

TRIBAL ECOLOGY AND DEVELOPMENT

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Editors
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**பழங்குடியினரின் வாழ்க்கைக்குழுவும்
முன்னேற்றமும்**

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Dedicated to
Thiru N.D. Sundaravadivelu,
Former Vice-Chancellor
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CONTENT

Contributors

Acknowledgement

Foreward

Preface

Introduction - V.Karuppaiyan & D. Venkatesan

1. Ecology and Economy: A Case Study of the Saoras of Andhra Pradesh
- M.Suryanarayana. 1
2. Ecology of Tribal Habitat in Visakapatnam Agency Area: Food Resources, Habit and Deficiencies
- V.Subramaniam 10
3. Ecology, Ethnomedicine and Social Structure on a Pnar Village
- H.K.Bhatt 29
4. Eco-change and Subsistence Pattern among the Tribes - A Case Study of Kanikar
- Sasi Kumar 41
5. Tribal Ecology and Occupations: Some Observations
- Suresh Patil. 48
6. Rediscovering Tribal Identity : Emerging Processes and Boundaries
- P.Devanesan 56
7. Tribal Development in Karnataka : Retrospect and Prospect
- N.Ningaiah 70

8.	Agricultural Extension Services Towards Sustainable Tribal Development - S.Ramu and Shanmugam.	82
9.	Fifty Years of Tribal Development in India - D.Venkatesan.	91
10.	Fifty Years of Rural and Tribal: A Case Study of Malayalis of Pachamalai - L.K.Sivanesan	108
11.	Economic Development and Cultural Change: The Case of Pachamalayalis in Tamil Nadu - K.Pari Murugan and R.Dhanasekar	123
12.	Tribes in Urban Setting: Changes and Challenges - The Case of Tribals in Madras City - S.Gregory	132
13.	Socio-cultural and Linguistic Problems of Mullukurumba due to Ecological Variations - D.Robert Sathya Joseph	142
14.	Concept of Environment and Folk Taxonomy: Cases of the Jirga, Ho and the Santal. - Syamal Kanti Sengupta & Smt.Soma Bandyopadhyay.	149
15.	Sustainable Tribal Development in Nilgiris A case study of Todas - S. Kamala Devi	168

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I remain indebted to the organisations such as Tribal Research Centre, Ooty, University Grants Commission, Indian Oil Corporation, Hindustan College of Arts and Science, Meenakshi College for Women and State Bank of India, Chennai for providing financial assistance to conduct the seminar.

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Dr.V.Karuppaiyan

Chennai
3.1.2000

FOREWORD

It is indeed a pleasant task to write a foreward to a volume edited by my colleagues. This work has put together some of the papers presented at two National Seminars: "Tribal Ecology and Development" during September 1996 in Chennai, and "Tribal Societies and Sustainable Development" during September 1997 in Ooty, both organised by the Department of Anthropology, University of Madras. I have been asked to write this piece, perhaps, because I was abroad and could not participate in the deliberations of the seminars.

Though we are surrounded by and live in the midst of a maze of changes we have a tendency to view certain spheres as either not being affected by these changes or as being inflected to a negligible extent by these changes. It is in this context that we need to look at tribal societies in the country today. Year after year we see works being carried out, and books and monographs being published with very little attention being paid to the realm of transformations coming in significantly vis-a-vis economic and social changes occurring among the tribal societies. The proclivity of providing well-rounded, homogeneous and non-stratified profiles of tribal communities needs to be examined and the need to change the approach to tribal studies has to be debated in workshops at the national level. It is in this context that micro level intensive studies of tribal communities, with emphasis on different aspects of the society rather than rounded pictures of them, are needed for better understanding of such communities. A change in approach will enable us to obtain a different picture. We will see that in contemporary times hardly any human society is unaffected by changes. Almost all societies are subjected to transformations that are setting in due to technological changes and the interests of big businesses and transnational corporations. Hence we are compelled to complicate the understanding of tribal societies in the contemporary context and give up the hitherto facile and simplistic constructions, visions and imageries. We need to recognise the fact that stratification, even if it is a bit incipient in some contexts, is emerging among tribal groups in various parts of India and their social structure is not as changing as it is made out to be.

Given the above, the present volume is a good step in that direction. In earlier studies on tribal societies ecology used to be treated as a subsection or a small chapter or as an appendage, while the focus used to be on the tribe per

that is, a holistic profile of the entire tribe which included all institutions of a group concerned. In the present volume the subject of ecology has been put on the central stage. And in that respect it is certainly a departure from previous studies, the erstwhile works. Almost all the papers in this volume address issues of ecology and development. A majority of the papers deal with aspects of ecology directly and attempt to draw attention to development. The other papers also attempt to stay close to the central theme of the volume while dealing with aspects and issues having an impact on different tribal societies.

Chennai

February 2000

M.A. Kalam

Professor of Anthropology
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PREFACE

The cultural diversity of tribal communities is vast: so are the ecological conditions in which they inhabit such as the fragile hill environments, adjacent plains and the tropical forests—all of which are generally rich in natural resources. Historically these tribal communities had maintained an unmediated relationship with the local ecology. This more or less stable relationship between these groups and their environment has been vastly disturbed, especially during the Colonial period, and in some areas disappeared due to various reasons. The impact of such a change in the man-environment relationship historically, has its unmistakable print on the contemporary tribal societies is clear. The destruction of both the genetic material having an impinging effect on the deteriorating bio-diversity and cultural aspects of the tribal life bring down their capacity to adapt within their own traditional homeland.

The present tribal conditions as well as the contexts demand vigorous assessment of existing tribal scenario in the country vis-a-vis the changing ecological and natural resources scenario. It is hightime, therefore, that experts should try to come together with their creative energy and focus on identifying and suggesting pragmatic options to these problems.

Keeping in view these points, the Department of Anthropology, University of Madras has organised a two-day National Seminar on **Tribal Ecology and Development** during 13th and 14th September 1996 with the support of Ministry of Welfare, Government of India, New Delhi.

As the seminar Director, received more than 40 papers on the above themes. It has been decided to select a few papers related to the theme—Tribal Ecology and Development and thus this book is published with the help of the Madras University Publication Division.

I thank and acknowledge all the contributors.

Chennai-600 005
3rd January 2000

Dr.V.Karupaiyan
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INTRODUCTION

- D. Venkatesan

Anthropologists trained thoroughly in the discipline are now practicing as academicians, administrators, planners and social workers as to refine disadvantageous stage of the tribal society through welfare and development programmes, based on experiences gained by them through prolonged field work at micro situation. The tribal society in Indian is the most disadvantaged group for longer period except in few pockets. They are either deprived from basic amenities or not fulfilled them by the agencies designated for the purpose. Appropriate welfare and development measures are more important for improving the living condition of the tribal societies without interfering adversely into their cultural ethos.

There has been wider gap noticed between the tribes and other groups in the level of education/literacy, economy, health and nutritional status, and utilisation of constitutional provisions. Natural resources on which the tribal depended upon became scarce due to deforestation, imposition of restrictions and concessions in exploiting the forest resources, execution of development projects such as construction of dams and roads and setting up of sanctuaries etc. As most of the tribal communities have solely depended on natural resources for their sustenance these resources were managed with sustainability by them without harming the biodiversity within the ecological setting. This strategy of the tribal societies was disturbed by introduction of various development programmes in tribal areas which had adverse effect on tribal areas and the inhabitants. Nehru's view - the tribal should develop along the line of their genius and nothing should be imposed on them has got no place in the tribal development programmes in India in the past 50 years.

The Scheduled Tribes (STs) account for 67.76 million (8.08 per cent) of the country's population. Of these, 1.32 million or 1.95 per cent are estimated to be Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs) who still practice pre-agricultural economic activities. The STs have shown a decadal growth rate of 3.12 per cent

Foot-note

Former student of the Department of Anthropology and now working in the Department of Planning Commission, Govt. of India, New Delhi.

- D. Venkatesan

during the period 1981-91. The actual increase in the percentage of ST population was from 7.53 in 1981 to 8.08 in 1991. The STs are identified in all the States except Haryana, Punjab, Chandigarh, Delhi and Pondicherry. The highest concentration of ST population is found in the North-Eastern states viz., Mizoram (94.75 per cent), Nagaland (87.70 per cent), Meghalaya (85.53 per cent) and Arunachal Pradesh (63.66 per cent) and in Union Territories (UTs) of Lakshadweep (93.15 per cent) and Dadra and Nagar Haveli (78.99 per cent). There are, however, more concentrations, compared to other states in Madhya Pradesh (23.27 per cent), Orissa (22.21 per cent), Gujarat (14.92 per cent), Maharashtra (9.27 per cent) and Bihar (7.66 per cent).

The Constitutional commitments envisaged for the development for the STs has prompted the policy makers and the planners to accord high priority in terms of welfare and development of this group from the beginning of the development planning in India, begun in 1951. The general development programmes were appropriately designed to cater the needs of the tribal population and the planning process has kept in view the five principles of the 'Panchaseel' by respecting and understanding their traditions and culture, social, psychological and economic problems. To begin with, 43 multipurpose tribal blocks were opened in Fifth Plan which were later converted to Tribal Development Blocks. Concerted efforts were made in Fifth Plan period to concentrate upon the tribal development through a special strategy called Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP). This strategy was adopted in the plan to provide economic benefit to the tribal population by earmarking of plan funds from the divisible developmental sectors. Family oriented economic development programmes were targeted under the Sub-Plan strategy and the tribal population gradually gained development benefits.

In educational development of the Scheduled Tribes in India, there is a serious gaps that exist till today between the tribes and general population. The literacy rate for STs has just raised from 11.30 in 1971 to 29.60 in 1991. The literacy among tribal women is still low; 4.85 in 1971, 8.04 in 1981 and 18.19 (including 0-6 years) in 1991. The latest data available on gross enrollment of ST boys and girls indicate, though there is some improvement since independence, a slow pace of improvement. The enrollment status of tribal children in primary classes show raise from 70 in 1980-81; 94.20 boys and 45.90 girls, to 113 in 1995-96; 130 boys and 94.90 girls. However, the retention in middle classes show less progress compared to the general population for the same period. In 1980-81, the enrollment ratio of tribal children in middle classes was 19.50; 28.20 boys and 10.80 girls. While this has raised to 50 in 1995-96; 61.50 boys and 37.60 girls. The drop-out rate between 1980-81

and 1990-91 reveal an increasing trend between primary and middle classes, i.e., from 75.66 to 80.10 respectively and 86 per cent for I-X classes.

The Indian planning process has attempted from the beginning of the First Five Year Plan to alleviate poverty among the Indian population through employment-cum-income generation programmes which has proved in raising sizable number of STs from the level of below poverty line. To compare the data available, the percentage of persons living below poverty line for a decade from 1983-84 to 1993-94, among the STs show a decline from 63.14 to 51.14, a significant reduction compared to SCs and general population for the same period. However, the level of persons living below the poverty line is higher than other groups: SCs declined from 57.60 per cent to 48.37 per cent and general population declined from 44.48 per cent to 36.97 per cent for the same decade. The large number of persons amongst the tribes are below the poverty line due to landlessness, absence of productive assets and devoid of minimum wages and sustainable employment.

The STs have also improved their representation in administration and decision making level as they have gained benefits from the development programmes. The data available for three periods indicate marginal increase of their representation in various categories of posts in Government services. Their representation has raised from 2.81 per cent in 1974 to 4.52 per cent in 1984 and 5.48 per cent in 1994. The STs shared only 0.57 per cent in Group-A services out of 33,672 in the country during 1974 which has raised to 2.92 per cent (1727) out of 59,016 in 1994. But, this trend is not commensurate with the existing policy compared to the SCs.

The STs are now also adequately representing through affirmative discrimination as a result of reservation in Lok Sabha and State Legislative Assemblies as to participate in the democratic process of the country for effective decision-making. In the recent General Election to the House of the People in 1996, the STs shared 6.51 per cent of the total seats which is an indication of their development in political sphere.

Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP) strategy, evolved during Fifth Plan period, has been receiving special attention as an effective instruments for over all economic development of the STs through earmarking of the flow of funds from the general development sectors. During Eighth Five Year Plan, majority of the Central Ministries and Departments have earmarked funds for the development of STs under Tribal Sub-Plan. The data available on the flow of funds to TSP during Eight Plan from various development sector of the Ministries/ Departments and States show almost proportionate Government of India made special attention and raised the SCA to TSP from Rs. 756 crore in Seventh

Plan to Rs. 1250 crore in Eighth Plan. Under the Article 275(1) of the Constitution of India, financial assistance is also provided for economic development of tribal population and Scheduled Areas.

In view of bringing together the expertise of academic, administration, planning and social work, an attempt was made to organise a National Seminar to mark fifty years of India's Independence. Though the Seminar focussed on Tribal Societies and Sustainable Development, the seminar envisaged to cover various aspects of tribal societies in India. Keeping in view type importance of tribal development the National seminar was focussed on (1) tribal life and natural resource management, (2) sustainable tribal development, (3) fifty years of tribal development, (4) role of government, non-government and international agencies in tribal development, (5) tribal ecology and health care, and (6) relevance of folklore for sustainable tribal development. A number of papers were presented by mostly academicians and some administrators, planners and social workers. It was a unique mix of government, non-government, academic and field experts who discussed at long about the importance of sustainable development. Meaningful discussions, exchange of ideas about the importance pertaining to the tribal societies and sustainable development were held. Delegates from several organizations like Anthropological Survey of India (ASI), Non-governmental Organisations like Rural Development Organisation (RDO), Nilgiris Adivasi Welfare Association (NAWA), Forest Research Institute, Colleges and Universities have participated in this Seminar.

The National seminar provided a platform for much needed debate on how to bring about the needed sustainable development among the tribal people; The seminar, in great length, through various presentations, covered denudation of the fragile ecosystem and suggested alternative for improving the situation and achievements in the past 50 years.

Under the issues on the sustainable tribal development and the role of agencies on it, papers were presented mainly focussed on how to bring about sustainability in tribal education, agriculture, ecology, and environmental development. Also emphasis was laid on the role of government, non-government and international organisation and their contributions to the sustainable development with particular reference to the tribal context while some papers mainly focussed on approaches to sustainable development.

Under the theme of tribal life and natural resource management, papers emphasized to encourage the indigenous practices and not to introduce

many development programmes for improving the status of tribals. Also focussed on the developmental programmes as resource based and to be target based.

These were papers on 50 years of tribal and rural development in India. The changes which have been taken place among the primitive tribal groups of Kerala was highlighted. De to introduction of developmental programmes, the type of changes have come in tribal life were highlighted.

One paper has explained briefly some socio-development characteristics of all India tribal population and their development during last fifty years which has suggested the requirements of formulation of a comprehensive master plan and implementation needed for developing tribals.

An another paper on fifty years of tribal development in India focussed on various tribal policies and its achievements through Five Year Plans and it stressed that the administrative mechanism dealing with the development programmes should appropriately be designed for monitoring tribal development programmes and the grassroots functionaries take up the efforts with commitment.

1. ECOLOGY AND ECONOMY: IN ANDHRA PRADESH

A CASE STUDY

Dr.M.SURYANARAYANA

In India, many of the pre-agrucultural communities are in the process of transformation from traditional occupation to others as a result of several factors. In the process of such transformation, a number of problems are being faced by these communities. An attempt has been made in this paper to focus on (i) the traditional pre-agricultural economy of the Saoras (a Scheduled Tribe of Andhra Pradesh) which has evolved over centuries of interaction within the eco-system and (ii) the problems of adjustment and situation of Saoras in the process of transformation.

The total population of Saoras in Andhra Pradesh was 82,101 (1981 Census), of which 62,355 inhabit in Srikakulam and 17,825 in Vijayanagaram districts. Parvathipuram, Palakonda, Sompeta and Tekkali taluks are the thick pockets of Saora population. This paper is based on the field work among the Saoras of Bhadrachalam and Seethampeta areas in Parvathipuram and Palakonda taluks respectively. The former is relatively isolated than the latter. Field work was carried out between 1964 and 1967 and also between 1976 and 1996 in different phases.

Ecology and Traditional Economy

The Saora region is very picturesque with lofty green hills and water-falls rushing along the sloping precipices and table lands; with graping ravines and meandering hill-streams and with thick jungles. Near the Saora settlements, the natural beauty of the green hills is marred by the Saora practice of burning stretches of land on the hills for shifting cultivation. The Saora engineering skill here and there in preparing the sites for cultivation will be quite visible on the slopes where beautiful terraces (predominantly in Seethampeta area under study) are made. The terraced fields raised one above the other are supported by the revetment of stones. These terrace fields are irrigated from the water of the hill-streams.

The occupational pattern of the Saoras in a sample of 300 families is shown in the following table:

Table-1.1: OCCUPATIONAL PATTERN (Primary)

Sl. No.	Name of the occupation	<u>Total families engaged in</u>					
		Seethampet area		Bhadragiri area		Total	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1.	Shifting cultivation	76	50.66	27	18.00	103	34.33
2.	Dry-land cultivation	14	9.33	34	22.66	48	16.00
3.	Wet-land cultivation	13	8.66	21	14.00	34	11.33
4.	Farm labourers	47	31.33	30	20.00	77	25.66
5.	Wage labourers	-	-	36	24.00	36	12.00
6.	Carpentry	-	-	2	1.33	2	0.66
Total:		150	100.00	150	100.00	300	100.00

In two areas under the study, majority of the families are engaged in shifting cultivation. In Seethampet area 50.66 per cent and 18.00 per cent in Bhadragiri area the Soara families are making their living on shifting cultivation as their major occupation. In Seethampet area, many hill areas are suitable

for shifting cultivation than in Bhadraviri area..

The Saoras in these two regions under study, though primarily depend on dry-land cultivation/wet-land cultivation/farm and wage labourers, secondarily they also depend on food gathering. As their major occupation, 9.33 per cent of the families in Seethampet area and 22.66 per cent of the families in Bhadraviri area are living on dry-land cultivation. Terrace cultivation of Seethampet area is also included under the head 'dry-land cultivation'. As their major occupation, 8.66 per cent of families in Seethampet and 14.00 per cent in Bhadraviri area, are making their living through wet-land cultivation.

Amongst the Saoras, 31.33 per cent of the families in Seethampet area and 20.00 per cent of families in Bhadraviri area are depending on farm labour. As there is no other alternative source for the landless families to take another profession, as the area is relatively isolated, number of Saora families depend on farm labour in Seethampet area. The Saoras of the Bhadraviri area are more exposed to outside contacts, hence, they earn their living by wage labour and also many other opportunities for income generation.

The Saoras in Seethampet are not engaged in any wage labour. As a major occupation, 24.00 per cent of families in Bhadraviri area are depending on wage labour. In Bhadraviri, there are two families making their livelihood on carpentry as their major occupation.

Shifting cultivation

The rich forest around the Saora villages is used by the Saoras for both food gathering and shifting cultivation. The land used for shifting cultivation is locally known as barun. A group of men elected agnatically clear a forest area, and establish their residences, for bringing down the land cleared under cultivation. In course of time, this group and their descendants claim their rights over such land. In the past, the Saoras used to change from one habitat to another in search of land for shifting cultivation. The situa-

tion at present is quite different. The Saoras now settled in permanent villages and their dependence on the practice of shifting cultivation has become secondary due to the policy of Government, prohibition on shifting cultivation.

Another hoeing the barun land, before the start of the monsoon rain, seeds of red gram, millets and other are broadcasted. The following are the important crops they raised: rogo (red gram), buroi, sa, ganga, kuroil, kamboor, chtri (varieties of millets), kandrom (Dolichos species). Thus, a sort of mixed croping is followed in their cultivation. The harvest period for the different crops differ considerably (rogo - 6 months, buroi - 6 months, sa - 4 months, ganga - 3 months, kuroi - 5 months, kamboor - 5 months, kandrom - 4 months). By December or early January, harvest in the barun fields gets over and the Saoras mostly use their own manpower for harvesting. The Saoras of Seetampet area have adopted the methods of raising commercial crops like banana (kinthae), tuermic (sang sang) and ginger (singer) on the barun fields.

It is important to note that though settled cultivation has made an impact on the Saora economy. However, they continue their traditional practice of shifting cultivation because of the scarcity of plain land. The land on the plain in the Saora region is not having any irrigation facility. Another important reason for the Saoras to cling to their traditional practice of shifting cultivation is that many varieties of millets and pulses can be cultivated under shifting cultivation, as these are short duration crops than the wet land crops, which provide them food during the late rainy and early winter periods. Another factor that can also be attributed for their continuing practice of shifting cultivation is that the very low investment for shifting cultivation. Further, shifting cultivation is considered by the Saoras as their traditional occupation and they find difficult to forgo it. When the Saoras are asked by the Government officials to stop the practice of shifting cultivation, the Saoras reply that "What shall we do on the hills if not shifting cultiva-

tion". In the early decades of this century there were many instances of revolts against the restriction on shifting cultivation by the Government. Even now, the Saoras always feel uncomfortable with the forest officials. The main reason for this is, they feel, that forest is their own resource for their livelihood and the Government has nothing to interfere in this regard. As restriction on extension of shifting cultivation is imposed, the Saoras now-a-days have divided their plots for shifting cultivation into two parts for cultivating them alternatively, one after the other.

Dry Land Cultivation

The dry land is locally known as 'guddang' by the Saoras. The Saoras of Seethampet area prepare suitable and well designed terraces on the hill slopes as cultivating land. In this land plough is used for tilling the soil. The rocks and pebbles in such plots are removed and there are used for bunding the terrace land. All these land lack irrigation facilities and depend on rain. The land is ploughed three times before sowing any seed. The seeds are broadcasted before rain fall. The various crops they raise on these land are: chitri (ragi), ganga (*Panicum* species), kodem and alu (a variety of paddy), poga (tobacco), kamboor (*Sorghum vulgare*), jati (Sesame), vadai (horse gram), and sero sonan (groundnut).

The Saoras, after the harvest work is over, they start preparing terrace plots during February every year. The members belonging to a lineage in the village help each other in preparing a terrace plot. In addition to offering food to the members during that period, as a general practice, meat of a buffalo and liquor are distributed for all persons who helped for preparing a plot where one pandum (a local measure) seeds can be raised. Sometimes poor men and women are engaged as daily wage earner.

Wet-land Cultivation

Wet-land is called Saroba by the Saoras. Paddy is called saoro

in Saora language. Hence, the land is called saroba. Saroba is exclusively used for paddy cultivation. Very little land have irrigation sources and such is used for seasonal cultivation.

Food Gathering

Apart from the primary occupation of cultivation, the Saoras utilise the forest around them to some extent. But, no family exclusively depends on it. It is mainly a secondary occupation. The Saora women are mostly engaged in food-gathering activities. Men also participate in food gathering activities when they are free from other major economic tasks. Children above ten years of both sex are accompanied with their parents for food gathering.

The Saoras collect edible fruits, tubers, seeds and minor forest produce which have market value, such as mangoes, mahua flowers, jack fruits, marsa (a variety of cucumber), taban, (young offshoots of bamboo), taban gai, kadam gai, bati gai, gadam gai, gatu gai, booti gai (varieties of tubers), adeb (honey), a number of pot herbs, edible mushrooms and the like. Tamarind, honey mahua flowers, medicinal herbs, broom sticks, ada leaves (*Bahunia* species) and the like are exchanged for chillies, salt, bangles, dry fish, and others with the neighbouring communities or in the market. Hunting among the Saoras is almost receded to sport now due to the National Wild Life policy introduced by the Government. Despite the restrictions, the Saoras do go for hunting whenever they are free from major economic tasks.

A number of ceremonies are associated with the traditional food gathering and shifting cultivation of the Saoras. They are jammol pur (seed sanctification ceremony before the broadcast of seeds in barun and guddang), lalonadur (a ceremony performed before hoeing barun), udanadur (a ceremony for the first use of the mangoes in the season), varadapasam (a ceremony for rainfall), abbanadur (a ceremony for the first use of mahua flowers), tankunadur (a ceremony for the first use of pot herbs), kondemnadur (a ceremony for the first use of paddy (kondem) which is cultivated as a dry crop), kuroinadur and

kamburnadur (ceremonies for the first use of varieties of millets), gelwal (a ceremony for the start of weeding in the barun and gudangg and rogonadur (a ceremony for the first use of a variety of pulses (redgram). Besides, they also worship labosum (earth goddess) and loddasum (forest goddess) before they start work on a new barun plot. It is quite interesting to note that they do not have any important ceremony associated with wet land cultivation which suggests clearly that it is an occupation which some of the Saoras have acquired under the natural process of transformation.

The millets, pulses, pot herbs, tubers and a few other varieties of fruits and edibles collected from the forest or cultivated on the barun and gudang land constitute the major source of food for the Saoras. On the other hand, rice is only a festive food for them. A Saora feels that if one depends completely on rice he cannot work hard.

The tribal unrest i.e., the Girijan movement between 1967 and 1975 that took place in the Agency Tracts of Srikakulam district (now part of it comes under the newly formed Vijayanagaram District) was based on the frustration of the Saoras because of the exploitation by intruders. As stated earlier, the Saoras are used to their traditional practice of shifting cultivation and a few on settled wet land cultivation. In course of time, their fertile wet land are usurped by the money-lenders. In spite of the fact, that the Government policy to prevent transfer of land from a tribal to a non-tribal, much of the land is in unauthorised possession of the non-tribal money-lenders. Besides, Valmiki, a clever tribe of this region who also mainly live on money-lending and petty trade exploit the Saoras.

As a consequence of the above mentioned land alienation the Saoras have no other alternatives excepting continuing their living on shifting cultivation, dry and cultivation, farm labour, wage labour and food gathering. Even till today the moneylenders advance money to the Saoras for high rate of interest. This has resulted in acute in-

debtedness among the Saoras. On the other hand, the Forest Officials do not allow them to expand their shifting cultivation. Even for the continuation of shifting cultivation or for allowing them to cut some area of forest for shifting cultivation they demand huge bribe and force them to do vetti labour (unpaid labour) in the Forest coupes. Besides, in Bhadraviri area, significant percentage of the Saoras are engaged as wage labourers with low wages. All these factors led to the frustration of the Saoras who ultimately joined the Girijan movement.

Conclusion

Traditional occupation of the Saoras are shifting cultivation, food gathering, dry-land cultivation. Gradually, a few have taken up wet-land cultivation. But, the money-lenders have usurped their fertile wet-land in course of time. On the other hand, forest regulations prevented them to expand shifting cultivation. Accordingly, Seethampet area, the poor Saora families have taken up to farm labour and such families have taken up to either farm labour or wage labour in Bhadraviri area. As a consequence of the forest rules, the Saoras of this region are seen keeping two sites for shifting cultivation. In course of the population increase, this adjustment is also proving difficult. The restrictions on the forest by the Government and the exploitation by the moneylenders on the other hand have led ultimately the Saoras to join the Girijan movement. At present this pre-agricultural community is hard pressed with the problem of adjustment especially in continuing their traditional shifting cultivation. The future for this pre-agricultural community under the present set up appears to be bleak unless changes are brought in a planned manner. In such a situation, appropriate mechanism need to be developed (a) to introduce scientific shifting cultivation, (ii) to make them wean away from the clutches of the moneylenders and (iii) to see that the minimum wages are fixed and implemented properly.

The Government has taken up some steps to improve the living conditions of the tribals through various development programmes after controlling the Girijan Movement. It is appropriate now to take up evaluation study on the success or failure of such development programmes.

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2. ECOLOGY OF TRIBAL HABITAT IN VISAKHAPATNAM AGENCY AREA: FOOD RESOURCES, HABITS AND DEFICIENCIES

Dr.V.Subramanyam

The paper is aimed to discuss the ecological background of Visaka Agency Area in general and the ecology of Pasuvula banda, a tribal habitat in particular. An attempt has also been made here to explain the availability of food resources, food habits, consumption pattern and problem of malnutrition among different tribes of Pasuvula banda settlement. Further, it deals with the existing energy base of Pasuvula banda and the role of Government since Independence in resources development to different tribes.

Geographical and Ecological Features:

The Visakhapatnam district has two distinct regions of contrasting ecological and topographical features; one with plain landscape extending from the sea Coast upto the foot hills of the Eastern Ghats, moderate temperature and the other covered by the thick forests atop elevated Eastern Ghats with cold climate. The geographical area of the district is 11,161 sq.km, of which the Agency Area cover 6298 sq.km. ie., 56.4 per cent of the area of the district. This district is separated into three revenue divisions viz., (1) Visakhapatnam, (2) Narsipatnam and (3) Paderu. The entire Agency Area is under Paderu Revenue Division, consists of three taluks namely Paderu, Chintapalle and Araku. The agency area of the district is further divided into eleven mandals.

The range of Eastern Ghats forming the hilly region of Visakhapatnam district with an average altitude of about 900 mts. is dotted by several peaks extending 1200 mts. height. The highest mountain named Sankaam scales about 1500 mt. in height. The average annual rain fall in the Agency Area of the district is 1163.6 mm. The entire Agency Area in the district is covered with thick forest and numerous trees and dales. In addition to these, coffee plantations

also found under the shades of the big trees, maintained by the Girijan Cooperative Corporation, Forest Department and Coffee Board. Some tribal families also own coffee gardens in the Agency Area.

Tribal Population

According to 1991 census India has a tribal population of 68.38 million, which constitutes 8.08 per cent of the total population. Out of the total tribal population, 4.2 (6.31 per cent) million tribals are inhabiting in Andhra Pradesh and most of them live in the Eastern Ghats. The Eastern Ghats is considered to be the abode for the tribals of Andhra Pradesh. A large chunk of tribal population in the state is concentrated in the districts of Visakhapatnam, Adilabad, Khammam, Kurnool, Srikakulam, Vizianagaram and East Godavari. Visakhapatnam district has a tribal population of 3,54,127 which forms 13.4 per cent of the total population. About 90 per cent of the tribal in the district live in the Agency Area. The major tribes in the area are Bagata, Kotiya, Konda Dora, Nooka Dora, Konda Kammar, Konda Kapu, Gadaba, Mali, Porja, Khond and Valmiki. Among these tribes, Khond, Gadaba and Porja are considered to be the primitive tribes. Majority of the tribal population in the district belong to below the poverty line. The literacy rate is very low among the tribes of Visakhapatnam and literacy rate in the state is only 7.82 per cent (1981 census). Most of them speak Telugu and a few tribes have their own dialects. For instance, Konda Doras speak "Konda Bhasha", Gadabas and Khonds speak corrupted form of Oriya. Their dress, pattern is very simple. Even today most of the tribal men wear Gochi (loin cloth) and the women wear sari.

