CHAPTER -VIII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

A phenomenon in the Third World Countries is that the increasing percentage of population is not only drifting towards the towns and cities, but is also becoming increasingly metropolitan. The increasing population in the places designated as urban and the problems associated with such growth has attracted the attention of the students and the scholars from various disciplines. On the other hand, studies relating to the migration of ethnic communities into towns and cities are either fewer as compared to other studies or there is a need for understanding the processes relating to the push and pull, integration of the tribal groups into the urban life, changes adopted by the tribal groups etc. The present study of the Lambanis in the city of Davangere is one such attempt to understand the migration of the community into the city of Davangere and their consolidation into the life and economy of the city.

This last chapter not only attempts at providing a summary of all the previous chapters, but also present the conclusions from the present study which are vital to planners and administrators and all those involved in the community development. The observations and the conclusions from the present study also contribute to the development of knowledge relating to the ethnic groups.

The first chapter entitled, “Introduction” attempts at providing a background for the present study. As explained in the Chapter, the objective of the study is to delineate the life of the Lambani tribal group in the urban
setting. The study has tried to highlight on the social, economic, religious and cultural aspects of the tribals, reaction of the tribal group to the employment opportunities in the recent past and to the emerging challenges and the process of adjustment of the tribals to the city. To sum up, the objectives of the study are:

- To understand the sociography of the Lambanis in the industrial city of Davangere,
- To study the process of adjustment of the Lambanis tribe to the industrial-urban environment,
- To study the life and living of the Lambanis in an alien urban situation,
- To understand the emerging patterns on different aspects of urban life,
- To understand the relationship between the ethnic group and other caste groups within the city,
- To understand the various problems, the Lambanis face in the urban environment, and
- To know the Lambanis' view of the urban environment vis-a-vis Tandas.

With a view to help in the realisation of the above objectives, the study attempted at examining the different hypotheses. The initial contacts and the discussions with the community members revealed that the duration of stay of the residents had a significant bearing on the process of adjustment to the city and the life in the city. Thus, the study attempted by examining the hypothesis that the longer stay in an urban environment leads
to an increased social adjustment to urban life. The adjustment to the city life was further expected to result in the discontinuation of contacts with the native ‘Tanda’. Thus, the study assumed that the increased adjustment to the urban environment would result in fewer contacts with the place of origin.

Keeping in view the above objectives in mind, it was decided that the study should not merely make use of such conventional techniques such as interview schedule, but also detailed discussions with the community leaders, women members, the youth and the other ethnic residents in Davangere to elicit the required information. In all 219 households were covered under the present survey taking either head of the family or the most senior member of the household as the respondent. The interview schedule which was finally used in the study was pre-tested on a sample population and based on the feedback it was finalised. The unit of study was the household and the interviews were generally conducted in the local dialect.

The chapter further attempts at providing the conceptual framework for the ensuing discussion in the subsequent chapters.

The term ‘tribe’ is derived from the Latin word, “tribus”. Tribes are defined as “group of indigenous people with shallow history, having common name, language, territory, tied by strong kinship bonds, practicing endogamy, having distinct customs, rituals and beliefs, simple social rank and political organisation, common ownership of resources and technology”. The number of tribal communities in the country is 427 and the languages spoken by them is 105.
One of the distinctive aspects of the tribal community is their economy and polity. They pursue occupations from food gathering to cultivation, arts and crafts, etc. The tribal religion could be understood in terms of ritual space, ritual time and ritual languages. According to the tribals the space is filled with spiritual beings. Space is further understood in terms of the cosmic space and the physical space. The underlying structure of the tribal ritual complex is not a mere reflection of and association with the superhuman world, but a strong reinforcement of the human world itself. Both social and aesthetic aspects of life are enriched.

The idea that the tribes were separated from the rest of the world is now demystified. Even the most isolated groups were part of a wider network of economic relations. For example, the Jenu-Kurubas were specialised in the art of catching elephants and are reported to have supplied these wild beasts to temples and armies. Hence, Ghurye calls the tribal populations of India as imperfectly integrated segment of the Hindu Society.

Traces of the urban history in India date back to the time of Harappa and Mohenjodaro. The urban centres which have evolved as centres of administration and seats of political and religious power and marketing centres have gradually transformed into centres of economic progress. Thus, the cities have gradually transformed into industrial centres, centres for trade and commerce. The growth of such towns was prompted not only by the natural increase of population within the town, but also from migration from the villages and other urban centres.
Assimilation is a process wherein one set of cultural traits is given up and a new set of traits is acquired through communication and participation. Gordon sees the assimilation process and its subprocesses as a matter of degree, but complete assimilation results in change of cultural patterns to those of the host society, absence of discrimination, absence of value and power conflict, etc.

