CHAPTER - 1

INTRODUCTION

In the earlier decades of the 20th century empirical studies of tribal and village settlements have been a major attraction for social anthropologists and sociologists in India. Using the structural perspective, they attributed distinctive characteristics to these human settlements. A few early anthropologists tried to look at these different settlements with the help of 'Folk-Urban' or 'rural-urban' continuum (Redfield, 1941; Mackim Marriott, 1955). Folk society was described as "small, isolated, non-literate and homogeneous with strong sense of group solidarity" but was never identified. Similarly, when the starting point on rural-urban continuum was taken, as rural, the tribal settlement was not accounted for. It was assumed that in certain societies, we have rural-urban and in others, we have 'folk-urban' or 'tribal-urban' continuum. It was implicit in this exercise that tribal was not only distinct from rural, but also more primitive or backward. Nevertheless, they had distinct social characteristics. There are, however, a few communities living in a relatively isolated area whose structural set-up depict the emergence of tribal and village features. It is, thus, difficult to place them in dichotomy of tribal and village community. It is unfortunate that scant attention has been given by scholars to such habitation.

Redfield (1955) introduced the notion that societies could be arranged on the basis of their increasing or decreasing complexities
to the peasant and urban communities (cited in Oommen, 1984). Oommen (1984) while discussing rural-urban continuum regarded tribe as a distinct category from peasant. He viewed tribe as an independent society with distinctive social structure and culture. According to him, land based agrarian economy constituted the core element of peasant society. He further argued that while peasant societies constituted part society and part culture, the tribes were autonomous in their culture and distinct in several aspects of their social structure. Indra Deva (1989) has attempted to understand both folk and peasant cultures and their meeting point. However, he has relied more on oral culture of both and has not identified other common features. Thus, most of the scholars regarded the structural set-up of the community in dechotomy of primitive/tribe, rural/village and urban.

Social structure of tribal societies has been widely dealt with by many scholars. Radcliffe Brown, (1930) tried to understand the social structure of Australian tribes visualizing various aspects of their life, such as clan, lineage system, kinship system, religious rituals, familial set-up etc. in terms of need for solidarity and integration. Malinowski (1922) also tried to understand different aspects and institutions in his study of Torbriand society. He focussed on the study of one institution against the background of whole culture such as linking political with the religious or the magic, or political with economic etc., to
to understand inter-relationships between different institutions. Similar efforts were made by many scholars who gave an ethnographic account of particular tribes. O'malley (1934) gives an account of socio-cultural, political and religious systems of the tribes of Santal Parganas. Burling (1963) gives an ethnographic account of Renganggu with special focus on family, kinship and social structure of the Garos. Vidyarthi (1959 - 1978) too gives an account of socio-cultural and economic organization of the tribes of India. A similar attempt has been made by Bose (1971-72) to present socio-cultural conditions of the tribals.

Many scholars have undertaken the religious aspect of tribal society to understand its influence on other facets of life of its inhabitants. Elwin Verrier (1955) in his study of Savara focussed on the religious aspect and developed the concept of 'spiritism' to describe their religion. Rivers (1906) describes the custom, religion and language of Todas. Most of the studies have highlighted that among the tribals the religions are characterized by animism (Majumdar 1961; Dube, 1970) totemism (Radcliffe Brown, 1930; Levi Straus, 1963, Vidyarthi, 1963; Vidyarthi and Rai, 1977), ancestor worship (Elwin, 1955; Vidyarthi, 1963; Dube, 1970) and magic (Malinowski, 1944, Majumdar, 1962).

Similarly, few scholars have highlighted characteristic features of economy of tribals to understand its social structure. B.H. Mehta (1934) concentrated on the economic life of the aboriginal
tribes of Gujrat, while N.N.Vyas (1988) presents the historical-social and economic life of the banjaras of Rajasthan, Andhra Pradesh, Punjab and Gujrat. Economies of tribals are found to be characterized by different economic set-ups such as hunting and food-gathering (K.S.Singh 1982), pastoral (Jyothi Sen, N.Shah and S.K.Mukherjee 1982), shifting cultivation (Gurdon 1975; Barkatki, 1984; Bhattcharjee 1986), settled agriculture (Madan and Majumdar, 1988), depending upon geographical location, level of technological advancement etc.