The economy of the tribes in the district is based on agro-forestry, largely influenced by the habitat, in which they are inhabiting, and level of knowledge accumulated about the natural resources and skills for exploiting these resources. The tribal economy is generally a subsistence mode. However, with the introduction of cash economy and marketing the tribal are also selling their produce in the market to buy certain essential commodities.

Pasuvula Banda: A Study Village:

Pasuvula banda is one of the revenue villages of Chintapalle Mandal of Visakhapatnam district. It is attached to the Chowdipalli village Panchayat. The village Pasuvula bands is situated on the north-western side of Chintapalle. The distance between the village and Mandal headquarters is 5 kilometers. A katcha road connects the village to Chintapalle. The village consists of seven hamlets, namely Valmiki colony, China Kothuru, Veedhula Bailu, Samara Veethi, Gurugudem, Goyyala metta and Gadedala metta. All these hamlets are scattered within the radius of 3 kilometres. These settlements are surrounded by the hills and forest. Except Valmiki colony, the other hamlets are situated on the foot of the hill. Pasuvula banda is the main village, inhabited by the tribes like Bagata, Gadaba, Konda Kammara, Valmiki and Madiga (Harijan) caste. The rest of the hamlets are single tribe settlements. Each hamlet is very small in size, not exceeds 28 households. The Table 2.1 shows the tribe-wise distribution of population in the hamlets of Pasuvula banda. Among the 8 settlements, Pasuvula bands is a multi-tribal settlement, Valmiki colony is the settlement of Valmikis, China Kotturu is a Khond settlement, Veedhula Bailu is a Nooka Dora settlement, Samara veedhi, Gurugudem and Gadedalametta are the settlements of Gadaba tribe, where as Goyyalameta is the Bagata settlement. The entire Pasuvula banda revenue village consists of 158 households with a population of 775; 390 (50.32 per cent) males and 385 (49.68 per cent) females. The Gadabas are numerically dominant, followed by Nooka Dora, Bagata, Valmiki, Khond and Konda Kammara.

Table-2.1: Tribe-wise Distribution of Population in the Hamlets of Pasuvul Banda

Sl. No.	Name of the hamlet (village)	No. of house-holds	% to total house holds	Males	% to total population	Fe- males	% to total popu- lation	Total males & females	% to total popu- latio
1.	Pasuvula banda								
	Bagata	14	8.86	42	5.42	32	4.13	74	9.55
	(mubga)								
	Gadaba	4	2.53	9	1.16	6	0.77	15	1.93
	Konda	4	2.53	9	1.16	9	1.16	18	2.32
	Kamra								
	Valmiki	2	1.27	4	0.52	6	0.77	10	1.29
	Madiga	4	2.53	9	1.16	8	1.03	17	12.19
	(Hir)								
2.	Valmiki Colony								
	Valmiki	22	13.93	44	5.68	43	5.55	87	11.23
3.	China Kothuru								
	Khond	16	10.13	50	6.45	46	5.94	96	12.39
4.	Veedhula Bailu								
	Nooka Dora	25	15.82	58	7.48	66	8.52	124	16.00
5.	Samara Veedhi								
	Gadaba	26	16.46	60	7.74	62	8.00	122	15.74
6.	Gurugudem								
	Gadaba	8	5.06	20	2.58	22	2.84	42	5.42
7.	Goyyala Meeta								
	Bagata	8	5.06	21	2.71	20	2.58	41	5.29
8.	Gadedala Metta								
	Gadaba	25	15.82	64	8.26	65	8.39	129	16.65
Total:		158	100.00	390	50.32	385	49.68	775	100.00

Table-2.2: Age and Sex-wise Population of Pasuvula Banda

(includes all hamlets)

Sl. No.	Age Group (in years)	Males	% to total	Fe-males population	% to total population	Total males and Fe-males	% to total population
1.	Below 1 Yr	11	1.42	9	1.16	20	2.58
2.	1 - 5	38	4.90	36	4.65	74	9.55
3.	6 - 10	52	6.71	50	6.45	102	13.16
4.	11 - 15	31	4.00	29	3.74	60	7.74
5.	16 - 20	34	4.39	33	4.26	67	8.65
6.	21 - 25	41	5.29	39	5.03	80	10.32
7.	26 - 30	25	3.23	26	3.35	51	6.58
8.	31 - 35	34	4.39	36	4.64	70	9.03
9.	36 - 40	33	4.26	35	4.52	68	8.78
10.	41 - 45	42	5.42	40	5.16	82	10.58
11.	46 - 50	35	4.51	34	4.39	69	8.90
12.	51 - 55	8	1.03	10	1.29	18	2.32
13.	56 - 60	4	0.51	5	0.65	9	1.16
14.	61 & above	2	0.26	3	0.39	5	0.65
Total:		390		50.32	385	49.68	775
100.00							

The table 2.2 shows the age and sex-wise distribution of population in Pasuvula banda. Out of the total population, 25.29 per cent (both males and females) of them are in the age group of 0.1 - 10 years, 16.39 per cent in the age group of 11 - 20 years, 16.90 per cent in the age group of 21 - 30 years, 17.81 per cent in the age group of 31-40 years, 19.48 per cent in the age group of 41-50 years, 3.84 per cent in the age group of 51-60 years, and only 0.65 per cent are in the age group of 61 and above years. It clearly shows that the percentage of aged among the tribes is very less. A total of 14 males and 18 females (4.13 per cent) fall in the age group of 51-61 and above years. It is interesting to note that the life span of an individual in the tribal society is very less when compared to the life span of an individual in the caste societies.

Resource Utilization

The inhabitants of all the eight settlements mainly subsist on land and forest resources. Each settlement is surrounded by the agricultural land and forest. All the tribal groups exploit both land and forest resources. Livestock is another economic resource to most of the tribal families in Pasuvula banda. The fruit bearing trees like tamarind, jack and mango commonly exists on the waste and public land of each settlement, the yields of which are equally shared by the residents of the settlement. Some families maintain kitchen garden for their own use in which they grow chilly, brinjal, beans, bottlegourd, pumpkin, drumstick and tomato. However, they sell some of these produces in the nearby market (shandy). Recently, a few families started involving in horticulture as the government agricultural extension agents are paying much attention to develop horticulture in the area. Stream nearby is the main water source available to them in the area for drinking water and other purposes.

Land

The land available to the tribes are categorized into (1)

waste land, (2) forest land and (3) cultivable land. The waste land and forest land are commonly used by all the tribes for grazing their cattle. The cultivable land are classified into three types viz., (1) dry, (2) podu and (3) wet. There are three types of soil viz., (1) rocky soil, (2) red loam and (3) black soil. Most of the land available for cultivation is rocky soil and less fertile. The other two soil types are fertile but available in limited area only, and mainly found on the banks of the streams. Only a few families own these two types of land. Wet cultivation is seen only on the sides of the streams where irrigation facilities are available atleast in the rainy season.

Tabel 2.3: Tribe-wise landholding and landless families in
Pasuvula banda

Sl. No.	Name of the Tribe/caste families	No.of land-holding	% of total household	No.of land-less families	% to total households
1.	Bagata	194	12.03	3	1.90
2.	Nooka Dora	20	12.66	5	3.16
3.	Konda Kammara	1	0.63	3	1.90
4.	Gadaba	53	33.65	10	6.32
5.	Khond	14	8.86	2	1.27
6.	Valmiki	22	13.92	2	1 . 2 7
7.	Madiga (Harijan)	4	2.53	-	
Total:		133	84.18	25	15.82

Table 2.4: Categories of land owned by the tribal households

Sl. No.	Land category	No. of households	% of total households
1.	Dry + Podu	39	24.68
2.	Wet + Dry	32	20.25
3.	Podu	28	17.72
4.	Dry	15	9.50
5.	Dry + Wet + Podu	19	12.03
6.	Landless	25	15.82
Total:		158	100.00

In the entire revenue village, wet cultivation is found only in three settlements such as Pasuvula banda, Valmiki colony and Gadedale metta. The dry land and *Podu* (shifting) cultivation is practiced in the rocky type of soil.

The table 2.3 shows the tribe-wise landholding and landless households in Pasuvula bands. Out of the total households, 133 (84.18 per cent) own cultivable land and depend on cultivation while the rest of 25 (15.82 per cent) landless households depend on labour employment in agriculture and construction works. Landless households also actively participate in collection of minor forest produce. As the Konda Kammaras are artisans in the Agency Area, they make the agricultural implements and sell their products to the tribal farmers.

The table 2.4 explains the categories of land owned by the households of Pasuvula banda. Out of the total households, 39 (24.68 per cent) own both dry and *podu* land, 32 (20.25 per cent) own wet and dry land, 28 (17.72 per cent) own only *podu* (shifting)

category of land, 15 (9.50 per cent) own only dry land, 19 (12.03 per cent) own dry, wet and *podu* categories of land, and the rest of 25 (16.82 per cent) are landless. Most of the Nooka Dora, Khonda and Gabada still practice *podu* or shifting cultivation. However, a few household among other tribes are also following the *podu* cultivation in addition to dry and wet cultivation. Most of the Bagatas in Pasuvula banda, some Valmiki in Valmiki Colony and some Gadaba households in Gadedala metta own wet land. They raise paddy in Kharif season in the wet land. The tribal cultivators grow millets like ragi, samalu, korra, jowar, maize and the pulses like red gram, bean (*chikkullu*), long bean (*bobbarlu*) and oil seeds (*Olisulu*) in dry and *podu* category of land. All these crops are rainfed and give very low yields.

Table 2.5: Size of landholding by the tribal households

Sl. No.	Landholding size	No.of house- hold (in Acres)	% to total household hold
1.	Landless	25	15.82
2.	0.1 - 2.5	68	43.04
3.	2.6 - 5.0	42	26.58
4.	5.1 - 10.0	19	12.03
5.	10.1 & above	4	2.53
Total:		158	100.00

The table 2.5 explains the size of landholding by the households in Pasuvula banda. Out of the total households, 68 households (43.04 per cent) fall under landholding size of 0.1 - 2.5 acres, 42 (26.58 per cent) fall under the landholding size of 2.6 - 5.0 acres, 19 (12.03 per cent) fall under the land holding size of 5.10 - 10.0 acres and 4 (2.53 per cent) fall under the landholding size of more

than 10.1 acres. The rest of 25 households (15.82 per cent) are landless. It clearly shows that small and marginal farmers are more in number when compared with medium and large farmers. The medium and large farmers are mostly found among Bagata tribe. The Bagata tribe is considered to be economically dominant group and they are the traditional peasant, in the Agency Area.

Settled cultivation:

The Bagatas of Pasuvula banda main village, Valmiki of Valmik colony and some of the Gadabas of Gadedal metta have adopted to settled cultivation. These three settlements lie near the hill stream, where water source is available for cultivation. The landscape in these three settlements is plain mostly suitable for settled cultivation. But, some in these three settlements are also using the hill slopes for shifting cultivation and the uneven land for dry cultivation. Dry and *podu* cultivation is found in all the settlements. Khonda mostly depend on the shifting and dry cultivation.

Shifting cultivation

Shifting cultivation is known as *podu* in Andhra Pradesh. The shifting cultivation is one of the ancient methods of cultivate practiced in forest and mountainous areas. Most of the tribals such as Godaba, Khond and Nooks Dora mainly depend on shifting cultivation in Pasuvula banda.

Generally, the *podu* cultivators select a area on the hill slopes where there is good growth of trees and bushes. After selection of such land the tribal start clearing the bushes with sickle called "*Chinnakathi*" and cut the trees with axe (*Godali*) and long sickle. Dried bushes and trees are burnt during April. When the monsoon is about to set in during May or June, the tribal prepare the land for cultivation. Generally, the monsoon starts during middle of May. After the rainfall, the *podu* cultivators plough the soil with Konke boriga or Valuva ('V' shaped instrument with long handle). When the monsoon sets in, they broadcasting the seeds on the cleared land. They grow mixed crops like millets and pulses in the *podu* area which grow for a

duration of three months, four months and six months. These crops provide food security to the tribals, at least for six months period. The broadcasted seeds may germinate within 15 - 20 days depending on the rainfall. The *podu* cultivators erect temporary farm shed to look after the fields in the cultivation area. Most of the *podu* cultivators do not take much care in weeding and also do not provide additional manure to the crops. They do not use either fertilizers and pesticides in fields. Because of these reasons they get very low yields from the *podu* cultivation. Generally, the harvest starts in October and continues till December. After threshing operations are over, the food grains are stored in baskets for future consumption.

podu cultivation is done in a plot continuously for a period of one or two years, then it is kept fallow continuously for a period of two or three years. Again it is brought under cultivation. In recent times, they cannot afford to abandon the old *podu* land and clear new area due to restrictions imposed by Forest Department on forest.

Water resource

In the Agency Area, hill streams are the major water source. In between two hills, water flows in the form of stream. Each tribal settlement usually lies near a small or large hill stream. They use the stream water for cultivation, drinking, bathing and washing of their clothes. All the hamlets of Pasuvula banda are situated on both the sides of a big hill stream. The Integrated Tribal Development Agency (ITDA) has constructed a check-dam over this hill stream in 1984, which provides irrigation during the Kharif season. The I.T.D.A. has also provided the bore-well facility to Pasuvula banda, Valmiki colony, Godedala Metta and Samaravaedhi. But, the inhabitants of these settlements are not using the bore-well water for drinking and they drink stream water. Moreover, they do not have the knowledge to use the stream water properly and cautiously.

Livestock

Keeping livestock is another practice among most of the tribes and they keep at least a minimum of two cows or two oxen; mainly for

ploughing their land. They use the cattle dung for manuring their wet and dry land. They do not have the practice of milching the cattle. They rear the fowls either for sacrificial or marketing purposes. About 50 per cent of the households among Nooka Dora and Gadaba tribes rear goats and sheep for manuring the fields and for marketing purpose. About 30 per cent of the Khonda tribes rear the pigs for marketing purpose. However, they sacrifice the pigs during festival and ceremonial occasions. The inhabitants of the Khond settlement collectively raise the contribution and buy a pig and kill it on the festival occasion and share the meat equally among all.

Forest resource

The tribals regularly interact with the forest and exploit its resources at a maximum level. They collect fire wood for fuel and use teak, maddi, vegisa for house construction and for making furniture. They make the wooden plough from the chundra tree trunk. They collect minor forest produce like adda leaves, adda fibre, adda seeds, shikai, karakkaya, jetropa and honey. They sell all these produce to Girijan Cooperative Corporation (GCC). G.C.C. has the monopoly right to purchase the minor forest produces from the tribals. Occasionally, they participate in hunting small games in which they catch rabbits, wild fowls, deer, hare, wild pigs, purellu and kounjulu. Especially during the Itikela panduga all the men participate in hunting game. They collect the edible fruits, roots, tubers and leafy vegetables from forests. Sometimes they graze their cattle in the forest. In addition to these resources a few of them catch small fish in the streams, ponds and tanks for household consumption.

Food habits

The staple food of all the tribes in Pasuvula banda is *ambali* (gruel) which is made up of ragi. The rice growers used to take the rice atleast once in a day. After the introduction of subsidised rice scheme by the Government into the tribal areas all have started consuming rice once in a day. They are non-vegetarian. The Valmiki, Gadaba and Khond tribes consume beef. Almost all the tribals consume meat, chicken, eggs, fish and dry fish. However, the consump-

tion of non-vegetarian diet is very less among all the tribes.

In the vegetarian diet, they make curries with seasonally available vegetables like pumpkin, water gourd, bean, brinjal, tomato and drumstick. A few literate and elite tribals consume vegetables like carrot, cauli-flower, cabbage and potato purchased from shandy or from the Malis of Chowdipalle. They prepare chatnies with the inflorescence of tamarind, tamarind fruit, konkadi koora and redgram. The tribals consume cooked redgram mixed with the rice. They prepare rasam with the boiled tamarind mixed water, which is added to the rice. The tribals Olisulu oil as cooking medium and its consumption also is very less. The Bagata and Valmiki are economically better than that of the other tribes. A considerable number of educated employees are also found among Valmiki tribe. The quality of food intake is closely associated with the economic position of the tribal households.

Most of the tribals in the village grow pumpkin in their kitchen garden and preserve them for future use. They cook the pumpkin especially during the festival and ceremonial occasions. The curry made with it is considered to be delicious on such occasions. The consumption of milk products are almost nil among them. Most of the tribal take the black tea once in a day (morning). In olden days the tribes used to collect roots, tubers and edible fruits in huge quantity for their consumption. At present, only a few of them are eating seasonally available edible fruits, roots and tubers in raw. Most of the available food items they consume is cooked.

Both men and women smoke cigars. Alcoholism is widely practiced among them. The tribal women also consume the intoxicating drinks like sara (arack), jeelugu kallu (Sago palm extract), maddi (rice beer). Earlier, each tribal household used to grow one or two jeelugu plants for extracting the kallu. But, now only a few owning jeelugu plants in the village. The intake of intoxicating drinks is more among Gadaba, Khond, Nooka Dora and Konda Kammara when compared with that of

the Bagata and Valmiki tribes. Generally the women is restricted to take alcoholic beverages during her pregnancy. And also it is prohibited to the children who are aged below 6 years. After the birth of a child, the mother do not consume pumpkin, onion, egg, meat and fish atleast for a period of six months. It is interesting to note that the restriction of certain food items like egg, meat and fish to women during pre and post-natal periods has no scientific reason among them.

Table 2.7: Consumption of Types of food items

Food Type	No.of times eaten per week										
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	10+
	above										
	No.of fami- lies	No.of fami- lies	No.of fami- lies	No.of fami- lies	No.of fami- lies	No.of fami- lies	No.of fami- lies	No.of fami- lies	No.of fami- lies	No.of fami- lies	No.of fami- lies
Beef	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pork	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Fish/ Dry fish	34	51	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Chicken	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Milk/Ghee/ Butter	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Black Tea	-	-	30	-	-	-	65	-	-	-	-
Eggs	12	26	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Meat	31	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Fruit	-	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Vegetables	-	-	40	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Leafy vege- tables	14	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Beans/pulses/	1	30	49	-	-	-	78	-	-	-	-
Rasam											
Rice	9	25	-	-	78	-	45	-	-	-	1
Millet (korra,sama, ragi)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15 8
Wild roots and tubers	22	13	15	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

During the pre- and post-natal periods, these food items give strength and improve the health of the mother and child. It is also noted that the tribals avoid consuming totemic plants and animals as food items. They do not consume the sacrificial animals blood. They offer it to the supernatural beings. The intake of protein food is very less amongst almost all the tribes. The tribals consume more carbohydrates when compared with that of vitamins contained food items.

The table 2.7 shows the types of food consumed by the tribes of Pasuvula banda. It explains the different food types and number of times eaten and each type of food item in a week period. It is noted that most of the families are consuming the millets twice in a day and rice once in a day.

As food resources are scarce, the tribals consider this is the major problem. Food plays a major role in the social organization of tribal society. Hunger and its satisfaction, as a fundamental human need, has an equivalent in the fundamental structure of social organization. The basic assumption is that food and the satisfaction of hunger are necessary for the survival of the individual. Table 2.8 shows the major economic problems of different tribes in Pasuvuala banda. Out of the total households, 91 households (57.59 per cent) are facing scarcity of food, 23 (14.56 per cent) experiencing indebtedness, 29 facing the problems of scarcity of food and indebtedness and the rest of 15 households (9.49 per cent) have no such problems. The food scarcity is very high in the primitive tribes like Khond and Gadaba and also Nooka Dora. The economy of these tribes are mostly shifting and dry land cultivation. Generally, the podu and dry land cultivators use very simple technology in their agricultural operations and get very low yield. The available other resources are also not sufficient to these tribes. Because of food deficiencies among these tribes, the incidence of malnutrition case are also more when compared with that of the other tribes.

Table 2.8: Major economic problems of different tribes in

Pasuvual banda

Sl. No.	Name of the Tribe/Caste	Major Economic Problems							
		Food scar- city house- hold	% to total house-	Indeb- tedness	% to total house- hold	Food scar- city & indeb- tedness	% to total house- hold	No pro- blem	% to total house- hold
1.	Bagata	5	3.16	6	3.80	3	1.90	8	5.06
2.	Nooka Dora	14	8.86	4	2.53	6	3.80	1	0.63
3.	Konda								
	Kammara	3	1.90	-	-	1	0.63	-	-
4.	Gadaba	45	28.48	7	4.43	9	5.70	2	1.27
5.	Khond	14	8.86	-	-	2	1.26	4	-
6.	Valmiki	8	5.06	6	3.80	6	3.80		2.53
Total:		84	56.32	23	14.56	27	17.09	15	9.49

Because of the non-availability of sufficient food resources to the entire tribal population in Pasuvula banda a section of tribals is not able to escape from the pangs of hunger. And also some of them are severely facing malnutrition. This problem reduces the working capacity of tribal population and also it is considered to be the hurdle for the economic development in certain tribes where the incidence of malnutrition is very high.

Under the M.C.H. programme, Anganawadi scheme was introduced in tribal areas with a view to increase the nutritional status among the pregnant women and children aged below 6 years. But, this scheme is a total failure in the tribal areas. The Anganawadi school is locally known as Uppuma BHADI. One such school is also functioning at Valmiki colony in Pasuvula banda village. The Anganawadi teacher is not paying much attention to get fruitful result in the area.

The tribals observe food taboos and restrictions during certain periods and occasions. Not only the food habits and practices but also vitamin and protein deficiencies in food items are causing malnutrition. And also certain diseases like night blindness, itching skin, beri beri, nervous system deterioration, cataracts, diarrhea, dermatitis, anemia, bleeding gums and loose teeth and scabis are common among the tribals. Most of the diseases which they suffer from are of water born as they drink contaminated stream water. The primitive tribes do not have the knowledge to store or preserve the food items by safe methods. They do not have the knowledge to take hygienic food and nutritional value of certain food items.

The I.T.D.A. and agricultural extension wing are trying to improve the resources in the area by introducing horticulture, providing irrigation through check dams and through the introduction of commercial crops like maize, turmeric, ginger and citronella. Government through these agencies also taking steps to reduce the soil erosion by means of land leveling. A few tribal families are growing the citronella, which has much commercial value. Recently, some of the tribals among Valmiki, Bagata and Gadaba started raising the commercial crops like maize, turmeric and ginger.

Conclusion

The tribals of Pasuvula banda are not exploiting the available natural resources to the maximum extent because of their ignorance and lack of knowledge in agricultural innovations. They are still using the primitive technology and age old tools in their agricultural operations. They are getting very low yields from the crops which they raise, because they may not add any additional manures to most of the crops. The *podu* cultivators do not have the practice of weed-

ing. If they pay much attention to remove the weed in *podu* crops, certainly they would be able to increase the yield. Stream water is the main irrigation source for wet cultivation. The wet cultivators are using the stream water only in the *kharif* season. But, even in the summer months little water flows in the streams. If they adopt drift irrigation and lift irrigation system, which would help them to grow the vegetable crops, orchards in the red loam soil and in the dry land. This technology definitely will help them to increase the energy base. It is noted that, the Malis of Chowdipalli village are using the available little water in the nearby stream for raising the vegetable crops through the pot irrigation. Training in new agricultural innovations is most essential to the tribes so that these tribes could sustain with the available resources.

Public health programmes should be properly implemented to improve the health conditions and nutritional status among the tribes. Even after 50 years of Independence, as most of them are illiterate, education can effectively change the health and nutritional status of tribal population. Resources development certainly solve the problem of food scarcity among the good quality of food intake certainly solve the problem of malnutrition and increases working capacity among tribal population which will also help to improve their living conditions.

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3. ECOLOGY, ETHNOMEDICINE AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE ON A PNAR VILLAGE

H.K.Bhat

Introduction

In this paper an attempt is made to relate ethnomedicine to ecology and social structure in a Pnar village of Meghalaya. First, the key concepts of this study are defined viz., ecology, social structure and ethnomedicine. It is followed by a brief introduction to Nartiang, a Pnar Hindu village, which was studied by the author for two months in 1982, one month in 1986, and several casual visits made between 1982 and 1996. The last visit was for a week in July 1996.

Since the last quarter of 19th century, culture has been our key-concept which guided our approach to the understanding of human societies. It provided the base to integrate our knowledge about man. Malinowski (1992) refined this concept in the first quarter of this century, especially in his work 'Argonauts of the Western Pacific'. Culture was defined by Malinowski as an integral whole, embracing all aspects of human activity. The approach of Malinowski, which came to be known as holistic, dominated anthropological research until 1950's.

In 1950 's one can find further refinement in the conceptualization of man and his life. The Malinowskian concept of culture was found inadequate to explain the full range of human experience in its all dimensions. The new approach called 'systems approach' originated in biology and gave rise to a new discipline called ecology (Anderson, 1973:180). The new approach takes into cognizance the relationship of man to nature as well as to culture. Anderson calls it as 'the perspective of an ecology of man' (ibid). Anthropologists, both biological and cultural, who have adopted the ecological approach gave birth to a new sub-discipline called 'ecological anthropology'.

The concept of environment may be found in anthropology since the latter half of 19th century. In the beginning 'environmental determinism' of social philosophers influenced anthropologists. Later, as ethnographic works accumulated there was a shift from 'determinism' to 'possibilism' from 1920's to 1940's (Hardesty, 1977). Finally the 'systems approach' has dominated the studies in ecological anthropology. There are many linkages between medical anthropology and ecological anthropology.

Ecology is the study of living systems in integrated complexes. It recognises the reciprocal relations among various systems of an organism and of interactions between them. In common usage, any study that deals with man-environmental relations is called 'ecological' (Anderson 1973). The term 'environment' is also very broadly used which incorporates physical, biological and socio-cultural components. In medical anthropology, the study of nutritional status and epidemiology are very much guided by the ecological approach.

Foster says that in anthropology the 'integral whole' is a social-cultural system and in ecology it is the ecological system (1978:11). This compartmentalization of socio-cultural and ecological systems is artificial. They are now considered as interacting systems. Bio-physical environment as a part of the socio-cultural system has been studied by Rappaport (1967).

The ecological theme underlies many works in medical anthropology. Some of the studies are on individual diseases such as malaria, kuru, sickle-cell anaemia and kwashiorkor. There are also studies on nutritional habits of the communities such as the study on milk consumption and ill-health among certain communities in Africa and South-East Asia.

The medical beliefs and practices of members of traditional societies (tribe and peasant) constitutes the subject matter of ethnomedicine. Ethnomedicine is 'those beliefs and practices relating to disease which are the products of indigenous cultural develop-

ment and are not explicitly derived from the conceptual framework of modern medicine. There is not one ethnomedicine or ethnomedical system. Probably, there are as many ethnomedical systems as there are cultures identified by anthropologists.

They are also known as non-western medical systems in comparison to the western or scientific or cosmopolitan medical system. It deals with all the aspects of medical system like concept of health and illness, etiology, diagnosis, therapy, training of therapists, materia medica and other institutional support to perpetuate the system. Food habits and distribution of food in society also constitutes a part of ethnomedical system. It has both theoretical and applied dimension. Theoretically, it can throw light on human nature from an understanding of human behaviour during sickness as most of the generalizations about human nature are derived by observing healthy man. Practically, an understanding of an ethnomedical system will help the planners in determining the deficiencies and advantages of the system. Some of the elements of a system may be quite significant and may be adopted by other systems, including the scientific system, which are deficient in such areas of health care.

According to Radcliffe-Brown, structure 'refers to an arrangement of parts or components related to one another in some sort of larger unity' (1954). Social structure consists of the arrangement of persons (individuals occupying statuses) in relation to each other. Radcliffe-Brown says that "a social structures exhibited either in interactions between groups as one nation goes to war with another, or in interactions between persons; (ibid). Social organization refers to the arrangement of activities. These concepts provide the framework for the understanding of the mobilization of health care and nutritional resources in a community.

Nartiang: A Pnar Hindu Village

Nartiang is a Pnar (Jaintia) Hindu village, situated 27 km. north of Jowa town, the headquarter of Jaintia Hills district in Meghalaya. The village name is derived from two Pnar words, nar and tia, mean-

ing iron-smelting. It is said that the village was known for iron-smelting work in the past. The village is famous for its megalithic monuments situated in one place which number more than 500. Another reason for its popularity is Hindu religion of the people as it is one of the few tribal villages in Meghalaya with Sanskritic Hindu elements.

The settlement of the village is nucleated and spread over an area of about one square kilometer. The number of families residing in the village is about 350 with a population of about 2000. The village is situated by the side of an asphalted road. The village was electrified in 1964. About 95 per cent of the houses have metal (C.I.S.) roofs, wooden floors, bamboo and cement walls. The remaining houses have thatched roofs. A dispensary run by the State Government is located in the village since 1958.

The village is located in a hilly terrain, surrounded by small patches of flat paddy fields. Most of the hills are covered with pine trees. The Durga temple, founded by the ruler of Nartiang about 300 years ago, is located at the tallest hill of the settlement. There are two more smaller Hindu temples for Shiva and snake god which are also located in the settlement. The village weekly market is located by the side of megalithic monuments.

Agriculture is the main source of income. Paddy is the main crop and it is also the staple diet. Maize and sweet potato are the supplementary foods. Almost all the families rear cattle, pigs and fowls. The climate from March to October is favourable to the growth of vegetation. The cattle is grazed in the hillocks during this season, the feed for pigs and other domestic animals are also stored for the winter. The plant resources in the environment are judiciously shared by human beings and animals as a part of the adaptive process.

Each family has a kitchen garden (kperiung), fruit garden (kper soh), paddy field (hali) and forest land (khlow). People grow maize and vegetables in the kitchen garden. Separate sheds are constructed for cattle and pigs near the house. Administration in Meghalaya is

governed by the VI Schedule of the Constitution of India. The village council has more powers as far as civil and revenue matters are concerned. The land belongs to the people and tax is collected by the village administration.

The Jaintia Hills district is divided into 13 'elakas' and each elaka with about 50 villages. The head of the elaka is Doloi. He is assisted by two Pators in Nartiang, other village officials are Basons, Maji and Sangots. The Doloi, Pator and Lyngdoh (priest) have religious functions as well. Some of the offices are for life term and others are for a specified period. These officials are entitled to use the community land as long as they hold the office.