The chapter also attempts at reviewing the empirical studies already conducted on the ethnic communities in urban centres.

The second chapter in the thesis, The urban setting of Davangere - Historical and Physical Aspects, attempts at tracing the history of the city which was once known as Manchester of Karnataka. The city of Davangere is a part of the Central Karnataka and is located on the highway connecting a range of several major industrial centres of the western and southern India between Mumbai and Bangalore and Chennai. According to the history, the present city of Davangere had a big tank filled with water throughout the year. It is said that the travelling public used to retire in this place and the horses used to be tied in this grazing field. The town which had just a population of 10,402 in 1901 is said to be housing nearly three lakh population in 1991. Thus, there has been an enormous growth of population in the city. The factors which are said to have contributed to its growth are the establishment of textile mills, growth of trade and commerce, educational institutions, and the agricultural development in the hinterland due to canal irrigation.
The growth in population has brought into its fold various other social and ethnic groups from far and wide. Thus, it is found that during 1991 about 11.44 per cent and 5.20 per cent of the population of the city was said to be belonging to SC and the ST categories. These migrant groups are said to have migrated for a number of reasons from the rich agricultural hinterland of the district. The city is also said to be housing a number of social organisations formed by the citizens for a variety of reasons. The rapid population growth of the city accompanied with other developments like the formation of the new district for Davangere, the development of a number of economic, educational, cultural, health and service institutions, make a very good case for understanding various aspects of urbanism and urbanisation.

The changing industrial scenario has brought about a significant new developments in the city. Industry was and has been the backbone of the city. Industry provided the necessary ambit for those who migrated into the city to eke out a living to some and to make fortunes to some others. The ethnic group of Lambanis migrated into the city mainly to eke out a living when such a provision was eroded at their normal place of residence in Tandas in the countryside. How in the alien urban environment the Lambanis adjust themselves make efforts to retain their traditional practices while the city environment leaves its impact on them has been an issue of consideration for analysis.

In Chapter Three entitled Lambanies: Origin and Development we have attempted at tracing the origin and development of the ethnic community through the pages of history. Lambani or Lamani is derived from the Sanskrit word, "Lavanah". As the ancestors of the Lambanis were said
to be involved in selling lavanah (salt), they came to be called Lavaniga. With the passage of time they have come to be termed as Lamani, Lambani (Thurston, 1975: 207).

Banjaras are a "Pan Indian" tribe who are found in almost every part of the country with a descent traced to both their Dravidian and Aryan Origins. James Hustings (1909) describes them as: “The tribe of wandering grain-carriers in India, which at the Census of 1901 numbered 7,65,861, most numerous in Hyderabad, but found in all the Indian provinces.... Their origin is probably Dravidian, but they now all trace their descent from the Brahman or Rajput tribes of Northern India. It is in the Deccan and in the State of Hyderabad that they still retain more of their primitive beliefs and customs than in the scattered colonies in the more northern parts of the country, where they have largely fallen under Hindu or Muhammadan influence” (1909:347).

The ancestors of this tribal group in Karnataka who are said to have moved from the North are believed to have taken the trade of selling the Lavanah because of the great demand. As a large majority of the tribal community embraced this profession, they have come to be called Lambani, Lamani.

There has been a tradition of identity of the tribal groups in India with the place of their origin. Thus, communities coming from Rajputana are termed as Rajputs. Those coming from Bagri have come to be known as Bagris or Vagris. In the same way people hailing from Lavani have been called Lavanis or Lambanis. In history it is said that the place of Lavani is close to Maandu (Sannarama, 1995:21).
The distinctive feature of the Lambanis is the occupation pursued by them. The nomadic nature of these tribal groups is said to have forced the community to take up supply of arms, ammunitions and food to the army. This is also said to have protected them from the attacks of the soldiers. With the improvements in transport and communications, the very survival of the community was at stake and as a result the community resorted to such trades as the selling of firewood. The other occupations pursued by the community members over a period of time are the selling of spices, stone cutting, coolie, etc.

The dietary items in the Lambani food includes items prepared out of Jowar, Raagi, Wheat, Chilli chatney (Chilli Paste), dairy products. The community is said to have an increased preference for non-vegetarian foods.

