CHAPTER – 9

Finding and Conclusion

Findings

1. Wage labor has slowly changed the economic status of the Hakkipikki Jenukuruba and Yerava who now do some travelling for their jobs. Most of the Jenukurubas worked as laborers, coffee workers in Coorg districts, shop assistants, hospital attendants, auto rickshaw drivers, forest watchers etc. Only 3.86% of rural respondents and 10.29% of urban respondents had government jobs. An income disparity was evident between rural and urban respondents. About 26.43% of rural respondents earned in the Rs. 5000 to 10000 per month income range. In contrast, about 24.64% of urban respondents earned Rs.14, 000+ monthly.

2. Hakkipikki tribes are traditional work like Medicine and collecting some forest herbals still practiced, but with a difference… that are more appealing to outsiders are making inroads into traditional medicine. Not merely handcrafting, paint work also contributes to making medicine into rare works of art. Raw material too is not as easily available in the forests, making the end products more expensive. Tourists are picking up these products and taking them far away, as own use, as household use, and also as utility items. Hakkipikkies are going foreign countries and selling their products easily. This is a refreshing reverse trend from micro to macro, of localization towards globalization. Ease of travel is helping Hakkipikki medicine products with new products to become popular even outside the country in places like Dubai, Malasia, Thailand, Srilanka, and some African countries for instance… a fallout of reverse globalization, through non homogenization.

3. Traditionally, nearly 45% of all Jenukuruba marriage negotiations are initiated by the parents of the bride or groom, with 55% of negotiations through other sources like uncles, aunts, and elders, within the family. Though negotiations are initiated by parents and other relatives, the weddings are not conducted without the consent of the bride or groom. The Hakkipikki being a matrilineal society, but not in Jenukuruba and Yerava tribes. The girl’s side is given more importance, and the groom has to pay bride price in Hakkipikkies. Another finding is that 25% of weddings are conducted
by either Hakkipikki or Brahmin poojaris (priests), which was not the case in the past. About 75% of weddings are still conducted by relatives or elders of the bride’s side. Another finding – a miniscule number (3.21%), of inter-caste marriages among the Jenukuruba and Yerava occurs and may slowly replace traditional marriages. Arranged marriages still take precedence over love /inter caste marriages. Since love and inter caste marriages were personal choices, instead of having weddings conducted by the family, 14% of these marriages were registered. Inter caste marriages include inter communal and inter religious marriages. A total of 25% of the community chose their own partners.

4. In a continuation of the past, there is a very low incidence of marital breakups among the Jenukuruba. Among urban respondents, less than three percent had broken marriages. Among rural respondents, incidence of marital breakup was little over seven percent. Fewer city respondents were divorced or separated compared to rural respondents. Urban tribal have higher levels of divorce and separation than rural tribes. The reason for this could be that urban life style had greater number of chances of employment and therefore higher levels of economic and social independence.

5. Among Mysore district respondents, more than 55% had joint families. Among Hakkipikki respondents, more than 75% were in nuclear families. There is a noticeable shift from joint to nuclear families with nearly 55% of the population living in nuclear families; the extended family structure is nearly extinct.

6. Currently, more Hakkipikki and Yerava children are being educated. Compared with Jenukuruba children. 84 % percent of school-going Hakkipikki and Yeravas receive scholarships, which range from government grants to NGO scholarships from Rotary, Lions Club, etc. Among the Hakkipikki and Yerava population, nearly 38% were found illiterate. But among these population, 31.37% respondents were either Pre-University or college educated. One finding - higher education levels among Hakkipikki and Yerava respondents was due to better opportunity for higher studies in towns and cities. Another finding -- the educational level of girls the age of twenty is more than 80%. The reasons for this include state government, and national and international NGOs scholarships and educational aids like midday meals, bicycles, school bags, uniforms, etc. that motivate girls to continue to attend school. The **global** face of scholarship is evident in international NGOs offering scholarship.
7. The field of health care has also undergone a change. There is an increase in the number of selected tribes going to health centers like hospitals and private nursing homes for deliveries. Nearly 50% of women went in for some form of antenatal care. Care giving included access to allopathic practitioners, dais, or parental home care. Nearly 14% of deliveries were by Jenukuruba midwives with experience but no formal training. Eighty five percent of deliveries were conducted in government or private health centers. This shows better access to health facilities as well as rising income and increased awareness in the community. Seventy three percent of Hakkipikki and Yerava used allopathic medicine, going to private or government health centers manned by allopathic practitioners. If globalization includes access to more western, stereotypical allopathic health care, than the Hakkipikki and Yerava have access to a form of globalized health care. However, about 22% of the community used various types of home remedies.