The local term for their religion is Chnong or Niamtre, professed by the Khasis and the Jaintias of Meghalaya. In addition to this, people in some villages bordering Bangladesh (former East Bengal) are influenced by Hinduism. The rulers of Nartiang had close affinity with the plains people of erstwhile East Bengal. The Nartiang kingdom had extended upto Jaintiapur in the plains (now in Bangladesh). The Hindus indoctrinated several of their religious practices such as Durga puja, snake worship etc. on Pnars. There were also some marital alliances between them. Thus the Pnars of Nartiang have two district but interacting religious traditions viz., indigenous niamtre and Sanskritic Hinduism.

The major units of the village social organisation are clans (kur). There are 13 clans in the village, out of which 3 clans (namely, dhar, dkhar and lamare) are the dominant ones. The members of these three clans are entitled to contest for the positions of doloi and pator. A clan has social, ritual and social control functions. Each clan has a female deity (Blai iung). Clan exogamy is strictly adhered by the members, including the Christian converts. Those who violate this rule are expelled from the clan and boycotted by them.

Pnars are matrilineal in descent. Each clan has a founder female. One of the families in the village is considered as the founder

by each clan. The eldest woman of the 'founder family' is considered as the head of the clan. Pnar family is matrilineal and residence is primarily matrilocal. Residence changes for a man and woman during the developmental cycle. Residence is matrilocal for a man until the birth of one or two children and then it is uxorilocal. For a woman, except the youngest one, it is matrilocal until her marriage and after the marriage it is neolocal. The youngest daughter does not change her matrilocal residence throughout her life. The types of family found in Nartiang are nuclear and extended, the type depends on the stage in the developmental cycle of the family.

The youngest daughter (khadduh) inherits most of the ancestral property and she is the custodian of the religion at the family level. Other daughters are given small shares. Non-heriess daughter construct their own houses near mothers' house, thus establishing neolocal residence. A man resides with his mother and sisters even after his marriage for 3 to 4 years or until the birth of one or two children. If he is childless he will continue to stay with mother till his death. A man's life is secure in his wife's house only when he begets a child for her. In the past, men in Nartiang, never shifted their residence to the wife's house. They were visiting husbands throughout their life. Most of the marriages in Nartiang take place within the village. It is mainly because of the religious identity of the people. But there are a few cases of villages exogamy and some of the men and women recently have married Christians (as the first wife or an additional wife, in the case of men). The Christian spouse are never brought to the village for residing there.

A young Pnar husband meets his wife only after sunset and leaves her house next day before sun rise, without taking any food there. He is offered kurai (betel nut, betel leaves, lime and tobacco) by the wife. Old men say that taking kurai was also not existed in the past. Shifting of his matrilocal to uxorilocal residence is very recent, but his heart and soul continues to remain attached to his mother's residence. When a man is seriously sick or very old he will request

his wife to shift him to this mother's house where he wants to breathe his last. A man is attached to his mother, sister(s) and sisters' children. If a man shifts his residence to wife's house, he develops some attachment to his own children, but it is not very strong.

A Pnar woman wants to beget as many children as possible. Though they are matrilineal most of the woman preferred male children as the first or as the last one. She requires male children to work in her agricultural land. A man works for his mother and sister till the arrival of sister's husband for permanent stay in the house.

Role of Sacrificial Rituals in Health Care

In this part, focus has been made on the nature of sacrificial rituals in Pnar religion, which is a combination of niamtre and Hinduism, as a supporting institution to health care. Sacrifice of animals such as pigs, goats fowls, pigeons and eggs is the hallmark of Pnar religious practice. No religious observance takes place without the sacrifice of an animal. The scarified animals are consumed by the participants in the ritual. I have discussed elsewhere certain aspect of Pnar ethnomedicine such as concept of heath and illness, etiology, diagnosis of illness, materia medica, major illness categories and the role of indigenous healers in health care (Bhat, 1986 and 1987).

The sacrificial rituals may be classified into three major types viz., life-cycle rituals, rituals and calandrical rituals, and illness-episode rituals. The sacrifices are done at the family, clan or village levels. The life-cycle rituals are performed in the house in which the main participants are clan members and neighbours. The ritual specialist Kunin (or Kabiraj) takes part in these rituals. Three major categories of rituals are briefly described below:

Life-cycle Rituals

1. **lesniang**: In this ritual, male pig is sacrificed to male ancestors and female pig for female ancestors (both of mother's side). All the clan members are invited to attend the ritual. The exact number of pigs sacrificed is determined by the Kunin by divination (thmat).

Any breach of conduct by family members in the observance of kinship or religious duties will invite heavier fine in the form of sacrificial animals. The exact member and size of animals will be based on the conduct of the family members. The divination procedure adds impartiality to the act of the Kunin. The ritual is followed by drinks and food. The meat of the sacrificed animals are consumed by all.

2. Knia Blai Raliang: This sacrifice is done on the Nartiang bazaar day (which comes once in 8 days, as the Pnar week has 8 days). The ritual is performed for a pregnant woman on the 5th, 7th or 9th month of pregnancy. The husband of the pregnant woman has to offer the pig for the sacrifice. In a way, it is a ritual to establish the paternity of the child. Since Pnars do not follow any rituals at the time of marriage, it is necessary to make the even public atleast before the birth of the child. Otherwise, the society will be facing the problem of illegal children. The marital bond in Pnar society is very brittle. Change of spouses is quite common. In this context, the ritual has great importance in giving stability to the parent-child relationship. The ears of the sacrificed pig is offered to the father of the child and the legs are offered to the woman's brothers. In this ritual also clan members are required to participate and share the food.

3. Knia Pynkukysteng: This ritual is performed when the child is 5, 7 or 9 month old. Cocks and hens are sacrificed and the meat is shared by the participants. The animals are given by the mother's brother. This ritual also signified the importance of the kinship bond between mother's brother and sister's children.

Calendrical Rituals

The calendrical rituals are of two types, one set of rituals have their origins in the niamtre relation and the other set has its origin in the Hinduism. The niamtre sacrificial rituals are as follows:

1. Knia Khang: Pigs and cocks are offered to the guardian deities of the village at three difference places in the settlement in the month of Kber (March).

2. **Knia Lyngdoh:** Hens and cocks are sacrificed by the village priest Lyngdoh at Lum Lyngdoh (hillocks of the priest) on the 5th day of the Nartiang market in the month of laiong (April). The office of the priest is for three years. The Lyngdoh also sacrifices pigs on assuming his office, before officiating any of the village sacrifices.

3. **Knia Kupili, Knia Umtisong and Knia Umlingai:** There are the sacrifices to the river deities (female). Pigs and cocks are sacrificed during this ritual by the side of the three rivulets flowing near the settlement. These rituals are performed in the month of Tellu (June).

4. **Knia Pynajkat:** This ritual is performed outside the settlement, by the side of a rivulet in the month of Naitung (July). Cocks and fowls are sacrificed.

5. **Knia Pyrdong Shnong:** The sacrifice is done to the guardian deity of the village by the Pator and Basans in the month of Naitung (July). Fish is sacrificed in this ritual.

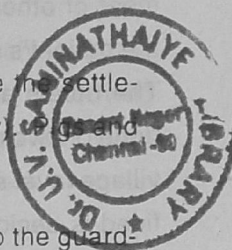
6. **Knia Khalm:** Cocks are offered in this ritual by the Lyngdoh. The ritual takes place in the month of Riso (August).

The ritual performances of the Hinduism are known as pujas. There are three important pujas celebrated at the village level for the deities located at three different localities of the village. The three pujas are as follows:

1. **Duitra or Dolijatra (Holi):** This puja is performed in Lum Duitra. Goats are sacrificed by the Brahman priest for Ram and Laxman. The puja is celebrated in the month of March.

2. **Bisari Puja (Snake deity):** The puja is performed in a small temple built for the snake god at Lum Bisari in the month of August. Fowls are sacrificed in this ritual by the Brahman priest.

3. **Durga Puja:** This puja is celebrated in October for 10 days. The Brahman priest conducts the rituals. About 50 goats are sacrificed



in this ritual on different days in addition to fowls, pigeons, sparrows and other animals.

Illness Episode Rituals

The sacrificial rituals for the cure of illness are performed throughout the year. The animals sacrificed are usually fowls and pigs. Unlike the village level sacrifices and calendrical sacrifices, the sacrifices for the well-being of an individual is performed in the forest in which women are forbidden to take part. The meat of the sacrificed animals are not consumed by the members of the patient's clan. But, meat of other animals is cooked separately for the consumption of the patient's clan members. The meat is not taken to the settlement. The rituals are performed in the afternoon. The sacrifices are not done on two days in a week (of 8 days). It is also not done on days of village level sacrifices. The type and number of animals to be sacrificed is decided the kumin by divination (thmat). A fowl is usually sacrificed in a curative ritual. The abdomen of the fowl is cut open and the entrails are examined by the kumin. If the entrails are intact, it is a good sign. My informants told me that the kumin will always say that 'all is well'. But, the patient's relatives can read the expression on kumin's face and draw their own conclusions. If the illness continues further consultations are made with more experienced kumins.

Conclusion

From the foregoing accounts on sacrificial rituals, the significance of the rituals is self-evident. The ecological conditions in Nartiang are favourable for the growth of vegetation, especially agricultural crops, for about eight months in a year. The plant resources are judiciously used and stored for the winter season by two methods viz., by storing extra food stuffs by smoking and drying methods, and by investing the extra food on domestic animals; The animals are the good source of protein which is a necessary component of diet for promoting health. The functions of these sacrificial rituals have to be looked into at both manifest and latent levels. The manifest function of the illness-episode rituals are curative. The rituals may give psy-

chological support to the patient to restore his condition to normality. But, the most important function of the rituals are latent in nature. The latent function is promotive rather than curative. The scarce protein rich food is shared among the members of the community and food is not wasted. If the consumption is done at domestic level, the changes of wastage are more as the family members cannot consume more than 100 kg of port in a day. The institution of sacrificial rituals have to be seen in this context. I have come across several men who have attended sacrificial rituals atleast 2-3 times a week. The barring of women from attending such rituals has another significance. Since Pnars are matrilineal, men do not have much say in the domestic sphere. They do not involve themselves much in buying food stuffs for consumption at home. This is compensated by the sacrificial rituals where men are in full control of the rituals, in which consumption of food is an important part.

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4. ECO-CHANGE AND SUBSISTENCE PATTERN AMONG THE TRIBES - A CASE STUDY ON KANIKKAR

M.Sasikumar

Introduction

Most of the tribes in India are forest dwelling and live in their isolated abodes adapting themselves to the suitable physical environment, without harming the eco-system. In shaping the culture of a community, its physical environment plays an important role and it is the available natural resources around the community that shape their technology on which they depend for their arrival. They may modify the available technology to a level sufficient to satisfy their needs. It is around this techno-economic factor that other cultural developments take shape for its continuity.

In a hunting gathering and horticultural society, limitations of the habitat have a close control; and muscular energy will be the elementary source of livelihood. The adaptations a group might require or develop in its local environment through its most important tool, i.e., culture, are not permanent as no habitat remains unchanged; they have to develop new strategies of cultural adaptations by modifying their technology to suit the changes in the environment. A change in their physical habitat alters the economic base and it creates new problems and needs. To tackle the problem and to satisfy the needs, they have to develop new technologies or modify the existing ones. This will ultimately help the process of cultural evolution.

An attempt is made in this paper to analyze how the Kanikkar are adapting themselves to the environmental changes resulting out of the implementation of rules and regulations, as well as the developmental activities of the Government. The method of description adopted in the present study is to describe their traditional subsistence patterns, to be followed by their skill of adaptability to suit the changing situations.

The Tribe

Kanikkar, popularly known as Kani, is a Scheduled Tribe found in the extreme south of India, around the Agastyakutam and the Mahendragiri Peaks of the Western Ghats, south of the Palghat Gap, in the Thiruvananthapuram and Kollam districts of Kerala as well as in the adjacent areas of Tamil Nadu. In Kerala, their concentration is in the Nedumanaagad taluk. As this area has been penetrated by non-tribal populations at different times, the Kanikkar have been driven away to confine themselves to Reserve Forest areas and their environs. The reservoirs of the Neyyar Irrigation and Peppara (drinking water supply) projects cut through their homeland.

Habitat, Flora and Fauna

The area where they live has an altitude which varies from 90 metres to 700 metres. The region is characterized by eroded hills and valleys radiation from the Agastyakutom Peak (above 2400 meters) and the nearby Mahendragiri (2200 metres) above MSL. Paraliar, Neyyar, Karamanayar and Kallar are the rivers flowing from east to south west. The climate is hot and humid in the plains with low variation (20° to 33° Celsius) throughout the year. In the upper hills, the temperature is comparatively cold and may touch 16°C. in January. The mean annual rainfall is about 3000 mm with the heaviest precipitation during the South west monsoon (May-July) and the rest in the North East Monsoon (October-November).

The forest falls in the wet semi-evergreen and the southern moist deciduous types. Important tree species are karimaruthu (*Terminalia tomentosa*), vellamarudu (*T. paniculata*), chadachi (*Grewia tiliaefolia*), anjili (*Artocarpus hirsuta*), etc. mmula (bamboos) and erra (*Ochlandra* reeds) are the important raw materials for the traditional basket and mat weaving industries.

Elephants, wild pigs, porcupines, wild dogs, wild cats, smabhur and various deer are found. More than sixty species of birds including black eagle, emerald dove, black winged kite, etc. are found.

Traditional subsistence pattern

The Kani livelihood was once totally forest based. Shifting cultivation (punam), collection of minor forest produce (MFP), hunting and fishing, were their economic activities for survival. In punam, individual property was not recognized. They had a rotation of two or three years of cultivation followed by a fallow of ten to fifteen years, sufficient enough to regenerate the forest. They would begin the clearing of the jungle in vrischigom (November-December) and complete it by the end of dhanu (December-January). The cleared area would be in a compact block and would be divided among the families by the headman. A large family would get more land than a small one. All the works in the land retained by the headman his assistants and male-less families would be done for them by the rest. The work to be done in others' lands would be on the basis of aalukkaalu ("man for man") system. The debris would be burnt in kumbham (February-March). In mnenam (March-April), they would scratch the land with a thottakambu (L-shaped wooden hoe) and broadcast seeds. Weeding was done twice and the crop would be ready for harvest by chingam (August-September). The threshed grains would be stored in big bundles covered with kuva leaves or grass. Besides paddy, tapioca, tina, chama, manjal, cholam, different kinds of grams and a variety of plantains and vegetables were also cultivated. Rice and tapioca were their staple food and other items supplemented their diet.

Hunting, fishing and collection of MFP were the other sources of their livelihood. For hunting, they made use of bows and arrows and some of them were expert in making and using guns. Hunting was mainly a group activity and the game was distributed equitably among the families of the settlement. For fishing, they used different devices like rod and line, traps and poisoning. Some of the important items of MFP collected by them were honey, roots and tubers, leaves, flowers and fruits. Thus, the Kanikkar had established an ecological equilibrium in their habitat, which struck a balance with the plant and animal population on the one hand and the human being on the other

Change in Eco-system

The balance they maintained with the eco-system had been disturbed by extra-neous influences. The Forest Department imposed restrictions on shifting cultivation and their cultivable land have been clearly demarcated by putting up stone blocks called janda, curtailing their frequent movements in the forest. So also, the department has restricted hunting-gathering in the forest and fishing in the reservoirs and rivers. Here, there is no visible change in the forest habitat and the associated ecology, but only imposed restrictions of the technology adopted by the tribal people to earn their livelihood, even though the tribal technology had not produced any noticeable repercussion on the ecological balances, because it was a balanced use of the forest.

The sudden restrictions on their survival technologies altered the tribal economic base. They had to adopt themselves to the immediate changes for their survival. It is not possible for a group to adopt new technologies in a day. So the Kanikkar tried to adapt themselves by practicing the same mode of cultivation in the available limited land demarcated for them by compressing the cycle in time, by cultivating a plot for comparatively longer periods and by limiting the fallow interval to a shorter period. The Kanikkar began to cultivate the same plot for five or six years continuously, followed by a fallow period of only two or three year. The curtailment of the fallow time prevented the natural rejuvenation of the forest, and it finally led to soil degradation and low productivity.

The Kanikkar could not continue this adaptational strategy for long because of the pressure from increasing population of non-tribals and the low productivity. The low productivity of the soil forced them to give up cultivation of paddy and other grains; tapioca which gives comparatively high yield even in less fertile soil became their major crop. This situation forced them to take up settled agriculture. The settled cultivation, being a anew element in their culture, laid them open to local influence in the process as well as in the use of agricultural artifacts.

The transition of a community from a horticultural stage to a settled agricultural stage will generally be the consequence of a technological innovation and it brings revolutionary changes in the technology used for harnessing the energy, i.e., from muscular energy to extra-personal energy. But in the case of the Kanikkar, their chief agricultural implements are digging stick, hand axe and hoe - the modified form of heir thottekembu. Even the use of plough and draught animals are not being practiced in the process of cultivation; though they are in a transitional stage in their production system, the old technology still survives. A major change has been in the introduction of the concept of "private", holdings identified with each family. Even though no Kanikkar family has a proprietary right to the land assigned to him because it is comprised in the Reserve Forests, each family has got separate demarcated plots which only they can cultivate. Interestingly, they continue to allow portion of such plots fallow, shifting cultivation around the concerns of the plot.

The traditional political organization that developed around the system of production, distribution and associated beliefs and practices is losing its importance, as it has become function-less due to changes in the production-distribution-consumption patterns. Their traditional village council headed by muttukani and his assistants like planthy, vilikani, kudipadi, munnan, organized the production-distribution system by integrating different activities to be done by different members, associated with shifting cultivation, hunting, gathering etc. Those who worked against the common interest and those who went against the will of their deities were punished by the council. Now as the techno-economic base has been shifted from community based production to individual family based production, the integrative and organizational role of the council in the new systems is much limited.

The transition also affected other aspects like settlement pattern etc. As they stopped their migratory character, they began to build houses using durable materials like bricks, tiles, etc., instead of

their traditional temporary huts. The change in other areas like social organization, belief systems, religion etc., are not very rapid, because they tend to resist changes in them because of social conservatism.

The local ecology of the Kanikkar also has been altered due to the developmental activities of the Government. After Independence, forest areas have been extensively utilized for mono-cultural plantations like Eucalyptus, Accacias etc., resulting in the replacement of natural forests by these exotics, where collection and gathering have been limited to dry wood leaves and grass. This also has affected the traditional household industries like basket making due to the scarcity of reeds, cane and bamboo.

The construction of dams like Pepara and Neyyar in their homeland created a lot of problems for the Kanikkar. Firstly, these dams caused the disappearance of many varieties of fish which were in plenty in former times in the vicinity. The wild animals protected in the Reservoir and Sanctuary areas caused constant threat to their life, livestock and crops. The Neyyar reservoir has been stocked with crocodiles which have multiplied and now pose a threat to the Kanis and their livestock. Moreover, the rehabilitation of tribes from the project areas to more accessible and exposed areas resulted in their constant contact with the plains people. They began to enter into marital alliances outside their tribe caste boundary and this ultimately led to the break down of the age old system of tribal endogamy and the consequent mixing up of cultures. They could not prevent it, as their traditional political organization, which functioned as an efficient mechanism of social control, became function-less due to the shattering of their production-consumption pattern..

The Kanikkar, like other tribes in the State, depended heavily on the collection of MFP like honey, roots and tubers, leaves, fruits, and other edible items. The introduction of Girijan Co-operative Societies changed their pattern of gathering from collecting subsistence items to items of commercial value. This led to the introduction of a

money economy in the place of their traditional self sufficient subsistence pattern. As their present habitat is in the vicinity of Wild Life Sanctuaries, hunting is prohibited; the Government policy of protecting wild life has negated one of the major sources of their livelihood.

Conclusion

For the Kanikkar, the forest eco-system was the one regulating their lives into self-sufficient and sustainable pattern. As the forest policies and regulations of the Government destroyed their self-sufficient and sustainable pattern limited to shifting cultivation, hunting, gathering and fishing, they had to develop new strategies for their survival. As an adaptation to these changes, they altered the period of their cycle of shifting cultivation and adopted settled agriculture. As hunting and gathering lost their importance, they were forced to sell their labour to secure their livelihood. Today, they are becoming a group of people who acquire most of their food by purchasing it with money they get from wage labour.

5. TRIBAL ECOLOGY AND OCCUPATIONS: Some observations

Suresh Patil

Introduction

The Indian subcontinent, with a large human population, which was constantly affected by various historical forces, rise and fall of empires, being birth place of four major religions and many religious sects, and continuous adaptation to a tremendous range of environmental regimes, is a fascinating mosaic of varied cultural traits.

Owing to such unique historical, religious, ecological and other forces, tendency to form endogamous groups was considerably more in India than elsewhere in the world. India's cultural diversity, vis-a-vis, ecology is best investigated in terms of such endogamous groups. These endogamous groups, or the "communities", having a discrete identity, investigated by the People of India (POI) project, form the homogeneous groups. The Project collected extensive information on 2753 such communities making up 4635 groups when a community population in each State Union Territory is counted as a separate lament. A 'Yes/No' response to 776 individual items of information ranging over identity, ecology, food habits, occupation, kinship patterns, marriage rules, art and music, as well as educational status and impact of development programmes is now available for these 4635 communities.

In one sense all the traits in POI are measurable. For any given trait, one can actually count how many 'yes' or 'no' responses are there, from all the members or a sample of the community. But in POI usually five informants were interviewed among each community. These informants, or the key informants, possessed through knowledge of their community which could be thought of as though they had surveyed their own community. After talking to informants, the investigators filled in a pre-coded for the information received from all the informants. The investigator here arrived at general consensus or trend emerging from the informants. If there were controver-

sies about a certain trait among the informants themselves and this was reflected like same community practicing both vegetarian and non-vegetarian. The POI data are indicative occurring in social reality though these have not been actually measured like that.

Historical background of statistical studies in social anthropology

The first ever suggestion to treat statistical methods for the social anthropological data was made by Sir Edward Tylor in one of the meetings of Royal Anthropological Society somewhere during 1872 and the first major statistical problem was also raised in the same meeting which still today is known as "Galton's problem". Ever since sporadic attempts were made in social anthropology to treat the data statistically. But the first systematic attempt was made in the 1990s by George Murdock (1967), he carried out cross-cultural statistical analysis of around 250 societies located in different parts of the world using Human Relation Area Files. Serious objections were raised to such comparisons, some even went to the extent of saying that each society is unique and no two societies can be compared. This was essentially an emic point of view, for them traits have meaning in their context, to compare them out of their context is scientific sacrilege. Consequently, this meant cross-cultural typologies could never be built. Though what emic school argued had a grain of truth, it was not the whole truth, the etic way of studying social phenomena was also an equally valid scientific approach.

Though New Ethnography (or emic approach) increasingly became fashionable, the tradition of cross-cultural study continued with innovative ideas introduced by Raul Narrol (1968), and Driver and Schuessler (1967). There are still certainly many problems in theory building in social anthropology. But gradually, it has been recognized that typologies of social phenomena have to be built for cross-cultural comparison, although these need to be revised constantly in the light of new data. The cross-cultural studies thus are not in contradiction with the emic approach. Both have been recognized as valid approaches in their own right.

Driver and Schuessler (1967), for example, examined regional variations in their factor analysis of Murdock's World Ethnographic Sample. An unusual and a highly successful variation on the regional-research model is that of Goldschmidt and associates in the Culture and Ecology project, carried out in East Africa (Goldschmidt et.al. 1967). Their strategy was to locate a geographical area in which tribal groups were ecologically divided into pastoral and farming sub-groups. To examine and to control the effects of general cultural variables they selected two cases of southern Nilotes and two cases of Bantu-speaking people. Needless to say, there have been a number of statistical studies in social anthropology.

In the following description, correlation coefficient has been calculated using Pearsons Produce Moment¹ are presented for the Scheduled Tribes of India, South India and then for Southern States wherever significance is seen. Not all tribes listed in Government list may have tribal features but by and large this would speak of tribes in India.

The Scheduled Tribes

Most highly inter-related set of traits is observed among the Scheduled Tribes. Half of these communities' economy is forest based (310, $r=0.410$), 175 of them still do a bit of hunting and gathering ($r=0.40$), 229 of them practice sporadic shifting cultivation ($r=0.54$), basketry is significant part of their economic pursuits (139, $r=0.26$), most of them do not consume milk (408, $r=+0.280$), pig/wild boar meat is a common item of their diet 411 ($r=+0.302$), 393 groups ($r=+0.444$) prepare and enjoy their own home made brew in which women in 141 groups also join ($r=+0.325$). There is marriage by elopement in 310 ($r=+0.410$), 177 ($r=+0.313$) groups practice marriage by service, bride price is paid in 307 ($r=+0.372$), nearly half of them 292 ($r=+0.543$) believe in their own religion, dance as their cultural heritage is carried on in 434 ($r=+0.402$) groups by both men and women and only 75 ($r=+0.301$) groups, especially among the Hindus recognize varna.

Among 636 Scheduled Tribes studied under the People of India Project, it is seen that 403 groups live in hilly terrain, either partly or exclusively and the correlation coefficient between the tribes and the hilly terrain at the national level is 0.34. In Southern India, altogether 123 tribes have been studied where 90 groups have their distribution in hilly terrain and the correlation value is seen slightly higher i.e., 0.40 compared to the country as a whole. State-wise, within Southern India, out of 43 tribes in Andhra Pradesh, 30 are reported from hilly terrain which works out to a correlation coefficient of 0.52. This is followed by Kerala where the correlation coefficient value is 0.40 (i.e., 31 tribes out of 34 studied). In Karnataka, out of 18 tribes studied, 11 are distributed in hilly area and the correlation coefficient is 0.36. Comparatively, fewer tribes in Tamil Nadu are distributed in hilly terrain. Out of 28 tribes studied in Tamil Nadu, 18 are reported from hilly area and this State shows the lowest correlation coefficient of 0.27 among the Southern States.

A large number of communities in India (2845 out of 4635) are distributed in plains, either partly or wholly. But there is a negative association between the tribes and the ecological zone of plains. Between the tribes and the plains, at the all India, the correlation coefficient is -0.21, while this value is -0.36 for Tamil Nadu and -0.24 for Andhra Pradesh. No significant association is seen between the tribes and coastal area, either at the all India level or at the south as a whole. However, Tamil Nadu and Kerala conspicuously lack distribution of tribal communities in coastal area. There is a negative correlation coefficient value for these States, i.e., -0.21 and -0.30, respectively.

As we see the ecological niche of tribes by and large is hilly terrain and forest area over millennia, their livelihood has been tailored to this specialized milieu. A large number of tribes traditionally lived on hunting and gathering, either primarily or secondarily. Out of 636 tribes, hunting and gathering was pursued among 175 as primary or secondary mode of livelihood. Expectedly, a strong correlation

occurs between the tribes and hunting and gathering as a way of livelihood (0.40 All India, 0.36 South, 0.44 Andhra Pradesh, 0.42 Tamil Nadu, 0.25 Kerala). Some what similar correlation coefficient values are obtained for trapping of birds and animals. At the all India level, among 117 tribes, trapping of birds and animals was one of the ways of obtaining food. Correlation coefficient value for south is seen much high, i.e., 0.42 compared to all India, ie., 0.28 (49 out of 123).

Another important mode of livelihood for the tribes was shifting cultivation. A strong correlation, ie., 0.54, is seen between the tribes and shifting cultivation. Out of 636 tribes, for 229 shifting cultivation was a way of life. In the south, 44 tribes out of 123 were involved in shifting cultivation and the correlation value is the same as that for the all India ie., 54. Among States, shifting cultivation is seen the highest in Andhra Pradesh with a value of 0.67 (23 tribes out of 43), followed by Kerala showing 0.61 (15 tribes out of 34). Only two tribes in Karnataka, namely, the Soliga and the Malaikudi were involved in shifting cultivation. Today they have switched over to settled cultivation. While depleting resource was one of the causes, enforcement of laws against such practice by Government authorities, technological changes introduced in the tribal economy and so on, were the other reasons.

Nearly one sixth of tribes (105 out of 636) are involved in terrace cultivation and almost half among the terrace cultivators are tribes (105 out of 221). A correlation coefficient value of 0.22 is seen between the tribes and terrace cultivation at the all India level and somewhat similar value of 0.20 is seen for the south (11 out of 19). Similarly, a correlation coefficient value of 0.20 is seen between tribes and switching over to settled cultivation as a mode of livelihood in Karnataka and Kerala. Ten out of 18 in Karnataka and 21 out of 34 in Kerala have taken up settled cultivation.

Everywhere in the country, among many tribes wage labour pursuit has been reported as a new way of eking out livelihood. In

south, this phenomenon stands out highest in Kerala with a correlation coefficient value of 0.24 (27 out of 34). Rearing sheep, goat, buffalo, cow etc., has been no other avenue of augmenting income for the tribes. Rearing of animals is seen significantly in Tamil Nadu (correlation coefficient value of 0.24, 10 tribes out of 28) and Andhra Pradesh (0.21, 12 tribes out of 43). Bee keeping is another occupation which stands out significantly in this statistical analysis.

Basket making (and mat weaving) is a trait that is reported from many tribe's. Out of 636 tribes, 139 are reported to be involved in basket making and a correlation coefficient value of 0.26 is seen. A somewhat similar value also figures out for the southern States. Fishing as a significant occupation is not reported among the tribes, but in Andhra Pradesh, 9 out of 43 tribes do fishing and a correlation coefficient value of 0.20 is seen, which though is weak, but is much higher compared to other States.

Despite many efforts by the Government through welfare and development programmes and also reservation in government service for tribes all States in south show a negative correlation coefficient ranging from -0.20 to -0.26 between the tribes and the Government service as one of the occupations. Similar negative values are also seen for representation of tribal in private sector and self-employment schemes in these States. This shows that tribes are in now way near to becoming part of the national mainstream.

