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Definition Of Tribe

A series of definitions have been offered by the earlier Anthropologists like Morgan, Tylor, Perry, Rivers, and Lowie to cover a social group known as tribe. These definitions are, by no means complete and these professional Anthropologists have not been able to develop a set of precise indices to classify groups as —tribe or —non-tribe. The term generally refers to territorial communities living in the relative isolation in foot-hills and forests.

Many attempts have been made in anthropology to define and characterize —tribe, but there is no consensus on defining characteristics. Territorially race, economy animism, political autonomy etc have been variously used. In fact it appears that the dozens of definitions and characteristics of —tribe floating around in anthropological literature are as diverse as the field situation encountered by those proposing the definitions.

Let us start with the orthodox definition of tribes revealed in the Dictionary of Anthropology which states: —Tribe is a social group, usually with a definite area, dialect, cultural homogeneity, and unifying social organization. It may include several sub-groups, such as sibs or villages. It may and may have common ancestor as well as presiding deities. The families or small communities making up a tribe, are linked through economic, social, religious, or blood ties i.e. kinship bondage.

A tribe is a group of people, usually staying in jungle areas, in a small locality, absolutely illiterate poor, hardly clad in clothes, usually dark and frail, fully living within their own community whose marriage always takes place among themselves, engaged in hunting and searching for roots, shoots and fruits as their veg food and roasted animals as non-veg food, completely oblivious of the country's political and economic condition, resisting all efforts of development and have a strong dislike for strangers and educated modern community.

Dr Rivers added the criteria of —having single government and acting together for such common purposes as warfare.

Prof. Perry thinks that —a common dialect and a common territory should be treated as the criteria for labelling a group as tribe.

Prof S.C. Dube has remarked that —Partly because of the isolation and partly because of their limited world view, characterized by lack of historical depth and an overall tradition – orientation, they are integrated themes and special cultural focus give them a separate cultural identity and they often possess latent and manifest value attitude, and motivational system which are remarkably different from those of the other people.

The Tata Institute of Social Science has made following comment on this issue. —A tribe could be a collection of families without the existence of community in the scientific sense of the word. A tribe as a social organization is able to decide upon its own function or the need or otherwise of independence between its different components, units or groups. Economic backwardness is very relative.

Prof. S.C. Sinha has tried to define the category —tribe as essentially pre literate groups living in relative isolation in hills and forests or in the plains skirting the forests who are apparently outside the threshold of —Brahmanic hierarchic civilisation.

On the basis of certain universal characteristics contained in various definitions, Majumdar (1958) proposed a definition of tribe claiming that some of it would define a tribe anywhere.

—A tribe is a social group with territorial affiliation, endogamous, with no specialization of function ruled by tribal officers, hereditary or otherwise, united in language or dialect, recognising social distance with other tribes, caste, without any social obloquy attaching to them as it does in the caste structure following tribal traditions, belief and customs illiberal

of naturalization of ideas from alien sources, above all conscious of homogeneity of ethnic and territorial integration.

In Indian context, too, the term is a British legacy. They classified as tribe such people who were beyond the pale of Hindu Varna system occupied inaccessible hills and forests and were of dark complexion. Neither Hindu nor any other Indian language has a corresponding term with exact connotation as „tribe“. This in itself is a proof enough that Indian language have never conceptually set these people apart from the rest.

Concept of Tribe

In contemporary India, the word ‘_tribe‘ has thus little cultural or social implications. It has become the watchword of the political consciousness of a particular group of a people in the country. Like caste consciousness or regional consciousness, tribal consciousness is fast developing to be a political tool which has become symbolic of privileged treatment, separatist tendencies and in places a barrier to national integration.

The tribal as man is simple, humble and possesses a great amount of feeling for his co-villagers and kings man in particular and community members in general. They grow in the intimacy of the social atmosphere of his community. His close association with nature inspires him to lead a carefree life. They feel pleasure in roaming about hills, forests and fields. Nature makes him intimate with the environment. He often meets friends and visits his own relations on different festive occasions and in periodical new relations and association with people.

Purely for sake of classification and enumeration, the British Government in India introduced the category of ‘_tribe‘ (with occasional qualifying prefixes like ‘_hill and jungle‘, ‘_aboriginal‘, ‘_indigenous‘) to designate these people. The word tribe had been hitherto used by European historians to refer to such distinctive groups of people as the Gauls or the Anglo-Saxons in Europe and such autonomous political groups as Lichchivi, Mulla, Yaudheya and Khasa in ancient India, or such wide descent groups as the tribes of Israel or the Arab tribes in Western Asia. Social Anthropologists like Rivers were using the word in reference to the people of Melanesia where each hill top or valley sheltered groups of people who were politically autonomous and, as if to show that, were constantly at war with each other. It is significant to note that unaffected by its usage in India, British Social Anthropologists like Radcliffe-Brown, Evans Pritchard, Fortes and Nadel have used the word tribe to refer an autonomous political unit which lives on its own territory and possesses its own distinctive way of life. In the Indian context, efforts have been made to find common denominators if not a common definition of the word tribe. The Commissioner for scheduled

castes and Scheduled Tribes in his report for the year 1952 has listed eight such common features. These are:

- These They live away from the civilized world in the inaccessible part lying in the forests and hills
- They belong to either one of the three stocks- Negritos, Australoids or Mongoloids.
- They speak the same tribal dialect,
- Profess primitive soul known as —Animism‖ in which the worship of ghosts and spirits is the most important element,
- Follow primitive occupations such as gleaning, hunting, and gathering of forest product,
- They are largely carnivorous or flesh and meat eaters,
- They live either naked or semi- naked using tree-barks and leaves for clothing, and
- They have nomadic habits and love for drink and dance.

Characteristics of Tribal Community

Common Territory

A tribe is a territorial community. It means that the tribe has a definite territory in which its members reside. For Example, the Naga, Rengma Naga, Sema Naga and other tribals reside in Nagaland; Garos, Khasis, Khasas live in Assam; Bhils in Madhya Preadesh; Soligas in Mysore; ThodasIn in Niligiri Hills of Tamil Nadu, and so on. In the absence of a common locality or territory a tribe would lose its uniqueness.

Collection of Families

As the definitions of tribe cited above clarify, tribals constitute a collection of families. These collections may have various sizes. These families which normally have blood relationships among themselves could be matriarchal or patriarchal in nature.

Common Name

Every tribe has its own name. Each tribe is known to other tribes by its distinctive name. Example of some Indian tribes: Garo, Khasi, Khasa, Naga, Rengma Naga, Sema Naga, Limbu, Santhal, MUnda, Gond, Kota, Badaga, Urali, Thodas, etc.

Common Language

The members of a tribe speak a particular language. Different tribes speak different languages. These languages are not only different from the language of the civilised people, but they themselves differ from one another. Common language contributes much to the development of community feeling. Since these languages do not have a script of their own, education of the tribals has become problematic.

Common Ancestor

The tribals claim that they have a common ancestor. A major cause of the sense of communal unity in the tribe is —the tie of blood

relationship between its members arising out of common ancestry. The tribals are bound by kinship bonds.

Common Religion

Religion plays an important role in the tribal organisation. The members of a tribe usually worship a common ancestor. Also, 'nature worship' is common among them. In addition to the Ancestral worship and nature worship the tribals practise other types of faith such as -fetichism, animism and totemism. Magic is also widespread among them. The tribal social and political organisations are based on this religion. Participation in common religious ceremonies functions and festivals contributes to the unity of the group. A sizeable proportion of Nagas, Mizos, Santhals, Oraons and Munda, etc. Have embraced Christianity while some tribals such as Butia, Lepcha Chakma have largely identified with Buddhism.

Common Culture

Each tribe has a way of life of its own. Each tribe has its own way of behaving, thinking, feeling and acting. Each has its own customs, traditions, morals, values, its own peculiar institutions in brief, its own culture. The very peculiarities of a tribe reveal that it has a distinctive culture of its own.

Common Political Organisation

Each tribe has its own political system. The tribal chief normally exercises authority over all the other members. The chieftainship is normally hereditary. He occupies an important position in the tribal society. The tribals do not possess a government in the modern sense of the term. But, they do have their own tribal government, tribal council and tribal court or judicial system. Santhals, for example, an advanced tribe, has a village council the members of which are democratically elected. Nagaland emerged on the first of December 1963 as the 16th State of the Republic of India and Meghalaya in 1972.

Feeling of Unity

The members of a tribe always feel that they are united. This sense of unity is essential for them to retain their identity. Tribals are normally cohesive and they fight against common enemies as one man. They are ever ready to avenge the injustice done to the group or the individuals.

Common Economic Organisation

As against 73% national average, 91 % of the tribal workers are engaged in agriculture. About 3% of tribals are engaged in manufacturing against the national average of 11%; and 5% in tertiary servicing [against the national average of 16%]. Just 1 % tribals are engaged in forestry and food gathering. Their economic

position is very poor. Though they are poor, against the national average of 43%, nearly 57% of tribals are economically active. In spite of that, they get very poor returns for their efforts.

Organisation of Clans

The clan or sib is an important part of tribal-organisation. The clan includes all the relatives of mothers or fathers and the children of one' ancestor. People belonging to a clan trace their origin to one ancestor. The descendants of a clan are of either matrilineal or partilineal lineage. The tribal society may include in itself many clans. There exists mutual helpfulness among the members of different clans.

Prevalence of Dormitories

Tribal community has a peculiar feature which is evident in the form of common sleeping chambers or dormitories. Such organisations train the youth in the tribals ways of life. These are the centres which preserve tribal legends, music, dance, paintings, etc Young boys and girls spend much of their time in the night in these dormitories and often they are vested with the responsibility of giving protection to the community people. Till they get married they continue to become the members of the dormitories and are supposed to maintain secrecy relating to their activities. After their marriage their membership of the dormitories get cancelled. Members of the dormitories are expected to follow the rules and regulations strictly.

Simplicity and Self-Sufficiency

A tribal society is not complex but simple in character. Hunting, fishing and collection of roots, fruits, nuts, berries, honey and forest products are their main means of subsistence. Some have taken to cultivation also. They do not possess, neither do they enjoy the facilities of civilised people. There was a time when the tribals were self-sufficient. Due to the increase in their population and changed economic conditions, their self-sufficiency has gone. They are becoming more and more dependent on the civilised community and also the government help. They are simple, honest, frugal and some of them are very hospitable also. They are not educated neither are they interested in it.

The Need for Protection

The tribals always experience the need for protection. Hence, they are a cohesive group. The tribe is a homogeneous group also. There is less diversity and more unity and uniformity. Ethnic, political, religious and other kinds of prejudices and mutual distrust between the civilised and the tribal people have made the tribals feel insecure. Hence, they experience the need for protection. Their political organisation is established mainly to protect themselves.

Endogamous Group

Though not always, the members of a tribe generally marry among themselves. Marrying within one's own group is called endogamy. Each tribe has many clans within itself and these are exogamous in nature. The tribals practise endogamy probably to maintain the purity of blood and cultural peculiarities and to preserve the property within the group. But today, due to the influence of the civilised people and increased contacts, exogamy is also practised. The tribe is not necessarily an endogamous group, though originally it might have been so, says, Imperial Gazetteer of India. All known tribal societies have laid stress on the rule of exogamy. An individual is not allowed to marry inside a definite set of his own kin- group, that is, clan. In conclusion, it can be said that taken together as a unit, each tribe is largely endogamous, but various sub-groups that it consists, namely clans, are mostly exogamous.

Tribes of India: Definition

Definition of Tribe One of the major issues in tribal studies today, and it is clear from the draft as well, pertains to the "definition" of "tribe" (from now on, whenever the term draft is used, it refers to its second version). Many of us think that since we are concerned with communities of people classified as scheduled tribes (STs) and there is less ambiguity about this term, although some communities classified so may not deserve the appellation of tribe, not much will be gained by getting bogged down into the ever-polemical and inconclusive issues of the definition. As per this argument, our concern is with the "scheduled tribes", and not with "tribes"; the former category includes about 700 communities, according to the draft, which notwithstanding their inter-cultural differences share the same relation of deprivation with respect to non-tribal people. The other view is that in India, the continuities between tribes and castes are so much that it often becomes difficult to distinguish (or separate) one from the other. Not only is this the experience of contemporary students of tribal societies, but was also of the census enumerators in the late 19th century. Often, communities were arbitrarily listed as tribes (or castes), and this decision was left to the perception of the local community by the individual enumerator. There have been cases of communities classified as

tribes in one state and as castes in another. **Tribes and Castes: Identities** The presence of the continuities between tribes and castes did not imply that there were no differences between them. The differences existed, and there were “real communities” that approximated (and, in some cases, were the ideal types of) the textbook definition of tribe. However, a large number of communities, classified as “tribal”, dwelt in close proximity to “caste” communities, having long-standing relations of exchange with them. These relations have obviously contributed towards a myriad of similarities between them, thus bringing castes and tribes closer, leading to a deviation of both the social formations from their ideal definitions. The important point, however, is that albeit these similarities, the tribes have tried to maintain their respective identities, and so do castes. The conclusion from this observation is that it is not a worthless exercise to think in terms of the social and cultural indices that constitute a tribe in relationship to a caste. The blurring of the social categories does not imply their complete merging. Tribes and castes constituting as two types of the social formation is still a relevant point of departure to understand contemporary India, and therefore the matter of definition should not be skirted. The draft notes that the criteria the Lokur Committee has evolved for declaring a particular community as a ST are: (i) an ensemble of primitive traits, (ii) distinctive culture, (iii) geographical isolation, (iv) shyness of contact with the outside world, and (v) backwardness. Immediately after delineating them, the draft notices that “even all these broad criteria are not applicable to Scheduled Tribes today” (p 2). On page 21, it says: “The criteria laid down by the Lokur Committee are hardly relevant today. For instance, very few tribes can today be said to possess ‘primitive traits’ (Vinay Kumar Srivastava, 2008).”

Culture and Language of Major Tribes

Unity in diversity_ is one of the most spectacular features amongst the population of India. Tribal culture of India, their traditions and practices interpenetrate almost all the aspects of Indian culture and civilisation. From the Aryan, Dravidian to the Indo-Tibetan languages, Indian tribal culture has also seen a tremendous merging of cultures within its own people.

It is considered to be very important to live within the tribal cultures of India, in order to understand their ways of life. Some of the tribal communities share similarities and yet are diverse in their religious and traditional beliefs. Some are prominent worshippers of the Hindu deities while others follow the path of the Christian missionaries. Animism and all forms of pagan worship are still prevalent in these communities. The festivals in these communities are also much of a delight to see with its colourful and joyous celebrations; the tribes in India indeed form the very basis of incredible India! The societies by which these tribal communities survive are very patriarchal in their outlook although some tribal communities have

gradually inherited the modern forms of society where each one is respected for his or her own set of views and beliefs.

A lot of the tribal population in India is still backward. They lack education and literacy policies are yet to dawn in a few rural and tribal areas of the Indian –Sub-continent. There are tribes who still practice witchcrafts and tantric forms of religion. The different tribes in India if ever counted can move up to a mind boggling number, with all their ethnicities and impressions. In India a new dialect can be witnessed almost each new day; culture and diversification amongst the tribals can also be admired from any land direction. These various tribes still inhabit the different parts, especially the seven states of the North-eastern region and almost each and every nook of the country. The specialty of the Indian tribes lies in their customs, cultures, and beliefs and, in particular, the harmony in which they survive in unanimity with nature. Tribal living perfectly portrays a well-balanced environment, a procedure that in no way upsets the ecological balance.

All in all, the tribes of India encompasses the real and colourful traits of India that the whole world knows. Since it is from the tribes that some of the tribal languages developed to become official languages, we can be safe in saying that the cultures which are considered to be —developed‘ also has their roots in the Indian tribal cultures.

Tribal people generally firmly cling to their identity, despite external influences that had threatened tribal culture, especially after the post-independence chaotic period. However it is observed that Christianity has brought about a change that can be termed as a ‘total transformation‘ in tribal lifestyle and outlook, particularly in the North-eastern states of India. In discussing a few tribal cultures of India, we shall try to cover the widely prominent cultures of north, east, west and southern tribes of India. Since it would be a remarkably tedious and an acutely impossible task to study all the tribes of India, we shall take one or two tribal cultures from each of the prominent four regions in India.

Northern Regions

The tribes of Himachal Pradesh have marked their own charts in the Indian sub- continent and are known for their distinct tribal cultures. Tribes of Himachal Pradesh are scattered in different parts of this state and have occupied a considerable percentage of India. Dancing, musical melodies, festivals, fairs etc. bore evidence to it. They are as such nomadic people and their physical appearances make them distinctly visible from each other.

The tribes of Himachal Pradesh belong to the famous Indo-Aryan family group. As far as the physical

appearances are concerned, these tribes of Himachal Pradesh also have got identifiable features of that of an Indo-Aryan or Mongoloid.

The major tribes of this region include Kinnaura tribe, Lahaule tribe, Gaddi tribe, Gujjar tribe. As far as the occupations are concerned, these tribes of Himachal Pradesh have taken up the occupations including cattle rearing and also much of the tribal population works for raising of wool. Since it is situated in the cold northern region of the Indian subcontinent, raising of wool is considered to be one of the main occupations of the tribes. There are quite a handful of tribes of Himachal Pradesh who have adapted to occupations like cultivation and also horticulture.

Dresses that these tribes of Himachal Pradesh wear also are quite exquisite to look at. The male dresses include long coat and woolen pyjama, and the women of Himachal Pradesh have a woolen saree, popularly known as Dhori as their attires. Shoes that are made up of wool and goat hair protect their feet. It is also a known fact that the dresses are similar to those of the people in Jammu and Kashmir states of India, since these two states have a similar geographical existence.

Although these tribes of Himachal Pradesh celebrate all the important festivals, these tribes of Himachal Pradesh also have added fervor to the festive season by incorporating their own traditional customs and beliefs. Since they are a number of tribes in the region, each tribe follows its own sets of beliefs. One of the major tribes in Himachal Pradesh is the Gujjar tribe. Gujjar tribal community has developed the practice of carrying on conversation in numerous languages namely, Urdu, Hindi. They have also adopted the religion of Islam. Since the existence of this tribe is dated back to the 6th century, these tribes have been a result of all cultural diversities from then on. Another tribal group, Kinnaura tribal community, is one of the Scheduled tribes of Himachal Pradesh state. Their language is called Kinnauri and it is considered to be one of the most beautiful dialects in the state. It has been assumed that the Kinnaura people belong to the Kinner group who got mentioned in Mahabharata. Their physical stature bears some similarities with the Aryans. The people of the Lahaule tribal community of Himachal Pradesh converse in the beautiful language of Pattani. They are the inhabitants of Lahaul and they are the amalgamation of Munda tribes and Tibetans. Their societal structure is divided into upper and low castes and this tribal group are followers of Buddhism.

The Gaddi tribes of Himachal Pradesh dwell in districts like Chamba, Kangra etc. the people of this tribal group are not nomadic in nature and they have their own villages where they reside in a cluster. The notable thing about the Gaddi tribe is their costumes. Most of the people of this community are shepherds hence; they wear a cloak like dress in order to keep them warm from cold however some are engaged in other occupations too.

Western Region

There are over 6 million Adivasis or tribal people in Gujarat. They mainly inhabit the terrain adjoining the Aravalis (LN, 1996). The Adivasis consist of numerous different tribal groups, the term ‘Adivasi’ meaning the

‘original inhabitants’. Tribals such as the Siddhis, Rabari tribe, Padhar tribe, Mers and Bharwads live in the coastal Saurashtra districts of Junagadh, Jamnagar and Kutch. They work as casual labourers, cattle breeders and find employment in the ports. The Siddhis are known to have come to India from East Africa and they have a distinct feature similar to that of the negroids. The Australoid Adivasis (who have Australoid features) live in two different regions. One group lives in the river valleys of the Surar, Broach and Bulsar districts and are known as the Voknas, Varlis and Gambits. They have Konkan features. The other group lives in the hill tracts along the state’s eastern border and comprise of the Bhil Garasias, Dungri Bhils, Ratwas, Naikas, Dangi Bhils and others.

