Chapter-2

Review of Literature

2.1 General Studies of Tribes

2.2 Cultural Studies

2.3 Changing in the Tribal Culture

   a. Hinduization
   b. Christianity
   c. Tribal development and cultural change
   d. Impact of urbanization and industrialization on tribal culture
   e. Factor of Education
   f. Change in the Government attitude towards the tribe
   g. Tribal Elites as Agents of modernisation.
Chapter-2

The review of Literature is important for the direction of the study. One who is not fully conversant with what has gone before has little chance of making a worthwhile contribution. Therefore, a researcher has to survey the available literature relating to his field of study. In this context, I am trying to do as much possible as for review of literature.

2.1 General Studies of Tribes:

The British administrators, missionaries, travellers and other anthropologically oriented individuals collected data on tribal and rural groups and wrote about their life and culture in the journal of Asiatic society of Bengal (1784) and later in the journal of Bihar and Orissa research society (1915) and man in India (1921) along with other historical, geographical information. They also collected anthropographic data and published a series of district gazetteers, handbooks on tribes and castes. In 1931 and 1941, some British and Indian anthropologists were associated with collecting anthropological data on the tribes and castes of the different parts of India. Some books on the tribes and castes of different regions, books on Indian ethnology were published by administrators like Campbell (1856) Latham (1859) and Risley (1891). The purpose of these volumes was to acquaint government officials and private persons with classified tribes and castes in India, with a view to ensuring effective colonial administration. Roy S.C. has published his work on different tribes, i.e. Munda tribes (1912), Oraon (1915), the Birhor (1925), Oraon Religion and customs (1928), rule in the country. When the Britishers first entered chhotanagapur they had to face fierce
opposition from the tribals. Then after they faced many conflicting situations. Money lenders and neo-settlers tried to exploit them in many ways. The land settlement policy of the Britishers also affected the system of tribal ownership. Because of these, rebellions were started in these tribal regions. In the British period, the tribals faced another encroachment in the form of conversion to Christianity by the rulers, in the name of serving the tribals. This helped tribals with their education and health but created factions among the tribals of different regions who were now divided into two sections, i.e. tribals and Christian tribals.

After the independence, national leaders were very eager to help and uplift the tribals. Many all India organizations of the tribals were formed. In the constitution of India, the tribals were given all special care (Article-46). Huge amounts were earmarked in different five years and yearly plans for the welfare Hill Bhuiyas (1935), and the Kharia (1937). Hutton called him as 'the father of Indian ethnology. Verrier Elwin has also worked on tribes, such as the Baiga (1939), the Agaria (1943), the maria (1943), the Muria’s Ghotul (1947).

The tribal and rural community development programmes of the government of India have further given a fillip to the Indian social scientists to study and evaluate the process of change in tribal and rural India. In this regard work has been done by Majumdar (1949), Dube (1960), Elwin (1958), Vidyarthi (1953, 1960, 1968, 1972)

The situation of Indian tribes was different in various stages like ancient period, medieval period and modern era. The modern period starts with the advent of the British. As a result, the tribals are now passing through a phase of development with the rest of the country.

In the post-independence period, the tribals attracted more and more scholars to study them. Before independence, they were studied
with a view to be governed. This view shifted in the republic India. It was felt that their study, specially analytical and problem-oriented in nature is important for their speedy development and for their orientation of becoming a component of the Indian civilization.

During the decade 1969-79, number of studies on tribes in India has been done. Author Sachchidananda has divided such studies in the following types.

1. Ethnographic monographs
2. Restudies
3. Social structure
4. Tribal economy
5. Tribal religions
6. Traditional political structure and modern processes
7. The changing scene
8. Tribal demography
9. Anthropology of women
10. Tribal pathology
11. Tribal education
12. Tribal welfare
13. Tribal Identify
14. Social movements

In these studies, they gave details about tribal social organizations, the habitat, economic life, material culture, beliefs and practices, the annual cycles of rituals and festivals, cultural diffusion, non tribal interaction on their economic, social, political and religious spheres, life and culture, etc.

Restudies have been done by L.P. Vidyarthi, Sharat Chandra Roy, B.H. Mehta etc. In these studies we find out the changes that have taken place in these tribal communities with the passage of years.

J.K. Joshi, P.K. Bhoumick, Ghandhyam Shah and others studied the social structure. They covered the area like, clan, Kinship, Sub clan or lineage, caste Panchayat, Stratification in peasants etc.

