CHAPTER - III

TRIBES IN INDIAN SOCIETY

Section - 1

Tribes as Backward Hindus

The problem of identifying the tribes has concerned Indian Sociology very much. Dube says, the problem of defining a tribe has become more urgent in the wider national context because solution of vital questions concerning isolation or assimilation and integration or harmonization is affected by it.¹ There are some who try to identify the tribes with reference to some specific cultural traits and who try to protect these traits at any cost. N.K. Bose calls them philanthropologists rather than anthropologists. This spirit has generated, what he calls, tribalism or 'tribal communalism'.² It is this same psychology which prompt many tribals to see others as 'outsiders'. It seems that the crux of the problems with regard to the tribes is 1) how to ensure their smooth development and 2) how effectively to integrate them with the national community. The controversy regarding the treatment which the tribals should get, is not a new one and it bothered both the anthropologists and the administrators during the British days. The Congress Party also turned its attention to the problem at that time.

Rajendra Prasad said in the Haripura Congress that while nobody objected to safeguarding the aboriginal's rights, they were not persuaded that the provisions of the constitution would really safeguard their interests. 3

The controversy relating to the definition of Tribes is an old one and this is carried on even in the most recent literature on the subject. Starting with a recent literature let us gradually move backwards to Ghurye in order to show that even Ghurye, while writing in 1943, got at the heart of the problem and tried to judge the question of tribes in the light of their relation with the greater society.

To S.C. Dube, writing in 1977, the problem is to isolate a set of clear indicators of tribalness. The following, according to him, are the broad characteristics of their life:

1) their roots in the soil date back to a very early period;
2) they live in relative isolation;
3) their sense of history is shallow;
4) they have a low level of techno-economic development;
5) in terms of their cultural ethos-language, institutions, beliefs, customs - they maintain separate identity; and
6) their social organization is largely non-hierarchic and undifferentiated.

But Dube says, these are very rough indicators and very few of them can withstand critical scrutiny. 4

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3 Quoted by W.V. Grigson - 'The Aboriginal in the Future India', in Man in India, vol. 26, No. 2 (1946), pp. 82-83.
4 S.C.Dube, op.cit., pp. 1-5.
In a very illuminating article entitled 'Tribe-Caste and Tribe-Peasant Continua in Central India', Surajit Sinha has made certain ideal-typical formulations with reference to which tribes and castes are to be distinguished. In case of tribes these are: isolation from the rest of the community in terms of ecology, demography, economy, politics and other social relations, lack of stratification and role-specialization and the existence of a strong in-group sentiment. But the very fact that Sinha has termed these ideal-typical, is an admission of the fact that tribes cannot be neatly distinguished from castes at the existential level. Similarly, Bailey, while asserting that caste society is characterized by economic specialization and hierarchy, whereas a tribal society is not so, admits that 'caste' and 'Tribe' are to be viewed as opposite ends of a single line. Particular societies are to be located at different points along this line, some nearer to the segmentary tribal model, others close to the model of an organic caste society.

Beteille points out the same difficulty when he says that the tribes in Indian society are at various levels of admixture with the neighbouring society. "Except in a few areas, it is very difficult to come across communities which retain all their pristine tribal characters. In fact, most such tribal groups show in varying degrees elements of continuity with the larger society of India." N.K. Bose maintains that most of the tribes have lost their identity after contact with the Hindus for a prolonged period. As a result of the long exposure which started very

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early in Indian history, most of the tribals have adopted Hindu beliefs and practices. The following table from the 1961 Census shows the tribals' view of their own religion.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hindu</th>
<th>Tribal Religion</th>
<th>Buddhist</th>
<th>Muslim</th>
<th>Christian</th>
<th>Others</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2,67,10,428</td>
<td>12,51,706</td>
<td>1,00,593</td>
<td>61,235</td>
<td>16,53,570</td>
<td>1,01,719</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(99.39%)</td>
<td>(4.19%)</td>
<td>(0.34%)</td>
<td>(0.21%)</td>
<td>(5.53%)</td>
<td>(0.34%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The studies on physical and cultural anthropology of low caste Hindus also show that these castes share many elements of caste society on the one hand and quite a few of tribal society on the other. Risley and Gait used a term 'tribal caste' to designate these people. They are imperfectly integrated elements of Hindu society and they are at various intermediary positions between castes and tribes.

We think that this discussion provides the correct perspective for understanding Ghurye's writings on tribes. Ghurye presented his thesis on tribes at a time when a majority of the established anthropologists and administrators were of the opinion that the separate identity of the tribes is to be maintained at any cost. Ghurye, on the other hand, believes that most of the tribes have been Hinduized after a long period of contact with the Hindus. He even maintains that originally these people were Hindus who

8 N.K. Bose - Anthropology & Some Indian Problems, p. 117;
somehow lost connection with the parent body. An analysis of their language, economy and religious tradition shows that they are not necessarily the autochthones of the regions where they now live.\textsuperscript{10} He criticises the use of the word 'Adivasi' to denote them because the various stories and mythological accounts prevalent among them show elements of Hindu culture.\textsuperscript{11} This could not have been so if they were the earliest inhabitants of the land.

Attempts have been made in various Census Reports to establish the separate identity of the tribal people from religious and linguistic standpoints. But Ghurye shows that all these attempts have failed as, in fact, the tribal people have no such distinctive identity. In the earliest Census Reports the tribal religion was classified as 'Animism'. But difficulties were there and Sedgwick, Census Superintendent of 1921 for Bombay, suggested that "all those hitherto classified as Animists should be grouped with Hindus at the next Census."\textsuperscript{12}

There is also doubt whether the tribes can be regarded as 'aborigines' in the true sense of the term. In 1952, B.S. Guha made a classification of Indian people into four racial types: Negrito, Proto-Austroloid, Mongoloid and Indo-Aryans. Of them, Ghurye says, the present existence of the Negritos and the Austro-Asiatic people among the tribes is a controversial issue. The Indo-Aryans and the Dravidians came afterwards, but it would be presumptuous to look upon one section as the 'aborigines' of India. Though the Indo-Aryans came later, "they made up for the lost time by energising the local people, creating a high culture and

\textsuperscript{10} Ghurye - \textit{The Scheduled Tribes (Popular ; 1963)}, pp. 11-12. All the subsequent references to the book are of this edition, unless otherwise stated.
\textsuperscript{11} Ghurye - \textit{Ibid.}, pp. 561-65.
\textsuperscript{12} Quoted by Ghurye - \textit{op.cit.}, p. 5.
making India their permanent home. Thus science and history do not countenance the practice of calling these tribes aborigines.\textsuperscript{13}

Ghurye holds that it is futile to search for the separate identity of the tribes. They are nothing but the 'backward Hindus'. In support of this position, Ghurye presents a huge data on the thought, practices and habits of the tribes inhabiting the central Indian region. He quotes extensively from various writings and reports to show that the Katauris, the Bhuiyas, the Oraons, the Khonds, the Gonds, the Korkus, the Baigas, the Bhils, the Kols, the Halbas, the Rautias etc. have substantially adopted Hinduism as their religion.\textsuperscript{14} And those who have been converted to Hinduism exercise 'demonstration effect' upon fellow tribals.

