal, reports of alleged forcible mass conversion to Islam, desecration of images of Hindu Gods, etc., invoked communal violence in a number of districts of West Bengal.

**3. ETHNO- POLITICAL MOVEMENTS**

The term 'ethnic' in general words can be understood as a group of people who share a common culture and life style but without any homeland. An ethnic group is characterized by a multiplicity of attributes like religion, caste, region, descent, race, language, colour, culture and so on. The ethnicity is socially mobilized and territorially confined. It has numerically sufficient population and has a pool of symbols depicting distinctiveness. Ethnicity is often conceived as a device and form for group mobilization through select use of ethnic symbols for socio cultural and politico-economic purpose.

- Ethnic movements are those where the people of common ethnicity are aroused, stimulated to action, by appeals to common ancestors and to bloodbond
- Ethno national movements therefore, are movements conducted in the name of the ethnic groups which have a sense of being a national group.
- Ethnic movements represents an effort by the deprived groups (real or perceived) to use a cultural mode for political and economic advancement or share
- In every system and regime, ethno-cultural resurgence has put to question the very basis of nation-state and the concept of nationality. The last three decades of the twentieth century have particularly been a period during which minority nationalist movements have multiplied and flourished. It is estimated that more than 75 per cent of on going major conflicts of today are due to ethnic considerations.
- The strategies generally used are civil war, communal/ ethnic rioting and terrorism.
- In general ethnic demands are of four types:
  1. Affirmative discrimination
  2. Greater autonomy and unquestioned power
  3. Autonomy demand related to systematic change
  4. Secession

### Types of ethnic minorities in a nation:

Ethnic groups, which are also considered to be minorities, in states generally are of three types as follows

National minorities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Consist of the original inhabitants of the State.</li> <li>• Consists of those who have been incorporated into a larger state from earlier being self-governing groups at particular time of history as a result of empire building</li> <li>• They can also be groups having come into existence as a result of founding of new religions or conversions to a religion that had come from outside and in due course developed a sense of its separate identity.</li> <li>• Generally it is National ethnic minorities who are involved in ethnonationalism</li> </ul>
Immigrant ethnic groups	Those who had left their national community and come to another state
Refugee groups	Similar to immigrant ethnic groups with only difference that they had come to another state by fear of conditions in their own countries.

### Major reasons that cause ethnic movements:

S. No	Causes
1	Inequality in terms of sharing power between two ethnic groups' results into conflict
2	Ethnicity causes ethnic movements after being left out of the developmental process or even being a victim of uneven development.
3	Ethnicity is manifested in Indian politics not merely due to grass root discontent but is also a creation of vested political interest.
4	Ethnic groups that use ethnicity to make demands in the political arena for alteration in their status, in their economic well being etc are engaged very often in a form of interest group politics.
5	The feeling of leftout from the majority society
6	National policies with bias to favour a particular ethnic group or region, and behaviours such as preferential treatment fuel ethnic conflicts
7	The failure of the states in India to link culture and governance systematically is a reason for ethnic movements

8	The recognition of language as the basis for politico administrative units has attended to the deprivation of most of the speech communities
9	As a result of the conflict between Modernisation and ethnic identities
10	Alienation of ethnic minorities as a result of a bureaucratised, formalised and urbanised existence within the framework of an excessive centralised state power structure.
11	Inequality in terms of power between two ethnic groups
12	Feeling of insecurity among ethnic minorities of their fear from getting lost in the sea of majority

#### Different types of ethnic movements:

Ethno-racial	Emphasizing shared physical appearance based on genetic origins
Ethno-religious	Emphasizing shared affiliation with a particular religion, denomination and/or sect
Ethno-linguistic	Emphasizing shared language, dialect and/or script
Ethno-national	A shared polity and/or sense of national identity
Ethno-regional	A distinct local sense of belonging stemming from relative geographic isolation

