CHAPTER - I

INTRODUCTION

1.1. About the Study:

The scholars and students of urban studies have been focusing their attention on two aspects of the phenomenon viz., growth and development of towns and cities and the processes associated with the growth and development of towns and cities. It is such efforts which have resulted in characterization of the urban life as 'Urbanism as a Way of Life' by Louis Wirth, 'Suburbansim as a way of Life' by William M. Dobrinier and also on various aspects of urban life like the emergence of secondary relationships as against the primary relationships, formation of associations and groups etc.

The process of urbanization that is from town to city to metropolitan or megalopolitan city is not only a result of natural increase in the population but also a result of migration. However, in recent times the natural increase of population in towns and cities is found to be responsible for the increase in the population of the urban settlements. For a moment without going into the debate on the processes, it is sufficient to understand that the growth and development of towns and cities has attracted varied groups like the small peasants, artisans and also the ethnic groups. The migration of such groups has not been necessarily to metropolitan cities. The study by Govind Gare on the tribe Mahadeo Kolis of Poona City has attempted at documenting the varied changes caused by migration to such an urban centre. A number of studies on the growth and development of towns has further revealed that the adaptation patterns of such migrant groups to the different towns and cities
has not been the same. The present study makes an attempt to understand the processes and adaptations of the Lambanis, a tribal group, who have migrated to a small city of Davangere mainly for the reasons of employment or livelihood.

1.2. THE PROBLEM OF STUDY:

In the country as a whole it is identified that there are 427 tribal groups (Roy Burman, 1971:2) and they are found to be scattered in both the hilly and plain regions of the states of Karnataka, Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat, Rajasthan, Assam, Manipur, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Bihar and other states. The predominant tribal groups are Todas, Gonds, Naga, Bhotiya, Khasi, Bhills, Baiga, Munda, Gharo, Lambani, Kaadu Kuruba, Hakki-pikki, Soligas, Jhenu Kuruba, Erava, Male Kudiyar, Koraga, Kudubi etc. These tribal groups which were found to be different in terms of their culture, lifestyle, occupation, dialect, dress etc., are found to be experiencing social change due to reasons of influence by the neighbouring urban or rural economies and also due to reasons of modernization, assimilation and similar such other processes. Thus, the changes within the tribal groups have become an area of interest specially for sociologists.

In the state of Karnataka, while the city of Bangalore has grown into a metropolitan city, there are around 20 Class I cities. Davangere is one such city with its textile industrial base which was popularly known as the ‘Manchester of Karnataka’ is moderately populous (2.87 lakhs in 1991) and is found to have been attracting different ethnic groups for reasons of their employment and a promising life. One such tribal or ethnic groups which has
taken advantage of the growth and development of the city of Davangere is the ‘Lambanis’ or ‘Banjara’.

Lambanis are also popularly known as Banjara who are an ethnic group, involved in the sale of spicy food articles (for a lengthy discussion see Chapter III ). With a view to meet the needs of the larger rural community these Lambanis are said to have moved from village to village selling these products. The settlement predominantly occupied by this community is known as a ‘Tanda’. The community which continued to live in these Tandas was different from other ethnic and caste groups in terms of language (the language spoken by Lambanis is Lambani), dress (especially the dress materials used by the womenfolk), culture and the social organization.

The Lambanis of Chitradurga district over a period of time are reported to have migrated to the city of Davangere and also have settled in certain pockets in the city. Lambanis who had to initially settle down in places proximate to the Cotton mills in the city are found to have been staying in these places over a period of time. The concentration of this ethnic group in the city, and professing more or less similar occupations like what other groups are following has resulted in a process of adjustment to the city life. This has brought significant social change in the life of the tribal group. The objective of this study is to analyse the social changes in terms of their traditions, customs and practices, relationship with other social groups living within the city in the context of their migration to the city of Davangere. Such a study is expected to throw light on the varied impact of urban size and processes on these different ethnic and social groups.
1.3. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY:

The present study aims at delineating the life of the tribals in an urban setting. The objective of the study is also to attempt at documenting these processes resulting in the social changes in these ethnic groups as compared to their life and living setting of rural community and more specifically their typical habitats called "Tanda".

Lambanis, as stated earlier, are found to be an ethnic group which has migrated to the city over a period of time mainly for reasons of employment. The employment opportunities that were available at that point of time were mainly one of working as labourers in the cotton mills, oil mills and regulated markets and petty businesses. The result is not only the compulsions of living within the city, but also adjusting oneself to the modern industrial - urban life. This is found to have necessitated adaptations in practices relating to marriage, observation of certain festive occasions like the deepavali etc. Thus, one of the important objectives of the study is to understand the social changes in the social sphere of life and also to understand the processes involved in these changes.

The traditional Lambani group is also popular for its social organization which provides for complete control over the Tanda by the community leaders who are popularly known as Naik, Davo and Karbhari. The modern urban life while supporting a highly segmented and individualist life is found to be not supporting such traditional institutions. Thus, it is important to understand the new institutions or the new practices that might have replaced the old traditional social organization among the Lambanis.

The present study has also made an attempt to understand the sociography of the ethnic group as a backdrop to the ensuing discussion on various aspects
of the ethnic group and also the problems confronted by the group in the modern urban living.

In brief, the following are the objectives of the study:

1. To understand the sociography of the Lambanis in the industrial city of Davangere.
2. To study the process of adjustment of the Lambani tribe to the industrial-urban environment.
3. To study the life and living of the Lambanis in an alien urban situation.
4. To understand the emerging patterns on different aspects of urban life
5. To understand the relationship between the ethnic group and other caste groups within the city.
6. To understand the various problems the Lambanis face in Urban environment, and
7. To know how the Lambanis view the Urban environment vis-à-vis Tandas.

1.4. HYPOTHESES:

The following are the hypotheses formulated for the present study for the purpose of testing them in the light of empirical details.

1. Higher the educational background of ethnic people, better the occupational choice of an ethnic migrant population,
2. Higher the occupational level of ethnic population, better their economic status,

3. Higher the economic status of ethnic population, better their adjustment to the urban environment,

4. The longer the stay of the ethnic community in an urban environment for better its adjustment to the city, and

5. Better the adjustment of ethnic population to the urban environment, lesser would be the contacts with native 'Tandas'.