Few scholars tried to understand different facets of life of tribals through a detailed analysis of family system. In this effort, few prominent characteristics of family have been put forward. For example, promiscuity in early society (Westermark, 1921; McLenan, 1865; Morgan, 1870), exchange of wives (Robin Fox, 1967), pre-marital/extra-marital relations (S.Barkatki, 1984), custom of bride price (Mill, 1937; Hutton, 1921; Parmar; 1975; Nath and Majumdar, 1988; Madan and Majumdar, 1989). Similarly, with regard to rule of marriage, clan - exogamy is found to be a significant feature of tribal society, Dalapti Murmu, 1982; Sharma, 1982; Saikra,1984; Barkatki, 1984).

Many recently conducted studies have also made similar efforts to understand social structure through the detailed analyses of various institutions of tribal society (Doshi, 1985; Robert Deliege, 1985; Alok Kumar, 1986; S.T.Das 1987)
Though tribal studies have been vastly dealt with by scholars, the controversy over the issue, which community is to be regarded as 'tribe', still prevails as unfortunately academics and administrators have not so far arrived at any consensus regarding the definition of tribe. In India, 'tribe' is largely a 'politico-administrative category.' In the Indian constitution, scheduled tribes are described as those which are backward and which deserve special provision for development. Article 342 declares that the scheduled tribes are "the tribes or the tribal communities or part of or group within tribes or tribal communities", which the President of India may specify by public notification. While including a particular group in the present list, government did not lay down any specific criterion for including or excluding a particular group. On the other hand, academicians approach tribe, with its specific features.

Morgan (1877) describes, tribe as a 'system of social organization, has a common territory, a tradition of common descent, common language common culture and common name' while Majumdar (1961) defines the term tribe as 'a collection of families or group of families bearing a common name, members of which occupy the same territory speak the same language and observes certain taboos regarding marriage, profession or occupation and have developed a well assessed system obligation. A tribe is ordinarily an endogamous group, the member of which confine marriage within the tribe. Several clans constitute a tribe, each
claims kinship between its member belonging to it based either on totemic division, territorial contiguity or common residence.

"In its, simplest usage tribe is a special group possessing a distinctive culture which marks it out from other group having different cultures" (Krishna Iyer, Balarathnam, 1961: 242)

Similarly L.P. Vidyarthi (1976) while explaining the tribe said there are certain distinctiveness in their culture, it is greater tradition oriented and conservative owing to their physical and social isolation. Structurally the tribal network has its own political unit in itself having its own institutional leaders as headman and also having authorities. In short, a tribe is considered to be a territorial and linguistic unit with its own social system and cultural institution, which, on a psychological level makes them think to be separate from the rest of their countrymen.

Dube (1977) writes, 'tribe is an aggregated people sharing social values, common dialect, territory and culture. But in restricted sense, a tribe means a group of people under a chief and maintained distinct trait. Further Dube evaluated the following six characteristics while distinguishing the tribal from the non-tribals.

1. "Their roots in the soil date back to a very early period if they are not the original inhabitants of the land."
2. They live in relative isolation of hills and the forests.

3. Their sense of history is shallow for, among them, the remembered history of five to six generations tends to get merged in mythology.

4. They have a low level of techno-economic development.

5. In terms of their cultural ethos, language, institutions, and beliefs and customs, they stand out from the other sections of society.

6. If they are not egalitarian, they are at least non-hierarchic and undifferentiated."

From the foregoing discussion we observe that the word 'tribe' eludes any particular definition. However, certain basic features are apparent from the above definitions such as, territorial boundary, common dialect and culture, endogamous group with strong bonds of kinship ties, relative isolation, totemism, animism, chief or a leader, low level of technology and specialization, subsistence economy, and general backwardness.

The above noted characteristics have not remained static with tribal habitation. Due to different developmental programmes they no longer remain isolated and the interaction affects their
style of living. A few scholars have tried to understand the type of changes which the tribal people have experienced during the last few decades.