D. N. Majumdar corroborates this view when he says that in Bastar region the main tribes participate in the Hindu Dasara Festival in a spirit of co-operation and this has "linked section with section and produced an interesting culture-complex".\textsuperscript{15} Srinivas has asserted that his concept of Sanskritization is also applicable in relation to the tribes.\textsuperscript{16} About the central Indian tribes, S. Fuchs writes, "out of the 25 million tribals recorded in 1941, six to seven millions have been dropped in 1951. And of the 19 million left, only one and a half million are officially recorded as still confessing a tribal religion ... all the others must have embraced Hindu religion.\textsuperscript{17}

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\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{13} Ghurye - Ibid., p. 13.
  \item \textsuperscript{14} Ghurye - Ibid., pp. 8-19. Ghurye's The Mahadev Kolis, an ethnographic study, shows the extent of Hinduisation of this tribe. Vide the discussion in the latter part of this chapter. L.N. Chapekar's monography on the Thakur Tribes, done under the guidance of Ghurye, also bears testimony to this Hinduization process. L.N. Chapekar. The Thakurs of Sahadri (1960).
  \item \textsuperscript{16} Srinivas - Social Change in Modern India (1966), p. 7.
  \item \textsuperscript{17} S. Fuchs - 'Central Indian Tribes' in R. Thapar (ed.) - Tribe, Caste and Religion in India (1977), p. 52.
\end{itemize}
religion on such a large scale that an All India Santal Social Assembly held in Assansol in 1978 expressed concern at the steady disintegration of the Santal Community.\(^{18}\)

Ghurye suggests that the economic motivation behind the adoption of Hinduism is very strong. When the tribals adopt Hindu religion, they can come out of their tribal crafts and adopt a specialized type of occupation which is in demand in society.\(^{19}\) Prof. N.K. Bose, in a thought-provoking article 'Hindu Methods of Tribal Absorption' has developed this theme. Bose has shown how the method of acculturation of tribal population should be studied in the context of the system of property-relations within which the tribals are absorbed.\(^{20}\) In this respect also we find Ghurye's ideas acted as a leaven for further studies and research in the field.

Ghurye's idea that the tribes of mainland India have largely been integrated with the Hindu society, finds support in other writings also. The Conferences of Social Workers and anthropologists held in Calcutta in 1948 estimated that, of the total 25 million tribals living in India, 20 million live in the plains and are assimilated with the rest of the people.\(^{21}\) A.R. Desai corroborates this opinion thus, "Studies of the history of Indian Civilization reveal how the growth and the expansion of Hindu society was a prolonged and complex process of assimilation, both forcible and peaceful, of the tribal people into Hindu society."\(^{22}\)

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20 N.K. Bose - *Cultural Anthropology and Other Essays*, pp. 156-70.
23 D. Mandelbaum also noted very few significant differences in cultural patterns and in value systems would be found between the lower Hindu castes and the tribals. See, S. Sinha - 'Tribal Cultures of Peninsular India' in M. Singer - *Traditional India: Structure and Change* (1959), p. 310. Sinha, however, does not fully agree with this view.
It is true that all the tribes have not been equally integrated with Hindu society. There are those tribes who have been perfectly integrated but there are others who are 'partially Hinduized' and there is a third group who still offer resistance to the process. Apparently, Ghurye's classification is almost the same as that made by Elwin in his *Loss of Honour*. The Central Indian Tribes, Elwin maintains, belong to four different stages of acculturation, from the most primitive to the most Hinduized. But regarding the assessment of the effects of this culture-contact, Ghurye and Elwin belong to two different poles. Elwin maintains that the effect of this contact upon those who are imperfectly integrated has been disastrous, resulting in moral degradation and psychological depression. But Ghurye thinks that integration is a step forward which liberates a tribal from the harmful effects of his social customs and practices. Quoting extensively from various writings, Ghurye shows what Hinduism has done to improve the social customs and economic situation of the tribal people. 'The Hinduised tribes' as Ghurye concludes, 'must, therefore, be considered to have received from Hinduism a valuable leaven.'

Undoubtedly, conversion to Hinduism has not proved to be a panacea for these tribes. But Ghurye thinks that the problems which are thought to be the result of their contact with the Hindus, are the problems of backwardness in general and affects all the people—tribal or non-tribal. The system of exploitation that operates in society does not make any distinction between the tribals and the non-tribals. For example, alienation...

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from land, Ghurye declares, "is the problem of the backward, the ignorant
and the exploited people, who work on land and carry on cultivation for
some time only to find, sooner or later that their lands are no longer
theirs."25 We can cite here a similar statement of A.R. Desai: "the
vast bulk of the lower strata of tribal society - Hindu, Muslim, Christian
and Buddhist - are exploited and suffer from the same disabilities as the
non-tribals. They have been uprooted from their moorings in the same way
as the artisans and peasants were uprooted."26

The solution lies in strengthening the ties of the tribals
with the other backward classes. Ghurye also says that among the tribals,
there is a section which is comparatively better off.27 The tribals are
stratified among them and the problem of the higher ups are not the same as
those of the lower sections. This approach towards the tribal problem, we
think, provides a much needed corrective to the researches conducted by
social anthropologists who have a tendency to view the tribes as
undifferentiated units.28

Undoubtedly, in the process of change that the tribals are
experiencing, there have been some, as Ghurye says, 'assimilational
stresses and strains' and he discusses these in two separate chapters.29
But this is to be regarded as an inevitable impact of the process of
external and rapidly changing situation on a community. Besides, the
process is an age-old one. Ghurye says, 'Before we debit all that as a
grievance to the account of Hindu contact, we must ponder over the fact

25 Ghurye - op.cit., p. 207. See also, N.K. Bose - 'Hindu Method of
Tribal Absorption' in his Culture and Society in India (1977), pp. 24-15.
27 Ghurye - op.cit., p. 27.
28 See also, N.K. Bose - 'On Communal Separatism' in Man in India,
vol. 43, No. 2 (1963), pp. 87-91.
29 Ghurye - op.cit., pp. 23-78.
that the process of breaking up and remaking of groups had been in progress for many centuries and that internal migration had been causing a good deal of wrenching in the naturally pleasant social surrounding." It may be mentioned here that Desai also holds the view that the process of change which the tribals are undergoing, is the result of the operation of some general forces in society, including the effects of 'the colonial capitalist system' and that it is not specifically due to their contact with the Hindus.  

