Chapter - I

INTRODUCTION
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Change and continuity are said to be universal. From time immemorial all societies and cultures have been changing, sometimes rapidly and at other times relatively slowly. This is also true of all tribal societies. The tribals constitute an important segment of the population of India. India has the second largest tribal population after Africa, constituting 8.8 per cent of the total population of the nation as per 1991 census. Tribals have attracted the attention and concern of scholars and administrators, politicians and social workers. This is because they differ significantly from non-tribal population. Tribal life and culture, tribal education, tribal development, tribal problems and change have been some of the important themes of social research in India.

The co-existence of different groups namely, Hindus, Muslims, Christians and tribals is the characteristic phenomenon of Indian social system. In the process of development, the fruits and benefits are not equally shared among these different populations. Of all the communities, the tribals in India are the most neglected by all the agencies of development. They lead a hard life and a majority of them live below the subsistence level.
Several measures have been adopted for improving the social and economic conditions of tribal people. The measures initiated during the colonial era could not bring about much change amongst the tribals in India. It is only in post-independence period that systematic effort has been made for improving their social and economic conditions. As a result of the various developmental programmes initiated by the government and voluntary organisations, some changes have taken place among the tribals and they started participating in the mainstream of Indian society. Thus, the condition of the tribals began to change in modern times. The rapid development of transport and communication, industrialisation and urbanisation, the spread of education and health care, the introduction of democratic political processes and institutions and schemes implemented through Five Year Plans have affected even the remotest tribals at least to some extent. Hence, they are no more totally isolated. As Majumdar has pointed out, "There is no social group today which may be said to mark zero point of cultural contact." (1968:378)

Besides various modern forces the contact of the tribals with the non-tribals has influenced change in tribals. Some of these factors are Hinduisation, Sanskritisation and emergence of tribe-caste continuum and tribal social movements.
Historically, there have been two views about tribal welfare and development in India. One view was of those who wanted to protect the tribals from outside influences in order to prevent what they considered as tribal degeneration. This policy of segregation and isolation, a 'National Park Policy', included the system of administration that would allow the tribals to live their own life with happiness and freedom (Elwin 1939). But this approach resulted in the exploitation of tribals by non-tribals and opened the way for Christian missionaries and Hindu reformers to convert the tribals. The second view about tribal welfare and development is that of total assimilation so that the tribals would be fully integrated into the mainstream of national life. Among the advocates of this view are Ghurye (1943) and Thakkar (1941).

Today, anthropologists and sociologists are agreed that the problems of the tribals cannot be solved and their development achieved either through the policy of complete isolation or through the policy of total assimilation. They are of the view that tribal welfare is best achieved by following the approach of planned acculturation. This view is the result of the realisation that in an independent India all sections of the population, including the tribals, must play their rightful role in national life and must therefore be integrated into the national mainstream. Elwin (1963) has modified his earlier view
of isolation and says that, "There is a need of planning for the upliftment of the tribals".

The impact of tribal development programmes and other modern and traditional forces is not uniform on all the tribal communities. It varies from one tribe to another and from one region to another. In this context, it is necessary to study the changes that have occurred in each tribal community. The present study which focuses on change is also to be seen in this light. The present study seeks to examine the nature and direction of social change among the Kudubdi tribes of Dakshina Kannada district in Karnataka State.

The Concept of a Tribe

As this study deals with tribal society, it seems proper that we examine the concept of tribe so that our discussion can be more precise. The English word 'tribe' is derived from the Latin Tribus, one of the three political divisions or patrician orders of ancient Rome. Later, when the number of political divisions was increased to 30 and eventually to 35, the original term remained and indicated a political division. In later periods, the term assumed other meanings. Thus, in certain areas of the western world, it stood for a division of a territory allotted to a family or community. According to the Oxford Dictionary, the term refers to a race of people, now applied
especially to a primary aggregate of people in a primitive or barbarous condition under a headman or a chief. At present, there is no agreement even among the anthropologists and sociologists regarding the definition of a tribe. They give various descriptions of a tribe. This is because of the diversity of systems and practices found among the tribal people. In fact, Desai points out that "There is controversy among the scholars, reformers, and administrators with regard to an adequate terminology for describing these people" (1977:17). Risley (1908), Elwin (1943), and Thakkar (1941) have described the tribals as 'aborigines', Hutton (1961) calls them 'primitive tribes'. Ghurye (1963) describes them as the 'so called aborigines' or as 'backward Hindus'. Some scholars and reformers call them 'adivasis'. Today, the most common administratively used term in India is 'Scheduled Tribes'.

It is important to note that the term 'Scheduled Tribes' is an administrative usage. It refers to those communities that have been scheduled or listed for special treatment in compliance with the provisions of the Constitution of India. Various studies on tribes in India are generally related to the 'Scheduled Tribes'. However, there are many ethnic groups which could be designated as 'Scheduled Tribes' but are not scheduled. When such tribes are neglected by scholars for studies, it becomes difficult to arrive at a scientific definition of the
concept of tribe. As Kuppuswamy (1977:194) has pointed out, the problem of definition is not merely an academic matter. It is, in fact, a question of vital concern because the benefits of many of the programmes initiated by the Government for the Scheduled Tribes do not reach them. It is not surprising therefore that every year applications are received from many communities which want to be included in the Schedule. Consequently, it is necessary to go beyond the administrative definition of a tribe or tribal community.

Anthropologists and sociologists would today generally agree that a tribe is an indigenous unit, isolated, having a definite ethnic traits following backward mixed economy, homogeneous, speaking a common language, claiming a common descent, living in a particular geographical area, pre-literate, and observing distinct social and political customs based on kinship. Any community that manifests these characteristics can be considered a tribe.

Tribal Society and Hindu Caste Society

Sociologically and anthropologically, tribals differ very much from the mass of Hindu society. Tribals can be distinguished from non-tribals in physical features, culture, religious practices, occupation, habits etc. As Mann has pointed out, "The Indian sub-continent is well divided into tribal and
non-tribal communities, and the two have, in many cultural features, sharp distinctions. But, they also in many instances, support cultural sharing, continuity and inter-linkages (1989:1). In the opinion of Shashi Bairathi "Each tribal group has its own ethnic and social profile with a historical specificity (1991:2).

A tribe is an endogamous group having its own nomenclature. Tribals usually form their own settlements away from others and they vary in different tribes. Occupational divisions like those among caste Hindus are not found in tribal society. Each tribe has its own patron deities, rites and rituals. In a tribe, there is no specialised role for different people as it is found among Hindus.

Normally, a religious leader may act as a tribal headman. The Hindu caste originated on the basis of division of labour whereas, the tribe developed on the basis of community feeling inhabiting a definite geographical location. The caste and tribe can be distinguished from status or rank order. The tribe is a political association whereas caste is not. In the caste system clans are named after saints. On the contrary the clans in the tribe are based on totem. Caste may be regarded as a social group whereas the tribe a local group.