Conclusion

Traditionally, in anthropology, the scholars usually studied a tribe or a caste at microcosm. This approach, though perfectly fine, misses the macro view. There have been attempts to compensate the same in studies like "Culture Area" and studies based on "Human Relations Area Files". In India, an initial attempt is being made by the Anthropological Survey of India in this regard. Analysis of macro data with the application of correlation coefficient model is essential as that of micro situation in understanding the Tribal Ecology and

Development. In this direction, a contribution is made here wherein tribal ecology and occupations are discussed across the country. It was seen that by and large the tribes continue to depend on subsistence economy and they have a long way to go to reach the national mainstream.

Notes

1. Correlation between traits

For two traits X and Y, let

a= Number of communities showing both X and Y

b= Number of communities showing X but not Y

c= Number of communities showing Y but not X, and

d= Number of communities showing neither X or Y.

For the present data set, for any pair of traits,

$$a + b + c + d = 4635$$

The Pearson product moment correlation coefficient between the two traits is given by

$$r = \frac{a b - b c}{[(a+b)(a+c)(b+d)(c+d)]^{1/2}}$$

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6. REDISCOVERING TRIBAL IDENTITY: EMERGING PROCESSES AND BOUNDARIES

P.Devanesan

Introduction

Article 46 of the Indian Constitution, besides guaranteeing equality of opportunity to all, directs the States to promote with special care the interests of the weaker sections of the society particularly those of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

In spite of the democratic pluralistic and secular characteristics of the Indian society there are today people and communities whose identities are being threatened, distorted and defaced by hegemony of various kinds,¹ leading to a sort of identity crisis, particularly for the weaker sections whose interests were entrusted to the special care of the state by the Constitution. At the same time these communities show today perceptible signs of a resurgence which finds expression in various forms all converging at the one focal point of rediscovering their identity. Among these communities the Dalits and the Tribes stand out from the rest by virtue of their past history, present problems and future challenges. They are found today engaged in individual and collective struggle in the process of redeeming and reclaiming their lost identity.²

This paper attempts to highlight some of the salient features and to identify some of the emerging processes and boundaries with regard to the tribal identity in the plural society.

The paper consists of two parts. The first part explores the *hidden curriculum* of the formal education and the eye-wash of the non-formal stream and the damage done by this formal-non-formal paradigm to tribal identity. The second part attempts to identify the emerging processes and boundaries in this regard touching upon ethnic consciousness, cultural autonomy, territorial base and equality founded on social justice.

Part One

Reviewing the book authored by Sharma, S. (1994) *Tribal Identity and the Modern World*, Mahapatra comments that in spite of the intellectual battles fought by anthropologists in India and in the world for over a century on the definition of the tribe, 'the tribal identity remains elusive as usual' (*Sociological Bulletin*, 2, Sept.1995: 279). It only points out to the complexity and the magnitude of the problem. However, tribal identity seems to be a problem not so much to the tribals themselves as it is to the non-tribals.

That the conventional understanding of the tribal identity by the non-tribals in India reveals characteristics of colonial hegemony and royal condescension can hardly be disputed. In fact, one of the meanings given to the word 'tribe' in the Oxford Dictionary is that it is a set of people lumped together, usually referred to in contempt. Such ethnocentric view of the tribals³ held by the British and the rest of the West has unfortunately been inherited by the non-tribals in India as part of its colonial heritage, particularly by the educated Indian elite.

Delivering the K.G.Saiydaian Memorial Lecture in April 1988 at the Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts Dr.Kapila Vatsyayan describes succinctly the 'educated' Indian and his colonial hangover as "... the white man's burden was the brown man's aspiration. And this small percentage of the international homogenised Indian was himself a conglomerate of the Macaulayan system of alienation, caught in a Metcalfian system of administration, constructed on the steel frame of mistrust... (and) whether he subscribe to the caste system or not intellectually his perception of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes was that this was a large uncultured, uneducated, illiterate mass of people... (and) this Indian held in his palm the reins of developing the mass of illiterate, economically poor Indians living and breathing in the vast country side, be it rural India or tribal India" (Vatsyayan, 1988:43).

Again, the very expression of Scheduled Tribe coined by the colonial masters for political and administrative purposes by lumping

together the different tribal communities with scant regard for their individual identity, and to which expression (of lumped identity) the post-Independent academics and administration have blindly stuck, has in fact concretised the dictionary meaning of 'tribe' mentioned above. It may not be an exaggeration to say that if the British colonised India and impoverished it, in the independent India the tribal communities were 'colonised' and impoverished economically and culturally. With the one of this 'neo-colonialism' within independent India began the insidious process of defacement and distortion of the tribal identity, which got introduced to the tribals together with the too well known package of 'education', 'development' and 'modernisation'. The tribals on their part readily accepted what was offered to them and internalized the same so that it eventually became part of their own socialization process and the formation of their self-image. This nefarious process was thus not only prevented from surfacing but was also justified when it surfaced. The role of education in this regard, particularly, needs to be probed.

In terms of access, curriculum pedagogy and outcome education facilities with convincing justification the process of internalisation by the tribal and other such disadvantaged children, of certain stereotypes of their own self-image and self-worth so as to seriously damage the development of their self concept and true identity. From the view point of the disadvantaged, factors such as unequal educational opportunity, irrelevant curriculum discriminatory pedagogy and a grossly unequal options and levels of performance tend to create feelings of inferiority, insecurity and alienation.

Of special importance is the attitude of the middle and upper class background teachers towards the Dalit and tribal students as well their expectations from them. Out of condescension and misguided empathy the teachers maintain their distance and expect only the very minimum or often not even that from the Dalit and tribal children who sooner or later internalize these attitudes of their teachers towards them, develop a very low self-image of themselves,

achieve little and worst of it all, accept the situation as quite normal. Since several of them are first generation learners their parents too find nothing wrong or unusual with this situation (Adiseshiah, 1974; Rath, 1972; 1974, 1976). It is also argued that the process of 'labeling of socially disadvantaged children in school is reflective of the stereotypes that prevail in the wider society about these communities' (Nambissan, 1996:1017).

The attitudes of teachers and their stereotypes form part of what has come to be known as *hidden curriculum*, which consists of 'all those things that are learned in schools, other than what is officially time-tabled, including attitudes, values, notions of *normal* and *not normal*' (Chapman, 1986:113). It has been aptly observed by Prof. Leacock that 'what teachers convey to lower class children is not middle class values but middle class attitudes towards lower class people and their role in society, a middle class image of what lower class children are and what they should be' (quoted in Pate, 1983: 84).

It may, therefore, be surmised reasonably that for the tribal children, more than the academic content of learning, the non-academic content by way of the *hidden curriculum* has been doing considerable damage to their identity.⁴

It is true that a number of individuals from tribal communities have made it to the top thanks to education, but the question is at what cost or at whose cost? For one thing these individuals are most probably drawn from the 'creamy layer' and secondly whether such individual mobility has in fact made positive contribution towards the rediscovering of the tribal identity at the collective level is open to question. However, it is clear beyond doubt that an education that is subservient to the forces of 'neo-colonialism' can do precious little to enhance or redeem tribal identity.

The state apparently seeking to absolve itself of the ills of the formal system or threatened by increasing unrest and protest by the

Dalits and tribal communities has come forward with the new scheme of non-formal education (NFE). The National Policy on Education (NPE, 1986) clearly states that the total enrollment and retention of SC and ST children at the primary stage is to be achieved through the formal school or 'its equivalent through the on-formal stream' (India, 1996: 111) ⁵

Subramaniam and Paliwal (1989) working in Madhya Pradesh have evaluated the NFE programme and have commented upon its 'dismal performance'. It is concluded that under the prevailing conditions turning over the socially disadvantaged children to the non-formal sector is as good as washing one's hands of them. Reviewing the various drawbacks and shortcomings of the NFE programme exclusively operating among the tribal children in five States, Srivastava and Gupta (1986) wonder how a full five year course of primary education could effectively be condensed into two years in the NFE scheme and how could such children be expected to compete with other children in the regular stream later. On the other hand Nambissan (1996) comments that the NFE programme is intrinsically weak as 'it is meant for people who are vulnerable and do not have the power or the resources to demand education that compares with what the more advantaged sections receive'.

Devoting a full chapter on *Education for Equality*, the NPE with regard to the SC and ST states that 'the goal of the Educational Policy is equalisation with the non-scheduled population in all stages and levels of education (NPE, 1986: 6).

In the light of the above discussion, it may be concluded that in spite of some lateral expansion of educational facilities, both formal and non-formal, the scheduled population has not only been not equalised with the non-scheduled population but also that in the process the collective identity of the scheduled population especially that of the Scheduled Tribes has been mutilated beyond recognition, and possibly beyond redemption. As Sinha (1993) has commented, overt

and covert attempts to crush indigenous tribal values by powerful non-tribal interests particularly through formal education has brought about a fear of becoming cultural exiles in their own homeland.

Part Two

The focus of this presentation, however, is not to decry the useful purposes served by the formal or the non-formal streams of education but to point out that the quest for tribal identity can not be adequately met within the formal-non-formal paradigm and that since the fundamental learning among the tribal communities today is for a rediscovery of or a return to their own identity, the imperative today is to go beyond the formal-non-formal paradigm to search for new parameters and boundaries. What the tribals are looking for today is not a mere education which undermines the roots in exchange for some individual upward mobility, but a basic freedom to be their own true selves. The second part of this paper attempts to throw light on some of the important issues and aspects in this regard and to identify the emerging processes and boundaries not in the form of any systematic elaborate analysis but more in the style of a brain-storming exercise, with the intention of raising the issues rather than finding or even suggesting answers.

To begin with, 'tribal survival in the modern world would be possible and meaningful only if it is recognised as a presence with its own intrinsic worth' (Sharma, 1994, quoted in the Book Review by Mahaptra, *Sociological Bulletin*, No.2, Sep.1995, p.280). The intrinsic worth of any people and the recognition of the same by others is the starting point of the identity of that people who would therefore be recognized and related to as subjects and not treated as objects. This way any tribal community becomes an end in itself and not the means for the other ends. Proceeding from its intrinsic worth tribal identity unfolds its other integral features namely ethnic consciousness, cultural autonomy, territorial base and equality founded on social justice. These boundaries of tribal identities also often express themselves in the socio-economic and political spheres.

That ethnic consciousness is on the increase today, not only among the tribal communities but also among the various castes, minorities and regional groups, has been documented by the Peoples of India Survey (Singh, 1992). This consciousness is spreading and catching up with the different communities so rapidly that groupings based on religious, linguistic, racial, tribal and caste distinctions need to be identified today also in terms of their ethnicity. Thus, traits that are inter-generationaloy transmitted (ethnic) begin to have a greater influence in the identification of the various social groups and in the development of self-identity and worth (D'Souza, 1995:160,162). That the division of the various States of the Indian Union represents separate linguistic regions itself is a sufficient and strong indicator of the ethnic divide inherent in the Indian society.

Ethnic consciousness is also inseparably linked with cultural autonomy. Yogendra Singh (1955) observes that 'the process of cultural integration on a national scale has grown but with a simultaneous increase in the search for cultural autonomy', and adds that 'this process can be noticed among the tribes not only as manifested their political demands but also in their movements such as *return to tribal religion...*' Hence, the concepts of cultural diversity and cultural integration does not deny cultural autonomy.

It is interesting to note that in an age of economic globalization, culture is increasingly being parochialised (Singh, 1995:5) and that 'the collective identity generated by culture is better conveyed by the term '*ethnicity*' (Glazer and Moynihan,1978. quoted in D'Souza, 1995:160) and that culture is not only a complex of symbols, norms, values and beliefs but that it also refers to the group to which this complex is linked (D'Souza, 1995: 159). Ethnicity and culture converge in a specific social groups, be it caste or tribe, and ethnic consciousness coupled with cultural autonomy becomes a strong force for a group's collective identity. Where there is a total convergence among ethnic consciousness, culture and society, as it can be in the case of tribal communities, the force of collective identity reaches its

It is perhaps characteristic of neo-colonialism to conceive of tribal identity sans tribal territory or homeland. This is understandable since encroaching into and 'annexing' of tribal lands have always been a part of the neo-colonial strategy of 'development'. History tells us that territorial alienation is the starting point of other forms of alienation for a people, just as territorial restoration is, for a new beginning and reconstruction. That cultural autonomy is dependent on territorial autonomy has been established by the existence of the various linguistic states in India. Territorial autonomy, if not in the sense of a separate homeland, at least in the sense of an inalienable right to ancestral land and its environs, is therefore an indispensable element in the rediscovery of tribal identity.

Moreover, as the Indian society is pluralistic not only culturally and socially but also structurally in terms of unequal distribution of goods and services, power and prestige, equality (equal opportunity) based on social justice is the latest and probably the most vibrant aspect of tribal identity (or for that matter of any socially disadvantaged community) today (Pathy, 1995 and Panini, 1995). This is all the more true in the post-Mandal and post-new economic policy era.

These boundaries of tribal identity-ethnic consciousness, cultural autonomy, territorial autonomy and social justice - coexist in equal proportion, implying that all these four boundaries are equally important and equally indispensable. There is no question of sacrificing or playing down one for the sake of the other. The inclusion of the dimension of social justice is also the make it clear that in all forms of interaction - within a tribe, with other tribes, with non-tribes and with the secular administration (State) - the tribal communities will be guided by this parameter more than by any other criterion, value or ideology.

Identities and autonomies imply boundary demarcations and all kinds of boundaries have to one time or other given way to dis-

putes and strife. Oommen (1995) in a recent essay has

presented a scholarly analysis of the dynamics of these boundaries and the issue of pluralism.

In a society where ethnic, cultural and structural pluralism prevails, such boundary demarcations tend to be zealously guarded. In this battle for boundaries, the position of the weak (SC and ST) is rendered most vulnerable since these groups are likely to be forced or enticed into 'trading-off' one boundary in order to retain the others or led into any other sort of compromises on their identity.

Oommen lucidly identifies five kinds of processes as emerging out of the boundary struggle in a plural society. They are annexation, assimilation, protection, co-option (formal and informal) and self-determination. To quote 'Annexation of other' territory and assimilation of others into one's culture are forceful, erasures of boundaries to the advantage of the strong and would lead to the degeneration and even dissolution of the identity of the weak. Protecting the identity of the weak is maintaining the boundary for them as defined by the strong. Co-option is a process of making boundaries porous by marginalising outsider and 'accommodating them'. Self-determinism is permitting the weak to create a boundary of their choice⁶ (Oommen, 1995:142).

As for the process of assimilation, it takes place between a culture of high status and another just lower in the hierarchy. On the contrary "if the other (culture) was taken as congenitally inferior, different and detested (SC and ST) the boundaries were strongly maintained" (Oommen, 1995:146), parentheses mine).

Elaborating on the process of co-option Oommen says "Formal co-option of a collectivity leads to the obliteration of its identity; informal co-option is a process which may help retain the identities of the co-opted. Thus the co-option of the powerful is often informal; it does not lead to the abolition of the boundary or destruction of identity. Formal co-option is usually a mechanism invoked to provide equality

to the weak but in the process their identity gets eclipsed". And Oommen concludes crisply, "the trade-off is between identity and equality" (Oommen, 1995: 142).

Attempting an approximate and spontaneous application of these concepts to the tribal identity it may be said that assimilation is represented by territorial alienation and formal education especially the English education; protection by the non-formal strategies including schooling; co-opting by the apparent functioning of democracy; formal co-option by the various constitutional provisions for the Scheduled Tribes; informal co-option by competition and globalization and lastly self-determination by recognising their intrinsic worth and respecting their right to determine their own boundaries or to rediscover and recreate their lost boundaries.

Conclusion

Tribal communities have definitely have come a long way today from the descriptions of classical definitions and conventional ethnography. The content and context of their identity too have undergone dramatic change and have assumed new processes and boundaries in the post-colonial and post-independent India. Though D'Souza (1995) proposes that the socio-cultural situation in India greatly inhibits the achievement of the Constitutional objectives (with regard to the interest of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes), Oommen (1995) strikes an optimistic note that with increasing democratization there is bound to be more openness and equality. And increasing democratization in the context of this presentation may be taken to mean the mutual acceptance and promotion of the rightful boundaries among various communities, particularly, those between the tribal and the non-tribal communities in a pluralistic India.

There needs to be a general awakening and belief on the part of every one concerned that rediscovering of one's identity in terms of its boundaries, particularly in the case of the socially disadvantaged

sections of society, is not only necessary today but also possible. Anthropologists and other social scientists along with the administrators, policy makers, the NGOs as well as the tribal and non-tribal elites are called today to play their respective supportive roles in this context with conviction and commitment so as not only to restore tribal identity to its past glory or to its rightful boundaries, but also to meet its future challenges. Roy Burman (1994) has aptly observed that a tribe can outgrow its primitiveness and still retain its social boundary as an essential feature of its historical identity.

Notes

1. Roy Burman in his recent book 'Tribes in Perspective' has noted that even pluralism implies the covert and overt acceptance of the hegemony of the dominant culture (See Book Review by L.K.Mahaptra, *Sociological Bulletin*, 43(2), Sept.1994, p.235).
2. T.K.Oommen refers to those 'tribes' and 'nomads' of the post-modern world-who are territorially anchored but create new boundaries, socio-cultural in content so that they can find new roots and identities -as 'rediscovered primary groups' (*Sociological Bulletin*, 44(2), Sept.1995, p.142).
3. Modern pluralism in practice is suspected to conceal various shades of ethnocentrism (See Roy Burman, 1994).
4. Similarly, the children of non-Dalit and non-tribal upper strata are likely to take advantage of the *hidden curriculum* that favourably disposed towards them as an identity booster.

5. The emphasis on the non-formal stream for the socially disadvantaged children has been reiterated in subsequent official documents and reports (India, 1990, 1992, 1993) and the Programme of Action (UGC, 1992) openly declares that the non-formal stream is meant for those who cannot benefit from the formal school system (1992:37). That the school system cannot benefit the socially disadvantaged is therefore officially accepted.
6. The expression 'permitting the weak' may perhaps be taken better in the sense of 'recognising the right of the weak...' to be in tune with the spirit of Mandalisation to which the various socially disadvantaged communities including the tribes are becoming more and more respective today.

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TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT IN KARNATAKA: RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT

Dr.N.Ningaiah

.Introduction

The tribal developmental activities in India are in operation right from the end part of British administration and have gained importance when India became free.

Our first Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had a great concern on the tribes of India. He said that the 'tribes should be developed in their own generous and avoid the imposition of anything in the name of development (Nehru 1956). In one of his speeches addressing tribes in Madhya Pradesh in 1955, he said "Whenever you live, you should live in your own way. This is what I want you to decide yourselves. How would you like to live? Your old customs and habits are good. We want they should survive but at the same time we want that you should be educated and you should do your part in the welfare of our country" (Nehru, 1955). Our National Leaders, Social Scientists and Philosophers felt that the tribals of India are part and parcel of Indian, therefore, they are to be integrated into the mainstream of Indian culture. The constitution which was adopted by India, provide many safeguards to the tribes of India, to protect them from all form of exploitation, to protect their culture and to uplift their economic conditions.

It is well accepted fact, that the tribes of India by and large are backward in the fields of social, economic and education, when compared with the rest of the population. The Government of India and the State Governments have planned quite a good number of welfare and development programmes and were implemented to improve the socio-economic status of the tribes. In spite of money in crores spent on tribal development, considerable development has not been witnessed in their development.

Many approaches were employed to uplift the socio-economic conditions of the tribes. Mention may be made that Verrier Elwin in 1959 advocated the 'isolation approach', to keep the tribals as Museum Specimen by establishing 'National Park' or human zoo. This was to avoid exploitation by the General Public, and to keep the tribal culture undisturbed. This approach attracted criticism from many quarter of the society and later Elwin himself accepted the idea of tribal development (Elwin, 1959).

Another approach namely 'assimilation approach'. This was to assimilate tribals with rest of the population through cultural contact with the neighboring people, advocated by many Indian Anthropologists. This facilitated Anthropologists to take up studies on the tribes who are at different levels of assimilation and classified tribes into various categories such as Primitive, Most Primitive, Hinduised and Christianized, etc. (Ghurye, 1963; Dube, 1962; Sinha, 1965).

Finally, Anthropologists, Social Thinkers, Social Reformers and Political Leaders have come forward to use 'integrated approach' by combining the skills of all concerned for improving the socio-economic life of the tribes, thereby integrating tribes into the mainstream of Indian culture, as Indians known for 'Unity in Diversity'. All these approaches have not achieved much improvement in the socio-economic status of tribal people.

This is the right time to Indian scholars and experts to look back the progress made in the field of tribal development as India attained fifty years of Independence. And it is also a time to work out the steps, to be taken in future for the speedy development of our tribals.

As far as the tribal development activities are concerned, the issue before us are:

1. Where are the tribes in the process of development?
2. Are they happy with the development that has been done till today.

3. If the considerable development has not been made, what are the causes? and

4. What are the steps to be taken to improve socio-economic status?

These issues need immediate attention of all persons concerned, to discuss these issues thoroughly and to arrive at concrete measures to be taken in future for the speedy advancement of our tribals.

In this study, development has been viewed as over all development of tribes ie., social, economic, education, political, technological and cultural development. The main purpose of the development is to satisfy the beneficiaries. With these view points, an evaluation study on the tribal development in Karnataka, has been carried out.

The data for this paper has been collected through interview technique, selected informants of Jenu Kuruba, Kadu Kuruba and Soliga were interviewed. Interview was conducted mainly on development programmes which they have received.

In this paper, importance has been given to the actual development that has taken place in the character of tribal people. It is worth mentioning the fifth "Pancha Sheel Principles of Nehru". We should judge results not by statistics or the money spent, but by the quantity of human character that is evolved. (Nehru, 1958: 13). I believe in it, the Government reports provide only the statistic and the statement of money spent, even though the development in reality did not take place.

Tribal Development In Karnataka: Retrospect

The Constitution in its chapter-IV envisages that the tribal development is a State subject. It says "the States shall promote with special care: the educational economic interest 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. As per this, in Karnataka, the tribal development activities are in operation from the British time and gained importance when Karnataka became reorganized State, in 1956.

Like other State in India, Karnataka is distributed with a number of castes and tribal communities. The total population of Karnataka is 4,49,77,701, out of which the tribal population 19,15,691. (Govt.of Karnataka 1993: p.63 & 97) The prominent tribal communities found in Karnataka are: Jenu Kuruba, Beta or Kadu Kuruba, Soliga, Irula, Koraga, Khalsaru, Hakkpikki. Except a few tribes, almost all tribes reside in hill areas, mainly in West Ghats. These tribes are at different levels of socio-economic and educational developments. Their own traditional occupations are food gathering, hunting, horticulture, forming, pastorilisms, craft making, etc. Tribes in Karnataka are backward in economy, education, technology and have depend on Government Welfare Scheme for their development.

In this study, attempt has been made to evaluate the development, that has taken place on the life and living conditions of some selected tribes of Karnataka. Three major backward tribal communities who reside in the Western Ghats of Mysore district were selected and studied, treating them as case study. The result of this study is applicable to all tribes of Karnataka as they are at the same level of development with little variations.

Three major tribal communities namely, Jenu kurba, Kadu kuruba and Soliga were selected for this study. These tribes concentrated in good number in Mysore district. The population of Jenu kuruba is 34,747, Kadukuruba is 29,977 and Soliga is 16,390 (Census of India, 1981).

A tribal settlement namely Karemala, rehabilitated by three tribal communities, situated at a distance of 2 km. from the 'National Park', Bandipur, which belongs to Gudlupet Taluk of Mysore district. The tribes referred above were shifted to the present settlement from

Bandipur National Park, four years back, many to avoid disturbance to the visitors of National Park.

There are 56 families living in the settlement, out of which 47 families live in the houses which were built recently as a part of their rehabilitation, consists of 14 Jenu Kuruba families, 30 families of Kadu Kuruba and 12 families of Soliga. All the houses are electrified under the scheme of 'Bhagya Joti' sponsored by the Government of Karnataka. Two bore-wells fixed with hand pumps are put up for water supply to the inhabitants of the settlement. A residential school, exclusively for the children of tribals is functioning at a distance of 2 km. from their settlement, which runs classes from first to fourth standard, Boarding and lodging facility to the tribal children are being provided.

These tribal communities are listed in the list of Scheduled Tribes of India. They fulfill all tribal characteristics such as speaking their own dialect, practicing their own culture, maintaining their own political organization and living in the forest areas, etc. According to the linguistic classification of Indian tribes, these tribes belong to Dravidian language speaking family. The racial classification given by Guha (1935), Jenu Kuruba, Kadu Kuruba and Soliga find the place in the category of Negrito, as they are characterized by Negrito elements such as short stature, dark skin colour, dolichocephalic head and frizzly hair. According to economic classification of Majumdar, (1969) these tribes are placed in the category of food gathering and hunting. They practice animistic polytheism as their religion. The type of residence that is opted by them is patrilocal. These tribes are patriarchal and descent they trace is patrilineal. The type of marriage found in their community is monogamous. Nuclear and extended family organizations are noticed among them. Their social organization is centered around the individuals followed by family, clan and tribal organization.

In Karnataka, development programmes for the welfare of tribals are in operation right from their existence are as follows:

Educational Programme

- a) To establish a large number of Primary Schools in Tribal areas for the benefit of tribal children;
- b) Free supply of books, slates and pencils to the children residing in primary schools;
- c) Hostel facility for Pre-University students;
- d) To establish residential schools to tribal children;
- e) To encourage tribal students to avail education, prize money schemes;
- f) Night schools for adult education;
- g) Women and children welfare centres to give Pre-school education, to create awareness among tribal women in health and hygiene;
- h) Scholarship for Pre-metric and Post-matric students;
- i) Educational tour for tribal children; and
- j) Teacher training to tribal students

Economic Programmes

- a) Agriculture and allied services
- b) Minor irrigation
- c) Animal Husbandry and Fisheries
- d) Land and land alienation
- e) Co-operatives
- f) Communication
- g) Training for self-employment in the areas of agriculture, dairy, poultry, fishery, spinning, hygiene and sanitation, weaving, carpentry, clay modeling, toy making, wood carving, leather work, tailoring, knitting and embroidery (for women) smithy, basketery and cane work, industrial designing, etc.

Health, Hygiene and Housing

- a) Distribution of medicine or establishment of hospitals or dispensaries; and
- b) Maintaining health squads for cleaning the villages or removing insanitary condition or applying DDT and other insecticides.

Besides these programme, there are Tribal Sub-Plans (TSP) programmes exclusively for tribals being in operation to improve the tribals in agriculture, animal husbandry, sericulture, horticulture, etc. There are programmes to supply, the required raw materials through co-operative societies and finding market for their produces.

The different Departments of Karnataka Government have planned certain programmes in their Annual Plans to improve the economy of the tribal. Mention may be made here that Department of Agriculture has distributed agricultural implements, manure, pesticides, seeds, etc. Department of Animal Husbandry has taken care of their animals, such as checking health, distribution of medicine, etc. Horticulture Department has supplied tree seedlings, pesticide for trees, maintenance cost, etc.

The tribals in Karemala settlement are availing the welfare programmes for past 4 years. Prior to that, they were not aware of welfare programmes. They availed benefit from the following programmes:

Under housing programmes, 47 families of Karemala were provided with houses built by Land Army at a cost of Rs.9000 per house. All houses are electrified under 'Bhagya Jyothi' scheme. There are ten families yet to get such houses.

In Karemala settlement 47 families were allotted with 2.5 acres of land each, with an intention of making them to cultivate and produce their own food. Agricultural equipments, manure, cows, buffalo, sheep and goats were also distributed to them under different programmes

A Primary Health Centre is set up in a village 'Mangala', situated at 1 km. distance to facilitate tribals to avail medical facilities and to receive medicine at free of cost. Besides this, a mobile medical care unit has also been set up which cover the settlement under their health care programme.

It was documented from this study that the Welfare Programmes were planned with intention of improving their socio-economic conditions. In spite of various programmes such as, providing land to the tribals, to make them to be agriculturists, through which tribals to have sustainable economy and to introduce them to pastoral economy by distributing cattle, mainly with cows and buffaloes so that they may become self-sufficient. But, the result went altogether different as the land which has been obtained by tribals is not being cultivated due to various reasons. The reasons are: the land allotted to the tribals is far from their settlement, inside the forest and no protection is provided to their crops from the wild life. Their land is depended on rainfall and agriculture is not their traditional occupation. They also lack knowledge on agriculture. Each family owns 2.5 acres of land but there is no income from it, which force them to continue with their traditional occupation, such as collecting minor forest produces, food gathering in the forest and working as manual wage labourers in road constructions and in Forest Department. It was also noticed that cows and buffaloes which were distributed among them, have all been sold to nearby villages on account of poor knowledge and lack of training about rearing them.

The educational programmes are also not made considerable impact on the tribals. It was found that the literacy rate among them is less than 4 per cent the children in the age group of 5-10 are found reading alphabet and simple words. During this study, it was found that only 11 children studied upto 4th standard, only 2 children of Soliga were studying in middle class of a Residential School run by the Vivekananda Educational Society of Billigirirangana Hills. The girls' education is yet to be find a place among these tribes.

Tribal Development in Karnataka: Prospect

The above mentioned failures of the Government Programmes are clear indication that the programmes designed have not been taken care of the perception of the target groups. The development programmes should have formulated based on the integrate knowledge of the tribals. The felt needs of the tribal were not taken into consideration while planning. Monitoring of programmes at post-implementation level was completely ignored and an evaluation of the implemented programmes need to be taken immediately.

Conclusion

To achieve success in the tribal development programmes, the following measures are suggested:

1. Tribals should aware and realise the importance of the welfare measures designed for them as to improve their economic and educational conditions.
2. Development programmes are to be planned scientifically by using integrated knowledge of all concerned to the tribal development.
3. People's involvement in the processes of development is needed.
4. Development Agencies should conduct survey before launching any developmental programmes.
5. Implementing Agencies should develop while hearted rapport with tribals who are at the receiving end.
6. Programmes for self-reliance, self-employment, income generation and personality development are to be planned, if they are desired by the beneficiaries.
7. Constant monitoring is needed on the implemented programmes to avoid any, deviation from the programme.

8. Social scientists are to be involved at all stages of development ie., planning implementation and evaluation of the programmes.
9. Inter-disciplinary research is needed to integrate the knowledge of all those concerned to achieve success in tribal development.
10. Care must be taken to safeguard the tribal culture.
11. The available natural and human resources in the econo-cultural system are to be identified for effective utilisation.
12. Tribal traditional organization and their culture are to be understood by the Implementing Agencies before initiating any developmental programmes.
13. The perception and attitude of the tribals about the area development should be studied.
14. Forest based economy is to be encouraged.
15. The culture, beliefs, and practices of the tribals should be respected.

