

## Chapter II

# SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION OF TRIBAL SOCIETIES

### Part I Theories in Tribal Studies

The cultures of the primitives have been looked at differently in different times. The nineteenth century approach was quite different from what came to be assumed in the twentieth century. The way the theoretical changes have altered positions in the twenty-first century makes one to evaluate the situation afresh while making sense of the history of the marginalized. The perceptions of change among the tribal societies have been evolving since the nineteenth century. The theoretical aspects that study the culture and change in the tribal societies have been dealt with in this chapter under the following heads:-

1. History and the Tribals' Past
2. Concept of Culture
3. Trends in the Study of Tribal Cultures
4. Factors of Social Change in Tribal Societies
5. Globalization and surviving Tribal Heritage in the Twenty-first

The study of humans past always begins with the knowledge inherent in the living cultures of the people. The study of past cultures in due course of time invites a historian to have the sociological knowledge. Thus, in 1893 Herbert D. Spencer wrote, "What biography is to anthropology, history is to sociology".<sup>1</sup> Historians explore the relations between the events in the relevance of ideas, values, and

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<sup>1</sup> Cited in Lucy Mair, *An Introduction to Social Anthropology*, Oxford, Clarion Press, 1895, III Rev, Ed. 1980, p. 40.

actions over time within a time-frame which somehow always points towards and direct towards becoming and fulfillment. In anthropological history, the main areas to study for a historian are:-

- (i) The inter-connection of peoples' actions and aspirations through time.
- (ii) Ordering of these actions in some pattern and then in some meaningful and persuasive fittingness.<sup>2</sup>

It is often said that primitive people do not have history. But it is nothing but misconception that people lack history, although its development often eludes us.<sup>3</sup> The curious assertion rests on a two-fold argument. First of all, the history of these people is completely unknown to us, and an account of the lack of paucity of oral traditions and archaeological remains; it is forever beyond our reach. From this we cannot conclude that it does not exist. Secondly, owing to their archaic nature of their techniques and institutions, those people recall what we have been able to reconstruct about the social organisations of people that lived ten or twenty thousand years ago. Hence the conclusion in this thinking is that they remain as they were in that remote region. We leave it to philosophy to explain why in some cases something happened and why in other cases nothing happened?

Once the problem is advanced to this philosophic level, it seems insolvable. Let us suppose as a theoretical possibility that certain ethnic fragments were for some reasons left behind in the uneven forward march of humanity at some point of time and since then they have been evolving at hardly a perceptible pace, preserving until now the greater part of their primeval traits. On the other hand let us suppose that their

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<sup>2</sup> T. M. Lewis Ed., *History and anthropology*: A. G. A. monograph. London, Tavistock Pub. 1968. p. 68.

<sup>3</sup> Claude Levi Strauss, *Structural Anthropology*, London, Penguin books, 1960, p. 102.

evolutionary momentum met an ultimate end and left them frozen in a state of permanent inertia. But the real problem cannot be stated in these terms. When we study different archaic people in the world societies can we establish certain criteria whose presence or absence would permit us to make a decision, not to be sure, in the affirmative. We saw that the hypothesis is ideological and not subject to demonstration but in the negative? If this negative demonstration could be applied to each known case, the question would be settled practically, if not theoretically. But then a new problem has to be resolved. If the consideration of the past were excluded, what formal structural characteristics would differentiate the so-called primitive societies from those we called modern and civilized?<sup>4</sup>

The problem of primitiveness of a society is usually raised by the contrast that the society offers in relation to its neighbour, near, or rouse. A difference in cultural level is observed between this society and those to which it may be most easily compared. Its culture is poorer, owing to the absence or inadequacy of those features such as permanent dwellings, horticulture, animal husbandry, technique of stone polishing, weaving and pottery- the habitual use, if not always invention of which is dated back to Neolithic, in that they affect the basic structure of the society and irremediably jeopardize its specific equilibrium. For Pseudo archaic societies are condemned societies. This should be obvious, owing to their precarious position in the environment, where they struggle to survive and to overcome the pressure of their neighbour.<sup>5</sup>

A single purpose is not discoverable in history but that there are many purposes, and that, for man, "the study of his own history is his

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid. pp. 107-111

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. p. 117

congenial task to which all his knowledge in other histories is contributory; and for him the conscious reflective and intelligent living of his own history is his congenial purpose".<sup>6</sup> Both in anthropology, and in history, scholars have been working steadily from a consideration of those parts of the society or those aspects of culture, which our traditional methods made accessible towards methods to which more of the whole could be included. This search has led into the area of the inarticulate, the unrecognized, and the unformulated. Penetration of these new areas has been very much facilitated in anthropology studies less so in historical studies of human growth and learning from clinical explorations of the unconscious.<sup>7</sup> Social anthropology likewise first and foremost, a way of collecting and looking at the same sort of data, although their geographical and chronological placement have traditionally differed considerably from those which until recently have held the attention of most orthodox historians. The historian's dialogue with data is based on its apparent thesis, which is weaned posterity. Whereas social anthropologist derives most of his primary data from direct personal observation and enquiry, his basic concern is with the interconnection of events, from the perspective of present rather than the past.<sup>8</sup> More generally historical data are not merely relevant but are quite decisive in evaluating as given society's own view of its past. Peoples' view of time and their own ethnographic history are more part of the picture than even the most particularistic anthropologists seeks to delineate. Even accounts, which are cast in the style of indoor and myth may state important historical truth.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Margaret Mead, *Anthropology: A Human Science*, England, Von Nostrand, 1964, p. 153.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. p. 154