According to the report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Tribes, (1952) eight following features of tribals
have been listed. They are:

1) They live away from the civilised world in the inaccessible parts of the forests and hills.
2) They belong to one of the three racial stocks - Negroids, Austroloids and Mongoloids.
3) They speak the same tribal dialect.
4) They profess primitive religion known as 'animism', in which they worship ghosts and spirits as the most important element.
5) They follow primitive occupations such as gleaning, hunting and gathering of forest products.
6) They are largely carnivorous or flesh and meat-eaters.
7) They are either naked or semi-naked using tree barks and leaves for clothing.
8) They have nomadic habits and are fond of drinking and dancing.

However, strict demarcation between 'tribal and caste Hindus', is very difficult. For instance, 'animism' was followed by Hindus in the past. Dendrolatry and zoolatry have been followed by Hindus. However, as already pointed out, due to conversion, transformation or impact of Hinduisation and Sanskritisation the differences between tribe and caste are being continuously minimised.

This phenomenon has been noted by M. N. Srinivas also. He opines that (1969:20), the designation of tribal religion as
separate from Hinduism was unsatisfactory. A study of the religion of the different castes and tribes will show the presence of elements from different layers of Hinduism, the adoption of Sanskritic elements by the tribal, mixed in different proportions; and it is arbitrary to draw a sharp line between Hinduism and tribal religion. The religion of castes contains many tribal elements just as the religion of the tribes contains many 'Hindu' elements.

Tribes of Karnataka

In Karnataka, 49 communities have been included in the list of Scheduled Tribes among 258 in India. According to 1991 census, the total tribal population is 19,15,691 in Karnataka. They constitute 4.26% of the total population in contrast to 4.91% in 1981 census. The numerical strength of the Scheduled Tribes in Karnataka has increased enormously between 1961 and 1981 as they had occupied 19th and 18th position in 1961 and 1971 respectively, and in 1981, their position is 9th among the Scheduled Tribes in India.

The concentration of the tribals is high in the districts of Bellary, Chitradurga, Kodagu, Kolar, Mysore and Tumkur where their percentage to the respective population of the districts vary between 4 and 14. In Bangalore, Belgaum, Bidar, Bijapur, 
Chikmagalure, Dakshina Kannada, Dharwad, Gulbarga, and Shimoga districts, the percentage of Scheduled Tribes is one to four. However, in Uttara Kannada, Mandya and Hassan they constitute about one per cent and below.

Among the 49 communities listed in the category of Scheduled Tribes, Naikada or Naiks constitute 69 per cent, followed by Kadu Kuruba 11 per cent, Marati Naik 4 per cent, Bonds three per cent, Kolidar two per cent, Jenu Kurubas and Koya two per cent each, Yerava Meda, Soliga, Koraga and Hasalaru one per cent each.

The distribution of tribals in rural and urban areas reveals that only 15 per cent of the tribal population is concentrated in urban areas as against 30 per cent of the state's population.

**Dakshina Kannada District and its Tribal situation**

Dakshina Kannada District is situated on the western coast of India, about half way between Bombay and Kanyakumari. It falls on the coastal belt of Southern Karnataka. The area is intersected by many rivers and streams. It has abundant vegetation, extensive forest, numerous coconut groves and rice fields.

The district is one of the two coastal districts of the Karnataka State which are known as South Kanara (also spelt South Canara) and North Kanara. The name 'Kanara' is derived from
'Kannada', the regional language of the state. In Kannada, they are known as 'Dakshina Kannada' and 'Uttara Kannada' respectively and today these names are being used for both official and administrative purposes. In this study, the above official term, 'Dakshina Kannada' is used to indicate the district under study. However, the terms 'South Kanara' (and South Canara) are used while quoting earlier references.

The historical name of the area of the district is 'Tulunadu'. There are references to Tulunadu in inscriptions and other historical records. This name is derived from the Tulu language spoken in major part of the district. Though Kannada has been in general use in the area, both as the official language and popularly cultivated link language since time immemorial, the native language of a large number of people in a major portion of the district is Tulu which belongs to the Dravidian family of languages.

Geographically, Dakshina Kannada region is separated from the rest of the South Indian peninsula by the towering heights of the western ghats. It spreads from the Western Ghats towards the sea on the West. The length of the coastal line, which is almost straight, is broken at numerous points by rivers, rivulets, creeks and bays. It has also a very large stretch of forest area.
The population of the district according to 1981 census is 23,76,724 with 11,54,122 males and 12,22,602 females. This district ranks sixth in size of its population but twelfth in its geographical area in the state. It is one of the most thickly and densely populated districts of the state. The district has now 8 taluks namely, Kundapur, Udupi, Karkala, Mangalore, Puttur, Bantwal, Belthangady and Sullia.

Dakshina Kannada district had the highest literacy rate in the state with 53.5 per cent literates in 1981 census. After an intensive drive by the Government to promote adult literacy, in 1991, the district was officially declared totally literate. The rate of migration of people from here to different places is also fairly high. The population includes people belonging to different religions and sects, such as Hinduism, Shaivism, Jainism, Christianity, Islam etc. The Hindus are divided into a number of castes and sub-castes. There are also a number of tribals scattered in western ghat and coastal region. There are 56 castes which have been mentioned under article 341 of Indian constitution and 23 communities have been recognised as Scheduled Tribes according to Article 342 of Indian Constitution.

Dakshina Kannada district is essentially an agricultural district. About 62.2 per cent of the population depends on cultivation for their livelihood. There is a high proportion of
agricultural workers and their dependants in this district. The important crops of the district are: Paddy, areca nut, sugarcane. This is one of the districts in the state which have benefitted most from land reform programme. There are different types of industries in the district, such as: Fish-curing and fish-oil industries, tile industries, coir industries, cashew nut processing, chemical and fertilisers, coffee curing, soap, sugar, transport etc. Beedi rolling work has been an important household industry in the district. In addition, in recent years, the professional and self-employed sectors have also developed. The district is also known for its banking, hotel and other allied activities. Banking is well-established here and this district has the highest banking density in India. The annual per capita income in 1984-85 was Rs 850. Presently, this district is on the threshold of rapid industrialisation and urbanisation.

Dakshina Kannada district is also rich in historical associations and cultural traditions. It has a considerable number of places which are of interest from the points of view of history, archaeology, religion, cultural tradition, sociology, anthropology etc. Despite having various cults and forms of worship in the form of diversity, it has a proper synthesis and synchronisation of different cultures leading to amity. From the sociological and anthropological point of view, this district has
several unique castes and tribes with varied family systems, cultural practices, marriage practices, languages etc. The overall growth and development of this district shall have immense influence on various institutions, people, religion, rural and tribal communities.

