CHAPTER II
REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The term tribe is derived from the Latin word 'tribes' meaning the 'poor or the masses'. In English language the word 'tribe' appeared in the sixteenth century and denoted a community of persons claiming descent from a common ancestor. This chapter attempts to give an insight into the tribal studies in India and Kerala in particular.

2.1 Tribal Studies in India

The Indian tribal society is a unique society with diversity of nature and people. In our country, known for the extreme poverty of the masses, the tribals constitute the core of the poor. Poverty, poor health and sanitation, illiteracy and other social problems among the tribals are exerting a dragging effect on the Indian economy. The Five Year Plans formulated the implementation of a series of investment-backed schemes and projects for the betterment of the conditions of the tribals living in the rural and urban areas. Many of the tribes with their forest-dwelling culture do not have the motivation or the skill of settled cultivation. As a result, their land has been alienated to their better endowed tribal neighbours or non-tribals. There have been many tribal studies in India based on tribal economy, land alienation, socio-economic development, tribal
culture etc. It is highly imperative to have a look at these tribal studies by various Anthropologists, Research scholars, etc.

A new trend in ethno methodology which came during the British period was a theory propounded by Verrier Elwin (1943) who suggested that tribals should be kept isolated in their hills and forests. Elwin's theory is known in social anthropology as 'public park theory'. He suggested that ordinarily the non-tribal people should not be allowed to enter into tribal pockets without permission of the state government. This system would guarantee the isolation of the tribals.

- G.S. Ghurye (1943) contested the theory of public park. He argued that the tribals were nothing more than backward caste Hindus. They should be treated at par with the Hindus.

Following Ghurye's argument, D.N. Majumdar (1944) took a slightly different position. His suggestion was that the cultural identity of the tribals as far as possible should be retained. He feared that if the isolation was broken the tribals would lose their ethnic identity. To maintain it, he hypothesized that there should be 'selected integration' of the tribals. While spelling out, he argued that not all the elements of civilization should be allowed to enter the tribal area. Only those which have relevance with tribal life should be permitted into such area. Such a policy would keep the tribals away from the vices of urban life.
The scientific study of tribal economy in India was first undertaken by two scholars D.D. Nag and R.P. Saxena. Nag (1958) made an extensive field tour in the areas of Madhya Pradesh like, Mandla, Bilaspur, Durg, Balaghat and studied the Baiga economy in the context of general economic theories lying emphasis on the sources of economy of Baigas. Saxena followed a model of Nag and studied the tribals of Western Hills in Madhya Pradesh and presented the economy of five tribes. These two studies have some limitations like, exclusion of socio-cultural conditions of the tribes on their study areas.

Verma (1959-1960) has discussed the socio-cultural organisations of the Sanria paharias, Mal-paharias and Knmarbhag. He has examined various phases of the tribal life, pregnancy and birth, puberty, widow remarriage, place of women in the society, religion, village council and political institutions.

N.N. Yyas (1967) presents the historical, social and economic life of the Baniyas of Rajasthan, Andhra Pradesh, Punjab and Gujarat. Yyas thus points out the differences in customs and practices of the Baniyas of different States. This study has a good comparative background, still it has a limitation like unsuitability of the methodology.

Vimal Shah (1969) studied the tribal economy of Gujarat based on the All India Rural Development and Investment Survey of the RBI (1961-62) and the study undertaken by the Gujarat State. Shah selected a sample of 1120 rural
households selected from 28 villages. This study has very effectively brought out the tribal economy in Gujarat. He points out that, there is very little diversification in occupation. Agriculture continues to be the main stay of tribal population, very little investment is made to modernise it, very few inputs are made to increase the productivity of land, and many people mostly depend upon traditional agencies for their credit requirements. All these are obviously, the characteristics of a subsistence economy.

L.P. Vidyarthi (1970), 8 attempted to examine the impact of urbanisation on tribal culture. He studied the impact of the emergence of a heavy engineering complex in a tribal belt of Chotanagpur, and by analysing the pattern of socio-economic changes that occurred in this region owing to large scale industrialisation.