1.5. METHODOLOGY:

In order to realise the objectives set forth, it was decided to carry out a sample survey of the Lambani migrant households in the city of Davangere. However, the major constraint in this direction was the availability of a list of all the Lambani households living in different parts of the city. Even the membership profile of different caste or occupational based organizations was also expected to give a list of a limited number of households. In the absence of an accurate sample frame it was decided to cover the entire city which would eventually cover people of different socio-economic groups. The total number of Lambani households living in Davangere city, as revealed by elder members of the Lambani community, was said to be around 2000. About 219 households that is, slightly above 10 per cent of the households, were contacted through a partially structured and partly open-ended interview schedule which was pre-tested and finalised. The interview schedule attempted to collect information relating to:
1. Socio-economic profile of the households;

2. Perceptions of the head of the household on issues relating to migration, occupational choice, occupational mobility, economic development, social interaction, a hinter relationship and the process of adjustment to the urban life; and

3. The problems confronted by the community in urban context.

The interview schedules were canvassed among heads of households and the interviews were generally conducted in the local language. As the researcher is conversant in Lambani dialect, the dialogue was also carried out in the same language whenever and wherever necessary. The interviews generally lasted for about half an hour and the informants were found to be very happily sharing the required information with the researcher. In an ethnic group study like the present one, the researcher needs to collect informations using observation as a basic method of data gathering. Several informations which were asked for were voluntarily not given by the ethnic respondents due to the fear of information being misused. An assurance was given to the respondents that the researcher also belongs to their own ethnic background and the informations given are used only for scientific purposes. Such an assurance made them to allow the researcher inside their home which helped him in observing what kind of material life these migrants in the city have been able to achieve for themselves. The field work was conducted during March 1999 to Nov. 1999 and revisit to the field was done during March 2000 and May 2000. The information thus collected was processed and analysed.

The limited attempt to collect the information through a structured interview schedule was coupled with in-depth interviews with the community leaders including
those who are politically active in community, trade union members from the community and also with the womenfolk. Besides, secondary data was also collected through various records of the Municipality and other Governmental offices, Industries and Commercial establishments, Census records etc.

1.6. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK:

1. ETHNIC COMMUNITY:

The term ethnic is a synonym of 'tribe'. The term tribe is derived from the Latin word 'tribus'. Earlier Romans used this term to designate the divisions in the society. The present popular meaning in English language was acquired during the expansion of colonialism particularly in Asia and Africa. In the general parlance in India the term tribe refers to a category of people who are included in the list of the scheduled tribes under the constitutional provision in India.

Tribes are defined as “a group of indigenous people with shallow history, having common name, language and territory, tied by strong kinship bonds, practising endogamy, having distinct customs, rituals and beliefs, simple social rank and political organization, common ownership of resources and technology”. (R.K.Jain, 1993)

The attempts by scholars and academicians in understanding the tribes and in particular their social, cultural, religious and economic life as compared to the modern urban or rural based caste groups has resulted in understanding them as a stage in the social and cultural evolution. Others have considered
them as the production and consumption among the tribes are household based and unlike peasants they are not part of a wider economic, political and social network. Bailey F.G. (1960) has suggested that the only solution to the problem of definition of tribes in India is to conceive of a continuum of which at one end are tribes and at the other are castes. The tribes have segmentary, egalitarian system and are not mutually interdependent as are castes in a system of organic solidarity. They have direct access to land and no intermediary is involved between them and land.

According to Sinha Surajit (1982:4), the tribe is ideally defined in terms of its isolation from the networks of social relations and cultural communications of the centres of civilisation. In their isolation the tribal societies are sustained by relatively primitive subsistence technology such as shifting cultivation and hunting and gathering, and maintain an egalitarian segmentary social system guided entirely by non-literate ethnic tradition.

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION:

The numerous tribes in India could broadly be categorised into five distinct geographical zones, viz., Himalayan Region (Gaddi, Jaunsari, the Naga etc.), Central India (Munda, Santal etc.), Western India (Bhil, Grasia), South Indian region (Lambani, Toda, etc.) and the Islands region (Onge, Minicoyans).

On the basis of the racial features, the tribes in India have been grouped into:

(a) Proto-Australoids,
(b) The Mongoloids, and
(c) The Negrito.
The number of languages spoken by the different ethnic groups is estimated to be about 105 languages and 225 subsidiary languages. On the basis of the language spoken by the tribal families they are categorised into: (I) Austro-Asiatic family (II) Tibeto-Chinese family, (III) Indo-European family and (IV) Dravidian family.

**Tribal Economy:** The tribes have been understood to have pursued occupations from food gathering to cultivation, arts and crafts etc. These different occupations are explained in the following paragraphs:

1. **Food Gatherers and Hunters:** Food gathering, hunting and trapping of animals were the first adaptations mankind made and it lasted for thousands of years before being taken over by animal husbandry and agriculture and then by industrialisation. The changes in human society were very rapid once human being learnt to produce food. The pace of these changes got accelerated with industrialisation. Now there are very few tribes on the mainland who live exclusively by food collection and hunting. The Cholanaicken of Kerala present a classical example of this kind of economy.

2. **Shifting Cultivators:** This implies the preparation of a forest land for cultivation including cutting of trees and allowing them to decay etc., and thereafter carry on cultivation for a specified number of years and thereafter abandoning them for cultivation. The Khasis of Meghalaya practise this form of cultivation.

3. **Settled Agriculture:** Settled agriculture is practiced by a majority of tribal population in middle, western and southern regions of the country. The technique of cultivation adapted by the tribes are found to be simple.
The tribes professing agricultural pursuits are found to have been drawn into the society at large.

4. **Artisans:** The groups subsisting on crafts such as basket making, tool making, spinning and weaving is small. Many of the tribal groups are reported to have been engaged in these crafts on certain seasons or as a subsidiary occupation. But such groups are forced to exchange their products for food articles through market or through barter system with other tribal groups. The Kota of the Nilgiris is reported to have exchange relations with the Badaga for agricultural products.