The following text is a brief discussion on the tribal situation with a special reference to Dakshina Kannada:

According to 1981 census, as many as 23 communities living in Dakshina Kannada district have been notified as Scheduled Tribes. The tribal population is 88,40 thousand or 3.71% of the total population of the district. The prominent Scheduled Tribes are Marati, Koraga, Malekudiya and Palliya. But in addition to the 23 Scheduled Tribes, there are several other tribes such as Kudubi. The tribal population is spread over all the 8 taluks, with varying degrees of concentration of some tribes in some areas. These tribal communities differ among themselves in racial traits, language, social organisation, economy, religious beliefs, customs and traditions. Generally speaking, all these tribes are tradition-bound.

Numerically, the Marati tribe is the largest, accounting for 70.66% of the tribal population of the district. The Koragas, Malkudiyas, and other tribes together constitute nearly a fifth of the tribal population. Thus, the four tribes named here
account for 91% of the population of the Scheduled Tribes in Dakshina Kannada. The data of 1981 census show that the Scheduled Tribes of Dakshina Kannada are more literate with 33% literates among them than the Scheduled Tribes of other Districts in Karnataka State.

Koragas are engaged in a variety of non-agricultural activities. They were notified as a primitive tribe in 1986. In recent times, benefits of tribal welfare programmes meant for tribals, chiefly under the Tribal Sub-Plan have percolated down to them. The Maratis, though mostly dependent on settled cultivation and wage-earning, are comparatively more modernised and urbanised. They have availed themselves of the benefits of various tribal welfare programmes and have achieved a better status both in the fields of education and employment. There is also a higher level of agricultural transition among the Maratis. According to Gowda (1992), Malekudiyas are at an intermediate stage of transition. A large proportion of them own arable land and have started settled cultivation, producing even commercial crops. Malekudiyas have also benefitted from land reform legislation. Though they have made considerable progress in education and modernisation, they are still at the initial stages of modern social change.
The Problem

The progress of a country depends upon the creation, harnessing and utilisation of skills and energies of all sections of society, irrespective of caste, class, religion and sex. The backwardness of any segment of a society, not only affects that community, but it affects the overall development of a country. It is observed that, though tribals constitute a significant section of Indian society, they are backward in social and economic spheres. Therefore, efforts should be made in ameliorating the social and economic condition of tribals through studies, research, planning and development.

It is understood that though many attempts have been made for tribal studies which have resulted in a few problems being solved, still there are multiple problems to be solved. A society in general, undergoes change - so also the tribals. So, our developmental approach should also be changed accordingly. Moreover, the earlier works on tribals are mainly based on macro-level studies and they may not be of much use to tackle tribal problems at the grass root level. Therefore, a micro-level study of this kind would help in comprehending life and conditions of tribals and to promote their development and welfare.

It is also important to note that the scholarly studies on
tribes in India are generally restricted to Scheduled Tribes. However, there are many other communities and ethnic groups like Kudubis, Dombaris, Lambanis which have distinctively tribal features, but are not 'scheduled'. The neglect of such tribes by scholars renders their studies inexhaustive.

Through the Five Year Plans, the Government is implementing several schemes with the aim of improving the tribals and other weaker sections. To raise their standard of life, special provisions have been made to provide educational facilities. A certain percentage of seats in jobs have been reserved for the Scheduled Tribes. The other facilities provided to them are housing, provision of land, animal husbandry, formation of co-operatives, running the tribal cottage industries and establishment of Tribal Research Institutes. Owing to these measures, the tribals have gradually started participating in the mainstream of Indian society. However, these benefits are extended only to the 'Scheduled Tribes' and those tribes who are not 'constitutionally scheduled' are deprived of these governmental schemes. Though a large number of tribals are concentrated in South India, the Tribal Research Institutes and the Tribal Welfare Departments have been established mainly in Northern part of India.

Kudubis, one of the non-scheduled tribes in India, are
predominantly found in Kundapur and Mangalore taluk and a few of them are found in Udupi, Karkala and Bantwal taluks in Dakshina Kannada District of Karnataka State. They are the migrants from Goa. According to 1981 socio-economic and educational survey of government of Karnataka, the population of kudubis in Dakshina Kannada District was 23,847. There are more than 2,000 families of Kudubis scattered in the district.

It is important to note that so far, no study has been conducted on the life and conditions of kudubi tribes. The literature and information that are available on Kudubis are merely in the form of reports presented in government gazetteers and manuals. Though, a few articles on Kudubis published in regional dailies and weeklies are available as ready reference, they are not adequate and far from satisfactory. In other words, what is evident from these references is that there is paucity of information and research material on the life and conditions of one of the important tribes of this district. Thus, there is a great need for a systematic study and evaluation of Kudubi tribes of Dakshina Kannada district.

have been listed and described variously as 'food-gathering tribes', 'hunting-tribes', 'hill-tribes', 'interesting-tribes', 'shifting-cultivating forest tribes', 'isolated tribes', 'landless labourer of aboriginal stock'.

Though Kudubis are tribals, and their social and economic position is as poor as the other tribes in Karnataka, nevertheless, they had been included in group 'B', by the government of Karnataka till 1973. They were re-classified as the 'most backward caste' by the government of Karnataka in 1994 as per the recommendations of Chinnappa Reddy Commission. Kudubis were included in the list of Scheduled Caste upto 1961. These facts and the existing socio-economic conditions of Kudubis prompted the selection of Kudubi tribe for study.

Our present study focusses on how members of the Kudubi society and their roles and institutions are arranged, how various activities of the Kudubi society are arranged in terms of family organisation, religious organisation, political organisation, economic organisation etc.. Attention is also paid to examine the dynamic aspect of social structure.

The present study also focusses on the living and dietary habits of the Kudubis, the food taboos, language, economy, political organisation, kinship terminology, structure and function of marriage etc. and the changes that have taken place
In the course of our investigation, an attempt was made to examine whether the Kudubi life is marked by the characteristics of Animism, Totemism, taboo, magic and ancestral worship and the changes therein. The study also explores whether dendrolatry and zoolatry are found in the Kudubi religious life.

On account of the contact with the people of the plains the tribals are undergoing several changes in various realms of life. As a result of Governmental programmes, industrialisation in tribal areas, and construction of approach roads to tribal areas, the tribal communities are not only losing their traditional identities and culture, but also imbibing the customs and practices of the Hindus, particularly those living close to the tribal areas. However, in spite of several changes in their customs and traditions, there is a continuity in certain spheres. In this context, it is necessary that we examine the changes that have occurred among them in various spheres, the direction of change, the factors of change and the consequences.

maintained that Sanskritisation is an important change among the tribals of India. Similarly, tribals are in general in the process of modernisation due to the impact of education, urbanisation, development of transport, population growth etc. The present study explores whether Kudubis are undergoing a change due to the impact of Hinduisation, Sanskritisation and modernisation processes. Our study shows whether the afore-said processes of change have affected the Kudubis or not.