In the plains of the Surat, Broach and Bulsar Districts, there are also other tribals, such as, the Dhodias, who might have migrated from the Dhulia region of Maharashtra. The festival of light, Diwali, has also been adopted by the Hindus, which was originally the festival of the aborigines. It is also believed that the Hindu religion borrowed the worship of Lord Shiva and Paravati from the Adivasis of Gujarat. The tribes of Gujarat are engaged in different occupations. In olden days, the Bhils depended on the slash-and-burn cultivation system under which they cleared thick forests by cutting trees or burning them and cultivated crops in this land for a few years until the natural fertility of the soil was exhausted. They then moved on to new forests, leaving the land fallow for it to recover its fertility. Their occupation was hunting, forest remains and fishing. Most of the Adivasis depend on agriculture either as landowners or as farm workers.

The social set up of the tribes in Gujarat is quite different from that of a usual Hindu community. The women in these communities have more freedom than their Hindu counterparts in matters of marriage, divorce and remarriage. Besides this, the customs and lifestyle of the tribes vary as well. The colourful costumes of the tribal people of Gujarat add charm to the onlooker. The tribes of Gujarat also enjoy various festivals and celebrate fairs, festivals with much gaiety and joy.

Eastern Region

Tribals of Nagaland constitute a major percentage of the total population of the state. Angami tribe, Ao tribe, Chakhesang tribe, Chang tribe, Khiamniungan tribe, Kuki tribe, Konyak tribe, Lotha tribe, Phom tribe, Pochury tribe, Rengma tribe, Sumi tribe, Sangtam tribe, Yimchungru tribe and Zeliang tribe are the prominent tribes of Nagaland. Even the tribes like Angamis, Aos, Konyaks, Lothas, and Sumis are

predominant. The tribal communities of Nagaland are scattered over a large portion of the state. One of the significant aspects of the culture of tribes of Nagaland is the distinctive character and identify of each tribe in terms of indigenous traditions, customs, language and dresses. The tribes of Nagaland have their own distinctive language. In Nagaland, the different tribes speak around 60 different dialects, which belong to the Sino- Tibetan language family. Traditional songs and dance forms are an integral part and parcel of the rich culture of the tribes of Nagaland. The costumes of tribes of Nagaland are very colourful. Interestingly, some of their dresses are designed as per the different occasions. Tribal dances are performed during the celebration of the festivals and marriage ceremonies. They also wear colourful jewellery.

Nagaland is a land of festivals. All the tribes celebrate their distinct seasonal festivals with a pageantry of colour and a feast of music. They regard their festivals sacred and participation in these celebrations is compulsory. Most of these festivals revolve around agriculture, being the mainstay of the tribal society of Nagaland. Although some religious and spiritual sentiments are inter woven into secular rites and rituals, the pre- dominant theme of the festivals is offering prayers to the Supreme Being having different names in different Naga dialects. The tribal festivals are celebrated all over the state. Like for instance, Nazu festival is one of the most popular festivals of Pochury tribe of the state. This festival is celebrated for 10 continuous days in February. These festivals are celebrated with glitter and gaiety.

Southern Region

Tribes of Goa form an integral part of the rich cultural heritage of the state. Tribal communities of Goa have managed to retain their ancient and indigenous ways of life and traditional practices, customs and way of living. The chief tribes of this smallest state of India are Gowdas tribe, Kunbi tribe, and Dhangars. Like some other states of India, Goa too was invaded by the Aryans. Some of the tribes of Goa are considered as the original settlers of Konkan region much before the invasion of the Dravidians. There are no concrete records regarding the origin or how they have migrated to Goa. Goa has the lowest proportion of Scheduled Tribes that accounts for around 0.04 percent of the total population.

Gowdas tribe is the largest tribal group inhabiting the interior villages of this state. In their society, women enjoy a high status and rights. Further, they also play a prominent role in the economic matters. The major tribal communities of Goa live in isolated villages. Their indigenous lifestyles, traditions, ceremonies, customs, religious beliefs, practices and superstitions form a significant part of the culture of the state. The tribes of Goa differ from one another in terms of dress pattern, rituals and customs. The region of Goa being a very important aspect of colonisation, the tribes in Goa do share an element of the colonial powers. Besides the English form of protestant Christianity which was prevalent during the centuries of colonisation, the tribes in Goa had to adapt also to the different French, Portugese and Dutch colonial settlements. Since

during those times there were a lot of inter culture marriages, the tribes in Goa can be considered to have one of the most diverse cultures in the Indian sub- continent.

Tribal Religion

The earliest theory about primitive (tribal) religion, seeking to trace its origin and explain it, was given by Tylor. According to Tylor, primitive (tribal) man had certain experiences; in his dreams he engaged in various types of activities even while he is sleeping; he met his dead ancestors in dreams and had hallucinatory experiences about them, and other beings while he was awake; he heard the echoes of his own voice; he saw his own reflection in ponds , pools and rivers ; and he failed to disentangle himself from his shadow .There must have been some unseen thing in him which must have escaped, unseen making him dead. It was thus that the belief in such an unseen thing, or power which kept people alive when it was in them, and made them dead when it left their bodies, emerged. Such a thing or power is called ‘_soul’. Tylor says, primitive man must have thought there must be two souls in a human being; a free soul which could go out of him and have experiences, and a body soul which if it left the body resulted in its death. Primitive man must have come to the conclusion that when the body soul left the body permanently, the person concerned died; and his soul became a ghost or spirit. This belief in the soul is called Animism.

Tribal religion, however, includes much more than animism. There is, for instance, the belief in a ‘_High-God’. The High-God is a personal deity, separate from and altogether superior to, all other deities and spirits, the master and often maker of the universe and of men, the creator and guardian of the moral code, master over life and death, himself benevolent and immutable. In most tribal religions of India, the High-God is today regarded as an otiose deity, that is, he is invoked, but rarely worshipped. He has become a distant deity who leaves the world and men at the mercy of the minor deities, the spirits and demons. Any primitive tribes have special rites of veneration for their ancestors, on the occasion of a death, or on certain feasts.

All primitive tribes are convinced of the survival of the human soul after death. They may believe even in a plurality of souls: the shadow, the life-spirit, the ego. Each soul has its own fate after death. The belief in the transmigration and re-incarnation of soul is fairly widespread. Many tribes assume that the future life is determined by the good or bad .The tribals have developed a largely magical world outlook. They believe that the whole world and every individual life are mainly governed and directed by superhuman powers, personal and impersonal. But they also maintain that these superhuman powers can effectively be influenced and controlled by means of magic and exorcism. In particular, the cure of diseases is in the hands of magicians who by their divination or while in trance indicate the nature of the disease, its natural and supernatural cause and means and rites by which a cure can be achieved. The tribals are well aware of the fact that some diseases have natural causes and can be cured by natural remedies of which they know quite a

lot. But they suspect that many cases of sickness or accidents are caused by supernatural agencies.

The tribals also believe in the existence of many evil spirits which have never been human beings. There are also spirits animating trees, rocks, rivers and springs, hills and mountains. They may harm a human being if they feel offended or if offerings due to them have not been fulfilled. If a person falls sick or has a misfortune, the tribals consult

diviners, exorcists, and magicians to discover what deity or spirit has been offended and how to appease it. Black magic is frequently responsible for much sickness or misfortune among the villagers. Black magic can be counteracted, however, by white magic.

3.4.1 Tribes of Western India and Religion

The Bhil are one of the largest tribes of Western India, living in parts of Rajasthan, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Bhils and Maharashtra. Many Bhil are hinduised. There is a myth of descent from a tiger ancestor. The Jhabua Bhil and others believe in Bhagavan or Bholo Iswor, who is a personal supreme god. They also believe in minor deities who have shrines on hills or under trees. Worship of Bhagavan is at the settlement's central sanctuary. There is a human-oriented cult of the dead, whose main ritual is called Nukto and is practised in front of the dead person's house. Nukto purifies the spirit of the dead and unites it with Bhagavan. Gothriz Purvez is the collective ancestor. The concept of a spirit rider is important in Nukto and Gothriz. Purvez accompanies the spirit on part of its journey to the after world.

3.4.2 Tribes of North-East India and Religion

The hill people of the North East from the distant past up to the time of their conversion to Christianity had a certain concept of religion. They believed in some spirit or powerful being which had its natural objects like stone, river, tree, mountain peak etc. They believed that there were many spirits benevolent as well as evil which influenced the life of man. These spirits had to be kept happy by sacrifice. In every village, there were priests who were conversant with process of offering sacrifices. The hill men also worshipped a Supreme God who enjoyed the highest position. Next to God there were quite a large number of spirits and demons which deserved to be worshipped. These spirits are demigods and were thought to reside or haunt particular localities: village, river, stone, forest, mountain tops and so on and so forth. In one word, the tribal people may aptly be called animists. They also worshipped the ancestors and offered sacrifices to please the soul of the dead. Across the golden heights of Assam and NEFA (North-East Frontier Agency), most of the Eastern Indian tribal people have their own tribal god and goddesses and have deep respect for other faiths. Nearly, all the tribal people believe in the existence of spirits that move nature and guide human actions. They give different names to them and worship them in their own distinct way. The priests occupy a very

important position in the tribal society. No ceremonies are performed without them. Annual sacrifices are popular with the people in the hills. According to their beliefs, gods have to be worshipped with their favorite animals.

The Khasi tribe of Meghalaya believes in the Supreme Being, but their religious rites and ceremonies are directed more to the appeasement of the numerous spirits by which they are surrounded, and also to keep their ancestral spirits pleased by prayers and offerings. The spirits of the hills and rivers also receive their due share in the form of animal or bird sacrifices. The Khasis are supposed to be great believers in augury and divination by means of broken eggs or an examination of the entrails of birds and animals offered in sacrifice. With the spread of Christianity and of modern education, these customs have tended to disappear. It is interesting to note that the Khasis had priests (Lyngdoh) only for the performance of worship for communal welfare. The other rites were mostly conducted by elders who had the necessary knowledge. Such rites were connected with birth, marriage and death, and used to be strictly performed in earlier times. In every case, when a Khasi was faced by a crisis of one kind or another, he did not dare to depend on his own judgement, but sought the guidance of superior, unseen powers who spoke to him through the dumb language of omens and signs. One thing, however, should be very clearly borne in mind, and this is true not only of the Khasis but of the others as well and that the tribal people of India live in constant dread of evil spirits which inhabit the world around them. This view does not seem to be wholly true. If one observes carefully the life of these people, one realizes that there is enough joy left in their lives which the fear of spirits has never been able to quench. They resort to augury and magical practices only when they are hard pressed in life. And even then, they sometimes conform to established custom, not because they believe in it, but because this is what is done by everyone else under similar circumstances.

The Naga tribes live in the mountains of North-East India. They believe in an earthquake god who created the earth out of the waters by earthquakes. The sons of this god now watch over mankind and punish those who do wrong. Other deities without name or form live in the mountains, forests, rivers, and lakes, who need placating as they are hostile to men. Omens and dreams are generally believed in. Witchcraft is practiced and some men are thought to be able to turn into tigers. Head-hunting was an important practice, for fertile crops depended on a sprinkling of blood from a stranger over the fields. Reincarnation is believed by many Naga tribes, and the dead are buried in the direction from which their ancestors have come. The doctrine of genna (tabu) involves whole social groups - villages, clans, households, age groups, sex groups, in a series of rituals that may be regularly practiced or be the result of an emergency such as an earthquake.

3.4.3 Tribes of Central India and Religion

The present day Mundas of Midnapur believe that the Supernatural world is infested with many spirits of

varied nature and potentialities. A few of these spirits are considered benevolent like those of deities and they are worshipped, appeased or propitiated for the welfare of the people. Besides, the Mundas believe that this world is full of prying witches and other malevolent spirits which are always seeking to do harm to human beings. Among the Mundas of this region, the influence of Daine or witch is widely prevalent. They rarely discuss freely and openly about a witch and most persons do not wish to speak or tell about her to an outsider. Like, the other groups of this region, they believe that a female can be a witch and that she can attack equally both males and females. The Mundas distinguish between the Daines or witches and the sorcerer's or magicians, the Deonas. The witches are always malevolent trying to do harm to others. They believe that a witch attacks only those persons whom she dislikes. This is very important and significant. The belief in witchcraft is deeply rooted among the tribals.

Among the Gonds of Alilabad they have experienced so many external interventions in diverse spheres of their social and cultural life that it would be surprising if their religious ideas and practices had remained unaltered. The very basis of their social order rests on an elaborate mythology which explains and sanctions the manner in which the different sections of Gond society function and interact. Each clan has a deity and the clan deities are thought to have acted as the protectors of the members of each clan throughout its long history, and the ability of the Gonds to hold their own in battles with various other ethnic groups which justifies their faith in the power and benevolence of these deities. Hence the Gonds had no incentive to seek the protection of alien gods and to divide their loyalties between different cults.

According to the Santhal tribes who are mostly concentrated in Bihar and Orissa, the Supreme deity who ultimately controls the entire universe, is Thakurji. The weight of belief, however, falls on a court of spirits (bonga), who handle different aspects of the world and who must be placated with prayers and offerings in order to ward off evil influences. These spirits operate at the village, household, ancestor, and subclan level, along with evil spirits that cause disease, and can inhabit village boundaries, mountains, water, tigers, and the forest. A characteristic feature of the Santhal village is a sacred grove on the edge of the settlement where many spirits live and where a series of annual festivals take place.

The most important spirit is Maran Buru (Great Mountain), who is invoked whenever offerings are made and who instructed the first Santhals in sex and brewing of rice beer. Maran Buru's consort is the benevolent Jaher Era (Lady of the Grove). A yearly round of rituals connected with the agricultural cycle, along with life-cycle rituals for birth, marriage and burial at death, involves petitions to the spirits and offerings that include the sacrifice of animals, usually birds. Religious leaders are male specialists in medical cures who practice divination and witchcraft. Similar beliefs are common among other tribes of Northeast and Central India such as the Kharia, Munda and Oraon.

3.4.4 Tribes of Southern India and Religion

The Todas are a small pastoral community living on the Nilgiri Hills in South India. They believe in 1600 or 1800 superior godlike beings, the two most important being On and Teikirzi. One is the male god of Amnodr, the realm of the dead, and he created the Todas and their buffaloes. He was himself a dairyman. Teikirzi is a female deity and more important for the people, whom she once ruled when she lived in the Nilgiris and established Toda social and ceremonial laws. Most other deities are hill-gods, each associated with a particular hill. There are also two river-gods belonging to the two main rivers. Toda religion is based on the buffaloes and their milk. The temples are the dairies. Many tribes in India show considerable syncretism with Hinduism, such as the Kadugollas of Karnataka, who worship gods such as Junjappa, Yattappa, Patappa, and Cittappa, but in reality are more devoted to Siva, who dominates their festivals and religious observances. Local deities are still of importance, though, as with the Bedanayakas of Karnataka, who worship Papanayaka, a deity supposed to have lived 300-400 years ago as a holy man among them and who performed miracles.

PVTGs

The particularly vulnerable tribal groups (PVTGs) in general are socially as well as economically very backward in the sense that they have little access to the resources for their development, low rate of literacy, relatively small population size, dwindling in numbers and some of the groups are at the verge of extinction. State-wise list of PVTGs shows that there are seventy-five communities, which are distributed in four states: Bihar, Odisha, Chhattisgarh and West Bengal, but on the other hand, a tribe enjoys the status of PVTG in one state but not into another state. If only the names of the tribes are considered, the number of the communities in the list may be reduced to some extent. They are distributed in various ecological zones beyond the state boundaries with immense variation in subsistence pattern, technological development, ways of living and contact with outside world as well as with different worldviews in respect with neighbourhood- so called mainstream population. The population size and number of particularly vulnerable tribal groups are varying in different states, for example, there are maximum 13 groups are in Odisha, which is followed by 12 groups in Andhra Pradesh, 9 groups in Jharkhand and Bihar and the lowest one each in the states of Manipur, Rajasthan and Tripura.

Primitive, geographically isolated, shy and socially, educationally & economically backwardness these are the traits that distinguish Scheduled Tribes of our country from other communities. Tribal communities live in about 15% of the country's areas in various ecological and geo-climatic conditions ranging from plains to forests, hills and inaccessible areas. Tribal groups are at different stages of social, economic and educational development. While some tribal communities have adopted a mainstream way of life at one end of the spectrum, there are 75 Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs), at the other, who are characterized by (a) a pre-agriculture level of technology, (b) a stagnant or declining population (c) extremely low literacy and (d) a

subsistence level of economy.

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Primitive Tribes

Though many efforts have been made for the over all development of Scheduled Tribes it was realised that some tribal groups are still in very backward stage in respect to their socio-economic condition. And these tribal groups were identified by Shri U. N. Dhebar, in his capacity as Chairman of the Commission, popularly known as Dhebar Commission Report of 1961. The Commission Report stated "...We feel that at the base of these four layers is the class of tribals which is in an extremely underdeveloped stagethis lowest layer needs the utmost consideration at the hands of the Government..." (cf. Mohanty, 2002: 10).

For their development the Government of India initiated various commissions to assess the reality of their socio-economic condition and thus various reports are available on the tribal situation in India. The Report of Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes (1961) is the most important report on the status of the tribals in India. This was formed under the Chairmanship of Shri U.N.Dhebar (28th April,1960), and the report is popularly known as Dhebar Commission Report (1961). The report identified that there are some groups of tribals who are in extreme underdeveloped stage. Subsequently another committee was constituted (on 26th October) under the chairmanship of Shri Shilo Ao who also identified that there are certain groups of tribal people who belong to the lowest strata of socio-economic development. The Report of the Study Team on Tribal Development Programme (1969) popularly known as Shilo Ao team constituted by Planning Commission, New Delhi, stated that large number of tribal communities continue to be extremely backward and some of them are still in the primitive stage of food gathering economy. The Shilo Ao report reiterated the views of the Dhebar Commission (1961) and stressed that the people of this lowest layer should be of special concern and should receive the utmost consideration.

The Fifth Five-Year Plan (1974-79) marks the beginning of a new phase in the tribal development programmes by the Planning Commission of India in 1974. The Government of India developed a clear policy of tribal development during the eve of the Fifth Five-Year Plan and framed guidelines for the Tribal Sub-Plan (TPS) in 1974 (Ministry of Home Affairs,1974). It was observed that the tribal communities are at different stages of development even after the implementation of various development schemes meant for the Scheduled Tribes. It was also realised that their ecological conditions in which they are living in have a profound impact on their life-styles. Considering all these the Tribal Sub-Plan envisages a total picture of development of the tribal areas. It was essentially an attempt to appreciate the problem of tribal development in its totality and the first exercise in this regard was to demarcate the tribal areas based on the concentration of tribal population. The Tribal Sub-Plan mechanism was designed to channelise the flow of benefits to the tribal people arising out of the outlays from the general sectors and thus two pronged strategy was developed, that is, (i) socio-economic development of Scheduled Tribes, and (ii) protection of tribal people against exploitation.

At one extreme there are tribal groups who are settled agriculturists living in very backward areas, while on the other extreme there are some tribals who are in the food gathering and hunting stage of economy. It is these hunting and food gathering communities who have been identified as more backward communities among the tribal population groups which need special programme for their development. And these communities have been identified as Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs) by the 'Working Group on Development of Scheduled Tribes in 1975 (Ministry of Home Affairs,1975. Preparation of Sub-Plan for Tribal Regions.)