8. **Globalization** might have impacted selected tribes in ways that till now have not been completely documented, from macro influence to micro via the virtual world. Access to the Internet, use of e-mail, social networking sites like WhatsApp, Facebook, Twitter, Yahoo, Skype, credit and debit cards - the virtual world, and virtual currency, which is part of globalization, rules.

   Thanks to speedier ways of travel and communication, the selected tribes today can be compared to other ‘developed’ indigenous communities around the world with reference to almost instant communication thanks to cell phones and e-mails.

9. Technological advances that see these tribes marching into the twenty-first century include the website of the Integrated Tribal Development Department (ITDD) dedicated to these tribes developing by Minister H. Anjaneya. Smart Cards for individuals have their personal details, socio-economic background, government facilities used or available like government services and health facilities. The website (www.itdpdk.com) contains details on lifestyle, aspirations, etc. of these tribal families. Interconnectedness through the virtual world of the Internet is another aspect of globalization.

10. Technology and wage labor have also enhanced quality of life. Wolf, author of *Europe and the People Without History*, says that, ‘wage labor’ – which transformed
services or work into a commodity that could be bought and sold like any other type of goods, is the defining quality of capitalism and one of the trademarks of globalization. Selected tribes kitchens have labor saving devices life grinders and mixers, which free the housewife with more spare time. The common smart cell phone has improved connectivity between them. TV brings into all homes serials, ads and news subtly changing the way gender, money, travel, and food, are perceived. In many ways, the labor saving gadgets of a Hakkipikki kitchen are commonplace, found in homes with electricity all over a globalized world. Another American import is the mall – Mysore mall, big bazar, easy day etc. Several malls making a global shopping experience a local one.

11. Personal possession of vehicles occurs in 50% of the community with more two wheelers than four wheelers in both rural and urban areas. Nearly 49% of the respondents owned no vehicles. Ease of travel and modes of petrol fuelled transport are also aspects of globalization.

12. Most selected tribes are aware of the policies of political parties in the area. One unusual finding - they are members of different political parties. A woman candidate also representing their respective area ,in H.D.Kote taluk Maranahadi Devamma belongs to Jenukuruba were ex member of Taluk Panchayath as well as in Hunsur taluk 1ªPakshirajapura Shantha is belongs to Hakkipikki community and she is Ummathuru Gramapanchayath president in the duration of 2015 to 2017. So they are occupying political knowledge.

13. Lifestyle changes as evidenced by dietary changes are also taking place. Plain rice or rice combination (like idli, dose) comprise 82% of all three main meals (breakfast, lunch and dinner). Most of the rice meals are eaten with egg and non-veg, which is cheap as urban and rural area. The selected tribes are eat other kinds of non-vegetarian food like mutton, chicken and fish and egg when they can afford it. Weekend meals most of the time includes non-vegetarian food. Hakkipikki cuisine has also undergone a ‘global’ change – recipes include Chinese, north Indian and American foods. With increasing cash flow, food preferences are also changing especially snacks, and becoming more American... for example Frito Lays, pizza chains, McDonald’s, KFC, etc. are now commonplace. Now they also use milk products on the daily basis, a luxury they could not afford in the past. Convenience
foods like tetra packs bring home easy to use, long storage foods like milk and juice. Supermarkets store imported fruits and juices, and large convenient packs of sodas. The influence of north Indian foods is evident in the number of road side Dabas, which have become popular in recent times. **Globalization** and the influence of north Indian cuisine are growing side by side year by year.