5. **Folk Artists:** There are a variety of groups who carve out a living for themselves by performing aerobatic feats, entertaining people and providing some services to their patrons. Some of them lead nomadic life and others inhabit villages but periodically move out to their clients. Movements are planned and organised. Movement is always performed in small units comprising a few families, closely related to each other. The essential feature of their economy is that their resource base is other groups of human beings.

6. **Wage Labourers:** As a result of extension of plantation activities into the forest areas and due to reasons of mining and other activities many of the tribal groups were forced to come out of the woods into the neighbouring towns and cities for reasons mainly of survival. As a result they have to work as wage labourers. As a consequence they changed from the subsistence economy to cash-oriented industrial economy which had its impact on their society.
TRIBAL RELIGION:

Religion pervades all aspects of tribal life and hence, it is important to understand the tribe's religious notions. The tribal religion is explained in terms of ritual space, ritual time and ritual languages.

In the tribal perception the space is filled with spiritual beings. There are two classes of space: cosmic space and physical, or object space. The Santal believe that the creator Thakur Jiu dwells up in the sky; the Sin Bonga or the Sun God also occupies the cosmic space. The spirits occupy concrete objects in and around their settlement. Such spaces are named after the spirits associated with them. For instance, the spirit of the region, the spirit of the village boundary, the house spirit, the spring spirit, the mountain spirit, the forest spirit etc.

The ritual space is different from the ordinary space in as much as it is sacred-effective. But any ordinary space can become a ritual space, depending on its association with the spirit. Generally, it is allowed to retain its natural form. For instance, the Jaher, or the sacred grove, of the Santal consists of a clump of sal tree with one mahua standing near. Tribes, by and large, entertain no notion of hierarchy of the sacred spaces. But as Walker has reported, the Toda dairy temples are graded into a complex hierarchy according to relative sanctity. The higher they are, the more elaborate is the ritual associated with the daily tasks of the dairyman, and the higher must be the purity in which the dairy, its appurtenances, and the dairyman himself are maintained.

The tribes order their ritual time on the nature's signal, that is on the blossoming plants and trees, on the position of stars and moon, the biological time, and, if the circumstances so demand, by direct divination.
The principal festival of the Oraon is called Sarhol, the Feast of the Sal Blossoms, also known as the Marriage of the Earth. Another festival, known as Kadlota, is celebrated when rice grains have formed in the rice plants. The Toda perform their rituals according to the position of stars and new moon. The star called ket, the 18th naksatra or lunar mansion is considered to have a malignant influence. Most rituals are performed on or about the new moon. The moon-time is followed rather strictly. The Toda regard childbirth pollution particularly dangerous to the ritual condition of the sacred dairies of the hamlet. Thus, they insist that a new mother and her child should be taken, as soon as the woman could move out of her hamlet to the pollution hut. The length of the time mother and child were compelled to remain in this hut depended upon whether or not the child was her first. Thus, if a woman had given birth to her first child just after a new moon, she would have to endure almost two months of seclusion. It is important to note that most tribes consider biological time as an occasion to perform ritual, such as the first menstruation, child birth, and death.

The customs, the rituals and the timing of these customs and practices may vary from one tribe to another. But the expression of ritual language in terms of mantra, mudra, dhvani and vyavahariki is applicable to all cultures.

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 integrative function of religion in tribal society
is demonstrated in their common goal (superhuman world) and common means (ritual). Tribal religion is concerned with the maintenance of social and cosmic harmony and with attaining this worldly goods-rain, harvest, children, health, victory, and so on.

**Isolation From and Interaction with Other Groups:** The idea that the tribes have always remained isolated is not based on history. Migrations in India were frequent for political, economic and ecological reasons. It is also learnt that some of the tribes had formed large kingdoms. Even the most isolated groups were part of a wider network of economic relations.

The Jenu-Kuruba, a food gathering tribe in South Karnataka, were adept in catching and training elephants and perhaps were the main suppliers of elephants to the temples as well as to the armies of different states. Many of them supplied various kinds of forest goods within their region and in return took the goods of their necessity. Many of them paid taxes, rents or whatever was levied on them. Ghurye (1943) calls the tribal populations of India as imperfectly integrated segment of the Hindus. Bose (1971) discuses how the Hindus absorbed the tribal population in their fold. There are tribes which are fully integrated with the wider social, economic, political and religious framework and others are so integrated in varying degrees. Then there are tribes playing the role of bridge and buffer to their neighbours.

In North-East India, the tribes played the role of bridge and buffer to their neighbours. That is some tribes allowed two powerful neighbours to interact through them, that was the role of bridge. In some other cases they kept the two powerful groups separated, that was the role of buffer.
Thus, an understanding of the tribal groups from a historical perspective reveals that the tribal populations have been interacting within their regions in a variety of ways. They also developed regional patterns of interaction. In the process of interaction they contributed to the development of Indian civilization.

**TRIBAL WOMEN:**

As regards the status and role of women in tribal societies it is found that there is no uniform pattern amongst all the communities. It is found to differ not only from tribe to tribe and region to region, the same tribe living in different regions may show diversified behaviour patterns so far as the status of their womenfolk is concerned. While some scholars have opined that the primitive people give high status to women, others point out that the status of women is low. Lowie (1950) has categorically pointed out that the position of tribal women possesses different meaning in theory and practice. Lowie has pointed out four different things - actual treatment, legal status, opportunity for social participation and the character and extent of work, to determine the status of women in a society.

In tribal society the status of woman is dependent on nature of function in social organization. Accordingly, if the socio-economic functions of woman are high and valuable in a tribe, her status is naturally higher. The contrary would be true in respect of women whose economic functions are not very important. In social matters the tribal women enjoy considerable freedom of movement compared to the non-tribal women. Traditional and customary tribal norms are comparatively more liberal to women.
During recent period physical surroundings of the tribal women are on the trends of change, to a considerable extent, due to destruction of forests and the shrinkage of the resource base. The impact of industrialization in the different parts of the country have brought a conspicuous change over in the working patterns of tribal women which cause a great deal in the alteration of status and role of these womenfolk. The changes in attitudes towards the child marriage, polygamy, dowry payment has further resulted in changes in the status of women.