The studies of economic aspect of tribals have been done by the following researchers. Such as, A.K. Danda, B.K. Roy Burman, D.N. Majumdar, P.K. Dasgupta etc. they studied weekly markets, exploitation by money lenders, consumption pattern, production of various crops, impact of industrialization and so on.

Some scholars studied Tribal religions. In which they included tribal gods and goddess, rituals, role of Bhagats. etc. Traditional political structure and modern process, on this subject D.N. Majumdar (1973), L.P. Vidyarthi (1978) have done work. They wrote, emerging patterns of tribal leadership decrease the traditional tribal leadership because of the forces of change and development, and various tribal movements. Studies on social change have been done by D.N. Majumdar, A.K. Danda, R.K. Gulati etc. They studied on culture and change, acculturation, social change and tribals living style, means of subsistence, trade, market and indebtedness, family and kinship, the life cycle, crime and punishment, religion and magic etc.
U.D. Mahapatra (1970), Rama Chakravorty (1972) studied Tribal Demography. They covered such area like socio-cultural dimensions of fertility among the Santhal differential fertility among some tribal groups, demographic profiles.


2.2 Cultural Studies

Hari Mohan (1969) has made a full-length study of the Parhaiya tribe in the Palamau district of Bihar in the perspective of cultural change. As the tribe was studied in 1898 by Sunder, his account is treated as a benchmark by the author. The monograph follows the usual ethnographic model and contains details about the style of living, the means of subsistence, trade, market and indebtedness, family and kinship, the life cycle, crime and punishment, religion and magic, etc. Towards the end of the book, Hari Mohan examines the reasons of the failure of the resettlement scheme. According to him, the scheme did not fail because of cultural factors but because of administrative shortcomings and the suspicions of the neighbouring communities who regarded the Parhaiya as thieves. The new settlers were not given title deeds. Thus the scheme failed and the tribe lost confidence in governmental efforts for their welfare.

Narayan Mishra (1978) studied cultural resistance and change with reference to a village situated near Gumla in the Ranchi district. Most of
the inhabitants of the village are Oraons but there are a large number of other high and low Hindu caste groups living in the village. The Hindu way of life is slowly creeping but the kinship-based institutions of 'the tribals, such as marriage and family, continue as before. The village has a small puritanical sect of Bhagats who are nearest to the Hindu fold. Some communities are on the threshold of Hinduism and may be regarded as marginal castes. However, only one of them has gained acceptance as a caste. The book describes in detail the social contours, economy, religion, changes in the working of panchayats and the leadership of the village.

Those who have conceptualized and analyzed culture have, many a times, differed in terms of degree of focus. Some have highlighted material culture, some social culture, some spiritual culture, some ideational culture, some mental culture, some behaviouristic culture, some symbolic culture and so on.

But in most of the cases, it appears that the mentalistic perspective of culture, or culture as an abstraction have a history of later emergence. Initially, the stress was more on technological concept of culture. In between the two appeared the social or behavioristic perspective. More recently of all is the explanation that culture is to be sought in relationship between ideal state of mind with actual activity. This pronouncement chiefly came from dialecticians. In spite of position variation in the field of culture, the 'culture' is, by and large, accepted as the 'central concept of anthropology and inevitably a major concept in a possible eventual unified science of human behaviour' (Kroeber and Kluckhohn, 1952).

Spengler – In his decline of the west formulates an organic theory of culture and civilization. To him culture is 'the organic living entity'
and civilization the ‘dead external shell and monuments of the one time living culture.’

Arnold Toynbee said historical study of civilization is neither a nation stage nor whole of mankind but ‘a certain grouping of humanity that we have called society’. He called primitive societies and explains the process of growth in civilization through ‘challenge and response’ he found in it mythology and science.

Man’s life has been made possible because of culture. Man cannot survive as a man without culture. It represents the entire achievements of mankind. Culture has been fulfilling a number of functions among which the following may be noted.

1. Culture is treasury of knowledge.
2. Culture defines situations.
3. Culture defines attitudes, values and goals.
4. Culture decides our career.
5. Culture provides behaviour pattern.
6. Culture moulds personality.

Each group may have a way of life of its own. Cultures of such groups are known as sub-cultures. These groups and sub groups that are found within a national society differ from one another. According to Sutherland, Wrodward and Max Well, main sub cultures are – regional, ethnic, urban, rural, class, caste, occupational, religious, etc.

