CONCLUSION

Conventional studies in Indian Sociology and Social Anthropology viewed culture change from above. The concept of sanskritization has been invoked to understand this process. As an antidote to this, a few analysts viewed the process of culture change from below. Thus, the notion of tribalization has been employed by some to deleniate the cultural impact brought about by tribes on Hindu Society. But neither of these processes operate in an autonomous manner as is usually believed. Keeping this consideration in mind the present study attempts to analyse the mutual interaction of sanskritization and tribalization in Sambalpur, a cultural region. The research site is particularly suited for the present investigation as one can discern both the above processes conjointly operating there.

There is no single definition of 'folk culture' acceptable to all. The disagreement prevails even in regard to the meaning of 'folk'. The study of folk culture in India in the perspective of dichotomous constructions of human society such as rural or urban, peasant or elite, tribal or non-tribal, literate or illiterate, sophisticated or unsophisticated etc. is problematic. In such a perspective "the two worlds have been viewed as systems with distinctive and often contradistinctive elements" (Oommen, 1984:3). Uncritical support to or dependence on the perspective of dichotomous constructions to study folk culture and folk society is an erroneous approach. And it is
profitable to identify different elements such as rural, urban, tribal, class etc. while studying a particular society or culture. Such an integrated approach helps in understanding the continuities and/or discontinuities of a folk society and modifications of its various cultural elements that exist in a given social setting.

In our endeavour to define the 'folk' as a distinct category/group in this thesis, three criteria are used: (1) Sharing of a culture (at least one common factor); (2) Group identity in terms of culture, i.e. Cultural identity; (3) Regional identity in terms of culture. Thus, by 'folk' we mean a group of people who share a particular culture and identify themselves with a particular culture area. On this basis, a 'folk' may be identified with a 'nation', i.e. a people sharing a common territory, culture and identity. The concept of folk culture used in this study refers to a common way of life shared by people found in a given culture area (Sambalpur). It creates a cultural consciousness/awareness or group-feeling or a sense of belongingness among the folk. The term folk is not used as a category distinct from that of peasants or tribes, or rural or urban people, or traditional or modern people, sophisticated or unsophisticated people. At the same time, the term is also not restricted to any one of them.

For our purpose, the Sambalpuri culture is considered as the folk culture of Sambalpur area, a culture area which is apportioned between Orissa and Madhya Pradesh. This vivisection
is a clear indication of what Oommen (1986a) calls 'culturocide'. An attempt is made to delineate the geographical area which corresponds to culture-area of Sambalpur in which there is a high consistency of Sambalpuri traits and which are distinctive and identifiable and which differ recognizably from neighbouring areas. The inhabitants i.e. the Sambalpurias of this culture area have a common culture or culture pattern.

Sambalpuri culture is a product of historical interaction between tribal culture and the Hindu culture. On the basis of our empirical findings neither the concept of sanskritization nor the notion of tribalization is exclusively found to be helpful in explaining and understanding the growth and change in Sambalpuri folkculture. For example, the incorporation of tribal deities like Sambaleswari, Kantaharien, Jharibndhi and Bhim into the Sambalpuri religious culture may be viewed as tribalization. But the degree of incorporation is directly linked with the amount of sanskritic elements found in these deities which indicates that sanskritization is embedded in the process. Thus, co-existence of both the tribal as well as Hindu cultural elements in a given cultural item is evident from our empirical findings.

We have posited that culture is an 'adaptive structure' through which various cultural elements relate and re-relate themselves to the elements of other culture in terms of potentialities provided to them by the socio-political environment. So, sanskritization or tribalization, viewed
independently has limited scope to furnish explanation; it can explain only unilineal change in ritual and cultural contexts. But the empirical reality points to the co-existence of cultural traits of different traditions.

Since the beginning of the systematic study of social reality by sociologists and social anthropologists in India, Brahminical model as an ideological force has grown stronger over the years and most scholars, had been led by this force. It suffers from a serious bias. The key to the internalization of this model was the maintenance of caste-Hindus' dominance over tribal people in Indian society. In reality, this was not the only plausible model and is often inadequate in several situations and times. What is referred to as sanskritization was formulated by Srinivas (1952) based on the study of religion and society among the Coorgs in South India. But the origin of this idea goes back to the colonial period. The colonial ethnographers and administrators of the 19th century had presented Brahminism as a proselytizing religion. The reason for this might have been to make out a case for the propagation of Christianity in India. Be that as it may, it would be unwise to think that there was/is unbridgeable gap between tribal society and Hindu society. Given the complexities of social relations, through systematic field studies and explorations of empirical findings, the scholars realized the need to account for new dimensions and ideas. While tribals had emulated caste-Hindus, imitation of each other (tribals and Hindus) has been an important dimension of social life in India throughout history.
As shown in this thesis, there is also enough evidence to the antagonistic relationships between the tribals and caste-Hindus.