Mohanty (2002: 30) mentioned that the first attempt to list "Primitive Tribes" in the country was made during the Census of 1931. These tribal people are in a state of extreme poverty, and are subjected to exploitation and are in the lowest level of literacy. During the Fifth Five-Year Plan period the Ministry of Home Affairs identified 52 tribal communities as "Primitive Tribal Groups", and during the Sixth Plan period 20 tribal groups were further added as the Primitive Tribal Groups. Later another 2 groups have been added recently (Mohanty, 2002:31).

The criteria generally followed in the identification of the Primitive Tribal Groups are:

A stagnant and diminishing population

Pre-agricultural level of technology

Very low level of literacy

As per the circular of the Government of India there are 74 Primitive Tribes in India. However, during the Fifth Five-Year Plan (1974-79) to the Eight Five-Year Plan (1992-97), 75 Primitive Tribal Groups have been identified in 14 States and 1 Union Territory. But in reality the number of PTGs are less as some of the Primitive tribes are found to appear in more than one State. For example, Birhor has been identified in Jharkhand (formerly Bihar), Orissa, West Bengal and Madhya Pradesh; the Dongaria Khonds live in Andhra Pradesh and Orissa; similarly Kattunayakans are found in Kerala and Tamil Nadu.

The total population of Primitive Tribes in India is 24,12,666 as per 1991 census. It is observed that the Primitive Tribes are most concentrated in the State of Madhya Pradesh, followed by Bihar, Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra States. Thus the central India tribal belt is the refuge of the Primitive Tribal population of India. It possibly reflects that in the course of the long history of migration of the people of India, the Primitive Tribes found a secured place in the central India. However, it must be noted that as many as 14 Primitive Tribes (Konda Savara, Cholanaikayan, Abujh Maria, Bharia, Hill Korwa, Maria Gond, Choukutia Bhunjia, Dongaria Khond, Kharia, Kutia Khond, Lanjia Saura, Paudi Bhuiyan, Saura, Toto) were not enumerated in 1991 census, which otherwise could have pushed the census figures for the Primitive Tribes to a higher level (Dash Sharma, 2005).

The position of the Primitive Tribes in comparison to the general population as well as tribal population is as follows as per the data base of 1991 census.

Population of India 1991 Census

Total population

846302688

Scheduled tribes

67758380

Primitive tribes

2412666

Percentage of PTGs to

total scheduled tribes= 3.56%

Thus it is evident that 3.56% of the Scheduled Tribes constitute the Primitive Tribal Groups in India.

Primitive Tribes and the Reservation Policy

The enactment of laws of positive discrimination in favour of tribes and low castes in order to counteract the effects of centuries of discrimination and exploitation by reserving seats for election in specific constituencies, jobs in government departments and by providing special educational facilities to the Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes is certainly worthy of India's pride as no other country in the world has enacted such a policy for uplifting the downtrodden in their country (Dash Sharma,1997:62). There are vice-chancellors, medical practitioners, engineers, administrators, teachers, scientists and government officers among the tribals of Chotanagpur, which covers largely the tribal belt of central India, similar situation certainly is also prevailing in other tribal concentrated States of India. The annual reports of the government's education and welfare departments role out statistics as to the number of beneficiaries under the tribal quota system of each State, suggesting the concern of the administration for the tribal people and the achievement of the State in its welfare programmes. The major Scheduled Tribes in India are getting all the benefits of the Government's reservation policy. I wonder how many of the Primitive Tribal Groups in India are actually getting the benefits of the reservation policy of the State governments in their respective States, vis-a-vis preference for jobs against the economically better off tribal communities like Mundas, Oraons, Bhils, Gonds, Santals, whose educational attainments are much higher than the primitive tribal groups of India. This is a generalization, but it is true that most of the government jobs under the reservation policy for the tribals are filled up by the tribals who are in the upper strata of the tribal community in India. There is hierarchy among the tribals, socially and economically. At least it is visible among the tribals of Chotanagpur. Does the government of any State have community-wise records of the benefits given to the tribals, particularly for jobs and other economic benefits, that is the community as listed in the President's order. There seems to be none. The State governments have adopted a very simple and short-cut method for the reports— all have been clubbed together as "Scheduled Tribe" without any community distinction.

Perhaps it is politically wise. But this system of management of tribal development, that is providing opportunities only for the major tribal groups, thus ultimately suggesting denial of equal opportunity for all the tribal groups of India including the Primitive Tribes.

Of the 75 Primitive Tribal Groups of the 14 States and 1 Union Territory, how many individuals among the Primitive Tribes have got the government jobs since 1975, that is the year when the PTGs have been identified, up to the year 2000, that is for a stretch of 25 years. There is no ready report, year-wise. The government must introspect on this point, and start earnestly to identify the beneficiaries among the Primitive Tribal Groups community-wise. The government must develop a PTG care cell specially for the protection of the Primitive Tribal Groups, particularly for job reservation and education and for sustainable economic development. However, it must be noted that there can not be an unified programme applicable for all the Primitive Tribal Groups. Each Primitive Tribe has to be assessed independently for their needs and aspirations, and here the anthropologists can play a vital role for the assessment of the needs and aspirations of the PTGs. To my mind a great step forward by the government would be to make a special reservation quota only for the Primitive Tribal Groups, out of the reservation quota fixed for the tribal groups in general. It must be applicable for only those States where there is high concentration of Primitive Tribal Groups, like Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Jharkhand, Andhara Pradesh, etc. For the Primitive Tribal groups a quota of about 5 per cent may be kept reserved out of the job quota fixed for the tribals in general for each State. The jobs for the PTGs may be reserved for the local government offices at the district or block office level, and they should be encouraged and motivated to work in the office, coming out of their shell — the distant forest habitat. If one is encouraged, then others will follow, and gradually a confidence will develop among them to take up jobs and other economic benefits from the government.

That the Primitive Tribes are awakening and demanding their rights for special reservation quota for them can be gauged from a news item which appeared in a national daily on September 8, 2003 (Hindustan Times, Ranchi Live, p.2). The news item runs as follows: "A Dumka-based social organization, Adim Janjati Jagriti Avam Vikas Samiti, has demanded reservation for tribal groups in the State Assembly and Lok Sabha elections with a view to save the identity of eight primitive tribes of the StateThe President of the Adim Janjati Jagriti Avam Vikas Samiti, alleged that despite several memoranda to Dumka district administration, positive steps for these primitive tribes were yet to be taken." When such is the case in one State (Jharkhand) regarding the Primitive Tribes, we can well imagine that similar situation must also be prevailing in other States like Orissa, Chhattisgarh and Madhya Pradesh, where there is substantial number of Primitive Tribes.

However, it all depends on how the government at the centre and at the state level plans and develop the management policies for the Primitive Tribal Groups in India. Let us hope that the Government of India will take a great step forward in this direction for the development of the Primitive Tribal Groups in India (P.

Dash Sharma, 2018).

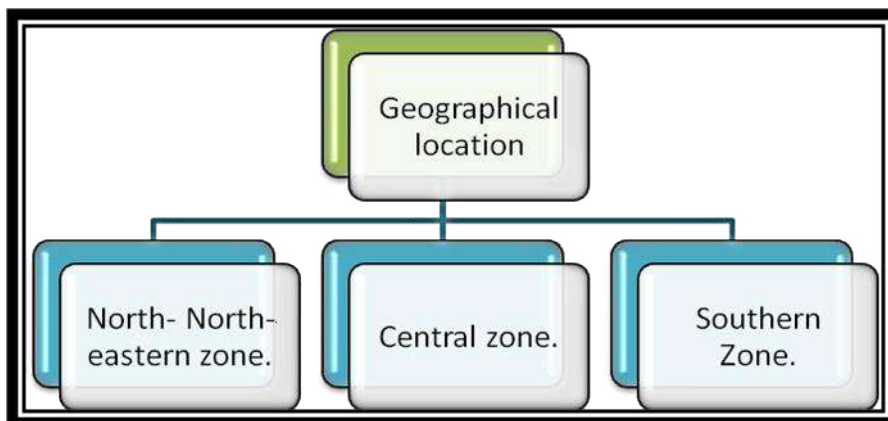
Geographical Distribution of Tribes

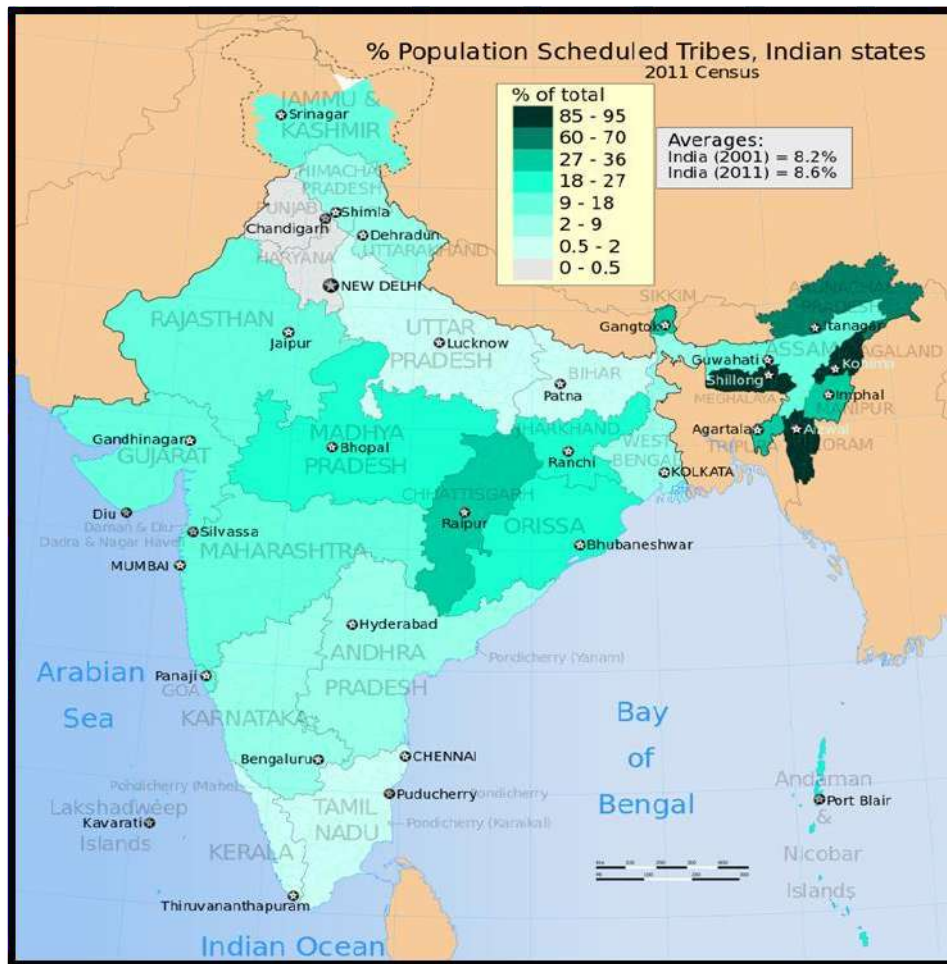
India is home to one of the largest number of tribes in the world. The tribal have characteristics of their own. They differ from the common Indian population both in character and composition. On an all – India basis Indian non tribal population vary widely from place to place according to natural surroundings, economy, tradition and local history. On the other hand the tribal population of India have, more or less, similar natural environments of hill and forest, poor economy, and specific tradition which are ideal for the tribal to come up.

The states of Maharashtra and Orissa share the largest number of tribes in India. There is high variation in the spatial distribution of tribes in India. Almost 82 percent of the tribes live in western and central states where only 11 percent of them are located in southern states. Regarding the growth rate of tribal population, it is obvious that the number of tribe has been growing over the years although the rate of growth of tribe population has been less than that of the general population. The major tribes in India are the Gonds, the Bhils, the Santals, the Oraons and the Minas. They live in different regions in the forest as well as in urban areas, and mostly speak

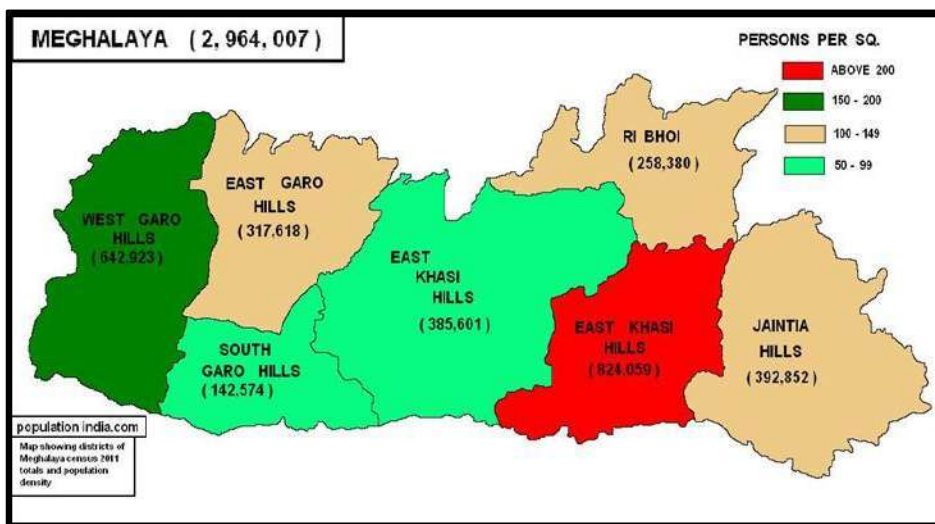
their own languages. The states of Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Bihar, Maharastra, Gujarat, Andhra Pradesh, West Bengal and the Northeastern Region have a larger concentration of tribal population. The Andaman and Nicobar Islands are also inhabited by several tribes such as the Great Andamanese, Sentenelese, Onges, Jarwas, Sompens, and so on.

Geographical or regional distribution forms the three bases like North- North- eastern zone, Central zone and Southern Zone.





Source: Wikimedia



Source: Wikimedia

2.1.1 North- North-Eastern Zone

It consists the state such as Eastern Kashmir, Eastern Punjab, Himachal Pradesh, Northern Uttar Pradesh, Assam, Sikkim, Meghalaya, and Nagaland.

State	Tribes
Kashmir	Sippi, Beda, Balti, Bot, Changa
Himachal Pradesh	Gaddi, Kanaura, Lamba, Gujjar, Lahula.
Uttar Pradesh:	Bhotia, Bhuska, Jaunsari, Raji, Tharu.
Rajasthan	Bhill, Mina, Koli, Damor, Dhanka
Sikkim:	Bhutia, Sherpa, Lepcha, Tibetan
Arunachal Pradesh	Kuki, Kachari, Mikir, Garo.
Mizoram	Chakma, Dimasa, Garo

2.1.2 Central Zone

It consists the state such as Bengal Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Southern Rajasthan and southern Uttar Pradesh.

State	Tribes
Jharkhand	Baiga, Asur, Birhor, Gond, Bhumij, Parharia, santal
Chattisgarh	Gonds, Abhuj Maria, Bison Horn Maria, Muria, Halba,
Madhya Pradesh	Kols, Baiga, Gonds, Oraons, Kamaras.

2.1.3 Southern Zone

It consists the state such as Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Tamil nadu and Kerala.

State	Tribes
Karnataka	Adiyan, Kudiya, koya, Malaikuda, Koraga
Tamil Nadu	Eravallan, Irular, Kadar, konda kapus, Toda
Andhra Pradesh.	Gadabas, Chenchus, Gond

Tribes of Daman & Nicobar Island : Andamanese, Jarawas, Nicobarese, Onges, Sentineles, Shompenes.

The population of India is consist mixture of many people, culture and ethnic group. Due to diversity in the population there is high degree of variant in languages. It consists the heterogeneous population and languages. Every population having there dialects and developed in the regions due to isolation. Large number of different variety of population also create difference between the socio-economic culture of particular communities.

MoTA

After the dawn of Independence, India bestowed deep credence and conviction in establishing an egalitarian social system and made adequate provision in the Constitution to accomplish the objectives of social justice, social welfare and development. Hence, suitable administrative machinery which intern delineated to enable the State to move into action and operation became necessary. Accordingly efforts were made to create an administrative structure needed for implementation of the policies and programmes designed for Social Welfare in general and Tribal Welfare in particular in the country.

At the Central level the Ministry of Home Affairs was initially the nodal ministry responsible for the welfare of Scheduled Tribes. The Union Home Ministry was responsible for formulation and implementation of developmental programmes of tribals in India. In September 1985 under Shri. Rajiv Gandhi Government, this arrangement was discontinued and tribal welfare became the responsibility of a newly created ‘_Ministry of Welfare’.

The shift of the subject of Scheduled Tribes from the Ministry of Home Affairs to that of ‘_Welfare’ has been criticized on the ground that this action was a dysfunctional move in the reverse direction as compelling necessity. Tribal development is vastly more than mere development and demands a set of prerequisites which only the Home Ministry is in position to provide. Total welfare entails preservation of the culture also. Transfer of the subject from the Home Ministry does not bring into sharper focus things to be done. As implementation rests with respective States, the Home Ministry’s removal from the scene was found to deprivative Scheduled Tribes in the eyes of the latter.

When Home Ministry was the nodal Ministry for tribal development, there was a division in that ministry known as ‘Tribal Development Division’ headed by a Joint Secretary. There was also a Research and Evaluation Unit in this Division.

The Ministry of Welfare was renamed as Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment in the year 1998. In order to give more focused attention to the development of Scheduled Tribes, a separate Ministry known as

‘the Ministry of Tribal Affairs’ was constituted in October 1999. This new Ministry, carved out of the ‘Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment’ is the nodal Ministry for overall policy, planning and coordination of programmes and schemes for the development of Scheduled Tribes. The change in name perhaps best reflected and symbolized the shift in approach from ‘welfare’ to ‘empowerment’ of the weaker sections of the society including the Tribes.

The Ministry of Tribal Affairs coordinates the Tribal Sub Plan (TSP) activities, grants under First Proviso to Article 275 (i) of the constitution, schemes for girls and for Boys hostels for Scheduled Tribes, Ashram Schools and vocational training centres, grants to voluntary agencies, village grain bank scheme, Central Sector Scheme for Development of Primitive Tribal Groups, point 11(b) of the Government of India’s 20-point programme related to economic assistance to scheduled tribe families (so as to raise them above the poverty line), grant-in-aid to state Tribal Development Corporations (TDCs) and other agencies for Minor Forest Produce (MSP) operations, price support and share capital support to the Tribal Co-operative Marketing Development Federation (TRIFED), and equity capital support to the National SC/ST Finance and Development Corporation.

In fact, the newly constituted Ministry for Tribal Affairs, which is the nodal agency for empowering the tribals, is among other things, expected to: (i) formulate need based policies, plans and programmes; (ii) review existing legislation which impinge upon the interests of tribals and to amend them, where necessary, to protect their interests (as also to persuade the states to do the same); (iii) ensure flow of funds and benefits under TSP in proportion to their population from the general development sectoral budgets both at central and state levels; (iv) guide and coordinate both governmental and nongovernmental organizations working for the welfare and development of the tribals; and (v) monitor the implementation of policies and programmes/laws related to STs to ensure their effective implementation / enforcement.

As indicated above, for TSP activities the Welfare/Tribal Ministry seeks to ensure adequate flow of funds from the State Plan of respective state governments, institutional finances, central sector and centrally sponsored schemes of the Ministry, as well as from other central ministries/departments.

The 1998-1999 Annual Report of Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment indicated some flow of funds for TSP from the Ministries of Commerce, Food and Civil Supplies, Biotechnology, Rural Electrification Corporation, Ministry of Power, Labour, Education Department and Youth Affairs and Sports Departments of Ministry of Human Resource Development.

In fact, the strategies of TSP and SCA (Special Central Assistance) have been in operations for more than fifteen years, only a few Central Ministries,/ Departments and 20 States and Union Territories were

earmarking funds at the prescribed level during the Seventh and Eighth Five Year Plan periods. Accordingly, following a review in September, 1999 by the Planning Commission, a Standing Tripartite Committee under chairpersonship of the Member Planning Commission handling the subject and the secretaries of the nodal Ministry of Tribal Development, the concerned Ministry/Department, and the National Commission for SCs and STs as its members has been set up to ensure proper and proportionate earmarking of funds by concerned Ministries and States /UTs, as also affective and purposeful utilization. The States/UTs, have also been advised to set up similar committees.