The Lambani families are patriarchal families with complete control in the hands of the male members. The principle of primogeniture operates as the elderly son in the family has every right for the father’s property and also gets the credit due for the family. Here joint families are more an exception than a rule. With the marriage, the sons are expected to establish a family of their own.

The distinctive features of the Lambanis could be seen in respect of the dress worn by the womenfolk and also the customs and rituals in the Lambani marriage. With a view to overcome the difficulty of trying to find out appropriate brides for these wandering families, they are said to have hired the services of “Dhadi” who is a professional singer. A number of rituals very much in tune with the way of life the Lambanis performed during the marriage and a few such rites are Sadi Tanero, Vadahir Dag,
Vethudun Bhar Kadero, Vetadun Valayero, etc. One of the important rites performed during the marriage is the mangalya dharana or “Tali Baandro” which is also true of other communities in the country.

The influence of other communities could be clearly seen in terms of their religion. Lambanis generally worship the female deities. Mariamma, Kariamma, Durgamma, Huliamma are some of the female deities worshipped.

They are also reported to have worshipped other Gods like Seva Bhaya, Mithu Bhukia, Balaji and other Hindu Gods like Shiva, Vishnu, Rama, Krishna, etc. Lambani Tandas are generally reported to have the temples of Mariamma and Seva Bhaya.

The language spoken by this ethnic group is called Lambani or Ghor Boli. The language does not have a script. As the Lambanis are believed to have been the original inhabitants of the north, the languages is said to have been influenced by the Hindi language. The usage of Kannada indicates the influence of other languages on Lambani language.

The dress and ornaments which are found to be slowly disappearing from the scene were a distinctive feature of the Lambani community. This is more so in the urban communities. The dress used by the women is generally red in colour and is sometimes mixed with yellow, green and other colours. The dresses are generally bedecked with small mirrors and shells and are nicely crafted. The ornaments generally used by the Lambani women are Patiya, Rapiyar Hara, Chotia, Bhuria, Khania, etc.
The festivals of lights, Deepavali is celebrated with lot of fun and gaiety. The other festivals observed by them are Holi, Gowri festivals and Dasara.

Customs and traditions observed on the occasion of the birth and death is found to be an event observed with the participation of all the community members and more importantly the Naik, Davo, Karbari and Daosan.

The discussion on the Lambani community would be incomplete without a mention of their political system. The Tanda is generally governed by the Naik, Davo, Karbari and Davsan. The Naik, who is hereditary is a highly respected individual and enjoys a good status. He is the head of the tanda and all the affairs have to take place through him. Davo is the assistant to the Naik. Karbari is the real executive in the Tanda and carries out the instructions of the Naik and Davo. He is also said to guide and assist the Naik and Davo.

The Caste Panchayat is called the Gorh Panchayat. From the ancient days, this is said to be responsible for resolving conflicts, violence and any other deviant acts. These issues are said to be strictly maintained within the tanda. These practices very much reflect on the highly complex systems evolved by this community.

The member or members of the Tanda in case of any dispute or difficulties approach the President in the Tanda. The complainants pay for the panchayat expenses and get their problems redressed. The panchayats are held either in the math (temple) or any other major public place. The womenfolk do not attend these panchayats, thus indicating the patriarchal system that prevailed in the community.
In Chapter Four entitled Socio-Economic Background of Lambanis in Davangere City we have attempted to explain the social, economic and demographic features of the sampled respondents as against the natives or other migrants in the city. As explained earlier, a majority of the respondents are in their active working age group. As far as the educational background of the respondents is concerned nearly half of the respondents are illiterates. About 40 per cent of the respondents are employed in the organised sector like the government departments or factories. About three quarters of the respondents earn a monthly income of less than three thousand rupees while only about eleven per cent make an income of Rs. 7000 or more per month. All the respondents being first generation migrants about, 83 per cent have directly migrated into Davangere city. Having been identified with this kind of background characteristic features, the respondents are likely to experience a kind of socio-economic life as it is the case with the ethnic groups in an urban situation.