14. More than 95% of rural respondents and 74% of urban respondents have resided in the same homes for more than 50 years as home owners. Jenukuruba areas some places has thatched and tiled houses were common. In 1st Pakhirajapura Hakkipikki areas, RCC and tiled houses were common. In contrast to the past, with regular water supply, sanitation and hygiene have improved with most homes boasting of indoor toilets with running water. Western style commodes also can see. Indian style hole-in-the-ground toilets in the past are becoming popular. Most RCC houses were less than 10 years old indicating new affluence among Hakkipikki due to better self-employment opportunities and improved economic condition. About 51% houses in Jenukuruba and Yerava areas were provided by government schemes.

15. Small pointers to the Hakkipikki becoming more main stream include self-help groups with Hakkipikki participation like the Dharmasthala Gramabivruddi Yojana and Shivashakti yojana who give personal loans for marriage, education, healthcare, etc. up to the sum of one lakh. Payment terms are easy.

16. Many respondents were aware of their rights as a Scheduled Tribe and actively participated in voting. One unusual finding –so many respondents are members of different political parties. Some of them primary members (primary membership means voluntary membership through token payment). Ideas capes of ideas could be conveyed by labor unions, media, dominated by politics and state ideologies, or by counter ideologies of resistance to the state.

17. Hakkipikki quality of life has become more main stream. Today, many practice some form of garbage disposal through composting or burning in kitchen fires.

18. Increased consumerism is a feature of a **globalized** world; and consumerism is on the rise among the Hakkipikkies. The Hakkipikkies are pulled in different directions by
their ethnic identity, consumerism, and regionalization. They straddle two worlds, the past and the present.

19. Another aspect of increased consumerism and globalization (read westernization) are western style clothing like jeans, T-shirts, sneakers, watches, cell phones, tablets, laptops, etc.

Conclusion

For nearly 2000 years, the selected tribes have had a colorful chronicled history within India…in Hakkipikkies first with their chieftain Nagavalo then descent into a slave Shudra group, and finally as a Scheduled Tribe of the urban and rural areas. Globalization may impact everything and everybody – slightly, strongly or in the cases of the rarest or rare, not at all. How much exactly has globalization – that 1990s World Bank construct - impacted the tribes?

This research was done precisely with that in mind, there was plenty of Evidence found for all kinds of changes in the selected tribes including globalization. The globalization effects on the selected tribes display themselves in various spheres … consumerism, wage labor, Americanization, increased and better access to health care, education, and communication, increased exposure to different media, Internet access, artistic hybrid tribal products, having a robust Net presence indicative of tribal identity and government schemes, are different features of globalization. We must mention here that the continuum of globalization increases in intensity, variety and occurrence as we move from micro to macro from the selected tribe to the urban and rural area of Mysore district of the Karnataka state.

One reason to take up a study on the effect of globalization on a small community like the Hakkipikki is also to gauge the state of local economies, cultures and people. It helps governments plan better, and judge how successfully their plans are being implemented in the micro level. If zero globalization is white in color, and complete globalization is black, then the Hakkipikkies are a light shade of grey compared to metros like Mumbai, which would be a dense, almost black area. This study suggests that globalization will continue to evolve, and increase, and the tribe studied - the selected tribes - may reach metro levels of globalization aspects in the decades to come. This however must not to be interpreted to mean that the
‘indigenous’ in indigenous people, and the ‘ethnic’ in ethnic group will vanish over time.

Alfred Kroeber constructed the concept of culture to mean meaningful systems of ideas and values, separated from behavior. **Globalization** presents numerous challenges to traditional concepts of culture, as in the past, culture was thought to be something that differentiated one group from another, something that was an identification of otherness, ethnicity. A common downside of **globalization** is that it leads to landscapes of homogeneity, especially (within India) British homogeneity in the past, and American homogeneity today.

