CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

An economic system is the means by which goods are produced distributed or marketed and consumed. Each society can and does resolve the problem of living within the limits of its own resources—land, capital and technology. It can also distribute goods according to its own priorities (Haviland, 1981). Economic organisation of tribal communities can be classified differently, according to their environmental settings like the rural, settled, and cattle herding and hunting/gathering types.

Numerous scholars from anthropology as well as other disciplines have studied economic organisation of simple societies ranging from most simple hunter-gatherer societies to communities which have evolved into the market economy (Malinowski, 1922, Firth, 1929). One can also point out numerous studies related to Indian context as well (Nag, 1958, Saxena, 1964, Bhowmick, 1963, Epstein, 1962, 1973, Vidyarthi, 1963). The present study focuses mainly on the changing economic scenario of the Malaiyali people of the Pachaimalai area. It also examines as to how far planned effort has succeeded in their objectives of raising the economy to the level of development achieved.

In the present inquiry, a sincere attempt is also made to understand the dynamics of changes in the Malaiyali economy from foraging to settled agriculture.
The Concept of Economics and Economic Anthropology

Economics is a study of the broad aspect of human activity which is primarily concerned with resources, their limitations and uses and the organisation by which they are brought to bear on the human wants for their fulfilment.

An economy is a set of institutionalised activities, combining natural resources, human labour and technology to acquire, produce and distribute material goods and specialist services in a structured and repetitive fashion (Dalton, 1969 97).

Economic organisation is a fundamental aspect of the life of a people. It mediates between ecology on the one hand and social organisation on the other. While some aspects of it form a 'seamless' unit with the ecosystem, other aspects blend imperceptibly with the organisation of domestic life and political law and order (Harris, 1975). It is linked intricately with the social structure of the people, their systems of government, their technology, their rituals and institutions (Notes and Queries, 1971). Treated normally under the conventional heads of production, distribution and consumption (Epstein, 1962 vii), it is in essence the allocation of scarce, available resources between realisable human wants, with a recognition that alternatives are possible in each of the spheres of life and that it deals with the implications of human choice and human decisions (Firth, 1951 125). Economic organisation is a social action. Economic activity is a social process. It involves a combination of human activities which produce economic goods serving given ends. Theoretically, we must be concerned with what constitutes social change,
which is in a sense what happens to social structures and individual or group behaviour.

The substantive meaning of economics stems from human dependence, for livelihood, upon nature and fellow beings. It refers to the interaction with natural and social environment, this results in supplying humans with the means of material satisfaction. The formal meaning of economics is in the means-ends relationships, manifestly apparent in words such as 'economical' and 'economising' (Polanyi, 1957). Its elements can be conveniently grouped as 'ecological, technological or societal', according to the natural environment, the mechanical equipment or the human setting. In the ecological, geography and climate, land, cattle and raw materials stand out while in the technological, tools and machines are prominent, along with the modes of collecting, growing, manufacturing, transporting, storing and consuming and in the societal human setting, labour, human wants and needs and appropriations are all important. Economic organisation consists of ordering of the human relations and efforts towards procuring day-to-day necessities with a minimum of effort (see Polanyi, 1957, Samuelson and Nordhaus, 1985, Madan and Majumdar, 1987).

There are five basic economic transactions, which are interpersonal and/or inter-community encounters, transferring material goods:

1. Those occurring in the market place,
2. Those involving partnership between two human individuals,
3. Those relations occurring between two discrete communities,
4. Those between individuals or many receivers within a single community; and

Economic anthropology as a literature displays a frequent dichotomy, excellent description of economic organisation, processes, values and technology. Perhaps, the dichotomy reflects the institutionalised preparation of the anthropologist. Precise description of data in which the anthropologist immerses is a distinguishing feature of the profession (Evans-Pritchard, 1954). For any traditional community, we may assume the existence of some kind of institutional apparatus through which material goods are acquired and distributed, but not a universal presence of any special economising institution such as the one distinguishing market economies (Arensberg, 1957, 110). The general theoretical significance to economic anthropology concerns the dominance and frequency of reciprocative and redistributive forms of economic integration. A distinct characteristic of traditional life is the fusion of social and economic institutions.

In traditional societies, transactions of material goods are an expression of social obligation which has neither a mechanism nor a meaning of its own apart from the social ties and social situations. In the western meaning of the word, there is no 'economy' in traditional society but only economic institutions and processes. In the traditional communities, the individual as an economic entity is personalised and not anonymous. He/she holds an economic position by virtue of his/her social position. Hence, to displace the individual economically amounts to a social disturbance (Firth, 1951, 137). The traditional society implies a system of
simple, non-mechanical technology, with little or no innovation, directed towards maintenance rather than increase in capital assets and, with relatively low differentiation of economic roles of people in production, entrepreneurial and management functions (also see Firth, 1929, Herskovits, 1952).