The indigenous communication system is embedded in the culture which existed before the arrival of the mass media and still exists and a

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vital mode of communication in many parts of the world including India, presenting a certain degree of continuing despite changes.3

The behaviour patterns that constitute a specific culture are not genetically or biologically determined. Every normal infant has the potential to learn any culture. The child acquires the prevailing attitudes and beliefs, the forms of behaviour appropriate to the social role he occupies and the behaviour patterns and values of the society into which he is born. Because culture is learned rather than transmitted biologically. It is sometimes called man's social heritage.4

Heroskovits has pointed out that, in parts of Catholic Negro America, African deities have become identified with Catholic saints. Legba, the trickster of the Dahomeans and yorubans is identified with 5% Anthony in Maiti, and Damballa, the Dahomean rainbow, Serpent, appears as St. Patrick.

The Pagan Zulu of Natal held a feast a year after the death of a family head to propitiate his spirit. An ox was slaughtered, incantations were made over the intentions, the kin group and neighbours drank beer and ate the meat each person taking a prescribed part of the animal according to age, sex and relationship. Choice bits of meat were laid out as an offering to the spirits. Because missionaries banned the feast Christian converts hold a remembrance feast a year after the death of a family head.5

Industrial people believe that almost anything can be achieved at least, any reasonable plan is worth a serious try.

5 Foster George, 1962 Page -26, S.C. Dube Nearing City can Influence for Acculturation.
Spengler - Culture is ‘the organic living entity’ and civilization the ‘dead eternal shell and monuments of the one time living culture.

Toynbee – Calls primitive societies as non-civilized society and explains the process of growth in civilization through challenge and response a process of great consequential potentialities that he finds commonly present in mythology and science.

Linton - ‘Organized group of individuals’ that is society and organized group of ideas habits and conditioned emotional responses shared by members of society that is culture.6

The term ‘civilization’ referring to an advanced state of society characterized by developed arts, science and technology, and material equipment. Culture for the non-material apartments of human society (his art, religion, philosophy).

If we look upon the Indian culture in broad perspective we discuss three major sub-structures. (1) Elite (2) Folk and (3) Tribal. The distinction here is main conceptual it is not a pure form. Because it will often be found that a group has some characteristics of the tribal culture and some others of the folk. The folk and the elite elements too, will very often be found existing close together.

The culture of the elite is the high degree of sophistication and systematisation. For examples language, metaphysical systems, various forms of art, poetry, music, painting, sculptures, architecture, medicine, mathematics, astronomy and astrology, etc. We can include Bramin and Kshatriya in elite class.

The vast majority of Indian population throughout the historical times has been the bearer of the folk tradition of culture. This cultural

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tradition is oral- it is carried on by word of mouth and does not depend, directly, on books. Many writers have assumed that folk culture is necessarily local and parochial. It is true that there is a vast variation of dialects from place to place, among the folk. But most aspects of culture are fundamentally the same. The folk and elite cultures have been living very close to each other. The difference between the two cultures is degree of sophistication, systematisation and specialization.

Tribal culture may come close to the elite, folk cultural system, some tribes may be midway in their path towards other cultures. But many tribal cultures in India have maintained their identity through relative isolation. A tribal culture tradition can be easily distinguished from other groups.

Some of the salient cultural characteristics of these three may be summarised in the form of a chart given below.

**Cultural Sub-structures in India**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect of culture</th>
<th>Elite</th>
<th>Folk</th>
<th>Tribal Culture</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Spreading of culture</td>
<td>Part-culture. Pan India and Regional</td>
<td>Part-culture. Regional Pan India</td>
<td>Whole cultures localised and Nomadic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extension</td>
<td>Mainly urban and masculine</td>
<td>Rural and urban isolated</td>
<td>isolated localised.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Main structural elements</td>
<td>Varna (ideal) caste stratification</td>
<td>Caste stratification</td>
<td>Clan organisation (varying degrees of stratification)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Codes</td>
<td>Elaborate Treatises on rules and ritual forms.</td>
<td>Customary rules Panchayats and local councils to</td>
<td>Customary-indigenous and diverse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominant &amp; Variant - Mental Patterns</td>
<td>Centralised authority</td>
<td>enforce codes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------</td>
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<td>---------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intellectual - Moral Imaginative</td>
<td>Moral - Imaginative</td>
<td>Imaginative - Moral - Intellectual</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forms of Religion and Art</td>
<td>Articulate, self-conscious, systematic, specialised and professional. Constant interaction with folk.</td>
<td>Traditional but less systematic and specialized. Constant interaction with elite</td>
<td>Multiplicity of traditions- Not articulate- systematic, specialised and professional. Relatively isolated from folk and elite.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communication of Tradition</td>
<td>Through written language, books and other formal media</td>
<td>Oral (related to elite forms)</td>
<td>Oral (isolated)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, with the impact of modern social forces the relationship between the elite and folk traditions has been vitally disturbed. In the urban centers, a new middle class has been growing and assuming the role of the bearer of the elite traditions.