The West has famously labelled Third World countries as ‘underdeveloped’ when viewed by the lenses of an industrialized West. The Constitution of India might have lofty aims to upgrade the living conditions of all their people, but the future progress and development of any human group can only be planned after collecting necessary basic information. This study has social relevance because it contributes towards better understanding of a tribal group marching from primitive to mainstream, from underdeveloped to developed, though the selected tribes have a bit of a journey before becoming completely main stream.

Development is viewed ‘as a process, usually applied at the… community level, by which people’s lives are improved and life-chances enhanced.’ Enhancement differs depending on whether you are an economist (growth in GNP), a political scientist (democratization and grassroots mobilization), or a social scientist (empowering the poor, access to jobs, healthcare and better education). Development also covers modernization (and **globalization**), including industrialization, technological development, increased literacy, etc. Development is a base construct of the World Bank, many NGOs and III world countries. Development enfold s ‘an economic and materialistic view of life with dichotomies like power and subordination, active and passive, superior and inferior,’ etc.

The West views development as progress and growth towards industrialization, and increased consumerism (read Americanization). Today, Hakkipikki culture is as much a consumer-centric society as any other modern day tribe. Scientific development models are applied on the ‘underdeveloped’ world by
Western culture or a culture specific project. Development has three different discourses: 1. professional developers, 2. local people who are the targets of development, 3. national governments. (Hobart, 1993:12) Aspects of indigenous communities of India like the Hakkipikki particularly their culture, economics and lifestyle, have been impacted by the Indian government’s development models and reform processes.

Any plan designed to upgrade living conditions, economy, education, health standards, or eradication of prejudices of an underdeveloped community will be a monumental failure unless backed with important basic information and understanding, which should be obtained before the plan is structured together and implemented. This research suggests that in various parameters, government aid plans are working out and should not be discontinued, but with Hakkipikki inputs, re implemented with the tribe.

D.N. Mujumdar mentioned five ‘capes’, each of which was filtered past the Jenukuruba, to understand different facets of the local global landscape:

1. Ethnos capes – landscapes of group identity, connected to a specific area or tribe. Thanks to easy travel, ‘ethno’ becomes a non-local quality, which can move with a person. Ethnicity doesn’t dilute or become hybrid when a person travels as it is inherent. A Jenukuruba carries his ‘Jenukuruba ness’ wherever he goes.

2. Techno capes – technology advances provide types of work, and eliminate some de-humanizing jobs Technology helps to travel easily; supplies labor saving aids, like household appliances that free the housewife from drudgery, thus improving quality of life. Thanks to the ubiquitous cell phone, connectivity has improved. The Internet is also playing a part in the lives some of the selected tribes.

3. Media’s capes – a repository of ideas - Bollywood, Internet, and T V - bring us images – on gender, money, travel, food, etc. News and serials in TV offerings ambush the mind with constant ideas, tablets keep people connected all the time. Should there be a death in the family, for instance, the entire community can be contacted in a very short space of time, a leap in communication.
4. Ideas capes – Ideas may be conveyed by labor unions, media, dominated by politics and state ideologies. Many of selected tribal respondents were aware of their rights as a Scheduled Tribe and actively participated in voting as citizens.

5. Finances capes – the virtual world rules limitedly – confined to Internet billing, and credit and debit cards. Wage labor has changed the economic face of the Hakkipikki, as more and more Hakkipikkies going for selling their product, and travel in the process of work.

Change and evolution are Mother Nature’s universal laws responsible for beginnings, growth and decline or death. Both laws are applicable to all living beings - plant, animal and human, to living energy systems like economies and culture, to cultural economic aspects like globalization, and by extension through this study to the selected tribes. Audio-visual records in photographs and videos attached to this thesis capture the change, the evolution, the globalization of the selected tribes.