Few studies conducted focus on the pattern of social change among the tribal. Shah (1974) in his study of chaudheris, a tribal group of Surat District, observes that Chaudheris have on one hand maintained a continuity of their social structure and on the other hand, witnessed the social change also. He also highlights the emerging trend of stratification among the tribal group of Bharuich and Panchmahal districts of Gujrat. Rao Adiyendra (1988) emphasis that tribal social differentiation is towards class structure among tribals.

Rural studies, for sociologists and social anthropologists till early sixties meant village studies, with village as a unit of investigation. In the first half, a number of village studies appeared focussing on various aspects of village life to analyse the social structure or social life of a particular village under study. For instance, Srinivas (1955) tried to understand social structure of Rampura village while focussing on structure of relationship of role and status. In his detailed account, he tried to highlight the relationship of caste to caste, interdependence among caste, working of competition among caste, village solidarity. Similar efforts were made by Kathleen Gough (1955) in her study of Kumpapethai village and Alan Beals (1955) in his study of Namballe village. Both of them tried to understand the social structure of their
respective village under study while focussing on few aspects of their life, e.g., unity of the village, etc.

Similarly, few scholars such as Bernard Cohn (1955), Lewis (1958), Bailey (1958), Majumdar (1958), K.S. Mathur (1964) tried to understand structure of a village through the institution of caste, and caste-relation, which they regarded as a prominent feature of village society, around which revolved the life organization of its inhabitants. For example, influence of caste on economic relation, intra-caste factions, ritual aspect of caste, influence of caste on social relation, etc. Further, these studies regarded caste as one of the factors responsible for stratification of village. Society and tried to explain other related structural aspects such as productive organization of the village, power structure, etc. Dube (1955), while trying to understand social set-up of the village, had primarily undertaken a role perspective in his study of a village S: amirpet in Telengana region.

Few scholars have focussed on the specific institutions of village society to understand other related aspects of village life such as Panchayat system. Scholars such as Inamdar, 1970; Somjee 1971; Rama Reddy 1970, in their respective studies have tried to highlight the structural features of Panchayati Raj, through which all political, economic and social decisions are undertaken. Prominent issues such as importance of Panchayati Raj, role of
other institutions, in this direction, etc. have been dealt with by various studies analysing political aspect of rural set-up (Chaturvedi and Shah, 1970; Ishwaran, 1970; Somjee, 1971; Atul, 1971; Carras 1972;).

Studies focussing on composition and structure of family in a village society have been undertaken to understand life organization of its inhabitants such as studies undertaken by Kapadia (1959), Morrison (1959), etc. These studies indicate either the existence of joint family system, or the separation of joint household into several nuclear households. A study undertaken recently by T.N. Madan (1965) too gives an account of the family set-up among rural Kashmiri pandits, while highlighting composition and structure of their family set-up and demonstrates. The process of partition in a family at various stages through the formation of separate hearths. Similar focus has been laid on kinship structure or kinship alliances, to understand its influence on various facets of life of its inhabitants (Irawati Karve, 1953, D'Souza, 1959, Das Gupta, 1964).

Thus, most of the studies while trying to understand the social set-up of village community, have indicated that joint family, agricultural mode of production and stratification based on caste were the basic building blocks of rural community. Tradition and religion have played an important role in maintaining these basic features.
However, during the last few years there has been a considerable shift in orientation and focus of interest. From structural-functional perspective the interest has now shifted on to changes that have been brought about by planned development programmes and, as a consequence, new institutions have emerged which have allied the traditional features and social relations. With the mechanization of agriculture, market economy, exposure to modern education, accessibility of other facilities like electricity, roads, transport, health services, etc., villages are now being treated as small towns which have regular linkages with urban centres. In short, they are rapidly losing those characteristics which made them distinct from urban centres.

A number of studies had been conducted by taking 'tribe' or 'village' as a unit of analysis, and by demarcating specific characteristic features to a particular form of community. However, there are certain areas which possess certain characteristics of tribal and certain characteristics of village society which cannot be labelled as purely tribe or village community. To understand and analyse the social structure of such community, the present study has been undertaken.

To comprehend, the social structure of a particular community, there are broadly two approaches. First, study of social structure is undertaken in terms of institutional framework, and
secondly, in terms of social roles.