2. URBAN SETTING:

The roots of urbanism go deep into Indian history, and any attempt to see the various forces in clear array must place them in the perspective of time: more so since the social process in India over the past century or two has maintained a remarkable continuity. No large part of the social structure has undergone revolutionary erasure. The historians of India’s colonial urban centres, therefore, contribute materially to our understanding of the contemporary setting.

The pre-colonial urban centres had tended to be political at the core, their rise and fall often closely linked to the sponsoring political regime, though the addition of commercial and religious activities would give the urban centre a certain immunity from political vicissitudes.

Howard Spodek (1974) has examined the urban centres in the Saurashtran peninsula towards the end of the eighteenth century. These centres were located at the far edge of the imperial formations, both Mughal and Maratha; and the
latter had only a very shadowy sort of influence over them. These were city states; whose chiefs might be made to pay tribute to one or another imperial centre from time to time, but whose political and administrative autonomy was seldom questioned. The composition of these towns was built around the ruler and his kinsmen and followers, whose principal interests were centred on the agricultural activities in their vicinity and the surplus they could extract from these.

Physical changes in the urban centres like Calcutta, Madras, Bombay during the nineteenth century can be analysed simply: the administrative outposts for collecting land revenue and other work; the army facilities; the apparatus connected with the canals and the railways; courts and lawyers. Centres where the colonial regime established its institutions would grow in a modest way, even as the countryside reeled under deindustrialization and the like. Urban initiatives depended, by and large, upon the overarching, exogenic processes rather than upon endogenic evolution and control. Meanwhile, the developments in the area of railways, press and the like played a decisive role in the enlargement of social ties. Together these meant a decompression of the localised social universe, a scattering and an intermingling of the traditional social groups. Fresh dispersal of the hitherto relatively localized groups was another mechanism in this process. The spread of the educated Bengalis in the wake of British advance from their Calcutta base is well known.

Late nineteenth century saw, too, the rise of the stream of workers from Bihar and eastern United Provinces to the tea gardens, the jute mills in Calcutta, and other industrial destinations. Earlier migrants would sponsor later ones at this level, as had also been the case with the Marwaris; but, collectively, these groups of workers commanded little by way of capital - that versatile resource which can, among other things, help create and expand social space.
Numerous studies on the implications of industrialization has reflected on the variety and the amplitude of the redefinitions of identities that had taken place in centres like Bombay, Poona, Calcutta and Lahore. Bombay and Poona throw up an impressive new crop of institutions, give evidence of intense struggle within an array of castes concerning forms of authority and the purposes to which it should be put, generate critiques of the colonial regime.

Historically, it is the industrial revolution that has been associated with a rigorous enforcement of the performance criteria eroding, in the process, the traditional institutions, often built on ascriptive ties. This has happened because, firstly, the logic of advancing industrialism requires the maximization of fresh investible resources, which in turn depends in large part on high performance levels in and around the industrial apparatus. The performance of this industrial apparatus depends, in turn, on an increasingly complex division of labour - and for the productivity of the latter, it is essential for its various interdependent components to perform reliably. The magnitude of the pressures for performance, then, is a function of the internal interdependence built into a particular industrial system and of the pace set for industrialization overall.

3. ASSIMILATION:

The term literally means the process of becoming ‘alike’ or ‘more alike’; as used in sociological literature. It denotes (a) the process whereby a group, generally a minority or immigrant group, is through contact absorbed into the culture of another group or groups ; and (b) the result of such absorption.

Thus, assimilation denotes the process in which one set of cultural traits is relinquished and a new set acquired, through communication and participation.
The change is gradual and may take place in any degree. The concept is distinct from the biological process of racial merging through interbreeding, or amalgamation. Full assimilation means the incorporation of new members into a society so that they are not distinguishable from former members. It is frequently pointed out that immigrants may not only adopt another culture but may contribute to it by introducing certain of their own traits to the dominant culture; this indicates that the passage of elements is not an exclusively one-way process.

The term became current in sociology with reference to the process whereby migrants discarded the culture traits of their land of origin and acquired the culture of their new country. According to Park and Burgess "Assimilation is a process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments, and attitudes of other persons or groups, and, by sharing their experience and history, are incorporated with them in a common cultural life. These authors further indicate that there is no implication of resulting uniformity; the corporate character of societies is based on organization of complementary differences, and assimilation means the successful incorporation of a variety of persons into the new society.

Gordon (1964) sees the assimilation process and its subprocesses as a matter of degree, but complete assimilation would cover seven variables: change of cultural patterns to those of the host society; large-scale entrance into cliques, clubs, and institutions of the host society on the primary-group level; large-scale intermarriage; development of a sense of peoplehood based exclusively on the host society, absence of prejudice; absence of discrimination; and absence of value and power conflict. This conceptual scheme provides
the most satisfactory criteria yet proposed for measuring assimilation and for determining to what extent it is taking place.

The process of assimilation is affected by the interaction of several classes of variables: demographic, ecological, racial, structural, psychological, and cultural. There is at present no systematic comparative analysis of the variables that are most significant in different types of situations.

1.7. REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The Constituent Assembly constituted a sub-committee for ‘Excluded’ and ‘Partially Excluded Areas’ under the Chairmanship of Sri A.V.Thakkar. The Assembly accepted the recommendations of the Committee and hence, the tribal problems/issues became a matter of concern in the process of development that the country was taking upon itself. This was reiterated in the various provisions of the Constitution, that the Government shall take all adequate steps for the safeguard of the minorities, for those living in backward and tribal areas and for people belonging to depressed and other backward classes. The Directive Principles of State Policy further state that: “The State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and in particular, of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation” (quoted in Singh, 1994:9). The events following this like the increasing process of urbanization and modernization in the country created interest among wide variety of scholars and students mainly drawn from various disciplines like the Sociology, Social Anthropology etc. The following pages
Govind Gare(1976) has made a systematic attempt towards understanding the impact of migration on the tribal migrants and their life during their residence in Poona. It is the study of ethnic migrants, Mahadevo Kolis, who constitute one of the largest tribal groups in Maharashtra inhabiting in the hilly regions in the western and central parts of Maharashtra. The study focussed on the following aspects of this tribal community that is Mahadeo Kolis:

(I) Economic structure: Migration and occupational mobility, income and expenditure, housing conditions and general material standard of living.