Speaking about the process of modernisation among the tribal people in India's borders, Roy Burman (1973), 9 rightly maintains that, tribals live among the non-tribals, but hardly share a common life. Their contacts are few and formal. In fact, according to him, the tribals in urban areas are in neither of the two worlds fully. Many of them adopt the technology, skill of the modern world, still retaining the emotions of the tribal world. At the primitive level of aspiration, tribals were not concerned with the fact that they were a minority at the regional level. Now, with political and occupational aspirations at the
regional level and national levels, tribals begin to feel themselves as a significant minority. This is the gift of modern education in particular and the modernisation in general. Through his study he expresses his dissatisfaction regarding the strategies for tribal's modernisation.

Dean Joros (1973), in his study, presents his views on the relation between political socialisation of the tribals and integration process or the effect of tribal welfare programmes on their political socialisation. He reveals that by analysing the political socialisation process of tribals, a more complete evaluation of tribal welfare programmes would be ensured. This view is also explained by P.R.G. Mathur (1977). He points out that induction into political culture and integration into the mainstream of national life are part of one and the same process and without political socialisation being achieved, tribals integration into the national social life is impossible. Political socialisation must precede their integration into national life. Motivation and objective underlying the tribal welfare programmes and political socialisation are common.

Nirmal Kumar Bose (1977), gives some insight into the tribe's social life. "Tribes differ from others in their social system. They have retained their own marriage regulation. Almost all marry within their restricted local group, and are sometimes guided by their own elders or political chief in internal and external affairs. In other words, they form socially distinct communities who
have been designated as tribes and listed in the Schedule for special treatment, so that within a relatively short time they can come within the mainstream of political and economic life if India”.

S.L. Doshi (1978)\textsuperscript{13} takes a case study of Bhils, on the process of unification and integration. He said that, a sort of integration is achieved by the tribals' with the wider society as a result of political unification. They are aware of the working of democracy, democratic institutions and identification with the level of values. This study has limitation like neglecting the economic aspects of tribals.

Gopala Rao. N. (1978)\textsuperscript{14} examines the process of transfer of land from the tribals to the non-tribals and the various factors influencing such transfers, by taking a case study of Mondemkhal, a mixed village of tribes and castes, at Parvathipuram taluk of former Srikakulam district. Data were collected by canvassing schedule and by holding prolonged interviews with the tribal elders and village officials. Land has been alienated by some people to finance agricultural operations. Cultivators require cash to buy cattle and to pay the labourers. It is clear from the study, that credit being taken on pledging land led to land alienation. Land has a tremendous prestige value in the rural context and it could stand as a security both for borrowing and lending.

Roy Burman (1978)\textsuperscript{15} speaking about the tribal integration process, points
out that, present context integration means four things: independent thinking, 
democratic style of life, secularism and planned economy. These are urgently 
needed for the tribals to integrate themselves into the mainstream.

R.S. Sharma (1980)\(^{16}\) has discussed the status of tribals in India during 
ancient times. The epistemological theoretical perspective about the tribals of 
this period is very clear. It was the time when the Aryans and, at a later period, 
the high caste Hindus make all efforts to have their hegemony over the tribals. 
Sharma has applied material approach to the study of history. This study of 
tribals is based on the assumption that the mode of production involving the 
theory of surplus leading to class formation continues to the best working 
hypothesis, not withstanding countless assertions to the contrary.

Jaganath Panday (1981)\(^{17}\) tries to analyse the classes and class relations 
in three villages of Orissa and considers the particular mode of production 
operating in the economy. The study covers predominantly a tribal village, a 
village characterised primarily by feudal relationships and a village mainly 
showing signs of capitalist development in agriculture.

Pradeep Kumar Bose (1981),\(^{18}\) in his paper, questions the validity of 
observing stratification pattern among Indian tribes on the basis of caste 
hierarchy or 'Sacred' hierarchy or division on class basis. This is observed in the 
context of Gujarat tribes. Tribal population in modern market and production
systems and their incorporation into modern political systems are shown regional variations in occupations, use of modern machinery etc. Data were collected from seven districts of Gujarat, through survey method and random sampling, identifying four distinct classes: rich peasant, middle peasant, poor peasant and agricultural labourers.

Renuka Pameche (1985) has studied political aspects of the Bhils and the process of the formation of elite in Bhil Society - Elaborate accounts of the traditional political system of Bhils and the impact of the modern system on them are given. A serious limitation of this book is that, it is has not taken into consideration the socio-economic aspects of the poor tribals.