The Welfare/Tribal Ministry does operate partially through its agencies the TRIFED and the National SC/ST Finance and Development Corporation, however, like all other ministries of Government of India it has to rely upon the state government and state government agencies to implement its Central Sector and Centrally Sponsored Schemes as also to coordinate and get implemented the TSP activities. The TRIFED and the National SC/ST Development Corporations, also by and large depend on the state level federations / corporations to implement their programmes and for loaning purpose these are called State Channelising Agencies

. The National Corporations also provide them share capital and other direct assistance

Constitutional Safeguards

Our constitution provides a number of provisions to ensure development and protection to tribal culture and society.. The basic idea behind these was to ensure state support for less privileged sections of society. By providing reservations in legislatures and government jobs their participation in the affairs of the state was ensured. The constitutional provisions for the upliftment of tribes may be divided into two parts 1) Protective, and 2) Developmental. Provisions for the administration of the tribal areas of Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura and Mizoram are made in the VIth Schedule of the constitution. While scheduled tribes in habiting other states other than Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura and Mizoram are dealt with in the Vth Schedule. The provisions made in the Vth Schedule are :

i) Tribes Advisory Councils are to be constituted to give advice on welfare and advancement of the Scheduled Tribes in the States as may be referred to them by the Governor". [Schedule V, Para 41

'ii) The Governor is also authorised to make regulations to prohibit or restrict the transfer of land by or among members of, the Scheduled Tribes, regulate the allotment of land, and regulate the business of money lending." [Schedule V, para 51

The VIth Schedule provides, Tribal areas [of Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram and Tripura] are to be administered as autonomous districts Provision is made for the creation of District Councils and Regional Councils for the exercise of certain legislative and judicial functions.

These councils are primarily representative bodies and they have got the power of law-making in certain

specified fields" [Schedule M]

Article 15(4): Promotion of Social, Economic and Educational interests : This article empowers the state to make any special provision for the advancement of socially and educationally backward classes of citizens or for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes". This clause has been especially incorporated to prevent any special provision made by a state for the advancement of socially or educationally backward classes of citizens from being challenged in the law courts on the ground of discrimination.

Article 16(4) : Reservation in Posts and Services: This clause empowers the state to "reserve any post or appointment in favour of any backward class or citizens, who in the opinion of the state are not adequately represented in the services under the state."The state is expected to reserve reasonable percentage of available jobs for the backward classes. However, there is nothing to prevent a member of a backward class from competing with general category people and to be appointed to non-reserved posts if selected.

Article 19(5): Safeguard of Tribal Interests: While the rights of Free movement and residence throughout the territory of India and of acquisition and disposition of property are guaranteed to every citizen, special restrictions may be imposed by the state for the protection of the interests of any Scheduled Tribe". (For example state may impose restrictions on owning property by non tribals in tribal areas.)

Article 23: "Traffic in human beings, begar and other similar forms of forced labour are prohibited ". This is a very significant provision so far as Scheduled Tribes are concerned.

Article 29: Cultural and Educational Rights: According to this article a cultural or linguistic minority has right to conserve its language or culture. The state shall not impose upon it any culture other than the community's own culture."

Article 164: It provides for a Minister-in-charge of tribal welfare in the states of Bihar, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh. These states have substantial tribal population and special provision of a Minister looking after tribal welfare is an evidence of the concern of the framers of the constitution for safeguarding the interests of Scheduled Tribes.

Articles 330,332 and 334: According to these articles seats shall be reserved for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in legislative bodies. There are provisions for reservations of seats in the parliament as well as legislative Assembly of every state (article 330,332). Such reservations were to be effective after a period of 10 years from the commencement of the constitution (Article 334) but after every ten years its being extended through constitutional amendments.

Article 335: "The claims of the members of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes shall be taken into consideration in making the appointments to services and posts in connection with the affairs of the Union or of a State."

Article 338: It says that there shall be a special officer for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes to be appointed by the President. It shall be the duty of the special officer (designated Commissioner) to investigate all matters relating to the safeguards provided to them under the constitution and to report to the

President upon the & Wing of those safeguards at such intervals as the President may direct, and the President shall cause all reports to be laid before each House of Parliament.

Article 339(1): The President may at any time and shall at the expiration of 10 years from the commencement of the constitution by order appoint a Commission to report on the administration of Scheduled areas and the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes in the states.

Article 371(A, B, C) : Provides for the special measures and provisions with respect to the states of Maharashtra and Gujarat (371), Nagaland (371 A), Assam (371 B), and Manipur I (371 C). Besides, provisions are also made (as discussed above) in the fifth and the sixth Schedule of the constitution regarding the administration of the tribal areas.

UNIT II

Understanding Tribal Culture in India- Tribal Culture and Economy

Historical Background of Tribes- Socio- economic Condition of Tribes in Pre and Post Colonial Period

Tribal peoples constitute 8.6 percent of India's total population, about 104 million people according to the 2011 census (68 million people according to the 1991 census). This is the largest population of the tribal people in the world. One concentration lives in a belt along the Himalayas stretching through Jammu and Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh, and Uttar Pradesh in the west, to Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura, Arunachal Pradesh, Mizoram, Manipur, and Nagaland in the northeast. Another concentration lives in the hilly areas of central India (Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, and, to a lesser extent, Andhra Pradesh); in this belt, which is bounded by the Narmada River to the north and the Godavari River to the southeast, tribal peoples occupy the slopes of the region's mountains. Other tribals, the Santals, live in Bihar and West Bengal. There are smaller numbers of tribal people in Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, and Kerala, in western India in Gujarat and Rajasthan, and in the union territories of Lakshadweep and the Andaman and Nicobar Islands.

The extent to which a state's population is tribal varies considerably. In the northeastern states of Arunachal Pradesh, Meghalaya, Mizoram, and Nagaland, upward of 90 percent of the population is tribal. However, in the remaining northeast states of Assam, Manipur, Sikkim, and Tripura, tribal peoples form between 20 and 30 percent of the population. The largest tribes are found in central India, although the tribal population there accounts for only around 10 percent of the region's total population. Major concentrations of tribal people live in Maharashtra, Orissa, and West Bengal. In the south, about 1 percent of the populations of Kerala and Tamil Nadu are tribal, whereas about 6 percent in Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka are members of tribes.

Tribal people in India are called adivasi. Adivasi is an umbrella term for a heterogeneous set of ethnic and tribal groups considered the aboriginal population of India. Although terms such as atavika, vanavasi ("forest dwellers"), or girijan ("hill people") are also used for the tribes of India, adivasi carries the specific meaning of being the original and autochthonous inhabitants of a given region and was specifically coined for that purpose in the 1930s. Over time, unlike the terms "aborigines" or "tribes", the word "adivasi" has developed a connotation of past autonomy which was disrupted during the British colonial period in India and has not been restored. They generally live outside the mainstream of Indian Hindu and Muslim society. Most ordinary Indians know little about them.

There are some 573 communities recognized by the government as Scheduled Tribes and therefore eligible to receive special benefits and to compete for reserved seats in legislatures and schools. They range in size from the Gonds (roughly 7.4 million) and the Santals (approximately 4.2 million) to only eighteen Chaimals in the Andaman Islands. Central Indian states have the country's largest tribes, and, taken as a whole, roughly 75 percent of the total tribal population live there

In the 1950s a policy of protection was adopted towards all the tribal peoples in India. Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru once wrote: "There is no point in trying to make them a second rate copy of ourselves...they are people who sing and dance and try to enjoy life; not people who sit in stock exchanges, shout at each other, and think themselves civilized."

Tribals, black aborigines similar to those found in New Guinea and Australia, are believed to be the original inhabitants of much of southern India. DNA evidence from the Negrito tribes of the Andaman Islands spans back 70,000 years and suggests they originated from people from Africa who migrated to India, Southeast Asia and Indonesia. DNA evidence also indicates that they are direct descendants of the first modern humans to leave Africa but lack a distinctive feature of Australian aborigines, another early group to leave Africa.

The Onge from the Andaman Islands carry some of the oldest genetic markers found outside Africa. The tribes of the Andaman Islands are believed to be related to the Negritos of Southeast Asia and the Philippines (See Malaysia and the Philippines). Some scholars theorize that they arrived in the Andaman Islands from Burma or Malaysia at some time in the distant past by sea, or perhaps arrived from Sumatra by way of the Nicobar Islands. However there is no firm evidence to back this up and it is regarded mostly as speculation.

The Bhil tribe is regarded by some as "the oldest of the aboriginal tribes comprising India's original inhabitants. They are regarded as the original inhabitants of the forest of central India and were driven into

their current homelands by Muslim invaders. Their name is believed to be derived from word in Dravidian languages for —bow,|| which until fairly recent times they always were seen carrying.||

Some anthropologists hypothesize that the region was settled by multiple human migrations over tens of millennia, which makes it even harder to select certain groups as being truly aboriginal. One narrative, largely based on genetic research, describes Negritos, similar to the Andamanese adivasis of today, as the first humans to colonise India, likely 30–65 thousand years ago. Sixty percent of all Indians share the mtDNA haplogroup M, which is universal among Andamanese islander adivasis and might be a genetic legacy of the postulated first Indians.

Some anthropologists theorise that these settlers were displaced by invading Austro-Asiatic-speaking Australoid people (who largely shared skin pigmentation and physiognomy with the Negritos, but had straight rather than curly hair), and adivasi tribes such as the Irulas trace their origins to that displacement. The Oraon adivasi tribe of eastern India and the Korku tribe of western India are considered to be examples of groups of Australoid origin. Subsequent to the Australoids, most anthropologists and geneticists agree that Caucasoids (including both Dravidians and Indo- Aryans) and Mongoloids (Sino-Tibetans) immigrated into India: the Dravidians possibly from Iran, the Indo-Aryans possibly from the Central Asian steppes and the Tibeto-Burmans possibly from the Himalayan and north-eastern borders of the subcontinent. None of these hypotheses is free from debate and disagreement.

Ethnic origins and linguistic affiliations in India match only inexactly, however: while the Oraon adivasis are classified as an Australoid group, their language, called Kurukh, is Dravidian. Khasis and Nicobarese are considered to be Mongoloid groups and the Munda and Santals are Australoid groups, but all four speak Austro-Asiatic languages. The Bhils and Gonds are frequently classified as Australoid groups, yet Bhil languages are Indo-European and the Gondi language is Dravidian.

Socio-Economic Condition of Tribes in India

The Socio-economic structure in tribal communities is markedly different from that of the non-tribals or advanced groups of people. They have a very simple technology which fits well with their ecological surroundings and conservative outlook. Moreover, their economy can be said to be subsistence type, they practice different types of occupations to sustain themselves and live on —Marginal Economy||. The tribals of India belong to different economic stages, from food gathering to industrial labour, which present their overlapping economic stages in the broader frame work of the state economy. And the last important point to be emphasized is that a tribe is usually considered as an economically independent group of people having their own specific economy. The first and foremost characteristic of the tribal economy is the close

relationship between their economic life and the natural environment or habitat, which is in general, the forest.

Tribal communities live in about 15% of the country's areas, in various ecological and geo-climatic conditions ranging from plains and forest to hills and inaccessible area. Tribal groups are at different stages of social, economic and educational development. While some tribal communities have adopted a main stream way of life, at the other end of the spectrum, there are certain Scheduled Tribes, 75 in number known as Particular Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PTGs), who are characterized by:-

- a. Pre-agriculture level of technology,
- b. Stagnant or declining population,
- c. Extremely low literacy, and
- d. Subsistence level of economy.

While the tribal population in some States is low when calculated as the percentage of the total tribal population of India but it constitutes the majority within the State or UT itself (e.g.in Lakshadweep, Mizoram, Nagaland, Meghalaya, Arunchala Pradesh and Dadra & Nagar Haveli).

Economic Life of the tribal's

1. Small economy- The production and transactions of goods and services take place within small communities in a limited geographical area.
2. Reciprocal exchange- The exchange of goods and services is carried out on reciprocal basis, through barter and gift. The motive of profit is generally absent.
3. No surplus- The manufacture of consumer goods necessary for bare sustenance is usual. An economic surplus is rare.
4. Division of labour- Age and sex form the basic criterion for division of labour instead of professional training and specialization.
5. Tribal markets- The exchange of good or limited sale of surplus goods take place in periodical tribal markets which also serve as socio-cultural networks in maintaining inter village ties.
6. Simple technology- The tools are either made by the user himself or by local artisans living in the neighbourhood.
7. Slower innovation- The rate of internal or induced innovation is very low, making the economic structure stable but unprogressive.
8. Importance of family and kingship- The families in tribal societies is a unit of both production and consumption. The kinship acts as co-operative unit. In numerically smaller groups, whole community acts as a cooperative unit.

L.P. Vidyarthi and B. K. Rai (1976) have identified nine structural features that characterise the tribal economies in India. They are as under:

- i) Forest Based Economy;
 - ii) Domestic or Familial/mode of Production;
 - iii) Simple Technology;
 - iv) Absence of Profit Motive in Exchange;
 - v) Community: as a Cooperative Unit;
 - vi) Gift and Ceremonial Exchange;
 - vii) Periodical Markets;
- vii) Interdependence; and
- ix) Economic Institution of Dhangar

Let us discuss all these basic features of tribal economy one by one.

1. Forest Based Economy

Tribal economy is embedded in and revolves around the forest ecology. Not only the tribal economy, but also the culture and social organisation are interwoven with forests. Forests constitute the major natural resource base for tribal livelihood in all the tribal regions of the country. Tribals depend on forests for fulfilling their basic needs. The tribals harness the forest resources with the help of simple implements without much technological aid from the outer world. They collect edible roots, fruits, vegetables, flowers, honey, insects, fish, pigeons, hares, pigs, etc., from the forests for their consumption. The forest dependence of the tribes in the country differs with their economic typology. According to Rai (1967) the Birhors of Chotanagpur, Chenchus of Andhra Pradesh, Juangs of Orissa, Kadars of Kerala, the Paliyars and Paniyars of Tamil Nadu depend on forests for their survival and sustenance.

2. Domestic or Familial Mode of Production

Family constitutes the basic unit of consumption as well as production in the tribal economies of India. In the simple economy of tribals, all the members of the family together form the unit of production and directly engaged in economic process of production and consumption. The decision-making processes of allocation of labour, and produce are governed by the familial stipulations. The tribal household production is mainly geared for fulfilling their consumption needs rather for the market. Hence, it is appropriate to call tribal economy as subsistence economy. The division of labour in the tribal household is based on age and gender. The economic roles of tribals generally depend on the member's age and gender. The gendered

division of labour is based on the primitive belief that women are physically weak. The boys and girls are allotted different jobs suited to their age.

3. Simple Technology

The development of an economy depends upon the level of its technological advancement. Generally, it is held that technological advancement leads to economic development. Technology, involves the use of tools and implements in utilisation of natural as well as human resources for productive purposes. The tools and implements used in the productive and distributive process of tribal economy are generally crude, simple and indigenously developed without the aid from outside. The simple technology used by most of the tribes in the country involves tenuous manual labour, and higher degree of wastage and difficulty, which is appropriate to their subsistence level of production. The Birhor, a forest hunting tribe use very ordinary knife to procure forest raw materials and make ropes manually. The hill cultivators such as Ao- Nagas use very ordinary type of axe or a dao for felling the trees for their shifting cultivation, which requires hard labour. The plough of the Agricultural tribes such as Munda, Oraon, and Bhil is made of single piece of wood and cannot plough deep.

4. Absence of Profit Motive in Exchange

Maximisation of profit is the main goal of economic transactions that drives the modern capitalistic economies. But the profit motive is quite absent in the economic dealings in the tribal economies of India. Two major institutional factors i.e. the communal nature of tribal economy and absence of money as a medium of exchange are responsible for this. The mutual obligation and extension of free labour to the fellow beings result in no significant surplus at all. It is also because the exchange of goods and services takes place with barter system rather than money. Money as a medium of exchange is almost absent in the tribal economies of India. Hence, there is no scope for measuring the value of goods and services and storing the profit generated in the exchange process as wealth for posterity.

5. Community as a Cooperative Unit

Community works as a cooperative unit in tribal societies and economic activities are carried out in collectively as a group. According to Dalton (1991) the primitive economy is embedded in other community relationships. Dalton (1991) held that the factors such as low-level technology, small size of the economy and its relative isolation from outer world contributes to mutual dependence people sharing many social relationships. In fact, the economic activities of tribal people are embedded in their neighbourhood, religion, kinship and political relations.

In economic interactions, each tribal village community is considered as cooperative unit. According to Vidhyarthi and Rai (1976) among the Munda, Oraon, Ho, Santhal, Gond, and Bhil tribes, the villagers have close economic relations. Most of them engage in common economic activities such as grazing the cattle, working in the shifting and settled agricultural fields jointly together. Their youth are jointly grazing the cattle and defend their village together. The adult men and women jointly transplant and harvest paddy in each other's fields on a reciprocal basis.

6. Gift and Ceremonial Exchange

Universally, reciprocal gift giving and hospitality to social intimates plays a vital part in tribal economies. According to Herskovits (1952) the process of distribution in tribal societies is part of non-economic relational matrix and takes the form of gift and ceremonial exchange. Each group, whether a family, a group of kinsmen, communities, villagers, or the tribe as a whole, implies appropriate norm of reciprocity. Another well-known social anthropologist Malinowski (1922) notes that the whole tribal life is permeated by a constant give and take. Every ceremony, every legal and customary act is done to the accompaniment of material gift and counter gift. Economic anthropologist Dalton (1971) holds that the tribal mode of transaction is that of reciprocity i.e. material gift and counter gift giving induced by social obligations of kinship.

Among the tribes, the degree or level varies from situation to situation and it is not equal. According to Service (1966) the mutual obligations vary at three standards, degrees or levels. The levels of reciprocity, according to him are general reciprocity, balanced reciprocity, and negative reciprocity.

General reciprocity involves the assistance given and taken back or returned, sharing, hospitality, gifts taken, mutual aid, and generosity. The expectation of reciprocity is indefinite, and unspecified in terms of quantity, quality and time. They are left to the convenience and ability of the donor and the recipient. Balanced reciprocity is the direct exchange and the return and the goods received should be of equal value. The barter system of exchange of goods and services is the best example of this degree of reciprocity. This form of reciprocity is considered as more economic, and less personal as compared to the general reciprocity. Negative reciprocity is an attempt to get something for nothing.

The generalised type of reciprocity can be observed among the agricultural tribes of Munda, Oraon, Gond, etc. At the time of transplanting paddy, the close and distant relatives come together and help each other. On completion of this agricultural operation, the invitees are offered with food and drink as hospitality. Balanced reciprocity has been observed among the number of tribes especially in the case of economic transactions between the agricultural and artisan tribes. The agriculturist tribes such as Oraon, Munda, Ho,

and Khania get their agricultural implements manufactured or repaired by the artisan tribe of Lahars who in turn receive a customary annual payment in kind or cash. The third form of reciprocity i.e. the negative reciprocity observed to be non-existent among the intra-tribal or inter tribal economic exchange. But it is the feature of exchange relations between tribals and non-tribals in the weekly markets. The tribals who visit the weekly market to sell their indigenous produce such as green vegetables, minor forest produce with the non-tribal businessmen. In return, they practically get nothing for their goods exchanged. In fact, the economic dealings with non-tribal merchants and moneylenders have contributed to indebtedness, bonded labour, land alienation and impoverishment among the tribal masses.