Some studies on tribal change have revealed that the process of Hinduisation and Sanskritisation have some negative aspects. For instance, a recent study on Bhotia women of Pithoragarh district of Uttar Pradesh by Dharmvir and Manral (1990) reveals that the status of Bhotia women has worsened. Though traditionally, they had a fairly high status in different spheres of life, their status has declined significantly due to Hinduisation, Sanskritisation and modernisation. Though re-tribalisation has begun, preference for a male child, purdah, dowry, restriction on widow re-marriage etc. have infiltrated into the fabric of their social structure. In our study, we intend to examine whether there are any negative or undesirable changes among Kudubis due to Hinduisation, Sanskritisation and modernisation.
OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The following are the specific objectives of the study:

1) To analyse the social and cultural life of Kudubis with respect to their origin, migration, social stratification, settlement patterns and housing, dialect, dress, food habits & health and education.

2) To observe the changes that have emerged in the family organisation, clan system and status of women.

3) To examine the institution of marriage and record the changes.

4) To observe the institution of religion and highlight the changes.

5) To examine the change in the economic organisation and

6) To analyse the political organisation and authority among Kudubis and record the changes.

METHODOLOGY

The Field & Universe: The study has been conducted in Dakshina Dakshina Kannada District of Karnataka State. Since a large number of Kudubis are concentrated in Mangalore, Karkala, Udupi and Kundapura taluks, the respondents were selected from these
NOTE: A detailed talukwise list of Kudubi villages and settlements is presented in the appendix - 2.
taluks. Although Kudubis are found in two villages in Bantwal taluk, yet they are very few in number here for which no respondents were selected from this taluk. The number of respondents from each taluk is in proportion to the Kudubi population of that taluk. The field work was conducted during 1991-92. While selecting samples all the sub-tribes are represented. (A Sub-tribe wise and taluk-wise detailed list of Kudubi settlements and villages has been given in appendix No. 2)

The Sample: In order to minimise bias and ensure accuracy in the measurement, it is important to employ a proper sampling technique. 210 respondents (185 male and 25 female) were interviewed in the present study. The respondents were the heads of the families. A systematic random sampling technique was adopted for selecting the respondents. Before the selection of sample households, Mandal Pradhans (Heads of Mandal Panchayat), Tahasildars, Social welfare officers, officials connected with ITDP (Integrated Tribal Development Programme), officials in the Deputy Commissioner's office and such other persons were consulted to obtain information relating to Kudubi settlements and villages. District Gazetteer and Manuals helped us in tracing the Kudubi settlements.

The Kudubi tribal settlements were selected in different villages both from the developed and backward areas. The
respondents were contacted with the help of people such as teachers, students and Panchayat authorities who were familiar with the tribals.

Tools and Techniques: Participant observation and interview techniques were used in this study. The data pertaining to their past history were obtained through the records maintained by the administrative bodies and through discussions with the elder members of the community.

Participant Observation: To study the living conditions, the researcher stayed in Kudubi settlements for about six months. He participated in their social and religious activities like festivals, marriage, dance, hunting expeditions, basket work, worship, collection of herbal plants, matmaking etc.

Interview Schedule and Group Discussion: Besides collecting data through participant observation, an interview schedule containing both pre-coded and open-ended questions was framed and then administered to the head of the household. The relevant data were collected from the head of the family, head of the village community, Kudubi headman, the local leaders, elders and knowledgeable members of the community.

The data from the heads of the families contain the attitude, feelings and awareness of Kudubis towards recent
changes that are taking place in various fields and areas such as marriage, family, tribal authority, economic organisation, status of women, religion, food habits, dress, education etc. Data enabled the researcher to examine their educational awareness and aspirations, occupational aspirations, political awareness, awareness about health, communication and their attitude towards traditional occupations, religious rituals and practices, system of joint family, dress, dowry, food habits, status of women etc.

From the elderly members of the community the data relating to their social, economic, cultural and religious matters were collected. The interview schedule was mostly structured. The schedule was prepared in English and administered in local languages i.e. Kannada and Tulu. In Kundapur and Udupi taluk, they were interviewed in Kannada language, where as, Tulu language was used in Mangalore, Karkala and in some parts of Udupi taluk.

Group discussions were organised to gain knowledge about the different aspects of the tribal community. In many group discussions, people were frank and open, and their responses were revealing. Extreme care was taken to record the divergent views of the members of the community. The group discussion had both advantages and disadvantages. On the positive side, in the group discussion almost all the questions were answered by one or the
other respondent participating in the discussion. Similarly, if any incorrect or vague answer was given by any of the respondents, then it was immediately corrected and clarified by other respondents. On the negative side, some respondents were hesitant to express their views freely in the presence of their neighbours and relatives.

**Pre-test:** To examine feasibility, accuracy, capability and completeness of the data, a pre-test was conducted in three villages viz, Kokkarne, Saibrakatte and Yedthady. The pre-test has enabled us to modify our questionnaire. The questionnaire was revised thoroughly after conducting the pre-test.

**Establishing Rapport:** Establishing rapport is the most important step in the process of interview. The interview process goes very smoothly once the rapport is built between the interviewer and the respondents. It is difficult to establish rapport with the tribals since they are mostly reserved. Since they have inferiority complex and shyness, they do not come out with strangers freely. The researcher gained their confidence through some people familiar to Kudubis. It was made clear to the respondents that the information offered by them would be used only for study. They were further told that the findings of the present study may at one or the other stage be useful for the welfare and development projects of the government.

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The use of local languages enabled the researcher to build a good rapport with the respondent during personal interviews, group discussions and participant observation. Sometimes, the respondents extended hospitality to the researcher in the form of tender coconut, tea, fruits etc.

The researcher also collected data from various other sources. The following documents were consulted:

1) Literature - books, journals, reports, articles, encyclopaedias, subject dictionaries, manuals etc.

2) Census records

3) Records maintained by the Social Welfare Department

4) District Gazetteers

5) Other sources such as, dailies, weeklies and monthlies, publications relevant to the research project.

Problems encountered during research: The researcher has encountered several problems during the field work. A few respondents were either unwilling or unable to express their opinions frankly and freely. However, as there was no problem of communication in the regional dialect, researcher could overcome these limitations.
There was also another difficulty in locating tribal settlements. Many tribal settlements are away from village limit. The houses are located in hilly regions. Some families are living near low forests. Some are on the slanting land and some are scattered on the plains. The houses are usually built near the fields to keep watch over the crops.

Another problem was the problem of locating the respondents, particularly in those villages where people familiar to Kudubis were not available. Therefore, the chain sample method was followed. Accordingly, after locating and interviewing a respondent, the researcher asked the respondent for to introduce him to a second respondent who was known to him. The second informant in turn helped in locating the house of the third and so on.

Another major difficulty that was encountered, particularly with the illiterates was their hesitation to express their views freely and frankly. The Kudubis seem to be reserved. Researcher also had the problem of convincing the respondents regarding the purpose of interview. In some places researcher was discouraged by the respondents' reluctance to talk about anything and in some other places they clearly stated their inability to answer our questions.