Alock Kumar (1986) has attempted to analyse and interpret the socio-cultural organisation and economic structure of Mal-paharias tribe, Santal-parganas district Bihar in the light of regional geographical complex. Based on his extensive field work, he examines the land use, income expenditure pattern, size of the families and its geographical ratification. This book provides innate glimpse on the habit of Mal-paharias in regard to their dress, religious ceremonies, customs, hunting, agricultural instruments and musical instruments. Finally the author observed the major requirements of their settlements and has opined that paying adequate attention to the facilities lacking in their settlements can hasten emerging of Mal-paharias in the mainstream of Indian life. This book
will be helpful to scholars and researchers of Geography, anthropology and planners of regional development.

Devendra Thakur (1986) made an elaborate study about the Santhals in Bihar. The study highlights their socio-economic conditions. It has been observed to what extent they were responsive to the projects and programmes undertaken during the different developmental plans.

Before the introduction of Five Year Plans, during the colonial rule, the tribals in the country as a whole remained in isolation. If the problem of untouchables in pre-independent India was that of pollution, vis-a-vis purity, the problem of tribals or adivasis was that of isolation. They were considered backward and savage. Lamenting on such an approach to the study of Indian tribals, Yogendra Singh (1986) observes: The colonial ethnographers, for instance, took a placid, even a synchronic view of the tribal society. The conceptional framework development by the British administrators-turned ethnographers and by anthropologists was inspired by the then prevailing model in anthropology. Tribal communities were treated as isolates and the primitive condition was described as a state of Arcadian simplicity.

Geetha Menon (1987) reveals that the impact and the loss of common property resources is very severe on tribal women. She shows that the hardship of the tribal women have been increasing. Thus tribal women are the major
victims of the deprival of the traditional rights of the tribals in common property resources.

V.S. Ramamani (1988),\textsuperscript{24} presents a descriptive analysis of the main features of tribal economy. She also postulates in this study the gap between the tribals and non-tribals, and the protective and promotional measures in order to reduce this gap.

Christoph Von Furer-Harnendart (1988),\textsuperscript{25} has discussed the pattern and causes of disintegration of the traditional tribal system, failure of welfare programmes by taking the example of two tribes, Apa Tanis of Arunachal Pradesh and Gonds of Andhra Pradesh. He found that the two tribes stood at opposite ends of a spectrum today. While Apa Tanis were clearly set on upward path, the Gonds were threatened by an apparently irreversible decline in their fortunes. He claims that Apa-Tani tribe of Arunachal Pradesh numbered about 15000, achieved development and integration without losing its identity because of protection given by the Government of India.

Ramakant Prasad (1988),\textsuperscript{26} deals about the tribe of Bihar which has little population and living in different ecological settings. This tribe represents variations within a culture due to various ecological settings. It depicts the total way of the tribe name 'pabhaiya'. This book further illustrates how a small tribe exists with its socio-ecological conditions and the problems they are facing.
today. It deals with the problems and prospects of the tribe and gives an outline for development and protection of such a marginal tribe in Indian continent.

L.C. Mohanthy (1989)\textsuperscript{27} has reminded us of the urgent necessity of evaluating how far tribals have improved their economic conditions and how far they have been integrated into the larger Indian society. He believes that giving tribals full freedom to manifest their genius will help their integration.

S.L. Doshi (1990)\textsuperscript{28} who has conducted researches on the Bhils of south Rajasthan, argues that in ancient India the tribals did not constitute the core of society. They were always marginalised. Though there are no accounts of their collective identity, it is stated that they practised a pastoral life characterized by animism. They were, by and large, a classless stateless society.

Nirmal Sengupta (1990)\textsuperscript{29} maintains that the process of rapid industrialisation since independence has added dimension to the problem of the tribals, as the majority of the tribal concentration in the country are in the areas endowed with rich natural resources. The establishment of resource-based industries in such areas has inevitably led to the displacement of the tribals.