Thus regarding the relationship between the tribals and the Hindus, Ghurye holds that a grand historical process of merger between the two communities has almost been completed as a result of which the tribes may now be regarded as 'backward Hindus'. And the process has been going on for a very long time. He mentions of one rock-edict of Emperor Ashoka explaining his policies towards the tribal people. Kosambi also substantiates this point and shows that the tribes of the Gangetic plain were conquered by and assimilated into the kingdom of Kosala and Magadha and this occurred as early as in the sixth century B.C.

The concept of 'Hinduisation' as noted by Ghurye, has found support in other subsequent writings and researches. Variously named as 'tribal-caste continuum', 'Aryanization' or 'Sanskritization', many writers have reported the process of caste formation among the tribes. Various such detailed studies have been made. S.C. Roy writing earlier than

30 Ghurye - Ibid., pp. 57-58.
Ghurye, showed how the process operated among the Oraons of Chotanagpur. Grigson used the term 'Hinduisation' while discussing the process of change occurring among the Kol tribes. Among the modern writers, Dr. S. Sinha has evolved the concept of tribal - Rajput continuum by a detailed historical and ethnographic study of the Bhumijas. S.K. Srivastava has similarly proposed the concept of 'Kshatriyaisation' on the basis of his study of rural Agra. And we have already mentioned that Srinivas has applied his concept of Sanskritization with reference to the Indian tribes also.

Yet there are a few more points which one would have desired to find incorporated in Ghurye's arguments, particularly in the 1965 edition of his book on tribes, when certain trends had already become clear.

One such point is the rapidly changing economic structure and the consequent impact of it upon the process of integration. The economic organization of caste itself has been challenged - it is today unable to meet the rapidly changing and proliferating demands of people. D.N. Majumdar has called it as 'the fluidity of status-structure' in rural India.

N.K. Bose says "Under slow infiltration, a special occupation could be

34 S.C. Roy - The Oraon Religion and Custom (1920). Also see, N. Dutta - Majumdar - The Santal (Calcutta 1956).
assigned to a tribe when it becomes a caste. But today nothing of that kind is possible. A whole tribe may be transplanted from its forest home and lowly economy into the whirlpool of war, where some of its members become coolies, some become trained in technical occupations ...". So the economic motivation of being converted into a caste is no longer working today.

On the other hand, the various welfare programmes and the enormous financial assistance schemes provided by the government to the tribes, have created among them a 'vested interest' in retaining their tribal identity. As a result, the historical process of 'merger' or 'unification', has been reversed. Surjit Sinha mentioned the case of the Bhumij of West Bengal who were earlier aspiring to be known as Kshatriyas. He quotes one MLA saying, "The programme for labelling our caste as Bhumij-Kshatriyas should be abandoned. I know from my experience as an MLA that if we claim to be Kshatriyas, then we shall get no facilities from the government as 'Adivasis'."

A.R. Desai apprehends that in such a situation, the 'vocal' and the 'privileged' minority will initiate programmes in the name of the tribes which, in reality, would serve their own interests only. This will also prevent the general process of unification between the tribes and the non-tribes. While trying to explain contemporary tribal unrest, Sachchidananda has hinted at the agrarian factors and the urge for maintaining a cultural identity as the root causes of tribal unrest. With the

39 N.K. Bose - 'Disintegration of Tribal Cultures' in his Anthropology and Some Indian Problems (1972), pp. 50-51. See also, K.P. Chattopadhyay 'Some Changes in Traditional Tribal Cultures' in Chattopadhyay (ed.) Study of Caste in Traditional Culture (1957), pp. 22-23.
40 Quoted by D. Mandelbaum - op.cit., pp. 603-4.
political culture of the tribals undergoing a radical transformation, 
that is, from a 'subject political culture' to a 'participant political 
culture', these are likely to influence the situation considerably. In 
an All-India Santal Social Assembly held in 1978, concern was expressed 
about the steady disintegration of the tribal community. It was declared 
that "the prodigals would be welcome. The process would strengthen the 
reintegration of the community". Anthropologists in recent times 
have noted this phenomenon and have termed it as 'Revivalist Movement', 
'Reformist Movement', 'Revitalization Movement' or 'Messiah Movement'.' Ghurye also noted this phenomenon and termed it as 'Fissiparous trends'. 
But, certainly, this has created an impact on the historical process of 
Hinduization. One would have expected some discussions on the complex 
economic and political factors which have initiated this process. This 
we do not find in Ghurye's writings. But about the characterization of 
the over-all historical process of merger of tribes into Hindu folds, 
Ghurye's basic conclusions are right and these helped subsequent writers 
to conduct their researches on a strong foundation.

42 Sachchidananda - 'Tribal Unrest in India' - Paper presented 
before the Conference of Anthropologists in May, 1972
44 G. Bharadwaj - 'Socio-Political Movements Among the Tribes 
of India' in S.C. Dube (ed.) - Tribal Heritage of India (1977), pp. 141-60. 
Edward Jay - 'Revitalization Movements in Tribal India' in 
L.P. Vidyarthi (ed.) - Aspects of Religion in Indian Society (1961), 
pp. 282-315. S. Fuchs - Rebellious Prophets (1965); G.S. Aurora - 
Tribe, Caste, Class Encounters ( Hyderabad, 1972 ).
The analysis, by Ghurye, of the general trend of assimilation of the tribes with Hindu society is followed by a discussion of the nature of tribal policy of the British rulers and their interests and motivations behind these policies. The British rulers tried to put the clock back by arresting the historical process of assimilation. This went directly against the cause of national cultural integration. The British administrators frequently deplored the assimilation of tribal groups in jati society. This was evident in Risley's lament that "all over India at the present movement tribes are gradually and insensibly being transformed into caste." The major objective of the British Indian government was to arrest this process by creating an artificial line of division between the tribes and the non-tribes so that they remain separate. The creation of the Non-Regulation Tract or the creation of the Scheduled Districts, the Backward Tracts, the Excluded Areas or the partially Excluded Areas, were the various such devises to keep these tribes separate.