The basic perspective of the Structural point of view emerges in its prime emphasis on society and on inter-relation of the institution rather than on the individual or groups. The organic analogy, which was widely prevalent in pre-Comte thought and later on linked with the concepts of "structure" and function which appeared in Spencer and was used by Durkheim and figured prominently in the works of great sociologically oriented British anthropologists, Malinowski and Radcliff Brown (Inkles A., 1964). On the other hand, full scale development of Weberian role theory as a tool of anthropological analysis is to be found in Nadel's 'The Theory of Social Structure'. According to Nadel, to describe social structure, one must consider three aspects of roles: the allocation principle that provides actors with role; the degree to which given role has a authority over other roles - the command over - action aspect; and the degree to which given roles command the various resources and benefits of the social system.

A wide range of sociologists, particularly functionalist or structural-functional, adopt institutional approach to understand social structure of a particular community. Studies conducted by Radcliffe Brown (1922) 'Andaman Islanders' Malinowski (1948) 'Magic, science and religion', Tylor (1970) 'Religion in Primitive Culture', reflect the institutional approach in their respective unit
of study. Similarly, prominent sociologist M.N. Srinivas (1952) also followed this approach in his study of, 'Religion and Society among Coorgs of South India'. A study undertaken by K.N. Sharma (1972) in his study on human network takes up social roles in the analysis of social structure.

Institutions frame rules and lay down normative order for the members to regulate their behaviour pattern. As institutions are abstract we can understand their effectiveness through role relations and behaviour pattern of the members. Hence simple identification of the normative order would not help in understanding the empirical reality. Institutional framework, no doubt facilitates in knowing the rules regulating the life organisation of the members. But by restricting an empirical study to this approach one would not be able to explicate the extent to which the rules of these institutions were being followed. Additionally this framework does not account for the changes that might have taken place in a given society. Hence it was decided not to bank upon this framework exclusively to understand the social structure of Malana in contemporary period when its relative isolation is no more there.

Similarly one would not be able to explicate the reality if he simply depends upon role-performance by the members. The role cannot be treated as a property of local person. The network of relationships cannot be comprehended in the absence of normatively pattern behaviour expected of him. One must appreciate that behaviour pattern of a focal person affects and gets affected by other persons. Further, in the absence of normative expectations there would be no evaluative standards. It is for this reason that I cannot use this framework.
introvert nature of the inhabitants who do not open up easily to strangers.

In case of problems about which little knowledge is available, an exploratory study is usually most appropriate (Seltiz 1959). In an exploratory study, the main idea is to discover facts and insights. Therefore, the research design in such cases must be flexible to permit the incorporation of different aspects of the phenomena or events (Ghosh 1984). As such for the present study, the design of research is an explorative one. The major issues to be explored are:

1. how far does the Malana community exhibit tribal and village features?
2. to understand the social structure of Malana community in terms of institutional set-up.
3. to explicate the nature of social relations and the manner in which they are controlled and regulated by institutional framework.
4. to find out the mechanisms which check the forces of change adversely affecting their traditions and institutions.
Data Collection

At Malana, there were 160 households with a total population of 1118 persons. To acquaint myself with the place and people a preliminary visit for a week was made to Malana. It became quite clear that formal method of data collection with the help of a structured Schedule would not help. People were not accustomed to answer formal questions. Hence, to collect the core data it was decided not to depend upon structured Interview Schedules because numerical data fail to capture subterranean aspects of human life-organization. It was decided to comprehend their daily life-organization while staying with them. During the months of May-June and August-September 1989 the researcher stayed with the people and depending upon non-participant observation different facets of their life-organization were captured with the help of indepth interviews, talks and observation. The core data were collected with the help of an interview guide. After the first draft of the report was written the researcher again visited Malana and stayed there for two months (June & July, 1990). It was during this period that the contents of the first draft were checked with the immediate empirical reality. This exercise was also done to check any change, deviation or misinformation. We were aware of the implicit shortcomings of observation as a technique of data collection. Hence, reliability and validity in the strict mathematical sense could not be attained. However, attempts were made to check against subjective biases and interpretations. A
particular behaviour and net work of their life-organization were checked and re-checked in different situations instead of relying entirely upon observation and verbal responses of the people of Malana. Attempts were also made to check the correctness of the responses or contentions of the Malanese from people living at other abodes of Jamlu Devta and places from where Malanese collect foodgrains for the devta: Bhandar as well as from the people who visited Malana to pay their obeisance to the devta.