7. Periodical Markets

Market is a major economic institution that regulates as well as facilitates distribution of goods and services among the people all over the world. Yet, the anthropologists observed the absence of permanent market in the tribal societies. However, in the tribal areas, periodical markets and the system of barter exchange play a vital role in the economic life. These periodical markets were weekly, fortnightly, or biweekly and are widespread in the tribal areas of Andhra Pradesh, Jarkhand, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa etc. These periodical markets, locally known as Bazar, Hat, Pithia, Shandies, etc., generally serve the tribal villages within the radius of 5-10 KMs. and function on a specific place, at regular intervals of time.

In these markets, people of different tribes and caste groups come together and conduct their business transactions. Now a days, both barter and monetary transactions are observed to co exist in these market. Prof. Vidhyarthi has observed that the native (locally produced) goods such as food grains, local hand woven cloths, baskets, etc. are exchanged in the barter mode while money is used in the transactions of non-native (produced outside tribal area) goods such as salt, mill clothes, readymade clothes, cosmetics, soaps etc. The periodical markets have significant impact on the tribal socio-cultural and economic life. They are facilitating cultural interaction among people of castes and tribes in addition to integration of tribal economy with the national and global economy.

The weekly market plays vital role in integrating the tribal economy with wider national economy. It promotes innovation, monetisation of tribal economy. According to Sinha, the market is the hub of economic life in the tribal areas. It serves as a centre of redistribution for resources and material goods of occupationally diverse communities in the region.

8. Interdependence

The economic relationship among the tribes is often considered as one of interdependence while the spirit of competition is almost absent in the tribal economic life. The relationship between tribes, within tribes, or

tribal people and non-tribal people are functionally interdependent. Vidyarthi and Rai(1976) observe that the economic functional interdependence is similar to the Jajmani system, found among the Hindu caste groups in most of the regions of the country. Under the Jajmani system each caste group, within a village, is expected to give certain standardised service to the people of other castes. The family head served by an individual known as the Jajman, while the man who performs as Kamin of Jajman. Economic interdependence among the tribes has been observed in different tribal zones of the country in variety of ways.

This feature of tribal economic interdependence can be better illustrated with an example from Tamil Nadu observed by well known anthropologist Herskovits (1952). Herskovits has observed the functional relationship between the four primitive tribal groups in the Nilgiris, these are the Badaga, the Kota, the Toda and the Kurumba. The artisan Kotas serve the agriculturist Badaga and pastoral Toda households with pots, knives, iron tools and music receiving in return food grains from the former and milk products, buffalos etc., from the Todas. The Kurumbas provide magical and ritual services to the others and in return get food grains, milk products, etc. from the others.

9. Economic Institution of Dhangar

Among the agriculturist tribes of India a peculiar economic institution of labour attachment was observed by the anthropologists. This institution of labour is known as differently among the landed tribes, facilitates effective utilisation of human labour and land in cultivation. It is called dhangar among the tribes of Jharkhand while begal among the Bhumijis of West Bengal. Similar institution of labour attachment and absorption was observed among the Tharus of Tarai area, Khasas of Himalaya and Rangma Nagas of North East India.

In Jharkhand for instance, the big tribal land lords employ a fellow tribal on a semi-permanent basis for cultivating their land. He is from the same tribe and more often belongs to the same village. The person so employed is known as Dhangar among the tribes of the Oraon, Munda, and Ho the prominent tribes of the state. The Dhangar is generally engaged on an annual basis but this tenure may be prolonged further depending on the nature of relationship between both the parties. From the day of engagement he is treated as a family member of the land lord and treated alike. He is regarded more as an assistant rather than as servant by the land lord's family. Apart from some annual payment in cash or in kind, the Dhangar is provided with food and a roof. Interestingly, he can even marry the land owner's daughter or sister if he is from a different clan.

Vidyarthi and Rai (1976) have proposed a comprehensive eight fold economic of tribes in India. They are:

1. The forest hunting

2. The hill cultivation or shifting cultivation
3. The plain agriculture
4. The simple artisan
5. The pastoral and cattle-herder
6. The folk-artist
7. The agricultural and non-agricultural labour and
8. The skilled, white collar job and traders

Let us briefly examine these eight economic of tribes in India:

1. Forest Hunting

The livelihood of tribes mainly depends on collection of minor forest produce, hunting of wild animals and fishing in the shallow waters of the forest. They collect edible roots, tubers, fruits, nuts, flowers, leaves, fibre, bamboo, honey, wax etc for their subsistence. Most of them hunt deer, hares, monkeys, birds and fish. They use simple indigenous tools such as digging sticks, iron jungle knives, earthen wooden or bamboo pots and vessels, bamboo baskets and sticks for food gathering. In hunting, they employ different types of traps and weapons. The availability and adequacy of food from these sources differ according to season, cycle, area and the rainfall. The Rajis in the Himalayan Region, Birhors, the Hill- Khariyas, the Parahiyas, the Birjias and the Korwas in the Middle India belong to this category. Likewise, the Juangs in Orissa, Hill Maria Gonds of Bastar, Chenchus, Yanadis, Kadars, Mala Pantarams, Kurumbas, and the Paliyans of South India are also hunters and food gatherers.

The tribes of this type constitute a small population which is about a thousand. They have simple life and social organisation and their settlement generally consist of five to 15 huts. In them the family work as a productive unit and the villagers work as an economic unit at times. These tribes are switching over from forest hunting as a primary source of livelihood to agriculture.

2. Hill Cultivation or Shifting Cultivation

The tribal groups depending on cultivation for livelihood rely on their skills and hard labour in cultivation. They rely on any of the three types of cultivation for their survival and sustenance. They are slash- and-burn cultivation with the help of digging sticks; hoe- and- burn cultivation; and terrace cultivation in the hill areas with the help of natural irrigational sources. The tribes who subsist on the first two types of hill cultivation in addition to that depend on food gathering and hunting for survival. Under the shifting cultivation the tribal cultivators switch over from the field which is not productive enough to new field. They

do not cultivate a piece of land for ever as the settled cultivators do.

Hill cultivation is seasonal in nature and widely practiced by the many tribes in North East India, and Middle India while some in South India also practice the same. Mizos, Garos, Nagars, Chakmas, etc. in the North East, Malers, Hill Khariyas, Parahiyas and Birjias in Middle India, Muka Dhoras, Malekudias in South India belong to this economic category of tribes.

A notable proportion of tribal population in India depends on shifting cultivation in India. According to Government of India over 6 lakh tribal families in the North Eastern states, Orissa, Andhra Pradesh and Himachal Pradesh practise shifting cultivation on a continuous basis as per the 9th Five Year Plan period. The major problems with this type of cultivation are ecological degradation, low productivity and low standard of living. Hence, the incidence of poverty is very high in the areas where this type of cultivation is practiced.

3. The Plain Agriculture Tribes

The predominant occupation of the tribal population in India is that of settled agriculture or plain agriculture. In its simpler form plain agriculture requires ploughing with a pair of animals. For over two-thirds of the tribal population in the country settle agriculture is the means of survival. However, the agriculture as practiced in tribal India is simple, less productive and at the subsistence level. The tribal cultivators hardly could meet their day to day needs. They cultivate paddy in low lying lands while in high lands coarse grains, pulses, millets, etc. are cultivated. Their agricultural implements are indigenous and locally made. A few use cow dung and modern high yielding varieties, chemical fertilisers and pesticides in cultivation.

The Khasis and Jaintias of Meghalaya, Khasas and Tharus of Tarai region, Kinnuras, Pangawalas of Himachal Pradesh region, Bhumij, Koras, Bhuiyas, Santals, Mundas, Oraons, Hos, Kharwars, Baigas, Gonds in the Middle India, numerous tribes in other regions belong to this category of tribes.

4 The Simple Artisan

In Tribal India a number of tribes depend on crafts and cottage industries for survival. They are engaged in activities such as basket making, making of iron and wooden tools, spinning and weaving, metal work, etc. Any tribe belonging to this category specialises in a specific craft. They use simple tools in their day today work. These tribes are found among the population of other tribes and they have interdependent relationship with them. They live in mixed tribal villages and generally have no exclusive villages of their own. They sell their finished products in the periodical markets.

They are engaged in a variety of crafts and art works. For instance, the Gujjars of Kashmir and Kinnauris of Himachal Pradesh make wooden products. The Kanjars of Uttar Pradesh make baskets and ropes. The Lohars, Karmalis, Chik-Bariks and Mahalis are making agricultural implements for agriculturalist tribes. The Kotas of Tamil Nadu are carpenters, blacksmiths, goldsmiths, and potters all at once.

5. The Pastoral and Cattle Herder

Pastoralism involves herding or rearing cattle such as cow, buffalo, sheep, goats, etc. And thus, pastoralists are those people who completely or partially depend on the cattle rearing for their subsistence. The Todas of the Nilgiris, the Gujjars, the Bakarwals, Gaddis and Jadhvs of Himachal Pradesh are purely pastoralists. The middle Indian tribes of Negesias are pastoralist to some extent. The tribes belonging to this type have very less population. The pastoralists in different regions of the country have adapted themselves to their changing environments in different ways. Some eke out their living by selling milk and milk products, wool, hair, etc. while others earn by selling livestock. A brief description of the Todas of Tamil Nadu would give a better understanding on the life style of pastoralists. The Todas are fully devoted to their buffaloes and their occupation is simply taking care of them. Their society, culture, religion, and economy revolve around their buffaloes. A few have taken cultivation but still most of them are herders.

6. The Folk-Artist

Tribes living on folk arts such as singing and dancing, music barding, acrobatics, conjuring, snake-charming, etc. belong to this category. These numerically small folk artist tribes depend on the larger tribes and are found along with them.

The Nats and Saperas in the North India, Mundupattas, and Kelas of Orissa, Pardhans and Ojhas of Jharkhand, Madarias, Pamulas, Garadis of Andhra Pradesh, etc., are some of the tribes belonging to this category. For instance, the Nats perform acrobatics, singing, and dancing and subsist on them. On the other hand, the Kalbelas of Rajasthan, popularly known as Saperas earn primarily their livelihood on snake charming, dancing, singing and conjuring.

7. The Agricultural and Non-agricultural Labour

There is no single tribe that can be included under the agricultural labour or industrial labour type. Yet, some of the members of agricultural and artisan tribes have taken the avenues of employment in agriculture and industries as casual labourers. Agricultural development on the one hand and industrialisation in the tribal region on the other has contributed to the emergence of these types labour type among the tribal

people in the country. Nearly 20 percent of the ST working population depend on agricultural wage for survival while 4.4 percent of the tribal work force depends on industrial wage labour for survival. The tribal agricultural labourers mostly work in their own locality within a radius of a few kilometres. On the other hand non-agricultural or industrial labourers work in different industries. Most of the industrial labourers are generally seasonal migrants to nearby or distant towns, mines, mills and tea gardens and work as wage labourers in railway and road construction, forestry, civil work, etc. Some times they move to these works in distant locations in bands inclusive of both genders. Tribal agricultural labour was found wherever there was high incidence of indebtedness, and land alienation. The non-agricultural labour type of tribal households could be located in the states of Jharkhand, Orissa, West Bengal, and Madhya Pradesh where industrialisation has spread. Interestingly, the members of the Jharkhand tribes are engaged as labourers in tea gardens of Assam and serve in forestry, and construction work in Andaman Islands.

8. The Skilled, White Collar Job and Traders

Educational advancement, spread of Christianity, reservation policy of Government of India etc. have prompted a significant proportion of the members to take of the skilled white collar jobs and trades of different kinds. Such skilled white collar workers could be found all over the country. Many individuals and households belonging to the tribes could be observed working in government offices, hospitals, factories and business enterprises. Some are engaged in business activities. The Bhotiyas of Indo-Tibetan border, the Valmikis, the Haikers of Andhra Pradesh and a few individuals from different tribes depend on trade for their sustenance. About 1 percent of the working populations of STs depend on trade.

Economic Change in Tribal India

Tribal economies in India are in transitions. Their exposures to a number of exogenous factors contributed to change in them. They adapt to the modern economic forces, acquire economic new activities, adopt modern technology and means and are geared towards achieving the goal of development. There are a number of factors that can be attributed to change in the economic structure and functions of tribes in India. The chief among them are educational expansion, transportation and communication, Cooperatives and Commercial Banks. In addition to these the Government policy, programmes and development interventions have also contributed to economic changes.

The following five interrelated processes of economic change are happening among the major tribes in India in response to forces of modernisation:

9. Occupational Change: Modern Occupations Replacing the Traditional Ones;

10. Subsistence to Commercialisation;
11. Market Integration and Commoditisation;
12. Barter to Monetary Exchange; and
13. Proletarianisation Depeasantisation and Impoverishment;

1. Occupational Change: Modern Occupations Replacing the Traditional Ones

As we know tribal economies are simple primary producing economies and most of the people depend on land and forest for their livelihood. In response to the initiatives of Central and State Governments the tribal people are changing their economic activities. A number of members of tribes also have taken up modern occupations increasingly. Some of the tribes slowly switch over from their traditional shifting cultivation to settle cultivation as its less remunerative and ecologically destructive. Some other tribes who are traditionally hunting are also taking up the practice of cultivation in addition to their traditional occupation. As we have seen in the previous section, as a consequence of educational advancement many members of the tribes have taken up white collar jobs. As a consequence of marginalisation in agriculture some have taken up as agricultural or industrial wage earners.

2 Subsistence to Commercialisation

The tribal economies over a long period were stagnant and are of subsistent type. The tribal people's production and acquisition of goods and services were concerned with the household consumption. There was hardly any significant surplus with them. There was no profit motive and motivation for saving among them. This has changed much in response to their increased interaction with the nontribal economy. The development of physical infrastructure especially road, transport and communication facilities in the tribal areas, exposure to agricultural extension agencies etc. have contributed to the emergence of commercial aptitude among many tribes in India. Now a days many of them produce crops or acquire goods from the forests for the purpose of selling in the local market. The cropping patterns in the tribal regions have experienced a shift from food crops primarily meant for household consumption towards commercial crops such as potatoes, green vegetables, and fruits which are meant for markets. Vidhyarthi and Rai have observed the sale of minor forest produces like firewood, tooth sticks, seasonal fruits, broom-grass, kendu leaves by the tribals in the Jharkhand.

3. Market Integration and Commoditisation

Tribal people were, by and large, out of the ambit of national and global market forces as their interaction was minimal. But the market forces have penetrated into the tribal areas through the channels of road, transport, communication as well as agencies of banks, cooperatives, merchants, money lenders, etc. Increasingly, they are absorbed into the network structure of market. Their day-to-day economic activities are affected by the market forces. They are affected by the changes in the price levels. They look at the goods and services as commodities to be sold or purchased. Many of them have learnt the process of bargaining, selling and purchasing which are akin to the modern market places.

4 Barter to Monetary Exchange

Monetisation is one of the major changes that are taking place in the tribal economies of India. It is simply the process of switch over from traditional barter system of exchange to money based transactions. Most of the tribes were neither aware nor used money in their economic transaction as a measure of the value of their goods and services. The tribal people's interaction with the outer economy through periodical markets and establishment of cooperative and commercial banks and institutions have all contributed the spread of money as most popular medium of exchange of goods and services in the tribal India. Monetisation and market penetration reinforce each other in the tribal economy.

5 Proletarianisation Depeasantisation and Impoverishment

The above said processes of economic modernisation have significant impact on the economic life, livelihood and living conditions of the people. The economic integration of tribals, market penetration, commoditisation and commercialisation, have contributed to economic decline of tribes. Economic decline of tribal people have taken place because many of the tribals have become indebted, alienated their land, some have become landless and/or bonded labourers. Economic modernisation in the tribal areas have had contributed to poverty rather economic development in the Tribal India. The non-tribal money lenders, merchants and at times forest officials have exploited tribals and many times deprived them of their land and livelihood, though there are constitutional mechanisms for their protection. In spite of implementation of Ten Five Plans, unfortunately tribals constitute the most economically marginalised citizens of our democratic republic. Tribal masses and their leaders have responded to their economic crises in ways of creative movements and struggles. In the wake of new economic policy the fragile simple tribal economies are increasingly integrated with global economies having far reaching consequences of the livelihood and living conditions of the people.

Tribal Culture

Unity in diversity_ is one of the most spectacular features amongst the population of India. Tribal culture of India, their traditions and practices interpenetrate almost all the aspects of Indian culture and civilisation. From the Aryan, Dravidian to the Indo-Tibetan languages, Indian tribal culture has also seen a tremendous merging of cultures within its own people. It is considered to be very important to live within the tribal cultures of India, in order to understand their ways of life. Some of the tribal communities share similarities and yet are diverse in their religious and traditional beliefs. Some are prominent worshippers of the Hindu deities while others follow the path of the Christian missionaries. Animism and all forms of pagan worship are still prevalent in these communities. The festivals in these communities are also much of a delight to see with its colourful and joyous celebrations; the tribes in India indeed form the very basis of incredible India! The societies by which these tribal communities survive are very patriarchal in their outlook although some tribal communities have gradually inherited the modern forms of society where each one is respected for his or her own set of views and beliefs.

A lot of the tribal population in India is still backward. They lack education and literacy policies are yet to dawn in a few rural and tribal areas of the Indian –Sub-continent. There are tribes who still practice witchcrafts and tantric forms of religion. The different tribes in India if ever counted can move up to a mind boggling number, with all their ethnicities and impressions. In India a new dialect can be witnessed almost each new day; culture and diversification amongst the tribals can also be admired from any land direction. These various tribes still inhabit the different parts, especially the seven states of the North-eastern region and almost each and every nook of the country. The specialty of the Indian tribes lies in their customs, cultures, and beliefs and, in particular, the harmony in which they survive in unanimity with nature. Tribal living perfectly portrays a well-balanced environment, a procedure that in no way upsets the ecological balance.

All in all, the tribes of India encompasses the real and colourful traits of India that the whole world knows. Since it is from the tribes that some of the tribal languages developed to become official languages, we can be safe in saying that the cultures which are considered to be —developed‘ also has their roots in the Indian tribal cultures.

Tribal people generally firmly cling to their identity, despite external influences that had threatened tribal culture, especially after the post-independence chaotic period. However it is observed that Christianity has brought about a change that can be termed as a ‘total transformation‘ in tribal lifestyle and outlook, particularly in the North-eastern states of India. In discussing a few tribal cultures of India, we shall try to cover the widely prominent cultures of north, east, west and southern tribes of India. Since it would be a

remarkably tedious and an acutely impossible task to study all the tribes of India, we shall take one or two tribal cultures from each of the prominent four regions in India.

3.1.1 Northern Regions

The tribes of Himachal Pradesh have marked their own charts in the Indian sub-continent and are known for their distinct tribal cultures. Tribes of Himachal Pradesh are scattered in different parts of this state and have occupied a considerable percentage of India. Dancing, musical melodies, festivals, fairs etc. bore evidence to it. They are as such nomadic people and their physical appearances make them distinctly visible from each other.

The tribes of Himachal Pradesh belong to the famous Indo-Aryan family group. As far as the physical appearances are concerned, these tribes of Himachal Pradesh also have got identifiable features of that of an Indo-Aryan or Mongoloid.

The major tribes of this region include Kinnaura tribe, Lahaule tribe, Gaddi tribe, Gujjar tribe. As far as the occupations are concerned, these tribes of Himachal Pradesh have taken up the occupations including cattle rearing and also much of the tribal population works for raising of wool. Since it is situated in the cold northern region of the Indian subcontinent, raising of wool is considered to be one of the main occupations of the tribes. There are quite a handful of tribes of Himachal Pradesh who have adapted to occupations like cultivation and also horticulture.

Dresses that these tribes of Himachal Pradesh wear also are quite exquisite to look at. The male dresses include long coat and woolen pyjama, and the women of Himachal Pradesh have a woolen saree, popularly known as Dhuru as their attires. Shoes that are made up of wool and goat hair protect their feet. It is also a known fact that the dresses are similar to those of the people in Jammu and Kashmir states of India, since these two states have a similar geographical existence.