The moot question is, what was the interest of the British rulers in separating the tribals from the non-tribals? Ghurye observes that it is nothing but the commercial and business interests of the rulers to exploit the natural resources of the region with the help of cheap labour provided by the aborigines that prompted them to keep the tribals in perpetual backwardness. All talk of tribal development was an eye-wash to

45 H. Risley - The People of India (1915), p. 72.
46 Ghurye - op.cit., p. 107. It is interesting to note that in his account of the nature of colonial exploitation operating in Africa, Ghurye shows how the black Africans provided a continuous source of cheap labour to their white masters. See - Ghurye - Race Relation in Negro Africa (1952), pp. 38-59.
comouflage this naked economic interest. The tribal areas were kept separate so that they could act as a human reservoir to meet the demands of European commercial interest.

Ghurye mentions another deeper sociological reason why this policy failed to ensure tribal development. British policies unnecessarily created a feeling of suspicion and hostility between the tribals and the non-tribals and fanned up and deepened their differences. The British administrators ignored the fact that the attitude of the non-tribals, their goodwill and cooperation 'are the most essential factors for the present welfare and future development' of the tribal population. This policy has been interpreted as yet another manifestation of the desire to keep India divided within herself. The seeds of distrust that were sown thereby have been perpetuated in independent India.

This administrative design of the British rulers to follow a 'protectionist policy' in relation to the tribes, got theoretical support particularly from a group of British administrators-cum-theoreticians. Ghurye declared a crusade against these persons. As he explained in his preface to the book 'The Scheduled Tribes', it is this fact which prompted him to discuss threadbare the issues raised by these writers. Thus Hutton urged the necessity of some 'protectionist measures' to save the tribals from disintegration. Of course, the ablest support of this position came from Dr. Elwin who became extremely popular with the administration in British India and also in independent India. In two separate books, viz. The Baigas (1939) and the Loss of Nerve (1942), Elwin graphically presents the nature of discomfort and disorganization faced by a tribal in a modern

47 Ghurye - op.cit., p. 126.
society. The tribal finds himself in a completely different world with a different type of economy, legal system, system of justice and social customs. He feels lost and frustrated. Elwin suggested the creation of a 'national Park' to enable the administration to create an area of familiarity around the tribal and to keep intact his society and economy.

As already stated, Ghurye is not in agreement with this theory. He emphasizes upon the dangerous implications of this social and cultural isolationism from the standpoint of national integration. He himself has described the position thus: "My new book, Aborigines - so called - and their Future - is one of the four books of mine which were written in response to a challenge in the social situation. The challenge was that since the Hutton Census of India of 1931 to 1941, three or four brochures or essays in general symposium were published emphasizing the utter separateness of the many jungle and hill preliterate groups of people of India. The aim was to booster forces of disorganization "so that independent India should present a well-divided chequer-board of humanity rather than a sovereign-state, a well-knit nation in the making". 48

It is true that there are certain problems of adjustment of tribal people to the forces of change - adapting their habits, customs or economy in such a manner that no large scale disorganization follows. But these problems can be overcome provided there is an adequate foresight and systematic planning. We have to solve their problem in the context of

48 Ghurye - I and Other Explorations (1973), pp. 109-11. I. Karve has said, "...the British anthropologists and following them some Indians wanted to preserve pristine condition of the tribals ... (this) unfortunately, has helped to alienate the tribals from the non-tribals; while the tribal areas were closed to the Indians they were wide open indeed to the missionaries who used the opportunity to convert large numbers of them ....". I. Karve - Hindu Society: An Interpretation (1968), p. 164.
economic backwardness. We have to remember that they are exploited in the same way as other sections of the Indian peasantry. Gadgil says regarding the condition of the peasants that the poverty and ignorance of the debtor, the shrewdness and unscrupulousness of the moneylender and the connivance of an organized system of law and justice - all these account for much of the impoverishment of the Indian peasantry. And Ghurye says, "the bare truth is that there is a large section of our population deriving its subsistence from agricultural pursuits, which is exploited in various possible ways by money-lenders, would-be absentee landlords, rack-renters and middle men. All the people who are thus being exploited are really backward."

Thus there are two aspects to be considered here. First, there is the question of the strategy for tribal development and in this respect, the tribal and the non-tribal problems are the same. Second, there is the question of the integrational needs of the country.

As a sociologist, Ghurye considers it more proper to emphasise upon this second aspect. He explains, "As for the subject-matter, the viewpoint presented in the book ... was generally considered to be a novel one when the book was published in 1943. I had then not designated my particular point of view. I have now done so. I call it simply integration." By an analysis of the tribal history, Ghurye shows that the trend has all along been integrational and he feels that a sociologist's

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Also, R.P. Dutta - India: Today and Tomorrow (1955), pp. 31-40.
50 Ghurye - The Scheduled Tribes, p. 205.
51 Ghurye - 'Foreword' in Ibid., p. x.
task is to strengthen this trend. As it was pointed out in the *American Anthropologist* (March 1947), "Prof. Ghurye, however, succeeded in raising the problem of the aboriginals from the plane of anthropology to that of sociology, even of politics, though much confusion remains in the minds of the public regarding the system of administration to be set up in tribal areas."52 As the British administrative policies failed to realise this objective and as they attempted to draw an artificial line of distinction between the tribals and the non-tribals, Ghurye concludes that the roots of disintegration were implanted during the British period.

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Section - 3

THE SCHEDULED TRIBES IN POST-INDEPENDENT INDIA

India has been the converging point of many ethnic stocks and cultures from prehistoric times. The process of assimilation of smaller groups of different cultures into larger ones started very early in our society. Ghurye thinks that "considering the original differences, the results achieved up to the middle or third quarter of the 18th century were very hopeful." But the arrival of the British changed the situation qualitatively. The old process of assimilation was upset. The British rulers consciously followed a policy which intensified whatever differences were there between the tribes and the non-tribes.

Ghurye laments that the government in post-independent India, in its tribal policy, is largely carrying the legacy of the past. In this respect, they are even going against the spirit of the constitution. The constitution-makers were confronted with the task of laying the foundations of a national community where everybody could participate as citizens of the nation and not as members of some castes or tribes or sects or religious bodies. The provisions of the constitution bear enough testimony that the task was performed in an admirable manner. Certain special privileges were granted to some backward sections for a temporary period so that they could catch up with the rest of the community. It is to be remembered that these facilities and special measures were purely temporary and functional in nature. Ghurye thinks that all the subsequent problems with regard to the tribes have arisen because of misrepresentation of the constitution and the mishandling of the situation by some interested political leaders. This
trend needs to be corrected in order to set the nation on the right track.