As of now the attention given to these dimensions has grown. Hence an important consequence of the theoretical developments and empirical research is the faith in the possibility of synthesis of the cultural traditions of the tribals and caste-Hindus through various socio-cultural processes like diffusion, imitation and assimilation, and a constant dialectical evolution of cultural tradition. So, unlike the traditional way of looking at things from above, this thesis on Sambalpuri folk culture is basically a study from below. True to its empirical findings, its main emphasis is on continuum and it sees the chief means (rituals and language) to attain it in the context of Sambalpur as an alternative to the process of sanskritization and tribalization.

Continuum refers to an uninterrupted series of gradual changes in the magnitude of a given characteristic, forming a linear increase or decrease. In a time perspective, continuum refers to history of change and development. We have made an attempt to study the growth of Sambalpuri society over the centuries. And we have maintained the growth of Sambalpuri culture is a result of tribe-caste integration in Sambalpur area. To explicate the argument we have conducted field study in three settlements - one urban (Sambalpur town), one sub-urban (Kainsir village) and one interior village (Gainpura) - in order
to examine the persistence and change in Sambalpuri folk-culture in the line of rural-urban continuum.

Hinduism in its codified form is different from tribal religion in many respects. In this work, we have tried to define two ideal levels of cultural systems of the tribals and the caste-Hindus in terms of rituals and deities with the help of a set of characteristics. The proportion in which tribal and Hindu elements are found intertwined vary from one cultural item to the other. Also the proportion vary in the same area. For instance, Sambalpuri festivals namely Karma, Dalkhai and Nuakhai are observed by both tribals and caste-Hindus. However, there is a gradual progression of the sanskritic elements found in these festivals from the tribal pole to the Hindu pole. Similarly, the ratio of sanskritic and tribal elements varies from Karma to Nuakhai. Consequently, a series of gradual changes are found to be occurring in the magnitude of sanskritic and tribal characteristics. They form a linear increase or decrease through a series of gradual degrees i.e. continuum. Evidently, Nuakhai with higher Sanskritic elements is found closer to the ideal Hindu tradition whereas Karma having larger tribal elements is found closer to the ideal tribal tradition. And Dalkhai is found somewhere in between Karma and Nuakhai. Thus, the Sambalpuri rituals under study are arranged in a line or in a sequence of increasing or decreasing order considering the proportions of tribal and Hindu elements. This may be viewed as a tribe-caste continuum or vice versa.
In the perspective of rural-urban continuum, the sacred values of rituals have a strong presence in the interior village, somewhat weak in the sub-urban village and rarely observed in the urban area. In other worlds, we have noticed a gradual decrease in traditional sacred values in terms of rituals and festivals from rural to urban area in Sambalpur. In contrast, we have noticed that primordial sentiment attached to one's language is getting stronger and stronger when we move from rural to urban area. For instance, Sambalpuri language consciousness has received more attention and language movement is intense in Sambalpur town while it is almost non-existent in the interior village called Gainpura. In the sub-urban village, however, a mixed trend is observed owing to its close proximity to Sambalpur town.

Urbanization has led to cultural change by providing ways and means to improve the cultural standard of life. One of the many changes that industrial urbanization has introduced is a gradual dissociation of Sambalpuri folk culture from caste. For example, folk music has been traditionally played by lower caste people in Sambalpur area. Gandas and Ghasias, the two low castes of the area, have customarily been playing Dhol, Nishan, Tasa, Timki, Madal and Muhuri on the occasion of various life-cycle ceremonies namely birth, marriage, initiation and death etc. In the changed circumstance in Sambalpur town, folk music is rated in terms of the income it provides and prestige it bestows. The higher castes captured the opportunities to perform traditional folk music provided by the new remunerative jobs in AIR and TV
stations at Sambalpur town. In the new context, the ritual status of the high caste artistes is not congruent with their occupational status. However, a tiny section of neo-folk artistes or urban based folk artistes has emerged and they are drawing all the benefits meant for traditional folk art and for folk cultural development in Sambalpur. For instance, the urban based folk artistes of Sambalpur town have participated in various grand cultural shows namely 'Apna Utsav' and 'Festivals of India' in and outside India.

Print media and audio-video media have provided incentives to the growth and commercial expansion Sambalpuri songs, music, dances and literature in the Sambalpur town. Commodification of culture or the consumerization of folk culture is gradually spreading towards rural areas also. It has not stunted the growth of Sambalpuri folk cultural tradition. But the pristine form of Sambalpuri folk cultural tradition is changing. For instance, folk song, which is natural and truly a part of 'folk' is manufactured in a technically sophisticated studio for marketing to a wider audience. All these have been marked by an accelerated growth in the formation of a new Sambalpuri cultural identity. This process has led to the transformation of socio-cultural life in Sambalpur. In this regard, it may be noted that industrial urban opportunities available to them are successfully utilized in creating and motivating the mobilization process in the Sambalpuri cultural movement. All these factors have gone a long way in crystallization of the new
cultural value orientations, ideas, beliefs and behaviour patterns leading to a cultural upsurge in Sambalpur.