#### Ethno- Political movements in India:

- The focus of interests of ethno-political movements is to get some benefits for particular ethnic groups itself.
- The group often uses ethnic criterion like religion, language or caste to mobilize itself to give identity to itself which separates it from other group or groups.
- Delineation of boundary of an ethnic group of community is an important aspect of ethnicity.
- The nature of identity shifts along with shifts along with changing circumstances and calls for change in boundary or a change in identification.
- The introduction of democratic system of governance conferred on masses opportunity for participation in the political process with powers to rule, elect and reject political parties.
- However, the representative government could not fulfill all the expectations. Therefore, collective behaviors with respect to ethnicity, caste, religion or a combination of cultural markers became the rallying point for political mobilization seeking legitimate group entitlement.
- Sometimes various groups try to 'create' an ethnic community by aggregating number of tribes e.g. the Nagas in North Eastern India.
- It has also been seen, that to earn political mileage some of the ethnic groups have shown flexibility to accommodate some of the tribals in their own fold even if they differ in many aspects.
- Various political movements have mushroomed in the North eastern India since independence. Culturally as well as racially, Hills districts of erstwhile Assam (before state reorganisation) are different from the rest of India. It is divided along cultural, racial and other social lines. The cultural dissimilarities as well as deep rooted sense of deprivation and dissemination have posed a diverse pattern of demand articulation and aggregation.
- Incessant waves of migration, have played a role in physical isolation of many tribes in the ethnic dynamics of the North - Eastern region and in the nature of 'ethno-political' demands.
- Some section of the Kashmiris, have been organised extremist groups and waging a war based on separatism with active support of Pakistan. The 'ethno-political' movement of the Kashmiri Muslims is a unique case where religion, strategic consideration and external party involvement are making it an intractable issue.

### Some case of ethno- political movements in India:

#### 1. Assam:

- The Assamese movement began as a protest against the domination of the Bengalis (mostly migrated from East Bengal/Bangladesh) over the socio-economic and cultural canvas of Assam in such a way that Assamese feel reduced in their own homeland.
- It is also due to the economic dominance of affluent Bengalis supported by the sheer number of unlawful immigrant workers and labourers from Bangladesh
- The Assamese initially demanded for the rights of 'sons of the soil', but later the agitation turned into a secessionist movement.
- Physical alienation, distance from centre and ethno-cultural threat made Assam to mobilize its people.
- Even within Assam, the Bodo movement which began as demand for equitable representation following the creation of State of Nagaland from Assam had gone beyond control.
- The Bodos, the northern plains tribe of Assam, demanded autonomy within Assam's political structure and even had been voicing for separation from the Indian Union which later was changed for creation of a separate Bodo state within India. Now this issue has been amicably settled through negotiations by addressing the genuine concerns of the ethnic Bodos.

#### 2. The Mizo movement:

- Insurgency in Mizoram was one of the bloodiest insurgencies in the north east.
- The ethno-political conflict began just prior to independence wherein initial demand for autonomy became the demand for outright secession.
- The lack of development by the central government and imposition of Assamese as official language created much of the discontent.
- There was major famine during 1959-61 and failure of the government to address the grievances of the people gave rise to the birth of Mizo National Front (MNF).
- The political process, greater autonomy and military operations coupled with development compelled the MNF to accept the offer of negotiation and Mizo Accord was signed. The Accord ended the hostilities with surrender of undergrounds, statehood to Mizoram and ushered the era of peace

#### 3. Gorkhaland movement:

- In Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling areas of North Bengal, the demand for Gorkhaland under the umbrella organization Gorkha National Liberation Front (GNLF) had been going on.
- The basic reason for the uprising was migration of people from neighbouring states of Bihar, East Bengal, Nepal etc which started in 18th century and continued even after independence of Bangladesh, tilting the demographic balance of the area resulting into heavy pressure on land and other resources.
- The discontent among the Gorkhas in these areas over the issues of neglect and socio economic deprivation and their consequent demand for autonomy was addressed in time by forming an autonomous administrative body (Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council -DGHC).
- However, the extreme elements of GNLF along with Kamtapuri Liberation Organization (KLO) and Maoist groups, ethnic mobilization of this area can turn the situation volatile anytime.

#### 4. The Naga movement:

- The Naga Movement has been the longest surviving insurgency in entire Asia.
- The Nagas have been demanding a sovereign state for all the Naga tribes (Greater Nagaland).
- To meet the demands and allay the fears with respect to their culture and rights to land, statehood within the union of India was granted to the Nagas. But the demand for a free sovereign Nagaland and spirit of the independence has not diminished. Armed groups continue to fight for the cause of Naga independence.
- There was a lull in the activities of the Nagas fighting for independent Nagaland after the Shillong Accord in 1975.
- The Naga insurgency has not remained limited to fight against the central authorities of India or the non Nagas but also opponents within the Naga society.

- The conflict resolution of such a long surviving insurgency movement would depend upon the willingness of both the parties and political acumen to address the issues with greater sensitivity, so that honourable and lasting solution is arrived at.

#### 4. PREVIOUS YEAR QUESTIONS

1. Factors contributing to communalism.
2. Analyze the factors influencing tribal regionalism, citing Indian examples
3. In what ways has anthropology contributed to the understanding of ethnic and political movements in India?
4. What are the special problems of the Primitive Tribal Groups? How far have the developmental programmes of the government able to address these?
5. What is regionalism? Evaluate how regionalism has stimulated political movements in India.