Economic activities of the tribal communities can be classified differently, according to their environmental settings. Herskovits (1952) has classified the types as follows:

1. Peasant economy
2. Rural nomadic economy
3. Settled village economy
4. Subsistence economy
5. Collectoral economy
6. Cattle herding economy

Firth (1951: 87-88) has defined the peasant economy in the following manner: it is a system of small scale producers, with a small technology and equipment, relying primarily for their subsistence on what they themselves produce.

Such a small scale productive organisation, built upon the use of a close relation to primary resources, has its own concomitant systems of capital accumulation and indebtedness in marketing and distribution. In Firth's opinion, a peasant economy is characterised by a typical social relationship rather than a typical technological production. What gives shape to life in peasant communities is the necessary relation of the peasant economy to particular type of social structure. On the other, Shanin (1971) defines the peasant as one
conforming to age-old habits and practices in agriculture, and
folk knowledge of the climatic rhythm

For Forde (1960), however, the common characteristic of a primitive economy is the lack of diversity in resources. As such, some people are heavily dependent on a few products, which are processed to provide food, shelter, weapons, tools and nearly all other needs. There is a preoccupation with a daily and seasonal food supply, limited transport, difficulty in storage and over-dependence on one or two resources. Social relations are personal and face-to-face variety. In such a society, everyone knows everyone else and everyone is related to everyone else. The sick and unfortunate are able to depend on the kindness of their immediate neighbours. Sharing of tools and of supplies to meet individual shortages are matters of moral obligation between kinsfolk and neighbours. Impersonal commercial relations hardly exist. The group which lives and works together has strong feelings of solidarity (Forde, 1960 331-333).

The production unit does not necessarily correspond to the unit of consumption, the size of the former is generally determined by technical considerations, while the size of the latter may vary from a group of households to the whole of the local community. In production, people cooperate in different groups and at different seasons, depending upon the nature of work. The system of production is of small, independent units but poor in capital equipment. The quantity, effectiveness and variety of their tools and weapons, the durability of their houses, the serviceability of their roads and paths are strictly limited by the low level of technical knowledge (Forde, 1960 341).
Redfield (1965) has likened the peasant societies as 'little communities' and listed four main qualities

1. Distinctiveness based on group consciousness,
2. Smallness helps in the personalised relations,
3. Homogeneity is equivalent to slow-changing, and
4. Self-sufficiency is a cradle-to-grave arrangement

Wolf (1966) on the other hand defines the peasant in the following manner

1. Peasants are small producers,
2. They produce for their own consumption,
3. Their way of life is cultivating the land, and
4. Surplus produce is for market

In general, the peasant society has the following characteristics

(Beteille, 1974)

1. Depends upon agriculture
2. Love of the land
3. Primarily subsistence
4. Production primarily for subsistence
5. Participation in money economy
6. Relatively poor
7. High incidence of illiteracy
8. High birth and death rates
9. Old settlement
10. Stable population
11. Integrated into larger political units
12. Existence near big cities
13. Good life

Economic anthropologists are interested in two different dimensions of economic organisation and performance and, in economics, under three sets of conditions aboriginal conditions before European contact, changed conditions during the colonial period of European presence and control, and
their changing conditions in the post-colonial period. The traditional and primitive peasant economies were economically self-sufficient and they were not integrated into any large economy outside the local community. The subsistence producers depended for livelihood on local ecology, local technology and local social organisation.

According to Gras (1927), economic anthropology is 'a study of the idea that primitive people held about economic matters' (For example, Thurnwalds 1932, Malinowski, 1922, Salisbury, 1968, LeClair, 1968, Herskovits, 1940, Humphreys, 1969). Lee (1969) has adapted transactional models of input-output economics to the analysis of 'Kung Bushmen subsistence. Edel (1967) has utilised econometrics to measure variations in the adoption of cooperatives by Jamaican fishing village. Joy (1967) has applied matrix analysis to Barth's data on the division of labour and exchange in the mountains for the economy.

There have been several economic anthropological studies at micro level, for example, by Epstein (1962, 1973), Bailey (1957), Barth (1967), Douglas (1962), Salisbury (1962) and Wharton (1958). These studies clearly illustrate the problem of subsistence or barter economy and cash economy. Orans (1968) has used the maximisation principle to formulate a model of caste relations in India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. Cook (1970) has employed timeseries and supply and demand analysis for a study of price and output variability in peasant-artisan stone working industry in the valley of Oaxaca, Mexico. Schneider (1970) has analysed economic relations among the Wahi Wanyatura as a competitive decision-making process.
Edel (1967), a formalist, emphasizes three special requirements and limitations of economic analysis

There are three elements, stipulated before an analysis can begin

a) Preference formation - a mathematical representation of the things/actors in the economic process and the desire to obtain or maximise,

b) Resources availability and ownership patterns, and

c) Technical production or exchange possibilities.

There is no way to deal with the diachronic dimension of the functions, that is, economic analysis is purely synchronic.

The economic process may not be the only system relating to values, technology and resources ownership.

Economic development and cultural modernisation have radically changed local dependence and local self-sufficiency. The interlocking characteristics of the traditional band, tribal and peasant economics, produce local social security systems, turned inward. Commercialisation and cash earning, literacy and education, and new farm technology turned outward. Material income and security income to depend on transactions and institutions outside the village. The all modern activities create new income alternatives, and modern technology allows control over the physical environment.