(II) Social Structure: Family, its structure and functions, attitude towards family composition, kinship and marriage, role and status of women, women and their urban life.

(III) Association and group life: Associations and institutional behaviour, neighbourhood and friend circle, social distance in relation to and participation among the non-Mahadeo Koli groups, social stratification, leisure and recreation.

(IV) Religion: Religious practices, beliefs and sentiments.

(V) Social implications of the links with the native places, that persist through time” (Gare, 1976:12).
The study by Gare has revealed that the migration to Poona is by the educated and unemployed younger generation who were looking for better opportunities of employment, but who were willing to take up hard jobs. The process of migration was found to be characterised initially by the head of the household himself, followed by a gradual shift of his family members. A similar pattern has been revealed in other studies of migration also. Gare has found that the pattern exhibited by the Kolis is not without its consequences. According to him, “This process of migration of the Mahadeo Kolis had played a very significant role and brought about many changes due to multifarious geographical, social, cultural and economic factors. These factors in turn initiated far-reaching changes in the nature, content and structure of economic and social life of the people and their social institutions.” (1976:196).

In respect of the occupations professed by the migrant heads of households it is found that those with education upto secondary levels were found to be engaged in unskilled manual labour or occupations with low status. On the contrary those with education upto matriculation or beyond could get white collar occupations like the clerical, administrative and skilled jobs. The occupational mobility evident in the tribal population under study was more due to reasons of migration. Gare concludes “The occupational mobility of the urban Mahadeo Kolis had led them gradually to closer integration with the urban economy. Their entry into diverse occupations increased the range of their economic relations. Moreover, most of the traditional economic institutions were incompatible with the new economic environment” (1976:197). More importantly, the migrant families could find improvements in the economic conditions of the households.
Gare has found that the contacts with the city life and the changes associated with the economic values and cultural values in the city affected the general life and material culture of the people. It was found that the sample households were equipped with such articles like the tables and chairs, almirahs, wall clocks, sewing-machines etc. Use of electricity, transistors, radios and irons was also noticed in some of the houses. The changes were also noticed in non-materialistic way of life. As observed by Gare,

"... in urban Mahadeo Kolis, men changed their style of clothing and ornaments before women changed theirs, that for both the sexes the ages where change came first were from twelve to twenty and that for both the sexes the change in the type of outer wear generally preceded that of the underwear. This was in accordance with what we should expect from the fact that women were held to be culturally more conservative, that disposition to change in general was more marked at adolescence than at other period of life and that the outer wear, being more visible than the underwear, was more subject to the influence of emulation (Gare, 1976:199).

The other important social changes observed in the tribal community of Kolis in Pune are the:

1. Breakdown of joint family, and the
2. Intercaste and Intercommunity marriages replaced the traditional cross-cousin marriages.

Thus, it is important to note that the migration to the urban areas which is a result of economic factors has brought in changes both in the material and non-material aspects of tribal life.
Pradhan in his foreword to the book ‘Lamani Economy and Society in Change - Socio-Cultural Aspects of Economic Change among the Lamani of North Karnataka‘ (1986) written by Halbar, B.G. writes: “He clearly shows, for example, how certain historical and economic factors have transformed the Lamani community from a community of producers disposing of their means of production (self-subsistent and petty commodity production) of their nomadic past into a community in which some have now become self-subsistent agricultural producers, others separated from the means of production (because of their inability to acquire land and its resources) and have become laborers or salaried workers - a process that has led to the emergence of incipient or secondary classes” (1986: vi). This present work of Dr. Halabar is a revised and shortened version of his Ph.D., thesis submitted to the Karnataka University, Dharwad in December 1975, This is based on research conducted during 1967 and 1971 followed by occasional visits till the summer of 1983 in Savana and Havana of Dharwad district.

Dr. Halabar’s study attempts at describing the changes that have taken place in the economic organization of the Lamani community during the last century and its effects on different aspects of life. One of the major findings of the study is that: “The Lamani economy . . . is a micro-economy integrated into the regional and, indirectly, into the national economy. It is an economy of a relatively recently settled nomadic tribal community which is in the process of becoming peasant, and is no more primitive. The Lamani economy has acquired many - and is still acquiring some new elements; developed concepts of private property; an incipient individualism emancipated from the tribal collectivism; a free market; conception of wealth in terms of land, agricultural property (cattle and implements), and household belongings; emergence of wealth differences
as between households, if not yet crystallised in separate caste and class divisions; increased use of money, market and trade; interest on loans; work for wages; pledging of property; holding of lands on rentals; a technology of plough-and-oxen cultivation; and an incipient economic diversification.” (1986:221). However, the study further points out the adaptation to new value systems has not necessarily resulted in the breakdown of traditional institutions and values. Thus, it is found that they continue to retain the communal ownership of the settlement site; collective co-operative management of traditional rituals and celebrations, continuation of food-gathering and hunting at a smaller scale. In trying to analyse these changes, Dr. Halabar points out: “These changes among the Lamani have taken place over a long period as a result of acculturation necessitated by the breakdown of their traditional economy and a new mode of residence. I get the impression that no major change has occurred in the Lamani kinship system because of direct economic influence. Whatever minor changes we notice are mainly due to sedentarisation and the consequent culture contact the Lamani have had with other castes.

The different orientations in the means of livelihood are reflected in the religious attitudes and codes of social obligations in case of the Lamani, too, as in the case of other communities such as the African. From the days of their closely-directed economic, political and religious life in the pre-British period, it is a great change for the Lamani to settle down and adopt agriculture and wage labour, which in turn have necessitated modifications in their social organization, polity and religion. The changes in their economy which necessitated increased contact with others have together greatly modified the Lamani beliefs and rituals.
Thus, this study is an attempt to understand the impact of the economic changes on the socio-cultural life of the Lamani community. This seems to be in line with Gare's findings that the movement to the city of Poona for reasons of employment has also resulted in several changes in the life of Mahadeo Kolis.