<sup>8</sup> T. M. Levis(ed.), Op. cit., p. x

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. p. xx

If every people of the globe had cultural history, wholly different from that of the very other, the historians' task would still be to records these singularities and make the best of them; and in contributing his share to the sum total of knowledge he would suffer no loss in scientific dignity from the infallibility of his material. Without, therefore at the outset renouncing the search of laws of the social evolution, we will emphatically declare our independence of the pseudo-scientific dogmatism which insists on formulating all phenomena after the fashion that has proved serviceable in diminutive cover of the field of human knowledge.<sup>10</sup>

### Concept of Culture:

It is accepted in the human history that all human beings are fundamentally alike; that they share the same basic interests and have certain common obligations to one another simply as people.<sup>11</sup> Culture is always a matter of both what kinds together and what keeps apart. At its most basic, it is a concept that refers to the means of formation and of identification of social groups. More precisely, as Frederic Jameson argues it is always. More of the other' to use the concept is both to suppose and to enforce a distance of perceptive and of value.<sup>12</sup> Culture is an invention which occurs 'wherever and 'whenever' some 'alien' or 'foreign' set of converting is brought into relation with one's own what is

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<sup>10</sup> Robert Lowie, *Primitive society*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1921

<sup>11</sup> "Culture is by definition a realm of uses and of circulating energies". John. Beattie, *Other Cultures: Aims Methods and Achievements in Social Anthropology*. New York, The Free Press, 1964, p. 3

<sup>12</sup> "Cultural Studies have been prolific of attempts to reconcile the division of knowledge and its others. The characteristics marks in which it performs have been those of the organic, intellectual, the fair the participant observer; or more deceptively, it has worn the invisible mask of a humanism which supposes the common identity and the interests of the known and the unknown". John Frow, *Culture Studies and Cultural Values*, Oxford OUP, 1995, p. 2

invented and categories of the field workers' or analysts own understanding and culture.<sup>13</sup>

This is not to argue that 'we' should not be committed to any one regime of value (either high or low) but it is to say that the question of 'our' insertion into the field of value is crucial, and that this is an institutional, not a personal question, when it is excluded, the process of constructing the field of values comes to be governed by largely implicit assumptions. In cultural studies, for example, the reaction against the privileges of high culture (and the class values it has traditionally carried) has led to a kind of inversion in which certain elite popular cultural forms have been privileged, while other popular forms are not. The term culture is a description of a particular way of life, which expresses certain meanings and values implicit and explicit in a particular way of life a particular culture. Most definitions of culture, despite minor differences, fall into one or the other of two general categories which are the *totalistic view* and the *mentalist view*.

According to the Totalist view, cultural is used to refer to the totality of peoples 'way of life'. According to the classic definition of this type, culture is "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, Morals laws, customs, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society". A recent formulation along these lines defines culture as "the generic term for all human genetic or biological phenomena".<sup>14</sup>

The mentalist view which is major and less comprehensive, way to view culture is an ideational conceptual system, i.e. as a shared system

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid. p. 34

<sup>14</sup> Ibid. pp. 7-8

of ideas, a kind of conceptual code that people use to interpret themselves and the world to formulate behaviour.<sup>15</sup> The phrase 'human culture' is redundant; culture is human and only human. It depends on and as yet inadequately defined mental capacity of human beings to communicate with each other and correlate to think imaginatively in ways that apparently no other animal can. Other animals communicate and 'think' but in no case can it be shown that they relate future times, other places, and even non-existent things and places with each-other.<sup>16</sup>

According to Le Vine, "Culture can also be seen as constituting an environment for members of a population. The individuals in human populations do not adopt directly and simply to their physical and biological environment to the cultural (or socio-cultural) environment that includes men for their individual survival and guides their adaptation along established channels. The term culture is used to mean an organized body of rules concerning the ways in which individuals in a population should communicate with one another, think about themselves and their environment, and behave towards one another and towards objects in their environment".<sup>17</sup>

The traditional system taken the world over is a mass of detailed behaviour more astonishing than what any one person can ever evolve in individual actions no matter how aberrant. Yet that is a rather trivial aspect of the matter. The fact of first rate importance is a prominent role that custom plays in experience and in belief, and the very great

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<sup>15</sup> Frank Robert Vivello, *Cultural Anthropology Hand Book: A Basic Introduction*. New York, Mc Graw Hill Book Company 1978, pp. 10-17.

<sup>16</sup> Elman, R. Service, *Primitive Social Organization*, New York, Random House, 1968, p. 10.

<sup>17</sup> Frank Robert Vivello, op. cit., p. 18; Also see Raymond Firth, Chapter III 'Work and Wealth of Primitive Communities' in his *Human Types: An Introduction to Social Anthropology*, New York, Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd, 1956, II Ed.

varieties<sup>18</sup> it may manifest.<sup>18</sup> Man is not committed in detail by his biological constitution to any particular variety of behaviour. The great diversity of social solutions that man has worked out in different cultures in regard to mating for example, or trade, are all equally possible on the basis of his original endowment. Cultural is not a biologically transmitted concept.<sup>19</sup> What really kinds men together is their cultural ideas and the standards they have in common. If instead of selecting symbol like common blood heredity and making a slogan of it, the nation turned its attention rather to the culture that unites to people, rephrasing its major merits and recognizing the different values which may develop in a different culture, it would substitute realistic thinking for a kind of symbolism which is dangerous because it is misleading.<sup>20</sup>

The directing of culture not only forms the case with which societies elaborate or reject possible aspects of existence. It is due even more to a complex inter weaving of cultural traits. The final form of any traditional institution goes far beyond the original human impute. In great measure this final form depends upon the way in which the trait has merged with other traits which form different fields of experience. The various diverse cultures when integrated create several problems on earth. In such context the integration of several cultures less than one monopolistic culture is questionable. Therefore, anthropologists are seeking alternatives for it. According to Franz Boas, "The desire to grasp the meaning of a culture as a whole compels us to consider descriptions of standardized behaviour merely as a stepping stone leading to other problems. We must understand the individual as living in his culture; and the culture as lived by individuals. The interest in these socio-

