

Course Outcomes

- ❖ Understanding the basic concepts of Anthropology
- ❖ familiarize with Anthropological studies in India by focusing on Tribal Communities in the country in general and in the state of Kerala in particular

MODULE I: INTRODUCTION TO SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY

1.1. Anthropology: meaning, definition - branches of anthropology- Fieldwork tradition in anthropology-features of anthropological field work.

I.2. Relationship between Sociology and Anthropology, Definition, Meaning, Nature, Scope of Social Anthropology

I.3 Methods of Anthropology: Case study, Ethnography, Focused Interview, Participant and nonparticipant observations

MODULE II :CULTURE& SOCIETY

2. 1 Definition, Components of Culture, Characteristics of Culture , Cultural lag Culture and civilization

2.2 Theories of Culture: Functionalist thought of Anthropology: Malinowski Structural theory: Levi- Strauss and Radcliff Brown

2.3Theories of cultural process: Evolution, Acculturation, Assimilation, Diffusion, Enculturation, Integration

MODULE III: TRIBES IN INDIA

3.1 Tribes-historical emergence and present scenario-Tribe-Caste continuum, Related terminologies- Scheduled tribe, De-notified Tribes, Primitive tribes

3.2 References and provisions of Tribes in Indian Constitution, Tribal Welfare in India

3.3. Major tribal issues in India: Poverty, indebtedness, Land alienation, shifting cultivation, displacement and rehabilitation-psycho-socio-cultural adjustments

3.4 Tribal movements in India: Tribal Movements- Santhal rebellion, Munda rebellion, Muthanga agitation

MODULE IV: TRIBES IN KERALA

4.1 Composition and distribution of tribal population in Kerala

4.2 Ethnographic Profile of Selected Tribes in Kerala: Cholanaikkan, Mullukurumba, KurichiasPaniyans

4.3 Tribal development initiatives in Kerala- a critical appraisal

4.4 Field visit and preparation of field report*

(* The field report should be prepared and submitted individually by each student and will be considered as the assignment for the internal evaluation)

References

1. Madan and Majumdar, *An Introduction to Social Anthropology*
2. MakhanJha, *An Introduction to Anthropological thought*
3. Herskovits M.T, *Cultural Anthropology*
4. LeelaDube, *Sociology of Kinship*
5. Balbir Singh Negi, *Man, Culture and Society*
6. NadeemHasnain, *Tribal India*
7. Arup Maharatra, *Demographic perspectives on India's tribes*
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9. Roy Busman, *Tribes in Perspective* ,Mathur PRG, *Tribal situation in Kerala*
10. Dr.K N Sharma,*Social and Cultural Anthropology*

MODULE I:

INTRODUCTION TO SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY

1.1. Anthropology: meaning, definition - branches of anthropology- Fieldwork tradition in Anthropology- Features of anthropological field work.

I.2. Relationship between Sociology and Anthropology, Definition, Meaning, Nature, Scope of Social Anthropology

I.3 Methods of Anthropology: Case study, Ethnography, Focused Interview, Participant and nonparticipant observations

1.1. Anthropology: Meaning, Definition - Branches of Anthropology- Fieldwork Tradition in Anthropology- Features of Anthropological Field Work.

Meaning and Definition

The science of human beings is anthropology. It is the study of human beings and their predecessors over time and location, as well as their physical characteristics, social and environmental relationships, and culture. The term anthropology was coined in the late sixteenth century. It was only in the nineteenth century that it became an academic discipline.

Anthropology gets its name from the New Latin word anthropologia, which means "study of mankind." Its ultimate root is the Greek word anthrpos, which means "human being." In another word, it derived from the words, 'anthropos' meaning 'man', and 'logia'/ 'logos' meaning 'study of'. Thus,

Anthropology is 'the study of man'. The "word 'anthropology' dates back to the late 16th century". The anglicised word 'anthropology' is said to have appeared for the first time in the year 1805.

Anthropology is the only subject that surpasses the scope of sociology in the study of human society with its branches encompassing social/ Cultural anthropology (also called socio-cultural anthropology), physical anthropology, archaeological anthropology (also called pre-historic archaeology), and linguistic anthropology

Physical anthropology is the branch of anthropology that studies humanity's biology and evolution. Cultural anthropology (or ethnology), social anthropology, linguistic anthropology, and psychological anthropology are the fields that examine the social and cultural creations of human groups. Archaeology, as the method of investigation of prehistoric cultures, has been an integral part of anthropology since it became an independent discipline in the latter half of the 19th century.

During last 50 years, the study of anthropology as an academic discipline had continuously grown. The breadth and depth of anthropological study, as well as anthropologists' involvement in work outside of academia, has expanded, resulting in the emergence of numerous specialised branches within the discipline.

The study of anthropology as an academic subject had expanded steadily through those 50 years, and the number of professional anthropologists had increased with it. Anthropology was mostly practiced in Western Europe and North America during its initial period. Field study has become a defining feature of all fields of anthropology. Anthropologists investigated "folk"

customs in Europe and America, with the majority of them interested in documenting how people lived outside of these countries in non-industrial contexts. By the end of the 20th century, anthropology was beginning to be transformed from a Western—and, some have said, “colonial”—scholarly enterprise into one in which Western perspectives are regularly challenged by non-Western ones.

The range and specificity of anthropological research and the involvement of anthropologists in work outside of academic life have also grown, leading to the existence of many specialized fields within the discipline.

Branches of Anthropology

Anthropology basically has two dominant schools of thought. One is British school of thought and the other is American school of thought. British school of thought branches out Anthropology into three basic branches 1) Biological or physical anthropology. 2) Social anthropology. 3) Archaeology. American school defines four branches of Anthropology: 1) Physical anthropology 2) Cultural anthropology. 3) Archaeology 4) Linguistic anthropology

In the middle of the 20th century, the distinct fields of research that separated anthropologists into specialties were

- (1) Physical anthropology, emphasizing the biological process and endowment that distinguishes *Homo sapiens* from other species,
- (2) Archaeology, based on the physical remnants of past cultures and former conditions of contemporary cultures, usually found buried in the earth,

- (3) Linguistic anthropology, emphasizing the unique human capacity to communicate through articulate speech and the diverse languages of humankind, and
- (4) Social and/or cultural anthropology, emphasizing the cultural systems that distinguish human societies from one another and the patterns of social organization associated with these systems. By the middle of the 20th century, many American universities also included
- (5) Psychological anthropology, emphasizing the relationships among culture, social structure, and the human being as a person.

Fieldwork Tradition in Anthropology- Features of Anthropological Field Work.

Anthropology is commonly referred to as a "field science." Research in all aspects of Anthropology, from social and cultural anthropology to medical and biological anthropology, is referred to as "fieldwork." Fieldwork can take place in a variety of locations, including an urban or virtual setting, a tiny tribal community, a museum, library, cultural institution, company, or a primate conservation area.

In this session we will address the importance of fieldwork and its history in anthropology, as well as how, as a methodology, it has played a significant part in anthropological research since its origin. The concept of fieldwork is important to anthropological investigation. It can be said to have formed the foundation of the discipline.

Fieldwork is one of anthropologists' most distinctive approaches to the study of human life in society. The social anthropologist uses fieldwork to gain a more detailed and intimate

understanding of the context of social behaviour and interactions. Fieldwork in a previously new setting aims for a deep understanding that includes as much of an "insider's" perspective as feasible.

Field work helps the researcher to get genuine experiences and knowledge to authenticate data in his/her social and biological studies of humans. This reality is captured by firsthand knowledge rather than suppositions and assumptions. This is when fieldwork as a method of research comes into play.

Traditionally, the term "field" refers to the geographical location of the members of the group being investigated. Today, however, the "field" could be the internet, a museum, a school, a library, a hospital, a lab, a market, an urban eating establishment, a virtual place, and so on. For the researcher, the "field" serves as a ready-to-use laboratory. In anthropology, fieldwork is an investigation in which the researcher resides in or visits the area of investigation for a long period of time, usually at least a year, to gain firsthand experience and gather data.

In Anthropological field work, people and their culture in their natural environment are studied. The investigator's protracted stay in the field, his involvement in and observation of society, and his attempt to grasp the native people's point of view and obtain the holistic view of a social scientist have all been hallmarks of anthropological fieldwork.

Fieldwork is equally important to the socio-cultural anthropologists, the physical anthropologists and the archaeological anthropologists. It is one methodology they follow in their distinct branches throughout their academic lifetime due to the remarkable awareness it provides. Anthropologists depend on fieldwork as their ultimate source of gathering valid data.

Compared to the other methods, fieldwork yields a lot of data about the lifestyles of people and the meaning they attribute to their actions.

Fieldwork is a method used by anthropologists to investigate human existence. It gives the fieldworker a great deal of flexibility because he or she can change approaches and procedures for research and data collecting, construct and add newer processes, and formulate "on-the-spot strategies to deal with unforeseen fieldwork obstacles."

Fieldwork can take many different forms, shaped by factors such as: the topic of investigation, questions guiding the research, where the research will be carried out, who is funding it, external political or economic factors, the age, sex or ethnicity of the anthropologist, the technological facilities available. Newer formats for research, such as use of multiple sites and the study of large-scale centres of power such as intergovernmental organisations, are becoming increasingly common; as is the use of visual technologies and methods of presentation such as film, photography and digital media.

I.2. Relationship between Sociology and Anthropology, Definition, Meaning, Nature, Scope of Social Anthropology

In many ways, sociology and social anthropology are inextricably linked. In some areas of inquiry and methodology, it can be difficult to tell the difference between sociology and social anthropology. In terms of the topics and thrusts of inquiry, methodology, practice, and tradition, there are several variations that may be noted between the two subjects. Sociology is the closest companion discipline to social anthropology, and the two subjects share many theoretical issues and interests. Social anthropologists are sociologists as well, but they are both less and

more than sociologists, because their real field of study is more limited, and more, because they are interested with social relationships.

Social/Cultural anthropology has been historically very close to sociology from their beginnings as they both study human society. Although, anthropology has been regarded as the study of pre-literate societies (wrongly labeled as ‘primitive’ societies by early anthropologists and other scholars) and sociology as dealing with the more contemporary, urban and developed societies, this distinction is no longer true.

The earlier trend in Anthropology being associated with micro studies (particularly exotic village studies) and sociology being identified with macro studies (particularly the modern societies) is no longer true in the contemporary times. In the same way, the study of the rural communities once identified mainly with anthropologists and the study of the urban communities mainly identified with sociologists in the initial stages of the development of the disciplines has also become blurred.

Today, a trend has set in where sociologists have carried out much studies on rural communities, villages and micro settings, while anthropologists have also ventured on the urban settings and macro studies. There are ample examples of this emerging trend which is most obvious in the studies carried out by both sociologists and anthropologists in the developing countries. Hence, there has been much overlapping in the areas of enquiry and interest between sociologists and anthropology, particularly social anthropology and/or cultural anthropology.

Anthropology is the more individualised study of persons and their behaviour. Sociology, on the other hand, analyses how groups of humans interact with one another and how social

structures, categories (religion, gender), and organisations influence their behaviour. They have a lot in common in that they both research human behaviour, but their concentration is distinct. Anthropology is a branch of science that studies people. Anthropologists study human behaviour at the micro-level of an individual, using that individual as an example of a broader culture. Sociology, on the other hand, tends to focus on the larger picture, frequently investigating political movements and the power dynamics between different groups.

	Anthropology	Sociology
1	Emphasis on culture and its physical and social characteristics (kinship, language, religion, gender, art, etc.)	Emphasis on society and its origins and development (social classes, institutions and structures, social movements)
2	Has its historical basis in studying non-Western cultures	Has its historical basis in studying industrialized Western societies
3	Micro-level focus – studies how individuals, families, and communities engage with the larger society and social trends	Macro-level focus – studies how the larger society and social trends affect individuals, families, and communities
4	Incorporates material/physical culture (archaeology, biophysical evidence)	Incorporates economics and statistics to a larger degree
5	Natural Science	Social Science

6	Anthropology relies on qualitative data to come to a conclusion	Sociology relies on quantitative data to arrive at a conclusion
7	Anthropologist make use of a smaller sample size for immersive and localized data collection	Sociologist make use of a broader, larger sample size
8	It is done to understand different cultures	It is done to solve contemporary social problems
9	Anthropology became more professionalised following as a social science in the early 20th century	The term 'sociology' was coined by Auguste Comte in the 1850s when he published the " <i>Treatise on Sociology</i> "

I.3 Methods of Anthropology: Case study, Ethnography, Focused Interview, Participant and nonparticipant observations.

As previously said, social anthropology is the scientific study of man, culture, and society. The objective is to study the truth about society's affairs. It aims to improve people's skills so that they can live better lives. The use of scientific method is required for this. There must be a technique if there is a science. Theory, method, and data are all intertwined.

From the early period onwards, many European thinkers became interested about the non-European cultures and gradually 'study of man' was initiated basing on the accounts of travelers, missionaries and government officials. The Anthropologists of

nineteenth century were totally involved in exploring the variety of human culture but they were apart from the rigorous life of actual field. Sitting in their home they simply looked into the accounts served by other people. The value of fieldwork was realised at the beginning of twentieth century when the outlook of social anthropology changed. It was understood that experiencing the real life situation was very important for the social anthropologists, to get accurate and relevant data.

What is unique to social anthropology ‘in the realm of Social Sciences’ is its fieldwork methodology which is the guiding force of this discipline. Method is logic. What anthropologists do when they face a problem – they try to solve it logically. In short, they make a logical understanding for the problem. They argue how the problem can be approached logically so that the desired objective is fulfilled. It is this logic which leads to attainment of the objectives of logic to put forward the research problem.

In short, method is the logic of inquiry; it is the role of accomplishing an end. In social anthropological research fieldwork and empirical tradition have been constant characteristics of social anthropology. It started with the travel accounts written by the travelers who had been traveling to distant corners of the globe for about four hundred years, since ‘the age of Columbus’. As already discussed, these travel accounts provided the basic data for the early social anthropologists. The facts gathered by these travelers, missionaries, and government officials were valuable to make the other Europeans aware about the varied human life on earth.

Many anthropologists of this time engaged themselves with the groups of aborigines. E.B. Tylor was the first scholar who emphasised the need of direct data-collection in

Anthropology, but Boas was the first to begin with this practice. The earliest attempt of professional data gathering, as mentioned previously, 13 was made in America by Franz Boas. He conducted Jessup North Pacific Expedition in 1897. The second attempt at fieldwork was made in England under joint leadership of Haddon, Rivers and Seligman in 1898. It is known as Cambridge Expedition to Torres Straits.

The most outstanding fieldwork tradition in Anthropology was developed by Malinowski. He believed that the various aspects in the life of people were interrelated. Malinowski also stressed on fieldwork as primary way of anthropological data gathering. According to Malinowski (1922: 6), a cultural anthropologist must “possess real scientific aims and know the values and criteria of modern ethnography ... he has to apply a number of special methods of collecting, manipulating and fixing his evidence”. Malinowski established participation as an important technique of fieldwork.

Next to Malinowski, we can put the name of A.R. Radcliffe–Brown who did extensive fieldwork in Andaman Islands. The early fieldworkers tried to understand how all the parts of a society fit together to make a working whole. They emphasised on detailing. They tried to gather each and every information available on the field. They developed the habit of filling their notebooks with details of what they saw and heard, and those unprecedented ethnographic activities resulted into ethnographic monographs. As a matter of fact, a social anthropologist has to live and work in two worlds. Field becomes the laboratory where one collects data and leads a very different life living with the aborigines far away from his/her own world. Once he/she comes back from the field one sits with the gathered data and starts analysing those to come up with a conclusion.

Subjectivity became a big issue in this ethnographic description. Since social anthropology is an empirical discipline, it languishes for the absence of a deep respect for facts and for loose attention to their observation and description. A self-indulgent attitude may produce a disastrous effect. But, beyond all these, fieldwork became an essential part of social anthropology and the tradition developed with certain new methods and techniques making itself relevant to the present day context. Qualitative research that involves huge descriptive accounts has become very useful and important in today's world. Not only Anthropology but also other disciplines like Sociology and Management studies have also indulged into this type of research. But fieldwork remains unique to social anthropology.

Anthropologists immerse themselves in the rich, largely qualitative data set that results from their research and conduct iterative analyses to identify emerging themes and glean insights about the meaning of the data. The goal of an anthropological approach is a credible interpretation of the data that is well described, provides valuable insights, and can be replicated.

Typically, an anthropological approach uses multiple qualitative methods to collect data that are useful on their own as well as complementary to quantitative data in a mixed methods study. Four common qualitative anthropological data collection methods are: Case study, Ethnography, Focused Interview, Participant and nonparticipant observations.

Case Study

In research, the case study approach is a unique method in which one case is taken and researched on a variety of subjects. It could be a one-time study or a long-term research project. As a result, a case study is the collection and presentation of extensive

information about a single participant or small group, often including the subjects' own accounts. The case study is guided by participant observation and inductive analysis, which leads to broad conclusions and the possibility of new inquiries. It does not produce universal hypotheses.

A case study technique is an in-depth examination of a specific circumstance or subject over time. It can also refer to the investigation of a small number of people or events in order to analyse them thoroughly. It's a technique for condensing a large field of study into a single, easily researched issue. The case study focuses on a single person or a small group of people and derives conclusions only about that person or group, and only in that environment. The case study research design is effective for determining if scientific theories and models operate in practise. The case study approach has been acknowledged as a valid research method by anthropologists.

Anthropologists use the term "case" in a slightly different sense than psychotherapists, who may utilise it to illustrate their ideas or theories. Inductive reasoning is used by anthropologists to explain a case first and then derive a general rule or custom from it. Most of the time, the event is complicated, or even a succession of occurrences, which we refer to as social circumstances, and which may be dissected to show how many conflicting perspectives on them are interlocked in the same social system.