The Government sponsored programmes should integrate the knowledge of all concern and motivation should be made to make the tribals self-realisant and encourage them to produce their own-food thereby they can be brought to sustainable economic development. Voluntary Organizations with service motivation is required as substitute to Government for tribal development. Besides, anthropological, political and administrative approaches should also go together for achieving success in Tribal Welfare.

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8. AGRICULTURAL EXTENSION SERVICES FOR SUSTAINABLE TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT

S.Ramu & R.Shanmugam

Agriculture extension has been defined as a service system which assists farmer through educational procedures, improving farming methods and techniques, increasing production efficiency and income, bettering their levels of living and improving the social and education standards of rural life.

This paper provides information on the various activities of extension services involved in the promotion of tea plantation for tribal small holders. This paper also deals with the problem facing Technology Transfer and the recent approaches in group /community approach for technology transfer and its implication among the tribal population.

Nilgiris District

The Nilgiris is a mountainous district situated at the junction of Eastern and Western Ghats, covering an area of 2540 sq.km. The elevation of the district ranges from 1000 mtr. to 2564 mtr. It consists of four taluks viz., Coonoor, Kothagiri, Gudalur and Udhagamandalam. The Udhagamandalam taluk is a hilly tract with a number of mountains and valleys and it has also within its boundaries the highest peak in South, Doddabetta at an altitude of 2564 mtr. Coonoor and Kothagiri hilly taluks are at an average height of 1818 mtr. above MSL. Gudalur taluk has got two district tracts, 'O'valley on the east and Wynaad on the west bordering Kerala State. The former is a hilly tract while the Wynaad area is a table land situated on an average elevation of 1000 mtr. above MSL. These geographical and physical features have a bearing on the distribution of various primitive tribes of the districts.

The Tribals

The tribes, in Nilgiris are the groups who have been neglected for quite sometime and even now, living only in a primitive manner.

There are six major tribes in the districts namely Todas, Kotas, Kurumbas, Irulas, Mulukurumbas and Paniyas. There are about 200 tribal settlements consisting of 6000 families. Most of the families are much below the poverty line and they are struggling for basic needs such as food, shelter, education and medical facilities. Apart from Government agencies there are a few non-government agencies working in the district for the overall development of these tribes. But, due to remote habitation of the tribes, the living conditions of the tribes remain unchanged.

According to Nilgiris district Collectorate notes (1989), the Scheduled Tribe-wise total population in the Nilgiri district is as follows: Todas-1600, Kotas-1894, Kurumbas-4874, Irulas-5900, Paniyas-5700 and Kattunayakans-1400. Todas, Kotas, Kurumbas and Irulas along with the Badaga community are considered as 'Indigenous groups'. The Badaga community, is an agricultural community, migrated to the Nilgiris long back, are found through out the district.

Various activities of extension services for tribal small holders: Lab to Land programme

United Planters Association of South India (UPASI) in collaboration with Indian Council for Agricultural Research (ICAR), Transfer of Technology Projects has been operating Lab to Land programme for the upliftment of weaker sections of the society, especially Scheduled Tribe since 1984. The main objective of the programme is to improve the overall socio-economic condition of the adopted tribal farm families. This is achieved not only by increasing the productivity of their farm land but also by creation of additional employment through diversification of agricultural enterprises. This project is also meant to create an awareness among the tribes for proper utilization of benefit available under the different developmental programmes.

Since 1984, 600 tribal families from 25 hamlets were adopted for development. Under this programme, 100 ha of fallow land in the tribal areas have been planted with perennial crops like tea, coffee, spices and mulberry. Income generating activities like apiculture,

livestock farming, tailoring, fruit and vegetable preservation techniques were also implemented for the benefit of landless agricultural laborers. Thus the Lab -to- Land programme helps in bringing about an integrated tribal development through multi-disciplinary approach.

Integrated Tribal Development through income generating programmes

Since 1984, the UPASI-Krishi Vigyan Kendra (KVK) and Nilgiris Adivasis Welfare Association (NAWA) have jointly initiated various types of developmental programmes in the interior tribal hamlets of the district to uplift the socio-economic status of the tribals. To begin with, the programmes were started in the field of agricultural development among the tribals. Gradually, based on the experience gained, an integrated approach for development was commissioned. In this case the fulfillment of basic needs of life through higher household income and creation of facilities for education, community, health care, sanitation-culture, agriculture development etc., were planned. Thus, the upliftment of the physical quality of the life and development of the tribals were planned with an environment consideration on the basis of eco-system.

Some of the important aspects of this integrated tribal development programme are as follows:

- * Studying the agro-climatic conditions and identifying the local resources and its utilisation for increasing productivity of different crops
- * Transforming the low cost or no cost technology among the tribal families including women in various agriculture and allied activities.
- * Participation of people in the process of diagnosis of problems, design of development programmes and implementation of project activities.
- * Development of better linkage with government and non-government organizations.

* Promotion of local leadership and encouraging it to initiate development work.

The Board -UPASI development activities: Training programme for tribals

The main objective is to educate and motivate the small tea growers towards improved tea production practices. Priority is given to the tribals with an objective of development of knowledge, skill and the attitudes (KSA) towards the activities associated with the business of tea farming. Regular, on and off campus, as well as special training programme on plucking of tea leaves to the women pluckers were conducted.

Demonstrations

The main objective of conducting demonstrations is to arouse interesting scientific cultural practices as "seeing is believing". The plots are laid out in the farmers holding with an area of one acre. In these plots all the vital cultural operations are carried out under the direct supervision of technical personnel along with supply of free inputs. Doubling of the yield has been achieved in most of the demonstration plots, over a period of one pruning cycle of four to five years. These plots have the dual advantage of serving as method and result demonstrations and have really served as an eye opener in making the growers to mix the scientific practices with their traditional approach.

Crop Diversification Scheme

Even though tea in Nilgiris are made for each other, vegetables occupy the record position in the cropping pattern of the district. As a result of indiscriminate land use and frequent tilling of the soil in the undulating terrains, for the cultivation of vegetable crops, ecology of the district was greatly affected due to enormous soil erosion, land slides etc. The repeated failure of the potato due to erratic monsoon, pest and disease problems, spiraling cost of labour and inputs, leading to uneconomic return have forced the farmers in the marginal rainfall areas to keep their land fallow.

At this juncture the novel idea of Crop Diversification Scheme was introduced. The main objective of the scheme is to preserve the environment of the district. The proper method of planting tea with adequate soil and water conservation measure has been demonstrated to the farmers in the non-traditional areas by supplying the required tea and shade plants, free check in original of charge.

The studies on the impact of Crop Diversification Scheme in the Nilgiris have revealed that this scheme has brought about an economic revolution by providing regular assured income to the growers besides generation of permanent employment. This has also helped to a greater extend in minimizing soil erosion and improving the environment by changing the brownary to greenery. Consequent on crop diversification, the living standard of the tribal farmers has improved besides improvement in the knowledge and skill pertaining to tea.

CAPART-UPASI Tribal Irrigation Project

The tribal villages in the Nilgiris are not only economically backward but also lack in the basic infrastructure required for drinking water, irrigation facilities, proper road, transport, medical an educational facilities etc. The project was planned to provide water for irrigation and drinking purposes in three tribal villages of the district, namely, Pudukadu, Manalihada and Semmanarai. This project was implemented at two stages:

1. Construction of check dams across the perennial source of water flowing near the target villages; and
2. Laying out a network of pipes and sprinklers along the check dams for carrying water to the target villages.

Technology Assessment

With the creation of the Indian Council for Agricultural Research, public agricultural Technology diffusion has been within its domains. The extension education system, by various means including on farm validation (Technology Assessment and Refinement) and demonstra-

tion (On-farm research), process is to create extension messages for farmer utilization until now, it was becoming obvious that even technology tailored for small-scale plantation crops was not trickling down to complex, diverse risk prone (CDR), and resource limited farmers, tribals who had less physical resources and little or no access to infrastructure such as market, irrigation etc. An alternative approach was proposed by UPASI-KVK called "Technology Assessment and Refinement Project on Tea". A shift from "Researcher managed and farmer implemented" to "Farmer managed and Farmer implemented" programme with heavy emphasis on participation by these limited resources or CDR famers, was kindled.

The farmers managed and farmer implemented (FM & FI) approach was effective based on a bottom-up rather than Top-down Researcher managed and Farmer implemented (RM & FI) approach. Heavy emphasis will be given on participation by the small scale, limited resources farmers in assessing and evaluating the potential new technologies such as shear harvesting, banji leaf formation etc. on CDS farmers' field.

Coordinated participatory on-farm tea based Technology development and diffusion paradigm would effectively fill the "missing linkage" between research and extension and make the programmes of both institutions more efficient in small scale growing sector.

Problems facing Technology Transfer

In many countries there are few resources devoted to the technology development and transfer process. The important problem for example is that research do not fully understand that agricultural production in small sector also falls within a complex of farming system. In many cases, agriculture research have limited knowledge about important problems confronting farmers. In addition, there is little information about the physical, economic and socio-cultural factors, which could create the environments with which farmers work. Also

new technology, as adopted and managed by farmers often does not perform well as expected and additional adaptation may be necessary. Many of these problems can be alleviated by developing and strengthening technology transfer in their interaction with researchers and farmers.

Group/Community approach for Technology Transfer

Over the past decade, new approaches have been evolved for technology development and transfer. Although specific approaches vary among locations, the general approach involves the following steps:

1. Diagnosis of farmers circumstances and action in target area.
2. Planning and designing of technological adoption
3. On-farm testing and verification
4. Multi-locational field trials and dissemination

Apart from the above, one of the recent approaches in group/community approach for technology transfer. Some of the approaches experienced among the tribes by the KVK are given below:

- * Co-operative farming system
- * Farm Science Club
- * Self-help group

Co-operative farming system

One of the major efforts made by the KVK in collaboration with NGO's was encouraging the tribals to take up farming on a co-operative basis. In order to get assured regular income for their family, cultivation of tea in their vacant land were introduced. Tea being a perennial crop, it requires large amount of work involved in preparation of land viz., Uprooting, leveling and adoption of soil and water conservation measures. High yielding tea clones of variety UPASI-9(B/6/61) and silver oak seedlings (shade trees) were arranged free of cost under Tea Board scheme. Practical training was imported to

the farmers and follow up advisory visits were undertaken. These tribal farmers have now become a symbol of scientific cultivators of Tea with fairly good mastery on input management, production and plant protection. This has created an awareness on agricultural development among the tribal communities. Based on the success, many tribal leaders have come forward to disseminate the technologies to their fellow farmers. A series of technology transfer programmes have been organized in the tribal farmers field in collaboration with other farmers who were convinced on the new technologies. Starting with collective farming and evolution of groups to work on the transfer of technology in the small farming system is a unique experience.

Farm Science Club

These clubs were established at the grassroots level, mainly to transfer the appropriate technologies to the farming community. In the process, the volunteers in the club were given special training on the various technologies and motivated them to implement in their own field. Gradually, on seeing the success in these fields, the other tribal farmers are ready to adapt the technologies. At this stage the volunteers were encouraged further to act as change agents in the community for technology transfer.

Self-help group

The process of Self-Help Group (SHG) which could be started initially to act as a credit management groups in the village level. Identification and formation of SHG's involves collection of information regarding the seasonality, the availability of natural resources, skills, market perception and the technologies etc. Participatory Rural Appraisal methods have been useful in this process. During this phase, women SHG's have been found necessary to meet with men and to explain what is going on especially the benefits that will accrue to the family through SHGs. A gradual understanding of the various

technologies will lead to implement it in their own farm as well as the other farms for achieving higher production.

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9. FIFTY YEARS OF TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA

D.Venkatesan

Introduction

The tribal constitute 8.08 per cent (1991) of the total population of the country covering 21 States and 4 Union territories with much concentration in Mizoram (94.78 per cent), Lakshadweep (92.31 per cent), Nagaland (87.76 per cent), Meghalaya (85.52 per cent), Dadra and Nagar, Naveli (78.99 per cent) and Arunachal Pradesh (63.58 per cent). These States/UTs are generally known as tribal regions in the country. However, excluding the northeast regions, the highest tribal population found in Madhya Pradesh (23.27 per cent), Orissa (22.11 per cent), Gujarat (14.92 per cent) and Rajasthan (12.44 per cent). Of the total tribal population in the country, 50.28 per cent found in these four States.

'Development' of the disadvantaged sections of the society has always been taken care with reference to the Constitutional provisions. Various welfare measures through introduction of innovative schemes from time to time in view of socio-economic development of the tribes found significant as the status of the tribal population in different aspects have now improved to certain extent.

To develop the tribal societies in various aspects, a number of Articles in the Constitution provide wide ranges of provisions protecting their rights in all respects. Specific amongst them is Article 46 which directs '*promotion of educational and economic interest of Scheduled Caste, Scheduled Tribes and Other Weaker Sections*'.

Keeping in view this as a base for tribal development, the planning process in the country has exerted all efforts to bring about socio-economic changes among them. A often repeated noting from Nehru's words is the "*the tribal should develop along the lines of their own genius and nothing should be imposed on them*". But, most of the tribal policy designed so far have been for rapid integration of the tribal communities with the general population.

First Five Year Plan, 1951-56

The tribal development in India in terms of socio-economic aspects has been viewed in siltation through various planing processes from First Five Year Plan (FFYP) as tribal groups found disadvantaged and inhabited in isolation having discrete identity and culture. The FFYP focused on this aspect and stated that

“The problems of tribal people have been approached from different angles according to the interests of the persons dealing with them. Amongst these have been anthropologists, administrators, missionaries, social workers and politicians. There developed one school of thought which held that the tribal population should be permitted to live in isolation from other more organized groups, without even the interference of the political administration. There may be a good deal of justification for such a policy of non-interference; but it is not easily practicable when tribal life has been influenced by social forces from without, and tribal communities have reached a certain degree of acculturation accompanied by the penetration of communications into the tribal areas and of social services for the betterment of their lives”.

As planning process, the FFYP made it clear that there has to be a positive policy of assisting tribes to develop their natural resources and to evolve a productive economic life where in they will enjoy the fruits of their labour and will not be exploited by organised economic forces from outside. The various programmes for development of tribal areas included in FFYP were communication, water supply for drinking and irrigation, development of agriculture, animal husbandry and cottage industries. Different types of educational and medical facilities were also extended to the tribal areas.

For development of the tribal societies as to bring them into national mainstream, specific programmes extended include extending communication facilities in terms of road, improving the quality of drinking water facilities, utilisation of forest resources in sustainable

manner, increasing agricultural production through land reform and restoration, cooperative activities in planned manner, using community development machineries for better agricultural production, not interfering into tribal culture, introduction of health education to eliminate certain beliefs, using mother tongue in schools for education in tribal areas, encouragement on creation of residential (ashram), vocational and technical training schools and hostels for tribal areas, and provision for strengthening leadership skill and personalities. For "Social Services", FFYP allocated Rs.340 crore (16.4 per cent) out of Rs.2069 crore provided in the Plan for various Sectors. For the "Backward Classes Sector" including Scheduled Castes and Tribes in the country the provision was Rs.39 crore which worked out to 1.88 per cent to the total outlay of the Plan and 11.47 per cent to the Social Service Sector. While the plan allocation for tribal development was Rs.25 crore. Forest Department was also entrusted to look into the tribal development in terms of creating cooperatives for collection and marketing of forest produce.

Second Five Year Plan, 1956-61

The Second Five Year Plan (SFYP) aimed to rebuild rural India and *"to secure to the greatest (possible) feasible opportunities for weaker and under-privileged sections of the society"* for socio-economic development. Keeping in view the importance and objectives of the SFYP, Rs.47 crore was provided for tribal development to cover several programmes under the Plan out of Rs.91 crore allocated to the "Backward Classes Welfare" which worked out to 51.65 percent. The Second Plan emphasized that

"the benefits which backward classes (tribes) may realise will be in direct proportion to the effectiveness of implementation and to the integrity, efficiency and the attitudes of staff working in the field".

However, the SFYP programmes broadly designed on the line of FFYP and the general schemes were largely proposed to benefit the tribal communities. In the SFYP, Rs.12 crores was provided for

economic development, Rs.11 crore for communications, Rs.8 crore for education, Rs.8 crore for health and water supply and Rs.5 crore for housing. As part of development programmes, State Governments have also extended their efforts by allocating funds to the tribal development for communications, land development and regeneration, upgrading agriculture practice, imparting crafts training through setting up of cottage industries and increasing number of multi-purpose cooperative societies.

With a view to tackling the special problems of the tribal societies and their areas in a more intensive manner, several Centrally Sponsored Schemes were introduced. These programmes have been designed to share the financial allocation between the Centre and the States. Such schemes designed under the programme include multi-purpose projects, housing, communication, health and other schemes mentioned above. In the Second Plan, the North East Frontier Agency (NEFA) have received special attention for various development activities under Centrally Sponsored Schemes. An Evaluation Organisation under the Ministry of Home Affairs was also set up during the Second Plan for assessing the ongoing tribal development programmes.

Third Five Year Plan, 1961-66

The Third Five Year Plan (TFYP) said to have given fillip for tribal development through formulation of effective plan programmes by taking in to account the successes and failures in the First and Second Plans. The Third Plan provision for tribal development was Rs.61.15 crors, out of Rs.114 crore allocated under the Backward Classes Sector which worked out to 53.64 per cent. On reviewing the policies and programmes of tribal development in connection to the TFYP the broad consensus of opinion was that the tribes and tribal areas can scarcely remain in isolation as other population of the country grow faster. At the same time, planning strategies were also noted that it would be error to over-administer these areas in the name of development and particularly deputing too many officials

and others to work among the tribes. In the Plan, Nehru's view of "developing (the tribes) along the lines of their own genius" was kept in view for facilitating the implementation of various programmes. It was proposed to streamline and introduce alternate or additive Programmes to the existing ones such as economic rehabilitation for shifting cultivators, participation of tribes in cooperatives, multi-purpose cooperatives for credit loan and beneficial marketing. The other economic development programmes continued with more emphasis on improving the tribal economic life. With the result of formation of national extension service blocks in tribal area on the lines of Community Development, 43 Development Blocks came to exist. While this was proposed to increase 300 Tribal Development Blocks in the Third Plan as recommended by the Committee on Special Multi-purpose Tribal Blocks. For successful execution of programmes in these blocks, careful planning, coordination, training and orientation, special attention on needs, respect to tribal rights in land and forests, active involvement of tribal organisations and leadership were primarily emphasized. The Third Plan in totality emphasized that

"to bring the tribes to the level of the rest of the population calls for sustained efforts for a generation or more on the part of thousands of devoted public servants and social workers, who should draw more and more from amongst the tribal people themselves".

For eighteen years of planning till 1968-69 including Annual Plans 1966-67, 1967-68 and 1968-69, the tribal development received Rs.150 crore (54.15 per cent) out of Rs.277 crore under Social Service Sector for various socio-economic development.

Fourth Five Year Plan, 1966-71

In the Fourth Five Year Plan (FFYP), planning process emphasized on consolidation, improvement and expansion of the measures and services for tribal development so that the process initiated in the earlier Plans is accelerated and accrue maximum benefits to the tribal population. It was further planned, in addition to the normal de-

velopment programmes of the general sectors, that the States and districts needed to ensure that the general development outlays provided for the normal growth of the infrastructure in tribal areas and for other development activities are appropriately utilised. Protection from exploitation in terms of economic advantages, land alienation and indebtedness were given priority attention.

Fifth Five Year Plan, 1974-79

In the Fifth Five Year Plan (1974-79), the financial allocation for tribal development in the country including hill areas and North Eastern Council(Region) was Rs.450 crore. Of this, tribal areas was provided with Rs.190 crore while the hill areas (Assam, Tamil Nadu, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal and Western Ghats) received Rs.170 crore. The development programmes under the Backward Classes for tribal areas did not deviate much from the core Sectors. However, for the first time, as a landmark in tribal development in the country, a new strategy was evolved in the planning process called "Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP)".

As welfare development programmes for tribal communities designed and implemented till Fourth Plan have had a limited coverage due to rigidity of area restriction, the Fifth Plan envisaged to implement various welfare and development measures by formulation of Tribal Sub-Plan which formed a part of plan component of the State Governments and Central Ministries for areas of tribal concentration with a view -

- i. "to narrow the gap between the levels of development of tribal and other areas; and
- ii. to improve the quality of life of the tribal communities".

The TSP objectives for tribal development all these years are for (i) Socio-economic development of the Scheduled Tribes; and (ii) Protection of tribal population against exploitation. The Planning Commission had issued a guideline in 1974 in this regard which

envisaged that "the Sub-Plan Area in each State will comprise a number of viable project areas. For each project an integrated area development programme focussing attention on the specific problems of the area and the people in that region will have to be formulated. Preparation of Sub-Plan and project formulation will be two distinct exercise, although preliminary steps for preparation of project will have to be taken concurrently".

The Tribal Sub-Plan was designed to involve identification and demarcation of tribal concentration, identification of socio-cultural barrier and promoters of change and development, assessment of potentialities, special problems and felt needs of the tribal areas, assessing the resource availability, formulation of sectoral programme and devising suitable administrative set-up. As the tribal problem is complex, the basic objective was to bridge the gulf between the level of development of the tribal areas and communities and the rest of the area and communities through Sub-Plan.

The resource (finance) availability for TSPQ comprises State Plan outlays, Sectoral outlays in the Central Ministries, Special Central Assistance allocation and Institutional finance. The basic framework for the development of tribal areas through TSP is by the share in the allocation of State Plan to tribal development programmes in addition to the specific ongoing schemes of the Central and State Governments. The State financial share for the programmes in different sectors is based on population, geographical area, level of development and other factors. Each sectors needed to review all its programmes with a view to adopt them and evolve special programmes in consultation with State Planning Commission and Tribal Welfare Department keeping in view the special conditions of the tribal areas. It was aimed in the Fifth Plan to cover 70 per cent of the tribal population under the TSP approach but the coverage was 63 per cent.

Sixth Five Year Plan, 1980-85

In the Sixth Five Year Plan (1980-85), while positively ac-

knowledging the programmes of the Fifth Plan, the tribal development received one of the priority attention by earmarking of physical targets which was not done in the earlier plans and aimed to cover 75 per cent of tribal population. While analysing the Fifth Plan investment for tribal development it was found that larger share of State funds have gone into infrastructure development and only 5 per cent investment was made for beneficiary oriented programmes. The plan aimed that the tribal development should be defined in a more concrete manner so that the level of development of the tribal areas and of the tribal communities may catch up with general level of development in the respective States. One of the strategy in the Sixth Plan was to cover the remaining tribal population outside the TSP areas under various welfare measures.

For effective tribal development, the Sixth Plan envisaged to bring in a unified administration from the multiplicity of administrative mechanism in the States. This plan had focused on family oriented schemes making extension of the institutional finance crucial and effective. In the Sixth Plan, the expenditure for tribal and backward classes development was R.4694 crores (States allocation for TSP including B.C. Sector (Rs.3409 crore), Special Central Assistance (Rs.485 crore) and institutional finance (Rs.800 crore).

Seventh Five Year Plan, 1985-90

The Seventh Five Year Plan (1985-90) continued to make efforts on the basic premises of development programmes and policy adopted in the earlier plans for tribal development. As the natural resources of the tribal areas being exploited by the non-tribal debarring them to use such resources, the Seventh Plan has prioritized to create awareness of such exploitation along with introduction of stringent anti-exploitative measures to improve the socio-economic condition of the tribes and tribal areas. Priority attention has also been paid in this Plan on saving the dwindling tribes, curtailing the tribal discontent regarding their land rights an rehabilitation of the displaced tribal communities. The legislative measures continued to be in force in

tribal areas for tribal welfare were to be stringently implemented during Seventh Plan against tenancy, money-lending, indebtedness, bonded labour, forestry, excise and trade.

For ongoing central schemes for tribal development, Seventh Plan had provided Rs.976.50 crore including Special Central Assistance of Rs.847 crore to the States for socio-economic development. In addition to this provision, the TSP received an allocation of Rs.7074.50 crore from State/UTs through various sectoral development programmes which constituted 9.57 per cent of the total plan outlay of the States/UTs during Seventh Plan. As there was substantial increase of funds allocated for tribal development expansion of infrastructure facilities and enlargement of coverage has also been increased. It was found in the end of the Plan that there was limited involvement of tribes in the formulation and execution of programmes resulting in non-adaptability of schemes/policies to cater their specific needs.

Eighth Five Year Plan, 1992-97

An intensification of efforts to bridge the gap in the levels of development of tribes and other sections of the population was given thrust in the Eighth Plan so as to bring the tribal communities on par with the rest of the population in all spheres of national endeavour. Critical problems in accessing the programmes, elimination of exploitation and various types of oppression amongst the tribes were to be identified and removed in the Plan. It was aimed to streamline the mechanism of planning and implementation of programmes under TSP to tackle the specific problems of tribal development. Reorientation of administrative structure at all levels for functional coordination, integration and effective delivery of services were given necessary attention. The planning process during Eighth Plan also paid attention to minimise the inter-tribe variation in socio-economic development through giving full cognizance to the variations and responds to their specific problems and needs and the socio-cultural values for the community through decentralized participatory planning. The Eighth

Plan was launched with the proposal of Rs.660 crore for ongoing Centrally Sponsored Schemes for tribal welfare. Besides, the nodal Ministry was also planned to introduce some new schemes such as educational development of tribal women, institution of vocational training centres in tribal areas, literacy promotion among primitive tribes, tribal development through minor forest produce by effective marketing, income generation schemes through tribal development corporations and a few schemes among these were introduced in Eighth Plan. As additive to the tribal development programmes, Special Central Assistance to the tune of Rs.2200 crore was proposed to be given to the States/UTs.

Nineth Five Year Plan, 1997-2002

The Nineth Plan is launched in an opportune moment to provide appropriate direction for the socio-economic development of the country. The principal task of this Plan is to usher in a new era of people-oriented planning, particularly the poor, as participatory planning process which form a precondition for ensuring equity.

The Constitutional commitment to remove the social and economic disabilities prevalent among the tribal communities formed an important area of concern in the Nineth Plan. Specific areas of priority for tribal development in the Ninth Plan are:

1. Empowering the tribal communities economically and socially by creating an environment conducive to exercise their rights and privileges.
2. Bringing effective all round development through government and non-government agencies;
3. Efforts will be made to fulfill the commitment of universalization of education by the end of year 2010;
4. Indigenous system of medicine will be promoted to cater the needs of the tribal population.
5. Financial institution will be strengthened to play catalytic role for employment-cum-income generation;
6. Panchayat Raj and tribal beneficiaries will be involved in plan-

ning, formulation and implementation of schemes; and

7. a) Efforts with commitments will be the major strategy in the Ninth Plan for effective implementation of all development programmes.
- b) The Primitive Tribal Groups are leading an extremely precarious existence and some of them are on the verge of extinction. Existing development programmes have not been able to alleviate their condition. An Action Plan incorporating total food and nutrition security, health coverage, education facilities etc. in keeping with their socio-cultural conditions will be prepared by the Central/State Governments. The proposed Action Plan will have in-built flexibility to cater to the specific needs of each such tribe and its environment.
- c) A National Policy for tribal development will be formulated at the earliest.

Intended beneficiaries development must form a focus in the development of the disadvantaged. The policy and planning for tribal development in the past fifty years have been focused on area based with limited attention on beneficiaries oriented. The tribal development should have been centered around three components of development such as "development of the tribes (includes investment in education, health, nutrition and social well-being), development by the tribes (participatory development) and development for the tribes (specifies everybody's needs and provide income/employment opportunities)". It is understood that planning process in the past 50 years of tribal development have focused much on investment in education, health, nutrition and so on with area concentration but had very little place for participatory development. Non-participation by the tribes at appropriate level have lead to failure of the development measures initiated by the Government. The participatory approach has recently been adopted in the planning process have also appears to be not effectively taken care. The intended beneficiaries views of their de-

velopment were barely conceived by the administrators as right approach for development of the tribes. Nehru's view on the development of the tribes had so far little role. Development planning for tribes has always been emphasized on the broader / macro requirement as planners perceived for the country which played crucial role in investing financial resources for over all development of tribes without understanding the *micro* situation.

The primary need for planning in changing the tribal societies must have socio-cultural input which was not pictured in the initial stage of planning and planning had significantly stressed on the level of economic condition. It is well known that historically the tribes subsisted upon with their traditional occupation in sustainable manner. Induction of development programmes in their traditional setting has brought in different degrees of impacts into their social, cultural, political and economic lifestyles as such programmes were not need based and appropriate to their requirement. Basically, there is no doubt that the tribes have improved their standard of living due to the introduction of development programmes. But, there are tribal communities or areas which are deprived of certain basic needs.

Educational development has been perceived as a basic requirement for human development. There are tribal areas in the country where the literacy among tribes reported to be very low and particularly the tribal women. For example, literacy among tribal women in Rajasthan was below two per cent in 1981 and 3.46 per cent in 1991. Moreover, in 61 districts of different States have recorded tribal women literacy below 2 per cent in 1981. Though the planning and welfare programmes were universal in nature certain communities and areas have performed better and utilised the programmes due to better performance of administration and implementation mechanism at grassroots. While some have not performed because of ineffective monitoring and lack of commitment for administration and implementation. Urban agglomeration where the tribal inhabited have improved educationally as their literacy level has been significantly increased in

the past but in the rural areas the tribal literacy still lag behind compared to the general population. It is found that a significant disparity between rural and urban literacy rate (1991) among the tribal women in India (Rural = 12.74% and Urban = 37.16%) and in some States the rural tribal women literacy was below 10 per cent; Andhra Pradesh (5.77%), Goa (4.88%), Madhya Pradesh (7.62%), Orissa (7.55%) and Rajasthan (2.85%). But, the urban tribal literacy rates in these States were 20.72% in Andhra Pradesh, 26.47% in Goa, 24.52% in Madhya Pradesh, 22.55% in Orissa and 17.11% in Rajasthan. This shows that a preferential performance of administration and implementation for tribal education in urban area. The major obstacle for poor response to the educational programmes by the tribes and particularly the women has been socio-cultural. Effective awareness on importance of education in rural tribal regions would bring about major changes. Though literacy among tribes has improved in the past fifty years the utilisation of advantages resulted from educational facilities found to be inadequate. There are still tribal children who cover long distance to reach primary school in some regions. Would these unfortunate children be given chance to learn from their environment atleast the basic education by an appropriate policy, planning and strategy with commitment? It need to be remembered that alround development would come to effect once the basic education is imparted to tribal communities.