Another problem encountered was that most of their menfolk
were not available at home as they go out to eke out a living. In such cases, the researcher had to select only those families where men were available. Of them, preference was given to the head of the family or the elderly people.

**Analysis of Data:** After the field work the data were processed and tabulated in accordance with the requirements of the various aspects of the study. The data were transferred to the code sheets with the help of a code design prepared in accordance with scientific research procedure. The data were arranged in the frequency tables and the objectives and hypotheses were quantitatively tested. For analysis of other data, percentages, totals, averages etc. were computed. Based on statistically computed data and the data gathered from participant observation, group discussion, documentary sources and literature reviews, the results of the analysis have been theoretically and critically interpreted and on this basis the thesis has been finalised.

**REVIEW OF LITERATURE:** The review of related literature indicates that although there are many works and studies on the dimensions, problems, lives and conditions of tribals, these studies are not exhaustive and comprehensive. There is little feedback on the changes that have taken place among the tribals in India. Further, the study and research on the non-scheduled tribes has
been totally neglected in India. The research carried out on the tribes of Karnataka is very limited. Vidyarthi and Rai (1977:60) rightly point out that "the study of tribal cultures in Karnataka is at the stage of infancy."

Ranjani Kumari and S. Radhakrishnan (1989:3) have observed that "Although several Social Anthropologists have made valuable studies on the tribes and their cultural history and traditions, including on several tribes of India, we lack information on the modernisation processes and the social changes resulting therefrom. Studies sponsored by governmental and non-governmental agencies mostly concentrate only on aspects of demographic profiles of the tribes, educational achievements and economic conditions in the face of developmental efforts and processes. Thus, there has been a general lack of focus on the impact of development and social change, including of educational achievements, on the psyche of the tribal individual and the community, cultural values, traditions, tribal community and family integration etc. Perhaps, that is why we do not know the trauma that pervades their life - the trauma that alienates them despite the feverish bid to assimilate and integrate them into the national, cultural and social mainstream."

Besides these observations, if we examine various studies and works on social change in India, their approaches are
seemingly more culturological rather than structural. The structural approach to the study of social change seeks to analyse phenomenon of social change and its causes. As far as tribal studies are concerned, structural studies denote changes in leadership structure; family structure; sources of power; transition of power structure; impact of modernisation, industrialisation, Hinduisation, Sanskritisation, Christianity etc. These processes of change would serve as a useful hypotheses for studying the structural changes taking place in tribal societies. It is important to note that such studies based on structural approach have not been undertaken on a large scale to explain the social and cultural change among the tribals in India.

The major highlights of a few pertinent studies on some tribes of India, in general and Kudubis of Dakshina Kannada in particular are as follows:

Elvin (1939,1947,1942) was one of the pioneers to focus on the study of Indian tribes. He has contributed abundantly to the tribal literature and studies concerned with their problems. He wrote extensively on various Indian tribes such as, Baiga and Maria. In his study "The loss of Nerves" (1952), he pointed out that in India, the tribes are in a peculiar state of transition. According to him, the tribals have passed through as many as
four stages of change or cultural development due to the influence of the contact with the people in the plains, villages, non-tribal Hindus and Christians. Elvin has advocated the policy of planned acculturation and suggested certain measures for the development of tribal people.

Among the early ethno graphic ers, the name of L.K. Ananthakrishna Iyer is very prominent. Based on his investigations and ethnographic survey, he has published several works (two were published 1908 and 1912) on certain important hill and jungle tribes of Cochin, such as the Kadar, Malayan, the Nayadi, the Punian, the Udandanse etc. Further, the work in four volumes, entitled "The Mysore tribes and castes" (1928, 1930, 1931, 1935), give an account of various tribes and castes of Karnataka. He has also made an intensive study (1948), particularly of the tribes and castes of Coorg in Karnataka in his work "The Coorg Tribes and Castes".

Haimandorf (1979), has presented a detailed analysis on the life and conditions of Gonds. He also presented variegated problems encountered by Gonds. His study (1982) on certain tribal areas in the state of Andhra Pradesh reveals processes of change and development among the tribals. According to him, improved means of communications contributed to bring about a change among the tribals as one of the key forces. Secondly, the
rapid growth of Indian population led to pressure on the resources of the land, eventually leading to a few rich and politically influential people owning tribal land. This added to the backwardness of the tribesmen, having been deprived of their ancestral land. Haimandorf has also presented the overall development of tribal society during a period of forty years.

Vidyarthi and Rai (1977) in their collaborative work "The Tribal Culture of India" have summed up the manifold aspects of Indian tribal life. The authors discuss the phases of historical development of Anthropological and tribal studies and present detailed information on tribal literature and a statewise comprehensive picture of Indian tribal research activities, socio-economic system of tribals, their religion, art, craft, folklore, marriage etc., as well as tribal developmental programmes and culture change. Thus, according to them, the key forces which have induced tribal transformation in the modern world are westernisation, development of communication, introduction of monetised economy, spread of formal and modern education, extension of services like medical and administrative aids and exploitation of natural resources through advanced technology. All these forces have brought about significant changes in tribal areas, but the rate of change varies in different tribals for 'variantial preparedness' to accept and use the opportunities. The authors have also suggested that social
changes among the tribals are not to be judged only in terms of the processes and factors, but one has got to see the meaning, assess, and feel the 'feeling' concerned with the object or act in the minds of the tribals. They further opine that the tribes in India are passing through an accelerated phase of transformation and that the equilibrium in the traditional society has greatly been disturbed.

Further, L.P. Vidyarthi in his study of Maler tribes of the Rajmahal hill in Bihar, has developed a concept of 'Nature-man-spirit complex' (1963) and studied the culture of Malers from analytical point of view. He has analysed various aspects of Nature with reference to shifting cultivation practised by the Malers. The role of forests in culture and economic life among the tribals has also been examined in his study. Vidyarthi throws light on the social structure and kinship of Maler tribe. Under the concept 'spirit', he discusses their belief in supernatural beings. Under the heading 'sacred complex', he describes the religious activities of the tribe, viz, their sacred centres, sacred performances and role of religious specialists in the religious life of Maler.

Rivers has published a detailed study on various aspects of Todas of Niligiri hills (1986). Through specific case studies Singh and et al have (1982) presented an account of economic
transformation that has taken place among the tribals. Their study focusses on the change and transformation of the modes of production, the relations of production among the tribals from different parts of the country. The study also discusses the problem of the relationship of the tribal economy with the society.

Sujatha (1987) has presented an analysis of the problem of education of Yenadi tribes. She examines the causes for the slow progress in education among the tribals. The study has findings on the constraints and issues in the development of tribal education and suggests a detailed plan of education for eradicating the deficiencies.