The case study is an important method employed in postcolonial anthropological research. We use the activities of individuals and groups in these situations to demonstrate the morphology of a social system, which is frequently held together by conflict. Each scenario is used to illustrate the stages of the social ties between distinct individuals and groups as they

develop. When seen in this light, we can abandon the study of sentiment as unintentional outbursts of emotion or variances in individual temperament, and instead focus on penetrating surface tensions to learn how conflict is constructed.

Ethnography

Cultural data assumes the form of directly observable material items, individual behaviors, performances, ideas and arrangements that exist only in people's heads. From the perspective of the culture concept, anthropologists must first treat all these elements as symbols within a coherent system and must record observations with attention to the cultural context and the meanings assigned by the culture's practitioners. These demands are met through two major research techniques: participant observation and key informant interviewing.

After the initial orientation or entry period, which may take 3 months or longer, the researcher follows a more systematic program of formal interviews involving questions related to research hypotheses and specialized topics. Several different methods of selecting informants are possible. Usually, a few key informants are selected for in-depth sessions, since the investigation of cultural patterns usually calls for lengthy and repeated open-ended interviews. Selection of such a small number does not allow for strict assurance of a representative sample, so the anthropologist must be careful to choose subjects who are well informed and reliable. Ethnographic researchers will also train informants to systematically report cultural data and recognize significant cultural elements and interconnections as the interview sequences unfold.

Key informant selection is known as judgment sampling and is particularly important for the kind of qualitative research

that characterizes ethnography. Anthropologists will very frequently also need to carry out quantitative research from which statistically validated inferences can be drawn. Accordingly, they must construct an either larger random sample or a total population census for more narrowly focused interviewing according to a closed questionnaire design. Other important quantitative data might include direct measurement of such items as farm size, crop yield, daily caloric intake, or even blood pressure, depending on the anthropologist's research focus. Aside from written observation and records, researchers will often provide ethnographic representations in other forms, such as collected artifacts, photographs, tape recordings, films, and videos.

The method that sets anthropology apart from other disciplines is ethnography, the qualitative process of exploring in depth the whys and hows of human culture, behavior, and expression. Using this ethnographic method, anthropologists can uncover unexpected insights that are best gained by studying a topic in person, in situ, over time, and from diverse perspectives. The ethnographic method uses multiple data collection techniques including participant observation, interviews, focus groups, and textual analysis to construct a holistic and contextual view of the phenomena under study.

During their research, anthropologists make observations and pursue perspectives from diverse angles and in diverse ways. They observe and talk with people from different social categories who have varying relationships to the phenomena under study and conceptualize and respond to those phenomena in unique ways. Anthropological inquiry combines information about people's thoughts gathered through interviews with information collected by observing their behavior and social interactions.

Participant Observation and Non-Participant Observation

Participant observation is the quintessential fieldwork method in anthropology. Participant observation is used to collect data such that the anthropologist must create an intimate relationship between themselves and the culture studied. This method requires that an anthropologist participate in a social event that is part of a specific culture. This includes, but is not limited to, observing members of a culture by taking notes, eating the food that is provided, and participating in festivities.

The goal of participant observation is to be involved in the culture like a member of that society, all while observing and studying the culture. An example of participation observation would be if an anthropologist went to a Native American Tribal gathering and took notes on the energy and traditions they were being shown. This anthropologist could participate in things like face painting or songs, and eat the food that the Natives eat. The information gathered in this observation is then recorded and reflected upon to gain further insight into the culture being studied.

This observation method helps the anthropologist develop a deeper rapport with the people of the culture and can help others understand their culture further. This experience may result in the individuals opening up more to the anthropologist which allows them to understand more than an etic point of view of the culture.

Anthropologists use various degrees of participant observation, from full participation in ongoing activities to passive observation within the locations of interest. Participant observation is useful at multiple stages of an evaluation:

- (1) initially, to identify issues that need to be explored with other data collection methods;

- (2) ongoing, as process evaluation; and
- (3) Following other types of data collection, to triangulate earlier findings and directly observe the specific phenomena that participants have spoken about.

Participant observation allows the researcher to assess actual behavior in real time; information gathered in this way can strengthen interpretation of information collected through interviews. Large projects that employ multiple observers can use an observation template to guide observers in taking notes about core phenomena and allow them to add notes about other phenomena. It is important to ensure that observations of any location take place at different times of the day and week to identify patterns and differences.

In contrast to participant observation, non-participant observation is the anthropological method of collecting data by entering within a community but with limited interaction with the people within the culture. This anthropologist can be thought of as a fly on the wall. An etic approach that researchers often use to examine the details of how the subjects interact with one another and the environment around them.

Detailed research such as body behavior (e.g. eye gaze, facial expression), speech styles (e.g. pitch) can be recorded through the nonparticipant method, but usually the emic approach is preferred when observing social context. An example of data collected through non-participant research would be the estimation of how often women in a household wear high heels due to how worn out the carpet is.

The non-participant observation, although effective in providing some research, has limitations. One being, the observer affect. This is caused by the presence of the researcher having an

influence over the participants' actions. The researcher may use systematic approaches of field notes, sampling and data to ensure and increase comfortable interactions. While using the non-participant observation method, the researcher's opinions may oppose that of the participant's on a certain issue. The only solution to this problem and to have a fuller and unbiased take on the research is to use both non-participant and participant method.

Focused Interview

The focus group is a group interview method useful for obtaining information on relatively unstudied topics for which the full range of relevant domains is not known and the dynamic interaction among participants is of interest. Researchers choose focus groups over individual in-depth interviews when data acquisition will benefit from the dynamic that is created through group discussion. The discussion often elicits information and insights that might not be gained from an individual interview, including the colloquial ways in which participants speak with one another about working in or seeking care from the practice.

The following factors are critical to the success of focus groups:

1. Thoughtful creation of a list of open-ended questions designed to draw participants into discussion on desired topics.
2. Careful attention to recruitment of participants who have the desired characteristics or experiences and who are comfortable with non-hierarchical group discussion.
3. Skillful group facilitation by a trained focus group moderator.

4. The presence of an observer who keeps process notes, operates the recording equipment, and assists the moderator as needed.

Focus groups usually include 6 to 12 participants, and last 1 to 2 hours. Discussions are audio recorded and transcribed with participants' identities masked. Each focus group is considered a unit of analysis (N=1), irrespective of the number of participants. Moderators should strive to facilitate open and dynamic dialogue among participants to allow opportunities for creative insights.

MODULE II

CULTURE & SOCIETY

2. 1 Definition, Components of Culture, Characteristics of Culture, Cultural lag, Culture and Civilization

The word ‘culture’ is probably the single most central concept in twentieth-century anthropology. It has an especially complex history, of which anthropological usage is only one small part. Etymologically it is linked to words like ‘cultivate’ and ‘cultivation’, ‘agriculture’ and ‘horticulture’. What these different words have in common is the sense of a medium for growth, a meaning quite transparent in modern biological usage where a mould or bacterium may be grown in a laboratory in an appropriate ‘culture’.

In English in the seventeenth century it became common to apply this meaning metaphorically to human development, and in the eighteenth century this metaphorical meaning developed into a more general term (Williams 1983). In German (where the word was spelt first *Cultur*, and then *Kultur*), the term was used in works of speculative history from the second half of the eighteenth century and, crucially, started to be used in the plural in the sense of humanity being divided into a number of separate, distinct *cultures*.

On the one hand, there is what has become known as the ‘humanistic’ sense of culture, which is singular and evaluative: culture is what a person *ought* to acquire in order to become a fully worthwhile moral agent. Some people have more culture

than others—they are more cultured—and some human products are more cultural than others—the visual arts, music, literature.

On the other hand, there is ‘anthropological’ sense of culture, which is plural and relativistic. The world is divided into different cultures, each worthwhile in its way. Any particular person is a product of the particular culture in which he or she has lived, and differences between human beings are to be explained (but not judged) by differences in their culture (rather than their race).

Culture refers to a social, ethnic, or age group's taught and shared patterns of behavior and beliefs. It is also the complicated whole of collective human beliefs with an organized stage of civilisation that can be peculiar to a country or time period. Humans, in turn, adapt and modify the world they live in through culture. Some important assumption about culture are bellow.

- Cultures are systems (of socially transmitted behavior patterns) that serve to relate human communities to their ecological settings. These ways-of-life-of communities include technologies and modes of economic organization, settlement patterns, modes of social grouping and political organization, religious beliefs and practices, and so on.
- Cultural change is primarily a process of adaptation and what amounts to natural selection. Seen as adaptive systems, cultures change in the direction of equilibrium within ecosystems; but when balances are upset by environmental, demographic, technological, or other systemic changes, further adjustive changes ramify through the cultural system.
- Technology, subsistence economy, and elements of social organization directly tied to production are the most adaptively central realms of culture. It is in these realms that

adaptive changes usually begin and from which they usually ramify.

- The ideational components of cultural systems may have adaptive consequences- in controlling population, contributing to subsistence, maintaining the ecosystem, etc; and these, though often subtle, must be carefully traced out wherever they lead.

Let us look at to some definitions of culture;

- ✚ According to British anthropologist Edward Taylor, “Culture is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society”.
- ✚ According to Phatak, Bhagat, and Kashlak, “Culture is a concept that has been used in several social science disciplines to explain variations in human thought processes in different parts of the world.”
- ✚ According to J.P. Lederach, “Culture is the shared knowledge and schemes created by a set of people for perceiving, interpreting, expressing, and responding to the social realities around them.”
- ✚ According to R. Linton, “A culture is a configuration of learned behaviors and results of behavior whose component elements are shared and transmitted by the members of a particular society.”
- ✚ According to G. Hofstede, “Culture is the collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one category of people from another.”

✚ According to H.T. Mazumdar, “Culture is the total of human achievements, material and non-material, capable of transmission, sociologically, i.e., by tradition and communication, vertically as well as horizontally.”

Culture is described as the taught shared patterns of behaviours and interactions, cognitive conceptions, and affective understanding. These shared patterns can be used to identify members of one culture group while also distinguishing them from members of another.

Components of Culture

When we study a culture, whether it is current or ancient, we will notice three key elements. Cognitive, material, and normative components are the three components of culture.

To put it another way, a society's culture is made up of three unique aspects or components. Let's look at these three components:

❖ **Cognitive Component:** Any culture's foundation is based on people's understanding of the universe's creation and existence. This feature is based on people's observations or factual evidence that they possess. As part of their cognitive component, a person from a backward culture believes in gods, superstitions, and other objects. The cognitive side, on the other hand, in a technologically evolved civilization is founded on scientific experiments and their applications. The refinement of knowledge via rigorous testing and observation distinguishes the cognitive component of an advanced society's culture from that of a primitive one.

❖ **Material Component:** The material aspect of civilization is also an important part of any culture. It is made up of all the

concrete things that humans create, use, and value. The material component, like the cognitive component, differs from culture to culture. It is founded on the technological condition that society has attained and comprehended via the examination of society's artefacts. The type of home individuals live in, the furniture they use, and other tangible objects they own are all examples of artefacts. Because it is linked to a society's level of technological growth, the material characteristics of cultures vary greatly as technological achievements differ.

- ❖ **Normative Component:** The cognitive component of a culture is also very significant. The cognitive component is made up of the values and norms that guide and govern conduct in society. In other words, it is made up of the values, beliefs, and rules that guide people's relationships in society. Understanding culture entails being aware of its ideals. Values are agreed standards of what is acceptable and what is not, what is good and what is terrible, what is desirable and what is unpleasant. Norms express values, which are abstract, very generic notions. Norms are standards and norms that define appropriate attitudes and behaviour in specific contexts.

Characteristics of culture

- Culture is learnt: Man does not inherit culture biologically, but rather learns it via social interaction. It isn't a natural inclination. There is no such thing as a cultural instinct. Culture is often called 'learned ways of behaviour'.
- Culture is social: Culture isn't something that exists in a vacuum. It's also not a one-off occurrence. It is a social product. It arises from and develops as a result of social

interactions. It is something that all members of society have in common.

- Culture is shared: culture is the sociological sense, is something shared. It is not something that an individual alone can possess.
- Culture is transmissive: culture is capable of being transmitted from one generation to the next. Parents pass on culture traits to their children and them in turn to their children, and so on. Culture is transmitted not through genes but by means of language.
- Culture is continuous and cumulative: culture exists as a continuous process. In its historical growth it tends to become cumulative. Culture is a 'growing whole' which includes in itself, the achievements of the past and the present and makes provision for the future achievements of mankind.
- Culture is consistent and integrated: culture, in its development has revealed a tendency to be consistent. At the same time different parts of culture are interconnected.
- Culture is dynamic and adaptive: though culture is relatively stable it is not altogether static. It is subject to slow but constant changes. Change and growth and latent in culture.

Cultural Lag

The concept, cultural lag was first introduced by W. F. Ogburn in 1922 in his book "Social Change". Ogburn was an American sociologist known for his application of statistical methods to the problems of the social sciences and for his introduction of the idea of "cultural lag" in the process of social change.

The idea behind this proposition was, the various parts of modern culture do not change at the same rate; some parts change more rapidly than others. According to this proposition, cultural lag occurs when unequal rates or degrees of change between interdependent parts of culture leads to "maladjustment".

The period of time between the introduction of new technological developments (material culture) into a culture or society and the acceptance of the developments by legal and moral institutions (nonmaterial culture) in a culture or society. The time it takes for culture to catch up to innovations in technology. Thus, cultural lag is a common societal phenomenon due to the tendency of material culture to evolve and change rapidly while non-material culture tends to resist change and remain fixed for a far longer period of time. Due to the opposing nature of these two aspects of culture, adaptation of new technology becomes rather difficult.

As there is a correlation and interdependence of parts, a rapid change in one part of culture requires immediate readjustments in other parts of the same culture. The extent of lag varies according to the nature of cultural material and may exist for a considerable number of years. A sudden change in one part of culture is evident due to some discovery, invention etc. The maladjustment is the resultant of strain as the balance of the ordered structure breaks down for the time being.

Ogburn posited four stages of technical development: invention, accumulation, diffusion, and adjustment.

- *Invention* is the process by which new forms of technology are created. Inventions are collective contributions to an existing cultural base that cannot occur unless the society has

already gained a certain level of knowledge and expertise in the particular area.

- *Accumulation* is the growth of technology because new things are invented more rapidly than old ones are forgotten, and some inventions (such as writing) promote this accumulation process.
- *Diffusion* is the spread of an idea from one cultural group to another, or from one field of activity to another, and as diffusion brings inventions together, they combine to form new inventions.
- *Adjustment* is the process by which the non-technical aspects of a culture respond to invention, and any retardation of this adjustment process causes cultural lag.

Ogburn considered what he termed invention—a new combination of existing cultural elements—to be the fundamental cause of social change and cultural evolution. Noting that an invention directly affecting one aspect of culture may require adjustments in other cultural areas, he introduced the term *cultural lag* to describe delays in adjustment to invention. Although lags are generally imperceptible over long periods of history, they may be so acute at a given moment as to threaten the complete disintegration of a society.

Ogburn noticed that material culture tends to develop and advance at a faster rate than non-material culture. Material culture is the physical and tangible aspects of culture including technology, buildings, and tools. Non-material culture is the aspect of culture that isn't physical, nor is it tangible. Non-material culture includes cultural values, morals, and religion.

- **Material culture:** Material culture consist of man-made objects such as tools, implements, furniture, automobiles, buildings, dams, roads, bridges, and in fact, the physical substance which has been changed and used by man. It is concerned with the external, mechanical and utilitarian objects. It includes technical and material equipments. It is referred to as civilization.

- **Non – Material culture:** The term ‘culture’ when used in the ordinary sense, means ‘non-material culture’. It is something internal and intrinsically valuable, reflects the inward nature of man. Non-material culture consists of the words the people use or the language they speak, the beliefs they hold, values and virtues they cherish, habits they follow, rituals and practices that they do and the ceremonies they observe. It also includes our customs and tastes, attitudes and outlook, in brief, our ways of acting, feeling and thinking.

Let us look at some examples, Ogburn's classic description of technologically-driven cultural lag was the period required for society to adapt to the speed of the automobile (1964). It took some time for the social institutions and customs of road building to adapt to the ability of new cars to travel much faster than horses and older car models. A more pressing example is provided by the advent of nuclear weapons, which represent an enormous leap in scientific knowledge without a complimentary advance in political institutions capable of regulating and using that knowledge wisely.

Another example is provided by the rapid advances in biomedical technologies and the ability of institutionalized ethics committees, such as Institutional Review Boards (IRBs) and Institutional Biosafety Committees (IBCs), to adapt to those changes and make wise decisions. The depletion of natural

resources, especially oil, represents a broader interpretation of cultural lag, where changes in the material environment may outpace the cultural response to those changes. Numerous other cases exist where science and technology have advanced more rapidly than the spiritual, social, or political aspects of culture.

Culture and Civilisation

Civilization is defined as the process of civilising or advancing the state of human civilization to the point that culture, industry, technology, government, and other aspects of society have reached their full potential. The word 'civilization' comes from the Latin word 'civis,' which means 'someone who lives in a town.'

The term 'civilization' does not refer to a city; rather, it refers to adopting improved ways of life and making the greatest possible use of nature's resources in order to meet the requirements of a group of people. Furthermore, it emphasises the division of society into numerous groups that work together and continuously to improve the quality of life in areas such as food, education, clothing, communication, and transportation. There is a distinction between culture and civilisation.

- ❖ The term 'culture' refers to the manifestation of how we think, act, and behave. Civilization, on the other hand, is the advanced stage of human society in which members have a significant level of social and political organisation and growth.
- ❖ Our culture explains who we are, whereas our civilization explains what we have or utilise.