The National Health Policy, 1983 envisages that the first priority should be accorded to provision of organised services to those residing in the tribal, hilly and backward area. As the tribal areas are not easily accessible, in order to meet the health and family welfare requirements of the tribes, it was envisaged in the Seventh Plan to provide preventive, promotive, curative and rehabilitative services through Minimum Needs Programme consisting of trained dais, village health guides, sub-centres, subsidiary health centres, primary health centre, upgraded primary health centres / community health centres, supplemented by all allopathic/Indian systems of medicine and homeopathic dispensaries/hospitals. The coverage norms for tribal

areas has been revised from Eighth Plan; a sub-centre for every 3000 persons as against 5000 in other area, a primary health centre for 20,000 persons against 30,000 in other areas, and to establish a sub-centre or PHC where a tribal inhabitation is more than 5 km. away from a health delivery centre. As against the requirement of 24,600 sub-centres in tribal areas during Eighth Plan, 19,495 sub-centres were established at the end of first Annual Plan (1992-93) of Eighth Plan, a shortage of 20.75 per cent which was intended to be fulfilled by the end of Eighth Plan. While as against the requirement of 3684 primary health centres for tribal areas in the country, 3033 (82.33%) PHCs were established. Availability of financial resource for covering various health programmes in tribal areas under TSP has been raised from Seventh Plan (7.58 per cent) to Eighth Plan (11.28 per cent). The Eighth Plan has focused to improve the accessibility of health care and services for the under served and under-privileged segments of the population. However, the coverage of health care system for tribes has not been adequate despite increased number of sub-centres and PHCs in the tribal areas. Coverage of 3000 persons by one sub-centre in the tribal areas is quite insignificant and would never serve the very purpose of providing basic health care to the tribal population. Tribal communities are found inhabited in dispersed locations having poor access from one village/hamlet to others. A number of villages/hamlets geographically covering a larger area would only fulfill the norm of 3000 persons to be eligible for a sub-centre. The tribal communities still cover longer distance nowadays to reach sub-centre for medical facilities. The norm prescribed for coverage by a sub-centre need further revision and it should cover 1500 persons in the tribal area. In addition, each village/hamlet which must constitute population of 500 should be served with a paramedical staff to take care of some basic health problems. The staff deputed to this purpose should also impart health education to the tribes as a insider but deploying a tribal for this purpose might not yield anticipated result. For this, an appropriate planning and administrative mechanism should be

evolved in the Ninth Plan. Such steps would perhaps be feasible for bringing down IMR, birth rate and death rate among the tribes.

Similarly, other sectors should also design programmes by revising their prescribed norms for eligibility of tribal areas and tribal communities for taking benefits. The planning process should not always be adhered to the prescribed norms in quantitative terms for extending the facilities but should focus on the need base of the tribal communities. In such a exercise, participatory planning and implementation must play a crucial role.

Conclusion

It is always presumed that there is defect in planning process for tribal development but one would not agree to this view when looking at the plan allocations from the First Plan and achievements gained till the Eighth Plan. Resource (finance) base should always be a prerequisite for any kind of national endeavour. Indian Constitution provide all possible steps to develop the under-privileged societies socially and economically. For this, resource base is must and being a democratic set up, Indian planning process has been effectively dealt with several problems gradually to fulfill the Constitutional provisions. There were of course at some point inappropriate planning which might have had lesser impact. Experiments of certain decisions and policies would only enlighten policy makers for effectively revising the future planning process. Planning at top alone will not serve the very purpose of fulfilling the desire of the beneficiaries but it fully depends upon the grassroots agencies who solely responsible for success. Administrative mechanism dealing with the development programmes should appropriately design monitoring of tribal development Programmes so that the grassroots functionaries take up the efforts with commitment. Such a commitment fails in case of tribal development the situation exists at present would continue to prevail even after completing hundred years of independence.

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10 FIFTY YEARS OF TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT: A CASE STUDY OF MALAYALIS

L.K.Sivanesan

Tribal Development is an area in which both State and Central Government have shown much interest to uplift them by many "pull factors". And even non-government agencies, have also rendered considerable services for their welfare. The tribal utilised those welfare measures and within 50 years period since Independence, the pattern of their lives, dressing-style, food habit, housing pattern, mode of occupation have been changed. The paper is not only a highlights the government's efforts; but also to expose the degree of the development of the Malayalis of Pachaimalai.

Pachaimalai Hills

The Pachaimalai is a hill region spread in to an area of 17064.90 hectares, having an elevation of from 700 metres to 750 metres above the sea level. The whole area stands as the boundary between Tiruchirapalli district and Salem district of Tamil Nadu. The bottom of the hill can be reached from Tiruchirapalli by bus and from there one can find the road leading to the top of the hill. The road is slightly spiral encircling the hill.

Natural Division of Pachaimalai

On reaching the top of the hill, the villages are distributed into four isolated area or segments. They are:

Table 10.1

1. Thenpura Nadu	Uppliyapuram Union of Tiruchirapalli district	16 villages
2. Vannadu }	Thuraiyur Union of	12 villages
3. Kombai }	Tiruchirapalli district	12 villages
4. Athi nadu	Gangavallai Union of Salem district	22 villages

Population and Equal Working Society

The total population of the Malayalis was 17,608. Leaving the children, the Malayalis men and women are grouped in the ratio of 55:45 in terms of labour. In other words except some families, the rest of the families both husband and wife work on equally in their own land. About 65% of families own land in the hill area, ranging from five to twenty acres of land where they are working during the day times. The working days of the tribal differ from crop to crop. The Malayalis cultivate topica, paddy, cashew, plantain, pine-apple, teak, jack, mango and other vegetables. In 1978, the Tamil Nadu Government has provided 20 hectares of land for sericulture and 25 hectares of land for Tamil Nadu Horticultural Research Centre, at the village of Top-Sengattupatti. In the research centre, various plants and agricultural products are being tested for further improvement. The Tribal Herbal Garden, Honey-production and Modern Vegetable garden for educated self-employed Malayalis are also another area by which the Malayali depend on the agricultural economy. The Malayali men and women who work as agricultural labourers are paid Rs.65/ and Rs.45/ per day, respectively.

Pre-Colonial Malayalis

The isolated nature of Pachaimalai, their illiterate condition, their obsession to modern medical system, the simple huts, unelectrified

villages, simple and rustic dresses, and the way of life style were described in a graphic way in many published books and reports. For example, C.D.Maclean in his "Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency, Vol.II (1885)" has given some particulars about the Malayalis. H.Le Faune, in his Manual of Salem district (1883) and C.Richards in his Gazetteer of Salem district (1907), have also given an account of their tribal culture, illiteracy, the native doctors and their day-to-day manual labour and also the house types and dressing pattern. No school was mentioned at the Top-Hill. F.R.Hemingway, in his Manual of Trichiropoly (1907), also endorsed the same picture. Edgar Thurston, in his "Castes and Tribes of South India" (1909) has given the traditional account of their ancestors (Vol.IV) and also their lives in first quarter of 20th century. As early as 1964-67, Pilo Hiruthyanath wrote a series of article about them in the Tamil weekly magazine *Ananta Vikatan*. Some useful information like, m vital statistic and photographs were published in the former, Madras Information, now Tamil Arasu (Tamil). In Universities and Colleges, various project works have been done about the Malayalis.

Post-Colonial Malayalis

After Independence, the Government of India has legalized their status through various articles in the Constitution, directive principle of State Policy, and by many welfare measures to promote their society. A separate wing, Tribal Welfare Department, was incepted and was authorized to take up suitable welfare measures. Other Departments were also given guidelines to give priority to the tribal areas. Thus, under various schemes, the Malayalis of Pachaimalai in the which they benefited, are highlighted in the forth coming pages.

Education

As already pointed out, by C.D.Maclean in 1885, there was no school at Pachaimalai. IN 1907 also there was no school as indicated by C.Richards. The Collector Report of Salem to Madras Presidency for the year 1937, indicated that there was a single elementary school opened in 1932. Thus, the pursuit of learning was incepted by

Madras Presidency. In 1996, Adi-Dravidar Welfare Officer at Thuraiyu has given the following particulars with regard to elementary schools at Pachaimalai.

Table 10.2
Elementary Schools in Uppliyapuram Union -
Thenbar Nadu Panchayat

Sl. No.	Name of the Villages	Total Nos. of Teachers
1.	Periya Sittur	2
2.	Kelakkarai	2
3.	Pudukkal	3
4.	Thannerpallam	2
5.	Nazlipatty	2
6.	Puttur	2
7.	Kanampaddy	2
8.	Koncherimalai	3
		----- 18

Apart from the school mentioned above, there is also a Higher Secondary School at Top-Sengattupatti, upgraded in 1992. In this school, boys and girls are given free food, free dress, books and note-books and hostel accommodation.

Table 10.4
Elementary Schools at Thuraiyur Union -
Vannadu Panchayat Union

Sl. No.	Name of the Villages	Total No. of schools
1.	Nesakulam	2
2.	Kinattur	3
3.	Chiliyur	2
4.	Thenur	2
5.	Manlodi	2
6.	Chinna Illuppur	3
7.	Kuruchi	2
8.	Valaiyur	2
9.	Palaiyam	2
10.	Prattal	2
11.	Nagur	2
12.	Vannadu Puttur	3
		27

There are only two schools in the area of Athi nadu. There is poor attendance of students in schools of 33 villages due to the fact that some of the Malayalis send their children to the Union school at Gangavalli, situated nearby Salem on the plains.

In all 27 elementary schools, one higher secondary, and one high school, a total number of 2620 boys and girls are regularly attending the schools, while 3106 students have enrolled. Some teachers, both males and females are approaching the parents to convince them to send their children to the schools regularly, but the response from the tribal parents has not been encouraging.

Primary Health Centres (PHC)

The Pachaimalai area until 1950, there was no modern hospital. The people of the tribe mainly depend the native doctors (country doctors [herbal treatment]). They mainly use certain medical herbs, a sort of clay, powdered roots and certain dry fruits. The child delivery and other maternity treatment were also crude and painful. The method of application of anesthesia was followed by strong country arrack and other intoxicants. During the Third Five Year Plan, modern medical treatment for tribal was given priority and accordingly fund was allotted. In Pachaimalai seven Primary Health Centres were inaugurated. Each Centre the Government provided, one assistant Civil Surgeon, two compounders, 10 nurses. (8+3 - Male + Female) and seven beds were provided. Of the seven doctors, one lady doctor, with a D.G.O. and one doctor with D.C.H. Diploma was insisted to take care of maternity treatment and child treatment. respectively critical cases, serious accident, are at once, referred to the General Hospital at Thuraiyur and Tiruchirapalli.

Integrated Tribal Development Project (I.T.D.P.)

The Tribal Development Scheme of Government of India and the Adi-Dravidar Welfare Department of Tamil Nadu, had worked out a Scheme to promote the living condition of tribals of Tamil Nadu. This is called the I.T.D.P. of 1986 and adequate funds under the control of an I.A.S. Officer. The project has developed their lives and also modified their pattern of routine lives.

1. Communication

Communication network, including good roads, telephone connection and wireless connection are not only the symbol of modern development but also they are to transport the commodities from one place to another and also increase the traveling facilities of the people. Until 1894, the people of the bottom of hill and the Malayalis had to travel a small path covered by bushes and thronly plants. 1894 a survey was taken to provide roads. 1934 the spiral type of latterice road was laid. But due to heavy rain, the road was not in good

condition. Under the ITDP in 1987-88 the 18' of the hill upto the bus-stand at Top-Sengattupatti bus stand the road is well laid with space to let out rain water. Both Government buses, private buses, lorries, mini-vans are plying from Top-Sengattupatti to Thuraiyur and Uppliyapuram. Thus the communication net work connect the people. In the Top-Sengattupatti there is only one telephone linking the hill and the government offices at Thuraiyur.

2. Rural Electrification

Rural electrification is one of the development aimed by the Government of Tamil Nadu. Until 1940, the Pachaimalai hill was not connected with any electricity scheme. The second important area of I.T.D.P. electricity was introduced in three phases.

ii. In 1988-89, the Government offices, hospitals, research centres, bank, post offices, were fixed with tube lights.

iii. The third sphere is in 1989-90, all Malayali houses were given electric current connection under the scheme "One house-one lamp" free of cost. This scheme is very beneficial to them.

3. Co-operation

LAMPS - (The Large-sized Multi-purpose Co-operative Societies):

A multi-purpose co-operative society for the Malayalis was inaugurated at Pachaimalai (LAMPS). The society has got two objectives (i) to given loan faculties to the Malayalis at the lowest interest, (ii) and to purchase the commodities produced by them through the co-operative units and sell them in the open markets. The co-operative units fixes the prices of the commodities and the LAMPS is receiving the loan amount in slow yet gradual installments. Thus the LAMPS fulfill the needs of the people at the correct time; receive the loan in gradual instalments.

4. Khadi and Village Industry

In order to give employment opportunities to the widows; old

ladies; physically handicapped women, school drop outs; and orphans among the Malayalis of Pachaimalai the Khadi Unit worship was inaugurated under the I.T.D.P. The workshop first training and the employment is given in (1) purification of honey, (2) manufacturing of perfumes, (3) herbal medical powders and juice and (4) sugar cake from palmera tree and various household things from Palmera fiber. The manufactured items are sent to the Madras Unit of Khadi Board.

5. Horticultural Production

The Government of Tamil Nadu had introduced the Horticultural garden to promote among the Malayalis of Pachaimalai the utility of maintaining of fruit gardens in three places. Each garden in 10 hectare of lands and a agricultural officer has given the instruction of cultivating the (i) cashew nuts, (ii) gouva fruit, (iii) mangoes, various types of banana and pine-apples. In these gardens the Malayalis are settled and matured fruits are sent to Madras and Kerala.

6. Animal Husbandry

The Malayalis are getting large income from this animal husbandry. They are given lamps, goats, and calves and also money to maintain the cattle. These cattle are marked for identity. After 4-6 years the Government will purchase the cattle according to the market rates and the money will be give them. The cattle maintenance enhance the economic status of the Malayalis. The economy derived from the cattle remarkably changed the outward appearance of the people.

7. Forestry

The economy derived from the Forest is another source of income to the state. Therefore the State Government introduced new variety of trees in the top of the hill and as well as over the slope and the road sides of the Pachaimalai. New types of trees like (1) silver oak, (2) Kashmir hillow, (3) Mountain bamboo, (4) gongu, (5) teak wood, (6) rose wood, (7) pilla maruthu and sandlewood are cash

plants. The nurse-links are planted in suitable place both in the "reserved forest" area, and even in the lands of private individuals. Some Malayalis are appointed to look after the forest for which they are paid. It is very interesting to note here, that a special breed of light weight bamboos are introduced to the soil of Pachaimalai soil from "The Indian Bamboo Research Centre", Calcutta.

8 Rural Housing

The houses of Pachaimalai Malayalis before 1950 were shown in the Census report. The villages constitute 40 to 50 house for each family one house normally located in irregular rows. Round in shape, sometimes square with thatches, mud walls and with no doors or windows. Normally they place the water pot in front of the houses, in the side of house a small fenced washing place. They had taken the drinking water from the tank or sometimes in the country well. Now the scenario has changed. Under I.T.D.P. the houses are constructed in either side of the main road, and the road is well lighted. The houses are of three types constructed in three spaced manner. The first type-single house with brick and cement wall, with sloped Mangalore tiles. The second type, grouped houses with Mangalore tiles. The third type, combined houses with concrete roof. Instead of deep well, hand pumps were introduced. These houses and other facilities are provided to the tribal people free of cost. The houses are similar in pattern both inside and outside.

9 Adult Education

When the first school was started in 1932 only, it is a matter of imagination that most of the adult people, in the age group of 50 years and above must be illiterate. As it is felt that illiteracy is a curse, the adult education was introduced. Under this scheme, adult male and female were instructed the simple alphabet and arithmetics. Now most of the people can read the newspaper, headlines and put their signature. Among the people the Daily Thanthi (*Thina Thanthi*) is very popular and normally they read the paper in the evening in the tea-stall where they normally gather.

10. Tailoring Programme

In order to make their leisure time quite useful the tailoring programme was introduced among tribal girls, widows, and very poor people. After the learning programme is over, the trainee is given a sewing machine for the income. The same scheme is also maintained by the C.S.I. Missionary people at Putter village. To develop the people of the hill areas of Pachaimalai the present government introduced a plan for 4.50 crores for many welfare scheme and sent to the Central Government for approval.

The above ten areas are taken by the I.T.D.P. to develop the socio-economic status of the Malayalis of Pachaimalai in the period of 50 years since 1947. How far the people had changed as contemplated by the I.T.D.P.? How they have realised the used the opportunity? What is the present condition of the people as an yardstick of their development for the efforts undertaken by the Government during the past 50 years?

The Impact of 50 Years' Effort

The efforts undertaken by the government during the past fifty years is apparently visible among the Malayalis, in their dresses in the maintenance of their house, in their impulse to educate their sons and daughters in higher education, in their efforts save money from the income, and to modify their life style in tune with the change of times. Such changes may be studies in the following headings:

1. The Pachaimalai Malayalis Organisation

This organisation was integrate in 1986, as a registered body. All the adult Malayalis are members in this body. The organisation is divided into four units.

1. Village_Sangams

2. Mahalir Mandrams

3. Inter-village Organization

4. Concerted well-development

1. Village Sangam

The whole village constitute the Sangam. But in actual practice only male members alone gather in a particular day to discuss any matter connected with village. Cases of crime, other social offenses, spread of disease, and any other disorder are the subject matter discussed under the leadership of the moopan. The moopan in consultation with other senior people will decide the case. If any decision is not accepted, then the matter will be brought to the police station or to the Revenue Officials.

2. Mahalir Mandram

The Mahalir manram is an excellent example for their social awareness. All women are the members and educated girls are taking leading role in the deliberation. This manram is doing a noble service among the Malayalis in the following way:

1. Prevention drinking intoxicating liquor by the Malayalis.
2. Family Planning, child welfare and adult education among the women.
3. Outline information about national matters; politics, general health and other matters relevant to the society.

Thus the social awareness, remain as the symbol social development, a product of education and other mass media.

3. The Inter-village Organization

Among the Malayalis the inter-village organisation is another interesting social measure. If a problem between the village has developed due to various factors such problem will be settled by the Moopans of the two villages in presence of the affected parties. Sometimes two villages used to take part. Such problems happened in

Puthur and Nasalipatty. In normal cases the decision of the Moopan will be accepted.

4. Concerted Well-Development

The entire Pachaimalai is depending the seasonal rain and lake-waters. If the seasonal rain fails they have to depend the wells. So the well are deepened by all Malayalis irrespective of ownership. This habit of collective help in deepening the well is the unique habit among the Malayalis still followed by them.

These are the various activities of the inter-village organization among the Malayalis in the social co-operation. The development of the society can be exemplified by the table below. Before 1940 or even 1950 no Malayali was highly educated. But the figure given in 1996 shows that have developed to some extent. This is given in the form of a table.

Table-10.5

Sl. No.	Name of the Profession	Total No.of Malayalis	Male	Female
1.	Doctor	2	2	—
2.	Engineer	4	4	—
3.	I.T.I.	7	5	2
4.	Secondary Grade Teacher	15	10	5
5.	High School Teacher	10	7	3
6.	Nursing	5	2	3
7.	Driver	12	12	—
8.	Conductor	15	15	—
9.	College Lecturer	1	1	—
10.	Junior Assistant - Revenue, PWD. Depts.	40	30	10

The above figure is arrived at from various interviews of the Moopans on various days and accordingly the table is prepared.

Findings

The researcher during the interview and oral observation has discovered certain things which are presented here as his findings; They are:

1. The time spent since 1052 and the huge amount allotted for purpose of education of the Malayalis have not given, satisfactory result in terms of their employment position and number of people in government and private sectors.
2. In agricultural area, the Malayalis have an enhanced economic status now, then they were before 1950.
3. The women folk of Pachaimalai have realised their position and had the impulse to develop their community to an advanced level.
4. The inter-village organization is an excellent example of voluntary social service and the sense of social awareness, is an example for others for peace loving society.
5. For a population of 17,608 spread in 82 village the total number of 27 elementary schools one higher secondary school and a high school are not proportionate in view of the present educational technology.
6. The Malayalis of Pachaimalai always consider themselves as superior to the people at foot hill and plains. They used to remark the people at down hill as Nattu Kattan while the Malayalis are referred by others as "Malayali Katans" - Is it an expression to their identity or a sense of humility?

Recommendations

1. The Malayali people organization must take very effective steps to educate their sons and daughters; voluntary care must be taken by the parent to bring their children to the schools and they must

2. The government must construct an industrial complex or an agricultural based factor near Pachaimalai in order to give employment opportunity for those educated boys and girls.
3. On the hill area, the agriculture can be modernized so that more production will pave way for their economic status.
4. Very near to the bottom of the hill, a government college may be started exclusively for the sons and daughters of Malayalis, so that they can modify their lives pattern very quickly in a shorter period.

It may be concluded:-

Those who carry great public schemes may proof against the most fatiguing delays, the most mortifying disappointing the most shocking insults and what is worst of all the presumptions judgments of the ignorant. - Edmund Bhrike

11 ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND CULTURAL CHANGE AMONG THE CASE OF PACHAMALAYALIS IN TAMIL NADU

K.Pari Murugan,

R.Dhanasekar

The term development can be viewed by different ways. According to Belshaw (1977) development should be looked upon as an organized activity with the aim of satisfying certain basic needs and to psychologically orient the tribals to adopt new skills attitudes and life styles.

Vidyarthi (1981) observed that development means growth and change which includes both the material and human-the socio-cultural factors which are integral part of the dynamics of growth. According to Mahapatra (1982) the objectives of tribal development is of two fold:

1. Development of infrastructure in tribal areas, which includes irrigation, communication, health cares, drinking water supply, promotion of education, both formal and non-formal, control of shifting cultivation through horticulture plantation; and

2. Individual beneficiary schemes. This is sought to be achieved by providing various income generating schemes for the Scheduled Tribes under Integrated Tribal Development Programmes (ITDP) and Hill Area Development Programme (HADP) supplemented by funds from Special Central Assistance and various sectors of the State Plan.

Chambers (1985) defines the development as a deliberate attempts to alter human interaction with the natural and built environment through innovations.

In agriculture, new energy exploitation and conversion of modern transformation system, improvements in housing and so on.

According to Dalton, the Economic development and cultural modernization radically change local dependence and local self-suffi-

ciency. The interlocking characteristics of traditional and, tribal and peasant economic produce local social security systems, turned inward, commercialization and cash earning, literacy and education, and new technology turn them outward. Material income and security come to depend on transactions and institutions outside the village. The all modern activities create new income, alternatives, and modern technology allows control over the physical environment.

There are two basically different sets of conditions under which anthropologists analyse primitive and peasant economic structure and functioning. Firstly, the relatively static conditions, which mean the situation before modernization took place, anthropologists sometimes refer to this as traditional economy.

Secondly, the analytical interest of community changes growth, and development; the increase of production for sale, the adoption of modern technology and applied science, and other modernizing activities.

'Change' is a basic component of development which has been analysed in different dimensions such as the -

economist call it as "development"; (Dalton,)

political scientist call it as "modernization" (David, 1965), and

Anthropologist, call it as "cultural change" (Epstein, 1962).

The process of change has two sides viz.: 1) the programme content (instrument of change) and 2) the people (subject of change). The developmental programmes themselves are expected to gradually influence the assimilative capacity of the people (Sharma, 1994).

The concept of economic development has various dimensions such as social change and economic change (Patel, 1984).

Keeping in view the above facts, this paper has confined itself to the analysing some of the changes that has come about among the

Malayalis of Pachamalai with reference to the economic development activities in the Pachamalai hills.

Study area

The study was conducted in 'Top Sengattupatti' of Pachamalai hills. The total population of the hamlet is 427. There are 83 households and the average size of the household is 5.15. Before 1961, the Malayalis were non-literates. Primitive type of agricultural practice by ploughing with help of bulls. The grains which are harvested in the previous year were used as seed for the forth coming year. The grains were preserved in granaries for future use. The grains were husked by 'Ural' (wooden mortar), and 'ulakkai' (wooden pestle). The illness was cured only through traditional methods. The illness can be identified (Udukkai adithu parthal) and treated by local medicine men (pusari). Snake bites were also treated through traditional methods (Pachaillai vaithiyam). Communication passed by beating drums, shooting guns and through messenger. Kerosene lights were used as night lamp in the houses. They have been using guns for hunting. There is no historical evidences for, when and how they learned to operate the country-guns for hunting. They have been domesticating animals like cattle and sheep since they became settled agriculturalist.

According to tradition, the Malayalis originally belonging to the Vellala caste of cultivators and migrated to the hills about fifteen generations ago (in 13th century) when Mohammedan rule was dominant in South India (Thurston, 1906).

The forest based traditional economy of the pachamalayalis has gradually changed after the depletion of forest resources as a result of deforestation. The game animals have also disappeared from this area.

The Integrated Tribal Development Programme (ITDP) were implemented in Pachamalai hills from 1976-77. It has led to drastic changes in the subsistence economy of Pachamalayalis. The details

of the ITDP schemes are given below:

1. Minor-irrigation
2. Rural water supply
3. Forestry
4. Education
5. Public health
6. Horticulture
7. Community Development
8. Social Welfare
9. Village industries
10. Animal husbandry
11. Communication
12. Housing
13. Sericulture
14. Electricity
15. Cooperation (LAMP Society)

The new Tribal Development Programme (TDP) have brought in several economic development and cultural change among their traditional life.

Communication, Developments and Change

Pachamalai hills were totally inaccessible tract before 1997. A small ghat road was used for claiming the hill top. The tribal development was begun in British period itself. The isolated forest villages we looked after by the British ranges. Due to the poor communication facilities the development programmes could not be reached the tribals in time. The four forest villages were connected buy metal tapped (Pucca) road. The road construction work (45 kms) was started in 1977 and completed in 1985 while 85 km length of kutchra roads are linked to the forest areas. It facilitates the tribals to communicate with plain areas and frequently interact with outsiders.

Bus services were introduced from 1986. The school education and postal services were introduced in the tribal hamlets. The television and electricity facilities were also provided. The modern rice mill was introduced in Pachamalai hills. All other developmental programmes were intensified only after the communication facilities improved in this area.

Development in Agriculture

New paddy varieties like ponni, samba, IR20, IR50, J13, ADT20, ATC16 were introduced in Pachamalai hills. The chemical fertilizer, pesticides, and hybreed seeds were also introduced. The agricultural land were surveyd and new land pattas were given to tribals. The new horticultural crops like pineapple, guova, suppota, mango, cashew, and commercial trees like casuarina, eucaliptus and teak were introduced in this area both by Horticultural and Forest Departments. Mechanized ploughing has also been introduced. New wells were dug for irrigation under "Jeevandhara" well scheme. New electric motor pumpsets and oil pump sets were introduced. To prevent the soil erosion in hill slopes several check dams were constructed across the forest streams by soil conservation deparmtent.

The coconut seedlings, banana sucker, pepper, gingelly, pineapple and cabbage were introduced under Hill Area Development Programme. The cultivation of tapioca was introduced by Tribal Welfare Association (TWA) in 1985. Income generating schemes like sericulture and bee keeping were introduced under individual beneficiary scheme. The milch animals and sheep were given to farmers with highly subsidized price. The new mode of agriculture and sericulture has been adopted by the tribals as another profitable occupation.

Tailoring and embroidering has been introduced. The poor tribal educated women benefited under this scheme. There is a tailoring centre established in Pachamalai hill. Large Scale Multi-Purpose Cooperative society (LAMP) was begun since 1997. This society

provide several short and long term loans for the tribal farmers under different schemes. The "village shops" (fair price shop) has been opened for supplying all commodities under one roof with subsidized rates. The minor forest produces (MFP) like gullnut were purchased by LAMPS for better prices from the tribals.

Traditional Economic Life of Pachamalayalis

Malyalis of Pachamalai have a traditional subsistence economy which is primarily centered around agriculture, hunting, and gathering. Earlier they depended mainly on selling firewood, bamboo and other woods used in the making of various implements. They collect forest products like gallnut, tamarind, jack fruits, forest honey and karuvepilai and sell them in nearby market/towns. Pachamalai hill was totally isolated area before 1975. The four revenue villages/nadus were treated as "forest villages".

In 1907 Mr.F.R.Hemingway (ICS), District Collector was first reported about the Malayalis of Pachamalai hills in Tiruchirapalli district in Madras District Gazzeteers, Vol.I (Tiruchirapalli). According to him the Pachamalaiyals are very malarious, especially to the dwellers on the plains and their united population of three nadus in 1901 amounted to 6,529 souls. They have engaged in their traditional way of cultivation crops called as "punal kadu" cultivation (slash and burn). This type of cultivation was permitted only in the villages "porompokku" areas. They cultivate, cumbu, cholam, ragi, and samai through this way. Paddy (some native varieties, Periyamalai, Maranel, etc.) was also widely cultivated in both wet (irrigated) and dry land (non-irrigated).

The burning ash, kitchen refuse and compost were used for the cultivation. Occasionally they sell the extra produce in the market. The Malayali of Pachamalai previously were considered as small, isolated, homogeneous community. Their traditional houses were made of mud walls and thatched roof (roof were covered by split bamboo and jungle grass). The drinking water has been drawn in forest streams.

Changing Scenario

As a result of economic development among the Pachamalayalis, a remarkable changes has been noticed in the way of life of Pachamalayalis. It is observed that the Malayalis traditional houses have been replaced by modern tiled and moulded houses. Changes are also seen in their health. Now they are adopted all modern treatments. There is a government dispensary functioning on the hills since 1980. Malaria has been totally eradicated in this area. The protected drinking water (well and borewell) facilities provided to all hamlets.