In the process, it is realized that the present state of Orissa is marked by a plurality of cultures. There is a dominant view that Orissa is a cultural unity provided by Oriya language and culture and should be built on that premise. But it is difficult to visualize Orissa as a cultural unity because it implies the hegemony of Oriya culture and marginalization of the Sambalpuri culture. It is a case of 'cul-turocide'. It is important to note here that there were/are forces at work to promote cultural groups in Orissa. The dominant view that Sambalpuri is a dialect of Oriya language has been successfully planted in the minds of Sambalpurias. It was in 1905 that politics based on Oriya language brought Sambalpur into the fold of Orissa. Oriya language movement was successful in absorbing speakers of minority languages like Sambalpuri. And, Oriya has become the official language of the state. It has also been the medium of transmission in AIR and TV stations in Orissa as well as medium of instruction in schools and colleges. The role of the dominant Oriya cultural system in both education and the mass-media ensured it's wide influence and dissemination. All these have been a part of overall process towards the cultural 'integration' between Oriyas and Sambalpurias. Nevertheless, all these could not dissolve the distinctiveness of Sambalpura people and culture who have acquired subjective self-consciousness and political significance on the basis of Sambalpuri language and culture over a period of time.
Sambalpuri language movement started in the beginning of the 1980s. The movement provided a fresh bond of cultural unity among its speakers and defined a cultural line of separation from Oriya. Consequently, the most explicit illustration of cultural regionalism was observed in the attempts made by the Sambalpuri speech community to promote their language. Formation of various cultural associations, research work on Sambalpuri culture at Sambalpur University, publication of newspapers, journals, books and dictionary, organization of talks, seminars, conference, writers' meet, demand for more Sambalpuri programmes to be relayed through AIR and TV stations at Sambalpur, are some of the efforts made to consolidate the Sambalpuri identity. Such endeavours have promoted the 're-discovery' of Sambalpur area with which the Sambalpurias identify.

Sambalpur makes up more than one-third of Orissa's territory. The government of Orissa is seriously worried as many people in this area have started to demand a separate state on the basis of Sambalpuri language and cultural homogeneity. Sambalpurias feel that the movement has brought genuine cultural consciousness among the people in this area. But the Oriya speech community feels that the movement waged for a separate Sambalpuri state is no more than regional chauvinism. Attempts to crush the movement by force may evoke greater resistance to the state authority. Understandably, after careful thought and analysis the state is using a group of trusted oriyaized Sambalpurias so as to diffuse the tension and to mitigate the growing intense cultural regionalism. Differences of opinion and
split among Sambalpuri speech community has reduced the momentum of the cultural movement in Sambalpur area.

Cultural identity of Orissa is defined on the basis of the cultural identity of the dominant language group i.e. the Oriya speech community inhabiting eastern Orissa. Admittedly, the cultural policy of the government of Orissa has always pushed Oriya culture to the fore-front. The past ten years have witnessed the creation and strengthening of institutions for the development of Oriya culture leading to the institutional expansion of culture. This is visible in the setting up of autonomous bodies and in the size of the budget on Oriya culture during the past several years which has increased many fold. All these have been done at the expense of regional cultures like Sambalpuri, which have been denied their due share. Thus, a significant feature of Orissan society is the unequal sharing of fruits of cultural development by the people of its different regions. While the culture of certain groups have received favourable treatment and have become privileged, others remained neglected. One of the most ill-treated regions in terms of cultural development is its western part i.e., Sambalpur area.

The Government of Orissa is sparing no effort to popularize Odissi dance and song and Oriya language. It means that the Government of Orissa which started out as an enlightened patron of art and culture in Orissa is deciding the kind of culture people ought to consume. As a result, numerous folk forms of culture are being crushed due to the pressure from
the dominant group and its culture. Cultural conflicts in a pluralistic Orissan society are understandable. But what is intolerable is the deliberate isolation and marginalization of folk-culture, leading to 'culturocide'.

Our conclusion that what is happening in Sambalpur is 'culturocide' could be arrived at only because we have rejected the conventional analyses which viewed the process of cultural transformation either as sanskritization or as tribalization. Viewed from the angle of sanskritization, what is happening in Sambalpur is cultural assimilation. If the process were viewed as tribalization then Sambalpuria culture would have been engulfed and dominated by tribal culture. As we have analyzed the empirical processes at work without committing to one or other of the conceptual categories we could discover the process of mutual influence and interaction between various cultural communities. As this process has been examined in the context of state policy which fosters the culture of the dominant group, we could see the process of final marginalization of dominated cultures. Thus it is clear that the nature of concepts one invokes substantially influences the data one collects and its interpretation.
LOCATION OF WESTERN ORISSA IN ORISSA

MAP NO. 2

WESTERN ORISSA (LOCATION OF SAMBALPUR DISTRICT)
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