Sachidananda in his work (1964) has studied two major tribes of Bihar viz., Mundas and Oraons. He has analysed the changes that have occurred among the Mundas and Oraons from the cultural perspective. In another work (1968) he has also presented a generalised picture of tribal villages in Bihar covering seven prominent tribes viz., the Oraon, the Ho, the Munda, the Kharia, the Santhal, the Birhor and the Saoria Paharia spread over in different places. In his study (1964) Sachidananda analyses forces responsible for the transformation of tribes. According to him the impact of new ideas, new ethical values, a new style of life are mainly responsible for transformation of tribal
traditional institution and values. However, in agreement with Vidyarthi and Rai, he maintains that the rate of change among the tribals varies due to differences observed in them in accepting and utilising the modern facilities.

The study conducted by Mann and Mann* (1989) provides an elaborate analysis on the diverse aspects of tribal social structure in the context of change and continuity. The findings are based on the reports and field studies made on different tribes such as, Mina, Sehariya, Garosia, Gamit, Ladakhi, Hakkipikkis, Damor, Bhils etc. who belong to western, north-west, north-east and south-west part of India. This work presents a wide perspective on the life and culture, dynamics and planned transformation of various tribal communities of India.

Vyas and Mann in their work "Indian Tribes and Transition" (1980) have analysed certain common as well as specific problems faced by the tribals of India in the context of changing situation. The study is based on case studies of certain prominent tribes of Rajasthan such as, Kadana, Minas, Bills and Kathodis. The study also focuses itself on the nature of induced change, efforts and programmes of tribal development. However, they admit that the study remains limited especially in terms of coverage of tribes and aspects of development.

R.K. Kar (1981) has made a Socio-Anthropological study of
Savaras of Assam on various aspects such as religious, political, social institutions and recent changes and the impact of the outside forces on Savaras, particularly the tea estate. The findings of the study reveal that there is disintegration of the traditional traits of culture and at the same time, reorganisation is also going on. It also reveals that the various facets of life of Savaras have been changing. Kar concludes that the groups as well as individuals under the condition of cultural dissolutions would lead to a change towards a newer and more satisfying reorganisation of experience, reflecting an urge for survival, by retaining their basic identity in the midsts of pressures.

STUDIES ON KUDUBIS

So far, no systematic empirical study has been conducted on Kudubis. Since sociological or social anthropological study or research of an applied nature on Kudubis has not yet been attempted, analytical literature on the life and problems of this community is not available. However, a few articles and write-ups written in Kannada and English have been published in regional newspapers, weeklies and monthlies. A short monograph written in Kannada is also available. And a mention may be made of a few reports published in gazetteers and manuals.

Thurston, one of the early ethnographers and a pioneer in
tribal studies in South India presents a brief description (1909) of various tribes and castes of South India, including the Kudubis of Dakshina Kannada District. He gives a brief information about various customs and traditions observed by Kudubis about a hundred years ago. His description on various tribes is based on his own observations. Though Thurston's work provides brief information regarding various tribes and castes existing in South India, it does not analyse the problems, changes and developmental programmes of tribals in India.

Sturrock in Madras District Manuals, South Canara (1894), compiled various castes and tribes of South Canara District. In his study, he has presented a brief account of Kudubis under the chapter "Forest and Hill Tribes". This study shows that Kudubis are the tribals who live in the forest and hills of South Kanara District. The study reveals some of their social institutions and practices that existed a century ago.

Nanjundappa and Iyre (1928) made a brief study on one of the sub-divisions of Kudubis known as Are Kudubis (also listed as Kunbi Marhattas). They observed life patterns of Are Kudubis with reference to internal structure of the tribe, marriage prohibitions, tribal council, religion, Kumri cultivation, religion, dietary, dress etc.

Karnataka Government has published a brief account of life
and cultural practices of Kudubis in the form of reports in South Kanara District Gazetteers (1973 ed. by K. Abhishankar) and in Karnataka Backward Classes Commission, Vol. II (1975, under the Chairmanship of L.G. Havanur) describing them as 'a nomadic hill tribe living in isolation'.

Peer and Heggade (1982) in their evaluation reports on the impact of various developmental programmes implemented during the decade 1980-90 for the modernisation and economic development of tribal population in Karnataka have briefly highlighted the present conditions of Kudubis. Their report on Kudubis was mainly based on the data obtained from 50 Kudubi households drawn from Dakshina Kannada.

Krishnaiah has contributed a few articles based on a survey conducted on Holi festival of Kudubis. In the article entitled, "Kudubi vesas" (1991) the author gives a brief account of cultural life of Kudubis with special reference to their traditional dress habits, and the costumes used at Holi festival. In the article "Holi Festival of the Kudubis" (1987), he throws light on some religious rites of Kudubis associated with the celebration of Holi festival.

Describing Kudubis as one of the tribals of Karnataka, Eshwara Joshi presents a brief account of Kudubis of Dakshina Kannada in a short monograph (1983) in Kannada. Similarly,
Subraya Hegade (1985) presents a brief sketch of the life and conditions of Atte Kunmis, one of the sub-divisions of Kudubis living in Uttara Kannada district. Hegade describes Atte Kunmis as a hill tribe of Karnataka. A.V. Navada (1989) makes an attempt to discuss briefly the social and cultural life of Kudubis in his monograph written in Kannada. In his article (1984), he briefly highlights the dance forms performed by Kudubis on the occasion of Holi festival.

Apart from the studies available in the form of a few short monographs, a few attempts have been made by some writers in the regional language to contribute articles and write-ups in dailies, weeklies and monthlies on life and conditions of Kudubis in a most general way. Among such writers mention may be made of Navada (1984), Gayathri Navada (1989), Palthadi Ramakrishna Achar (1992), Boralingayya (1991), Aroor Lakshmana Shet (1980), Nithyananda Padre (1993), P. Sridhar Nayak (1992 & 1982), Sucheta Joshi (1990) and Gopala Gowda (1976).

The above survey of some studies on Indian tribes in general, and Kudubis in particular indicate that many attempts have been made in tribal studies on life, changes and strategy of development. One would have expected these surveys and studies to prompt the planners and policy makers to address themselves to the tribal problems, but the fact is different. Yet, this study
has been undertaken with a view to expose among other things the living conditions of Kudubis.

The reports published on Kudubis in the form of various articles are neither scientific nor exhaustive. Therefore, these publications do not provide adequate information on Kudubi society. However, these publications show that the Kudubi tribes have attracted the attention of several people. Hence, in the present study, an attempt is made to focus our interest on the changes that have occurred among the Kudubis and the factors associated with these changes. The purpose of the present study, we have taken up the Kudubis of

The discussion that follows is on "conceptual framework", which gives further details on certain specific studies on tribal social change.