Although these tribes of Himachal Pradesh celebrate all the important festivals, these tribes of Himachal Pradesh also have added fervor to the festive season by incorporating their own traditional customs and beliefs. Since they are a number of tribes in the region, each tribe follows its own sets of beliefs. One of the major tribes in Himachal Pradesh is the Gujjar tribe. Gujjar tribal community has developed the practice of carrying on conversation in numerous languages namely, Urdu, Hindi. They have also adopted the religion of Islam. Since the existence of this tribe is dated back to the 6th century, these tribes have been a result of all cultural diversities from then on. Another tribal group, Kinnaura tribal community, is one of the Scheduled tribes of Himachal Pradesh state. Their language is called Kinnauri and it is considered to be one

of the most beautiful dialects in the state. It has been assumed that the Kinnaura people belong to the Kinner group who got mentioned in Mahabharata. Their physical stature bears some similarities with the Aryans. The people of the Lahaule tribal community of Himachal Pradesh converse in the beautiful language of Pattani. They are the inhabitants of Lahaul and they are the amalgamation of Munda tribes and Tibetans. Their societal structure is divided into upper and low castes and this tribal group are followers of Buddhism.

The Gaddi tribes of Himachal Pradesh dwell in districts like Chamba, Kangra etc. the people of this tribal group are not nomadic in nature and they have their own villages where they reside in a cluster. The notable thing about the Gaddi tribe is their costumes. Most of the people of this community are shepherds hence; they wear a cloak like dress in order to keep them warm from cold however some are engaged in other occupations too.

Western Region

There are over 6 million Adivasis or tribal people in Gujarat. They mainly inhabit the terrain adjoining the Aravalis (LN, 1996). The Adivasis consist of numerous different tribal groups, the term 'Adivasi' meaning the 'original inhabitants'. Tribals such as the Siddhis, Rabari tribe, Padhar tribe, Mers and Bharwads live in the coastal Saurashtra districts of Junagadh, Jamnagar and Kutch. They work as casual labourers, cattle breeders and find employment in the ports. The Siddhis are known to have come to India from East Africa and they have a distinct feature similar to that of the negroids. The Australoid Adivasis (who have Australoid features) live in two different regions. One group lives in the river valleys of the Surar, Broach and Bulsar districts and are known as the Voknas, Varlis and Gambits. They have Konkan features. The other group lives in the hill tracts along the state's eastern border and comprise of the Bhil Garasias, Dungi Bhils, Ratwas, Naikas, Dangi Bhils and others.

In the plains of the Surat, Broach and Bulsar Districts, there are also other tribals, such as, the Dhodias, who might have migrated from the Dhulia region of Maharashtra. The festival of light, Diwali, has also been adopted by the Hindus, which was originally the festival of the aborigines. It is also believed that the Hindu religion borrowed the worship of Lord Shiva and Paravati from the Adivasis of Gujarat. The tribes of Gujarat are engaged in different occupations. In olden days, the Bhils depended on the slash-and-burn cultivation system under which they cleared thick forests by cutting trees or burning them and cultivated crops in this land for a few years until the natural fertility of the soil was exhausted. They then moved on to new forests, leaving the land fallow for it to recover its fertility. Their occupation was hunting, forest remains and fishing. Most of the Adivasis depend on agriculture either as landowners or as farm workers.

The social set up of the tribes in Gujarat is quite different from that of a usual Hindu community. The

women in these communities have more freedom than their Hindu counterparts in matters of marriage, divorce and remarriage. Besides this, the customs and lifestyle of the tribes vary as well. The colourful costumes of the tribal people of Gujarat add charm to the onlooker. The tribes of Gujarat also enjoy various festivals and celebrate fairs, festivals with much gaiety and joy.

i. Eastern Region

Tribals of Nagaland constitute a major percentage of the total population of the state. Angami tribe, Ao tribe, Chakhesang tribe, Chang tribe, Khiamniungan tribe, Kuki tribe, Konyak tribe, Lotha tribe, Phom tribe, Pochury tribe, Rengma tribe, Sumi tribe, Sangtam tribe, Yimchungru tribe and Zeliang tribe are the prominent tribes of Nagaland. Even the tribes like Angamis, Aos, Konyaks, Lothas, and Sumis are predominant. The tribal communities of Nagaland are scattered over a large portion of the state. One of the significant aspects of the culture of tribes of Nagaland is the distinctive character and identify of each tribe in terms of indigenous traditions, customs, language and dresses. The tribes of Nagaland have their own distinctive language. In Nagaland, the different tribes speak around 60 different dialects, which belong to the Sino- Tibetan language family. Traditional songs and dance forms are an integral part and parcel of the rich culture of the tribes of Nagaland. The costumes of tribes of Nagaland are very colourful. Interestingly, some of their dresses are designed as per the different occasions. Tribal dances are performed during the celebration of the festivals and marriage ceremonies. They also wear colourful jewellery.

Nagaland is a land of festivals. All the tribes celebrate their distinct seasonal festivals with a pageantry of colour and a feast of music. They regard their festivals sacred and participation in these celebrations is compulsory. Most of these festivals revolve around agriculture, being the mainstay of the tribal society of Nagaland. Although some religious and spiritual sentiments are inter woven into secular rites and rituals, the pre- dominant theme of the festivals is offering prayers to the Supreme Being having different names in different Naga dialects. The tribal festivals are celebrated all over the state. Like for instance, Nazu festival is one of the most popular festivals of Pochury tribe of the state. This festival is celebrated for 10 continuous days in February. These festivals are celebrated with glitter and gaiety.

Southern Region

Tribes of Goa form an integral part of the rich cultural heritage of the state. Tribal communities of Goa have managed to retain their ancient and indigenous ways of life and traditional practices, customs and way of living. The chief tribes of this smallest state of India are Gowdas tribe, Kunbi tribe, and Dhangars. Like some other states of India, Goa too was invaded by the Aryans. Some of the tribes of Goa are considered as the original settlers of Konkan region much before the invasion of the Dravidians. There are no concrete

records regarding the origin or how they have migrated to Goa. Goa has the lowest proportion of Scheduled Tribes that accounts for around 0.04 percent of the total population.

Gowdas tribe is the largest tribal group inhabiting the interior villages of this state. In their society, women enjoy a high status and rights. Further, they also play a prominent role in the economic matters. The major tribal communities of Goa live in isolated villages. Their indigenous lifestyles, traditions, ceremonies, customs, religious beliefs, practices and superstitions form a significant part of the culture of the state. The tribes of Goa differ from one another in terms of dress pattern, rituals and customs. The region of Goa being a very important aspect of colonisation, the tribes in Goa do share an element of the colonial powers. Besides the English form of protestant Christianity which was prevalent during the centuries of colonisation, the tribes in Goa had to adapt also to the different French, Portugese and Dutch colonial settlements. Since during those times there were a lot of inter culture marriages, the tribes in Goa can be considered to have one of the most diverse cultures in the Indian sub- continent.

Tribal Religion

The earliest theory about primitive (tribal) religion, seeking to trace its origin and explain it, was given by Tylor. According to Tylor, primitive (tribal) man had certain experiences; in his dreams he engaged in various types of activities even while he is sleeping; he met his dead ancestors in dreams and had hallucinatory experiences about them, and other beings while he was awake; he heard the echoes of his own voice; he saw his own reflection in ponds , pools and rivers ; and he failed to disentangle himself from his shadow .There must have been some unseen thing in him which must have escaped, unseen making him dead. It was thus that the belief in such an unseen thing, or power which kept people alive when it was in them, and made them dead when it left their bodies, emerged. Such a thing or power is called ‘_soul’. Tylor says, primitive man must have thought there must be two souls in a human being; a free soul which could go out of him and have experiences, and a body soul which if it left the body resulted in its death. Primitive man must have come to the conclusion that when the body soul left the body permanently, the person concerned died; and his soul became a ghost or spirit. This belief in the soul is called Animism.

Tribal religion, however, includes much more than animism. There is, for instance, the belief in a ‘_High-God’. The High-God is a personal deity, separate from and altogether superior to, all other deities and spirits, the master and often maker of the universe and of men, the creator and guardian of the moral code, master over life and death, himself benevolent and immutable. In most tribal religions of India, the High-God is today regarded as an otiose deity, that is, he is invoked, but rarely worshipped. He has become a distant deity who leaves the world and men at the mercy of the minor deities, the spirits and demons. Any

primitive tribes have special rites of veneration for their ancestors, on the occasion of a death, or on certain feasts.

All primitive tribes are convinced of the survival of the human soul after death. They may believe even in a plurality of souls: the shadow, the life-spirit, the ego. Each soul has its own fate after death. The belief in the transmigration and re-incarnation of soul is fairly widespread. Many tribes assume that the future life is determined by the good or bad. The tribals have developed a largely magical world outlook. They believe that the whole world and every individual life are mainly governed and directed by superhuman powers, personal and impersonal. But they also maintain that these superhuman powers can effectively be influenced and controlled by means of magic and exorcism. In particular, the cure of diseases is in the hands of magicians who by their divination or while in trance indicate the nature of the disease, its natural and supernatural cause and means and rites by which a cure can be achieved. The tribals are well aware of the fact that some diseases have natural causes and can be cured by natural remedies of which they know quite a lot. But they suspect that many cases of sickness or accidents are caused by supernatural agencies.

The tribals also believe in the existence of many evil spirits which have never been human beings. There are also spirits animating trees, rocks, rivers and springs, hills and mountains. They may harm a human being if they feel offended or if offerings due to them have not been fulfilled. If a person falls sick or has a misfortune, the tribals consult diviners, exorcists, and magicians to discover what deity or spirit has been offended and how to appease it. Black magic is frequently responsible for much sickness or misfortune among the villagers. Black magic can be counteracted, however, by white magic.

3.4.5 Tribes of Western India and Religion

The Bhil are one of the largest tribes of Western India, living in parts of Rajasthan, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Bhils and Maharashtra. Many Bhil are hinduised. There is a myth of descent from a tiger ancestor. The Jhabua Bhil and others believe in Bhagavan or Bholo Iswor, who is a personal supreme god. They also believe in minor deities who have shrines on hills or under trees. Worship of Bhagavan is at the settlement's central sanctuary. There is a human-oriented cult of the dead, whose main ritual is called Nukto and is practised in front of the dead person's house. Nukto purifies the spirit of the dead and unites it with Bhagavan. Gothriz Purvez is the collective ancestor. The concept of a spirit rider is important in Nukto and Gothriz. Purvez accompanies the spirit on part of its journey to the after world.

i. Tribes of North-East India and Religion

The hill people of the North East from the distant past up to the time of their conversion to Christianity had a certain concept of religion. They believed in some spirit or powerful being which had its natural objects

like stone, river, tree, mountain peak etc. They believed that there were many spirits benevolent as well as evil which influenced the life of man. These spirits had to be kept happy by sacrifice. In every village, there were priests who were conversant with process of offering sacrifices. The hill men also worshipped a Supreme God who enjoyed the highest position. Next to God there were quite a large number of spirits and demons which deserved to be worshipped. These spirits are demigods and were thought to reside or haunt particular localities: village, river, stone, forest, mountain tops and so on and so forth. In one word, the tribal people may aptly be called animists. They also worshipped the ancestors and offered sacrifices to please the soul of the dead. Across the golden heights of Assam and NEFA (North-East Frontier Agency), most of the Eastern Indian tribal people have their own tribal god and goddesses and have deep respect for other faiths. Nearly, all the tribal people believe in the existence of spirits that move nature and guide human actions. They give different names to them and worship them in their own distinct way. The priests occupy a very important position in the tribal society. No ceremonies are performed without them. Annual sacrifices are popular with the people in the hills. According to their beliefs, gods have to be worshipped with their favorite animals.

The Khasi tribe of Meghalaya believes in the Supreme Being, but their religious rites and ceremonies are directed more to the appeasement of the numerous spirits by which they are surrounded, and also to keep their ancestral spirits pleased by prayers and offerings. The spirits of the hills and rivers also receive their due share in the form of animal or bird sacrifices. The Khasis are supposed to be great believers in augury and divination by means of broken eggs or an examination of the entrails of birds and animals offered in sacrifice. With the spread of Christianity and of modern education, these customs have tended to disappear. It is interesting to note that the Khasis had priests (Lyngdoh) only for the performance of worship for communal welfare. The other rites were mostly conducted by elders who had the necessary knowledge. Such rites were connected with birth, marriage and death, and used to be strictly performed in earlier times. In every case, when a Khasi was faced by a crisis of one kind or another, he did not dare to depend on his own judgement, but sought the guidance of superior, unseen powers who spoke to him through the dumb language of omens and signs. One thing, however, should be very clearly borne in mind, and this is true not only of the Khasis but of the others as well and that the tribal people of India live in constant dread of evil spirits which inhabit the world around them. This view does not seem to be wholly true. If one observes carefully the life of these people, one realizes that there is enough joy left in their lives which the fear of spirits has never been able to quench. They resort to augury and magical practices only when they are hard pressed in life. And even then, they sometimes conform to established custom, not because they believe in it, but because this is what is done by everyone else under similar circumstances. The Naga tribes live in the mountains of North-East India. They believe in an earthquake god who created the earth out of the waters by earthquakes. The sons of this god now watch over mankind and punish those who do wrong. Other deities without name or form live in the mountains, forests, rivers, and lakes, who need placating as they are hostile

to men. Omens and dreams are generally believed in. Witchcraft is practiced and some men are thought to be able to turn into tigers. Head-hunting was an important practice, for fertile crops depended on a sprinkling of blood from a stranger over the fields. Reincarnation is believed by many Naga tribes, and the dead are buried in the direction from which their ancestors have come. The doctrine of genna (tabu) involves whole social groups - villages, clans, households, age groups, sex groups, in a series of rituals that may be regularly practiced or be the result of an emergency such as an earthquake.

3.4.6 Tribes of Central India and Religion

The present day Mundas of Midnapur believe that the Supernatural world is infested with many spirits of varied nature and potentialities. A few of these spirits are considered benevolent like those of deities and they are worshipped, appeased or propitiated for the welfare of the people. Besides, the Mundas believe that this world is full of prying witches and other malevolent spirits which are always seeking to do harm to human beings. Among the Mundas of this region, the influence of Daine or witch is widely prevalent. They rarely discuss freely and openly about a witch and most persons do not wish to speak or tell about her to an outsider. Like the other groups of this region, they believe that a female can be a witch and that she can attack equally both males and females. The Mundas distinguish between the Daines or witches and the sorcerer's or magicians, the Deonas. The witches are always malevolent trying to do harm to others. They believe that a witch attacks only those persons whom she dislikes. This is very important and significant. The belief in witchcraft is deeply rooted among the tribals.

Among the Gonds of Alilabad they have experienced so many external interventions in diverse spheres of their social and cultural life that it would be surprising if their religious ideas and practices had remained unaltered. The very basis of their social order rests on an elaborate mythology which explains and sanctions the manner in which the different sections of Gond society function and interact. Each clan has a deity and the clan deities are thought to have acted as the protectors of the members of each clan throughout its long history, and the ability of the Gonds to hold their own in battles with various other ethnic groups which justifies their faith in the power and benevolence of these deities. Hence the Gonds had no incentive to seek the protection of alien gods and to divide their loyalties between different cults.

According to the Santhal tribes who are mostly concentrated in Bihar and Orissa, the Supreme deity who ultimately controls the entire universe, is Thakurji. The weight of belief, however, falls on a court of spirits (bonga), who handle different aspects of the world and who must be placated with prayers and offerings in order to ward off evil influences. These spirits operate at the village, household, ancestor, and subclan level, along with evil spirits that cause disease, and can inhabit village boundaries, mountains, water, tigers, and the forest. A characteristic feature of the

Santhal village is a sacred grove on the edge of the settlement where many spirits live and where a series of annual festivals take place.

The most important spirit is Maran Buru (Great Mountain), who is invoked whenever offerings are made and who instructed the first Santhals in sex and brewing of rice beer. Maran Buru's consort is the benevolent Jaher Era (Lady of the Grove). A yearly round of rituals connected with the agricultural cycle, along with life-cycle rituals for birth, marriage and burial at death, involves petitions to the spirits and offerings that include the sacrifice of animals, usually birds. Religious leaders are male specialists in medical cures who practice divination and witchcraft. Similar beliefs are common among other tribes of Northeast and Central India such as the Kharia, Munda and Oraon.

3.4.7 Tribes of Southern India and Religion

The Todas are a small pastoral community living on the Nilgiri Hills in South India. They believe in 1600 or 1800 superior godlike beings, the two most important being On and Teikirzi. One is the male god of Amnodr, the realm of the dead, and he created the Todas and their buffaloes. He was himself a dairyman. Teikirzi is a female deity and more important for the people, whom she once ruled when she lived in the Nilgiris and established Toda social and ceremonial laws. Most other deities are hill-gods, each associated with a particular hill. There are also two river-gods belonging to the two main rivers. Toda religion is based on the buffaloes and their milk. The temples are the dairies. Many tribes in India show considerable syncretism with Hinduism, such as the Kadugollas of Karnataka, who worship gods such as Junjappa, Yattappa, Patappa, and Cittappa, but in reality are more devoted to Siva, who dominates their festivals and religious observances. Local deities are still of importance, though, as with the Bedanayakas of Karnataka, who worship Papanayaka, a deity supposed to have lived 300-400 years ago as a holy man among them and who performed miracles.

Dress Code Of Tribes

Tribes living in different parts of the state: in the highlands, forests, valleys and in the foot hills. They make their own traditional ethnic cottage and live in it. In order to proclaim the self identity intra group wise, socially and culturally different tribes live in different places. Each tribal community has separate mode of living and they differ significantly in their dress, ornaments, skill in building houses, and moreover in their way of life. This difference in their life is clearly discernible from their material culture, art objects from the paintings and drawings and also from the size and shapes of different objects that they use. To the tribes, dress is a cultural need and it is also a part of their tradition.

Among the tribes the use of dress is very significant and worthwhile. The tribes do not use dress just merely to hide their nakedness rather it reflects the racial feeling and their cultural identity. The tribals use separate costumes at the time of festivals and ceremonies. In a specific tribe the dresses from birth to old age has immense variety. The costumes of the male members of the tribe and the females are also different. It is a fact that the female community pays more attention in covering their body. In some tribal communities the women folk want their male partners to be dressed elegantly and impressively. A tribal woman also wears a variety of dresses from her birth to death corresponding to different stages of her life. For instance, a Dhangedi (a maiden) adorns with fine clothes to attract the attention of others while the Gurumai, the priestess wears formal clothes to worship the goddess for the betterment of her community. Dress also helps them in many adversities and also helps to propitiate gods and goddesses who safeguard them against the malevolent atrocities of the ghosts, spirits, etc.

The tribals also use dress according to the position of individual in the society like the clan's head, the priest, and the revenue collector etc. The dresses that they use at the time of marriage, birth, death, worship etc. are also different. They use dresses keeping in view the occasion, age, sex and other factors. For example, the priest does not use the normal dress at the time of worship. And again at the time of dancing they dress in a very attractive manner. And the dancing costume has also special significance. They also wear dresses in different styles. While dressing they also keep in their mind the surroundings. They also think of their convenience and inconvenience while dressing themselves for an occasion. Especially they do not like to dress very pompously at the time of any work. But when they go for Shopping.php to the near by market place or to visit any fair or festival they dress themselves quite exuberantly and exquisitely.