There are two basically different sets of conditions under which anthropologists analyse primitive and peasant economic structure and performance. The first under relatively static conditions, which is the situation before modernising activities take place. The second is the focus of analytical interest in community change, growth and development, the
enlargement of production for sale, the adoption of modern technology and applied science and other modernising activities (Dalton, 1965) Economic anthropology is an analysis of economic life as a subsystem of society (Nash, 1968) An economic anthropology of the tribal culture of India may be drawn from the descriptive monographs on the tribal people which depict their total life The scientific study of the tribal economy, in its direct form was first done by two economists Nag and Saxena Nag (1958) made an extensive field tour of the contiguous areas of Madhya Pradesh like Mandla, Bilaspur, Durg and Balaghat and studied the Baiga economy in the context of the general economic theories, laying emphasis on the sources of economy of the Baigas Saxena (1964) followed the model of Nag and studied the tribal economy of the western hills in Madhya Pradesh and presented the tribal economy of five tribes who inhabited the area Vidyarthi (1963) gave a good account of the Maler economy which revolves around hill cultivation

Sivakumar (1982) has studied the aspects of agrarian economy in two villages of Tamil Nadu He has analysed the role of farmers in agriculture Class structure, production, land ownership, marketing, sources of credit, the role of government in agricultural production and indebtedness are discussed

Tribal Development: A Review

Development of tribal people as well as tribal areas is undoubtedly a matter of great concern to all of us The tribal people, forming a considerable part of Indian society, has been deprived of the benefits of development through the ages (Bairathi, 1991) According to Singh (1987),
the people's own tradition and their indigenous ways of life, if harnessed would ensure prosperity and happiness for a local community. The development process must be initiated from below and the people must have a role in executing the schemes meant for them. Promotion of culture should be a tool of all round development. The term 'poverty' can be misleading in the case of tribals, if we consider them poor as per our measurement of modern standards.

The requirements of tribal societies are limited and, if these requirements are fulfilled, with their own ecosystem, they may or may not be considered poor. The imposition of economic modernisation on the tribal people has created problems by disturbing the traditional setting. Jawaharlal Nehru (quoted in Elwin, 1960) long ago, finalised his ideas towards an approach to tribal development, which are as follows:

1. People should develop along the lines of their own genius and we should avoid imposing anything on them. We should try to encourage in every way their own traditional arts and culture.

2. The land and forests which are owned by tribals should be respected.

3. We should avoid introducing too many outsiders into tribal territory.

4. We should not over-administer these areas or overalarm them with a multiplicity of schemes. We should rather work through and not in rivalry to, their own social and cultural institutions.

5. We should judge results, not by statistics or the amount of money spent, but by the quality of human character that is evolved.
After independence, the Nehru era laid the foundation of India's tribal policy. The Indian Government undertook measures for all-round development of tribals. Development may be viewed from different angles by different authors and agencies. Basically, there are two major approaches to development.

1. In the first approach, development of the material and human resources is sought as catering to the material progress of the nation.

2. In the second approach, development of a region or its people is in terms of the objectives, goals and values of the people concerned (Mahapatra, 1988).

According to Mahapatra (1988), the objectives of tribal development is two-fold.

1. Development of infrastructure in tribal areas, which includes irrigation, communication, health cares, drinking water supply, promotion of education, both formal and non-formal, control of shifting cultivation through horticulture and plantations.

2. Individual beneficiary schemes. This is sought to be achieved by providing various income generating schemes for the scheduled tribes under Integrated Tribal Development Programme (ITDP) and Hill Area Development Programme (HADP) supplemented by funds from special Central Assistance and various schemes of the state plan.

Chambers (1985-81) defines development in the following manner:

'Development means deliberate attempts to alter human interaction with the natural and built environment through innovations in agriculture, new energy exploitation and conversion, the construction of modern transportation system, improvements in housing, and so on.'
According to Belshaw (1992), the term development is often used in a sense of growth indicating a quantitative increase or progress in production, income, and consumption of food and thus giving emphasis on quantitative aspects, ignoring the qualitative part of man. Development should be looked upon as an organised activity with the aim of satisfying certain basic needs and to psychologically orient the tribals to adopt new skills, attitudes and life styles. Further he says that:

Development presents an increase in the capacities of a society to organise for its own objectives and to carry out its programme more efficiently (Belshaw, 1992).

Development may be considered as those changes which are required, but have minimum disruptive effects on the concerned population.

Vidyarthi (1981) observes that:

Development means growth and change which includes both the materials and human - the socio-cultural - factors which are an integral part of the dynamics of growth. He felt that 'while striving for the development of a group or an area, due emphasis has to be given to their traditional values and historical experiences'.