As far as the constitution is concerned, backwardness has been the only criterion in scheduling the names of some tribes in the constitution. There are three reasons why this version is correct:

1) the words "parts of or groups within castes, races or tribes" show that tribes or castes are not to be regarded as units but even parts of them may be included or excluded considering their state of backwardness; 2) some communities, traditionally believed to be tribal, have been left out of the schedule; 3) similarly, some communities, which are not regarded as tribals, also find mention in the schedule. As Dube shows, the Muslim inhabitants of Lakshadweep and all the native inhabitants of the Kinnaur district of Himachal Pradesh, are now classified as Scheduled Tribes.

Analysis of the constitutional provisions relating to the type of special treatment which the tribals should receive, leads Ghurye to demarcate three specific types of treatment. First, the Scheduled tribes in mainland India have been viewed as parts of the weaker sections of the community with whom they enjoy parity of treatment. Second, there are Scheduled Areas which are specially treated but not as specially treated as the Autonomous Districts and the Autonomous Regions of Assam. Special arrangements as regards the administration of these areas had to be made because the condition of many of them, being in the hilly region, is such that only a special set up of administrative machinery can meet the situation. But, again, these measures were intended to be purely

54 S.C. Dube - Tribal Heritage of India (1977), pp. 3-4.
temporary in nature, Ambedkar made this point very clear when he said, "It is no use creating a sort of state within a state and it is not desirable that this kind of special provision ... should be stereotyped for all time and that it should be open to Parliament to make such changes as times and circumstances may require." 55

Third, regarding the existence of the special facilities in favour of the hill tribes of Assam, Ghurye does not commit himself much as he says, "the whole problem of that part of our country had appeared to me to be very much different", and that "my knowledge of the ethnography of that part, too, was not such as to arrive at intellectually valid conclusions". 56 Whereas the tribes in other parts of India have been living with other Indians for more than 3000 years, these North-East Indian tribes "were not with India or with Indians for more than about a hundred years when India acquired Independence". 57 A large measure of autonomy was granted to these tribes on this ground. But whatever might be the amount of autonomy, it was made very clear that they would exercise their privileges within the framework of the "Unity of the nation". Ghurye maintains that post-independent developments have gone against this spirit and framework of the constitution. Anthropologists, administrators and politicians who have supported move for 'tribal separatism' have thus gone against the manifest intentions of the framers of the constitution and they have gone against national interests too. Ghurye makes a scathing attack on Elwin's proposals, which were largely instrumental in framing the

55 For Constituent Assembly Debates on this point, see G. Austin - The Indian Constitution: Cornerstone of a Nation (1972), pp. 19-20, 148-54.
57 Ghurye - The Burning Caldron of North-East India, p. vii, 124.
government's policies towards the North-East Indian tribes. Mr. Elwin, who was a member of the Scheduled Tribes Commission, constituted in 1960, declared, in his 'A Philosophy for NEFA' that "the keynote of the administration's policy indeed is this: the tribesmen first, the tribesmen last, the tribesmen all the time". Ghurye maintains that such attitudes are positively dangerous for the cause of national integrity.

The recommendations of the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission appointed in 1960, further aggravated the situation and encouraged the isolationist tendencies of the different tribes. Ghurye laments that the Regional Councils and the District Councils, the authorities in charge of the administration of the Scheduled Areas, have become super-parliaments. "I think that we are heading to a difficult situation and if the tribes cause disturbances to us, we have to thank ourselves .... you will, thus he creating a Tribalistan just as you have created Pakistan". Ghurye ends his discussion with a pessimistic note, "the Scheduled Areas and the Scheduled Tribes Commission's recommendations will, sooner or later, create fifty to sixty tiny ulstars and half-a-dozen fairly big ones...."

From the standpoint of national integrity, this is a potentially explosive situation which our politicians and statesmen have failed to control.

58 In his latest work, viz. The Burning Caldron of North-East India, Ghurye severely criticises the present generation of "Indian anthropologists" as they have been 'too much soft and lenient' in their attitude to Mr. Elwin, pp. 151.

59 But, for Mr. Elwin's reply to the charges of Ghurye, see his 'Issues in Tribal Policy Making' in R. Thaper (ed.) - op.cit., pp. 29-35. Elwin says, 'I have made it abundantly clear in articles and books which I have written since Independence, that I am neither an isolationist nor a no-changer.... The integration of the tribals with the non-tribal people of the plains is of fundamental importance" (p.30).

60 Ghurye - The Scheduled Tribes, p. 383. Writing in 1974, Ghurye shows by his analysis, that this tendency of 'Political Fragmentation' has been further confirmed by later political developments, Ghurye - Whither India (1974), pp. 123-65.
Ghurye also analyses the motivations and consequences of the disturbances occurring among the Nagas, the Mizos and in the NEFA region of North East India. Let us present here Ghurye's views on the Naga and Mizo developments just in order to show how prophetic he was in assessing the outcome of the movement.

Ghurye is aware of the fact that his general conclusions with regard to the relation between the tribes and the Hindus cannot be applied in relation to the north-eastern tribes. Culturally, they have been "too different not only from the Indians of Brahmanic or semi-Brahmanic complex of habits and practices but also from almost all the so-called Animist tribes." The recent disturbances occurring in this region have dangerous implications for India. Ghurye says that their aim is "to create a hostile independent bloc on the vulnerable north-east, where the far larger and extremely powerful mongoloid race of much higher civilization can join in with ease and thus isolate India so that she will have to fight with her back to the wall, stopping all cultural development in the process." The Naga National Council, the Assam Hill Tribal Union, the Eastern Indian Tribal Union, the APHLC and lastly the AASU - all have been striving for autonomy and virtual independence. Separate states of Nagaland, Tripura, Manipur, Meghalaya and Mizoram were created. But recent developments show that the situation has only been aggravated with the passage of time.

Regarding the historical origin of the Naga Problem, Ghurye admits that there was a strong desire for independence among the Nagas from the very beginning: The Hydari Agreement between the Nagas and the Indian

62 Ibid., p. 143.
63 G. Bharadwaj - 'Socio Political Movements among the Tribes of India' in S.C. Dube (ed.) - Tribal Heritage of India (1977), pp. 141-60.
Government was worded in such a manner as to raise their hopes for autonomy. Ghurye thinks that the government should have been firm at that stage. He thinks that the decision of the Central government to grant a separate statehood to Nagaland was not conducive to national unity. This would certainly aggravate their feeling of separateness because we know "that neither their language, nor religion, neither history nor culture are likely to engender in them in their isolation any respect for things Indian."