Rise of Buddhism, British rule made some changes in elite culture. British rule in India created some completely new elite sub-cultures like the bureaucracy (military and administrative), judiciary, professional hierarchy of lawyers, university and college teachers, doctors, engineers, industrialists, etc. To abolish the princedoms, Zamindari system and
intermediary right and adult franchise was introduced as political right of every adult individual. After the independence, some constitutional provisions made for SC’s and ST’s for their development culture is created and cultivated by man. Man’s culture in a way has begun with man’s capacity to use and to create or to produce tools and techniques. And then slowly and gradually culture was developed. Culture grows in two ways: through (i) invention of new traits within the culture or through (ii) diffusion of new traits from outside the culture.

H.M. Johnson said about elements of culture. Which are following (1) cognitive elements. (2) beliefs (3) values and norms (4) signs. (5) non-normative ways of behaving.

The terms ‘culture’ and ‘civilization’ are often distinguished on various grounds. Both represent two broad fields of human activity and experience. Some differences are as follows.

1. Civilization has a precise standard of measurement but not culture. We can say that a motor car is superior to a bullock cart. The currency, the banking system are superior to the primitive barter system.

2. Civilisation is always advancing but not culture.

3. The products of civilization are more easily communicated than those of culture for example radio, television, telephone, camera etc. without understanding their techniques and mechanisms. When culture can be communicated only between like-minded.

4. Civilisation is borrowed without loss or change but not culture.

5. Civilization is external but culture is internal.

6. The products of culture reveal the nature of an individual or a social group or a nation but not products of civilization. There are some
differences between culture and civilization but there are also interrelationship between them both are man made.

2.3 Changing in the tribal culture

1. Hinduization- The tribal in India have been influenced by certain traditions of the communities around them. The major neighbouring community in all the areas has always been Hindu. They contacted with Hindus in many ways. Srivastava (1958) study has been done on Tharu tribes of Himalayan. Majumdar (1962) studies on Khasa tribe. Both the tribes were wanted to upgrade their status. Some tribes adopted the Hindu surnames. Tribes accepted the concepts of Hindus like Doctrine of Karma, of pollution and purity, the Hindu way of observing rites-de-passage, the Hindu Pantheon and cycle of festivals, the Hindu caste surnames etc. They accepted Hindu gods and goddesses like Shiva, Parvati etc. In some places they have Brahmin Priests. The Bhagat movements have also started the process of Sanskritization among certain sections of tribes of middle India. Today some tribal communities which have oriented and moulded their ‘style of life’ after the Brahminical model. Shah (1964) The Dublas, Naikas, Gamits, Kunkanas, Chaudharies and Dhodias are more hinduized and they utilize the services of Brahmin.

(a) Christianity

Christianity has been an important factor of cultural change among the tribals since the British rule. In general, it seems, that owing to the sincere efforts of the missionaries, the Patronage and co-operation of the British Government and the miserable conditions of tribals, certain regions of pockets in the different parts of tribal India and certain major
tribal groups became Christians. Sahay (1963) observed that there have been vast changes for example changes in festivals, village organization, rites-de-passage, economic life etc.

In the traditional framework a sarna oraon village functions as an ‘isolate’ having its own religious authorities and sacred centres, but after conversion the Christian groups of a village get wider areas covering those of the Parish, the Bhikhariate the Diocese and so on, with a hierarchy of priests, sacred authorities and distantly located sacred centres.

Sachhidanand (1964) at the level of cultural contents the indigenous village institution of Akhra the youth dormitory, the munda, pahan, panchayat, the traditional dance, the traditional cycle of festivals and, traditional values have been adversely affected and decline under the impact of new ideas, ethical values and, in general, a new style of life marked with new cultural processes.

Christianity has been an important factor in modifying the socialization and training process of a child. A Christian tribal personality moulded under the strict guidance of Christian village priest and under close association of the local and regional churches. Christianity has provided the first model of westernization in the tribals. They adopted western values and morals. This trend, however, suffered a setback after India’s independence. Now their conscious efforts have been to associate themselves with the trends of revival movements led by non-Christian Adivasis with a view to identifying themselves with the traditional norms of society. A new type of significance is being added by the Christian tribals to the traditional institutions and their traditional folk-ways and festivals. These are the trends in new directions and may lead to the
emergence of a new type of social and political organization among the
Christian and non Christian tribal population.