Conceptual Framework

The concept of social change: Different sociologist have explained the term 'social change' differently giving room for ambiguity in its meaning. From the definitions of different sociologists (for instance, Mac Iver and Page (1979:511, Gillin and Gillin 1954:56); W.E. Moore, (1972:366); W.F. Ogburn (1922) Thomas and Znaniecki (1927); Horton and Hunt (1980:451) it appears that 'social change' includes those changes that take
place in social relationships, in social structure, in the material as well as non-material culture, or in ideas, beliefs and attitudes. For the present study, 'social change' includes observable variations and alterations in the social and economic institutions of Kudubi society. The term includes change from traditional Kudubi social structure to modern social structure, responses and outlook of Kudubis towards modern trends.

In recent years in India, tribals have undergone a radical change. The traditional tribal society of India has been undergoing a series of changes on account of the processes of Hinduisation and Sanskritisation, or modernisation processes such as, spread of education, impact of urbanisation, industrialisation, legislations, growth of political consciousness, tribal development programmes, panchayat system, development of transport and communication etc.

Before going to examine the social change among the tribals with reference to Kudubis, it seems necessary to explain some concepts that are utilised in the present study.

Hinduisation and Sanskritisation: Various studies on tribal communities indicate the trend of change due to contact with neighbouring Hindus. The tribals have always had Hindus as their neighbouring community. The regular contacts between the tribals and the Hindus have resulted in acculturation and
assimilation. "Acculturation is a process whereby an individual or a group acquires the cultural characteristics of another through direct contact and interaction" (B. Bhushan, 1989:3). On the other hand, Burgess and Park maintain that "assimilation is a process of interpretation in which one group acquires the memories, sentiments and attitudes of other groups and in this way, incorporated with them in a common cultural life" (qtd. in Shashi Bairathi, 1991:4).

It has been noted that tribals have an inclination towards caste society and there is a desire among them to be included in the caste society. This process of tribal change and transformation has been conceptualised as Hinduisation and Sanskritisation.

It is Max Weber (1958) who used the concept of Hinduisation for the first time to refer to the process whereby tribal people strive to improve their status by changing their own custom and rituals into imitation of local Hindus. Weber has made an authentic study of Indian religion and caste system in his work "The Religion of India - The Sociology of Hinduism and Buddhism". In this work he observes various diffusion patterns of Hinduism. He observes that the ruling stratum of an 'animistic' tribal territory, begins to imitate specific Hindu customs such as, abstention from meat, particularly beef, refusal for cow...
slaughter, restriction on intoxicating drinks, restriction on widow re-marriage, early marriage, cremation of dead rather than burial, ancestral death sacrifices (Sraddha), re-baptisation of native deities with the names of Hindu Gods & Goddesses, elimination of tribal priests and appointment of brahmin priest to conduct ritual concerns.

On the basis of Weberian concept of Hinduisation, the concept of Hinduisation has been further developed by various Indian and Western sociologists and social Anthropologists. For instance, on the processes of Hinduisation of the tribal people, M.N. Srinivas (1982) amplified his concept of Sanskritisation. In the opinion of L.K. Mahapatra "Srinivas has recently extended the scope of the concept of Sanskritisation to include in it the process of Hinduisation of the tribal people" (1972:9). Mahapatra refers to Sanskritisation, Hinduisation, Westernisation, Tribalisation, Brahminisation etc. as specific cultural processes of change.

Stephen Fuchs (1974:63) has pointed out that "the Indian caste system is so powerful and all-pervading that few tribes can entirely escape its consequences. Though the tribes may keep as far as possible to themselves, they must maintain some relations with the outside world. In dealing with the Hindus, the tribals also fall under the influence of the caste system;"
for the Hindus judge and class them according to their own standards". Fuchs further asserts that "Wherever the tribals lived for sometime in intimate contact with the Hindus, the tendency towards a slow and gradual assimilation into the Hindu fold was strong. Government officials, landlords, merchants, fellow-villagers, Hindu monks and preachers, all did their part in infusing Hindu beliefs and practices into the tribal religion and cultures". (1974:70)

Fuchs has revealed certain important changes among Indian tribes due to the process of Hinduisation, which may be examined as under:

According to him, adoption of Hindu system of exogamous relationship by giving up clan exogamy, adoption of food habits of Hindus by giving up beef-eating and flesh of other 'unclean animals' or rejecting profession which is ritually impure (such as domestic service, mat and broom-making, playing musical instruments, dancing and singing in the public etc.), employment of brahmins for religious services or tracing their origin back to brahmins, adoption of Hindu religious ceremonies, absorption of Hindu elements of religion into tribal religion and incorporation of main Hindu Gods like Shiva and Vishnu in the tribal religion or identification of these with former tribal Gods, strong preference for a female deity or Mother Goddesses,
accepting Hindu way of living with its set code of caste rules and taboos, adoption of more advanced speech form of the people of plains, advanced methods of cultivation, mass conversions of tribals to Hinduism, adoption of practice of Child Marriage, polygamy, prohibition on widow re-marriage, cremation of the dead etc. are due to prolonged contact with the Hindu population (1974: 133-34, 142-45, 268-70).

Fuchs opines that tribals prefer to adopt Hinduism and aspire for the social rank of higher caste Hindu with an aim to acquire better social status and prestige which is a powerful stimulant for human ambition and drive (1974:142). He further maintains that Hinduisation has also led to certain caste discrimination within the tribal society. There is a distinction between a Hinduised section and a tribal section. In each case the Hinduised section considers itself superior and refuses to interdine and intermarry with the tribal ones (1974: 64). In the opinion of Fuchs, the tribes which are economically more advanced have adopted more of Hindu customs and religion (1974: 270).

S.L. Kalia in his study on the tribals in three district areas of Jaunsar Bawar (Northern Uttar Pradesh), Bastar (Eastern Madhya Pradesh) and Nimar (Western Madhya Pradesh) found that the tribals living in the native areas, are in the process of acculturation due to the contact and influence of non-tribal
population (1961:26).

Shashi Bairathi in her study on Saharias of Rajasthan observes that Saharia tribes have borrowed various customs and rituals from the dominant caste Hindus. In her opinion, Saharias have an appreciation for Hindus and try to adopt their values. Saharias want to be categorised as Banias and Brahmins. She presumes that Saharias want to be a part of caste hierarchy. She has rightly pointed out that though the process of Hinduisation is slow, the change is clearly discernible in tribal values (1991:134-136).

Sachidananda in his study on Munda tribes of Northern India observes that Mundas are under the strong influence of Hinduism. The impact is chiefly found in their worship, deities, marriage ceremonies, language, wearing of sacred thread, sacred thread ceremony and other practices. According to Sachidananda, the constant and close interaction between tribals and non-tribal populations has led to the convergence of many aspects of their cultures. There has been an acculturation of the tribals to non-tribal norms and customs. There is a constant transition from the tribal ranks to caste Hindu society. Some common Hindu values and customs have been thoroughly internalised by the tribals that they are scarcely distinguishable from purely tribal traits. He further points out that the process of Hinduisation
or following the form of Hinduism is an important factor of tribal change. Among the Mundas these forces of change are felt through their changing lifestyle, material culture, social and economic relations, political organisation, beliefs and rituals etc. (1979: 13-15, 303-309)

According to Ghurye (1959) some of the tribes of the Himalays, western and Middle India have been Hinduised to the extent that they have been assimilated with various castes at different levels in the caste system.