Different tribal communities use different kind of dresses, differing in their color and size. Their dresses are designed keeping in view their necessity and their surrounding. The socio-cultural and the religious views of the tribals slightly contribute for the variety in their dresses. There are several tribes like the Bondo and Gadaba who weave their own clothes. While the other tribes purchase their dress from another community or the neighboring Damas or Panas. The tribal dress and ornaments mostly belong to the non-tribal group and there are very few tribal artisans. The non-tribal artisans like the weavers they live adjacent to the tribal villages. These people manufacture the costumes of a specific tribe and sell them in the weekly village market. Sometimes these weavers are being paid in cash or in kind in the form of agricultural products. The tribal costumes are very simple and it provides immense comfort to the wearer. Generally, in the Kandha community the Dongria Kandha, the Kutia Kandha and the Desia Kandha, Lanjia Saora and the Santhals depend on other communities (non-tribal artisans) for their clothes. Lanjia Saora and some other tribal community make threads by themselves and give it to the Damas to weave for them. And again they purchase that cloth from the Damas by cash or kind. While

the Bondo and the Didayi, the Gadabas weave their own clothes though the Dangriars purchase the cloth from the neighbouring Damas. They knit fine needle work on it and use it.

There is a little similarity among the tribals in their dress those who live in a specific area. The Koyas, the Halabs and the Gandias are inhabitants of the same districts. Though it seems that they have some kind of similarity in their costume but in reality they differ from each other. The Kandhas live in a specific area, like the Kutia Kandha and the Dongria Kandha both the communities live in two different sides of the same hill. But as far as dress is concerned they differ significantly. Similarly, the Mundas and the Santhals though they live as neighbours they differ in their dress and culture. The Juangs and the Bhuyan high lander live in close proximity but they differ in their dress. The Kisans and the Gonds though live in the same belt they have also difference in their dress. At times there are similarity of the dress in colour, design and pattern but they differ in their cultural and social life as well as in their ritual and rites.

The artistic nature of the tribals is very innate in their heart and mind. To them the artistic and aesthetic essence is to make life more enjoyable and to fulfill the cultural, social and religious needs. Even there are some tribes they envisage a better future with the help of art and craft, for the tribals art objects and the skill of the artist is a fit medium to propitiate their deities, gods and goddesses. The tribal art is not the contemporary one. It has the heraldry of a hoary past. It was the art which once widely acclaimed in the midst of the forest, the mountains, and in the springs. Art is the base and basis of the tribal life. It is the economic, social and cultural reflection of the tribal life. Hence art is the yardstick by which they measure their success.

The material culture is also part of their artistic life. Even their costume and dress materials have the touch of artistic workmanship. It is also reflection of the art which had been passed onto them from generation to generation. That art has the accumulated knowledge of ages, which has assimilated in their social tradition. It is a medium to express their inner quest. Dress has multi-farious significance in their social life. At the surface level one can observe that they use dress only to avoid the nakedness, or to protect from cold, rain and sunshine. But in fact, the tribal costumes exhibit the uniqueness of the specific community, their self-identity. The possession of the right kind of dress is a matter of pride and a great source of enthusiasm. The "Ringa" of the Bondos and the embroidered shawl of the Dangriars have a special social and cultural

significance. The Dangria shawl has a direct link with the marital relationship and the success of their conjugal life depends upon it. The dance costume of the Lanjia Saoras as well as their general dress is a fine testimony of their rich cultural heritage. At the time of dancing from the dress of the clan's head "Gamango" they get the trace of the regal pride and heroism.

The origin, history and development of tribal textile commensurate with the general history of man's progress from primitive barbarism to civilization. The state of nakedness was disgusting, to avoid that the tribals used leaves as their dress. This was used in a crude form. Then they used bark of the tree as their dress. This gave them much discomfort, so they used some soft bark to avoid this inconvenience. It was not also so soothing; hence they started extracting fibers from the barks and subsequently converted it into thread. Gradually they came to know more about fiber thread etc. and then began the weaving of clothes. Later on, they also dyed the fibres to make it beautiful. They also use turmeric to colour the threads. There are also several trees in the forest that excrete colour in their bark and the tribals use the bark of these trees to dye the thread. Firstly, they boiled the bark and soak fibres in it. By that way they got various coloured threads and wove according to their requirement. Sometimes instead of making the coloured threads themselves, they purchase them from the market and then weave. Some tribes like to wear clothes of a single color, while some others like to use multi-color clothes and at times they knit fine embroidery work on it and make it fit for their use. Through the dress they reflected their traditional culture, artistic skillfulness and thoughts, for which their cultural life flourishes on the base of dress. It gave a special luster to their community life and differentiated one tribe from the other.

To weave clothes they use their own indigenous technology. They use bamboo and other trees to get the fiber usually; they install the wooden loom in front of their house or in the backyard and some of them also install it in the narrow path of the village. They weave during their leisure time. Both men and women weave. In some communities only women weave. The women weave various clothes for them as well as for the male members of their family.

Food Pattern of Tribes

A large number of tribes depend on their own pattern of agriculture, producing rice, or other cereals including varieties of millets, and some green leafy vegetables. Some live on cultivated tubers, mainly tapioca; some collect forest products such as wild roots, fruits, honey and others consume sour milk products, which are rejected by most of the tribes. The forest and coastal dwellers hunt land and marine animals and birds to supplement their staples. Variations in food consumption patterns may be due to the terrain, climatic differences, soil conditions and the types of food grown, but self selection of food is the most predominant factor. The dietary habits and other related modes of life are often suited to their best advantage and provide adequate nutrition under existing conditions, and they may enjoy excellent health. In other tribes, however, the practices are not conducive to good health and, as a result, they have poor physique, and often appear to lack vigour. They are reluctant to work to clear more forest for increased food production. They are of medium stature and lighter in weight. The neighboring Muthuvan tribe

grow rice and millet, do not eat tapioca and they have plenty of green vegetables, buffalo milk and sometimes fishes. They are tall, strong, energetic and active.

Tribal Cuisine

Cuisine with less oil and spices. Mixture of different indigenous styles with considerable regional variations and some external influences. It is characterized by very little use of spices but strong flavors due mainly to the use of endemic exotic herbs, fruits and vegetables that are fresh, dried or fermented. Fish is widely used, and birds like duck, pigeon etc. are very popular. In fact Naga tribes also eat dogs, cats, fish, spiders, birds, and crabs - in fact almost any living thing that they can lay in hands. Preparations are rarely elaborate. The practice of Bhuna, the gentle frying of spices before the addition of the main ingredients so common in Indian cooking, is absent in this cuisine. Bamboo is used widely in this cuisine.

Rice

Staple food. Both the indica as well as the japonica varieties are grown in northeast region of India. The most popular class of rice is the joha or scented rice. As a staple diet rice is eaten either steam boiled (ukhua) or sundried (aaroo).

Meat

Pork, Beef, Mutton, Chicken, Duck, Pigeon, Venison, Squab.

Fish

Big fishes are Rohu, Hilsa, Chital, Khorla etc.. Small fishes are Puthi, Borolia, Mua, cheniputhi, tengera, lachin, bhagun, pabho etc.

Greens and Vegetables

The environs of north-east are rich in vegetation, and green leafy vegetables, called xaak, are an important part of the cuisine. Some of them are grown while others like the dhekia (fern) grows wild. There is a bewildering variety that is eaten and according to custom, one has to have a hundred different xaaks (greens) during Rongali Bihu.

Vegetables Names in Tribal Area

Tribal Name	English Name
Paleng	Spinach
Podina	Mint
Kolmou	Water spinach
Dhoniya	Coriander
Noroxingho	Curry leaf
Motor xaak	Pea greens
Aloo xaak	Potato greens
Bondhakobi	Cabbage
Phulkobi	Cauliflower
Olkobi	Kohlrabi
Ronga aloo	Sweet potato
Koldil, Kolphul	Banana flower
Bilahi	Tomato
Bengena	Eggplant
Bahgaj	Bamboo Shoot
Jolokia	Chilly
Salgom	Turnip
Rongalao	Pumpkin
Xukloti	Patchouli
Tengamora	Roselle
Kosu	Taro
Kaskol, Purakol	Curry Banana
Bhol	Ridge gourd
Urohi	Indian Bean

Marriage

Marriage is a social institution and marriage and family are complementary concepts. As such marriage is found in almost all societies. Without marriage one cannot think of a family. Marriage is, say Beals and Hoijar, -a set of cultural patterns to sanction parenthood and to provide a stable background for the care and rearing of children.

The Tribal Marriages can be classified into the following types:

3.8.1 Monogamy

In this type of marriage one man married to one woman or one woman marries one man. The husband and wife may or may not be (usually not) related to each other before marriage, most of the Indian tribes practise monogamy.

3.8.2 Polygamy

It is the marriage of one person with more than one person of the opposite sex. It has two sub types: (a) Polygyny and (b) Polyandry.

(a) Polygyny

In this type of marriage one man marries to several women. The husband and wives may or may not be related to each other before marriage. Wives may be related among themselves. When the wives are related to each other as sisters it is called as sororal polygyny. If they are not related as sisters, it is called non-sororal polygyny. Polygyny is found among the Naga tribes, the Gond, the Baiga and the Toda. It is also found among the Lushai, Juang and the Kondh. Polygyny is practiced among the tribals due to several reasons. First of all, it is practiced due to the imbalance of the sex ratio, where women outnumber men. The second reason is that the practice of polygyny accords higher status and prestige. This is the reason why the tribal chiefs keep many wives. Thirdly the tribals like the Lushai or the Gonds practise polygyny. So that a number of wives and their children will provide the husband with free and reliable labour.

Merits of Polygyny

Polygyny has the following merits:

- (i) It facilitates better division of labour in the family.
- (ii) It ensures the adequate sexual satisfaction of the husband.
- (iii) It reproduces a number of strong children born to the wives of physically strong men.

The following are the demerits, of polygyny:

- (i) It makes the family a centre of quarrel and spoils family peace.

- (ii) The status of women suffers a serious setback in a polygynous family due to the presence of a number of wives.
- (iii) Children are not properly looked after in the polygynous family.
- (iv) It lacks in better understanding, fellow feeling, sympathy, love and affection among the co-wives.
- (v) It is also disadvantageous from the economic point of view.
- (vi) It snatches away the conjugal love and psychological satisfaction from women.
- (vii) It causes jealousy and suspicion and family instability due to lack of proper understanding among spouses and offspring's.

(b) Polyandry

In polyandry type of marriage, one woman marries to several men. The wife and the husbands may or may not be related to each other before marriage. The husbands may be related among themselves. If the husbands are all brothers, then this marriage is called fraternal polyandry. If the husbands are not related to each other and share the same wife, it is called non-fraternal polyandry. Polyandry as a form of marriage is very much restricted and is confined to a few tribal communities, mostly along the foothills of the Himalayas. The Kota, the Khasa, the Toda, the Ladani Bota and the Khasi practise this type of marriage. There is evidence to establish the fact that some pre-Dravidian and Dravidian tribes practise Polyandry.

Fraternal Polyandry (Adelphic)

The Todas of Nilgiri hills and the Khasa practise fraternal polyandry. The elder brother marries a wife and according to this practice of Adelphic, she becomes the wife of all the brothers. She is shared by all the brothers of a family for satisfaction of sexual urge. The minor brothers of the family become her husband after being major. But the elder brother becomes the father of all her children.

Non-Fraternal Polyandry (Non-Adelphic)

In this form of marriage a woman marries many men who are not necessarily brothers. She satisfies their sexual desire. By turn, going from one husband to another. The husbands may either live in one place or in different places. During her living with one husband, that particular husband enjoys her exclusively for that particular period and others do not have their right at that time. The Nayar women practise non-fraternal polyandry and constitute matriarchal family.

Polyandry is practiced due to several reasons. The imbalance in sex ratio, less number of

females of marriageable age is another reason. The poor practices polyandry whereas the rich can afford to practise polygyny. Fraternal polyandry is often preferred to keep the family property undivided because, it does not allow the brothers to marry separate wives and live with them in separate households. Higher Bride price may be considered as another cause of polyandry. When the husbands are unable to pay the bride price individually, they may prefer polyandry to monogamy.

3.8.3 Bigamy

In Mysore, the Medara and Holiya tribes practise bigamy type of marriage wherein a male is allowed to marry two women at a time. The co- wives are related as sisters.

Preference & Prohibition in Tribal Marriage

All societies have rule and restrictions about which one may or may not marry. This is referred to as the system of prohibition or encouragement or preference of the choice of male in marriage. Madan & Majumdar write that –All over India, and in other parts of the world as well, we come across rules laying down prohibitions, preferences and prescriptions in deciding the form of marriage.¶

There are certain categories of relatives who come within the prohibitory degree of marital relationship. There are also some other relatives with whom sexual relationship is prohibited. –A Taboo on sexual relationship between closely related kin like parents and children and between siblings is universal.

An extension of this –nuclear prohibition¶ is found everywhere. Therefore among several tribal communities we find the practice of marrying outside the family, clan, village etc. Violation of this restriction is seriously dealt with. The practice of marrying outside one’s own family clan, village or group is called as Exogamy. Among the Indian tribes we also find another peculiar practice of marrying within one’s own group.

This marriage within one’s own group is known as Endogamy. The Victorian Anthropologist MacLennan, had coined these two terms, which simply meant marrying in and marrying out.

- (a) Family Exogamy: Marriage outside the family.
- (b) Clan exogamy: Marriage outside the clan.
- (c) Village Exogamy: Marriage outside the village.

The practice of clan exogamy is widely followed among the Indian tribals like Gond, the Baiga, the Ho, the Korwa, the Khasi, the Nagadsoon. The Munda tribe of Chhotanagpur region practise village exogamy.

Tracing the cause of Exogamy, Audrey Richards has pointed out that —in hunting and food gathering societies, food is difficult to obtain. Women and children are generally a burden in such societies, particularly those which rely more on hunting. This could have led to female infanticide, which in consequence, would lead to female scarcity. This must have led to marriage by capture, and the next step—since such capture had to be effected from outside the tribe to exogamy. Thus food scarcity may be, historically speaking a probable cause of exogamy.¶

In his book on the people of India, Sir Herbert Risley has mentioned that —probably there has existed in man a tendency to vary. This desire must have driven man to seek marital alliance with strangers, unfamiliar and unknown to him.¶

Westermarck has viewed that having seen all the girls growing up in the village along with him, the male may develop a feeling of aversion for the familiar. This may be explained as the cause of exogamy. According to Malinowski the strong sense of incestuous feeling and the very elaborate rules for the prevention of incest may lead to exogamy.

3.8.4 Endogamy

Majumdar and Madan say that the practice of marrying within one's own tribe or very rarely the clan is called endogamy. Thus, mainly, we find two types of endogamy:

- (a) Clan endogamy—Marriage within the clan.
- (b) Tribe endogamy — Marriage within the tribe.

The Todas of Nilgiri Hills have two main clans such as Tartharol and the Teivaliol. These clans are endogamous groups, but their subdivisions and sibs practise exogamy. Likewise the Bhils have two endogamous groups such as—the Uyale Bhil and the Mele Bhil. Most of the tribes are clan exogamous but phratry and tribe-endogamous. However, now-a-days, some sophisticated tribes in India like the Gond, the Bhil and the Santhal have broken down the barriers of endogamy and have started marrying with the lower castes, for their incorporation into the Hindu castes.

A number of causes may be given in support of the practice of endogamy:

- (a) Universal fear of the stronger, unknown and the novel- Generally the tribals are afraid of the neighbor's witchcraft and sorcery. The Korwa tribe practices endogamy particularly on account of that reason.
- (b) Territorial and Linguistic factors-Territorial and linguistic factors —impose limits on the communication of thoughts and persons (Spouses) between various groups.
- (c) Desire to preserve the socio-cultural identity-Each tribal group possesses its own distinctive socio-cultural identity, sharing enough

thought and action pattern. Which they want to preserve through the practice of endogamy.

Preferential Marriages

In certain cases there is a prescription expressed for establishing marital ties with a particular kin or preferences designed to promote inter- familiar cordiality by making certain linkages imperative. Such marriages are known as preferential marriages.

The tribes in India practise the following types of preferential marriages:

- (a) Cousin marriage.
 - (i) Cross cousin marriage.
 - (ii) Parallel cousin marriage.
- (b) Levirate
 - (i) Junior Levirate.
 - (ii) Senior Levirate.
- (c) Sororate.

Cousin Marriage

The Gond, the Kharia, the Oraon, the Khasi, and the Kadar practise cousin marriage. The cousin marriages can be sub- divided into:

- (i) Cross-cousin marriage and
- (ii) Parallel cousin marriage.

The marriage between mother's brother's (Maternal uncle's) children and father's sister's (paternal aunt's) children is called as cross cousin marriage. Majumdar and Madan hold that —cross-cousin marriage as a form of exogamy, the only form of exogamy under dual organisation, is often explained to be a device for avoiding payment of a high bride price and also for maintaining property in the household.

Cross Cousin marriage is found among different tribes in southern India. The Gonds of Madhya Pradesh practise cross-cousin marriage and call it; *‘dudhlautawa’* or the *‘return of milk’*. This is called so because the bride price paid by the husband for his wife comes back to his own family through the marriage of his daughter with the son of his wife’s brother. Marrying one’s father’s brother’s child or mother’s sister’s child is called as parallel cousin marriage. The main purpose of preferential mating, according to Levi-Strauss is to strengthen the solidarity of a tribal group.

Levirate

Sometimes, preferential marriages also aim at solidifying the inter- family unity. If a man dies, his wife is inherited by the brother of the deceased husband. This practice of being actual or potential mate to one’s husband’s brother is called levirate. The custom of Levirate is found among several tribes like Santal, Ho, Saora, Bhuinya, Munda etc. Marriage of the widow with the deceased husband’s elder brother is called senior Levirate. But when she marries to the younger brother of the dead husband, it is called as junior Levirate.

Levirate as a form of marriage is useful for the tribal society. First of all it allows widow remarriage. Secondly it provides the widow with social security within the same family. Thirdly it also provides social security to the offspring’s of the widow which is not possible in other type of widow remarriage. Fourthly it strengthens the solidarity between inter- family unities.

Sororate

The practice of being actual or potential mate to one’s wife’s sisters is called sororate. Majumdar and Madan holds that —when several sisters are simultaneously or potentially, the spouses of the same man the practice is called sororate. The death of a spouse is compensated by supplying a new spouse, generally a younger brother of the deceased. The custom of Sororate is found among the tribal communities where the practice of bride-price is prevalent. Sororate also recognizes marriage as a tie between two families and lays emphasis on the acceptance of inter- familiar obligations.

Positive sanction in Tribal Marriage

The following types of marriage in the tribal societies are accorded positive sanction:

- (a) Tribe endogamy.
- (b) Clan exogamy.
- (c) Preferential Mating.

The tribe exogamy, clan endogamy (incest) are looked down upon, pre-marital or post-marital sexual relationship is not uncommon among tribal societies in India. Indulgences in this kind of sexual activities is possible even without the displeasure of the society because pre-marital chastity is not stressed in marriages. The tribes living in the central India do not view pre-marital relationship seriously unless that leads to pregnancy. If it results in pregnancy, the male partner is compelled to marry the pregnant girl.

In the Bastar district of Madhya Pradesh, the Muria Gonds allow the bachelors and Maiden to sleep in a common dormitory. They are free to indulge in pairing off in the dormitory. The Oraons, the Khaddi, and the Hos indulge in pairing off activities on important festivals like Magha- parab, among the Konyak Nagas a girl may indulge in pre-marital sex till she becomes a mother. The Khas allow pre-marital sex but strictly prohibit any extra-marital sexual relationship for the wives.

Territorially, tribes in India are divided into three main zones, namely (1) North-North- Eastern Zone, (2) Central Zone and (3) Southern Zone.

1. North-Eastern Zone

A large number of tribes agglomerate in the areas namely the Assam, Manipur, and Tripura. The tribal areas of Eastern Kashmir, East Punjab, Himachal Pradesh and Northern U.P also come under this zone.