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<sup>18</sup> Ruth Benedict, *Patterns of Culture*, London, Rutledge and Kegan Paul X Ed. 1968. p.1

<sup>19</sup> Ibid. p. 10

<sup>20</sup> Ibid. p. 20



psychological problem is not in any way supported to the historical approach./ on the contrary, it reveals dynamic processes that have been active in cultural changes and enables us to evaluate evidence obtained from the detailed comparison of related cultures",<sup>21</sup> not every culture is characterized by a dominant character but it seems probable that the more intimate our knowledge of the cultural behaviour of the drives that actuate the behaviour of the individual that more we shall find that certain controls of emotions, certain ideals of conduct, prevail that account for what seems to us as abnormal attitudes when viewed from the standpoint of our civilization. The relativity of what is considered social or asocial, normal or abnormal is seen in a new light<sup>22</sup>, it is in cultural life as it is in speech; selection is the prime necessity. Every human society every here has made such in its cultural institutions. Each from point of view of another ignores fundamentals and exploits relevancies. Each culture is different from another in respect of adolescence, young hood, maturity and adulthood. Different cultures treat stages of human life according to their cultural patterns.<sup>23</sup>

The truth of the matter is rather that the possible human institutions and motives are legion, on every place of cultural simplicity, or comp lenity, and that wisdom consists in greatly increased tolerance towards their divergences. No. man can thoroughly participate in a culture unless he has been brought up and has lived according to its forms, he can grant to other cultures the same significance to their participants, which he recognizes in his own. The diversity of culture results not only from the ease with which societies elaborate, or reject possible aspects of existence. It is one even more to a complex interweaving or cultural traits. The final form of any traditional

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<sup>21</sup> Ibid. p. xii

<sup>22</sup> Ibid. p. 23

<sup>23</sup> Ibid. p. 32

institutions goes far beyond the original human impulse. In great measure this final form depends upon the ways in which the trait has merged with other traits from different fields of experience.<sup>24</sup>

One can conceive social change with proper understanding of set institutions of a society that are said to be as 'culture', according to Otterbein culture is a learned behaviour that pass from generation to generation. Culture is a set of four sub-system economic, social, political, and belief system. The unit of culture is known as 'cultural traits'. The local group in most cultures is organized into territorial units known as political communities.<sup>25</sup>

The theory of Ruth Benedict clarifies differences of opinion about cultural change in different societies. According to Kroeber, culture might be defined as all the activities and non-psychological product of human personalities that are not automatically reflexive or instinctive. That in turn means, in biological and physiological parlance, that culture consists of conditioned or learned activities plus the manufactured results of these; and the idea of learning brings us back again to what is socially transmitted, what 'is received from tradition, what is acquired by man as a member of societies'. In one sense culture is both super individual and super organic.<sup>26</sup>

A careful study of Primitive societies is important today because they provide case material for the study of cultural forms and processes. They help us to differentiate between those responses that are specific to local cultural types and those that are general to mankind. Beyond this

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<sup>24</sup> Ibid. p. 37

<sup>25</sup> Keith F. Otterbein, *Comparative Cultural Analysis: An Introduction to Cultural Anthropology*, New York, 1977, II Ed. p. 1

<sup>26</sup> Ibid. p. 2

they help us to gauge and understand the immaturely important role of culturally conditioned behaviour.<sup>27</sup>

Culturally speaking, tribe is a fragile social body compared to chiefdom or a state. It is composed of economically self-sufficient residential groups that because of the absence of higher authority, takes into them the private right to protect. The corporate group punishes wrongs to individuals.<sup>28</sup> Primitive society is in a sense coexistence with mainstream civilization, where the popular mainstream is that complex whole which includes knowledge belief, art moral, law custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society. Whereas primitive society wears a character rather different from, instead of dull uniformity, there is mottled diversity, instead of the single sub pattern multiplied in fulsome profusion we detect Variety of social units in its.<sup>29</sup>

### III Trends in the Study of Tribal Cultures

The past, which affects the present could be studied and transmitted by identifying evidence of past actions and thought in various collective representations embodied in texts, art forms, architecture, social practices, and customs.<sup>30</sup>

Until the eighteenth century the subject studying human societies that is anthropology was part of history. Anthropology in the first half of the nineteenth century concerned itself with 'archaic' civilization and customs of the 'primitives' the anthropologists methods being thought

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<sup>27</sup> A. L. Kroeber, *Anthropology: Race Language, Culture Psychology, History*. New York, Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1948 p. 1.

<sup>28</sup> Elman R. Service, op. cit., p. 111.

<sup>29</sup> Robert H. Lowie, *Primitive Society*, London, I Ed. 1921, II Ed. 1953. p. 1

<sup>30</sup> Bernard S. Cohn, *An Anthropologist among the Historians And Other Essays*, Delhi, OUP, 1987, p. 51

of as a form of history.<sup>31</sup> By the end of the nineteenth century a considerable amount of miscellaneous ethnographic information had been assembled from all over the world. The most celebrated collection is in James Frazer's great compilation of religious beliefs and practices, published in several editions around the turn of the century as the *Golden Bough*.<sup>32</sup> As the quantity of ethnographic information increased, and its quality gradually improved, it began to dawn on some scholars. This material was too important to be used merely to illustrate preconceived idea about primitive peoples or about presumed earlier stages of human society. More and more this extensive ethnography was seen to demand some sort of comparative analysis in its own right, and practical concern stimulated this interest. Colonial administrators and missionaries began increasingly to see that their work would benefit by an understanding of the social and cultural institutions of the populations they dealt with. Some of the best of the earlier monographs on the simpler societies were written by serving missionaries and administrative officers.<sup>33</sup>