Mann and Mann (1989:157-183) opine that the tribes of the western region have a great deal of similarity with the Hindus because of acquiring culture traits and patterns from the local dominant Hindu caste. On account of regular culture contact, the aboriginals preferred to treat Hindus as their reference groups and an upper caste Hindu as a reference individual. The underlying motive was to elevate their position and to attain a higher social status. However, this process is not uniform in all the tribes.

As Mandelbaum has observed, because of Hinduisation, there is a change from a tribal kind of social system into the local caste system or Jati system. Tribesmen who adopt Jati customs are, often unwittingly, changing some of their principles of conduct. This shift to Jati society is usually gradual (1984:
Vidyarthi and Rai (1977:454-458) regard Hinduisation as one of the traditional factors of tribal change. In their view, traditional factors are those that result from the contact of the tribals with the non-tribals. Some of these factors are Hinduisation, Sanskritisation and the emergence of tribe-caste continuum. According to Vidyarthi and Rai, the tribals have always had Hindus as their neighbouring community. As a result, from the earliest times, there have been regular contacts between the tribals and the Hindus. As a result of these contacts, the tribals in India have been influenced by certain traditions of Hindus. However, the nature and extent of contact, and the pattern of mutual interaction have been different in different parts of India.

Sanskritisation: According to M.N. Srinivas "Sanskritisation is the process by which a 'low' Hindu caste, or tribal or other group, changes its customs, ritual, ideology, and the way of life in the direction of a high, and frequently 'twice-born' caste." (1982:6) Srinivas asserts that Sanskritisation means not only the adoption of new customs and habits, but also exposure to new ideas and values, which have found frequent expression in the vast body of Sanskrit literature sacred as well as secular.
Srinivas further points out that "Sanskritisation is not confined to Hindu castes but also occurs among tribal and semi-tribal groups such as the Bhils of western India, the Gonds and Oraons of Central India, and the Pahadis of the Himalayas. This usually results in the tribe undergoing Sanskritisation claiming to be a caste, and therefore, Hindu. In the traditional system the only way to become a Hindu was to belong to a caste, and the unit of mobility was usually a group, not an individual or a family." (1982:7)

Various Indian Sociologists and Social Anthropologists applied the concept of Sanskritisation in their studies later on, for instance Vidyarthi and Rai (1977 454:462) observed that like the process of Hinduisation, there is Sanskritisation process going on among the Indian tribes. Sanskritisation process among the tribals has been recognised as an important traditional force responsible for their change. Vidyarthi and Rai have noticed that many tribals in middle India have been greatly influenced by the brahminical model. Their lifestyle has been Sanskritised to such an extent that they have begun to claim themselves to be brahmins or kshatriyas. They have adopted the Hindu concept of karma, of maintaining sanctity and purity against 'pollution', cycle of festivals, surnames of Hindu caste. They invite brahmins as priests for religious rites and ceremonies etc. They have further observed that Bhagat Sects
among the tribal communities are the most Sanskritised groups. These Sanskritised groups have oriented and moulded their 'lifestyles' after the brahminical model.

Yogendra Singh defines Sanskritisation as "an endogenous source of social change. From a social psychological point, Sanskritisation is a culturally specific case of the universal motivation toward 'anticipatory socialisation' to the culture of a higher group in the hope of gaining its status in future" (1986:16) He further pointed out that "Once Sanskritisation is evaluated in the framework of reference group theory, it could be defined not only culturally but also structurally" (1986: 196).

Sanskritisation may be considered as a form of the operation of Merton's 'reference group' process. Merton (1981:288) maintained that "Reference group theory aims to systematise the determinants and consequences of those processes of evaluation and self-appraisal in which the individual takes the values or standards of other individuals and groups as a comparative frame of reference."

Thus, Sanskritisation is an important on-going process of cultural and social mobility among the tribals of India.

Modernisation: Tribals in general are in the process of modernisation due to the influence of education, urbanisation,
industrialisation, planned tribal development, impact of legislations, community development programmes, development of transport and communication, national democratic processes, rapid population growth etc. These factors are of recent origin. Moreover, these changes are not the result of the traditional contact that existed between the tribals and non-tribals.

Modernisation in India began due to the contact of westerners after the British rule. The contact with the west, specially the British has brought about tremendous changes in the social structure of Indian society. Yogendra Singh opines that "the basic direction of this contact was towards modernisation, but in the process a variety of traditional institutions also got reinforcement" (1986: 202).

M.N. Srinivas aptly says that "a popular term for the changes brought about in a non-western country by contact, direct or indirect, with a western country is 'modernisation'. (1982: 50).

Modernisation may be understood as exposure to scientific knowledge, adoption of new roles and use of modern technological skills in a particular society. In the words of Vidyarthi and Rai, modern forces such as Christianity, urbanisation, industrialisation, tribal development, community development schemes, democratic set up of the nation, modernisation in
education, communication and administration have been actively moulding the life of tribals. In their opinion, the modern processes placed before the tribals the western, urban, industrial developmental and democratic 'model' for inducing change (1977:454:471).

In the present study an attempt is made to examine whether Kudubis are becoming Sanskritised, Hinduised and modernised in their behaviour patterns and social life.

SCHEME OF THE STUDY:

The study has been divided into eight chapters.

Chapter I outlines the concept of a tribe, distinction between tribal society and Hindu caste society, tribes of Karnataka, Dakshina Kannada District and its tribal situation, the statement of the problem and the objectives of the study. It also presents the sample, area of study, tools and techniques adopted in the present study and the review of literature.

Chapter II examines the social and cultural life of the Kudubis with respect to their origin and migration, social stratification, settlement patterns and housing, dialect, food habits and health, education, dress habits and their recent changes.

Chapter III evaluates the family organisation, lineage, kinship
organisation, clan organisation, Phratry, descent and inheritance, status of women and the changes that have emerged in them.

Chapter IV portrays the institution of marriage, rules of marriage, mate choice, age at marriage, rituals, preferential marriage and finally changes that have occurred in various aspects of marriage.

Chapter V unfolds the religious organisation of Kudubis, deities, worship and practices, magic and superstitions, Ancestral worship, Totemism, Rituals and festivals. It also deals with the recent changes in the Kudubi religious organisation.

Chapter VI investigates the changes in the economic organisation, forest and economy, hunting and fishing, land holdings and agricultural activities, household articles and utensils, housing conditions, annual family income, respondents' attitude towards occupation, savings and investment behaviour.

Chapter VII analyses the political organisation and authority among the Kudubis. It also analyses respondents' attitude towards land litigation, election, political awareness and participation and the emerging trends.

Chapter VIII contains the summary, emerging trends, findings and conclusions of this study. At the end certain suggestions for future research have been made.