Madhusudan Trivedi (1991)\textsuperscript{30} presents his views regarding the entrepreneurship among the tribals. He has taken the case study of Bhils in Rajasthan. According to him entrepreneurship is an unorthodox venture for the
tribals. In the wake of development they have to take new crops, commercialisation and mechanisation in their agricultural practices. The economic transformation which the tribals witnessed today led them to a capitalist economy. Capitalism has created class stratification among the tribals. This book focuses on the emergence of capitalism among the tribals and its social consequences on class formation.

Buddudeb Chaudhudi's (ed.) (1992) "Tribal Transformation in India", in five volumes, is a collaborative effort of Indian scholars to capture the changing tribal scenario and a whole diversity of issues related to tribal economy, agronomy, politics, ethnicity, ecology, education, technology transfer, social political movements, religious faiths and rituals in an indigenized, yet more articulate framework, with both diagnostic and remedial models. With the latest concepts/research tools in anthropology and related disciplines, the authors make a fresh look at micro and macro level dynamics of the tribal situation in India vis-a-vis the socio-cultural relations.

S.G. Deogaonkar (1994) traces the origin and growth of the efforts for the development of tribal population in India. Apart from examining various approaches to tribal development, it enumerates the administrative structures and organisational strategies adopted during the last many years of planning, the outlay on tribal development during the plans and the priorities adopted have also
been indicated. The Tribal Sub-Plan strategy and its implementation has been examined elaborately. The personal policy adopted in tribal development finds a special and critical treatment.

Rudolfe Heredia (1995), reveals his view that "if the developmental dilemma that confronts our tribals is to be successfully addressed, tribal integration will require their mobilization not just to preserve their cultural autonomy but to redress their minority status as well". So that they can participate in their own development. For this, tribal education will have to play a major role.

P. Sudhakara Reddy (1995) in his comprehensive study, discusses the processes and problems of displacement, rehabilitation and socio-cultural changes occurred among the displaced Scheduled Tribe, Yanadis of the Shriharikota Island in Andhra Pradesh where the rocket launching station was established by Indian Space Research Organisation, government of India. The author also tries to portray the traditional social and cultural fabric and adaptation of the Yanadi islanders prior to their displacement, which serves as the basis for understanding the continuity and change in the environment, society and culture. He analyses the rehabilitation programmes and the resultant factors and the forces behind the system of forced migration and adaptation of the Yanadis to the new environment, outside the rehabilitation centres. He also describes the
pattern and processes of continuity and change on the socio-cultural set up of Yanadi islanders.

Bhujendra Nath Panda (1996)\textsuperscript{35} has made sincere attempt to study the personality adjustment, mental health, attitude and academic achievements of more acculturated Saora tribes. Through an in-depth analysis, this book gives practical suggestions to teachers, and policy makers to realise the pros and cons of tribal acculturization. Thus the findings have obvious implication for policy makers in tribal education and development.

In his thought-provoking study, A.K. Pandey (1997)\textsuperscript{36} presents an important correction to the tendency of western researchers and conservative scholars. He has successfully tried to investigate the problem of underdevelopment, the culture of powerlessness and culture of poverty among tribals vis-a-vis the Indian society.

Amita Baviskar (1998)\textsuperscript{37} who has studied the erosion and destruction of environment in her study of Narmada valley, argues that positivism has failed to comprehend the tribal conflicts over the developments in the valley. She says that in such researches positivism is in conflict with the epistemological situation of the tribal people.

The methodology of 'critical enquiry' postulated by Baviskar argues that
there are two important variables: (1) the perspective of the tribals on the life as they live; and (2) the perspective of the researcher who 'interprets' the meaning of life given by the objects of study. Here it is very clear that the researcher becomes a strong variable. It is his ideological bias, his values and his definition of life which interpret the life of the tribal. Perhaps the authentic perspective of the tribals remain unexplained or not properly represented by the researcher.

S.N. Tripathy's (1999) book contains eleven selected contributions of eminent authors relating to various issues and problems of tribals along with policy options. The role of financial institutions and co-operatives in mitigating the tribal economic problems, the impact of development plans and poverty amelioration schemes, etc., have discussed at length. Based on secondary as well as field data collected through survey, this work portrays the evaluation and analysis of tribal problems and policy paradigms to tackle the problem of backwardness in tribal regions.