The movement for separation was not confined among the Nagas only. Movement for autonomy or even independence began in the Lushai Hills region in the early sixties. By that time, the Mizo Hills and the Mizo National Front too had moved very far in their demand for autonomy. Ghurye sounds prophetic when he says that the dangerous potentialities of the situation is that the people of those regions are not so neatly distributed from ethnic standpoints and conceding their demands would amount to the creation of "fifty to sixty tiny ulstars and half-a-dozen big ones." So, regarding this region, Ghurye concludes, "Assam stands poised for a break-up on the score of the Scheduled Areas and the Scheduled Tribes much greater and deeper than was sanctioned by the Constitution."

Another ominous trend about which Ghurye is very much concerned and which is also important for emphasizing the sociological aspects of his writings, is the increasing use of symbols as vehicles of these movements.

65 Ghurye - op.cit., p. 383.
As he says, symbols are very much effective as a means of mass mobilization. Time and again, this theme comes up in Ghurye's writings. He is against the use of the term NEFA, for example, because of the great "potentialities of such a short and convenient name for being used as a focus of further separation. In the slogan-making technique and stereo-typing process, a short, easily uttered word is a great asset. Sooner or later, such a word lends itself to be a war-cry". 66 Secondly, regarding the use of flags, Ghurye notes with concern that even after independence, these tribes continue to use their own flag along with the national flag. This should be stopped immediately. Thirdly, language is a vital agency for socio-cultural integration and it is unfortunate that tribal dialects are being given a fresh lease of life. If integration is to be effective then the tribes must learn the language of their neighbours which will increase their contact with neighbours and will teach them to adopt their superior cultural traits. The motto in this respect is "Give them the words so that ideas may come." 67

This, in short, is Ghurye's appreciation of the nature of developments which have taken place in post-independent India. The entire discussion stems from the proposition that the process of fusion of the tribes and the non-tribes is an automatic one. The tribes, having come into contact with a people possessing superior techno-economic-cultural organization are bound to adjust their own culture and way of life with the superior ones. 68 Many of the problems which are said to be peculiar to the

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66 Ghurye - Ibid., p. 323.
67 Ghurye - Ibid., pp. 186-191.
68 Ghurye - Ibid., p. 329.
tribes are nothing but the problems of backwardness which are to be found among all the poorer sections of Indian society. As he says, "the effective solution of the problem (of tribes) lies in strengthening the ties of the tribals with the other backward classes through their integration. How such integration may be brought about is a matter for practical administration." It is in this sphere of administration that the government has failed or its expectations have been belied. "There is something radically wrong with the technique of achieving national solidarity."70

The important question is, what should have been the policy of the government when the usual process of merger had been upset? Ghurye does not clearly answer this question but some of his passages unmistakably reflect his opinion on the matter. He says that as the tribal problem is largely a problem of backwardness, the government should treat the matter with compassion, sympathy and understanding. In his Introduction to the book, he quotes the 13th Rock Edict of Emperor Ashoka. The Emperor's policy toward the tribals was to make these people fully aware of the Imperial prowess and to be apprised of dire consequences that will follow any offensive activity on their part. This is the most appropriate policy which is to be followed by the present government. - Softness and concern for the well-being of the tribes is to be accompanied by an appropriate demonstration of prowess, so that they, while receiving the benefits of the welfare activity, be made aware of the might of the nation.71 The root cause of tribal unrest lies in the administration's failure to intelligently use compassion and strong-arm tactics in reasonable proportions.

69 Ghurye - Ibid., p. 207.
70 Ghurye - Ibid., p. 342.
71 Ghurye - Ibid., p. 325.
Thus Ghurye holds that the process of merger of the tribes with the general community should be an automatic one. The Scheduled Tribes need no special treatment as a group excepting certain very limited and temporary measures designed to scale-off their condition of backwardness along with other economically backward sections of the community. This is a specific theoretical approach with regard to the tribes. At the opposite end there is the policy of isolation which has been advocated by Elwin and others. But these two are not the only approaches with regard to the problem of tribal integration in Indian society. S.C. Dube, in his paper on "Approaches to the Tribal Problems in India", has mentioned four other approaches to the problem of tribal integration. These are (1) the Social Service Approach; 2) the Religious Approach; 3) the Political Approach and 4) the Anthropological Approach. The first two approaches refer to the viewpoint of social workers and the missionaries to bring integration by a spirit of service and religious faith respectively. The political approach points out the emergence of various complicating features like the emerging new consciousness and solidarity among the tribes, the spread of national political parties etc. and their cumulative impact on the behaviour pattern of the tribes. The anthropological approach regards the ultimate integration of the tribes into the mainstream of Indian life as a natural and desirable goal but it insists on ease and caution in planning for the tribes. The fact is that, for the analysis of the tribal movements in modern India, one has to take into consideration a multiplicity of factors. Dube rightly says, 'the genesis, history, ideology, operational strategy - especially the solidarity - building techniques, mobilization mechanisms, styles of

72 But see Elwin's Article in Thaper (ed.) - op.cit., p. 30.
leadership, and so on - and results of these ethnic movements need to be probed in depth.\textsuperscript{73} In the absence of such multi-dimensional approach, any analysis of tribal movement is bound to be simplistic, as it has been in Ghurye's case.

The present tribal unrest is not merely the problem of backwardness but it also owes its origin to certain other deep-rooted sociological reasons which ought to be taken into account. Numerous field-studies show that even among those tribes which have adopted Hinduism, there are elements of their own tribal life and culture. Bailey has shown that the Konds of Orissa, even after adopting Hinduism, maintain their traditional language, dress and housing pattern.\textsuperscript{74} S. Fuchs, about whom Bharadwaj says that his is the only other attempt along with Ghurye to deal with tribal movements with an all-India or macro-focus, has similarly said about the Orans that the infusion of Hindu elements into the traditional Oran religion and culture has increased their self-respect and has intensified their conservatism.\textsuperscript{75} So admitting that the contact is inevitable, the anthropologist has a role to play in ensuring that the contact is placed in the right direction. D.N. Majumdar says, "the question is of making the culture change arising out of contact beneficial, forestalling and safeguarding against the possible disruptive influences. Classical theories of change seem to have oversimplified the nature of this complex process."\textsuperscript{76} Majumdar and Madan have commented on Ghurye's views thus, "Ghurye perhaps overstated his case. The tribal folk