A chart depicting different clans and households was prepared. The detailed information regarding the number of persons, land-holdings, livestock etc, was collected. The chart was also utilized to find out the kinship linages, number of marriages a spouse has had with persons of different clans, social obligations towards each household etc. The chart became a very useful tool to locate the household according to behr to which they belonged as well as sacred territory.

MALANA - Area of present study

Let us, now, have an overview of the terrain of Malana and the inhabitants. Malana, which is known as having the "oldest democracy in the world" is located in the lap of mountains at the height of 10,500 feet above sea level. It is surrounded by three mountainous peaks - Chanderkhani Pass (3,677 meters), Deo-Tibba (3,732 meters) and Rashol Jot (3,238 meters). The two routes
leading to Malana are highly difficult. The only mode of transportation from both the sides is on one's own feet. Not even ponies can traverse any one of the routes. One route involves a tough climb of about 22 kms from Naggar in Beas Valley. The route is through dense deodar forest, with a fear of some wild animals. This difficult, tiring and risky climb leads one to Chanderkhani Pass, which is again followed by a risky and steep descent of 4000 feet from the pass down to Malana. The other route originates from a steep descent from Jari, which is 13 km ahead of Manikaran. The route goes along the banks of Malana torrent, a rough and thundering torrent, that joins the Parbati river. This route involves a tough rock climb on a dangerous goat tract, which discourages the outsiders from visiting Malana. During winter months (November to March) both the routes are extremely inaccessible, as 10-14 feet of snow at various mountain peaks blocks them.

LEGENDS ABOUT THE MALANESE

There are many legends associated with the origin of Malana community. One of the legends is that a band of hunters came to the valley and having eaten food on the spot (where the temple is now located) went on to hunt. The left over grains sprang up into a crop of corn and seeing this on their return, the hunters knew that the supreme deity presiding over the area, i.e. Jamlu devta has taken them under special protection. They remained there and founded Malana (Ibbetson 1883). Another legend maintains that centuries ago, Malana was ruled by a demon who
was very powerful and cruel. People of his kingdom were fed up by his cruelty. They prayed to Rishi Jamadagni who lived on the mountain top, to save them from the persecution of the demon. Rishi Jamadagni accepted their prayer and voluntarily underwent the atrocities of the demon. The demon put the Rishi in a boiling pot (Deg) at a spot in Malana (where at present two deodar trees are located). After some days when the demon opened the lid of the pot, the Rishi emerged alive. As a result of this, the demon accepted the superiority of the Rishi and agreed to quit the place but on the condition that henceforth the inhabitants maintain purity of race. Yet another legend runs as follows: Once Jamlu, a divine sage, came from the Hamta Pass. He carried a large number of Gods in a basket. As he rested for a while at Chanderkhani Pass, suddenly a strong gale forced the basket open and all the gods were blown away. Jamlu went down the steep slope in search of the Gods, till he came to Malana. Fascinated by the place, Jamlu settled down and founded the republic of Malana.

Population

Malana is inhabited by a population of more than 1000 people, including children. At the time of this study, there were 767 individuals (male & female) above the age of 12 years. There were 160 households, divided into eight clans.
### Table 1.1

Clanwise Distribution of Malana’s Population

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. No.</th>
<th>Name of the Clan</th>
<th>Abreviation</th>
<th>Households</th>
<th>Persons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Nagwaing</td>
<td>NG</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Theoachbehru</td>
<td>TH</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Yeoachbehru</td>
<td>YH</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Theimaning</td>
<td>TI</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Dharaning</td>
<td>DH</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Puchaning</td>
<td>PH</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Bairigaez</td>
<td>BH</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Shillu</td>
<td>SH</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Scheduled Caste</td>
<td>SC</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Children below the age of twelve</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>351</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total:** 160 1,118

### Settlement Pattern

The houses at Malana are territorially divided into two halves, which are called as Dhara Behr i.e., the area along the slopes of mountain and Saura Behr i.e., the area which is at a lower plane. Inhabitants of three clans i.e. Nagwaing Theoachbehru and Yeoachbehru reside in one half, i.e., Saura Behr and Theimaning. Dharaning, Puchaning Bairigaez and Shillu reside in the other half. Members of Scheduled Castes families also reside at Saura Behr. Both these territorial halves are linked by a common area called Harcha which is of a great significance around which all
PHYSICAL LAYOUT OF MALANA

Fig. 1
religious, political and social issues of the community are resolved (Please see figure No. 1). According to the version of the inhabitants, no clan is superior or inferior to the other.