According to Schumacher (1973, 157), 'Development does not start with goods, it starts with people and their education, organisation and discipline'. Burman (1986, 133) writes that 'development activities particularly in the context of tribals should be concerned with:

- Satisfaction of minimum needs,
- Control and management of productive resources,
- Employment optimisation,
- Broadbased participation of the population in development process, and
e) Socio-cultural and political aspect of national integration

Further, he suggests that development would lead to a reduction of regional disparity and help in the creation of self-reliant economy. Besides, it would lead to redistribution of social justice and resource mobilisation without affecting quality of life and physical environment. The real challenge of tribal development then is to modernise the tribal economy and to integrate it with larger national economy without, at the same time, disrupting their ecological existence, their socio-cultural systems and their traditions of socio-economic equity and innocence (Burman, 1986).

According to Mathur (1977) for considering the anthropological approach to development, three terms must be distinguished. The terms are ‘growth’, ‘performance’ and ‘development’ usually the words ‘growth, performance and development’ are preceded by the word ‘economic’.

The practice of tribal development started with the British. Tribal development roads were constructed and these roads of development turned out to be ‘roads to exploitation’ by the money lenders, forest contractors and government officials. Gradually, they were uprooted - socially, economically, culturally, politically, ritually, psychologically and physically (Vaid, 1992).

Vaid has rightly pointed out that

It is absolutely true nowadays that the homogeneous tribal communities are gradually becoming heterogeneous due to the contacts with the non-tribals.

Further he says that development ‘is change in the desired direction’.

There is another dimension of development, that is ‘time’ for without any proper time frame, economic development is meaningless. Therefore,
development should be defined as 'the change in desired direction within stipulated time'. According to Sharma (1994), the tribal development approaches can be classified under two headings:

1. Regional development approach and
2. People’s development approach

The traditional road development approach is extremely expensive and does not benefit the people appreciably. The concepts of inaccessibility, neutralisation, 'social services optimisation' and 'road development as an aid to economic development' are spelt out. The time perspective for the development of small tribal communities has to be longer (Sharma, 1994).

Elwin (1959) has observed, the policy of integration seeks to reconcile the need for change with the necessity of maintaining some continuity with the past, to secure the products of modern civilisation to the tribal people with the least harm to their traditional lifestyle.

Nehru’s policy was to let them grow naturally and to avoid forcing anything on them. There must be no uprooting and no drastic alienation from the old values. We should give them all we can, roads, hospitals for better health, schools for wider vision, improved agriculture for richer physical life, but in a rather unobtrusive manner so that their traditional life is not disturbed.

For implementing developmental projects for the tribal people, a particular design is needed. Perrett and Lethem (1980) have categorised the activities in the following manner:

1. Whether the population of the area really feels a need for what the project offers
2 Whether the project technology delivery systems and institutional design is feasible in social and behavioural terms, and
3 Whether the project will benefit the people as intended
Thus, a number of concepts and hypotheses proposed experts in the context of tribal development are reviewed here. Finally, the following seven points are taken for the analysis:

1 Development includes both quantitative and qualitative changes,
2 Social and cultural aspects of the concerned population should be considered,
3 Imposition of ideas and values, plans and programmes and also priorities of work without considering the felt needs of the concerned population should be made,
4 Development should promote participation of the concerned population in the development process.
5 Development should help in the derivation or at least reduction of various processes of domination and cultural hegemony of ruling classes, equalisation of distribution of development benefits (growth with justice) and redistribution of income,
6 Development should not only prevent alienation of the tribals over productive resources, it should also not affect the physical environment to any appreciable extent and the traditional, customary rights of the tribal over productive resources, and
7 Development should not in any way affect the quality of life, but is expected to improve it.

The present study focuses on the tribal economy and development among the Malayalis of the Pachamalai Hills in Tiruchirappalli district of Tamil Nadu. The ethnography, traditional economy, details about the ITDP and its impacts are the major focus of this research.
Early Literature on Malaiyalis

The Malaiyalis (the hill tribe) have been extensively studied since the end of the 19th century. The British civil servants or administrators have repeatedly reported about their life and culture in the District Gazetteers and Manuals. There are many ethnographic studies on Malaiyalis, conducted by anthropologists in different periods.

The Malaiyalis are a major group of scheduled tribes spread around in Kalrayan Hills of South Arcot (Kallakurichi taluk), Kollihills of Salem district (Namakkal and Rasipuram taluks) and Pachamala Hills (Thuraiyur taluk) of Tiruchirappalli District. The tribes are also found scattered in other areas, notably in the Servarayan Hills of Salem District, Siddheri Hills in Dharmapuri District and Javadhu Hills of North Arcot District.