Govind Das Kabra (1987) has studied an ethnic community workers in the context of industrial setting. The study is a significant contribution to the understanding of the change in the life of tribal people of Rajasthan. Due to the migration of this tribal people to the industrial-urban community which provided salaried jobs which in turn affected the tribal people like what happened with non-tribal sections of our population. The tribals of the nearby villages who became early a part of the industrial-urban complex showed distinct pattern of adjustment in comparison to the tribals settled recently. Such a development is due to the settled job what the early migrants could find in industrial establishments. They have not only adjusted well in the new environment, but have been able to retain their kinship and familial ties with the places of their birth. A large number of tribal workers is illiterate, but they have a high level of cognition about value of education in social life and in getting white collar jobs.

The study by Pratap (1968) is about Bapunagar which was once an exclusive Banjara Tanda situated on the eastern side of Hyderabad city. The settlement which began with 10-12 Banjara households at the time of the study is said to have 500 households when study was conducted in 1964. With the
passage of time Muslims and Harijans have also come to stay in the settlement. The study has revealed that a large majority of the inhabitants are illiterates and belong to poorer strata of the society.

Prior to migration, 80 per cent of the migrant Banjaras were engaged in agriculture and also worked as agricultural labour and about 15 per cent as casual labourers and 5 per cent as artisan and traders. After migration to the city there has been a change in the occupational status of 80 per cent of them where they have become casual labourers in organised sector and some have also taken up technical jobs. The occupational mobility, specialisation and stratification indicate that there has been a basic shift in the occupational composition of these ethnic migrants within a span of 60 years. Pratap has found that a majority of the Banjara households have middle income and the percentage is relatively small in the higher income brackets. The economic standard of living of the Banjaras was found by Pratap being very much below the basic standard of living of people of our nation in 1964-65.

Somashekharappa, C.A. (1997) has attempted at a case study of the Dombari a nomadic tribe in the Belgaum city in a paper published in the second volume in the series Contemporary Society: Tribal Studies, ed. by Pfeffer and Behera (1997: P 205-211). The paper highlights the distinctive features of the Dombari community as contrasted with other groups living in the city and the problems and issues confronting the ethnic community in their process of adjustment to the city life.
Sharma (1996) in his study of "Ethnicity and Stratification Among Tribals in Urban Setting", analyses the changing patterns of social stratification among the migrant tribe Bhils in Udaipur city. The major hypothetical questions Sharma has examined in this study are: (a) To what extent the migrant groups maintain their ethnic identity vis-à-vis the caste Hindus in the city of Udaipur? (b) To what extent the migrants are distancing from their pre-migration situation?, and (c) Is there a correspondence between economic inequality and ethnic distinctions among the Bhils?

Sharma writes that the Bhil community in Udaipur city as a whole has experienced substantial social stratification. Acceptance of Hindu ways of life and conversion to Christianity stratified the Bhils among themselves. On the basis of their rural and urban background they are broadly categorized into village Bhils and urban Bhils. Though the Bhils living in for all practical purposes have left their villages and Pals, they make all efforts to keep relations with their kins in their villages. The relations are reviewed and strengthened when the urban Bhils visit their villages to attend marriages or to participate in the festivals of Rakhi, Dussehra, Diwali and Holi. A Bhil also invites his close relations from his native place to Udaipur. The urban Bhils arrange marriages in their colonies. But their frequent visits to villages and kinsmen explain the nexus between the tribal and the wider society". (1996: 168-170).

The study by Chandrashekhar Bhat (1984) is about the emerging ethnic identity and social mobility among the Waddars of South India. The Waddars lead neither a fully nomadic way of life nor a sedentary life. The Waddars move to those places which provide them adequate work and hence there is absence of any pattern pertaining to their movements. The place and duration
of stay of the migratory Waddars, as observed by Bhat, depends upon three factors - first, the availability of resources for stonework or earthwork; second, the local demand which is determined by the socio-cultural factors; and thirdly the environmental conditions such as preference of stone to brick. Not all the Waddars are at the same point in the nomadic-sedentary continuum. The secular benefits, facilitated by their retention in the list of the scheduled castes, mainly enabled the Waddars greater individual mobility. It provided greater opportunities at the individual level in terms of education, employment and political participation. Another interesting move among the Waddars is the adoption of the surnames of certain higher castes which is in a way a Sanskritization process as named by M.N.Srinivas.

Joshi's study of "Tribal Migration" (1997) analyses the basic issue that the large-scale migration is one of the survival strategies adopted by the tribals to save themselves from starvation. Under a condition of the failure of the local support system caused due to increasing population and dwindling command over resources the tribals are forced to move out of their natural habitats. The other issues addressed in this volume are the identification of contiguous clusters based on inter-village contact and focal points; working out of a strategy whereby at least a part of the surplus human resource is utilised, looking to the available resources of individual clusters and working out the resource base and surplus manpower in each cluster. Joshi has studied tribal household taking it as the unit of study with reference to the collection of primary data from 66 sample villages. The observations from the present study are:
1. The contribution of agricultural produce to the total family income is only 32.6 per cent even though 97 per cent of the tribals are cultivators. This may be one of the reasons for the continuing difficulties among the tribals. As a result, nearly 53 per cent of the family workers are also reported as labourers and the wages earned by them in the 54.7 per cent of the households is the main source of family income.

2. On an average 46.3 per cent of the tribal population migrates out; this percentage goes sometimes upto 70 per cent in some parts. The tribals are further found to be forced into the urban centres of Kota, Surat, Vadodara, Ahmedabad etc., definitely for reasons of employment. These migrants are generally unskilled workers and are found to be involved in construction activities.

Vidyarthi, L.P. (1964) has studied extensively the change process among the tribals in Bihar region. He in his study of Munda and Oraon tribals living in the city of Ranchi analyses the changing aspects of life among the tribals. He points out that the process of urbanisation among the tribals of Ranchi city involved changes in several dimensions. The primary change is noticed in the occupational sphere which directly induces the change in economic and technological spheres, but it is accompanied by associated changes in the field of social relations, customs, habits and of the values and beliefs. As Vidyarthi points out the social life of the tribal society constitutes an interrelated whole and changes in one section will have repercussions on the others. Then the change in social pattern of life in urban-tribal society is not functioning without
the occurrence of strains and tensions. There have been many sources of resentments and dissatisfaction rooted in the changing social structure as expressed by the Munda and Oraon tribals in the city.