\textsuperscript{73} S.C. Dube - \textit{op.cit.}, p. 6.
\textsuperscript{74} Bailey - \textit{Tribe, Caste and Nation} (1960), pp. 3-4; also, Mandelbaum - \textit{Society in India} (1972), p. 598.
\textsuperscript{75} S. Fuchs - \textit{The Rebellious Prophets} (1965), p. 45.
\textsuperscript{76} D.N. Majumdar - 'Role of the Sociologist in India' in R.N. Saksena (ed.) - Sociology, Social Research and Social Problems in India (1961), p. 41.
have a distinct culture and complete assimilation may not be possible without
doing-injury to them .... The best policy would be one of controlled
( planned ) and limited assimilation. "77 Thus the point is that what-
ever the level of integration of tribes with the Hindus, historically
they have never lost their self-image and identity. 78

The economic motivation which prompted the tribes to become a
part of Hindu social organisation, is no longer working today. In order to
be gainfully engaged in an occupation, it is no longer necessary to be
identified with a particular caste. Increasing tempo of industrialization,
proliferation of occupations, widespread geographical mobility etc. have
facilitated direct recruitment from all the castes without any barrier. 79
So today there is no economic reason why a particular tribe, which has not
yet lost its cultural identity and image, should accept a lowly status under
Hinduism.

Side by side with economic changes, political changes of a
far reaching nature, have occurred. Introduction of adult suffrage, the
operation of political parties and the continuous effort of enlightened
tribal leaders have introduced a new consciousness among the tribals about
their strength of number and about their potentiality as organized pressure
group to secure favourable decision from the administration. Spread of
literacy and communication facilities have united tribes living over a wide

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77 Majumdar & Madan - An Introduction to Social Anthropology (1967)
pp. 280-81. Ghurye commented that they 'misrepresented my view'. - I and Other Explorations (1973), p. 112.
78 S.N-Sahay - 'Tribal Self-Image and Identity' in S.C.Dube (ed.) - op.cit., pp. 8-37 ; L.P. Vidyarthi - Dynamics of Tribal Leadership
(ICSSR, 1971).
part of the country. R.Q. Dhan has said that urbanisation and political awareness has projected a wider adivasi image and created a new tribal solidarity as distinct from individual tribal identities. Mandelbaum says that Santal mobility efforts are aimed directly toward new political power and status. Their leaders advocate new standards of conduct but these are Santal virtues, sanctioned by Santal tradition and deities rather than as a return to Kshatriya or Brahmanic models. K.K. Bose says that modernization has increased the 'feeling of deprivation' among them. They have begun to feel more deeply than ever before that they are less educated, less economically advanced and less equal than others. Roy Burman turns our attention to the growth of nationalism among the tribes which leads to the submergence of clan loyalties to tribal loyalties and the tribal loyalties to inter-tribal loyalties. In its search for ethnic and regional solidarity, it develops regional, linguistic affinity, common cultural and historical identity to foster its political aspirations. In the background of these factors, the Jharkhand movement or the Bastar disturbances should not be dismissed outright as fissiparous or anti-integrational. Tribal unrest should be discussed in the light of the entire gamut of economic and political changes which are occurring in post-independent India. The discussion of Ghurye could have been more meaningful if he had expanded his horizon and took into consideration all these factors:

80 R.Q. Dhan - These are my Tribesmen: The Oraons (1967).
81 Mandelbaum - Society in India (1972), p. 613.
Ghurye assumes that since a huge sum of money has already been spent on tribal welfare, this must have resulted in improving their condition of life. But spending a huge sum does not guarantee any spectacular improvement in the material condition of the people. Jan Breman, in his study of the Halpatis of South Gujrat, says, "my conclusion, based on field work in 1962-63 and again in 1971-72 in the same area, is that the direction of socio-economic change in their case can be summarised in one word: pauperisation". Analysing the Reports of the Commissioners for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and the Report of the Study Team on Backward Classes, Desai also comes to the same conclusion. It is true that the tribal problem is linked up with the overall socio-economic system and one cannot have a piecemeal solution. But if one supports the initial scheme of special treatment on the ground of backwardness, as Ghurye does, there is no reason why one should not support its logical continuity. In fact, instead of abolishing these privileges, today many talk in terms of a multipronged attack on the problems of the tribes. L.P. Vidyarthi, for example, talks about the need of concerted effort being taken at psychological, economic and socio-cultural levels in order to quicken the pace of integration.

Some discussion is needed on the problem of the north-eastern tribes. That these tribes form a specific category was recognized by the framers of the constitution also. It is a fact that after independence, these tribes have proved to be most turbulent ones. Regarding the Nagas, Ghurye is not even prepared to grant the separate status of a statehood.

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86 L.P.Vidyarthi - 'Approaches to the Problems of Integration of Tribals in India' in M.R.Sinha (ed.) - op.cit., p. 162.
within the Indian Union to then. But historically speaking, the Nagas were first brought under British control only in 1878. As early as in 1929, the Naga Club had submitted a memorandum to the Simon Commission instating,"You (the British) are the only people who have ever conquered us and when you go we should be as we were." Socially and culturally also the Naga tribal organization has been distinctive from other tribal organizations in India. B. Mukherjee says that the predominant typologies to which the majority of the tribes conform to are Iroquois and Hawaiian respectively which have spread all over India except Nagaland where the tribes belong to Omaha type of Kinship Organization. Subsequently, the Peace Mission which was formed by the Government to solve the problem also admitted that "the Nagas never formed part of the Indian mainstream". J.F. Narayan, a member of the Peace Commission, observed, "the Naga people are unquestionably a nation ...... (and) the Naga Freedom Movement may take a different character if it is placed in the context of a union of self-governing states". The Naga Problems could have been solved in 1946 had the Union Government acted wisely and diplomatically at that time. The Secretary of the NNC stated at that time (Dec. 1946), "Our country is connected with India, connected in many ways. We should continue that connection .... But as a distinctive community, we must also develop according to our own genius and tests." The Naga problem has not yet been solved. Even in 1978, the then Chief Minister Visol admitted that Mr. Phizo's name was a household word in Nagaland and his participation was needed for lasting peace. But it cannot be denied that the situation has considerably been diffused after the granting of statehood to Nagaland.

87 Bhabananda Mukherjee - Structure and Kinship in Tribal India (1981), p. 65
With regard to the Misos also, the Mizo National Front, led by President Laldenga has been carrying on a protracted clandestine war against the Indian Government for a long time. The situation was improved in 1976 when the MNF admitted that Mizoram was an integral part of India and accepted a solution of its problems within the framework of the Constitution. But subsequently differences arose again and the Government is at a fix regarding how to solve the complicated problem.