The primary school was started in the year 1955 with one teacher and three students at Top Sengattupatti. Today the school has become higher secondary school with 7 permanent teachers and 250 tribal students. There are several primary schools also started in Pachamalai hills. There are hundreds of educated Malayalis working in government. There are 3200 literates (both men and women) found among Pachamalayali community. The Pachamalayali now using modern luxuries like watches, torch lights, radio, tape recorders, soaps, television, etc. They seldom visit towns for purchasing goods and watching cinema. There are several young men and women going to work in plain areas (for experienced with modern liquors).

Conclusion

The traditional economy of the Pachamalayalis is relatively exposed to the market economy through their seasonal collection of forest produces and selling them in the neighbouring markets. The self-sufficient economy of Pachamalayalis has been intensified through ITDP introduced by the government and its has also influenced in increasing source of income.

As a whole the traditional self-sufficient agriculture cum-pastoral economy linked with gathering of forest produce and hunting of the Pachamalai is found to be relatively changing through the tribal developmental programmes. The tribal society in Pachamalai is now

relatively unisolated and its economy is linked with the economy of the State and the nation.

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12. TRIBES IN URBAN SETTING: CHANGES AND CHALLENGES

The case of Iruals in Madras city

S.Gregory

Anthropologists have a long tradition of studying tribal communities scattered over the remote regions of the earth. The features of isolation and seclusion, which are normally associated with the term 'tribe', are, however, becoming things of the past. The Indian tribes have been in contact with the outside world for centuries, though not in a very significant way. In Hutton's view, the changes that were taking place in the so-called aboriginal societies of India for centuries before the British rule, were slow and, therefore, capable of gradual and proper adaptation. However, the development of communication led to a sudden increase of contacts, rendering the tempo of change, too swift for the tribes to accommodate themselves to it properly (Ghurye, 1959:139).

It is not uncommon today to see the once isolated human species, driven out from their traditional habitat, caught in the midst of modern complexities and struggling to survive. This is much more true of those tribes who take refuge in urban centres in search of survival opportunities and better living. The socio-cultural life of such tribal societies is bound to undergo radical changes for better or worse. In the absence of concerted efforts in streamlining their urban encounter, they become easy prey to the extreme complexities of the urban setting.

This paper is based on the study of Irula tribe in Chennai city, looked at the differential nature of changes that the Irula undergo in an urban setting and the challenges that are posed in the process of their urbanization. It also suggests some possible remedies that would facilitate them in their better accommodation to the urban way of life.

Tribal Urbanization

Tribal urbanization has been increasingly taking place today. However, the nature and type of urbanization determine the nature and type of urban exposition as well as the impact of such urbanization in their life.

According to Redfield's (1941), concept of folk-urban hypothesis, Urbanisation causes individualization, secularization and disorganization that are supposed to be inevitable and evil. Based on his studies on two French communities, namely Chateau, representing the rural, and the Urban-ville, representing the urban, Gallagher (1987) feels that neither the processes nor the consequences of urbanization are greatly illuminated by the folk-urban classification. According to him, there exists similar forms of family organisation in both communities. Rural individuals and families of the working class suffer from the same 'lacks' - training, education, property - as their counterparts in the urban system. These naturally result in the negative aspects of social life, which Redfield talks of as the manifestation of urban impact. This clearly contradicts the claimed distinction of Redfield between the urban and rural way of life. Here, Gallagher reminds us of Pitt River's suggestion, of the existence of an urban class in the village, as an additional evidence. He concludes that though urbanization may cause changes to occur, they need not necessarily follow the directions indicated by Redfield. In reality, the reverse may be the case, he feels. In his view, what happens to an urban-influenced folk would depend upon the kind of life, lived prior to urbanization as well as the kind of urban life to which they are exposed. The differential impact of the two groups of Irulas in similar urban setting bears witness to Gallagher's contention.

Background

Irulas are the second numerically dominant tribe in Tamil Nadu and yet 'most backward', facing greater challenges due to modernization. Chennai, according to 1981 census, has a tribal

population of 0.16 per cent to the total population. The Irulas with a population of 499, are the fourth largest tribal group in the city, constituting about 9.29 percent of the total tribal population. The Irulas of the present study constitute two distinct groups, one residing at the extreme north of Chennai city and the other at the extreme south. The total number of families, taken up for the study were 30 each, from both the locations, with a population of 108 and 112 respectively. The exposure of these two groups to the urban setting was significantly noticed in the manifestation of their socio-cultural life. However, considerable differences have been noticed in their way of life, mainly as a result of their differential nature and conditions of encounter with the urban setting.

Differential Urban Encounter

The major difference of these two groups lies significantly in their very migrational history itself. In both the groups, a great number of them are non-migrants, descendants of the earlier migrants. Almost all the recent migrants in both the areas have moved in, through marital alliances, either consanguineal or non-consanguineal. Their history of migration, extending beyond a span of forty years, hardly any original migrant is still alive today.

The history of migration of the Irulas in South Chennai indicates a process of voluntary migration searching for better economic prospects. However, when the Government was in need of the land they were occupying, they were provided with alternative plots with due license, in the adjacent area. In the transitional process, all the duly licensed lands were sold for cheaper rates to the local people. They moved away from there, only to occupy the *porampokku* (unlicensed) land nearby or to return to their rural habitat. This probably indicates the poor extent of their ability to adjust with the new environment. One could also discern a feeling of insecurity coupled with a sense of uncertainty, distancing one another, even among themselves. This is apparent in the spreading over of one single kin-group in three settlements, one even a little away from the other two.

In contrast, the ancestors of the Irulas of North were brought to their present habitat by the local landlords to keep watch of their lands. This provided them an opportunity for closer interaction with their patrons who enjoy a higher status in social hierarchy and also provided them a social security. With the patronization they enjoyed with the landlords, they could establish themselves in the course of time and form a settlement of their own. Their encounter and association with the South India Irula Seva Sangh provided them further shelter and security. When they were able to assume an independent occupation like fishing, they have been left with a smooth sailing in the process of urbanization.

Differential Urban Impact

The Irulas of Chennai have been increasingly experiencing the impact of the urbanization in every sphere of their life. However, this impact is differentially discerned, sometimes with a totally contrasting picture, between the Irulas of South and those of North Chennai.

Nuclear family, a characteristic feature of the urban living, is the predominant type among both the groups of urban Irulas. Everyone tends to opt for nuclear families after marriage, as it allows them more individualism and freedom. With the establishment of nuclear families, the Irulas of South Chennai hardly continued their social ties for long. On the other hand, it had hardly posed any threat to the Irulas of North Chennai, to lead a communal living and to have a smooth way of life.

As a result of the urban impact, non-consanguineal marriages are increasingly performed among both the groups of Irulas but with a difference. While such marriages are confined to the community-boundary among the Irulas of North Chennai, marriage with non-Irulas, is not uncommon among the Irulas of South Chennai. There are as many as four cases of inter-community marriages, found among them. This is a result of the freedom that is discerned among the Irula girls of south Chennai in choosing their partners. It could also be attrib-

uted to the loosening hold of, and so, a low adherence to the traditional values and norms and a higher degree of laxity and freedom at the work-situations.

Among the Irulas of South Chennai, the social interaction is very much confined to a small circle of their own kin. Since they need to solicit a minimum social security for survival, they maintain a loosely built social ties, and this too, only with their immediate relatives and not beyond. Their feeling of insecurity and inferiority is reflected in their claim to belong to a higher caste in the social hierarchy. The Irulas of Chennai on the other hand, exhibit a healthy interaction with their neighbours. No high claim is put forth regarding their community identity. The Irulas accept their own identity with pride.

The literacy rate among the South Chennai Irulas is very low. Their children do not show any interest for education nor do the parents show any interest for educating their children. This is in contrast to the greater interest in the education of their children and a gradual increase in the literacy level of the upcoming generation, among the Irulas of North Chennai.

Among the Irulas of South Chennai, except for a few who are working in the snake park, with a regular income, the others mostly depend upon the contractors and others for their occupation as wage labourers. Though the work of the former is permanent, the salary is meager, and, though the latter enjoy better wages, the work is uncertain. On the other hand, among the northern Irulas, though the economic condition is not so high, with an Independent occupation like fishing to lean on, they could lead a moderate and satisfactory living.

The habit of drinking alcohol, a hang-over of their past, continues to be part of their life, among both groups of Irulas. However, excessive consumption and lavish spending of whatever money available to them, is highly discerned among the Irulas of South. There is hardly anyone especially among the daily wage earners, who save

money for a future use. At times of need, they borrow money from their neighbours for a high rate of interest, mortgaging some ornaments or utensils. On the other hand, the habit of saving is slowly picking up among the Irulas of North, though it is yet to make an impact on their living standard.

No traditional leadership is recognised among the Irulas of South Chennai though some elderly parsons may enjoy respect at the level of their own sub-kin-group level. No community togetherness is found among them. Any serious disputes are taken to the locally prominent political leader for solution. No concerted and community efforts have ever been made to obtain the Government facilities available to them. However, everyone seems to blame the Government for not having done anything to them. On the other hand, community consciousness and political awareness are well discerned among the Northern Irulas, especially among the male members of the community. Due respect is given to the traditional leadership and occasional meeting is held at the community level, for discussing matters of common concern. Local domination is not much discerned. Most of the disputes are sorted out at the level of the community itself. No open-affiliation is seen with any particular political party and they are quite aware of the political happenings and of the maneuvering of the political events.

Most of the traditional religious practices have been given up by the southern Irulas. The Friday-*poojas*, which have traditional significance, are not regularly performed. Hindu deities have formed part of their pantheon though a high degree of secular tendency is discerned among them. However, traditional religious practices are continued among the Northern Irulas but with a difference. They do not have any temple of their own to worship their traditional deity. They visit Hindu temples and worship the Hindu deities along with their traditional deities and perform special pujas with devotion. Friday-*poojas* are regularly performed for their tribal deity *Kanniamma*

by their women. Annual festivals are celebrated in honour of this deity. Superstitious beliefs are gradually given up. Elaborate ceremonies have been curtailed. The services of *Brahmin* priests are made use of nowadays in the performance of certain ceremonies though they are not very particular about it.

The above accounts clearly indicate that the Irulas in Chennai present two different pictures, regarding their socio-cultural life in the urban setting. Though both the groups do experience the impact of urban life, its manifestation in their life presents a contrasting character. The Irulas of South Chennai exhibit features of family disorientation, weakening authority relations, consumeristic behaviour and economic incompatibility, perpetual illiteracy, loose religiosity and lack of community identity. On the other hand, the Irulas of North Chennai are characterized by a stable life, better adjustment, good neighbourly relations, political consciousness, self esteem and communal solidarity, educational orientation and healthy religious integration.

Thus, the dynamic character of the process of urbanization involves more than one factor. The mere movement to an urban setting need not necessarily result in a fixed type of life. The situation contact, which the Irulas in Chennai are involved in, is where a group having one way of life comes into the habitat of another - in the present context, the cosmopolitan urban setting of Chennai. Here, the occurrence or non-occurrence of the Redfield's results, depends on two things, as suggested by Gallagher. One is the kind of life lived prior to urbanization and the other the kind of urban life, to which they are exposed (1987:21). This would reason out the differences between the two groups of Irulas settled in two different areas of Chennai city.

The Irulas of North Chennai because of their better initial encounter and the later associational linkage, are able to combine the better part of the urban impact with that of the traditional one. On the

other hand, the Irulas of South are characterized by individual migration guided by economic misery, shaky initial encounter and unpursuing interest in life. All these have led to their inability to cope up with the urban environment in a healthy way. In their struggle to adapt and integrate themselves with the complexities of urban life, they clearly manifest the negative aspects of the urbanization effects.

Challenging Tasks and Response

The study of Irulas in Chennai city reveals that the nature of encounter and the social environment plays a crucial role in the nature of their life, formed in the urban setting. Today, the tribal communities are increasingly in the process of mobility from their isolated traditional habitats to complex settings. This opens up the increasing possibility of their encountering integrational conflicts, especially if their destination happens to be an urban setting. It is paramount to note that about ten percent of the total Irular population of Tamil Nadu, according to 1981 census, live in urban areas. Further, of the 36 tribal groups in Tamil Nadu, 29 tribes are having their kin in Chennai. Such a mobility immediately calls the Anthropologists for identifying the push factors that threaten their life in their traditional habitat. At the same time, the disintegration prospects in the new setting should also call for the attention of the Anthropologists to identify the factors of integration. In the light and experience of the present study, some broad areas of concern could be delineated, for future consideration and development orientation, in enhancing the welfare of the urban tribal population.

More studies should be undertaken in understanding the tribals in transition especially those in the process of tribe-urbanisation. One of the major problems that the tribal encounter in such a situation is that they get lost in the crowd. They become invisible even to the welfare agencies and the concerned departments of the Government.

Chennai city has a tribal population, numbering more than 5,000. Yet, it is ironical that the Sate Adi-Dravidar and Tribal Welfare Department expresses ignorance of their presence in the city. The same is true of the Block and Circle Offices in Chennai, under the jurisdiction of which, a substantial presence of tribals has been indicated by the census records. In the absence of clear indications about the location of the tribals, in a metro-city like Chennai, with an area of 170 square kilometres, comprising five taluks, with more than 150 Administrative Divisions distributed in ten circles, having 5745 enumerator blocks, it is extremely difficult to identify a particular tribal community. While the Census records were helpful in locating the tribal concentrated blocks, there was no mention of the name of the blocks nor the names of tribe.

The programmes for the welfare of the tribals would not be meaningful and realised, unless the concerned departments possess the basic details about the locational and ethnic identification. The Census Department should facilitate in providing such information to the concerned Departments. Most Departments of Anthropology in India being invariably located in the urban centres, it is only expected of them to feel a sense of tradition, by developing the basic profiles of the tribal groups in the city.

On the development plane, the economically unsteady tribal in the city have to be extended occupational guarantee with minimum wage system. They should be affiliated to a welfare or community organisation whereby they could realise their rights and privileges and feel a sense of security and social solidarity. They should be extended with a reasonable settlement scheme with basic amenities including basic education. They should also be encouraged to develop local leadership and a sense of pride about their ethnic identity.

In the absence of these factors, there is every possibility for the urban tribal to become threatened with mal-adjustment and social disintegration.

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13. SOCIO-CULTURAL AND LINGUISTIC PROBLEMS OF MULLUKURUMBAS: DUE TO ECOLOGICAL VARIATIONS

Dr.D.Robert Sathya Joseph

Mullukurumbas, a distinct tribal community, inhabited in the western part of Gudalur taluk in Nilgiri district of Tamil Nadu and in Wynad district of Kerala. The population of Mullukurumbas in Nilgiri was 4,354 (1981 census). According to the informants their population in Wynad district is much more than in Nilgiri. Present paper is mainly concerned with Mullukurumbas of Gudalur taluk. Though, they have been divided by the inter-State boundary of Tamil Nadu and Kerala, they have close contact among themselves. This area which was a thick jungle until 40 to 50 years ago and the abode of wild animals is now being cleared for cultivation and habitation. The natural resources of this area attracted the people from different parts of Kerala, Tamil Nadu and Karnataka. Migrants from Kerala are settled all over the Gudalur taluk. Due to the colonization, process the environment condition has been vastly disturbed. Many changes are noticed in the settlement pattern, economy customs and beliefs and life style of the tribal population. The immigrants settled in Gudalur taluk belong to different groups of people from Tamil Nadu, Kerala and Karnataka. One can notice a complex of different languages spoken in Gudalur taluk. This situation is affecting the education of the tribal children as they are not familiar with these languages.

During the pre-colonial period, Nilgiris was covered by forest with very low population density. During the period from 1812 to 1991 the population of the district increased from around 3,000 persons to 704,827 persons (1991 census). This increase in population is mainly by migration of non-tribal groups into the district. This has lead to averse impact on the environment in different ways. The indigenous population have now been reduced to minority groups.

Gudalur taluk forms the lower plateau of the Nilgiri district where different indigenous tribal groups like Mullukurumbas, Bettakurumbas

(Uralikurumbas), Tenu Kurumbas (Kattunayakkas) and Paniyas are living. Around 1950 onwards people from other areas like Kerala moved into Gudalur taluk and cleared large area of forest for cultivation. The other group of immigrants was linked to the settlement of Sri Lankan repatriates. They were employed in the Government tea estates. In course of time, they formed settlements around these estates. Thus, the immigrants population increased rapidly, reducing the indigenous inhabitants to a minority group. The previous isolation of the tribal groups and the ambiguous land ownership, made land easily available for the immigrant groups. Thus, Gudalur taluk, a predominantly tribal area, became an agricultural frontier. Vast areas of forests and grass land were cleared for cultivation of coffee and tea. The traditional occupations of the tribal like hunting, honey collection, agriculture, etc. are being affected considerably.

Mullukurumbas and their environment

Gudalur taluk, forms North-west part of Nilgiri district, is about 3000 to 4500 feet height above the sea level and continuous with Wynad district of Kerala. Since this area receives heavy rainfall, the environment is suitable for Mullukurumbas to engage themselves in different occupations like hunting, bird catching, agriculture, animal husbandry, fishing, etc. Paddy fields are also found between the hills. The land is fertile substantiated with natural resources. Hill slopes are suitable for cultivating coffee, tea, pepper, plantain, ginger, etc. Streams and rivers are found between the hills.

Gudalur taluk in Nilgiri is the meeting place of three different cultures, like Tamilians from Tamil Nadu and Ceylon, Malayalis from Kerala and Kannadigas from Karnataka. In addition to these different groups, indigenous tribal communities with a distinct culture and language are living generations together. Influence of Malayalam culture and use of its language are dominating. Immigrants from Kerala have occupied vast areas of land and are cultivating coffee, pepper, tea, ginger, etc. Government of Tamil Nadu has arranged resettlement of many Ceylon repatriates in this area. Thus, the tribal population is

swamped by the immigrants. The resources for the livelihood of tribals were eroded by the conversion of forests into cultivable land and settlements. The increase in population density played different adverse effect in the process of ecological change.

Climatic condition

Since Gudalur taluk forms the lower plateau in Nilgiri, the climate is somewhat warm. The western part of Gudalur taluk, adjoining the Wynad district of Kerala, receives heavy rainfall during South-west monsoon. During the period from September to December, there is only occasional rainfall. From December to March dry weather prevails. Again occasional rainfall experienced during April and May. The temperature of this area is moderate and the climate is pleasant throughout the year. Thus, the climatic condition is suitable for cultivation of coffee, tea, pepper, tapioca, ginger, etc. The immigrants are extensively utilising the natural resources for different purposes, leading to many changes in the pristine environment, resulted poor rain fall in Nilgiri district. Due to the environmental variations, changes are occurring in settlement pattern, economy, customs and beliefs of Mullukurumbas.

Environment and the people in Gudalur taluk

In Gudalur taluk, three groups of inhabitants are found in relation to environment. One is the indigenous tribal groups who have subsisted in the same environment over a long duration. They have evolved their own mechanism suitable to the spatial and temporal variations in their environment. They enjoy a wide variety of natural resources from their environment. The other groups of people are repatriates who have been displaced from their own environment and engaged themselves in agriculture. They have intensified in utilising the natural resource in addition to the tribal groups. The third groups are immigrants engaged in agricultural activities. They earn also more money from certain other specialized high value products, extracted from the local environment. Thus, the activities of immigrants have changed the environment in many ways. Mullukurumbas are facing many problems due to the environmental variations.

Settlement pattern and environment

Unlike other Kurumbas, Mullukurumbas have a settled life. They call the settlements as Viitu which consists of a number of houses. Houses are arranged in neat rows. At the centre of each settlement there exists a temple house called teyvappera. Traditionally, if any one wants to leave his native settlement and construct a house outside the settlement has to get the permission of their deity through the headman of the settlement. Otherwise it is considered to be a great offence. Now, due to the increase in population most of the land were occupied by the immigrants. This type of environmental change creates a kind of awareness among Mullukurumbas, particularly those who are educated are violating their traditional rules and regulations and constructing houses as they like in different area. So the number of settlement are increasing and the settlement pattern is changing. They have started constructing houses with tiled roofs like the immigrants.

The traditional occupations of Mullukurumbas are hunting, fishing, bird catching, agriculture and animal husbandry. Their environmental condition is favourable for them to involve in different occupations. Men among them go for hunting while the women fishing in nearby streams and rivers. Young boys go for bird catching. The women assist in agriculture operations also. Due to the environmental degradation their traditional economy is very much affected. Deforestation and encroachment of forests for agriculture and habitations by the immigrants has considerably reduced the scope for hunting, bird catching and animal husbandry of the tribal population. They could not get sufficient land for cultivation. Due to their poor economic status, they are unable to cultivate their land properly. During cultivation period, they borrow money from the local money-lenders in an agreement to return grain for money on a low price.

Customs, beliefs and environment

Due to the environmental change and contact with civilized immigrants, many changes are taking place in the customs and beliefs

of Mullukurumbas. There is a tendency among Mullukurumbas to associate their conventions and customary behaviour with the wish of their deity. Their convention demands that they should live in their traditional houses with thatched roofs and their women wear the traditional dress. Nowadays, those who have little education and have more contact with immigrants are violating their traditional conventions and want to bring in cultural changes. They wish to change their lifestyle. According to them their traditional convention are preventing their social and economic development. There are conflicts between the orthodox Mullukurumbas and those who wish to bring in culture changes. On this basis, there are two major divisions among Mullukurumbas called Meelavaram and Taalevaram. Those who wish to bring changes and like modernization belong to Meelavaram and those who do not like changes belong to Taalevaram. Thus, the impact of environmental variations causes a major change in the social structure of Mullukurumbas.

Language and environment

As already mentioned, Mullukurumbas who speak the same mother tongue are distributed in an area which includes part of Tamil Nadu and part of Kerala. The tribal languages of Gudalur taluk like Paniya, Betta Kurumba, Kattunayakka and Mullukurumba are not only differ from the non-tribal languages but also from one another. Since, the immigrants from Kerala are settled all over Gudalur taluk, Malayalam is considered as a native language. A person speaking language other than Malayalam as mother tongue finds it a little difficult situation to manage his daily affair. So from the linguistic point of view, one can see different situations and problems among Mullukurumbas of Gudalur taluk. When the Mullukurumba come in contact with school teachers and Government officials, they talk in Tamil. They are to some extent speak Malayalam. They communicate among themselves only in their mother tongue. In addition to these, they have much contact with other tribal languages for generations together.

Education and Environment

In the midst of above said complicated language situation, Mullukurumbas in Gudalur taluk have to educate their children in schools, which taught in Tamil language. The Government is spending a lot of money for the welfare for the tribals particularly for education. In spite of conscious efforts to bring the tribal people into the fold of formal education, they lag much behind in their education. Even the interior parts of Gudalur taluk is being covered by Government Tribal Residential (GTR) schools where Tamil language is being taught and the medium of instruction is Tamil. Most of the teachers who work in GTR schools are from the plains whose mother tongue is Tamil. Tribal languages of this area are not used by the teachers in schools. Tribal children coming to school are not much exposed to Tamil language. The common text books are prescribed for non-tribal children and the tribal children of Gudalur taluk. Here the gap between the tribal mother-tongue and the text book is wider. While they study in Tamil at schools, a mixture of their mother tongue is inevitable. This type of language problem is the main reason for stagnation and drop-outs in GTR schools in Gudalur taluk.

According to the GTR school teachers, tribal children have more interest in mathematics, sciences and drawing than language studies. Another thing is the communication gap between the students and teachers, such a situation creates inferiority complex among the students. Here language is an important barrier in their education. In this situation the planners of education have to suggest a effective method of teaching to the tribal children of Nilgiri from the development point of view.

Another educational problem is related to the geographical distribution and the marriage system of Mullukurumbas. Usually girls are not allowed to go for higher classes after 5th standard, because the educated girls do not have much chances to work in the schools or in other Government departments. Mullukurumba men living in Gudalur taluk are choosing their brides from the Wynad district of

Kerala, because as they do not arrange marriage among relatives. They avoid cross-cousin marriages, parallel cousin marriages and sister's daughter marriages. Girls who are educated in Malayalam medium schools in Kerala are brought to Tamil Nadu after marriage. Similarly, girls who are educated in Tamil medium schools in Gudalur taluk are married to males in Wynad district. Thus the geographical distribution and the type of marital alliances create an unique educational problem among the female Mullukurumbas.

From the development point of view Mullukurumbas are fast developing in socio-cultural and educational aspects. Due to environmental changes and continuous contact with immigrants, a kind of awareness is being created among them. They are anxious to acquire lands, literacy and educational to improve their economic condition. Another important change is that educated Mullukurumbas wish to identify themselves as Tamilian or Malayali according to the situation. Though, they are facing certain problems due to the environmental variations, the impact of the same is acting intensively in another way to bring the tribal people into the mainstream.

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14. CONCEPT OF ENVIRONMENT AND FOLK TAXONOMY: CASES OF THE JUANGO, HO AND SANTAL

Smt. Soma Bandyopadhyay

and

Dr. Syamalakanti Sengupta.

Prologue: Environment of a certain ecological *niche* which people exploit to maintain their existence is primary reality for them. The concept of the ecological *niche* explains the relationship of a human population to other organism in an ecological system. Hutchinson (1965) points out that the *niche* of an organism can be seen at least into two different ways - the *fundamental niche* as a theoretical way of life in which no competition exists, and the *realized niche* as an actual way of life under conditions of competition. However, the people categorize, precisely classify and measure every step of their perceptibility to bring congruency with this reality. These steps finally become facts of life for them who have been socialized to apply their traditional knowledge in their proper maintenance of life. This traditional knowledge emerging out of immense and continuous experimentation is the basis of "Ethnoscience" as well as "Ethnoecology".

Ethnoscience, the "new ethnography" or "semantic ethnography" as it is variously known is roughly the same and shares many of the same goals, methods and personnel. It employs techniques and concepts developed in descriptive linguistics, systematic biology and psychology to the exploration of systems of knowledge and cognition in other cultures (Conklin: 1962; Frake, 1962; Goodenough, 1957; Sturtevant, 1964). The term "ethnoscience" (as well as 'ethnoecology') is in itself a compound, it refers to that study done from an ethnic groups' own point of view. Ethnoecology would be a groups conception of biotic interrelationship in its universe (Fowle, 1977).

The meaning of ethnoscience used in this discourse is somewhat in restricted sense. The logic, argument, experimentation of each resource domain through its classification have taken into consideration. In relation to the study of environmental perceptibility in an ethnoscientific network and within the semantic domain, the cases of three different communities, the Juango, the Ho and the Santal have been considered in this paper.

The people and area of study

The Juango are mainly concentrated in Orissa. Keonjhar district of Orissa is the "matri-prithvi" of the Juango. The Juango belongs to the Munda branch of languages (Grierson, 1906 and 1927). They mainly depend on basketry and agriculture. The Ho are agricultural tribe, occasionally practice hunting-gathering and fishing. The Ho are included within the Kherwari linguistic group, which is actually a subgroup of Mundari language (Grierson, 1906 and 1927). Santal is the most explored tribe. In linguistic classification, the Santal are included within the Austric language. They speak in Santali dialect. Their main occupation is agriculture, but occasionally fishing, hunting - gathering, are practiced. Presently a good number of the Santal are working as industrial labourer in different industries, specially in Bihar and West Bengal.

The three communities studied inhabited in three different ecological niches and it is the sheer claim of the authors that the tribes inevitably differ regarding their environmental perceptibility which is intertwined with varied utilisation patterns of environmental resources.

The case of the Juango have been studied in the villages Kantala and Samala of Thenkanal Orissa, near Pallahara. Total population of the Juango is 112 and 57 in Kantala and Samala respectively. The Ho inhabited in Muktapur village of Denkanal Orissa, near Pallahara. Total population of the village is 134. In Gigri the Santhal number 127 and in Dhatkidih there are 368 individuals.

The concept of environment

It is important to understand the rational use of resources available in and around tribal communities to note the quality of living for the tribal in question. Tribals perceive environment in terms of resource availability. This environment is called *perceptual environment* (Odum, 1961). Certain elements in the environment have been found to influence the people effectively. This sphere of environment is referred to as *effective environment*. Finally those natural realities (plant, animal, land, hill, water) which are not experienced but fundamental. This is called *total reality of environment*.

The perception and segregate

In course of learning from various categories of people (man-women, cultivator-servicemen, literate-illiterate, forest goers - non goers and so on) in the dialects of Juango, Ho and Santal communities, the authors were successful in conceiving the perception of the people in question, mainly classification of plant and land. The taxonomy of the plant and land is aimed at and the conventional lexicographical principles, prescribed in the subject-matter of folk-taxonomy has been followed as far as practicable.

The perception of the natural distinctiveness of any particular species (recognised through cultural perception) indicates access to a whole range of species segregates. The species is a collection of similarities in morphological feature and/or displays similar functions. A terminologically distinguished array of objects is a segregate (Conklin, 1954, 1962; Lounsbury, 1956). Segregates are categories, but not all categories are segregates by this definition.

To recognize segregate, tribals point out some morphological features. The presence of some morphologically differentiating features determines the identity of a particular segregate, prescribed by the culture.

Attribute reduction

Among the Juango *Ceroro* (root), *Dahi* (stem) and *Olak* (leaf) are the morphologically identifiable features of the member of *Samusin* (plant) segregate. In the Ho culture those who have *Kotaka* (root), *Tarhu* (stem) and *Sakam* (leaf) are included within the *Daru* (plant) segregate. Similarly among the Santal those only who possess *Rehet* (root), *Dali* (stem) and *Sakam* (leaf) are categorized under the *Daare* (plant) segregate.

So from the aforesaid facts it is clear that whatever be the local terminology or cultural identification of a plant is, all the members are in search of presence of root, stem and leaf to identify a species as a plant. To highlight the environmental perceptibility more clearly, have been applied two techniques. The "attribute reduction" technique and the technique of "configurational recoding". The "attribute reduction" technique comprises of simply limiting the number of criteria attributes of features to a very small number (e.g. *Rehet*, *Dali*, *Sakam*) while ignoring the rest of the attributes (Sengupta and Bandyopadhyay, 1996). "Configurational recoding" is the technique in which a number of features are 'chunked' together to form a single attribute. For example when the Santal use the

term *Daare*,. they refer to a configuration of large number of attributes "recoded" and "chunked" into single *gestalt*.

Fig.1

Attribute reduction of morphological features of plant segregate.