The major tribes are Nagas, Khasis, Garos. It is a matrilineal tribe, clans are reckoned through mothers. Groups are endogamous, clans are strictly exogamous. Monogamy is prevalent. Kinship terminology is of classificatory type. Position of Women is very high in the society. Mother's elder brother get special attention. Example: Garo and Khasis. Naga tribe- Angami is Monogamous while Lhota and Semas are polygamous, High bride price is seen. Freedom of selection of mate and Divorce is common. Youngest son inherits all property

GARO

The Garo tribe shows tradition of shifting cultivation. The main concentration of this tribe is found in the Garo hills of Meghalaya. A sizable population also lives in Bangladesh, West Bengal, Nagaland, Mizoram and Tripura. The Garos call themselves achik-mande (achik denotes hill and mande denotes man). There regionally divisions known as Chatchi. Each regional group (Chatchi) is again divided into a number of clans (machang).

Mostly families are matrilocal i.e. bridegroom comes to reside in the house of brides' mother after marriage. Clans are reckoned through mothers. Though mother is the person in supreme command in a Garo family, yet father is responsible for the subsistence of the family members. A sharp division of labor is found to exist in a Garo family. Regional groups are endogamous in nature but the clans are strictly exogamous. Monogamy is common among Garo but polygamy is also prevalent in some places. In Garo tribes, a man can marry maximum three times with the permission from first wife (zik mamong) and his second wife must be elder sister of first wife. Some of them are found to marry their widow mother-in-law.

The marriage rules are designed in such a way that a person can keep the whole property of his in-law's house under control. The custom of bride price is not seen in Garo tribes. Kinship terminology is of classificatory type. Terms of address are common for father, Father's brothers, mother's brothers, and mother's sisters' husbands and father's sister's husbands. In the same manner, female relatives in the status of mother are designated as a common term. A couple can easily get divorced on the basis of adultery or physical defects.

KHASI

The Khasi is a matrilocal community who lives mainly in the Khasi and Jaintia in the state of Meghalaya. Some Khasi are found in Garo hills, North Cachar hills and also along the northern and southern slopes down to the Bramputra and Surma Valleys. The tribe is divided into four main sub- groups:

1. The Khyntiam Khasi or Upland Khasi
2. The Phar Khasi of the Jaintia hills
3. The War Khasi
4. The Bhoi Khasi

The Khasi are monogamous. The clan of Khasi tribe is reckoned

through the mothers. Position of Women is very high in the society. Mothers are regarded as a custodian of family rites and religious performances. Choosing mate from one's own clan is regarded as a great sin. Young men and women are permitted considerable freedom in the choice of mates and in premarital Sexual relations. They are permitted to marry the children of maternal uncle or children of father's own sister. The bond of marriage is very strong among this tribe. Marriage to a deceased wife's elder sister is prohibited. This is the only form of the sororate found among the Khasi. The levirate does not obtain in Khasi society. A man becomes a member of his wife's clan and lives with his wife in her house. Income of son-in-law is solely handed over to the mother-in-law for the maintenance of the family. All sons of the family leave their family orientation after marriage. Mother's elder brother get special attention in Khasi society and management is under his control. The ancestral property is passes through the female line. The youngest daughter inherits the largest share of the property. The sons have no right on the property. Mother's residential house usually goes to the youngest daughter.

NAGAS

The total population of the Angami is around 12 million. Agriculture is the main occupation. The design of the clothes worn by the Angami men and women are quite different from each other. The Angami are monogamous. There are two forms of marriage—one ceremonial, the other non- Ceremonial. The ceremonial form is desired as a symbol of status .The nonceremonial form involves the taking of a woman to the house of a man where they remain kenna (forbidden) for one day. Women are allowed freedom of choice in the selection of mates. Marriage-prices are high. Polygamy is not allowed in Naga. Divorce is allowed and is common. The wife gets one-third of the couple's joint property, exclusive of land. The divorced and widowed are permitted to remarry. By contrast, the Lhota are polygynous, a husband having as many as three wives. Young girls are preferred. Arranged marriages are the norm with women having no Freedom of choice in the selection of a spouse. A husband may also allow his brother or nearest relative on his father's side to have conjugal access to his wife when he is absent for any

length of time. The Semas are polygynous. A Sema husband is allowed to have as many as five to seven wives.

Part of the Ao betrothal process involves the husband's construction of a marital home with materials gathered from the fields of his parents and the parents of his wife. The typical Angami household contains about five persons: a husband, a wife, two to three children, possibly an aged and widowed parent, and perhaps a younger unmarried brother.

An Angami man cannot leave property to anyone outside of his clan or kindred without considerable complication. If no special provisions have been made, the next male heir within kindred usually inherits a man's property. When sons marry, they receive their portions. When the father dies, the youngest son inherits all property including the father's house. The inheritance of adopted sons is determined at the time of adoption

Central Zone

It covers the area of Bihar, Bengal, Southern U.P., Southern Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa come under this zone. The Santhal, the Bhil, the Gond, the Mundas, Oraons, Birhors and the Baiga are only a few of the large number of tribes of this zone. The bulk of the tribal population lives in this zone. Over 85 per cent of the total tribal population inhabits the eight States that constitute this zone. The major tribes are:

Santhal

The third largest tribal community of India with a population of 4,260,842, they are distributed in the states of Bihar, West Bengal, Odissa and Tripura. The Santhal inhabiting the state of Assam are not a scheduled tribe.

The Santals are divided into 12 clans and 164 subclans. They are patrilineal and endogamous. Their principal function is ceremonial and referential. The clans (paris) are ranked according to old functional divisions: the Kisku were kings, the Murmu priests, etc. There is a ban on intermarriage. The ranking of clans is reflected in a slight tendency

to hypergamy. Sub-clan hierarchy is expressed in terms of senior/junior distinctions as well as pure/impure; subclan identities focus on modes of sacrifice. The Santali name for marriage is called —Baplal

In Santal society, marriage is one of sacred event of life and it adds up considerable respect in society. It is strictly forbidden for any Santhal to marry within his or her own sept (Parish). He is allowed to marry into any other septs or sub-septs to which his/her mother belonged. There are some septs, which never intermarry with another in consequence of some feuds between families. Similarly, a Tudu male never marries a Besra female and vice versa. These customs are no longer in effective prevalent in day-to-day life of Santals. However, myths and tales associated with feud are still told among the Santals. Girls are married as adults mostly to men of their own choice. In Santhal marriage, there is no restriction of age. The bride may be younger, older or of equal age with bridegroom. There are two types of marriage practiced by Santals- the marriage arranged by Raibar (match maker) is the regular form of marriage.

GOND

The Gonds are the tribal community mostly found in the Gond forests of the central India. They are widely spread in the Chhindwara District of Madhya Pradesh, Bastar district of Chhattisgarh and also in the parts of Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, and Orissa. The name by which the Gonds call themselves is Koi or Koitur which means unclear. It is one of the largest tribal groups in the world.

A marriage among the Gonds is the monogamous. Selection of a man and a woman based on mutual choice with the approval of the tribal council. They consider adultery as a sin and think that punished by the ancestral spirits that can cause crop failure or an epidemic among humans and cattle. The essential wedding rite consists of the groom walking with his bride seven times around a wedding post erected in the center of the wedding booth. Boys and girls marry when they attain maturity.

Nowadays the Gonds follow the rural Hindu population and parents arrange the marriage

when children are still young. The father of the groom has to pay a bride-price, depending upon the position and wealth of the two families. Cross-cousin marriages are prevalent in Gond. A Gond can have more than one wife, polygyny being restricted only by the capability of the man to support a number of wives. The Gonds practice the sororate and the levirate. Gonds who are too poor to pay the bride-price and the wedding expenses contract a Service marriage. Families with no sons prefer such a marriage arrangement. The Gonds permit divorce. A divorce requires the legal sanction of the tribal council of the village. Family is patrilineal and property distribute to the sons equally. A widow usually remains in the house, which is inherited by her youngest son.

BHILS

Bhils are popularly known as the bow men of Rajasthan. They forms the largest tribe of the whole South Asia. Bhils are mainly divided into two main groups the central or pure bills and eastern or Rajput Bhils. The central Bhils are found in the mountain regions in the Indian states of Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Gujrat and Rajasthan. Bhils are also found in the north eastern parts of Tripura.

Clan exogamy is strictly enforced everywhere. In some areas, such as Sabar Kantha and the Panch Mahals, cross-cousin marriage with the daughter of one's father's sister is preferred. Polygyny among the Bhils is quite common. Bhils marry at around 14-16 years for boys and 11-13 years for girls. A boy's first wife is expected to be a virgin. Residenc established after the girl's first menstruation, couple is highly dependent on their parents for guidance and assistance for several more years. Tribal endogamy is preferred, therefore intermarriage is often spatially restricted to a 35- to 40-kilometer radius. Although polygyny is accepted, the high bride-price to be paid, especially for a virgin first wife, is an important reason for the prevalence of monogamy among the Bhils. Sororal unions often occur among polygynous marriages, leviratic alliances are quite rare. Most marriages fall in one of five categories: contract marriages, elopements, mutual attraction, and marriage by service, and abduction.

A married woman sets up residence in her husband's village, in a new house built near his father's homestead. A son is generally given some farmland and a few head of cattle with which he may subsist and provide for his own family. The dissolution of a marriage is often initiated by the woman, who, dissatisfied with her husband, abandons him, frequently eloping with another man.

The basic coresidential unit is the nuclear family, comprising a couple and their unmarried children. As sons marry, the nuclear family loses its commensal nature but solidarity continues as a joint family evolves.

Upon the death of father his property and debts are divided among his sons, maximum proportion of wealth goes to a senior brother. A daughter receives an inheritance only if she has no male Siblings.

MUNDA

The main concentration of the Munda tribe is inhabited in the West Bengal, Odissa, Madhya Pradesh and Assam. The members of Munda community refer themselves as Horo, the superior man. The people believe themselves as the descendants of the Supreme god. Risley (1891) had observed thirteen sub-tribes among the Mundas. Some well-known clans are Hansda, Kachchap, Lang, Tuli, etc.

Families are usually patrilineal, extended in type but nuclear families are also common. Some families are polygamous. Kinship terminology show both classificatory and denotative terminology. Kinship terminologies include some Hindi as well as Bengali terms, according to nature of exposure. Marriage rules of the Mundas follow sub-group endogamy and clan exogamy. Lineages are exogamous. Marriage solemnizes in bride's house. Pre-marriage ritual, 'betrothal' is important where boy's guardians pay a visit to the bride's for finalization of the marriage proposal. This custom is known as 'marang- para'. Bride price is frequent in Munda tribe.

On the day of Marriage, a wedding March is arranged from groom's house to the bride's place. Divorce is permitted but no compensation has to be paid. Different types of marriage are allowed in this tribe like polygyny, junior levirate, junior sororate and cousin marriage have a special sanction.

Irrigated land, the family home, fruit trees, and most movables are inherited in the direct patrilineal line. The eldest son receives the most, though not normally everything, as the new head of the Family. In some cases, the sons who have remained at home are favored. In default of sons, the closest collateral agnate or an uxorilocally living son-in-law inherits. There is some matrilineal inheritance of female clothes and ornaments, but women cannot inherit land, because they marry **out of the clan**.

BIRHORS

The birhors is mainly a nomadic tribe but majority of them has settled down. They are distributed in the hilly areas of the state of Bihar, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh and West Bengal. Word Birhor means 'people of the forest. Birhors live in small bands (Tanda) which consist of two to twenty-four families belong to one or more clans. The Society is patriarchal; the families are patrilineal and patrilocal in nature. The family is the smallest unit of Birhor society Family consists of Father, mother and Children. When children grow up they move to different Tanda. Birhors follow the rules of tribal and clan endogamy. A Birhor boy is supposed to get married with a Birhor girl, but the clan of the boy and the girl should not be same. Tandas or bands have families of different clans but they follow the rule of tanda exogamy. At the time of marriage, the blood relationship is explored. The marriage between a boy and a girl is possible only when they are not related up to three generations from the father's and the mother's side. Birhors follow the practice of bride price. Responsibility of marriage is done by father. The father of the boy approaches the father of the girl. When they agree, the father of the boy settles the bride price with father of the girl and the marriage is fixed.

Marriage alliance between members of same clan is never accepted. They use same term

of address for persons who are in same genealogical relationship. The kinship system is classificatory in type. Only legitimate children acquire social status in the Society. In Birhor community, bride price is in vogue. Monogamy is common. Property is inherited to the son of the family.

Santhal is patrilineal and endogamous. Their principal function is ceremonial and referential. There is a ban on intermarriage. The ranking of clans is reflected in a slight tendency to hyper gamy. The Santali name for marriage is called —Baplal It is strictly forbidden for any Santhal to marry within his or her own sept (Parish). The Gonds are patrilineal and property distribute to the sons equally. A marriage among the Gonds is the monogamous. Cross-cousin marriages are prevalent. Selection of a man and a woman based on mutual choice. They practice the sororate and the levirate. They consider adultery as a sin. Bhils clan exogamy is strictly enforced everywhere. In some areas cross-cousin marriage with the daughter of one's father's sister is preferred. Polygyny is quite common. A boy's first wife is expected to be a virgin. Tribal endogamy is preferred. Prevalence of monogamy. Family is of nuclear type. Birhors live in small bands (Tanda). The Society is patriarchal; the families are patrilineal and patrilocal in nature. It follows the rules of tribal and clan endogamy. Marriage alliance between members of same clan is never accepted. The kinship system is classificatory in type.

2. Southern Zone

The Southern zone is consisted of four Southern States – Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka and Kerala. The major tribes are Toda, the Chenchu, the Irulas, the Kadar and the Koraga.

The major tribes of Southern zone:

THE TODA

The word – Toda derived from the name – Tundra - the sacred tree of todas. The Toda

people are a small pastoral community who live on the isolated Nilgiri plateau of Southern India. The Toda traditionally live in settlements consisting of three to seven small thatched houses, constructed in the shape of half-barrels and spread across the slopes of the pasture. They traditionally trade dairy products with their Nilgiri neighbor people. Toda religion centers on the buffalo consequently, rituals are performed for all dairy activities as well as for the ordination of dairymen-priests.

Todas are strictly endogamous i.e marriage alliances occur exclusively within a tribe. The tribe is divided into two moiety - Tartharol and Teivaliol. The member of Tartharol considers themselves superior. Therefore former remains in charge of the sacred buffaloes, whereas the worker come from the Teivaliol. Each moiety is sub-divided into a number of clans. Tartharol possesses 12 clans and Teivaliol posses 6 clans. Each clan is exogamous, patrilineal and territorial in nature. Each clan further divides into two sub-clans: Kudr and Polm. A sub-clan is divided into a number of families. Toda exhibit Polyandrous type of families. A woman with her multiple husbands with children usually from this type of family. If the husbands are brothers, the family is called fraternal polyandrous family. In this family sociological fatherhood is more important than biological fatherhood. The kinship system of Toda is emphasized on classificatory terms i.e each term of designation denotes a number of relatives in the same rank, belonging to particular sex. Marriage proposals for girls came at the age of five or six. Due female infanticide there is very large difference in sex ratio between male and female so polyandry get sanction in the society. Both type of cross-cousin marriage are in vogue in Toda society. In all cases, Bride price is compulsory. Descent is patrilineal. Property passes from father to legal sons, Female have no right on property.

CHENCHU

The chenchu is food-gathering tribe of Andhra Pradesh. Some Chenchu also live near states like Orissa, Tamil nadu and Karnataka. The word Chenchu means a person living under a tree(chettu). Chenchu is endogamous in nature. A clan is further divided into families. The families are nuclear type, based on monogamy. Polygyny is rare in

occurrence. The community never exhibit joint or extended family. Married sons with their wife and children live in separate huts. The family is Patrilineal and Patrilocal. The kinship system is classificatory as well as bilateral in type. The Affinal kins are distinguished from the Consanguineal kins, the Chenchus count both the father and mother line in determining the descent.

Marriage takes place either by negotiation or by elopement. Cross- cousin marriage is preferred in the community. When guardians do not give consent for a marriage, the boy elopes the girl and goes to another village and return after few months or a year when their guardians' anger is subsided and couple is accepted in the family. Widow of Chenchu society is allowed for second marriage. This society is strictly patriarchal. Father's property is inherited by the sons. Distribution is equal among sons but sometimes elder brother gets more. Two types of property is recognized- personal and communal. Usually woman do not get anything in father's property, they inherit mother's ornaments, solely.

IRULAS

Irulas inhabit the area of the Nilgiri Mountains of Tamil Nadu and Kerala. A scheduled tribe, their population in this region is estimated at 25,000 people. The Irula speak Irula, which belongs to the Dravidian family.

Monogamous marriage is the rule, but a few polygamous marriages occur. The Irula form an endogamous caste with twelve exogamous patrilineal (in Sanskrit gotras, in Tamil kulams) Polyandry is extremely rare. Sororate and levirate remarriages is not prevalent. Irula men can marry sisters of their deceased wives. Nowadays the young man's parents go to the bride's house, after they are certain that she is in a marriageable clan. The bride-price, now usually the standardized amount of Rs 101 and 50 paise, is paid in the presence of elders from both sides. Then the date for the marriage is fixed. In the house or within a temporary shelter (pandal) erected near the house, the groom in the most pertinent act of the marriage ceremony and in conformity with the widespread practice in

southern India, ties a necklace (tali, provided by his maternal uncle) around the bride's neck). The establishment of a separate patrilocal household after marriage is the norm. Conforming with the widespread practice in southern India, the wife usually returns to her paternal home in her seventh month of pregnancy and remains there until after her infant is delivered. A woman's inability to bear a child is not considered grounds for divorce, an Irula man may marry another woman if his first wife cannot conceive. He then is married to both women. The bride-price and any gift jewelry must be returned to the husband's family after the divorce. The children from the marriage will remain with the father.

Extended family still plays vital role. The brothers of a deceased husband are expected to care for the widow. The brothers of the widow may also care for her, if those of her deceased husband give their consent. Inherited property is divided equally among the sons upon the father's death. Purchased land units are similarly divided among the male descendants.

Toda are endogamous and patrilineal. The kinship system is emphasized on classificatory terms. Marriage proposals for girls came at the age of five or six. Cross-cousin marriage are in vogue. Bride price is compulsory. Descent is patrilineal. Chenchu live near states like Orissa, Tamil nadu and Karnataka. The families are nuclear type, based on monogamy and Patrilineal and Patrilocal. The kinship system is classificatory as well as bilateral in type. Cross-cousin marriage is preferred in the community. Father's property is inherited by the sons. Irulas are Monogamous. Polyandry is extremely rare. Sororate and levirate remarriages are not prevalent. Family is extended. Inherited property is divided equally among the sons. Separate patrilocal household after marriage is the norm.

Small and Isolated Zone

In addition to these major geographical zones, there is also small and isolated zone which include Andaman and Nicobar Islands. Some important tribes are Jarwa, Onge, Sentineles, Shompen, Andamanese, Nicobarese etc. The major discussed is Andamanese.

ANDAMANESE

The Andamanese is a dying tribe who lives in Andaman island. The Andamanese is one of the four primitive tribes of Andaman island who still are at food gathering stage. The physical features of these people are short, dark complexion, frizzled hair, thick lips and flat nose. Andamanese used to make two kind of huts-ordinary or temporary hut and communal hut. Ordinary hut meant for a single family whereas the communal huts were like a camp to accommodate a number of families. A sharp decline of population is seen. No clans exist among these people. The society if Andamanese is patriarchial. Father is head of the family. The marriage took place according to the guardians' selection. Marriage is settled for a boy abd a girl immediately after attaining puberty. Child mortality is very pronounced in the area. Most of the children do not survive more than two years. Although Andamanese form a very primitive social group, but their sense of generosity and hospitality is very remarkable. At present the community is guided by the chief. In older days, a chief had acquired his higher social position by dint of his extraordinary performance in hunting and fishing.

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UNIT-III

Contemporary Issues of Tribes-Health, Education, Livelihood, Migration, Displacement, Divorce, Domestic Violence and Dowry