P.C. Jain (1999) gives some insight into the Bhils and Minas of Rajasthan. The objective of the study is to find out the development attained by these two tribal groups. The development is through various sources. In the First Year Plan, the State government is committed on constitutional ground to bring the tribals at par with the other tribal groups who are economically and socially advanced.
S.R. Bakshi and Kiran Bala (2000) presents the sociol-economic status of several scheduled tribes inhabiting in various regions of our sub-continent. Their life-style, customs and traditions are quite different from the population in our rural and urban areas. In fact 'they live in their own world'. Their social backwardness has been assessed at various levels and schemes have been launched for the education of their children, to provide them health facilities and jobs for their daily needs.

Prakash Chandra Mehta (2000) presents an over all review of the tribal development measures adopted during the 20th century. According to him the government failed to provide them basic minimum needs for their subsistence. The first half of the century were administered by the British government and the local rulers. They were not bothered about their needs and welfare. Hence, during the first half of century they were exploited by the then rulers.

2.2 Tribal Studies in Kerala

The tribals of Kerala are living at different stages of economic development. Some still are in the stage of hunting and food gathering and leading a nomadic life. Some are still practising shifting cultivation and a few are settled agriculturist. A microscopic minority is working in plantations. The tribal communities who are generally educationally more advanced are at a higher level of economic development than those who are educationally backward. There
were a few tribal studies in Kerala. Let us have a look at some of these studies undertaken by famous authors.

Anantha Krishna Iyer\textsuperscript{42} has published 'The Travancore Tribes and Castes' in three volumes. Iyer concentrated his study on the hill tribes which were fast dying out or were deteriorated. In the first volume (1937), he had discussed seven hill tribes, namely the Kanikkaran, the Mala Kurumbans, the Malapandaram, Malapulaya, the Malavetan, the Malayarayan and the Maison. The second and the third volumes (1961) deals with the accounts of the tribes of Travancore. In a later study (1961) he described the hill tribes of Kerala as pre-dravidian. Iyer also undertook the ethnographic survey of the hill and jungle tribes of Cochin and published its result in four volumes. The first volume of his work 'Cochin Tribes and Caste' (1909) includes description of the tribes like Kadar, the Malayan, the Nayadi, the Ulladon, Paniya and others.

Logan, William (1951)\textsuperscript{43} mentioned the 'adima' system prevailed among the aboriginals and untouchable classes of Malabar. The exploitative attitude of the feudal lords towards adima was vividly explained by him. Logan's pioneering work has shed light on the exploitative system of feudal landlordism in Malabar in the Nineteenth century.

Ayyappan\textsuperscript{44} made several systematic studies on the various tribes of Kerala, 'Nayadis of Malabar' (1937) and 'Erulas of Kerala' (1944) are the
important studies. Later he conducted a subsequent study on Erulas in 1965 and the results were published which gives an insight into the socio-economic changes that took place in the Erula community.

A.A.D. Luiz (1962) made a detailed study of all the 48 tribes of Kerala. He has discussed their mode of living, occupation, diet, religion, taboos, marriage and rituals. He provides an insight into the changing pattern of the tribal's social life in the context of the socio-economic conditions of the State as a whole.

Thurston's (1966) monumental study was a systematic study and a detailed ethnographic survey on the whole of South India and we find an account of the changing pattern of the hill tribes of Kerala. He noted the settled way of life adopted by Paniyas of Wayanad as a result of their contact with the outside world. He also focuses attention on the way of life, customs and traditions of other communities in the region.

P.R.G. Mathur (1971) traces the socio-linguistic evolution of the tribes of Kerala. In addition to giving some valuable statistical information, the author describes some of the important problem facing the tribals like land alienation, bonded labour, indebtedness, status of tribal women etc. This book also mentions briefly some of the recent political development among the tribals like the formation of tribal organisations and the influence of naxalite movement on
them etc.

M. Kunhaman (1982) in his book examined the inter-regional variations in the level of socio-economic development of the hill tribe of Kerala and the underlying causes.

Though there are studies on various tribes in Kerala, the Paniya community in Wayanad and their socio-economic development on the basis of human development indices has not been analysed so far. So the researcher hopes that the present study will fill the gap in the literature.
NOTES AND REFERENCES


32. Deogaonkar S.G., *Tribal Administration and Development*, Concept