According to Stuart (1895 211-214), the Malaiyalis are a Tamil speaking hill tribe, engaged in agriculture and found in several villages lying upon the Javadhu Hills in Vellore and Polur taluks. Richards (1918), (also a civil servant), in his excellent description of the Malaiyalis gives the six following points on the culture and life styles of the Kolli Malaiyalis:

a) The forelock ('mun-kudumi' in Tamil) is worn by the Kolli Malaiyalai boys and girls before puberty,

b) Kolli Malaiyalai women wear clothes of white colour only,

c) Tattooing, though practised among two other groups, is strictly prohibited among the Kolli Malaiyalis,

d) Menstruation pollutes the Kolli Malaiyalai girl on attainment of puberty for 30 days.
c) A big 'boss shaped hollow cylinder of gold' or gilt from an inch to an inch and a half or more is an ornament worn by the Kolli Malaiyal girls

Thurston (1909) has described very detailed account about the Malaiyal origin and customs. According to him, the word 'Malaiyal' denotes inhabitants of the hills (malai = hill or mountain). The Malaiyalis have not made, however, like the Todas of the Nilgiris, any claims to be considered as an ancient hill tribe, but are a Tamil speaking people who migrated from the plains to the hills in comparatively recent times. According to tradition, the Malaiyalis originally belonged to the Vellala caste of cultivators and emigrated from the sacred city of Kanchipuram (Conjeevaram) to the hills about ten generations ago, when Mohammedan rule was dominant in south India. When they left Kanchipuram (also known as Kanchi), they took with them, according to their story, three brothers of whom the eldest came to the Shervaroy hills, the second to the Kolli Malai and the youngest to the Pachaimalai (green hills) (Hemingway, 1907). Another version of the legendary origin of the Malaiyalis of the Tiruchirappalli district is given by Hemingway (1907) who writes as follows:

Their traditions are embodied in a collection of songs (Nattu Kattu). The story goes that they are descended from a priest of Conjeevaram, who was the brother of the King and, having quarrelled with the latter, left the place and entered this country with his three sons and daughters. The Malaiyalis are very shy, especially to the dwellers on the plains. In Tiruchirappalli district, there are three villages, each possessing a number of scattered hamlets. The villages are called Vennadu, Thenpuranadu and
Kombi The aggregate population of these in 1901 amounted to 6,529 persons.

Francis (1906) writes in the Tradition in South Arcot District that the Malaiyalis of South Arcot called themselves Kongu Vellalas, the hills were inhabited by Vedans and that the Malaiyalis killed the men and wedded the women and at marriages a gun is still fired in the air to represent the death of the Vedan husband. The Malaiyalis have registered themselves, at the last census, as the Karaikkat Vellalas. The Kalrayan Hills (South Arcot) which the Malaiyalis inhabited was ruled by 'jagirdars'. The entire Kalrayan Hills is divided into jagirs called, respectively, the Jadaya Goundan, Kurumba Goundan and Ariya Goundan Hills and that these are again subdivided into 'nadus' or groups of villages (Table I 1). The three jagirs are the administrators/rulers of the hills. The jagirs are highly respected by the hill people. All village disputes are solved by the jagirs. Each Nadu has a Moopan and Urgoundan and they collect the revenue and handover it to the concerned jagirs. The entire jagir system of land administration was abolished in 1977. Now the entire land revenue system of Tamil Nadu follows the ryotwari system.

According to O.R. Baron Ehrenfels (1943), the Kolli Malaiyalis are the less Hinduised, Christianised and least disintegrated sub-caste of the tripartite tribe of the Malaiyalis in Salem district, all of whom inhabit the hill areas.

In this study, the author has traced the matriarchal systems of Kolli Malaiyalis in Salem district. The cultural similarities between the Malabar Coast people (ancient Kerala) and Kolli Malaiyalis were reported. The
economic life, dress patterns, ornaments and general Kolli Malaiyali characters, the origin and religion of Kolli Malaiyalis are reported

Table 11 Poligars and their Population

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Name of Poligar</th>
<th>No of Villages (owned)</th>
<th>Population (1901)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Ariya Goundan</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2,318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Kurumba Goundan</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>7,494</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Jadaya Goundan</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>10,009</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Francis, W (1906) Madras District Gazetteers South Arcot

The Kolli Malaiyalis have their own political organisation. Each Malaiyal village has a village head known as the 'Ur Gounden' or Kutimaniyan and has a sub-ordinate, 'Kangani' for example in Shevaroy hills. The Kolli Malaiyalis are clanish and are divided into sixty exogamous sects or kulams, with peculiar names attached to them. They are the worshippers of Kali. A small description about Arapalli Esvarar Swami temple is reported.

Venkataraman (1961), in his article, has pointed out to some information about the Malaiyalis of Tamil Nadu. He has reported about the medical aid for the Malaiyalis, particularly the Malaiyalis of the Kollihills and Yercaud hills who were badly affected by malarial infections. The people living in those areas did not find any hospitals or dispensaries for curing the disease. Jayadev (1948), a curator of the Anthropological Section
of the Madras Museum, had published an article on Malaiyalis, in which he has mentioned that the Malaiyalis have their habitats in different parts of Tamil Nadu. In addition, he has clearly written about their traditions, social organisation, customs, religion, marriage and economies.

A civil servant, Ramasamy (1966) has written about the hill tribes of Salem district and particularly about the Kolli Malaiyalis. Among the three sub-castes, the Kolli Malaiyalis are the most conservative and are found not only on the Kolliimalai of Namakkal and Rasipuram taluks but also on the Bodamalai and in the valleys between the Bodamalai and the Jerugumalai. Malaiyalis of both sexes are ardent smokers. The duties of the barber, dhobi and midwife are performed by the people of their own caste. They however, engage Harijans to play tom tom on ceremonial occasions, to work as agricultural labourers in their fields and to assist them in their hunting excursions. When any of their cattle die, they will not go near or touch their carcass but send for the nearest Harijan Brahmin purohits are not employed at all.