Sachidananda (1965) has studied the process of detribalization among a number of tribal people working in various iron and steel industries at Jamshedpur in Bihar. In this study, Sachidananda points out that the impact of industrialisation is specially important in tribal areas because of the fact that many of its values are in contrast to the traditional tribal ethos. In many areas and for many tribals, this impact has led to a process of detribalization. Traditionally tribals were living in a closed society where the social mobility was strictly limited and their socio-economic and political relationships were concentrated in a particular area, but that was completely changed in urban society. Regarding the impact on the socio-economic aspects of the tribals, he writes that the introduction of money economy has led to radical changes in the economic systems. It has transferred the traditional communal goals of the extended kinship group to those of personal achievement and individual careers. This has resulted in changing the structure of the family and the position of man and woman in it. The traditional concept of result of the young for their elders, of women for men, of the commoner to the headman accompanied by elaborate ritual and etiquette has also no place in an industrial society.

Sachidananda has further observed the newly achieved status in industry affects the form and nature of leadership. Talking about the class, the author says, a man who enters as a mere labourer by successive rises becomes a middle-class man. Such a social mobility is unknown in a traditional tribal society.
It also leads to the creation of a self-conscious status group and ultimately to the growth of a class system which is generally unknown among tribal groups in middle India and which militates against the tribal norms of egalitarian society. Modern educational facilities which accompany the growth of industrialization introduce a fundamental shift in emphasis in the theories of causation. This new scientific and rational orientation has reduced the incidence of witchcraft accusations. Industrialization leads to organization and to growth of consciousness about one's rights and privileges. The most fundamental change is the loss of homogeneity which is a tribal characteristic.

Sachidananda has also observed that in the industrial area, there is a tendency of expansion of group identity beyond the tribe. Inter-tribal marriages, association in political organization and their unions cut across the tribal line. Radio, movies and newspapers bring the news and views of the world which was beyond the comprehension of the tribal in pre-industrial society. The impact on health, material life and religious practices has also been stressed in the study. The tribals have become the victims of many diseases in the industrial area. The traditional importance of their religion had declined markedly. Their habits were also changing fast and thus the tribal values were being lost.

The Cultural Research Institute for Tribal Welfare of West Bengal (1964) undertook a study to assess the impact of industrialization on socio-economic and psychological life of the tribal communities. It was carried out mainly among the factory workers belonging to different tribal communities who were working at Chittaranjan Locomotive Workshop, Hindustan Cable Factory and Jhimeri Colliery of Burdwan district, Kanchrapara Locomotive
Workshop of 24 paraganas and Haringhat Thilak Factory of Nadia district and among those tribals whose ethnological aspects have been found to be slightly affected.

**Martin Orans** (1959) has observed the effects of industrial milieu on traditional culture of the Santhals who are one of the biggest tribal communities. He observes that the Santhals migrated to Jamshedpur with the economic motives and started working as factory workers. Due to the influence of industrial and urban setting drastic changes have occurred more in the material, cultural elements than in the non-material cultural elements. The people have given up the traditional dress, ornaments and have taken to the modern dresses and ornaments which they feel or fit and closely associated with their status, but the beliefs and practices are much alike those in their villages. Modern education has eliminated bad social practices and traditional beliefs regarding witchcraft and magico-religious practices. It is also found that the bustees of santhals in the city of Jamshedpur have become a centre of political activities and many santhals have entered into the activities of Adibas Jharkhand Political Party. Santhals both of the bustees and those who live in the city have widened their social horizons through labour union activities and thus they are increasing their social inter-action with non-santhals in the city in particular and the region in general.

As Martin Orans further observes, the efforts of the ethnic population of the santhals will continue their attempt to remould the santhal culture into city to his own liking than abandon his social identity. Increasingly sensitive to the beliefs, practices and criticisms of the general Indian society the santhals
aim is to, "rise his own society to a level where it will command the respect of non-santhal world". Orans' observations of late 1950s seem to have come true as now the Jharkhand identity has come true in the form of establishing new state which is an achievement of the Santhal leadership in the region. This only speaks of how a tribe can emerge itself from its state of social solitude to a force to reckon with in a short span.

A similar kind of study of the santhals was carried out by Datta, Majumdar, (1956) among those who had left their homes in large groups to work in tea industry and tea plantations, railway construction, coal and mica mines, rice mills and steel factories. Thus santhals came in contact with other people and their cultures. Owing to the cultural contact many changes had taken place in their economic life and material aspects of culture. They had left their traditional food-habits, dresses, ornaments and utensils and introduced new pattern of dress and ornaments. Drinking had also become difficult and derogatory. Its place was taken by huka and cigarettes. The dependence of the individual on the village community and the family-hold on the individual had also weakened. The political awareness and clamour for political rights had increased. Some of the festivals and religious practices had lost their significance and meaning, and worship of Rama and other Hindu deities was accepted because of the doubtful efficiency of the tribal deities which did not seem to redeem the santhals from their suffering.

Prof. Daryll Firde (1963) has stated in his study "Urbanization and Social Change in Africa", that though the tribal migrants have arrived with traditional socialites, economic relations and loyalty to the traditional tribal
authority and have been placed into a complex urban situation, they have formed new social ties of an unfamiliar kind and have acquired new values with reference both to material conditions and social relations. Prior to this final adjustment, a large part and especially the newly arrived immigrants among the urban population used to retain close links with their native places and tribal life. Thus a portion of the urban population is found to be continually flowing back to the rural areas by way of periodic migrations. As a result, the rural image of urban conditions and wage labour has itself been continually changing and with it the anticipations and intentions of new migrants to the towns.

Many such studies were made in African towns as well where the immigrant tribal population had increased at an accelerating rate during the past thirty years. These studies are useful to understand the nature of the urban impact upon the tribal immigrants and the process of assimilation with neighbouring people and their culture. In the study of Rhodesian Copperbelt, Hortense Powdermaker (1976) says a social crisis exists for Africans in changing from tribal to a modern way of life, but not necessarily to total Europeanization. No people have ever totally taken on any culture and it is evident that the Africans during this period of change did not leave in a void.