- ❖ Culture is an end in itself; there are no measurement standards for it. Civilization, on the other hand, has rigorous measurement standards since it is a tool.
- ❖ Religion, art, dancing, literature, customs, morals, music, philosophy, and other aspects of a region's culture can all be seen. The legislation, administration, infrastructure, architecture, social order, and other aspects of that location, on the other hand, demonstrate civilisation.
- ❖ Culture is internal since it denotes the highest level of inner refinement. Civilization, on the other hand, is outward, i.e. it is the expression of cutting-edge technology, products, devices, infrastructure, and so on.
- ❖ With the passage of time, old ideas and traditions fade away, and new ones emerge, which are then passed down from generation to generation. On the other hand, civilisation is constantly progressing, meaning that many aspects of civilization, such as transportation, communication, and so on, are improving day by day.
- ❖ Even if civilization does not exist, culture can evolve and flourish. Culture, on the other hand, is necessary for civilization to thrive and exist.

Thus, civilization is a phrase that refers to complex societies. The ability of some agricultural settlements to consistently produce surplus food allowed some people to specialise in non-agricultural work, allowing for increased production, trade, population, and social stratification, which in turn allowed for increased production, trade, population, and social stratification. The early civilizations arose in areas with excellent terrain for intensive agriculture.

A civilisation is a complex community that produces agricultural surpluses, allowing for the development of specialized labour, social hierarchy, and the formation of cities. Writing, elaborate religious systems, colossal architecture, and concentrated political power have all been proposed as defining characteristics of civilisation. Some people believe civilization is a more evolved stage in human cultural growth. However, when historians or anthropologists use the term civilisation, they are referring to a society that is made up of many diverse, interwoven components.

So, rather than thinking about different forms of social organization as completely separate models, it's helpful to think in terms of a spectrum of complexity. On one end, we have hunter-forager societies which have little complexity and on the other end, we have civilizations which are highly complex. In between lie a wide variety of social structures of varying types and levels of complexity.

2.2 Theories of Culture: Functionalist thought of Anthropology: Malinowski

Structural theory: Levi- Strauss and Radcliff Brown

Functionalist Thought of Anthropology: Malinowski

Functionalism refers to a range of theories in the human sciences, all of which provide explanations of phenomena in terms of the function, or purpose, they purportedly serve. In the period spanning the last decades of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth, virtually every human science generated a school that identified itself as functionalist, and in nearly every instance that school dominated its discipline for a time. In the late 1920s, a rather different type of functionalism

became the dominant paradigm among British social anthropologists.

In anthropological traditions, functionalism arose as a reaction to evolutionism and diffusionism in early twentieth century. Functionalism looks for the function or part that is played by several aspects of culture in order to maintain a social system. It is a framework that considers society as a system whose parts work together to promote solidarity and stability. This approach of theoretical orientation looks at both social structure and social function. It describes the inter-relationship between several parts of any society. These parts or the constituent elements of a society could be named as norms, traditions, customs, institutions like economy, kinship, religion etc. These parts are interrelated and interdependent.

Bronisław Malinowski one of the most important anthropologists of the 20th century who is widely recognized as a founder of social anthropology and principally associated with field studies of the peoples of Oceania. He was a founder of the functionalist school of social anthropology, and its undisputed leader in Britain until 1937.



Malinowski with Trobriand Islanders, 1918

He did his honours in subjects like mathematics, physics and philosophy and in 1910 he enrolled in the London School of Economics to study anthropology. With Radcliffe- Brown, Malinowski pushed for a paradigm shift in British Anthropology that brought a change from the historical to the present study of social institutions. This theoretical shift gave rise to functionalism and established fieldwork as the constitutive experience of social anthropology.

Malinowski suggested that individuals have physiological needs (reproduction, food, shelter) and these needs are fulfilled by the social institutions. He talked about four basic "instrumental needs" (economics, social control, education, and political organization), that require institutional devices to get fulfilled.

Malinowski's functionalism was greatly influential in the 1920s and 1930s. As applied methodology, this approach worked, except for situations of social or cultural change. However, Malinowski made his greatest contribution as an ethnographer. He also considered the importance of studying social behaviour

and social relations in their concrete cultural contexts through participant-observation.

He considered it essential to consider the observable differences between what people say they do and what they actually do. His detailed descriptions of Trobriand social life and thoughts are among the well-known ethnographies of world and his *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (1922) is one of the most widely read works of anthropology. He was one of the leading Functionalists of 20th century.

Malinowski believed that all customs and institutions in a society are integrated and interrelated so that, if one changes the other would change as well. Each then is a function of the other. He also believed that human beings have a set of universal biological needs and various customs and institutions are developed to fulfill those needs. The function of any practice was the role it played in satisfying these biological needs such as need of food, shelter etc.

The primary starting points of Malinowski's theorizing included:

- understanding behavior in terms of the motivation of individuals, including both rational, 'scientifically' validated behavior and 'irrational', ritual, magical, or religious behavior;
- recognizing the interconnectedness of the different items which constituted a 'culture' to form some kind of system;
- understanding a particular item by identifying its function in the current contemporary operation of that culture (Firth 1957:55).

Malinowski clearly states his view of a functionalist approach to understanding culture in his posthumously published text, *The Scientific Theory of Culture and Other Essays*:

1. Culture is essentially an instrumental apparatus by which man is put in a position to better cope with the concrete, specific problems that face him in his environment in the course of the satisfaction of his needs.
2. It is a system of objects, activities, and attitudes in which every part exists as a means to an end.
3. It is an integral in which the various elements are interdependent.
4. Such activities, attitudes and objects are organized around important and vital tasks into institutions such as family, the clan, the local community, the tribe, and the organized teams of economic cooperation, political, legal, and educational activity.
5. From the dynamic point of view, that is, as regards the type of activity, culture can be analyzed into a number of aspects such as education, social control, economics, systems of knowledge, belief, and morality, and also modes of creative and artistic expression” (1944:150).

Malinowski considered institutions to be examples of isolated (in the sense of ‘bounded’) organized behaviors. Since such behavior always involves a plurality of persons, an institution in this sense is therefore a social system, which is a subsystem of society. Though functionally differentiated from other institutions, an institution is a segmentary cross-section of culture that involves all the components included in Malinowski’s definition of culture (Firth 1957:59).

Malinowski believed that the central feature of the charter of an institution is “the system of values for the pursuit of which human beings organize, or enter organizations already existing” (Malinowski 1944:52). As for the concept of function, Malinowski believed it is the primary basis of differentiation of institutions within the same culture.

In other words, institutions differ because they are organized to serve different functions. He argued that institutions function for continuing life and “normality” of an organism, or an aggregate of organisms as a species (Firth 1957:60). Indeed, for Malinowski, the primary reference of the concept of function was to a theory of the biological needs of the individual organism:

“It is clear, I think, that any theory of culture has to start from the organic needs of man, and if it succeeds in relating (to them) the more complex, indirect, but perhaps fully imperative needs of the type which we call spiritual or economic or social, it will supply us with a set of general laws such as we need in sound scientific theory” (Malinowski 1944:72-73).

Malinowski’s basic theoretical attempt was to derive the main characteristics of the society and its social systems from a theory of the causally pre-cultural needs of the organism. He believed that culture is always instrumental to the satisfaction of organic needs. Therefore, he had to bridge the gap between the concept of biologically basic needs of the organism and the facts of culturally organized behavior. His first major step was to set up the classification of basic needs which could be directly related to a classification of cultural responses which could then in turn be brought into relation to institutions. Next, he developed a second category of needs (derived needs) which he inserted between his basic needs and the institutional integrations of collective behavior (Firth 1957:63).

Structural Theory: Levi- Strauss and Radcliff Brown

Radcliff Brown

Radcliffe-Brown was an English social anthropologist of the 20th century who developed a systematic framework of concepts and generalizations relating to the social structures of preindustrial societies and their functions.

Radcliffe Brown rejected Malinowski's individualistic functionalism and emphasized structured social relationships. Anthropologist, Radcliffe Brown, though is known to have contributed to structural school, was basically a functionalist. He was of view that functions as a principle of explanation that itself was not explained. To him, function was more than recognition of reality. Radcliffe Brown has taken the concept of function from biology. He has compared social life with biological life.

Structure of an organism consists of many cells and parts. Which are interdependent and interrelated and perform various activities to maintain the body alive. These activities are functions. The same can be applied to society. The structure of society also comprises network of status and roles which reveal status and functions of individuals. In order to maintain the continuity of the entire social structure, the activities of different social elements or institutions, reveal their social functions. Defining function, Radcliffe-Brown (1952) was of view that function is the contribution, which a partial activity makes to the total activity of which it is a part.

His theory had its classic formulation and application in *The Social Organisation of Australian Tribes* (1931). Treating all Aboriginal Australia known at the time, the work cataloged, classified, analyzed, and synthesized a vast amount of data on kinship, marriage, language, custom, occupancy and possession

of land, sexual patterns, and cosmology. He attempted to explain social phenomena as enduring systems of adaptation, fusion, and integration of elements. He held that social structures are arrangements of persons and that organizations are the arrangements of activities; thus, the life of a society may be viewed as an active system of functionally consistent, interdependent elements.

His later works include *Structure and Function in Primitive Society* (1952), *Method in Social Anthropology* (1958), and an edited collection of essays entitled *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage* (1950), which remains a landmark in African studies.

Claude Lévi-Strauss

Claude Levi-Strauss (1908 – 2009) is widely regarded as the father of structural anthropology. In the 1940s, he proposed that the proper focus of anthropological investigations is on the underlying patterns of human thought that produce the cultural categories that organize worldviews hitherto studied (McGee and Warms, 2004: 345). He believed these processes did not determine culture, but instead, operated within culture. His work was heavily influenced by Emile Durkheim and Marcel Mauss as well as the Prague School of structural linguistics (organized in 1926) which include Roman Jakobson (1896 – 1982), and Nikolai Troubetzkoy (1890 – 1938). From the latter, he derived the concept of binary contrasts, later referred to in his work as binary oppositions, which became fundamental in his theory.

In his first major work, *The Elementary Structures of Kinship*, Lévi-Strauss introduced structural anthropology. Derived from the Saussurean structural linguistics, structural anthropological research focuses on the ways in which elements

combine together—not on their ‘intrinsic’ meanings. One of the most obvious consequences of this approach is that social events (like the simple exchange of a glass of cheap white wine in the restaurants in the south of France) cannot be explained by any functionalist approach, nor can they be explained by ‘letting the facts speak for themselves’.

An act of exchange has meaning only in a specific social and symbolic context. This context is not something that people willingly create—is pre-determined, part of our unconscious cognitive structures. But just as this is pre-determined, it is also shaping what we call ‘culture’. For example, the prohibition of incest had an instrumental function in forcing people to look for wives outside their own communities (‘exogamous’ marriage pattern). By doing so, they got in contact with other communities, peoples, and forms of expression—and this is how ‘culture’ originally spread.

In 1972, his book *Structuralism and Ecology* detailed the tenets of what would become structural anthropology. In it, he proposed that culture, like language, is composed of hidden rules that govern the behavior of its practitioners. What makes cultures unique and different from one another are the hidden rules participants understand but are unable to articulate; thus, the goal of structural anthropology is to identify these rules. Levi-Strauss proposed a methodological means of discovering these rules—through the identification of binary oppositions.

The structuralist paradigm in anthropology suggests that the structure of human thought processes is the same in all cultures, and that these mental processes exist in the form of binary oppositions (Winthrop 1991). Some of these oppositions include hot-cold, male-female, culture-nature, and raw-cooked. Structuralists argue that binary oppositions are reflected in

various cultural institutions (Lett 1987:80). Anthropologists may discover underlying thought processes by examining such things as kinship, myth, and language. It is proposed, then, that a hidden reality exists beneath all cultural expressions. Structuralists aim to understand the underlying meaning involved in human thought as expressed in cultural expressions.

Further, the theoretical approach offered by structuralism emphasizes that elements of culture must be understood in terms of their relationship to the entire system (Rubel and Rosman 1996:1263). This notion, that the whole is greater than the parts, draws upon the Gestalt school of psychology. Essentially, elements of culture are not explanatory in and of themselves, but rather form part of a meaningful system. As an analytical model, structuralism assumes the universality of human thought processes in an effort to explain the “deep structure” or underlying meaning existing in cultural phenomena. “[S]tructuralism is a set of principles for studying the mental superstructure”

According to Lévi-Strauss cultures are analyzed in terms of the structural relations among their elements. According to Lévi-Strauss’s theories, universal patterns in cultural systems are products of the invariant structure of the human mind. Structure, for Lévi-Strauss, referred exclusively to mental structure, although he found evidence of such structure in his far-ranging analyses of kinship, patterns in mythology, art, religion, ritual, and culinary traditions.

2.3 Theories of cultural process: Evolution, Acculturation, Assimilation, Diffusion, Enculturation, Integration

Theories of cultural process help us to understand the process of cultural transmission through which cultural elements, in the form

of attitudes, values, beliefs, and behavioral scripts, are passed onto and taught to individuals and groups. As we all know, all cultures are inherently prone to change. There are dynamic processes at work that foster the acceptance of new ideas and objects, while others promote changeless stability. If conservative forces resisting change were not there, societal and psychological anarchy would almost certainly ensue.

Cultural change or transmission is the passing of new knowledge and traditions of culture from one generation to the next, as well as cross-culturally. It happens every day, all the time, without any concept of when or where. Everything people do and say provides cultural transmission in all aspects of life.

The contact between individuals from very different socio-cultural milieux means that the translation and mutual influencing that can occur when there is a new and rather sudden meeting between different world-views. There are three general sources of influence or pressure that are responsible for both change and resistance to it:

1. forces at work within a society
2. contact between societies
3. changes in the natural environment

Invention and cultural loss are two factors that lead to change in a culture. Inventions might be technological or ideological in nature. The latter includes topics like the development of algebra and calculus, as well as the establishment of a representative parliament to replace royal decree rule.

Thus, human cultural traits—behaviors, ideas, and technologies that can be learned from other individuals—can

exhibit complex patterns of transmission and evolution, and researchers have developed theoretical models to facilitate our understanding of these patterns. Evolution, acculturation, assimilation, diffusion, enculturation and integration are some of the important theories of cultural process.

Evolution

An important and often controversial concept in the social sciences, the notion of evolution has been applied by a large number of sociological and anthropological theorists in order to account for the historical progression from simpler to more complex social and cultural systems. The concept of evolution has also been applied in the analysis of the development of human society and culture.

The concept of evolution has bridged the natural and social sciences, and has been central both to biological and anthropological enquiry since it was first advanced in the writings of Charles Darwin and Herbert Spencer. These two writers are widely regarded as the founders of evolutionary theory, Darwin in the natural and Spencer in the social sciences, though it has often been pointed out that their ideas were naturally enough anticipated in the works of previous investigators.

Darwin's own theory of biological evolution was closely paralleled by that of Alfred Russell Wallace, who however never shared the public recognition accorded to Darwin as the founder of evolutionary theory. In the field of natural history, important elements of evolutionary theory were contributed by Lamarck. Lamarck's theory of evolution relied on the notion of environmental influences affecting the organism, which was then able to pass on these modifications to its offspring (the inheritance of acquired characteristics).

Darwin however disputed this point, and argued that evolution was proceeded by a mechanism of natural selection, which caused certain random mutations to survive because they were more fitted to the environment while others died out because they were less adaptive. He therefore argued that the hereditary individual variation between members of a particular species was random, and unrelated to environmental pressure.

Since individuals vary slightly from one another, and some of these random variations confer adaptive advantages given specific environmental conditions and pressures, more of the individuals possessing the adaptive characteristic will survive to breed and pass on this characteristic to their offspring, thus bringing about a gradual modification in the species as a whole. Darwin's theory also relied in great measure on the prior task of classification of plants and animals which had been carried out by the naturalist Linnaeus, and which permitted him to conceptualize the relationship between different species as one of gradual development of related forms.

At first anticipating and later drawing on the theories of Darwin, Spencer argued that there was a continuum which united inorganic, organic and superorganic evolution, and that the same laws could be applied to society and its progress as were applied to the natural world. This approach came to be called 'Social Darwinism', and rested on two basic propositions.



The first of these was that societies, like organisms, were composite wholes made up of functionally integrated parts, and underwent growth, decline, differentiation and integration. Spencer argued that social forms, like biological organisms, gradually evolved from simple homogenous undifferentiated structures into more complex and internally differentiated forms.

The second basic premise was linked to Victorian laissez-faire individualism, and consisted in the application of the principle of natural selection to humans in society. The poor, sick or less able were regarded as 'unfit', and it was thought that they should be allowed to die out in order to permit society's natural progress. This argument became in some circles an ideological support for laissez-faire policies.

Acculturation

Acculturation can be defined as the 'process of learning and incorporating the values, beliefs, language, customs and mannerisms of the new country immigrants and their families are living in, including behaviors that affect health such as dietary habits, activity levels and substance use. This is the processes of change in artifacts, customs, and beliefs that result from the contact of two or more cultures. The term is also used to refer to the results of such changes.

This term has been used since the 19th century to describe processes of accommodation and change in culture contact, but during the 1930s it came to be used increasingly by US anthropologists interested in the study of cultural and social change and the problems of social disorientation and cultural decline. They defined acculturation as 'those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into first hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of both groups'.

-  Acculturation is a process in which a person or group of certain culture adopt the values, norms and practices of another group, while still retaining their own culture.
-  Acculturation is the process in which the people of one culture adopts the culture of the other that is not originally their own.

- ✚ Acculturation is the course in which the individuals of one culture accepts the culture of the additional, which is not formally their own.
- ✚ Here, the adoption of culture by a person/group might reach to a greater or lesser extent, depending on level of contact and mutual sharing platforms.
- ✚ Acculturation leads to alteration of culture or certain fusion.
- ✚ People who spend much of the time in the foreign are likely to adopt the foreign culture and hence are the examples of the acculturation.
- ✚ Acculturation is often seen in language, style of clothing, food habits, etc.
- ✚ Acculturation generally does not affect/threaten the identity or recognition of the people/culture.

Starting from a cultural baseline of pre-contact culture patterns, acculturation studies then attempted to describe and analyse the process of change. In practice, they concentrated almost exclusively on contact between industrial societies and native populations, emphasizing the one-way influence of the former on the latter, and its implications for applied anthropology. They have accordingly been criticized for their open attitude towards the development process and towards the culture of the dominant group and the changes arising in it as a result of new political, economic and social forms.