With increase in the ethnological knowledge evolved the philosophical approach towards these societies. French sociological thought with its analytical intellectualist tradition provided the answer to growing queries on different societies. Eighteenth and Nineteenth century French writers talked about the nature of society and of human social institutions. Their interests lay rather in what human society essentially is than in the history of its development, either in general or in peculiar cases. Thus, Augustus Comte like his predecessor and teacher Saint Simon was much concerned to stress that societies are

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<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 50-52

<sup>32</sup> J. H. Beattie, *op. cit.*, p. 9

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.* p. 39; The Indian Ethnographic texts were written by British administrators like R. E. Enthoven, H. H. Risley etc.

systems and not just aggregates of individuals. French thinkers saw that if societies were systems, they must be made up of interrelated parts, and they thought that these parts must be related to one another, and to the whole society to which they are parts in accordance with laws analogous to the laws of nature, which in principle at least should be possible to discover.<sup>34</sup> Investigation on anthropological and historical levels involves institution analysis, beliefs, and values. It requires not only observation to what people do, but also understanding of what they mean, of their way of thought. Here the anthropologist's task is not simply the recording of events, it is rather one of interpretation, and this can only be done by attempting, through close personal acquaintance with the people themselves, to understand as far as possible what the basic categories are through which they conceive as their social world.<sup>35</sup> Each study seeks to portray and interpret the dominant beliefs and attitudes of one people concerning the place of man in nature and society.<sup>36</sup>

For the earlier anthropologists, problems about the modes of thought of so-called 'primitives' scarcely arose with any complexity. It was easy for the Victorians to assume that such thinking as they did was one of their house favorite objective; a very inferior version of their own. The intensive field work, which was to provide an intimate understanding of simpler people's way of life and thought and so to demonstrate the superficiality and inadequacy of such views, had not begun. So Victorian anthropologists are not altogether to be blamed for supporting that primitive thought; if not fundamentally different from that of civilized Europeans, was at least of a very inferior order.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.* p. 11

<sup>35</sup> J. H. Beattie, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.* p. 40

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.* p. 40

Symbolism must be studied on at least two levels, first, it has to be studied on the level of meaning as the whole have symbols for notions, which are in some way important to them thus a community values way often be understood by analyzing their symbols. Radcliff Brown was chiefly concerned with this social consequences in his celebrated study of Andaman's ritual, they argued that symbolic behaviour of these islanders expressed their certain sentiments (or values) and that the maintenance of the social system itself depended upon a general adherence to these.<sup>38</sup> Along with symbols, study of values is important for understanding the cultures: values are what peoples' value, what they consider to be important and worthwhile. The idea of value is a positive one values afford, directives to action; what people value they desire. It is possible to speak of negative value that is of something, which is not desired. But this can be more precisely placed in positive terms; strictly we mean that it is the absence of the 'thing, pain for example, which is desired. What is desired is always a condition of things whether this is characterized positively or negatively. In the sense in which the term is used here; values are state of mind; they are not 'things' or patterns of behaviour, even though they have to be inferred from patterns of behaviour, verbal or otherwise. Although they may not be precisely formulated (infact they merely are), they are concepts, thoughts about things, and not 'things' themselves.<sup>39</sup>

Peoples way of thought may differ not only in the kinds of symbolism they use , and in the kinds of things they think important, but in the very ways in which they represent to themselves the physical, social, and moral universe they live in. It is an epistemological common

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<sup>38</sup> Ibid. p. 72.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid. p. 73.

place that people like what they expect to see and the categories of their proposition are largely if not wholly determined their social and cultural background.<sup>40</sup>

Based on French and British Structuralism and Cultural theory, there is an understanding that the main reason behind change in primitive societies is not just economic, which dominates the mainstream societies. The primitive culture in their refuge zone contains several factors responsible for change, unlike those which exists in the mainstream society. John Beattie writes, "Change is taking place in all human societies all the time. Sometimes it is sudden and catastrophic, as when a system government is destroyed by revolution and replaced by a different one; sometimes it is sudden and catastrophic, as when a system government is destroyed by revolution and replaced buy a different one; sometimes it is gradual and hardly perceptible so that even the members of the society themselves scarcely notice it"... changes in peoples social and cultural institutions through time are not to be understood, in terms of any single 'blanket' principle, a multiplicity of social processes are involved, and these often operate concurrently".<sup>41</sup>

Intensive study of contact between peoples is a relatively recent development in the anthropological repertory and is to be attributed to a constantly increasing interest in the dynamics of human life. In an analogies manner the attempt to understand the nature and operation of human civilization through the study of 'uncontaminated' primitive societies is having more and more share to its place in the attending of ethnologists with that others approach which frankly assumes that since

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<sup>40</sup> Ibid. p. 75.

<sup>41</sup> John Beathie, op. cit., p. 249.

culture is constantly changing a comprehensive programme of research must recognize the value inherent in the study of peoples whose traditions have been or are today being influenced by the customs of other folks with whom they are in contact.<sup>42</sup>

### **Marxism, Structuralism and Primitive Culture:**

Marxism believes that the entire human society is based on materialism but in this respect where do we place tribal societies where kinship factor surpasses materialism.<sup>43</sup> Marx based his theory of capitalism on Industrial societies. Whose origin he asserts comes through primitive societies. The change in social pattern of kinship resulted in the formation of capitalism where relationships were more formal and profit based and not morally based. Marx and Engle have therefore asked two things of anthropology. First they worked to it for some confirmations that the general principles of history, which they observed in capitalism, had always been operative. Secondly, they looked to anthropology to supply them with examples of contrastive, even opposite system of institutions to that of nineteenth century capitalism. Marx and Engle's based their entire theory of society on class. Whereas primitive society is considered to be classless therefore in this point Marx is unable to explain his theory and problematic himself. To counter Marxist historical materialism, British and French Schools have come up with their own structuralism schools known as French and British structuralism. Marx believes that human organization is based on materialism whereas another group of scholars from Britain and France believe that human organization is based on kinship structure that is called as 'Structuralism'.