Some comments are needed on Ghurye's advocacy of strong arm tactics for solving tribal insurgency. Is it not a fact that most cruel methods have been applied by the Government to solve these problems? The Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act, 1958 as amended by the Armed Forces (Assam and Manipur) Special Powers Act 1972 are in continuous operation in all the five states and two union territories in North-East India. By this the right of life and personal liberty of the citizens can be taken away by proclaiming any area as a 'disturbed area' without assigning any reason. D.N. Majumdar's comments on the advisability of this policy is worth mentioning here: "Today the problem is being tackled at the military level, but unless it is cushioned by more stable and sound bases, the military solution would be a temporary solution, if any solution at all." Again, as Mr. Jafa rightly observes "Backward tribal peasantry does not take up arms lightly against overwhelmingly superior forces unless they have been driven to it by unendurable hardships, humiliation and a utopia worth dying for.... Peace is a structure that has to be laboriously built on a

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94 D.N. Majumdar - 'The Role of a Sociologist' in R.N. Saksena - op. cit., p. 42.
clear understanding of tribal ethos and the rapidly changing strategic environment of north-east India.\(^{95}\)

The fact that we are raising these points does not mean that we support the tribal policies of the government. We cannot join with S.C. Dube when he says "With some lapses, its (the government's) policy has been fairly consistent: understanding, accommodation and reconciliation have been its watchwords...... it has shown rare flexibility of approach in meeting legitimate ethnic aspirations."\(^{96}\) After all, Ghurye has raised certain basic questions relating to the sociology of integration—a section of people legitimately marked off from others initially are unwilling to surrender these privileges and are cashing in on them. How then are these privileges to be removed and the individuals be treated as citizens and not as members of any ethnic or sectarian groups? It appears that the difficulties in the path of solving this problem are formidable. And regarding the situation in North-East India today, everybody would accept the validity of the following observation of Ghurye, "The north-east of India (Bharat) appears to be on the peak of a volcano which may erupt at any time and break the integrity of the country......\(^{97}\)

THE MAHADEV KOLIS

On the tribal phenomenon, Ghurye has not been contented with the theoretical analysis of the nature of tribal movement and its possible impact on national unity. He has also made a detailed ethnographic analysis of the

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\(^{95}\) Ref. The Statesman, 7th June, 1978.

\(^{96}\) S.C. Dube (ed.) - Tribal Heritage of India (1977), pp. 6-7.

The study was undertaken by Ghurye in 1956 under the auspices of the Government of Bombay. The Kolis are a very well-known and large tribal community spread over a wide part of Western India. Though the term 'Koli' means a fisherman, there is no occupational homogeneity among the different sections of the Kolis. There is a definite gradation of status among them also. The Mahadev Kolis, for example, would have no matrimonial alliance with other categories of Kolis.99

The life and activities of the Mahadev Kolis, the most progressive and numerous section among the Kolis, attracted the attention of historians and politicians in the past. They had established their kingdom in the Konkan district in the middle of the 14th century. They enjoyed much prominence during the Maratha and subsequently, the British regimes. They were notified as a criminal tribe by the British rulers in 1914, though Ghurye does not find much evidence of their criminal activities during the time of his study.100

Ghurye undertakes a detailed study of their living pattern, their rituals and practices with regard to birth,

death and marriage, their economic activities and their recreational pattern. While we can not make a detailed discussion of these aspects here, several interesting things which come out of Ghurye's study may be noted here.

The first is that, though the Mahadev Kolis constitute a tribe, they have been so thoroughly Hinduized that one cannot differentiate them from the large body of Hindus. The Gods and goddesses they worship are the Hindu ones. The influence of this Hinduization process is evident from the day to day life of the Kolis, from their rites, rituals and festivals. Sachchidananda notes this phenomenon while making a review of this book of Ghurye. The Kolis cremate their dead, observe ceremonial pollution and employ priests for the purification ceremony. But in spite of this extensive influence of Hinduism, elements of tribal culture are also to be found among them. Ghurye says, "If the prevalence of Maruti-cult establishes the close connection of the Mahadev Kolis with the Kumbis, the Marathas and other high castes of Maharashtra, their faith in Vaghdeva and Hirava and the annual celebration of the former reveals their affinity not only with the other Scheduled Tribes of Maharashtra but also with others far east like the Gonds". The Mahadev Kolis today are taking a leading role in integrating the different sections of Kolis into one community. The educated Kolis are also forming welfare organizations exclusively for the Kolis. Ghurye does not explain the phenomenon but these are indications that a long historical process of integration has stopped, even reversed. Ghurye's findings here, it may be mentioned, go against his general conclusions with regard to the integration of tribes in Hindu society.

102 Ghurye - Ibid., p. 45.
Another interesting thing which comes out of Ghurye's study is the nature of change which is occurring among the Mahadev Kolis today as a result of modernization and urbanization. Ghurye notes that several factors account for this change. These are, first, education, second, urban life and occupation; and third, in the rural areas, the Community Development Projects.

Of them, the influence of urban life and occupations has been the most important factor of change. And primordial connections, like kinship and neighbourhood, have been most instrumental in effecting this change. But even when the Kolis live in the urban areas and take to urban occupations, the impact of caste and community on them has not been lessened. The urban Kolis try to secure jobs for their caste fellows and the philanthropic activities of them are centred around caste. This fact has also been substantiated by other studies in the field of urban sociology. G. M. Lynch has found that caste panchayats do exist in cities and their control over their caste fellows is very tight. Again, though urban living induced changes in their life pattern, their over all position in the urban area remains low. This is particularly true about the first generation migrants. They are engaged in manual work, are lowly paid and there is some type of continuity of their 'manual labour heritage'. This shows that urbanization as such does not result in social mobility. Social mobility is the result of interaction between differential...
opportunity structure and people's access to that. Further, almost without exceptions, Ghurye's case studies show that the respondents retain their connection with the native village and cherish a fond hope of going back to the village after retirement. This shows that the urban acculturation process has not been complete and that the push factor rather than the pull factor is responsible behind the urban migration of these people. Obviously it creates its impact upon the process of urbanization.

Community Development Projects and other rural development schemes have also introduced changes in the rural side which are affecting the life style of the ruralite Mahadev Kolis. For example, many Mahadev Koli people have been engaged in the trade of superior breeds of cattle and this has been boosted by the artificial insemination programme of the government. Other subsidiary or related occupations have also emerged, e.g., milk-trading or opening of sweet meat shops or tea shops. This is how Ghurye shows that the traditional social structure of the Mahadev Kolis is changing in order to cope with the demands of the new situation.

For a substantiation of this thesis from another standpoint, see, L. Caplan - 'Social Mobility in Metropolitan Centres' in S. Saberwal - Process and Institutions in Urban India (1978), pp. 193-215.