In 1961, the Census of India has published a village survey monograph on 'Thenpuranadu', which is one of the revenue villages of the Pachaimalai Hills in Tiruchirappalli district. This was perhaps the first scientific study, edited by Burman (1961), on the Malaiyalis of Tamil Nadu. This anthropological monograph gives detailed information on the Pachaimalai Hills, on the life of the Pachaimalai people, material culture, village economy, social and cultural life. When this survey was conducted in the Pachaimalai, the hill villages were totally isolated. It was an inaccessible track for outsiders. In 1961, the entire Pachaimalai did not
have a single non-Malayali. According to this report, the entire hills were thickly covered by a bamboo forest, with a picturesque surrounding. With the absence of proper communication, the Malayalis had not cared to visit frequently, the towns and villages of the plains. Very few Malayalis had begun adopting latest forms of dressing and haircuts. During the sixties, the malarial epidemic badly affected both the human and cattle population. There was great loss in both human and cattle life. This study has it that there were no commercial crops. Minor forest produces were collected and sold in the nearby weekly markets. The bamboo poles and firewood were regularly sold in the nearby town through headloads. It was the only source from which the tribes could get cash, directly.

The Department of Geography, University of Madras, has conducted a research on 'An Anthro-po-ecological study of Agricultural Development in Tribal Areas A Case of the Kollihills, Salem District' and this is an important field research carried out by Kumaran (1983). This important study provides a detailed canvas on the cultural ecology and agricultural systems of the Kolli Malayalis by way of analysing agricultural development perspectives. The approach is both human ecological and anthropological and focuses mainly on the agricultural development in the Kollihills. According to this study, the Kolli Malayalis are a simple agricultural peasants who practise two systems of agriculture-one, the traditional shifting cultivation and, two, the terrace cultivation. The study also examines the following three systems:

1. The land and environment: landscape and ecological forces
2 The cultural system of the Malaiyalis, their society, its structure, culture and dynamics, and
3 The human organisation system, the settlements and their development processes and services established to facilitate agriculture.

There is an emphasis on the importance of the social, economic and historical factors in the development of agriculture and how it is organised spatially, depending on the skill of the peasant and available technology. In addition, this investigation traces agricultural development in the past and then in the years since 1900. The spatial organisation of agriculture is examined at three levels, namely, the family, environmental and economic as well as human behavioural. This research is an ecological study, using to good effect the perspectives of agricultural and cultural ecology, anthropology and geography. It gives a productive result of the study of structures and mechanisms of the Kolli Malaiyalis of Salem district.

Sherring (1881) has reported on the Malaiyalis caste in his book 'Hindu Tribes and Castes' (Volume III). He reiterates that the Malaiyalis are recent migrants settled in different hill regions of Tamil Nadu. The tribes also consist of cultivators, wooded men and shepherds and are not however uncivilised as many other hill tribes are. Bosco (1986) has done his doctoral research on Malaiyalis of Javadhu hills in North Arcot Ambedkar district. Parthasarathy (1988) has done field work several times among the Malaiyalis of the Elagiri Hills and Javadhu Hills of North Arcot-Ambedkar district.

The paper entitled 'Division of Labour and Women' details the history of the Malaiyalis, their agriculture, tree varieties, minor forest
produces and status of women in the Malaiyali society with reference to Malaiyalis of Javadhu hills

Xavier Raj (1992) has done his doctoral research on 'Culture, Population and Resources: A Study of Malaiyali of Javadhu Hills' and this thesis is a compendium of enormous data on Malaiyalis and their culture. This study is an anthropo-demographic analysis, focussing on the inter-relationships between the community and the environment. The growing population exploiting the natural resources as well as the cultural systems are discussed. The study analyses how the people utilise their natural resources such as forests, water and game. The causes and consequences of population growth among the Malaiyalis are scientifically explained with a number of population theories. Alternative ideas for conserving the forest resources are also discussed. Murthy (1992) has done several social surveys among the Malaiyalis of the Kalrayan Hills and Kollihills. He has also published a book on 'Kalvarayan Malai Makkal' (literally, The People of Kalrayan) in the Tamil language. The book is a repository of detailed and updated information on the Kalrayan Malaiyalis of South Arcot District. Paramasivanandan (1967) has published a book on 'Malaivazh Makkal Maanbu' (The Characteristics of the Hill People) in Tamil and this reports on the Kollî Malaiyalis. The study on developmental communication with special reference to agro-husbandry practices among the Irula of the Nilgiris (Thamizothi, 1993) is to reveal the impacts of modern communication systems among the Irulas. The Irulas were primitive and hunter gatherers, and now they have adopted all modern skills from outsiders. Focus in the study is on both traditional and modern practices.
Interconnectedness of agro-husbandary, cultural communication and developmental communication and their implications on Irulas have been discussed.