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<sup>42</sup> Melville J. Herskovits, *Cultural Dynamics*, abridged from *Cultural Anthropology*, New York, Alfred A Knopf, 1964. See Chapter VIII.

<sup>43</sup> Maurice Bloch, *Marxism and Anthropology: The History of a Relationship*, Oxford Cleveland Press, 1983, p. 15



The two Vanguards of British Structuralism are Peter Worsely and Meyer Fortes. Marx asserts, material system acts on material relations and super structures based and created over it. Where Worsely contended that... "Kinship is the framework of the whole social system. It maintains that link, which keeps people together coincide with those of direct kinship and this shapes the structure of the whole society.<sup>44</sup> Similarly they believed that the tribal societies give more value to kinship than materialism and their structure is based on kinship factor. French anthropologist Levi Strauss also supported this argument. According to Strauss, universal pattern in structural system are products of the invariant structures of the human mind. Structure for Levi-Strauss referred exclusively to mental structure, although he found evidence of such structure in his life for ranging analysis of kinship patterns in mythology, art, religion, ritual, and culinary traditions. The basic framework of Levi Strauss theories was deprived from the work of structural linguistics. In Lévi-Strauss system, the human mind is viewed as a repository of a great variety of natural material from which it selects pair of elements that can be combined to form diverse structure. Pairs of opposition can be separated into singular elements of use in forming new oppositions.<sup>45</sup>

In analyzing Kinship terminology, and kinship system, the accomplishment that first brought him it preeminence in anthropology, Levi-Strauss suggested that the elementary structure, or knit of kinship, on which all system one built is a set of four types of organically linked relationships brother-sister, husband-wife, father-son-, and mother-brother, sister-son. Levi-Strauss stressed that the emphasis in structural

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<sup>44</sup> Marshall Sahlins, op. cit., p. 16.

<sup>45</sup> 'Structuralism' in the New Encyclopedia Britannica Vol. II 15<sup>th</sup> ed. P. 326.

analysis of kinship of human consciousness, not on objectives of descent or consanguinity. For him all forms of social life represent the operation of universal laws regulating activities of the mind these detractors argued that his lack of interest in historical processes represented a fundamental oversight. Levi Strauss, however, believed that structural similarities underlay all cultures and that on analysis of the relationship among cultural units could provide insight intimate and universal principles of human thought.<sup>46</sup> Levi-Strauss consented with these presumptions. He behaved that for bourgeois society the Praxis of Marxism materialism coincides where as for primitive or tribal societies the assumptions of structuralism suits.<sup>47</sup>

In the later nineteenth century, scholars began to think of the study of cultural diffusion as the main precipitation of ethnology and some of these began to support the view that most if indeed not all instances of cultural similarities should be explained by the diffusion through historical contact. Perhaps the outstanding thinker of this group is F. Gaebner; a German anthropologist in collaboration with W. Fay formulated a theory of cultural interpretation, which deserves the name of 'diffusions'.<sup>48</sup>

Graebner's Kulturkrieslehre not only rejects the theory of evolution into, but also holds the creativeness and inventiveness of man in slight respect. While the evolutionists vastly exaggerated man's ability for original thought Gracbner, vastly de-emphasized man's inventiveness and creativity. According to Gracbner, the independent origin of cultural similarities can be assumed only after all attempts at

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<sup>46</sup> Ibid. p. 326

<sup>47</sup> Marshall Sahlins, op. cit., p. 50.

<sup>48</sup> Eugene Lupri, 'The Vienna School of Ethnology: Some Recent Perspectives' in *The Eastern Anthropologists* Vol. XVI, No. 2, May-Aug. 1963, p. 115

reducing them to historic contact or common historic contact or common historical knowledge has failed. The analysis of cultural similarities thus, emerges as the core of the problems. In formulating his approach similarities in culture, Gracbner established two criteria: a qualitative one, and a quantitative one. The quantitative criteria referred to the formal similarities between objects or ideas in too or more tribes; the quantitative criteria to the number of instances of such similarities. The conclusion to be derived from such companions of similarities, rather must we see in it a determined effort to interpret the cultures of primitive tribes, wherever found in term sofa limited number of *Kulturkriese*, hypothetical constructs built upon the basis of similarities between cultural features spread over wide districts.<sup>49</sup>

Cultural historians armed with the tools of under standing, finds him-self confronted. In the Social Science, William Dilthey stressed the importation of integration and configuration in the culture, his primary interest was in the great philosophies and interpretation of life. According to Dilthey, "Culture is the combination of structurally unified and, intellectually meaningful types. Types of man, social structure, and of culture, types of religion, of legal system, and to him, intellectually meaningful types. They all formulated a social system or a culture." Now type of is not the most significantly representative of culture, because related to types there are several other features which constitute a cultural society. Further, these real values contents, and meanings of social life or history are hidden as a screen of expression, in action, words, symbols, it institutions. Only by learning to under stand these expressions may be hoped to discover what is behind them.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> W. Fay puts it: 'the problem of ethnology thus becomes the reconstruction of historical contacts of people and the wanderings of cultural features from tribe to tribe.'

<sup>50</sup> Marshall Sahlins, op. cit., p. 50.