Specific points of research within the acculturation perspective included the study of mechanisms of change and resistance to change, and the creation of typologies of results of change: assimilation, reinterpretation, syncretism, revitalization

etc. More recent studies of change have tended to move away from explanations in terms of cultural pattern and towards the analysis of social, economic and political structures of dominance or of ethnic interaction, and the strategic use of cultural elements in contact situations.

On the basis of the conditions under which cultural contact and change take place there are two major types of acculturation,

- **Incorporation:** Incorporation refers to the free borrowing and modification of cultural elements and occurs when people of different cultures maintain contact as well as political and social self-determination.
- **Directed change:** In contrast, directed change occurs when one group establishes dominance over another through military conquest or political control; thus, imperialism is the most common precursor to directed change. Like incorporation, directed change involves the selection and modification of cultural characteristics.

However, these processes are more varied and the results more complex because they derive from the interference in one cultural system by members of another. The processes that operate under conditions of directed change include forced assimilation—the complete replacement of one culture by another—and resistance against aspects of the dominant culture. Because directed change is imposed upon the members of the recipient culture, often quite harshly, the changes it engenders are less likely to be maintained over the long term.



Thus, acculturation process by which one group of people's identity is modified by meeting another: one culture introduces elements that are accepted or resisted by the other,

leading to the weaker group remaining partially autonomous, the assimilation of the weaker group into the stronger unit, or occasionally a merged culture. Members of the dominant culture may be physically present or act on the other remotely. Even when acculturated, the weaker group may not totally assimilate. In general use, acculturation and assimilation may be used synonymously.

Assimilation

Assimilation is a process whereby individuals or groups of differing ethnic heritage are absorbed into the dominant culture of a society. The process of assimilating involves taking on the traits of the dominant culture to such a degree that the assimilating group becomes socially indistinguishable from other members of the society. As such, assimilation is the most extreme form of acculturation.

The term assimilation helps us to describe how immigrant communities adapt to, or are absorbed into, the host culture. Originally conceived as a simple matter of the newcomer adopting majority ways, it is now viewed as a two-way process by which both parties are modified. As one of the outcomes of the acculturation process, in which the subordinate or smaller group is absorbed into the larger or dominant one and becomes indistinguishable from it in cultural terms.

-  Simply understanding, assimilation or cultural assimilation is the process in which different cultural groups become alike/similar to each other.
-  Cultural assimilation is a process in which a minority group/person becomes a part of a dominant group or assume the values, behaviors, and beliefs of another group.

- ✚ In this case, the ethnic heritage of the minority group is absorbed into the culture of the dominant group, sometimes to such a level that the assimilating group becomes socially inexistent.
- ✚ Assimilation is most repeatedly deliberated in terms of marginal immigrant groups coming to accept the beliefs of the majority and therefore becoming like them in terms of morals, philosophy, manners, and practices.
- ✚ This course can be involuntary or impulsive and can be fast or steady.
- ✚ Basically, assimilation results into complete abandonment of the original culture and adoption of the new culture.
- ✚ Assimilation is the eventual outcome of acculturation process.

The concept of assimilation has been widely questioned in modern anthropology, and most writers now argue for a more careful examination of the different dimensions of cultural interchange and social dominance in situations of contact between different sociocultural systems. According to Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess assimilation is “a process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments and attitudes of other persons or groups, and by sharing their experience and history are incorporated with them in a common cultural life.”

Although assimilation may be compelled through force or undertaken voluntarily, it is rare for a minority group to replace its previous cultural practices completely; religion, food preferences, proxemics (e.g., the physical distance between people in a given social situation), and aesthetics are among the characteristics that tend to be most resistant to change.

Assimilation does not denote “racial” or biological fusion, though such fusion may occur.

Attempts to compel minority groups to assimilate have occurred frequently in world history. The forced assimilation of indigenous peoples was particularly common in the European colonial empires of the 18th, 19th, and 20th centuries. In North and South America, Australia, Africa, and Asia, colonial policies toward indigenous peoples frequently compelled their religious conversion, the removal of children from their families, the division of community property into salable, individually owned parcels of land, the undermining of local economies and gender roles by shifting responsibility for farming or other forms of production from women to men, and the elimination of access to indigenous foodstuffs. Forced assimilation is rarely successful, and it generally has enduring negative consequences for the recipient culture.

Acculturation	Assimilation
A dynamic process	A dynamic process
May be treated as either an individual or a group process	May be treated as either an individual or a group process
Involves direct contact	Involves direct contact
Two-way, that is, may occur in both directions	Unidirectional
Does not require change in values, though values may be acculturated	Change in values required

Reference group change not required	Reference group change required
Internal change not required	Internal change required
Out-group acceptance not required	Out-group acceptance required

Diffusion

The transfer of cultural qualities or attributes from one society to all others is referred to as diffusion. They slammed evolutionists' Psychic Unity of Mankind. They thought that most inventions occurred just once, and that because mankinds are capable of imitation, these inventions spread to other locations. They believe that all cultures began at one spot and then spread over the globe. They were opposed to evolutionists' notion of progress from simple to sophisticated forms. They also claimed that whether anything is primitive or modern is a relative affair, and that the comparative method is therefore useless. They were primarily looking for changes that occurred over time.

It is the transfer of cultural components from one generation to the next. Agents convey such elements through identified medium, which are subject to various barrier or filter effects. It is an acculturation process, although it may lack the close contact between people that acculturation requires. Diffusionism, as a theoretical alternative to nineteenth-century evolutionism, emphasised borrowing over internal growth and identified centres of creations and secondary recipients, which was in keeping with the comparative spirit.

According to this viewpoint, ethnocentric views about innovations promote cultural similarities, and as a result, cultural similarities are condemned. The concept of the cultural region was born out of the widely available patterns of culture imposed by diffusionist theory, in which each cultural area would be made up of important characteristics of that place. The ability to compare and contrast features among many cultures emerged from this process of accumulating large volumes of data.

Cultural anthropology's concept of diffusion of ideas or artefacts from one culture to another is well-established and uncontroversial. Agriculture, for example, is usually thought to have spread from somewhere in the Middle East to all of Eurasia fewer than 10,000 years ago. Other well-known examples of dissemination include ancient iron smelting and the adoption of automobiles in the twentieth century. Everett Rogers' major study on the diffusion of inventions was published in 1962. Rogers is largely credited with pioneering research into how and why societies accept new technologies.

Cultural diffusion can take place in a variety of ways. The culture of migrant communities will be carried with them. Trans-cultural travellers, such as merchants, explorers, warriors, diplomats, slaves, and hired artisans, can transport ideas. Trans-cultural marriages between two cultures that are adjacent or intermingled will also suffice. Diffusion might take place through letters or books in literate communities (and, in modern times, through other media as well). Rogers shown that people evaluate awareness, interest, evaluation, trial, and adoption when it comes to the diffusion of innovations, and that they are influenced by change agents and opinion leaders. His hypothesis lays out a model for invention diffusion.

Enculturation

Enculturation is a process by which an individual learns the traditional content of a culture and assimilates its practices and values. The concept of enculturation implies that the process of becoming incorporated into a specific culture and learning its norms and patterns is one which continues beyond childhood into adult life, and may include the incorporation of migrants or persons in situations of contact and change into new cultural configurations at any moment in their lives.

Similarly the learning of one's own culture is not a process limited to childhood, but continues throughout adult life as one is incorporated into new roles and statuses in family and kinship networks, in community or political structures and in new work roles. Like socialization, enculturation is generally considered to be informal learning or learning which arises out of social interaction, and is thus distinguished in practice from formal education or schooling. However in its broadest sense enculturation or socialization would include both formal and informal mechanisms.

Through this process we obtain and transmit culture. It describes how each individual comes to terms with the already set ideals that their culture has established, and how each person adapts to prohibited behaviors and beliefs, which are 'proscribed', versus encouraged behaviors and beliefs, which are 'prescribed'.

Parents and other authority figures in young children's lives are usually the initiators of this process, steering the children toward activities and beliefs that will be socially accepted in their culture. Through this process these authority figures definitely shape the child's view on life. Enculturation results in the

interpretation of these ideals established by our culture and the establishment of our own individual behaviors and beliefs.

- 🌍 Enculturation is the process in which an individual acquires the thought and behavior patterns that embody their own culture, normally in childhood.
- 🌍 Enculturation is the process of acquiring a culture. The term is more-or-less synonymous with socialization.
- 🌍 Enculturation is the process by which an individual learns about his/her own culture.
- 🌍 Enculturation is simply a process where a child learns about the own culture and adopts into it.
- 🌍 Enculturation is the process in which an individual learns about the norms and values of a surrounding culture. He/she then acquires the necessary and appropriate norms and values.
- 🌍 Enculturation is the major adaptation progression to a specific culture.
- 🌍 Enculturation clarifies an individual of his/her locus, parts, potentials and activities of the specific culture in which he/she survives.

Integration

A term used in two rather different though related senses. On the one hand, within functionalist theory, it refers to the observation that all aspects of a sociocultural system tend to operate in close interrelation to one another and to the whole. This sense of social integration is sometimes referred to as 'functional interrelatedness' or 'pattern maintenance'. On the other hand, integration or 'cultural integration' and its converse,

disintegration, are sometimes used to refer to the degree of cohesion or of disorganization of social relations and cultural systems within a given ethnographic context.

Thus the first use refers to a general theoretical postulate about the nature of sociocultural systems, while the second use refers to the belief that specific sociocultural systems may possess greater or lesser degrees of integration, especially under the influence of situations of acculturation and change.

Steward (1951) formulated concept of Levels of sociocultural integration through which he proposed in order to conceptualize sociocultural systems better in a comparative and evolutionary perspective. Given that not all people live in homogeneous tribal societies, the anthropologist must analyse different levels. The family, the folk society and the state each constitute a distinct level of integration of social relations and cultural phenomena.

Steward's formulation of the concept introduces a confusion however in the sense that the levels are seen both as evolutionary stages (family, band, tribe, chiefdom, state) and as levels within a context of cultural change, or within a complex society, which are all interacting at one and the same time.

MODULE III

TRIBES IN INDIA

3.1 Tribes-historical emergence and present scenario-Tribe-Caste continuum, related terminologies- Scheduled tribe, De-notified Tribes, Primitive tribes

3.2 References and provisions of Tribes in Indian Constitution, Tribal Welfare in India

3.3. Major tribal issues in India: Poverty, indebtedness, Land alienation, shifting cultivation, displacement and rehabilitation-psycho-socio-cultural adjustments

3.4 Tribal movements in India: Tribal Movements- Santhal rebellion, Munda rebellion, Muthanga agitation

Introduction

Many scholars have researched and written about Indian tribes. In this section, we'll look at some of the most pressing concerns affecting India's tribal populations. They are largely removed from mainstream social life and are frequently robbed of their traditional means of subsistence. They are frequently wrenched from their social and cultural norms. They have their dignity and freedom taken away from them. The government policies have had both harmful and good influence on tribal society resulting in varied tribe responses to these policies. There are some distinctive characteristics for the Indian tribes. They are;

- ✚ Definite common topography: Tribal people live within a definite topography and it is a common place for all the members of a particular tribe occupying that region. In the absence of a common but definite living place, the tribals will lose other characteristics of a tribal life, like common language, way of living and community sentiment, etc.

- ✚ Sense of unity: Sense of unity is an invariable necessity for a true tribal life. The very existence of a tribe depends upon the tribal's sense of unity during the time of peace and war.
- ✚ Endogamous group: Tribal people generally do not marry outside their tribe and marriage within the tribe is highly appreciated and much applauded. But the pressing effects of changes following the forces of mobility have also changed the attitude of tribals and now, inter-tribal marriages are becoming more and more common.
- ✚ Common dialect: Members of a tribal community exchange their views in a common dialect. This element further strengthens their sense of unity.
- ✚ Ties of blood –relationship: Blood -relationship is the greatest bond and most powerful force inculcating the sense of unity among the tribals.
- ✚ Protection awareness: Tribal people always need protection from intrusion and infiltration and for this a single political authority is established and all the powers are vested in this authority. The safety of the tribal is left to the skill and mental power of the person enjoying political authority. The tribal chief is aided by a tribal committee in the events of contingencies. Tribe is divided into a number of small groups and each group is headed by its own leader.
- ✚ Distinct political organization: Every tribe has its own distinct political organisation which looks after the interests of tribal people. The whole political authority lies in the hands of a tribal chief. In some tribes, tribal committees exist to help the tribal chief in discharging his functions in the interests of the tribe.
- ✚ Common culture: Common culture of a tribe derives from the sense of unity, which depends on sharing a common language,

common religion, common political organisation. Common culture produces a life of homogeneity among the tribals.

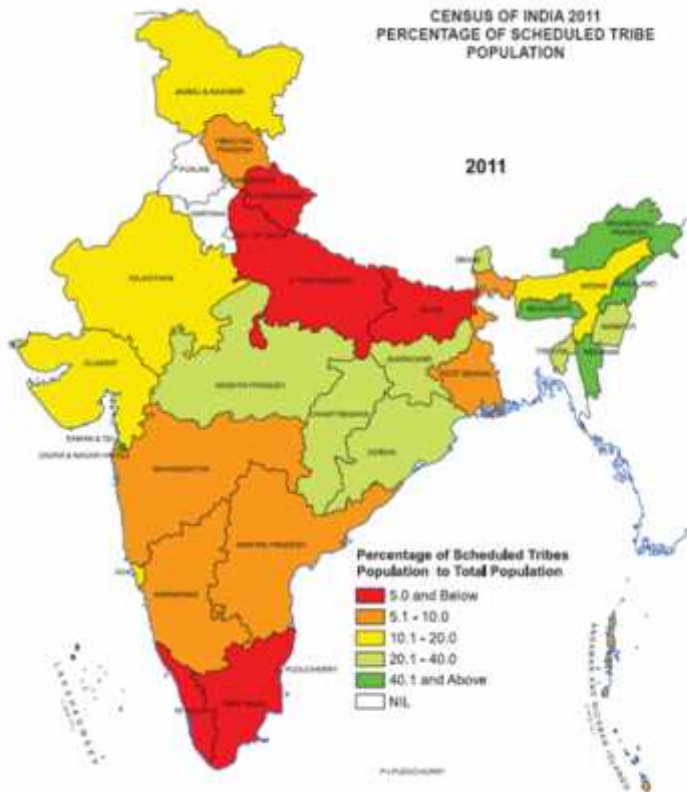
- ✚ Importance of kinship: Kinship forms the basis of tribal social organisation. Most tribes are divided into exogamous clans and lineages.
- ✚ Egalitarian values: The tribal social organisation is based on the principle of equality. Thus there are no institutionalised inequalities such as in the caste system or sex based inequalities. Thus men and women enjoyed equal status and freedom. However, some degrees of social inequality may be found in case of tribal Tribes chiefs or tribal kings who enjoy a higher social status, exercise political authority and possess wealth.
- ✚ Simple form of religion: Tribes believe in certain myths and a rudimentary type of religion. Further, they believe in totems – which is a symbolic object signifying objects having a mystic relationship with members of the tribe.

3.1 Tribes-Historical Emergence and Present Scenario- Tribe-Caste Continuum, Related Terminologies- Scheduled Tribe, De-Notified Tribes, Primitive Tribes

The tribes of India are dispersed widely over geographical territory and scholars have attempted to arrange them along the regions they inhabit. Based on the geographical location and the tribal demographical set-up, anthropologists have tried to chalk out a zonal classification or a regional grouping of the tribes of India.

The tribal population of India are scattered all over the country depicting heterogeneous culture and socio-economic status. It is interesting to know the different types of tribes

residing in different geographical location and confronting different situation. There are about 700 tribes (with overlapping categories in some States/UTs) as per notified Schedule under Article 342 of the Constitution of India (Annual Report, Ministry of Tribal Affairs, 2012-13). Classifications of the tribes in different regions depict a diverse picture in India.



The total number of tribes, Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs) and list of major tribes in different states and union territories (UTs) in India reflect the heterogeneity among them. There are about 75 such groups identified as PTGs located in 17 States and in 1 UT. There are many tribal communities having stagnant or declining population with low level of literacy and poor socio-economic condition. Most of these groups are small in number and generally inhabit remote localities having poor infrastructure and administrative support. Many of them are socioeconomically under-privileged and not benefited much from developmental projects and other initiatives. The ST population and PTGs has been divided broadly into seven regions residing in different states and islands

L.P.Vidyardhi put forward a five-fold classification system which included the following: the Himalayan region, Middle India, Western India, South India and the Islands.

- D) The Himalayan region is sub-divided into:
 - a. North-eastern Himalayan region comprising the states of Assam, Meghalaya, Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, Manipur, Mizoram, Tripura and the mountaineous region of West Bengal including Darjeeling.
 - b. Central Himalayan region comprising the Terai areas of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar.
 - c. North-Western Himalayan region comprising the 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.

- II) Middle India Region comprising 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.
- III) Western India Region comprising 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.
- IV) South India Region comprising 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.
- V) The Island Region comprising the islands of Andaman and Nicobar in the Bay of Bengal and Lakshadweep in the Arabian Sea. The tribes inhabiting this region are the Jarwas, Onges, the GreatAndamanese, North Sentinelese, etc.

North East India comprises the states like Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya,

Mizoram, Nagaland, Tripura and Sikkim. The region is surrounded by foreign territories like Bhutan, Tibet-China, Burma, and Bangladesh on the north-south and the east. The long narrow passage in the west connects the region with West Bengal and the rest of India (Deb, 2010). It represents a kind of ethnological transition zone between India and the neighbouring countries.

This region is the homeland of about 145 tribal communities of which 78 are larger groups; each with a population of more than 5000 persons. They constitute around 12 per cent of the total tribal population of India (Ali & Das, 2003). In Mizoram, the tribes constitute 94.75 per cent of the total population of the state. The percentages of STs to the total population in the states like Assam, Manipur and Tripura, is 12.4, 35.1 and 31.8 respectively (Census, 2011). The PTGs in Tripura include Rieng and Maram Naga in Manipur. This region depicts extreme heterogeneity in terms of distribution of tribal populations in different areas including their social structures and culture.