**The Objectives**

The basic purpose of the present study is focussed on the impact of tribal development programmes on the socio-cultural and economic conditions of the tribal households in Top-Sengattupatti hamlet of Thenpuranadu revenue village. More specifically the objectives of the study are:

1. To collect ethnographic data on the Malaiyalis of the Pachaimalai Hills;
2. To study the ecological resources and the traditional economic life of the people;
3. To study the tribal developmental programmes of various agencies in the Pachaimalai Hills;
4. To study the participation of the people of the Hills in the tribal development programmes; and
5. To evaluate the change and continuity in the life of the tribes.

**The Problem of Analysis**

Traditional economic life of the Malaiyalis centres around agriculture, animal husbandry, hunting and gathering of minor forest products. They are found to have homogeneous composition, a high degree of dependence on land, water and forest resources. The forest-based subsistence economy of the Malaiyalis has been changing due to the introduction of Integrated Tribal Development Programmes (ITDP) in this area. These development programmes have brought several socio-economic and cultural changes in their lives. The basic amenities such as transport
and communication, housing, hospital, education and protected drinking water have been provided for them. In addition, to improve their socio-economic life, the income generating programmes like sericulture, beekeeping and horticulture have been introduced under the individual beneficiaries schemes through LAMP societies. As such the problem of the present study focuses on the impact of tribal development programmes on the economic life of the Malayalis.

The economy and development of the Malayalis of Tiruchirappalli district is indeed the broader objective of the present inquiry. The main emphasis in the inquiry is on the technological impact on agriculture, traditional economy, life style and environment.

**The Methodology**

The Pachaimalai Hill ranges are in Tiruchirappalli and Salem Districts. The entire region is traditionally divided into four identifiable political territories called 'nadus', namely, Thenpuranadu, Kombainadu, Vannadu and Athinadu. The first three nadus come under Tiruchirappalli district and the fourth one 'Athinadu' comes under Salem district for the purpose of revenue administration. There are totally 13,000 Malayalis living in the 82 hamlets of Pachaimalai. Top-Sengattupatti hamlet which comes under Thenpuranadu revenue village has been chosen for field work. There are 65 tribal households in this hamlet. It has a population of 311. Among the 16 hamlets of Thenpuranadu, this hamlet is the only one with a high number of households. It is also the headquarters for the other 15 hamlets of Thenpuranadu revenue village/panchayat. A small tiled house has been hired for the stay of the researcher, while in the hamlet. The first
pilot survey was carried out during the month of December 1993. The native language of the tribal community and the researcher's mother tongue is Tamil. This has provided one of the most required facilities for collecting information.

A household schedule (of 28 questions) was used for data collection. The first phase of the fieldwork was started in March 1994 while the second phase was started in October 1994. In both the phases, the fieldwork lasted more than 5 weeks. The third phase was completed in March-April 1995.

People's participation in developmental activities such as the sericulture, beekeeping, horticulture and social forestry was enquired into. In addition, the traditional economy, agricultural systems and cropping patterns were observed. The anthropological techniques such as participant observation and unstructured interviews were used to gather information on economy, customary practices, food habits and belief systems. Primary data were collected through the methods above.

As regards information from secondary sources related to various Tribal Development Agencies/Offices were referred to as well as the available government records. Personal interviews were also made with village administrative officer (VAO), the doctor in Primary Health Centre (PHC), Block Development Officer (BDO), Special Officer of the Large Scale Multipurpose (LAMP) Society, Horticultural Officers for Hill Area Development Programme, Technical Assistants for sericulture, Forest Range Officer and School Teachers. For evaluating the tribal development programmes, the period 1977-95 has been chosen.
After the pilot study, the researcher was greatly assisted by two key informants. One of them was an Ur Gounden aged 70. The other was a migrant from the Kollihills who had settled in the Pachaimalai some 40 years ago. Several days during his stay at the field, the researcher lived and slept in the key informants' houses, observing in his waking hours the behavioural aspects of the family life of the Malayalis. It is through a survey of the people that the cultural profiles were constructed, largely through a list of unstructured questions. The questions probed into the cultural history, traditional customs, cropping systems, social organisations, migration and religious aspects. On the other hand, the socio-economic profiles have been made using the interview schedules. All the 65 households have been interviewed and the following necessary data have been gathered.

The occupational patterns, both in the primary and secondary, land holdings, plot details, cultivation of crops in both the seasons, details about agricultural implements, statistics on livestock, dwelling units, the household annual income by different occupations, average expenditures of households and a host of others. Marketing, health care and migration have all been covered.

Initially, the farmer showed no inclination to talk about their lands, their work and what comes out of them, fearing the researcher to be an administrator. However, after the researcher had explained the nature and objectives of the study, along with the Ur Gounden, the tribes became more friendly and thus a rapport was established. Generally, the Malayalis of both gender are very busy in their agricultural activities during the season.
The researcher had met them several times in their own fields to gather data on the crop patterns and types of cultivation.