The chronological schematization has been severely criticized by contemporary representative of the Vienna school of Ethnology and has been labeled as the 'weakest spot', in the historical method. The confusion of the scheme is accentuated by the fact that schemed, in discussing spatial distribution and superimposition, applied the already high concepts of cultural elements culture as such and culture circles interchangeably.<sup>51</sup> Some cultural anthropologists from 1860's to about 1900, believed that the major dynamic process in cultural history was a tendency for communities to progress from lower to ever higher stages. It was thought therefore that the proper sphere of cultural anthropology was to portray each of these stages. By examples from live up peoples on low technology levels who were presumably in such stages.<sup>52</sup> Among the most serious inadequacies in the writing of some evolutionist were an excessive preoccupation with stage sequence which precluded interest in other theoretical pursuits; a failure to conduct intensive field ethnographic researches. An uncritical acceptance of poorly conducted observations of non-European cultures a degree of ethnocentric convicting that resulted in unjust evaluation of non-Europeans features of cultures; and sometimes an underestimation of the degree to which cultural borrowing has occurred and its significance.<sup>53</sup>

### **Factors of Social Change in Tribal Societies:**

Some anthropologists still write about social change interns of diffusion of cultural traits. This is understandable enough, for social change has become an important concern of anthropologists mainly in the context of what ahs been called 'culture contact'. Usually this has mean at the contact of advanced , complex and wide scale western or western taupe societies with technically simple, often pre-literate or

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<sup>51</sup> Ibid. p. 116

<sup>52</sup> Ibid. p. 116

<sup>53</sup> Ibid. p. 117

recently literate, small-scale ones, and this contact has certainly has involved the transfer of ideas and inter facts from one group to the other.<sup>54</sup>

The term 'acculturation' is widely accepted among American anthropologists as referring to those changes set in motion by the coming together of the societies with different cultural traditions. British anthropologists generally refer to the field of investigation as 'culture contact'. In contrast with this straight forward phrase focused on the conditions under which the changes take place the term 'acculturation' and its deviations remain somewhat ambiguous a persistent usage gives it the meaning of cultural assimilation, or replacement of one set of cultural traits by another as in reference to individuals in contact situation as more or less acculturated".<sup>55</sup> Acculturation is the process of change in arte facts, customs, and beliefs that result from the contact of societies with different cultural traditions. The term is also used to refer to the results of such changes. Two major types of acculturation may be distinguished based on two classes of conditions under which changes take place. A free borrowing and modifications of cultural elements mass occur when people of different cultural element maintain an interchange without the exercise of military or political domination one group by another. These new elements may be integrated into the existing culture in a process called incorporation.<sup>56</sup>

Directed change, the record type of acculturation takes place when one place established dominance over another through military conquests or political control. Directed social change, like incorporation

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<sup>54</sup> J. H. Beattie, op. cit., p. 243.

<sup>55</sup> Adam Kuper, *The Encyclopedia of Social Science*, 1968, p. 21

<sup>56</sup> *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 15<sup>th</sup> Ed. p. 57

involves selection and modification, but the processes are more valued and the interference in one cultural system by members of another. The processes that operate under conditions of directed change include assimilation, the most complete replacement of one culture by another. The processes that operate under conditions of directed change include assimilation, the most complete replacement of one culture by another; cultural fusion, a new synthesis of cultural elements differing from both pre-contact cultures; and reaction against aspects of dominant culture.<sup>57</sup>

According to definition presented by social science research council, "acculturation comprehends those phenomena which results when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups". Under this definition acculturation is to be distinguished from cultural change, if it is not one aspect, and assimilation, which is at times a phase of acculturation. It is also to be differentiated from diffusion, which while occurring in all instances of acculturation, is not only phenomena which frequently takes place without the occurrence of the types of contact between peoples specified in the definition given above, but also constitutes only one aspect of the process of 'acculturation'<sup>58</sup>. Irrespective of the social consequences of research in acculturation, the enlarged horizon it has afforded has enriched the subject matter and the methodology of anthropology. Acculturation studies have shown the cause for selective receptivity of cultural that is why some culture traits are readily accepted and other rejected.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Ibid. p. 57

<sup>58</sup> M. J. Herskovits, op. cit., p. 8.

<sup>59</sup> Melville Jacobs and Bernhard J. Stern, *An Outline Of General Anthropology*, New York, Barnes and Noble Inc. 1947, p. 121.

Raymond firth, has suggested that the social changes consequent on the impact of a rich and powerful western culture on a technologically less advanced and smaller-scale one are likely to more through four stages. First, on initial impact there is ready acceptance of such western artifacts as guns and looks but little modification of the traditional social structure. Then, as the process of interaction gathers momentum, there is a more radical absorption; the old group values give way to a growing individualism and strains begin to appear between the old values and the new. This may lead to a third stage in which there is a reaction of hostility against the new order, a tendency to revert traditional practices, continues a vain attempt to put the clock back. Finally, if the story ends happily there emerges a more sophisticate synthesis of old and new a move social organization is achieved which is unique and viable in itself but which owes something to both modern and traditional influences.<sup>60</sup> According to Ruth Benedict, the diversity of culture results not only from the case with which societies elaborate or reject possible aspects of existence. It is due even more to a complex interweaving of cultural traits. The final form of any traditional institution goes far beyond the original human impulse. In great measure this final form depends upon the way in which the traits have merged with other traits from different fields of experience.<sup>61</sup>

While comparing 'acculturation' with 'assimilation', as a medium of change, Herskovits writes that 'assimilation is the name given to the process or processes by which people of diverse racial origins and different cultural heritages, occupying a common territory, achieve a cultural solidarity inefficient at-least to achieve a national unity. Its significance, we are told, lies deeper than the common culture by a

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<sup>60</sup> Raymond firth's thesis is a historical one and it accurately characterizes the history of change among the Polynesian people whom he has studied intensively