The present study is about the Lambani community who have migrated to the city for a variety of reasons. Thus, it became important to consider at the outset as to what is the pattern as regards to their length or duration of stay in the city and the pattern of spatial and occupational mobility experienced by the ethnic respondents which constitute the matter of Chapter Five entitled Spatial and Occupational Mobility. From the discussion it becomes clear that the majority of Lambanis have migrated from Tandas in rural setting to the city in the immediate vicinity of Davangere in central part of Karnataka. Lack of employment was a major factor for the ethnic population to move out of Tandas though they were not well equipped in terms of education and skills to adjust themselves to the
city environment. Having had low income and occupations in native tandas, the respondents had their first job in the city which was largely manual and unskilled and less remunerative. But over the years, the ethnic migrants have improved themselves over their occupational and economic life and settled moderately well in the urban community. Their long stay in the city has influenced them in getting changed, while adjusting themselves to the city life in terms of their socio-economic and cultural life and the institutional practices.

Chapter Six is addressed towards tracing the changes in the material and non-material culture among the ethnic households living in the city of Davangere. Nearly 50 per cent of the heads of the households are reported to be keeping themselves informed of the socio-political developments through the print media. The other important change being observed is that there is an increasing preference among the Lambani women to the dresses used by the women folk of westernized caste and sects. Almost all the sample respondents have agreed to this. The women folk in general feel that the use of their traditional robe by them will result in a distinct identity even when they are in the crowd. This quite well goes with the idea that they are eager to associate themselves with other groups rather than retaining their identity through their dress and language. This again proves the point that they would like to continue to stay in the city. However, changes are not visible in all the spheres of life. A large majority of the households have reported men to be the decision-makers and thus, the patriarchal type of family. When it comes to the question of taking decisions they strongly feel that it should be a joint decision. Thus, the community can be said to be in the crossroads with regard to the family type and other related aspects.
As regards the age at marriage, majority of the community members have expressed that there is a change in the age at marriage of girls. There is increasing preference towards getting their daughters married at a later age. This may be again because of the influence of other caste or community members in the city and thus, a step towards improving their status. This may also be necessitated because of the preference of education for girls.

Thus, the ethnic community has adopted certain changes in the process of their stay in the city. The community prefers to continue with certain features like the patriarchal system of the family. With the passage of time there may be changes in this regard.

Kin and Non-kin Network among Migrant Lambanis is the subject of the seventh chapter of the thesis. The objective is to attempt at analysing the changes in the kin and non-kin network among the migrant community living in the city of Davangere. This is important for the simple reason that the community under study has been staying in the city for quite some time now and has expressed their willingness to continue to stay in the city. This is also reflected in terms of the ownership of the house and the membership of the various organisations.
SUGGESTIONS:

The following are the suggestions made for the purpose of policy making and programme evolving by the government and other appropriate bodies for the benefits of Lambanis and from the point of improving the living standards of the ethnic people in urban world.

i. Starting of an Ashram School for the Lambani children would ease the process of learning as it is a special school started for tribal children elsewhere in the state and country. Since the dialect of the Lambanis is totally different from the language in which teaching is followed in schools the Lambani children may find it difficult to continue their education. Hence they drop out from schools. Ashram school in Lambani ghetto in the city would be of great help. This should be done on priority.

ii. The Lambani women are good at embroidery skills. A provision should be made to make use of such skills for commercializing their embroidery services. This would also ensure the Lambani women of their empowerment.

iii. Lambani's live in their original habitat of Tanda. Tanda is a satellite village without having its own independent political establishment and as a result it does not get any assistance directly from the government. There has been a move to upgrade Tanda to Revenue village status. Once it is done, it would strive to establish itself economically sound. Consequently the migration of Lambanis gets discouraged.
iv. Providing adequate educational and health services in the Tanda for their development. Tandas are starved of these facilities as they are cut at a village without being allowed to be percolated to the Tanda.

v. Lambanis are largely involved in making and drinking alcohol mostly by illicit ways. Such an activity should be discouraged. Drinking of illicit liquor is quite common among the low class Lambanis. Total ban on illicit liquor activity should be followed by the government.

vi. Providing proper housing facilities to the Lambani migrants is necessary as they cannot get it done on their own.

vii. Government should take extra measures to rejuvenate Lambani culture in the urban world as it has multiple advantages to render them. For this, state government should start Lambani Academy which can encourage organization of cultural activities both in the Urban areas and tandas.

viii. Lambanis are largely poverty-stricken. In order to help them in overcoming their poverty situation, Lambanis Development Corporation should be started with a responsibility of identifying the backward Lambanis and evolve and implement several suitable economic measures for them. This would help in the community empowerment which would go a long way in its sustained social economic, cultural and political development.