Literacy among the tribes of the north eastern region is relatively higher compared to other regions. In the ranking of the ST literacy rate (per 1000 persons among 5 years and above) states like Mizoram, Meghalaya, Nagaland, Sikkim and Manipur occupy 1st, 2nd, 4th, 6th and 8th position respectively. It is interesting to note that the literacy rate of these states is higher than the national literacy rate.

ST population of Assam, Tripura and Arunachal Pradesh ranks 9th, 11th, and 13th position respectively with regard to the literacy rate (NSSO, 2010). The sex ratio in the states like Meghalaya, Mizoram, and Nagaland and Manipur is much higher compared to other regions

(Census, 2011). Literacy among the tribes of the north-eastern and island regions is relatively higher than tribes in other regions (Sharma, 2009). STs residing in north eastern states are more urbanized as compared to other region. ST children in the north eastern states didn't come under malnourished category as compared to all India level (Pala and Khongjoh, 2012). These findings supports that the STs in north eastern states are in better position than the tribes residing in the other parts of India.

Exposure to urbanization and educational expansion has changed the economic and socio-cultural systems in the North eastern states. It is reported that the benefits of state-sponsored development have been concentrated particularly among the educated and urban tribal elites. Under demographic compulsion, rural natives and particularly women confront with challenges like hardship, poverty and unemployment (Ghosh & Choudhuri, 2011).

Despite the high literacy rate in this region; dropout rate is much higher compared to other regions. States like Meghalaya, Arunachal Pradesh, Tripura, Manipur and Assam exhibit high infant mortality rate among ST population. The rate of landless households is higher in the state like Mizoram (19.5), Arunachal Pradesh (11.2) and 8.3 percent in Manipur (NSSO, 2010). Availability of power supply and transport linkages within the region and with the rest of India is still primitive.

Eastern India comprises of West Bengal, Orissa, Bihar and Jharkhand. The diversity of East India is evident from its population, nature and the types of tribes residing in this region (Sinha & Behera, 2009, Basu et al, 2004). Multinational corporations are attracted to exploit the natural resources and reserves at the cost of tribal livelihood. This is leading to involuntary displacement of people from their homeland. Development projects in the eastern India particularly in the state of Orissa are initiated in the areas with tribal dominated populations due to rich natural resources.

Due to these projects the tribal lands continue to be passed on to the hands of non-tribals in Orissa and some of the investors in the area of Niyamgiri hills in Rayagada district (Jena, 2013). The same trend is witnessed in other districts like Kalahandi, Koraput, Malkangiri, Kandhamal and Balasore district. Tribals

are alienated from their land and land alienation is one of the important reasons of poverty and dispossession of tribals in Orissa (Ambagudia,2010).

Consequently some other problems exist like deforestation, loss of agricultural land, environmental degradation, and marginalization of the STs (Mohanty, 2012). There is low pace of development in Jharkhand, at the same time the state has one of the richest mineral reserves in India (Roy, 2012). The literacy rate among the STs in this region is found to be lower compared to other regions of the country. In the ranking of the literacy rate of ST population (per 1000 persons among 5 years and above); West Bengal, Bihar, Jharkhand, and Orissa occupy 19th, 24th, 25th and 27th position respectively (NSSO, 2010).

The major tribes in Orissa are Birhor, Gond, Juang, Khond, Korua, Oraon, Santhal, Tharua, etc. and the tribes like Asur, Birhor, Korwa, Lepcha, Munda, Santhal, are found in West Bengal. The major tribes in Bihar are Banjara, Birhor, Korwa, Munda, Oraon, Santhal, etc. and the tribes like Biga, Banjara, Chero, ChikBaraik, Gond, Ho, Kisan, Kora, Lohra, and Santhal etc. are found in Jharkhand. Santhal is the common and most populated tribe in the eastern region.

It is important to note that the maximum number of tribes i.e. 62 in Orissa and large number of PTGs reside in eastern India; with 13 PTGs in Orissa, 9 in Bihar and Jharkhand and 3 in West Bengal (Table-1) The PTGs in Orissa are Chuktia, Bhunjia, Birhor, Bondo, Didayi, DongriaKhond, Juang, Kharia, KutiaKhond, LanjiaSaura, Lodha, Mankirdia, PaudiBhuyan and Saura. Many PTGs live entirely on forest resources, but have adopted settled agriculture since more than a decade. Shifting cultivation used to be their main economic pursuit but now their

livelihood source has been transferred to stable farming and noticed among ChuktiaBhunja (Sabar, 2010).

Some of these PTGs are losing their identity and even some of them are getting extinguished due to the rapid urbanization. Due to industrialization and development projects more land is being acquired to encourage investment by the Indian and foreign investors. They are targeting mining land and land with rich natural resources in Jharkhand and Orissa (Ekka, 2012). The tribal displacement is the major issue in this region. Low productivity in agriculture and poor infrastructure are the major reasons for high rates of poverty in Bihar, Orissa and Jharkhand.

The **central India tribal** belt is rich in natural resources. Stretching from Madhya Pradesh (MP), and Chhattisgarh, it is one of the poorest regions of the country. More than 90 per cent of the STs belong to rural area and they are directly or indirectly dependent upon agriculture. Though some of them have small land holdings, agricultural practices are quite primitive and productivity is low (Sah et. al. 2008).

In the ranking of the literacy rate of ST population (per 1000 persons among 5 years and above) Chhattisgarh and Madhya Pradesh occupies 16th and 23rd position respectively (NSSO, 2010). The major tribes in Chhattisgarh are Gond, Baiga, Korba, Abhuj Maria, Muria, Halba, Bhatra and Dhurvaa and the tribes like Bhil, Birhor, Damar, Gond, Kharia, Oraon, Parahi, etc. are found in MP (See Table-1). The PTGs in Chhattisgarh are Abujhmaria, Birhor, Hill Korwa, and Kamar; while Bharia and Sahariya are the PTGs reside in MP. PTGs like Baigas reside in both the states.

STs in this region are facing multiple problems due to natural calamity, crop failure, poverty, illness, reduced access to land and lack of employment opportunities leading to debt and migration (Planning Commission Report, 2010). Poverty rate is extremely high among the STs residing in MP and Chhattisgarh (NSSO, 2010). Central region also depicts high rate of infant mortality among ST population and situation is worse among the PTGs like Birhor, Korwa, Abhujmaria, Kamar and Baiga in Chhattisgarh (Dhar, 2012).

Western Region, the states like Gujarat, Rajasthan, Maharashtra, and UTs like Daman & Diu, Dadra & NagarHaveli represent the Western part of the country. Bhil is a common tribe found in all three major states of Western India. The other tribes found in Gujarat are Dhodia, Gond, Siddi, Bordia, etc.

The major tribes in Rajasthan are Damor, Garasia, Meena, Sahariya etc. The common tribes residing in Maharashtra are Bhunjia, Chodhara, Dhodia, Gond, Kharia, Nayaka, Oraon, Pardhi and Rathwa (Table-1). The PTGs in Gujarat are Kolgha, Kathodi, Kotwalia, Padhar and Siddi. PTGs residing in Maharashtra are Katkari/Kathodi, Kolam and Maria Gond. On the ranking of tribal literacy (per 1000 persons among 5 years and above) Maharashtra is placed in 18th position.

Gujarat and Rajasthan occupy 20th and 26th position respectively. Daman & Diu indicates better literacy rate and ranked at 3rd position; Dadra & Nagar Haveli occupies the 17th position (NSSO, 2010). The tribal handicrafts are specialised skills which are passed on from one generation to another and these handicrafts are the means of livelihood among the artisans in Rajasthan. In some instances the STs with such skills migrate for alternative livelihood. This age-old activity may disappear if

they are not facilitated to retain their traditional skills (SEEDS, 2006).

The livelihood of STs in Maharashtra and Gujarat includes agricultural activities, wage labor, collection of forest products, animal husbandry (Chattopadhyay&Durdhawale, 2009). There are very few job opportunities for the STs in organized sector (Kokate, &Solunke, 2011). Maharashtra from the western region depicts high poverty rate among the STs (NSSO, 2010). The main problem faced by STs in Gujarat is migration due to lack of sustained employment and scarcity of water in some tribal regions that affect the agricultural and allied activities.

North India includes states like Himachal Pradesh (HP), Jammu & Kashmir, UP and Uttarakhand (previously known as Uttaranchal). The tribes found in UP and Uttaranchal are Bhoti, Buxa, Jaunsari, Tharu, Raji, etc. The major tribes found in Himachal Pradesh are Gaddi, Gujjar, Lahuala, Swangla, etc. and tribes in Jammu & Kashmir (J& K) are Chdddangpa, Garra, Gujjar and Gaddi (Table-1). The PTGs in U.P. and Uttarakhand are common and they are Buksa and Raji.

On the ranking of literacy of ST population (per 1000 persons among 5 years and above) Himachal Pradesh occupies 23rd position; Uttaranchal and Jammu & Kashmir occupy 15th and 30th position respectively. UP occupies 28th position in the ranking of the ST literacy rate (NSSO, 2010). Gross enrolment ratio of scheduled tribe (ST) students is quite low in J & K (MHRD, 2011). UP & Uttaranchal from the northern region indicate high poverty rate among STs. Large number landless households i.e 9.1 percent are found in Himachal Pradesh (NSSO, 2010). Livelihood in north India is based on agriculture. Wood carvings are important handicraft of Uttarakhand due to the

availability of wood as raw material from nearby forest areas (SEEDS, 2006). At present, the high costs of raw materials due to deforestation compel the STs to migrate for livelihood.

In the *Southern Region* States like Andhra Pradesh, Kerala, Tamilnadu and Karnataka are included in the Southern region. The main occupations of the tribes in the Southern region are settled agriculture, podu (shifting) cultivation and collection of Non-Timber Forest Produce. The tribes in Andhra Pradesh are Bhil, Chenchu, Gond, Kondas, Lambadis, Sugalis etc. The major tribes in Kerala are Adiyam, Kammrar, Kondkappus, Malais, Palliyar, etc. The common tribes residing in Tamilnadu are Irular, Kammara, Kondakapus, Kota, Mahamalar, Palleyan and Toda. The tribes residing in Karnataka are Bhil, Chenchu, Goud, Kuruba, Kammara, Kolis, Koya, Mayaka, Toda, etc. (Table-1).

Higher number of PTGs resides in southern India; with 12 PTGs (Chenchu, BodoGadaba, GutobGadaba, DongriaKhond, KutiaKhond, Kolam, KondaReddi, Kondasavara, Bondo Porja, Khond Porja, Parengi Porja, and Thoti) in Andhra Pradesh, 5 in Kerala, 6 in Tamilnadu and 2 in Karnataka. Literacy among the tribal population of this region is lower than the national level literacy rate of general and tribal population in India except Kerala which ranks 7th position in literacy rate of ST population (per 1000 persons among 5 years and above). Tamilnadu, Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh occupy 21st, 22nd and 28th position respectively with regard to literacy rate among the STs (NSSO, 2010). In Andhra Pradesh, the livelihood of STs is based on the occupations like making of toys, baskets, mates, local cosmetics and collection of leaves, honey, medicinal plants etc.

Tribes were displaced at the cost of private gain for mining in the Narayangiri Hills near Lanjigarh; Araku Valley and Jerrela Hills of Visakhapatnam district in Andhra Pradesh

(Oskarsson, 2012; Prasad et al, 2012). Various factors are responsible for the slow development among the STs in this region like poor irrigation facility for agricultural land, displacement and migration and slow pace of resettlement and rehabilitation (Reddy & Kumar 2010). The percentage of landless households is higher in Andhra Pradesh (7.9) compared to southern region. Poverty percentage is moderate in the states like Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka (NSSO, 2010).

In the *Island Area* such as the Andaman and Nicobar Islands is the largest archipelago in the Bay of Bengal, consisting of 306 islands and 206 rocky outcrops; covering area about 8200 sq. kms. Hunting is the main source of food and livelihood of the ST population in Andaman and Nicobar Islands. They also grow vegetables and run poultry farm for their livelihood. The excellent craftsmanship of the STs in Lakshadweep has made them popular across the globe. Some of them own land in these islands while others work as labourers. The majority of the STs in Lakshadweep follow Islam as religion.

Lakshadweep ranks 5th position, followed by Andaman & Nicobar which occupies 10th position in the literacy rate (per 1000 persons among 5 years and above) among STs (NSSO, 2010). The ST literacy rate in island region is comparatively higher compared to other regions. Despite that the gross enrolment ratio among scheduled tribe (ST) students in class I-VIII is quite low in the island region.

The common tribes residing in Andaman & Nicobar Islands are Jarawa, Nicobarese, Onges, Sentinelese, Shompens and Great Andamanese etc. The tribes residing in Lakshadweep are Amindivi, Koyas, Malmis and Malacheries (Table-1). The PTGs in Andaman and Nicobar Islands are Great Andamanese, Jarawa, Onge, Sentinelese and Shom Pen. PTGs like Andamanese

follow a peculiar cultural practice that can prove the capacity of the young boys to hunt and gather in accordance with a prescribed norm that can help in negotiating marriage with the father of the selected partner (Pandya & Mazumdar, 2012). There are no PTGs in Lakshadweep islands. Unemployment is high among the STs in this region. Poor infrastructure and inadequate water supply is the main problem and this is due to topography of the islands.

Tribe-Caste continuum

Indian tribes are frequently described as cultures that follow primitive lives in many ways. Arguments are advanced that the indigenous people have no religious philosophy and are becoming Hinduized or Sanskritized in the process. They are presumably progressing in this direction towards the opposite pole of the continuum, the diametrically opposed group known as 'the Caste.' The tribal pole represents equality, whereas the caste pole is characterised by inequity.

R.Redfield introduced the concept of 'continuum' in his book *The Folk Culture of Yucatan*. He had previously predicted a sequential change from one cultural form and social order to the other. He used the 'Folk-urban' continuum concept here. This understanding offered the tenacity needed to connect evolutionary trends. Other researchers were influenced by this schematic model, and they copied the conceptual framework and renamed it the 'Tribe-Caste Continuum.'

This notion was employed by F.G.Bailey when analysing the 'Kondh' and 'Oriya' political systems. "We see caste and tribe as opposite ends of a single line," he said. Particular societies may be put at different positions along the line based on their proximity to either the organic caste model or the segmentary tribal model." Bailey described the 'Oriya' caste society as organic

and the tribal 'Kondh' culture as segmentary, claiming that their familial values and religious beliefs are not far apart.

Thus, the change of a tribal group into a caste group is referred to as the tribe-caste continuum. Caste was established in ancient society as a result of labour division. The tribe arose from the sense of belonging that communities in a certain geographic area shared. There are several distinctions between tribe and caste, however there is a trend toward a progressive transition from tribe to caste. A tribe can join Hindu society by adopting a caste's clan and name.

There is some specialisation of functions in the Toda tribe in the Nilgiri Hills, similar to the caste system. Some tribes manage to live on the outskirts of villages, accepting lowly occupations from Hindu castes and finally becoming Hindus. Members of tribal communities might adopt a caste's surname or gotra and marry into that caste. With the help of caste priests, some wealthy tribal people are able to enlist in high caste. When tribes join the caste system, they lose their identity.

The tribe-caste continuum studies in India have imperial roots in the American Cultural Anthropology school. India is modelled from terms like Great and Little tradition, Universalization, and Parochialization. There were terms used to look at the issues of unity and variety. This method followed the Brahminical model of Sanskritization. Many researchers have contributed to the development of the continuum notion by applying British and American structural functionalism and neo-evolutionism to the study of Indian civilisation.

When defining the transition from one polar category to another, scholars of the tribe-caste continuum have frequently used social expressions of religion, also known as ritual and

belief. Tribal religions were characterised as being based on psychological fears rather than philosophical explanations of the unknown. It is also said that moving from simple to sophisticated religious forms is free of impediments and social inconsistencies. "The change was spread over a lengthy period of time," proponents of the tribe caste continuum claim. About 70% of tribal people have been described as Hinduized without being Hindus, and as being indistinguishable from the lower classes of Hindus.

To sum up, the transformation of tribes into castes, and in a more limited sense, the association of particular castes with tribes, is one of the most significant social revolutions in Indian history. While some scholars have made no distinction between tribes and castes, others have attempted to explore the differences between the two in terms of social organisation and other factors. For a better understanding of the relationship between tribes and castes, the notion of continuum has been employed. Both categories are seen as two ends of the same line or pole, which aims to portray social developments in a sequential fashion. Some scholars, however, have considered this to be insufficient.

'Hinduization' and 'Tribalization' can be thought of as two processes that are mutually beneficial. Hinduization, or the incorporation of tribes into the dominant caste systems of their neighbours, is a complicated process. This has been explored using the Gonds of Bihar and Jharkhand, the tribes of Tripura, and the Khasis of the Central Himalayas as examples. Tribalisation, on the other hand, refers to the association of lower-caste castes with tribes, tribal features, and tribal customs. This can occur when the castes help the tribes in some way or are in close contact with them for a long time.

As a result, the 'Tribe-Caste Continuum,' while a notion designed to aid in a better understanding of the categories of tribe and caste, may not always be effective in expressing the complex social alterations that both have through. Simultaneously, it is a notion that must be grasped, particularly when dealing with the mobility of social categories in India.

Related Terminologies- Scheduled tribe, De-notified Tribes, Primitive tribes

People with distinct social, cultural, and possibly physical characteristics were referred to as "tribes" by English speakers, and the word "tribe" was used interchangeably with other words denoting a group of people, such as race, bond, breed, nation, people, or an aggregate of families of common descent. Fried maintained that tribes emerged throughout the emergence of the state in different parts of the world and at different dates, with some places experiencing the process just in the last two centuries. When early anthropologists and sociologists equated "tribe" with "nation," a unique connotation evolved in the first half of the nineteenth century.