<sup>61</sup> Ruth Benedict, op. cit., p. 37.

number of groups of different origins; fundamentally, assimilation is not achieved until people have attained unity of thought that under has the 'veneer' of acceptance of traits of a material nature. It is pointed out that there are 'grades and grades', of as simulation and that the process are not restricted to the historic culture alone. But that in contact between European and native societies, or between native cultures with one another, the repercussion of contacts also involves the assimilation of the culture introduced by those to whom it has been persecuted.<sup>62</sup>

So, social change deriving from the impact of technologically developed cultures on relatively smile and small scale ones, has not, in any rate in its early stages involved any decrease in peoples resources to ritual, rather in many cases, resort to religious and magical consolation has increased, the form of the rights involved sometimes being drastically modified to accord with change conditions. If it is a main function of ritual to provide, on the level of action, a means of copying with problems which cannot otherwise coped with, and, on the level of idea, an indispensable means of making important symbolic statements about the changing world, then this is not surprising. For ritual and symbolic activity may be both subject to change and a statement about change, and its full understanding required that be analyzed from both of those points of view.<sup>63</sup>

### **Development and Acculturation**

Development cannot only be thought of in the way it represents itself, as a force of history, as an attempt to transform the naturally popular into the historical by bringing about modernity and progress. Nor can't it be thought of in terms of its instrument an effect so

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<sup>62</sup> M. J. Herskovits, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

<sup>63</sup> John H. Beathie *op. cit.*, p. 264.



extending bureaucratic power of de-politicization poverty by claiming that it has technical solutions, Development is all of that, of course. But especially in nationalist thought the popular is not only that which development would like to erase; it is also that which development has to embody. This is of-course impossible, for if it did then development itself would be abolished. It is attempted of development list thought to affirm the popular without abolishing itself, which produces the nationalist time of the primitive. In this sense, development is not the same as progress. It affirms both demise and progress through its peculiar relationship with the popular. It is perhaps only with the death of progress that the discourse of development becomes possible. For development thought does not simply extends a distinctive bureaucratic rationality; it has also to insist on the death less ness of the primitive in turn always threatens to transmit into a completely different radical politics rejects the very time that sustains both development and the primitive.<sup>64</sup>

Development is participation in socio-cultural activity. Activities are made-up of the active and dynamic contributions of individuals their social partners, historical traditions and materials, and their (mutual) transformations. Any activity, according to Rogoff, must include the analysis of three forms of change: change in Childs participation (personal plane) changes in the relationship between participants (interpersonal place), and historical changes in technologies and institutions (community plane).<sup>65</sup> Cultures are dependent on main capacity for conceptual thought and articulate speech. Primitive culture no less than a technologically advanced civilizations and competent

<sup>64</sup> Ajay Skaria, 'Development, Nationalism and the Time of the Primitive: The Dang Darbar', mimeo article received from the author in p 2003, p. 7.

<sup>65</sup> Michael Cole, Yrjoe Angstrom, Olga Vasquez (ed.), *Mind culture, and Activity*, Cambridge CUP 1997, p. 4

bodies of beliefs and interrelated devices for the communications of meanings adopted to the end of the society or deprived from traditions which were once adopted, or seemed to be adopted to the end of the society or derived from traditions which were once adopted, or seemed to be adopted, to those ends. They are tested, when questions or conflicts arise, by the consequence to which they have been related and for which they should account against rival meanings and belief suggested by the internal movements and the external contacts of the culture.<sup>66</sup> The human aspects of cultures are expressions of values and ideas found in man's effort to understand his career among the forces of nature and with the cooperation of man to control nature and his own actions and expressions and adopt them to the values and the ends, which he discovers.<sup>67</sup> The three aspects of cultures' social, political and humanistic though distinguishable are inseparably interconnected. Man is a social animal, adapting him to a natural and human environment by forming habits; he is a political animal ruling and being ruled, he is a human animal creating and appreciating values. Cultures are therefore both conservative in their resistance to change and have tendency to be diverse and multiplicity.<sup>68</sup>

### **Development and Cultural Change:**

The cultures of world have been affected profoundly by technology, war and political change. The customs and beliefs of people who had lived as their ancestors lived but being rapidly transformed by changed material conditions and external influences. The aspirations of peoples, who have long sought political independence and autonomy, are being suddenly realized. The ideas and ideals of nations have been

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<sup>66</sup> Richard McKeon, 'Philosophy and Diversity of Cultures', in *Interrelations of Cultures: Their contribution to International Understanding*, Switzerland, UNESCO Pub. 1933, pp. 11-13.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid. p. 20

<sup>68</sup> Ibid. p. 25

affected by contact with those of other nations with whom they have previously had little or no relation; and from the efforts to treat economic, social and political problems which are recognized as common, there have arisen tensions which threaten the fundamental values of civilization. The crisis of our times is a crisis of cultures as well as of economics and politics, and what happens to values of arts, science, literature, philosophy, and religious effect, and is affected by, what happens to material conditions of life and the international relations of nations. UNESCO is itself a sign and acknowledgement of the important use to which the instrument of education, science, and culture can and put in advancing peace and the welfare of man.<sup>69</sup>

A major or determinant of attraction was whether the behaviour of the tribe was 'predictable' and behaves in ways we find surprising, or unpredictable, we, are likely to dislike it. Many strange 'customs' are perceived when we interact with people from very different cultures. But it is common sense that, when we dislike them, we would not want to be in their shoes to see the world the way they see it. So, in essence, our dislikes are barriers in understanding and affective communications and interaction.<sup>70</sup> Culture is the human made part of the environment. It has two major aspects: Objective (e.g. Records) and subjective (e.g. Beliefs). In-fact, subjective culture has many elements such as beliefs, attitudes, norms, roles, values and social behaviour which is a consequence of many factors. There is a quite a lot of research that supports the idea that the ecology is a determinant of culture, and culture is an important determinant of social behaviour. It is also important to think of ecology-culture-behaviour which links for a very practical reason. When we see a

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<sup>69</sup> Humanism of tomorrow and the Diversity of Cultures: Final Statements of Experts Covered by UNESCO, Ibid. p. 379.