Dialect

The people of Malana speak a dialect known as Kanashi'. No one other than the Malanese can understand it. Their dialect shows no similarity to the local dialect of Kulu, where Malana is located. However, inhabitants of Malana can follow 'Kulwi', a local dialect of Kulu which makes conversation with them possible for outsiders. Puranchand (1984) tried to trace linguistic affiliation of Malanese with Kinnaur, Kulu and Lahaul, and found some affinity between 'kunwari' (language spoken by inhabitants of Kinnaur).

Historical Background

The inhabitants of Malana are completely unaware of their historical background, i.e., from where they have come, since when they have been living there, and why they have settled in such an inaccessible area. Attempt was made with a view to tracing their ethnic relationship with some neighbouring population viz. Kinnauras, Kulwis and Lahaulies with the help of a morphometric study. The results of the study show that Malanese are a distinct population. The distance statistics reveal closer morphometric affinity of Malanese with the Kulwis and Kinnauras than with
Lahaulies (Sharma and Bhalla, 1987). However, members of each clan claim that they have descended from one ancestor. Thus, according to them, initially eight families came, which multiplied and took the form of eight clans. The were however, neither able to trace out affinity with people of the region nor with any geographical area. A few elderly people, no doubt, claimed that they had migrated from different places in the Parvati and Kulu Valleys. According to Ibbetson (1883) and Maclagan (1892) the ancestors of Nagwaning clan of Malana came from Nagoni village in Kothi Nagar of district Kulu, while the Themaning, Punchaning and Dharaning people migrated from Thale village in Baragarch Kothi, Pos in Kanwar Kothi and Dhara in Kais Kothi of Parvati and Kulu valleys respectively. Shillus of Dhara Behr came from Shilla village in Kanawar Kothi of Parvati valley. There is, however, no historical evidence to this effect.

Types of Houses

Construction pattern at Malana is quite similar to the pattern followed by people of Kulu district. Houses at Malana are built up of wood and stone, which are in abundance over there. Every house is two-storeyed. The first storey is used for residential purposes and the ground floor is used as a store house for grains and as cowshed. Large wooden boxes kept in outer verandah were a common sight where the grains were stored.
Dress

The women at Malana wear loose hand-woven dress, quite similar to the traditional dress of Kulu. They have a ring on each nostril and the ears are pierced with many small rings. Men at Malana wear thick, hand made coats and trousers. Their dress corresponds to Gaddis of Himachal Pradesh.

Health

The people of Malana are quite hospitable, loving and normally enjoying good health. The harsh living conditions have made them quite sturdy. The women of Malana are very hard working. In addition to traditional household work, they work in the fields, look after the livestock and carry wood for fuel. Due to extreme cold conditions the people of Malana rarely take a bath and use the same clothes for days together. Due to lack of medical facilities they depend upon local herbs for curing different diseases. Due to the poor living conditions and non-availability of balanced diet, there is high fertility and mortality. Due to high fertility and lack of proper care at the time of child birth women are the worst sufferers. Recently the government has opened an Ayurvedic dispensary but due to non-availability of a doctor, it remains a non-functioning unit.
Literacy

The people of Malana are mostly illiterate. Both men and women of Malana have no formal education. However, they are quite clever in their business dealings. Since 1985 there is a primary school at Malana with a single teacher. However, only a few children attend the school. The school remained mostly closed because no teacher was found to be willing to work at Malana.

Government interventions

The government had tried to introduce certain developmental activities, inspite of the poor road conditions. Attempts were made to provide Malana with street-lights with solar energy device. But it was not accepted by Malanese, who had purposely broken down the poles. subsequently electricity was also brought to Malana but people have refused to get connection except the members of scheduled caste households.

Having taken general idea about the place and people, we shall now turn our attention to their major institutions and their interdependence giving rise to a distinct social structure.