Powdermaker observed that many changes in this context such as inter-tribal marriages, association in political organizations and trade unions which cut across the traditional tribal lines, different tribes working together besides being friends and neighbours. The radio, movies, newspapers and fast communication brought news of the world to the tribals and expanded their universe beyond Africa. The new economic order weakened the lineage structure, kinship organization and family life. The ties in the modern conjugal family were closer than in its tribal counterpart. At the same time autonomy
for its members was permitted and encouraged. Even under such changing conditions the tribals still retained some of their basic elements and qualities.

Susan Lewandowski (1980) in her study of Kerala migrant community in Madras city points out that the community was very different from the one that existed in the city almost hundred years ago. The single most important variable used in her study has been time, for it has allowed her to examine changes within migrant families over several generations as well as shifts in political relations between different ethnic groups in a pre and post colonial urban society. As noted by Lewandowski ethnicity is an integral part of post-colonial societies of the third world for under colonial rule. Certain groups benefited at the cost of others and since the independence in movements of the past three decades those in positions of power have attempted to hold on to their status while others have struggled to become equal.

Lewandowski has seen in the case of Madras city, different life-styles emerge among different class, caste and religious segments of the Kerala migrant community. For Kerala Christians and Muslims, the symbols and emotional bonds of religion are important in determining Malayalee identity. Both these communities use institutions and churches or mosques to reinforce their cultural heritage and, as such, are shielded from the larger urban environment to a greater extent than Kerala Hindus. For Kerala Hindus it is the family that reinforces cultural traditions, and maintains religious rituals and festivals. Since local culture in Kerala was embedded within the extended family, it was this institution in Madras which attempted to preserve the language, life-styles, mores and religious traditions of the Hindu migrants.
Khazanov, A.M., presents in his book, 'Nomads and the Outside World', (1984), the analysis of the peculiarities of socio-political organisation of industrial nomadic societies and proposes a general theory of pastoral nomadism. Throughout the book, both contemporary and historical sources are used in an attempt to fuse the anthropological and historical study of nomads.

Two fundamental arguments presented in this study are: first that the existence and functioning of nomadic societies is dependent not only on the existence of the outside world, but on a specific relation to sedentary societies which enables nomads to remain nomadic, and second, that nomadic societies—whether ancient, medeival or modern—do not follow any pattern of linear development towards a consistent end, but rather a variety of patterns with, indeed, a tendency towards a circular and repetitive development.

Reymond Breton's 'Institutional Completeness of Ethnic Communities and the Personal Relations of Immigrants' (1964) study focuses on the direction of the interpersonal relations of ethnic immigrants. The immigrant can become interpersonally integrated within the 'native' community, within his ethnic community or neither a group of immigrants of an ethnicity other than his own in an urban world.

Breton points out that the ethnic group may possess some differentiating social or cultural attributes which can set it apart from the larger community. He found that a difference in language was associated with a higher degree of institutional completeness. He also found among ethnic groups with a different language that the higher the proportion in the ethnic group who are ignorant of the native languages.
Breton found a strong positive relationship between the proportion of manual workers in an ethnic group and the degree of institutional completeness of that group.

Further he points out that the ethnic communities are formed, grow, and disappear, they go through a life cycle.

**M.K.Hassan & Ahmed S.I.,** in their article "Tribals in an Industrial Setting" (1988) examine the impact of industrialization, religion and age on the attitudinal modernity and adjustment of the tribals. The main focus of this study is on the effects of industrialization and religion on the tribals attitudinal modernity. The industrial workers were found to be more modern than non-industrial workers. Further, they have found that industrialization and age have significant effects on the levels of adjustment of the tribals.

**Nair** in his study of 'Ethnic Identity in the Indian Urban Setting' (1979) observes that in the urban setting migrants tend to cluster around and ecologically segregate themselves from the older residence. That immigrants to the city become part of a relatively homogeneous cultural group and acquire an ethnic identity is a phenomenon fairly wide-spread. **Wirth** calls such settlements of immigrants the 'Ghettos'. The immigrants coming from different cultural regions of India tend to simulate their cultural and social environment in most of the metropolitan cities and other urban centres. In India ethnicity has been defined in a variety of ways. Most popularly **Cohen** (1974 : 8) defines ethnic group as a collectivity of people who (a) share some patterns of normative
behaviour; (b) form a part of a larger population interacting with people from other collectivities within the framework of a social system. Nair opines that the immigrant communities simulating the culture of their place of origin usually acquire an ethnic identity.

The major findings of Nair's study are:

i) Caste, language, religion and region are found to be relevant factors contributing to the formation of ethnic group in the urban setting.

ii) There is a tendency for caste, closure in the hierarchy, settled together in urban areas than castes at the polar ends of the hierarchy.

iii) With regard to language and region, ethnicity operates at two levels. (1) linguistic region, (2) the language family.

iv) Social class is an important aspect of ethnicity in the urban setting.

v) The homogeneity of the immigrant communities under study suggests the existence of homogeneous sub-cultural groups in the heterogeneous, complex urban societies.

Mishra, P.K. in his study of 'Nomads in a City Setting' (1971) has examined what traditions the nomads perpetuate through the roles they play in the heterogeneous population of a city, what the level of those traditions are, and why such complex group of people continue to lead a nomadic life.

Stanley, Liberson in his study of 'Ethnic Patterns in American Cities' (1963) analyses assimilation of European ethnic immigrant groups into American cities. This study covers both first and second generation members of important ethnic groups in Boston, Buffalo, Chicago, Cincinnati, Cleve Land, Columbus, Philidelphia, Pittsburg, and St.Louis.
Stanley, Liberson applies the perspective of human ecology to an examination of differentials in the degrees of segregation among different ethnic groups. He highlights the relationship between segregated residential patterns and other aspects of assimilation, ability to speak English, length of residence, propensity to assume citizenship, inter-marriage and occupational composition and mobility. Liberson has analysed the structural and aggregate aspects of assimilation and their roles in ethnic behaviour in general and assimilation in particular.

Studies pertaining to the process of adjustment of an ethnic community to the alien urban situation are scanty and more so in Indian context. And the fact that the issue of urban influence on ethnic society and the process of assimilation and accommodation still needs to be better understood and empirically explored gains significance in the absence of systematic and empirical studies undertaken in this field. However, an attempt is made in the following chapters to analyse the findings pertaining to the adjustment of ethnic Lambani community to the urban world in the light of the foregoing sections on theoretical support.