‘Tribe’ commonly called ‘scheduled tribe’ in the Indian context is an administrative and legal term to label some ethnic groups—based on their socio-economic status, religious and cultural customs—in order to give special attention to them as mandated by the Constitution. The term ‘tribe’ is nowhere defined in the Constitution, and in fact, there is no satisfactory definition, which is agreed upon and is acceptable to all. No standard term has been accepted to denominate the people who are classified as of tribal origin. The term ‘Schedule’ was proposed and applied just to signify or categorize the weaker sections of our population as ‘scheduled’ to have a constitutional benefits.

Scheduled Tribe

Certain populations in India were suffering from great social, educational, and economic backwardness, which the Constitution's authors recognised. They need particular care in order to protect their interests and advance socioeconomically. These communities were notified as Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes as per provisions contained in Clause 1 of Articles 341 and 342 of the Constitution respectively. The tribal communities in India have been recognized by the Indian Constitution under 'Schedule 5' of the constitution. Hence the tribes recognized by the Constitution are known as 'Scheduled Tribes'.

Article 366 (25) of the Constitution of India defined scheduled tribes as "such tribes or tribal communities or parts of or groups within such tribes or tribal communities as are deemed under Article 342 to be Scheduled Tribes for the purposes of this constitution". Article 342 prescribes the procedure to be followed in the matter of specification of scheduled tribes.

- **The President** may, with respect to any State or Union territory, and where it is a state, after consultation with the Governor thereof by public notification, specify the tribes or tribal communities or parts of or groups within tribes or tribal communities which shall, for the purposes of this constitution, be deemed to be scheduled tribes in relation to that state or Union Territory, as the case may be.
- **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.

Thus, Scheduled Tribes is a term used to describe a variety of ethnic groups claimed to be the first occupants of the Indian subcontinent. In India and Bangladesh, the phrase is predominantly utilised. Most of these groups were listed—or scheduled—as goals for social and economic development in India's constitution, which was promulgated in 1950. Since then, the Adivasi people of India have been referred to as Scheduled Tribes. The Adivasi population of India was over 84 million in the early twenty-first century, with the majority living in the northeastern states of Arunachal Pradesh, Mizoram, and Nagaland. Smaller populations can be found in the central and southern Indian highlands and jungles, as well as the Andaman and Nicobar Islands.

De-notified Tribes

The phrase 'De-notified Tribes' refers to all communities that were originally notified under the British Raj's Criminal Tribes Acts, which were in effect between 1871 and 1947. The Independent Indian Government abolished these Acts in 1992, and these communities were "De-Notified." Ideological patterns, culture, political and social lifestyles, customs and traditions are all different in the De-notified societies. These societies' customs have a long history of continuity, and many of their rituals may be traced back to prehistoric times. They had their own Gods and Goddesses that they worshipped. Furthermore, their holidays and festivities are more diverse.

De-notified societies' social and cultural traits are inextricably linked to their economic activity. The majority of the communities maintain a traditional method of travelling in groups



of five to twenty people, with each group being led by a senior member who is responsible for resolving disagreements. Each of these subgroups set off on their own.

Denotified tribes (DNTs) are a varied set of peoples who confront extraordinary levels of discrimination, much beyond the well-documented shame and persecution encountered by Dalits and Adivasis. They are made up of several hundred groups with a population of 110 million people. The British-era Criminal Tribes Act of 1871 established this category, and discrimination was perpetuated after independence with the Habitual Offenders Act (1952), which changed the nomenclature from 'Criminal' to 'Denotified' tribes but did little to address the police and other groups' systematic targeting of these people.

In 2003-5 a National Commission for De-Notified, Nomadic and Semi-Nomadic Tribes was set up to ameliorate the situation. Yet the stigma and institutionalised behaviour towards DNTs prove hard to change, and the self-immolation of a DNT woman from the Pardhi community in Bhopal in November 2017, after being targeted by police demanding money from her and threatening her family with jail, drew nation-wide coverage and outrage over the DNT situation.

Primitive Tribes

Primitive tribal people are in a state of extreme poverty, and are subjected to exploitation and are in the lowest level of literacy. The criteria generally followed in the identification of the Primitive Tribal Groups are:

-  A stagnant and diminishing population
-  Pre-agricultural level of technology

 Very low level of literacy

Mohanty (2002: 30) mentioned that the first attempt to list "Primitive Tribes" in the country was made during the Census of 1931. During the Fifth Five-Year Plan period the Ministry of Home Affairs identified 52 tribal communities as "Primitive Tribal Groups", and during the Sixth Plan period 20 tribal groups were further added as the Primitive Tribal Groups. Later another 2 groups have been added recently (Mohanty, 2002:31).

As per the circular of the Government of India there are 74 Primitive Tribes in India. However, during the Fifth Five-Year Plan (1974-79) to the Eight Five-Year Plan (1992-97), 75 Primitive Tribal Groups have been identified in 14 States and 1 Union Territory. But in reality the number of PTGs are less as some of the Primitive tribes are found to appear in more than one State. For example, Birhor has been identified in Jharkhand (formerly Bihar), Orissa, West Bengal and Madhya Pradesh; the DongariaKhonds live in Andhra Pradesh and Orissa; similarly Kattunayakans are found in Kerela and Tamil Nadu.

The state of Madhya Pradesh has the highest concentration of Primitive Tribes, followed by Bihar, Andhra Pradesh, and Maharashtra. As a result, the Primitive Tribal people of India seek safety in the central Indian tribal belt. It may represent the fact that, during the course of India's lengthy history of migration, the Primitive Tribes found a safe haven in central India. It should be noted, however, that 14 Primitive Tribes (KondaSavara, Cholanaikayan, Abujh Maria, Bharia, Hill Korwa, Maria Gond, ChoukutiaBhunja, DongariaKhond, Kharia, KutiaKhond, LanjiaSaura, PaudiBhuiyan, Saura, Toto) were not counted in the 1991 census.

3.2 References and Provisions of Tribes in Indian Constitution, Tribal Welfare in India

Constitutional Provisions

According to Art.342 of Constitution of India, the President after consulting with the state governments concerned, has promulgated nine order so far. This promulgation has clearly specified the Scheduled Tribes in relation to concerned State and Union territories. India can proudly be called the largest TRIBAL population in the world. According to 2001 Census, 8.2% of India's population. This interprets into 82 million people. In all,, 698 Scheduled Tribes exist in India. Constitutional Provisions / Safeguards for Scheduled Tribes, can be divided into two parts. 1. Protective. 2. Development.

Basic Safeguards Provided In Indian Constitution Educational & Cultural Safeguards

- I. Art. 15(4):- Special provisions for advancement of other backward classes (it includes STs)
- II. Art. 29:- Protection of Interests of Minorities (it includes STs)
- III. Art. 46:-The State shall promote, with special care, the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and in particular, of the Scheduled Castes, and the Scheduled Tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation,
- IV. Art. 350:- Right to conserve distinct Language, Script or Culture;
- V. Art. 350:- Instruction in Mother Tongue.

II. Social Safeguard

I. Art. 23:- Prohibition of traffic in human beings and beggar and other similar form of forced labour;

II. Art. 24:- Forbidding Child Labour.

III. Economic Safeguards

I. Art.244:- Clause(1) Provisions of Fifth Schedule shall apply to the administration & control of the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes in any State other than the states of Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram and Tripura which are covered under Sixth Schedule, under Clause (2) of this Article.

II. Art. 275:- Grants in-Aid to specified States (STs&SAs) covered under Fifth and Sixth Schedules of the Constitution

III. Political Safeguards

I. Art.164(1):- Provides for Tribal Affairs Ministers in Bihar, MP and Orissa;

II. Art. 330:- Reservation of seats for STs in Lok Sabha;

III. Art. 337- Reservation of seats for STs in State Legislatures;

IV. Art. 334:- 10 years period for reservation (Amended several times to extend the period.);

V. Art. 243:- Reservation of seats in Panchayats.

VI. Art. 371:- Special provisions in respect of NE States and Sikkim

V. Service Safeguards

(Under Art.16(4),16(4A),164(B) Art.335, and Art. 320(40)

Other Provision In Regards With Rights Of Scheduled Tribes In Indian Constitution

- I. Art.15(4). Promotion Of Social, Economic And Educational Interests This article empowers the state to make any special provision for the advancement of socially and educationally backward classes of citizens or for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. This clause has been especially incorporated to prevent any special provision made by a state for the advancement of socially or educationally backward classes of citizens from being challenged in the law courts on the ground of discrimination.
- II. Art.19(5) Safeguard Of Tribal Interests While the rights of free movement and residence throughout the territory of India and of acquisition and disposition of property are guaranteed to every citizen, special restrictions may be imposed by the state for the protection of the interests of any Scheduled Tribe. (For example state may impose restrictions on owning property by non tribals in tribal areas.)
- III. Art.23 Human Trafficking Traffic in human beings, begar and other similar forms of forced labour are prohibited”. This is a very significant provision so far as Scheduled Tribes are concerned.
- IV. Art.29 Cultural And Educational Rights According to this article a cultural or linguistic minority has right to conserve its language or culture. The state shall not impose upon it any culture other than the community's own culture.
- V. Article.164 It provides for a Minister-in-charge of tribal welfare in the states of MP, Chattisgarh, Orissa and Jharkhand. These states have substantial tribal population and special provision of a Minister looking after tribal welfare is

an evidence of the concern of the framers of the constitution for safeguarding the interests of Scheduled Tribes.

3.3. Major tribal issues in India: Poverty, indebtedness, Land alienation, shifting cultivation, displacement and rehabilitation-psycho-socio-cultural adjustments.

Tribes are often economically and educationally disadvantaged. In India, the situation is not the same everywhere. The situation has been tumultuous in the northeast for some years, while poverty, unemployment, indebtedness, backwardness, and illiteracy remain rampant on the mainland (central India). In comparison to their counterparts in other areas of the country, the tribes of the northeast enjoy a high degree of politicisation, literacy, and a good standard of life. Tribes were cut off from their homelands. The tribal proprietors were progressively displaced by plains landlords and moneylenders.

Because tribal people live at various social, political, economic, and ecological levels, their challenges vary in severity. These distinctions can be evident between hill tribes and plainsmen, or between those who participate in forest-based economic pursuits and those who work as established agriculturists, or between those who have been Hinduized or converted to Christianity and those who follow a pure tribal lifestyle. Despite these distinctions, the tribal people face a number of shared issues: such as

- ❖ Poverty
- ❖ Indebtedness
- ❖ Land alienation

- ❖ Shifting cultivation
- ❖ Displacement and rehabilitation
- ❖ Psycho-socio-cultural adjustments.

Poverty

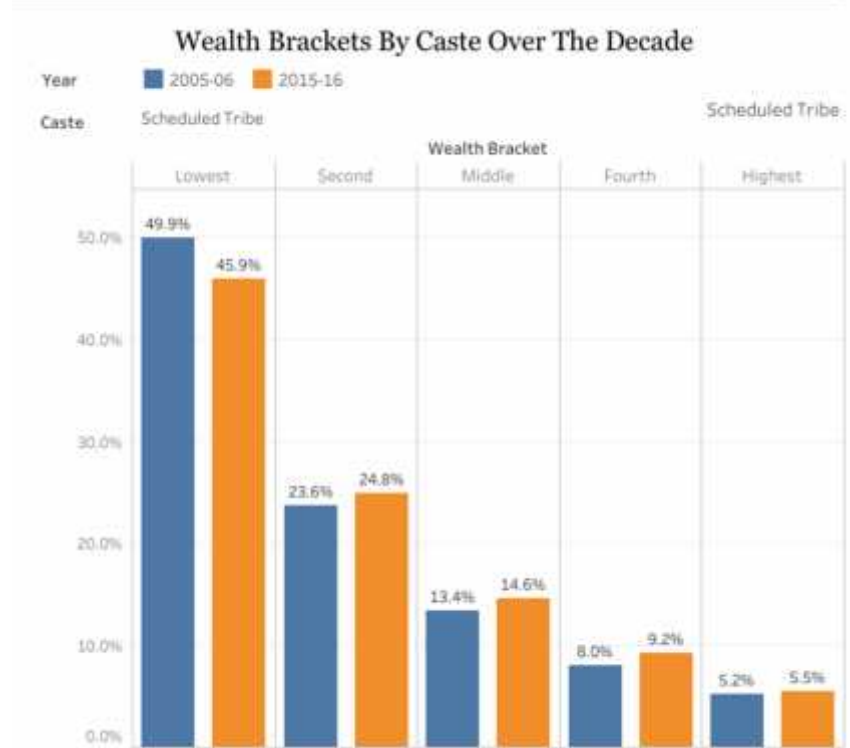
Many Scheduled Tribes were displaced from their homes and homelands during India's industrialisation period, which lasted from 1750 to 1947. The primary reasons of Adivasi relocation during this time period were mining operations, commercial farming, forestry businesses, and conflict. Adivasis were forced to relocate to different areas of India as a result of their displacement. Because many of these Adivasis were uneducated and hungry, they had difficulty assimilating into mainstream Indian culture.

According to the 2011 census of India's population, Scheduled Tribes made up approximately 8 percent of India's population. Scheduled Tribes also accounted for 25 percent of the poorest populations in India. In 2018, India's National Data found that Scheduled Tribes in India were the poorest populace. According to The National Family Health Survey 2015-2016, 45.9 percent of Scheduled Tribe members lived in the lowest wealth bracket.

According to the most recent official data, scheduled tribes are India's poorest population, with five out of ten falling into the lowest wealth band. According to the National Family Health Survey 2015-16 (NFHS-4): Compared to 26.6 percent of scheduled castes, 18.3 percent of other backward castes, 9.7 percent of other castes, and 25.3 percent of individuals whose caste is unclear, 45.9% of scheduled tribe members were in the lowest wealth group. In comparison to a decade ago, the

percentage of scheduled tribes in the lowest group has decreased by 4 percentage points, from 49.9% in 2005-06 to 45.9% in 2015-16. However, the number of people who "don't know" their caste has increased by 13.5 percentage points.

The amount and types of consumer items held, ranging from a television to a bicycle or automobile, as well as housing and indicators such as the source of drinking water used, bathroom facilities, and flooring material used in dwellings, are used to compute wealth brackets in NFHS-4. According to a World Bank brief, India's Adivasis, scheduled tribes make up 8% of India's population—104 million as of the 2011 Census—yet they account for one-fourth of the country's population living in the worst wealth quintile. Despite a one-third reduction in poverty rates between 1983 and 2011, poverty rates remain high due to a poor starting position, according to the brief. Unemployment is high among youths from scheduled castes and tribes.



Source: National Family Health Surveys 2005-06 and 2015-16

The Indian government is working to reduce poverty among Scheduled Tribes. In 2019, for example, Indian government allocated 85,000 crore of its 2020 budget to furthering the development and welfare of scheduled tribes. The Indian Ministry of Tribal Affairs is also responsible for promoting and implementing the programs that will benefit Scheduled Tribes in India.

Indebtedness

The Indebtedness is a reflection of the greater economic malaise, which includes a lack of education, poor buying bargaining power, and a lack of resources for engaging in productive activities and paying unexpected expenditures. As a result, the situation continues to grow in severity as tribal indebtedness pulls them further into poverty and forces them to sell their little resources, including small plots of land, to repay the debts at high interest rates. The introduction of commercial liquor vending in tribal areas has begun to impoverish the indigenous community, causing them to become destitute.

Different studies of the problem of Indian tribal communities shows pathetic situations of this most marginalized community. Mahapatro (1987) conducted an empirical investigation of 373 tribal households in Korapul District of Orissa. In this study reveals that the sources, purposes and extent of indebtedness among the sample households. He conducted that 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.

According to Mahabilesh Raj (1989) a study on planning for tribal welfare, They opined that there was a greater disparity in the economic standards of tribal's living in the area of there as mainly over the per-capita income, productivity of agriculture, receptivity of modern techniques ,size of land holding, etc. In some tribal regions, unemployment was quite serious. The major problems experienced by the tribal's were exploited by middlemen, procurement of minor forest produce by commercial forces, money lending, land alienation, indebtedness bondage and

forest policies. These were mainly due to their illiteracy, ignorance and also isolation from the non-tribal.

Land Alienation

Agriculturists make up the vast majority of the tribals. They were the sole owners of the land. Their whole way of existence was based on two primary sources of production, namely the forest and the land. To comprehend the overall dynamics of the land problem, one must first comprehend the logic of the underlying factors that determine its ownership pattern. The rulers' and ruled's relationship is determined by the precise economic structure in which unpaid excess labor is sucked out of direct producers. As a result, a specific area's land problem must be understood from a historical perspective. There are several historical evidences that support the idea of depeasantization.

The issue of land is not only a product of the current circumstances; its roots may be traced back to eras when tribal lands were taken away from them or when their rights to utilise forest were taken away. Gradually, the more evolved tribes compelled the tribals to either retire to the closest jungles or become landless labourers as a result of different structural changes within and beyond the tribal systems. Tribals have been denied on multiple occasions, despite the fact that land is their primary source of income and their other possessions are relatively limited. The tribals are mostly exploited by moneylenders, businessmen, feudal lords, and wealthy peasants.

In 1969, the Committee on Plan Projects of the Planning Commission released a report on the Tribal Development Programmes, which addressed the issue of land alienation in tribal communities. Despite legislative limitations against such

transfers, tribal lands were transferred to non-tribals in several regions, according to the committee. In Andhra Pradesh, Orissa, and other states, sample investigations have revealed that large-scale transfers have occurred without the consent of the collector or other competent authorities, as required by law. Money lenders and others took advantage of the loopholes, and they continue to do so by engaging into 'benami' or other clan agreements.