**Social and Cultural Life of the Community** It was soon found that the nights were more conducive for collecting data on the Malayalis, as it was possible to gather a group of gossipping Malayalis. Also, a few tribal youngsters visited the researcher in his place of residence at the field to share their experiences with him. Tribal informants have not revealed their annual average income and thus the income could only be deduced from some specific case studies. It could be, for instance, deduced through the products they receive from agriculture, which is only an approximation. The elders had been approached to get an approximate estimate of their incomes. Local measures have been converted into national standard measures. The researcher observed marriage customs on two occasions during his stay. Expenditures on marriages in the villages have been gathered randomly from the data furnished by the people of neighbouring hamlets and nadus as well.

Details on the floral species were collected when the Malayalis were out grazing their cattle and sheep in the reserved forests. Almost all temples and shrines in the area were visited by the researcher to document their impacts on the social and community life of the tribes. Cultivation of crops in the hills is dependent upon the rains. The tribes have shown a preference for a single crop, either paddy or tapioca. It was possible for the researcher to acquire information so that the relationship between the utilisation of the agricultural capital on the two crops grown could be deduced as well.
Property details concerned with the collection are of productive and non-productive details but with a view to assess the wealth of the tribes.

A list of all possible items of the households was prepared with a view to making an inventory of resources at hand. Income and expenditures, and their relative values, were determined from the field study. Food consumption and expenditures were specially collected. In all cases, the researcher cross-checked the items of data collection to see whether or not the data collection was successful. Group meetings and small group interviews of women were carried out by the researcher. The interview has ever so slightly been modified to suit the purpose at hand. Sericultural and other non-traditional farms were visited, observed and the data gathered. The researcher also visited two sericultural farms to get firsthand information the working and operational conditions of the farms. It was found that five families are devoted their entire time to their own sericultural farms. A cost-benefit analysis of their farms were made.

Variables

In order to gather the data regarding the ITDP activities and its impact on socio-economic conditions of tribals, all the important variables involved in this study have been identified. The following are the variables employed in this study.

a) **Independent Variables.** All demographic, social and economic attributes of sample respondents are treated as independent variables.

**Demographic Variables**

1. Size of households
2. Literacy levels
Social Variables
3 Proportion of nuclear and joint families
4 Tribal composition of households

Economic Variables
5 Type of house
6 Pattern of land ownership and income
7 Occupational structure
8 Income from other sources

b) Intervening Variables. The ITDPs are taken as intervening variables

Impact of development programmes on socioeconomic conditions are the dependent variables. By impact, we mean the positive changes in income, housing and other aspects of the beneficiaries.

Data Analysis

Data thus collected were of two types qualitative and quantitative. First, the quantitative data that were collected through household schedule were transferred in data entry sheet after careful editing of the schedules. All the data were analysed and tables were prepared manually. The qualitative data gathered through interviews and participant observations were recorded in the field diaries.

The Organisation of the Thesis

The chapterisation of the thesis is as follows. The thesis is divided into 6 chapters. The first chapter, Introduction, gives the different concepts of economic anthropology, hypothesis of tribal development, review of published works on the Malaiyalis of Tamil Nadu, scope of the study,
objectives, the problem of the study, the methodology and data analysis.

The second chapter, The Malayalis: An Ethnographic Profile, is a detailed description and an overview of ethnographic characteristics of the Malayalis of the Pachaimalai Hills. Besides, the chapter provides a description of the hamlets, their social organisations, marriages, families, religion and magic, rituals and festivals. Political organisations and their functions and also economic organisation are dealt with in appropriate details.

The third chapter, The Land and People, describes the floral species of the forests, the game resources, minerals, land, and water, cattle and other living organisms. Climate and soils of the study area are dealt with so as to provide for some physical characteristics of the Pachaimalai Hills. This chapter also profiles the sample hamlet, Top Sengattupatti. The settlement pattern, the organisational characteristics of agriculture, agricultural activities, economics of paddy cultivation and the like are discussed.

The fourth chapter, Tribal Development Programmes, is an evaluation of what has happened in the tribal Pachaimalai, especially in relation to ITDP and its impacts on various of sectors/activities. Each of the development components are discussed in great detail. The fifth chapter, Changing Economic Life of the Malayalis, is on the socio-economic conditions of the Malayalis, taking agriculture as the significant activity. Indebtedness, savings, consumption of food expenses on social occasions such as marriages and related aspects are dealt with in this chapter. The approach here is analytical, rather than descriptive.
The final chapter, The Analysis, deals with the implications of the results of the study. Proposals have also been made to correct the shortcomings that emerged from the analysis.

Summary

The pioneering economic and economic anthropological concepts have been reviewed in this introductory chapter, providing an understanding of the nature of the primitive economy. Besides, the characteristics of the peasants have also been analysed. Studies which were made in the tribal contexts have been reported as well. The review and the problem and the procedures provide a backdrop for the study that unfolds in the next six chapters. The following chapter deals with the ethnography of the Malayalis of the Pachamalai Hills of Tiruchirappalli district.