(b) **Tribal Development and Cultural Change**

The implementation of various types of development, welfare and
community development schemes meant for the tribal areas has brought
about certain economic and social changes in the tribal communities. In
the constitutional provisions specially in Articles 46, 275 and 339 which
put special emphasis on the promotion of tribal welfare and safeguard the
interest of scheduled tribes and the scheduled areas.

Through the introduction of Panchayati Raj the traditional
Panchayats have suffered a change. In the sphere of modern democratic
experiments, the periodical elections to elect representatives for
parliament and state legislatures and village Panchayats have created a
new awareness among the tribal voters regarding their political rights,
power alignments and functional roles of the leaders. So traditional
leadership has changed and modern leadership has developed.

(c) **Impact of Urbanization and Industrialization on Tribal Culture**

Under the modern process of change, urbanization and
industrialization have literally brought about revolutionary changes in
tribal India. The number of towns and cities have increased in the tribal
areas and also increased industries. Under these tribal culture has been
influenced.

The first wake of industrialization was felt in Chotanagpur with the
establishment of the coal mining industry in Jhara, Bokaro and Karanpura
Coal fields in Dhanbad District in 1856 and the installation of Tata Iron
and steel factory in Jamshedpur in Singhbhum district in 1907.
Chotanagpur has attracted thousands of local people for the work in
industry. Vidyarthi (1971) Heavy industrial complex near Ranchi affected the style of life of tribals. After Establishment of industries tribals’ land was acquisitioned and they became outstees.

Their local traditional life was disintegrated. The occupational structure of the villagers has undergone complete transformation in which cultivation has been reduced to a great extent, the engagement as industrial labourer has gone considerably high. The other new occupations which have absorbed the villagers are the mining quarry, construction works, transport, trade and commerce. Though in many ways they stand their traditional ‘style of life’ they have considerably changed in their economic occupational and material life.

(d) Factor of Education

The level of literacy is very poor among the tribals. In fact, according to the Census of 1991, literacy rate among the tribals is as low as 29.6% (males 40.65%, female 18.19%). Prior to independence no systematic efforts were made to promote literacy among the tribals. This situation changed after independence with the introduction of many measures for tribal uplift. In the Five Year Plans due attention was paid to the establishment of schools in the tribal areas. Residential schools known as the Ashrama Schools also came in. Freeships, scholarships, free boarding and free lodging facilities and free tuition classes and such-Other facilities were provided to the tribal children to promote education among them. Though these efforts have not brought about the desired results, they have definitely created an educational awareness among the tribals.
(e) **Change in the Government's Attitude Towards the Tribals**

Before independence, the policy of the British government was to let the tribals live in isolation. The administration was, therefore, regulatory in character and dealt with such matters as revenue, regulation of land, and law and order. People had to go to the administrators in order to find solutions to their problems.

After independence, through the introduction of various welfare measures, the government expressed its great concern in the development and progress of the tribals. Now the administrators are required to go to the tribal areas to meet the tribals in order to find out their problems. The government expects the administrators to be honest and humane in their approach towards the tribals. It is unfortunate that such a change in the attitude of the bureaucrats has not taken place. Hence, expected progress has not taken place in the tribal world. Still, the gap between the tribals and non-tribals is not bridged. The gap between the rich tribals and the poor tribals is also not minimised. Much is to be done in this regard. "Nevertheless, at the all India level, it cannot be denied that the tribal development schemes have broken the stagnation of tribal societies and have initiated the process of tribal transformation."

(f) **Tribal Elites as Agents of Modernisation**

Tribal leadership is an important aspect of the tribal transformation. It is widely recognised that the tribal elites have been effective human agents in the tribal system. They can keep in touch with the outside world on the one hand, and on the other, they can maintain their leadership among their own tribes. Dedicated tribal elites can play a vital role in transforming the tribal society. But the question is, whether in actuality, they are doing this. This is because some studies have shown that in some cases, the tribal elites are involved in the economic exploitation of their
own fellow tribals. As Sail [1985] has pointed out in his study of the Bhotias of Uttar Pradesh, the benefit of the developmental schemes have been largely reaped by the already well to do members of the community and the poorer sections continue to remain backward. In the present context, it appears as though the role of the tribal elites is very much limited mainly because, they have not been organised to become agents of social transformation.