There are different forms of alienation of tribal lands. The first and most serious of them is the falsification of land records. The problem of land alienation was exacerbated by the poor quality of land records. The tribals were never acknowledged as legal proprietors of the lands they farmed. The second type of land alienation is said to have occurred as a result of 'benami' transactions. Large-scale transfers of ownership of Adivasis lands are being allowed to go out of hands through illegal and benami transactions, collusive civil proceedings, and other means, according to a report by the Union Home Ministry's study team (May 1975), in which land remains in the names of the original owners who are reduced to the level of share croppers.

The leasing or mortgaging of land is a different type of land alienation. To get loans for various purposes, tribals must mortgage their land to local moneylenders or wealthy farmers. Encroachment is another method of dispossessing tribals of their lands, and it is carried out by new entrants in all areas where appropriate land records are lacking. Bribing the local Patwari, for example, to manipulate the date of a land dispute's resolution, ante-dating, and so on, is used to claim tribal territory. Concubinage, also known as a marital partnership, is another way to go around the law and take over tribal territory for free. Non-tribals are fictitiously adopted by tribal households.

The government imposed strict restrictions in the pretext of defending tribal interests, but non-tribals used the gaps to their advantage. One of the features of the prevailing conflicts in Indian tribal society is the double-edged character of state policies. Land alienation is not an unintended consequence of opposing class interests working in tribal regions; rather, it is the result of determined attempts by antagonistic class interests. This is not just a case of non-tribals migrating into tribal territories; there is a history to this movement, and the state has assisted migratory non-tribals in settling down in tribal grounds.

Shifting Cultivation

This approach often entails clearing a plot of land, followed by several years of wood harvesting or farming until the soil becomes deficient in fertility. When the land is no longer suitable for agricultural production, it is either left to recover by natural vegetation or converted to another long-term cyclical farming technique. This type of agriculture is commonly practised at the individual or family level, but it may also incorporate a whole town.

These systems are designed for the tropics' severe climate and delicate ecosystems. As a result, efforts to discover viable alternatives to shifting cropping have had mixed results. There are a number of soil and climatic restrictions that must be addressed. As a result of these limits, soil degradation becomes a serious issue when changing from shifting cultivation to mechanised intensive agriculture. As a result, many large-scale mechanical farming plans that were implemented in the humid tropics have failed.

Despite official discouragement and multipronged efforts to wean indigenous tribes away from shifting cultivation, it

remains a common agricultural practise in many regions of India. Their property provides them with little options owing to its remoteness, lack of market access, and uneven topography. The procedure entails farming land for a short period of time before leaving it – generally for one to two decades – to let the soil to recover its fertility and return to its natural state. It is blamed for deforestation, soil erosion, and biodiversity loss, all of which contribute to global climate change, because it entails the cutting of trees for temporary cultivation.

Displacement and Rehabilitation- Psycho-Socio-Cultural Adjustments

People who have been displaced from their conventional homes have experienced a great deal of trauma. Compulsory land acquisition for dams and highways, quarrying and mining activities, industry site, and forest reservation for National Parks and environmental reasons drives tribal people to abandon their traditional homes and land, which is their primary source of income.

India is one of the world's largest dam-building nations. Since India's independence in 1947, there have been 4,291 dams built in the country, indicating that huge dams are the single largest source of displacement, followed by SEZs or industrial growth. Forcing groups and people out of their homes, and frequently also their homelands, for the sake of economic progress is known as development induced displacement.

Displacement is not just a matter of economics; it is also, to a large part, a matter of human rights. Furthermore, displacement and rehabilitation must be understood as a continuous process that begins as soon as the project is announced and lasts for several years after the people have been relocated.

Furthermore, in the majority of situations, the standards of Resettlement and Rehabilitation (R and R) of persons displaced by development projects have been low. Most displaced persons, particularly those from disadvantaged socioeconomic groups, have been relegated to poverty and misery due to a lack of effective resettlement.

According to a rough idea, approximately 2 crore 13 lakh people have been displaced throughout the nation during the previous 50 years as a result of large projects such as mines, dams, factories, wild-life sanctuaries, field shooting ranges, and so on. Indigenous Adivasi people account for at least 40% of the population, or 85 lakhs. Only one-fourth of the displaced have been relocated. The rest were granted some financial compensation by the local authority, which was arbitrarily set, and then promptly forgotten.

Until 1990, over 85.39 lakh tribals have been relocated due to various megaprojects, forest reserve as National Parks, and other factors. Tribals account for at least 55.16 percent of the country's overall displaced population. The tribals are not adequately compensated for the problems they face in their way of life and ethos by cash payments.

So, displacement leads to dispossession not just economically, but also socially, culturally, and politically. It manifests itself in a variety of ways, including social disorganisation, poor self-esteem, loss of identity, health, culture, and political institutions, all of which are clearly illustrated using examples contained in boxes. All of this pushes the ousted to the margins.

Different studies reveal the social, cultural and psychological dimensions of the lives of the oustees under consideration while planning rehabilitation measures.

1. **Social Disorganisation:**With the kind of changes brought about by the displacement process, social disorganisation occurs. These factors have resulted in significant changes in the social structure of groups in general, and tribal cultures in particular.
2. **Loss of Self-esteem and Identity:**When confronted with growth and modernisation, many development project evictees feel a loss of self-esteem as people and as communities. The loss of a village community's moral value and dignity may be significant, as well as socially devastating.
3. **Loss of Culture and Religion:**The oustees also fear losing their cultural and religious customs as a result of their removal. They lose their cultural sovereignty, and their fundamental identity is jeopardised as a result.
4. **Loss of Political Institutions:**In the political domain, dispossession occurs as a result of the so-called national polity's political integration process. As a result, conventional political systems and institutions progressively become obsolete.
5. **Psychological Impact:**Uprooted people experience feelings of isolation, hopelessness, and impotence, according to studies. Increased psychological stress weakens social cohesiveness and reduces those affected's initiative and ability for collaborative action. Social anomie and mental illnesses can also result from displacement.

3.4 Tribal movements in India: Tribal Movements- Santhal Rebellion, Munda Rebellion, Muthanga Agitation

Tribals revolted and formed movements in response to their exploitation and persecution. Landlords, moneylenders, kedars and missionaries, as well as European government officials, were regarded as their adversaries. In their different regions, they began movements against their oppressors. They rose against them because of their exploitation, which included encroachment on their land, eviction from their land, the destruction of traditional legal and social rights and practises, rent increases, land transfer to the tiller, and the abolition of feudal and semi-feudal land ownership. These movements have social and theological overtones in general. However, they were aimed at the challenges that arose as a result of their presence.

Although the movements originated on social and religious problems, as well as against outsider oppression, they eventually amalgamated with the National movement and the anti-tax campaign. The tribals used conventional weaponry such as bows, arrows, lathis, and axes to fight their opponents. Their movement frequently devolved into violence, leading in the assassination of downtrodden people and the torching of their homes. The government brutally repressed the majority of the movements. The tribals were forced to follow British policies that were harmful to their interests.

The earliest signs of tribal insurrection appeared in the latter part of the nineteenth century. The tribal's took part in the 1857 insurrection that swept the country. The following section we will discuss some of the most important tribal movements such as Santhal rebellion, Mundarebellion, Muthanga agitation those were primarily anti-colonial and state in nature.

Santhal Rebellion

The Santhals' movement arose in response to exploitation and oppression by landowners who held illegitimate control of the Santhals' land. The villagers' moneylenders and bureaucrats were also targets of this campaign. Sidhu and Kanhu, two brothers, lead the initiative. They called a conference at Bhagnadih and said that they could end their tyranny by reclaiming their land from their oppressors. At the meeting, some 35,000 Santhals served as their bodyguards. Following the statement made at the gathering, hundreds of Santhals marched towards Calcutta, equipped with traditional weaponry like as bows, arrows, and axes, to deliver a petition to the Governor.

The police officer obstructed them and provoked them into violence. Several Santhals were massacred at the hands of the British. The rebellion (movement) lasted 60 days. The Santhal rebellion forced the government to change its policy towards them. An around 5000 sq. miles area was carved out as "Non-Regulation" district, which came to be known as "Santhal Parganas". An administrative head was appointed to recover the alienated land.

Munda Rebellion

The Birsa Munda movement is the most popular among the Munda tribes of Bihar's Chotanagpur region's Singhbhum and Ranchi districts. This movement was led by Birsa Munda. This campaign, like the previous ones, was aimed against the outsidersdikus - landowners, tradesmen, merchants, and government officials. The British created these classifications. Traditional land and social institutions existed in the territories inhabited by Qaron and Munda prior to the arrival of British policy.

The 'Khuntkari system' was their land system. The tribals had customary ownership of their territory. The lack of a landlord class characterised the system. The tribals laboured on their land and gave their leaders tributes. The original khuntkari system was superseded by the zamindari system by 1874. The zamindari system established the castes of zamindars (landlords) and ryots(tenants).

The tribals were now required to pay rent to the landowners, and failure to do so resulted in their eviction. The landlords exploited the tribals in the following ways: they brought peasants into the tribal lands from neighbouring areas and evicted the tribals from their land, harassed them by brute force, encroached upon their land, increased their rent, changed the collective payment of rent into individual payment, forced them to do begar (forced labour), inflicted physical injury on them, and extracted various types of allowances from them, such as horse, palki, etc.

The tribals had to rely on currency to pay their rent and fulfil their daily necessities when the economy was monetised. They were reliant on moneylenders as a result of this. For the loan that they advanced to the tribals, the moneylenders charged excessive interest rates. Landlords, moneylenders, and government officials worked together to exploit the tribals. The British policies had an impact on the tribals' social structure as well. The modern courts replaced their tribal councils, which provided them with free justice. Apart from outsiders' exploitation and persecution of the Mundas, as well as the destruction of their traditional social and political structures, natural disasters exacerbated their plight. They were starved through two famines, one in 1896-97 and the other in 1890-1900.

The mundas blamed the dikus and missionaries for their misfortunes. As a result, they acquired emotions of animosity toward the dikus. They believed that the only way to relieve their misery was to expel the outsiders and build their own raj. Even before the Birsamunda uprising, the Sardar movement had turned against all Europeans, including missionaries and officials, who were accused of working hand in hand with the landowners.

Muthanga Agitation

The Muthanga battle was a watershed moment in Kerala's Adivasi land movements. Fourteen years have passed since the Adivasi Gothra Maha Sabha (AGMS), led by C.K. Janu and M. Geethanandan, turned 'Muthanga' into a lesson for people's movements in Kerala. Hundreds of Adivasis from the AGMS, headed by C.K. Janu and M. Geethanandan, invaded forestland in Muthanga in early January 2003 in protest at the government's failure to follow through on pledges made in 2001. The AGMS had stated from the start that the tribals would only leave the forest if the government agreed to their demands.

The Adivasis had built huts and other shelters in the occupied territory and stated that they would begin farming it. The administration, on the other hand, opted to keep mute even after weeks of occupancy of the forest territory. In reality, Adivasi leaders were anticipating a call from the state capital to begin discussions on the land problem.

The circumstances surrounding the police shooting and following harsh "follow-up" operation must be examined in light of the events that have occurred since 1975, when the State Assembly passed legislation prohibiting Adivasi land alienation. Huge areas of forest were available to the Adivasis across the state, notably in the districts of Palakkad, Wayanad, Idukki, Pathanamthitta, Kollam, and Thiruvananthapuram.

These territories were gradually but steadily taken over by non-Adivasi people, and succeeding administrations were only bystanders while the invasion campaign continued. As the demand for property in the plains grew, non-Adivasi people pursued land grabs even more aggressively. The Adivasis had been promised that their enslaved land would be returned under the 1975 Act.

The tribal people's 48-day fight in Kerala came to a conclusion on October 16, 2001, when the State administration and the Adivasi Dalit Action Council reached a seven-point agreement. The agreement stated, among other things, that the government would provide five acres of land to each landless Adivasi family whenever possible; in other places, the offer is a minimum of one acre, with the possibility of increasing to five acres depending on land availability; and a five-year livelihood programme would be implemented in the land thus provided until it became fully productive for Adivasis to sustain themselves. The agreement's conclusion was hailed as a "historic achievement" and a "morale booster" by many.

The Muthanga incident, on the other hand, raised the Adivasis' political awareness in the state. Following that, major political parties began to exploit Adivasi sentiments. The Muthanga fight had also boosted Dalit political awareness in the state. The land disputes in Aralam and Chengara must be seen in this context. Hundreds of landless households benefited from the mobilisation, according to C.K. Janu and others. They said that the state's leading parties, which have held political power for a long time, had never failed to deliver land to Adivasis. During the post-Muthanga period, however, they were forced to discuss Adivasi land rights.

MODULE IV

TRIBES IN KERALA

4.1 Composition and distribution of tribal population in Kerala

4.2 Ethnographic Profile of Selected Tribes in Kerala:
Cholanaickan, Mullukurumba, Kurichias Paniyans

4.3 Tribal development initiatives in Kerala- a critical appraisal

4.4 Field visit and preparation of field report¹

Introduction

A number of indigenous groups make Kerala home. The majority of them live on the Western Ghats' western slope. Thirty-six groups are classified on the State's Scheduled Tribes list, with a population of 320967 people according to the 1991 census (2001 census is not yet available). The Scheduled Tribes make up 1.10 percent of the state's overall population.

In this module we will look at three major topics related with tribes in Kerala. In the first part we will look at the composition and distribution of tribal population in Kerala. In the second part we will examine ethnographic profile of selected tribes in Kerala such as Cholanaickan, Mullukurumba, Kurichias and Paniyans.

¹The field report should be prepared and submitted individually by each student and will be considered as the assignment for the internal evaluation

In the third part we will critically examine the tribal development initiatives in Kerala in the recent period.

4.1 Composition and distribution of tribal population in Kerala

Tribes in Kerala are the indigenous population found in the southern Indian state of Kerala. The majority of Kerala's indigenous people reside in the forests and mountains of the Western Ghats, which run into Karnataka and Tamil Nadu. Kerala's Scheduled Tribe population is 4,84,839 people, according to the 2011 Indian Census (1.5 percent of the total population). In Kerala, Wayanad district has the most tribals (1,51,443), followed by Idukki (55,815), Palakkad (48,972), Kasaragod (48,857), and Kannur (48,857) districts (41,371). Among Kerala tribals, Paniyan, Irula, Kattunaikan, and Adiyar are some of the most important groups. The Paniya (Paniyar) are the largest of the 35 major tribes.

Primitive Tribes are tribal people groups that are food gatherers with dwindling populations and very low or no literacy rates. Kerala's five basic tribal groups are the Cholanaikkans, Kurumbas, Kattunaikkans, Kadars, and Koragas. They make up over 5% of the total tribal population in the state. Cholanaikkans can be said as the most primitive of them and found only in the Malappuram District. Only a handful of families are living in the Mancheri hills of Nilambur forest division.

Kattunaikkans, another lower-hill community related to Cholanaikkans, are mainly seen in Wayanad district and some in Malappuram and Kozhikode districts. Kadar population is found in Trisur and Palakkad districts. Kurumbas are living in the Attappady Block of Palakkad district. The Koraga habitat is in the plain areas of Kasaragod district.

Area	Tribes
<i>Kasaragod</i>	Koragar, Maradi
<i>Wayanad</i>	Paniyar, Kurichyar, Kattunaikkar, Mullukkurumar, Adiyar, Kanduvadiyar, Thachanadar, Kanaladi
<i>Attappadi</i>	Irular, Kurumbar, Mudugar
<i>Nilambur</i>	Cholanaikkar, Aranadan, Kadar, Alar, Paniyar
<i>Parambikkulam</i>	Kadar, malasar, malamalasar
<i>Idukki</i>	Malampadaram, Malappulayan, Malayarayar, Urali, Muthuvan, Mannan
<i>Nedumangad</i>	Kanikkar, Malandar

In terms of social development metrics, Kerala's indigenous communities (Scheduled tribes) are still falling behind others. The most serious criticism levelled against the Kerala development model is that it has failed to mainstream the excluded parts of society. When the majority of society enjoyed developed-nation living standards, these communities remained impoverished. Numerous attempts and strategies have been developed to raise them, but the success rate of those programmes has been disappointing.

As previously mentioned, Kerala is well-known for its development indicators and strong style of decentralised governance. At the same time, underprivileged communities, particularly adivasis, face a variety of challenges. This sharp contrast may be seen throughout Kerala's tribal areas. The plight

of Kerala's tribal people demonstrates the current state of extreme inequity. It is a dehumanising state that diminishes an individual's dignity. Kerala's tribes face issues such as land encroachment, poverty, diseases like as tuberculosis, cancer, and sickle cell anaemia, as well as poor housing and unemployment. It demonstrates the incompatibility of tribal development and the Kerala development paradigm.

Land alienation has been yet another factor for the deprivation that tribal communities have faced and continue to face. This can be understood if we try to analyse the percentage of agricultural labourers from tribal in Kerala. In addition to that, livelihoods of tribes are made vulnerable by small land holdings, lack of capital and infrastructure to carry out agriculture, conflict with wild animals especially elephants, and drought in rain fed agricultural areas because of poor rainfall. Malnourishment among tribal people is directly related to food and indirectly related to non-food factors. Inadequate food intake being the immediate factor, lack of employment opportunities, landlessness, decline in agriculture, reduction in forest cover, ineffective government policies etc. cumulatively contribute to insecurity of tribal people.

4.2 Ethnographic Profile of Selected Tribes in Kerala: Cholanaickan, Mullukurumba, Kurichias, Paniyans

Cholanaickan

The Cholanaickan, also known as the "Kerala Cavemen," reside in the upper Ghatpart (chola) of the Nilambur Valley, Nilamburthaluk, Malappuram district. They live a semi-nomadic existence in the woods, with little interaction with the outside world. As previously stated, they were thought to be a branch of the larger Tribe Kattunayakan, whose centuries of physical

isolation in the Nilambur jungles resulted in the establishment of two distinct endogamous groups, Cholanaickan and Pathinaicken, in terms of habitat. Cholanaickan census reports prior to 1991 were not accessible since they had been merged with Kattunayakan. They were very recently included to Kerala's list of Scheduled Tribes. In 1998, KIRTADS performed a survey for the Action Plan, which approximated 365 Cholanaickan.