Juango		Ho		Santal	
<u>– Ceroro</u>		<u>– Kotaka</u>		<u>– Rehet</u>	
(root)		(root)		(root)	
<u>Samusin</u>	<u>Dahi</u>	<u>Daru</u>	<u>Tarhu</u>	<u>Daare</u>	<u>Dali</u>
(plant)	(stem)	(plant)	(stem)	(plant)	(stem)
<u>Olak</u>		<u>Sakam</u>		<u>Sakam</u>	
- (leaf)		- (leaf)		- (leaf)	

All the three tribal communities conceptualized number of definite parts present in a plant. Broadly those parts were root, stem, leaf, flower and fruit, precisely these configurations are necessary to prove its "Samusinnerss" (among the Juango), "Daruness" (among the Ho) and "Daareness" (among the Santal) respectively. Here in this case also perceptibility varies from community to community. The Juantgo and Ho people can conceptualize seven identifying characters while the Santal can only five of the same. This type of differentiation comes out due to the difference in ecological niche they are utilising for their survival.

Fig.2. Configurational recoding of the plant segregate

COMMUNITY

Juango	Ho	Santal
<u>Cerero</u> (root)	<u>Kotaka</u> (root)	<u>Rehet</u> (root)
<u>Dalu</u> (stem)	<u>Tarhu</u> (stem)	<u>Dali</u> (stem)
<u>Daro</u> (branch)	<u>Sakamtarlu</u> (branch)	<u>Daare</u> <u>Sakam</u> (leaf)
<u>Samusin</u> — I_ <u>Chakolado</u> (bark)	<u>Daru</u> — I_ <u>Sakam</u> (leaf)	(plant)
I_ <u>Phol</u> (fruit)		
(plant) I_ <u>Olak</u> (leaf)	(plant) I_ <u>Bakana</u> (flower)	I_ <u>Baha</u>
(flower)		
- <u>Rasin</u> (flower)	<u>Jokana</u> (fruit)	<u>Lakhuro</u> (fruit) <u>Jankota</u> (seed)

Interaction with the forest is much more in case of the Juango and the Ho compared to the Santal. The members of the Santal community have seasonal interaction with the forest when agricultural production is not optimum. For this reason the Santal are not enough exposed to perceive the number of configurations of the broad Daare segregate.

Inclusion-contrast mode

While dealing with the folk taxonomy of the plant domain, the authors have run through the inclusion contrast mode analysed from the facts raised from the ethnic group' own point of view. According to methodological connotation, those culturally appropriate responses which are distinctive alternatives in the same kinds of situations - or, in linguistic parlance, which occur in the same "environment" can be defined as contrast. A series of terminologically contrasted segregates forms a contrast set (Frake, 1962). Inclusion is nothing but implying separate levels of contrast. These inclusions and contrasts are two fundamentally different ways of folk categories within the same domain (Conklin, 1955).

One of the most striking features analysed among the Juango and the Santal folk taxonomy, is the amalgamation of certain termi-

nology Both the groups use a single term (Samusin in case of the Juango and Daare in case of the Santal) to designate both a segregate and a species. Thus the hierarchical model which shows the relationship of domination ("A dominates B = B is an A") may not account adequately for the Juango vis-a-vis the Santal taxonomies (Sengupta and Ghosh, 1994).

Fig.3. Inclusion-contrast mode within erect-plant domain.

<div>←———— Contrast —————→</div>					
155	<u>Samusin</u> (plant)	<u>Daru</u> (plant)	<u>Daare</u> (plant)		
I	<u>Samusin</u> (erect	<u>Huring-daru</u>	<u>Daare</u> (erect		
n	plant)	(erect plant)	plant)		
c					
I	<u>Bajime</u>	<u>Bisha</u>	<u>Jomdaare</u>	<u>Bakojom</u>	
u					
s	<u>Samusin</u>	<u>Samusin</u>	—	— (edible	<u>daare</u>
i	(edible	(non-edible		erect	(non
o	erect	erect		plant	edible
n	plant)	plant			erect
<div>←—Juango—→ ←—Ho—→ ←—Santal—→</div>					

Figure-3, represents the inclusion-contrast mode of folk taxonomy of the three communities, with special reference to the erect plants and their edibility. Both the Juango and the Santal can distinguish edible and non-edible plants, but the Ho people are not sufficiently conscious about it. But in case of some other life-forms of the plant segregate, all the three communities are considerably conscious about the quality of edibility. To distinguish those plants which grow either along the surface or spirally surrounding on erect plant (precisely creepers), the members of the three communities use definite term. The Juango use the term *Laha*, the Ho use *Naha* and

the Santal use *Naadi* to identify the creepers. In case of creeper members of all the three communities even the Ho can conceptualize the contrasting quality of edibility and non-edibility (Fig.4). In case of the Ho if the examples of *Huring-daru* (erect plant), (ed. *Kendu, Jojo, Uli*) are considered, it is found that all of them are edible. So this can be inferred that concept of non-edibility is minimally perceptible in erect plant domain of the Ho people.

Fig.4. Inclusion-contrast mode within creeper life-form

<div>←————— Contrast —————→</div>						
156	<u>Samusin</u> (plant)	<u>Daru</u> (plant)	<u>Daare</u> (plant)			
	<u>Laha</u> (creeper)	<u>Naha</u> (creeper)	<u>Naadi</u> (creeper)			
Inclu-						
sion	<u>Bajime</u>	<u>Laha</u>	<u>Laha</u>	<u>Irulu</u>	<u>Jomdaare</u>	<u>Bakojom</u>
	<u>laha</u>	(non-	(edible	(non-	(edible	(non-
	(edible	edible	creeper)	edible	creeper)	edible
	creeper)	creeper)	creeper)		creeper)	
	←—Juango—→		←—Ho—→	←—Santal—→		

Life-form variability:

Identification of life-forms is an important unit of measuring the environmental perceptibility of a particular community. In this regard the three communities vary to a noticeable extent in expressing their variable perception of environment. Figure.5, represents the varied identification of life-forms among the communities. The Juango can identify four, the Ho five and the Santal six life-forms in the plant segregate. The Ho have got no perception of the aquatic plant which results from the paucity of aquatic plant which results from the paucity of aquatic plants in the area they reside. The Juango can distinguish the aquatic variety using a definite term- *Tantoa*. The Santal have got the perception of aquatic variety but in their folk taxonomy *Dah-bhitire daare* is a descriptive terminology and can

be defined as "unlabelled taxa' or the "covert category".

This unlabelled category is perceptible category but there is no single term for this group. Such grouping is called covert category (D'Andrade, 1962). Uur (mushroom) is another "covert category" found in the Santal folk-taxonomy of plants. All the fungi, as well as the mushrooms are designated as Uur which includes several fungi genera.

Fig.5. Identified life-forms in plant segregate among the Juango, HO and Sanmtal COMMUNITY

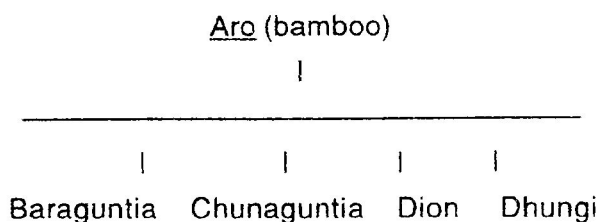
Juango	Ho	Santal
<u>Samusin</u>	<u>Huring-daru</u>	<u>Daare</u>
(erect plant)	(erect plant)	(erect Plant)
<u>Olong</u> (plant	<u>Tasan</u>	<u>Budhoe</u>
growing on	(plant growing	(bush)
the soil surface) <u>Daru</u>	upto a limited	<u>Daare</u> <u>Ghaas</u> (grass)
<u>Samusin</u> <u>Laha</u> (creeper)ark	(plant) height)	(plant) <u>Naadi</u>
(plant)		(creeper)
<u>Tantoa</u> (aquatic plant)	<u>Naha</u> (creeper)	<u>Dah-bhitire</u>
		<u>daare</u>
	<u>Aha</u> (algae,	(aquatic plant)
	vegetables)	<u>Uur</u> (mushc
	<u>Urn</u> (fungi)	room)

Utility and perception

Utilization patterns of the resources available within the effective environment also influences the perception of the native people. People classify those resources more efficiently which acquire high position in the list of their requirements.

The Juango mainly profess basketry for their livelihood; the raw material of basketry is Aro (bamboo) which they procure from the foothill forest of Malyagiri hill. Naturally the tribals classify the Aro according to their quality and utility in their craft (Sengupta and Ghosh, 1994).

Fig.6. Classification of Aro (bamboo) among the Juango.

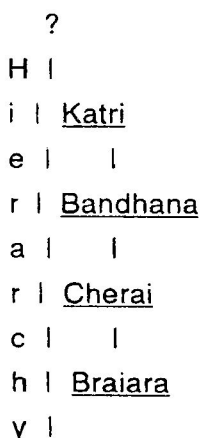


Baraguntia and Dungi are used for making the house roof and fence respectively whereas Chunaguntia, Dion and Dungi are used for different types of strips required for basketry.

The association of different types of strips with different types of Aro is due to relative strength of different types of strips prepared out of different types of Aro. In order of increasing strength and relative height, stripes can be arrange as follows:

Fig.7: Hierarchical classification of Aaro (bamboo)

stips among the Juango.



Seasonal variation, inter-nodal distance, maturity and other alike factors are also considered while determining the suitability of Aro (bamboo).

Similar is the case of Santal. Though they are mainly dependent upon agriculture but Julu (firewood) is one of the basic necessity for them. They classify the Julu according to the amount

of Dhungia (smoke) liberated. Spontaneously they classify the fire-wood in the following manner.

Fig.8: Hierarchical classification of Julu (fire-wood) among the Santal.

	?	
		<u>Dho</u>
		<u>Padashi</u>
H		<u>Hesei</u>
i		
e		<u>Atna</u>
r		
a		<u>Kargale</u>
r		
c		<u>Tirii</u>
h		
y		<u>Bonde</u>
		<u>Doka</u>
		<u>Kutush</u>

Members of the Ho community are completely dependent upon agriculture. Though they use fire-wood and other major and minor forest resources but perception and/or categorizing capability is not so prominent like that of the Juango and the Santal in particular spheres of utilization.

Land and Classification

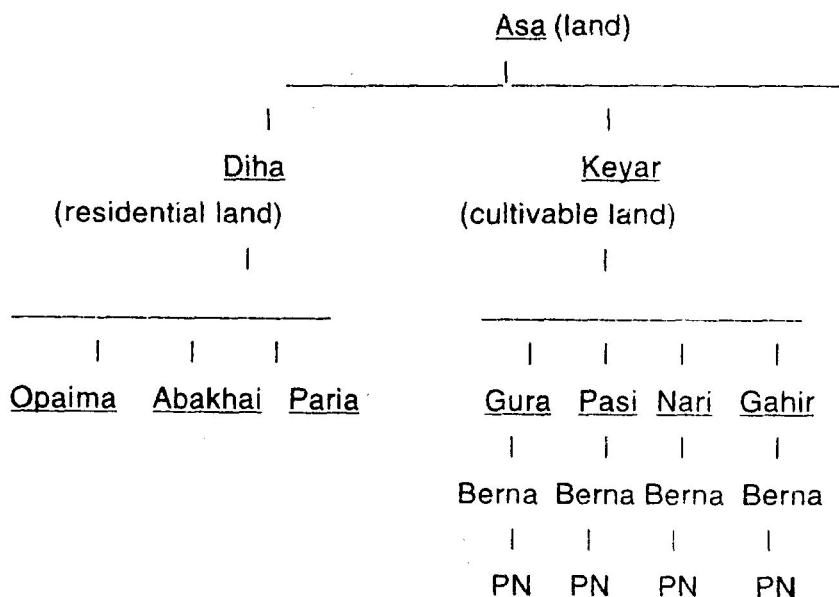
Land is another unit within the "effective environment" which needs importance while dealing with the environmental perceptibility. As all the three communities depend more or less on cultivation, their perception about the land they use is somewhat concrete and culturally significant.

(local name of shifting cultivation). They no longer use these varieties. Bila (2), the land for settle cultivation is further divided in Gura, Pasi, and Gahira, according to their levels and fertility. One thing is very important in this regard that the tribals are no longer shifting cultivators. But they include the lands they used at the time of Kamar in their classification, as they are highly significant in their environmental perceptibility, which once their culture prescribed. The terminologies used to distinguish the present cultivable lands are borrowed from Oriya dialect which reveals the fact that the Juango recently have become settled cultivators and they do not have any lexeme related to it in their linguistic parlance.

The members of the Ho community have no early phase of shifting cultivation. So their traditional culture does not prescribe any distinguished term for the land used in shifting cultivation. So shifting cultivation and its different phases are completely out of their perception regarding the land unit of their effective or utilized environment.

The Ho classify their land domain keeping the point of utility in their mind. The classification pattern is as follows:

Fig.10: Categoriesation of Asa (land) among the Ho.



Initially the Ho classify the Asa (land) domain into two categories: Hiha (residential land) and Keyar (cultivable land) solely depending upon the pattern of use. Diha is further divided into Opaima (homestead land), Abakhai (kitchen garden) and Paria (garden of big tees). Diha land is higher in level than the Keyar land. Keyar land is further categorized into four types Gura, Pasi, Nari, Gahir. This arrangement of agricultural land is done depending upon the level and fertility of the land variety. Gura land is the most fertile and located in the lowest level. So when the order is ascending in terms of height the order in descending in terms of fertility.

Agricultural lands are further classified into different Bernas. The cultivable lands of the village are scattered into different directions of the settlement and at different levels. A number of person may have adjacent Gura land or adjacent Pasi lands and so on. These adjacent lands of a particular type together constitute a Berna. Each of such Berna has get its own name. These Berna can again be classified hierarchically in decreasing order of fertility.

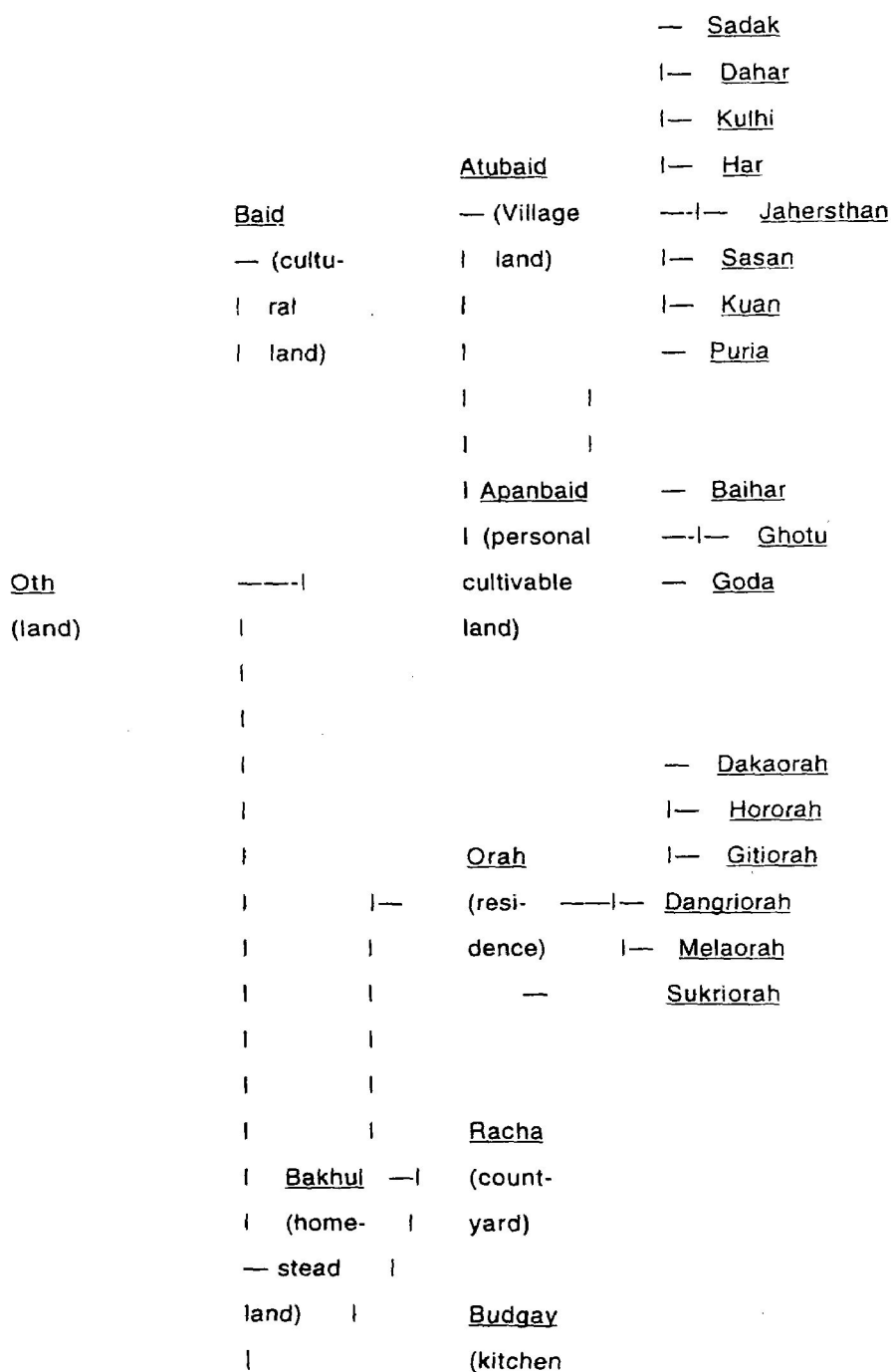
Fig.11: Hierarchical order of Berna among the Ho community.

		_____	163
		Bandhkani	
		Munda	
		Gundeit	
		Jknarbasa	
In-		Khainari	
creas-		_____	
Berna ing			
within level		_____	
the same		Bhagamunda	
box are		Kaddatari	
equal in		Bhugrinari	
level		_____	
and			
fertility		_____	
		Gounari	
		Sindrinari	
		_____	Hier-
			archy
		_____	(re-
		Palkani	gard-
		Hagrinari	ling
		_____	Ferti
			lity)

		Kaian	
		Bhojna	

Finally the Santal case regarding classification of land has been noted. The total land domain, Oth is initially classified into homestead and cultivable land on the basis of its functionality.

Fig.12: Tree representing classification of Oath (land) among the Santal



Baid (cultural land) is again separated into Atubaid (village land) and Apanbaid (personal cultivable land) depending upon the pattern of inheritance. Atubaid can be used collectively by all the villagers. This can be further categorized into different public places viz., Sadak (metal road), Dahar (non-metalead road), Kulhi (lane), Har (alley), Jahersthan (sacredgrove), Sasan (cremation ground), Kuan (well), Puria (grazing land). Apanbaid are the lands where crops are cultivated ie., Apanbaid is the cultivable land in true sense. Classification of Apanbaid is done into Baihar, Ghotu and Goda depending upon their level and fertility, which are indirectly proportionate to each other.

Next comes the category of Bakhul (homestead lad). This is also further classified according to their use-pattern. Orah is the hut on the Appanbadi surface where the Santal reside, Racha is the courtyard and Budgay is the land meant for kitchen-garden. The place of residence ie., Orah is further classified into Dakaorah (kitchen), Hororah (bedroom), Gitiorah (dormitory), Dangriorah (cattleshed), Melaorah (place for gossiping) and so on, according to specific use.

With the help of the facts presented so far, these authors have tried to explain that the domain of perceptual environment is almost dependent on the effective environment, one of the units of the total reality of environment. The tribals, irrespective of the area of residence, are capable to perceive those things explained above properly which are included within their realized niche. It is a fact that the extent of utilization is the basis of perfection in perceiving, categorizing and above all classifying the resources.

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15. SUSTAINABLE TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT IN NILGIRIS:

A CASE STUDY OF TODAS

S.Kamala Devi

Introduction

Set amidst the most grandiose and beautiful scenery in the world, the lovely Nilgiris is often called "The Little Switzerland". This is one of the most salubrious health resorts in the world. 'Nilgiris', the name in Sanskrit, means Blue Mountains or Blue Hills, in Tamil *Neelamalai*. The Nilgiris form a small district of Tamil Nadu all together covering 2549 sq.km.

Land is the soul of the farmers. But, for the tribes, hills are more than the soul. The life, habit and thinking of tribes are much affected by the hill and its situation. The tribes are looked at with an inferior eye by the common people. The tribes can be identified by their language, their habits and customs they are adopting, their appearance and the way of earning.

The Nilgiris region has constituted a district locale for tribal people. The main tribal communities found in the district are Todas, Kotas, Kurumbas, Irulas, Paniyas and Mulla Kurumbas. Just as the tribal population is distributed at various altitudes, the habitat of the tribes and average size of the settlement also vary from tribe to tribe.

The Todas

The Todas are the original inhabitants of the Nilgiri hills and they are one of the most picturesque tribes in India. Though there are six Primitive Tribes in the district, the Todas have attracted for greater attention both here and abroad than any other tribal community. The Todas are pastoral in nature and to a certain extent nomadic. They believe even today that their ancestors inhabited the Nilgiri hills from the beginning of mankind.

Most of the Todas possess large herds of buffaloes. Milk products are their main source of living. In the past, agriculture was com-

pletely unknown to the Todas. They were frequently migrating from one mountain area to that of another within the Nilgiri hills, as pastures in their vicinity began to fail. So they never had a log established residence.

Area of Study

In Nilgiri district, the Todas are living in sixty one munds. For the present study, ten Toda munds were selected. These munds are inhabited only by the Todas. The settlement pattern shows that some of the munds are having less than five households. The present study explains the Mullimund, Muthanad Mund, Garden Mund, Tamilaha Mund, Bedukal Mund, Nerkod Mund, Narum Mund, Thalapathari Mund, Kokodi Mund and Pakalkod Mund. Among these munds only Narum Mund is having one household. The Toda population is very small compared to that of other tribal population of Nilgiris. The Todas main occupations are buffalo rearing, agriculture and embroidery. The literacy rate among the Todas is very low.

Agencies for Sustainable Tribal Development

In general the tribes are a community who have been neglected for quite some time and even now living only in a primitive way of life. Most of the tribal families are much below the poverty line and they are struggling for their basic needs such as food, shelter, education and medical facilities. Government is working for the upliftment of the tribal population under various development measures. Apart from these, there are few non-Governmental and International agencies working in the district for overall development of the tribes in Nilgiris.

Governmental Agencies

The main objectives of the schemes implemented under Tribal Welfare Department are to provide (i) Education, (ii) Economic Development and (iii) Housing and provision of infrastructural facilities.

Education:

In the field of education, the Government has taken measures to develop school, college for the tribal students and provided schol-

arships. One High School, five Middle Schools, seventeen Primary Schools for the tribal students (Government Tribal Residential Schools) and two Government Hostels for the tribal students are provided in Nilgiris. The students are provided with free text books, note-books and slates in Government schools.

Scholarships: The students pursuing pre- and post-matric courses in schools, colleges and other professional courses are provided with scholarships under Government of India and State Government Schemes.

Hostels: There are two residential schools in Nilgiris for the improvement of education amongst the tribal children and such schools are:

1. Sri Sarguru Sarva Sassrase Sangas Tribal Residential High School for Boys, Coonoor.
2. Sri Sarguru Sarva Sassrase Sangas Tribal Residential High School for Girls, Coonoor.

Economic Development

The Government provides loans for agriculture purposes, loans for purchase of buffaloes, housing loans, etc. For agriculture purpose, the Government provide patta land to Todas and also loans for tea plantation and potato cultivation. House site pattas are provided free of cost by way of acquisition by this department to all Scheduled Tribes especially to the Todas. The government assist the Todas to improve their agriculture through free charge of electricity. The Government is providing basic amenities to Scheduled Tribes i.e., provision of link roads, provision of drinking water, street lights, medical facilities, etc.

Employment:

The tribes, especially Todas are encouraged by the Government to avail reservation facilities in the Government services. Besides, age concession, qualification concession and promotion opportunities are also taken care by the Government.

Hill Area Development Programme (HADP):

Under HADP, various schemes were started for the Todas. Around sixty modern houses were constructed for them. Subsidy provision is also extended to the Todas for the purpose of purchasing buffaloes.

Nilgiris Wild Life and Environment Association

With the help of the above association of a Toda man was appointed as Care-taker of the Mukkurthi Fishing hut and Solar-powered lanterns were distributed with full subsidy to twenty five needy houses in remote areas.

The non-Governmental Agencies:

There are some note-worthy non-Governmental agencies in Nilgiris working for overall development of these tribes. Their activities include medical and health care through hospitals, dispensaries and a mobile medical unit. Nutritional, educational and socio-economic development programmes are being taken by these agencies.

Among the non-Governmental agencies, Nilgiri Adivasi welfare association (NAWA), Todas Nalavazhvu Sangam (TNS) and UPASI-Krishi Vignyan Kendra are to be mentioned.

Nilgiri Adivasi Welfare Association (NAWA)

Since 1958, NAWA is actively engaged in welfare work among tribals in Nilgiris. The main objective of NAWA is to work as a secular and voluntary service agency for the all round welfare of the Nilgiri tribes in the fields of health, education and socio-economic development. Daily clinics and dispensaries, ie., The Kotagiri Tribal Clinic is working for the development of health among the tribes. An average of 30 to 40 patients are treated daily. Mobile Medical Services is also provided to the Toda Settlements at scattered and interior places.

Child sponsorship programme is also taken up on the basis of family assistance. The sponsored children and their siblings are helped according to their abilities to attend regular school and university courses. The major emphasis of the child sponsorship programme is

to help the enrolled families to improve their incomes, thus leading to tribal self-sufficiency.

Toda Nalavazhvu Sangam (TNS)

The fifth years of the TNS in this year (1997) is the most significant one. In this year it has reached out to various Toda settlements and helped them to develop both materially and culturally. There are at present over one hundred members in the Sangam.

The committee met four times during the year. Several Todas were helped procure subsidised loans to purchase buffaloes. Unfortunately some of the banks refused to issue loans even after release of the subsidy amount by the DRDA. A few Todas were also helped to obtain embroidery loans to encourage traditional embroidery. TNS promoting carving skill development walking sticks by the Todas which is an unique feature.

Solar powered lanterns were distributed at full subsidy to twenty five needy houses in remote area. The community bio-gas plant that was set up at Tarnad Mund started malfunctioning during the warranty period itself. Some Todas are being helped to grow marigold plants so as to obtain a fair revenue. Some others are being helped to plant tea.

The Todas cultural uniqueness was exhibited at various public functions. In the year 1995, the temple at Marli Mund and Konorsh Conical temple were totally rebuilt in the traditional way. TNS with the help of HADP about sixty modern houses were constructed and also ten traditional huts were built at different munds. TNS encourage the Toda women in the field of embroidery. Development of Women Children in Rural Areas (DWCRA) scheme has also been implemented among the Todas.

Buffaloes loan under IRDP were sanctioned to over forty Toda families. An electric pump connection was also given. With the help of HADP and District Forest Office (DFO), North Check dam and wa-

In the field of education, for the very first time a young Toda student was admitted to an Engineering College. TNS is working on a scheme to have one bright Toda child admitted to a premier residential school with scholarship.

United Planters Association of South India-Krishi Vigyan Kendra (UPASI-KVK)

This is a transfer of technology project sanctioned by the Indian Council of Agricultural Research under the Ministry of Agriculture, involved in imparting vocational training to the farmers and tribals for field level extension functionaries.

KVK implements the lab-to-land programme for the Nilgiri tribes in collaboration with NAWA. The main objective of the programme is to improve the overall socio-economic conditions of the tribes by not only increasing the productivity on their farms but also by generation of additional employment through diversification of agricultural enterprises like sericulture, apiculture, live-stock farming, tea cultivation, etc.

Toda Multipurpose Co-operative Credit Society

The main object of the Society is to provide loan in the field of agriculture, purchase of buffaloes and also for the embroidery work of the Toda women.

Toda Embroidery Development Society

The encouragement given to traditional Toda embroidery work by the Servants of India Society in conjunction with the All Indian Handicrafts Board has been more successful through which most of the Toda women market their embroidery clothes. The unemployment problem among the Todas to a certain extent is solved by the intake of Todas in the Hindustan Photo Films Company.

Soroptoda French Child and Student Sponsorship Programme

The members of this organisation are concerned about the survival of the Todas and their unique culture. They are aware that this

depends largely on the education of the Toda children. The members of the group are helping sixty Toda students by encouraging their education.

Through this scheme the sponsored Toda children and their siblings get all their school needs like text and note books, uniform and warm clothes, etc. Soroptoda is helping two Toda girls for their University education. The building of the Toda Tribal Community Hall taken up by his organisation is nearing completion. The members of this organisation have contributed generously towards this building. The hall will be used as a meeting place for members of the Toda tribe.

Canadian Sponsorship Programme is helping one Toda boy in Higher Secondary education and two girls in primary education. British Sponsorship Programme is helping one Toda boy in the primary school level. Christian Children Fund (CCF) has extended their generous help to the tribal families in Nilgiris.

Conclusion

Indian has an age old culture with hidden encrustation or crudeness. This study has attempted to focus light of the welfare measure of the tribes with particular reference to the Todas. The Governmental and non-Governmental agencies working for the welfare of the Todas are note-worthy. Inspite of the measures taken by these agencies, now these tribes are making strives to come away from their old form of life and to keep pace with the modern society. However the present condition, the position, the environment, the social status, the education standard remain the same.

'Education for all' and 'equal opportunities in education' are the policies of the Government. But, the importance of education is being neglected. So it is necessary to establish an "Education Committee" which must be provided with all right to decide about educational activities provided to the tribes.

ERRATA

Page No.	Printed Version	Corrected Version
Contributors	Dr. R. Dhanasekar	Mr. R. Dhanasekar
Preface	Footnote	Ignore 'Footnote' treated as contributor's position
101	Nineth Five Year	Ninth Five Year
107	Planning Commission 1991	Ignore Page No. 107
126	(2nd para) 1997 we ranges	1977 were ranger's
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140	Sate	State
141	(References) Bhanu, B.A., and (unpublished) S.Y. Saheb India Irulas of Tamil Nadu	Bhanu, B.A., and S.Y. Saheb Irulas of Tamil Nadu (unpublished) (Anthropological India, Mysore)
142	Survey of (2nd para) averse	adverse

Editors

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