The Cholanaickan live in territorial groups of two to seven nuclear families that are dispersed across the forest. Chemmakkar, the headman of each chemmam, is referred to as Chemmakkar. A chemmam's members are referred to as "chemmams" after the land in which they live. The Cholanaickan, like their primary tribe, the Kattunayakan, believe in ancestor spirits and worship sylvan deities. A little sacred cabin called 'daivapura' may be found in every traditional hamlet, and icons are stored in this 'daivapura' in 'daivakotta' (bamboo basket made for the purpose). Chemmakkar is significant in all of the hamlet's religious and social events.

Because they still live a nomadic lifestyle in the forest, property inheritance has little meaning in the group. Government action has been initiated to relocate the Cholanaickan who are now living in rock shelters (alai) or open camp-sites where they are creating quick leaf shelters (mana) to permanent abodes. Despite the fact that half of them now have homes, they continue to live semi-nomadic lives.

Mullukurumba

Mullukurumba or kurumans are people who live in Tamilnadu's Wayanad District and the adjacent Gudalur Taluk. They speak a dialect called Kurumaba, which is an unclear Kannada dialect with a lot of Tamil and Malayalam words and

phrases, and they don't have their own script. The Mullu Kurauman has four kulams that govern marital alliances: Villappa, Kathika, Vadakku, and Vengage. The kulams are not organised in any way. The Mullu Kuruman community's major mature economic resource is land, which is managed by people. Hunting, collecting, and shifting farming were the Mulla Kuruman's traditional vocations.

Currently, they are primarily employed in agricultural and government positions. In agriculture, animal husbandry, fishing, and poultry, women assist their husbands. Some of them have their own plots of land for farming. The Mullu Kuruman currently embrace Hinduism, and tribal religious customs are nearly extinct. The Mullu Kuruman takes use of all current civic amenities. Their population, according to the 2011 census, is predicted to be 24,505.

The Kurumbar's hamlet is known as ooru. Oorumoopan, the headman of each ooru, is helped by Bhandari, Kuruthala, and Mannookkaran. The Bhandari is the social function's treasurer, whereas the Mannookkaran is a traditional agriculture expert. Shifting agriculture and non-wood forest products are the Kurumbar's main sources of income. Kurumbar Girijan Service Co-operative Society sells the non-wood forest products acquired. They grow redgram, ragi, chama, and veggies, among other things.

The ownership of land is communal in nature. Housing is supplied to over 80% of the community. However, because the houses are of low quality, they are in need of new ones. Although 90% of the Kurumbar hamlets have drinking water infrastructure, the tribe still relies on natural sources.

Kurichias

Kurichians are people who live in the districts of Kannur and Kozhikode. The Kurichian are one of Kerala's Scheduled Tribes, with the fourth largest population. Kurichian of Wayanad, Kunnam Kurichian of Kannavam woodland, Anchilla Kurichian of Tirunelly, and Pathiri Kurichian are the four subgroups of the Kurichian. Within their families and with others, the Kurichian speak and write Malayalam, but with an unique accent and intonation. Kurichian's economy is focused on agriculture.

The forest department has made land suitable for farming. They are concerned about the ever-increasing population and land shortages. The Kurichian are tribal Hindus who practice Hinduism. As family and Kulam deities, they worship Bhagawati, Malakkari, Athiraplan, and Munnandaivam. The Kurichians are known for their bravery and dependability. Their population is predicted to be 35,171 according to the 2011 census.

The Kurichiyas, also known as Malai Brahmins or Hill Brahmins, are Wayanad's second biggest adivasi group. They are the highest caste among the Wayanad hill tribes, and they used to mix with all other castes and tribal clans except the Nairs and Nampoothiris. Because of the community's prowess in archery, the Kottayam Raja called it Kurichiya. The name comes from the word 'kurivechavan,' which roughly translates to 'he who took aim.' They are also thought to have descended from the ThekeKarinayar, or Kari Nayars of the South, a subgroup of the Nayars from Kerala's Venad or Travancore region.

Paniyans

The Paniya tribe lives in Kerala's Wayanad, Kannur, Kozhikode, and Malappuram districts, as well as the surrounding districts of Karnataka's Coorg and Tamil Nadu's Nilgiris.

Wayanad is home to the majority of South India's Paniya community. According to the 2011 Census, Wayanad has 15,876 Paniya families, contributing to a population of 69,116 people.

The phrase Paniya/Paniyan/Paniyar roughly translates to 'worker' or 'labourer.' This term most likely also denotes their socioeconomic status as a community that works for their landlords. Paniyas have traditionally been violent slaves who laboured in the janmis' or landowners' agricultural fields.

Paniyas residents worked as farm labourers for nearby landowners. Kundalpani, or bound labour, is the sort of labour offered by the Paniyas to the janmis. The yearly temple festival at Valliyurkaavu in Mananthavady, Wayanad, used to be when these aggressive slaves were bought and sold. The Paniyas and other tribal tribes of Wayanad, such as the Adiyas, worship the goddess at Valliyurkaavu, assuring religious approval. The janmis bought labourers from the Paniyas who gathered at the temple festival at a price the former thought was fair—an sum of 10 or 30 INR was paid to the chosen labourer, and he was bound to work for the same janmi for the rest of his life.

With the elimination of bonded labour by the Kerala state government in 1975, the system came to an end. Though the Paniyas still work in the fields of landed farmers, they now work as wage labourers in landholding farmers' agricultural fields near their tribal communities. (See Figure 2) The males are paid around 600 INR for their services, while the ladies are paid only 350 INR. They have the choice of working as agricultural labourers or as part of the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee programme, which provides employment for 100 days or more to an individual in a home, or doing odd chores for the local population nearby. Women from Paniya work as maids.

4.3 Tribal development initiatives in Kerala- a critical appraisal

Kerala's state government has been devising a number of development programmes for indigenous groups from its inception, tackling poverty, land alienation, education, health care, employment, social development, and welfare. Despite the many social measures implemented and constitutional protection provided, Kerala's adivasi community has experienced different types of deprivation, oppression, and poverty. Kerala's adivasi population has a poverty rate that is half that of the rest of India.

The Scheduled Tribes Development Department, Local Self Government Institutions (LSGIs), and Oorukootams are in charge of implementing developmental programmes for the state's scheduled tribes. At the field level, the Scheduled Tribes Development Department, which was founded in 1980, includes seven Intensive Tribal Development (ITD) project offices, nine Tribal Development offices, and 48 Tribal Extension Officers (TEO). The Scheduled Tribes Development Department is undertaking a number of programmes, which may be essentially classified into five categories: educational, health care, social upliftment, cultural development, and other development initiatives, all of which are funded by the State and Central government.

On December 24, 1996, the Indian Parliament adopted the Panchayats Extension Act to the Scheduled Areas, often known as PESA. Many social activists hail the PESA Act as the essence of grassroots democracy and a game-changing move forward in tribal governance and development. The Indian Constitution's fifth schedule establishes guidelines for the administration of scheduled areas, the flow of grants-in-aids from the consolidated fund of India to scheduled areas for the purpose of promoting the

welfare of scheduled tribes, and the functions of the National Commissions of Scheduled Tribes. The PESA Act is thought to have a lot of potential. The PESA Act is thought to provide tribal people with significant self-rule opportunities through organisations like as Panchayat and GramaSabha.

The benefits of advancements in ICT and service delivery management are projected to aid disadvantaged groups, such as scheduled tribes, in improving their living conditions. LSGIs and oorukootams can increase the efficiency with which they can supply services to this outlier community through participatory development. The capacity of LSGIs and oorukootams to offer services to the people in a timely, high-quality, and prudent manner, as well as in a people-friendly manner, is crucial to the efficacy of decentralisation and empowerment.

A new paradigm for tribal development might be imagined, in which program/schemes are developed, implemented, monitored, and evaluated in accordance with tribal people's needs and engagement in support of a responsive, transparent, and responsible public service delivery system. A combined and honest initiative of GramaPanchayaths and respective oorukootams can bring forth a public delivery system that ensures a reasonable and quality service to the disadvantaged tribal community in overcoming the current issues and challenges associated with the implementation of tribal-specific schemes and projects.

Development Schemes

The Scheduled Tribes Development department has adopted the following vision for itself; “To evolve educated, skilled, healthy, economically self-sufficient and progressive tribal society through strategic planning and empowerment without altering

their cultural values”.Socio-economic development and protection of the Scheduled Tribes people from all kinds of exploitation are the twin objectives of Tribal sub plan.Hence the Developmental Strategy for Scheduled tribes is focusing on the following areas.

➤ **Housing, Land and Homesteads Development**

The state government has embarked on a massive initiative to provide housing to all scheduled tribes, ensuring that no scheduled tribal family is without a home in the state. It is made up of the four elements listed below. It is recommended that homeless families be assisted in building new homes. This programme will examine tribal families that do not have a home or refuge. From 2017-18 onwards, the housing initiative will fall under the ‘Life Mission’ banner.

It envisions a large-scale housing programme for all landless and homeless households. The Mission will also give financial support to build unfinished dwellings that were approved before to 31.3.2016. This plan also includes support for the completion of dwellings that were approved in earlier years (spill over houses). The programme also proposes providing additional rooms and repairing decrepit dwellings. Amount will be sanctioned on a case-by-case basis based on the requirements and estimates, up to a maximum of Rs.1.50 lakhs.

The Tribal Resettlement and Development Mission (TRDM) intend to provide each household with at least one acre of land, with a maximum of five acres. The resettlement is being carried out in accordance with a master plan prepared by the District Missions. District Collector chairs the committee, which is made up of line department officers. In the state, there are 44 resettlement camps. TRDM's goal is to provide land to landless tribals as well as other infrastructure like as houses, drinking

water, roads, and power, as well as self-employment opportunities (agricultural, animal husbandry, dairy enterprises, and so on) for the relocated tribes.

➤ **Education and Development of Tribes**

Education is being prioritised since it is a tool for not only raising awareness, but also enabling Scheduled Tribes to gain better jobs and human development. The emphasis of education sector reforms is on boosting functional literacy, reducing school dropouts, and improving students' academic competence. Overcrowding in our pre-matric and post-matric dormitories is being addressed immediately by constructing suitable infrastructure. The dropout rate in the secondary, upper secondary, professional, and technical levels is a major source of worry. Gender interactions and household socioeconomic issues are major considerations. The dropout problem is being handled with a multi-faceted approach encompassing language challenges, teacher training and recruiting, and providing excellent education to students, all of which are being addressed by a coordinated and concentrated effort by all parties involved in a mission mode.

There are 20 Model Residential Schools/Asramam Schools operating under this department to provide quality education to ST kids, with two MRSs following CBSE Syllabus. In such institutes, additional academic facilities are also available. The ST department's Model Residential Schools are centres of excellence, continuously obtaining remarkable scores in SSLC and Plus Two tests over time. In these colleges, around 5500 students are enrolled.

➤ **Employment, Income Generation and Skill Development**

The Department of Tribal development aids Scheduled Tribes families in making a living by providing assistance to

individuals and self-help organisations for self-employment in order to reduce the severity of unemployment among the young generation. Sixty percent of the recipients should be women, with widows, unwed moms, and women-headed families receiving priority. Under the plan, projects for skill development, entrepreneurial growth, personality enhancement, customised coaching/assistance for career prospects in India and abroad are being implemented.

Kerala State Development Corporation for SC/ST Ltd. - TSP (State Share 51%) is a centrally supported plan in which the State Development Corporation for SCs and STs receives a 51:49 share capital contribution from the State Government and the Central Government. The Corporation receives the central portion of the stock capital. The Corporation invests in job-creating projects in a wide range of industries. The funds would go toward a 51 percent state participation in the Kerala State Development Corporation for Scheduled Tribes, which will be used to implement economic development initiatives that will benefit Scheduled Tribes.

➤ **Healthcare Schemes**

The Department of Scheduled Tribes Development implements the following programmes for the tribal people's total health care. In the distant scheduled tribal territories of Attappady (2 clinics), Chalakudy (1 clinic), and Idukki, the Scheduled Tribes Development Department operates five allopathic outpatient clinics (2 clinics). These institutes provide assistance to about 24000 ST patients each year. These OP Clinics also provide ambulance services as well as medical camps.

Medical Assistance via Hospitals is a programme that provides medical care to Scheduled Tribes people at a number of

hospitals around the state. Treatment support is offered to tribal people stricken by different ailments under the plan through state-approved facilities. The funds are used to provide/purchase drugs, medical examinations, including all forms of scans, medical aids and equipment, and ambulance transportation services, which are not available in government hospitals. In addition, spectators will be given pocket money, and patients' meal expenditures will be covered in desperate circumstances.

The fund is provided to all 14 District Hospitals, recognised Government Hospitals in various areas of the state with a significant ST population, and the Superintendents of all Government Medical College Hospitals through the District Medical Officers in charge. The fund is also provided to the Superintendents of Cochin Medical College and Pariyaram Medical College, as well as the Directors of SreeChitraThirunal Institute of Medical Sciences and Research, Regional Cancer Centre, and Malabar Cancer Centre.

The Tribal Relief Fund initiative aims to give financial help to the ST community who have been impacted by illnesses or natural disasters. Financial aid is provided to Scheduled Tribes who are poor and suffer from a variety of maladies, including cancer, heart, renal, and brain problems, among others.

To conclude, the central government and states have implemented a variety of unique initiatives and programmes targeted at improving tribal livelihoods in terms of food security, housing, and self-sufficiency. As we know, tribal peoples of India have long been marginalised from mainstream society, culture, and civilisation. Tribal social exclusion is about more than just bad living circumstances; it frequently generates unfavourable moral judgements about individuals who are marginalised, which

works against a positive response to their problems, making it more difficult to find appropriate solutions.

4.4 Field Visit and Preparation of Field Report

Anthropological Field trip or field work is immersing oneself in to the everyday life in order to observe and analyse their behaviours and interactions. A hamlet in the Western Ghats, a major corporate headquarters in Kochi, a little neighbourhood café in Calicut, or even a social networking site like Facebook may all become "the field." In the field trip anthropologists put together concepts about kinship, language, religion, politics, and economic systems during the fieldwork phase, allowing them to create a picture of the culture.

Field visits are often stimulating for students, providing material for learning in a relevant real-world setting, and provide an intensity or authenticity that traditional class cannot deliver. In the social sciences, the objective of a field report is to describe and evaluate observations of people, locations, and/or events in order to discover and categorise common patterns in connection to the research subject motivating the study. The researcher's interpretation of meaning discovered in data obtained during one or more observational events is represented by the content.

Participant observation is the most common form of anthropological field. This method of data collection involves the anthropologist recording their views and experiences while participating in activities with local participants or informants at the field site. Depending on their research topic, anthropologists also conduct casual talks, more formal interviews, surveys, or questionnaires, and generate pictures, sound, or video recordings, as well as historical or archival research into correspondence, public documents, or reports. When assessing their study, some

anthropologists employ quantitative approaches, such as compiling statistics based on their results.

Anthropological writing is distinct from other genres of writing about people and places, such as academic, historical, journalistic, or travel writing. While the researchers may keep a fieldwork journal with personal notes, ethnography is much more than a daily account of happenings. Ethnography deals with anthropology's theoretical underpinnings and is written with cultural context in mind, speaking to anthropology as a field as well as providing a deeper knowledge of the cultural environment that has been examined. The goal of field report writing is to create material that develops and adds to the comparative analysis of human cultures and communities.

Prepare a Field Report

Field reports need the researcher combining classroom knowledge and analysis with methods of observation and practice outside of the classroom acquired through the field trip. The objective of field reports is to describe a person, location, or event that has been seen and to evaluate that data in order to find and categorise common patterns in connection to the study's research problems. The data is often in the form of notes recorded during the observation, but it can also be in the form of pictures, graphics, or audio recordings.

Field reports are most commonly assigned in the applied social sciences, especially in Anthropology. In Anthropology, it is critical to establish a link between theoretical concepts learned in the classroom and the practise of doing the work you are being taught to do. Field trip instructors will assign a field report with the goal of increasing your knowledge of major theoretical topics by rigorous and systematic observation and reflection on real-

world experience. Field reports help you build data gathering strategies and observation abilities while also allowing you to see how theory relates to real-life circumstances.

Field reports help us to build data gathering strategies and observation abilities while also allowing us to see how theory relates to real-life circumstances. Field reports can also be used to gather evidence through watching professional activity in ways that question or enhance established hypotheses. In the field trip we witness of people, their relationships, locations, and events; but, while writing a field report, our role is to develop a research study based on data gathered via observation, a synthesis of significant results, and an assessment of their significance. When preparing a field report, we must include the following information:

- ❖ Observe and properly record the many components of a scenario in a systematic manner. Always prepare a clear strategy for your field research, including what you'll observe, where you'll conduct your observations, and how you'll collect and document your data.
- ❖ Analyze your findings on a regular basis. Always try to figure out what's going on behind the scenes of what you're seeing. What exactly is going on here? What does this observable behaviour imply? What else does this have to do with it? Keep in mind that this is a continuous process of reflection and analysis that will continue throughout your field investigation.
- ❖ While observing, keep the report's objectives in mind. You should not record what you see at random or hastily; you should be concentrated and pay attention to details. Enter the field with a clear idea of what you want to see and capture, but be ready to adjust to changing conditions as they happen.

- ❖ Observe, document, and evaluate what you hear and see while keeping a theoretical framework in mind. This is the difference between data collection and simply reporting. The theoretical framework that guides your field study should dictate what, when, and how you observe, as well as serve as the foundation for interpreting your findings.

So, being an anthropologist requires a lot of field trips and fieldwork. It allows us to have a better understanding of people and their cultures. It also allows us to leave the classroom and go to new locations all around the world. It allows us to meet and collaborate with new individuals while also giving us hands-on experience with fascinating projects.

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The material on 'Social Anthropology' is scrutinised thrice and found satisfactory.