<sup>70</sup> Don C. Locke, *Increasing Multicultural Understanding: A Comprehensive Model*, New Delhi, Sage Pub. 1992, p. 200-201.

behavioral pattern that we find erotic, different or even offensive, it is desirable to try to think of there wards that may be behind it. What is it in the ecology and behaviour? We will also be able to change our moral judgments, and that is very important when we are dealing with other cultures.

It is very difficult to think about behaviour that are different from the ones we are used to and not judge them as wrong difference invites companion and evaluation. Yet, if we see that the ecology of the other culture is different from our ecology (e.g. A difference in population density), we can find the difference understandable and even say to ourselves: "If I lived in that ecology I would probably would do exactly the same", this can lead to tolerance for other cultures.<sup>71</sup>

Multiculturalism is being more tolerant and understanding as a fourth face in psychology. As we have entered in the twenty first century, we are confronted with the demand for attention to diverse populations in education and counseling.<sup>72</sup> If people are 'ethnocentric', they use standard from their own cultural background to judge and to make conclusions about people from other cultures. People view their own ethnic group, as central and judge the rest of the world according to standards of their own. An important goal of sophisticate cross-cultural thinking the opposite of ethnocentrism) is to understand behaviour from the point of view of people in other cultures.<sup>73</sup>

Studies in ethnocentrism have shown that all people have tendencies to define what goes in their own culture as 'national' and 'correct' and what goes on in other cultures as 'in-natural' and

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<sup>71</sup> Ibid. p. 13

<sup>72</sup> Don C. Locke Loc it, pp. 200-201.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid. p. 199

<sup>74</sup> 'incorrect'. Ethnocentrism is also well known as to perceive in-group customs universally valid; that what is good for us is good for everybody; think that in-group norms, roles and values are obviously correct; behave that it is natural to help and cooperate with members of one's in group; act in ways that favour the in-group feel proud of the in-group; and feel hostility towards out-groups. In fact many cultures define the word human with reference to their own cultural group, so that people of other cultures are not perceived as fully n human.<sup>74</sup>

### **Cultural Complexity:**

The more complex the culture the more people must pay attention to time. If you have a few things to do, and especially what you do must be coordinated with what other people do, they must pay attention to time.<sup>75</sup> There is evidence that the more industrial, technological the culture, the more people pay attention to time. People in industrial, technological cultures give answers in minutes, in cultures intermediate in complexity in hours, and in technologically less complex cultures in days, conceptions of time are also different. In the west, people think of time as linear past present and future. In many cultures time is circular that it occurs in incurring cycles. Another, variable characteristic of complexity is specificity' no opposed to 'diffusion'. The more complex the culture, the more roles become specific what were find in less complex culture is that people care very much about the religious, politics or aesthetics of others, even in role of little significance, such as soles person. Most western cultures are specific buy many Middle Eastern cultures are diffused.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> Don C. Locke, *Loc. it*, p. 200.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.* p. 36.

<sup>76</sup> A cultural syndrome is a pattern of values attitudes beliefs norms and behaviour that can be used to contrast a group of cultures to another group of cultures. *Ibid*, p. 38

Related to the idea of specificity diffusion is the dimension of field independent hunters can perceive a distant brown animal even when it is surrounded by a similarly people environment. Field dependence means that people are strongly influenced by the context when making perceptual judgments, so they have greater difficulty extracting a stimulus pattern from its context. In hunting and gathering ecologies people are field independent, whereas in agricultural ecologies they are field dependent child rearing patterns in hunting gathering, cultures emphasizes the Childs autonomy and self-reliance, whereas misunderstandings can easily occur when people use time differently, e.g. Feel that the others' lateness implies disrespect or object to the other person carrying out several conversations simultaneously) also difference son the specificity dimension produce misunderstandings.<sup>77</sup>

Ritual dimensions of inter-ethnic relations have received attention of various scholars in India for a long time as regards the secular dimension in India for a longitude is concerned.<sup>78</sup>

### **Dominant Cultures and Acculturation:**

The helping professionals from the dominant culture must have a clear understanding that there is a natural tendency on the part of many members of culturally diverse groups to resist t acculturation. The helper needs to understand that this resistance is based on nothing more than the time the individual has lived in the dominant culture other resistance is the genuine rejection of the cultural values perpetuated by the general culture. Thus, the culturally diverse may be

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<sup>77</sup> Ibid. p. 39

<sup>78</sup> Ratish Srivastava (ed.), *Social Anthropology In India: Contemporary Perspectives Selections from Journal of Social Research, 1958-1977*, New Delhi, Book Today 1978, p. 79

identified by the unique cultural values commonly held within their cultural a group.<sup>79</sup>

Multiculturalism encourages the treatment of culturally diverse groups members with dignity respect and responsibility. Individually from diverse ethnic groups should be trended with same dignity and respect. That any individual receives in the particular setting. Educators and counselors need to bear in mind, that ethnically diverse status does not diminish or eliminate the responsibility of the individual client for meeting his or her own needs. Members of another ethnic group may meet within a different culture or the needs. But the responsibility remains with the individual. Ethnically diverse populations are heterogonous any knowledge gained about members of particular group must be balanced with the view that each person is also a unique individual. Individual dimensions of behaviour exist within culturally diverse groups. What might be viewed as particular style or pattern for any give individual within the group? Counselors and educators are encouraged to keep in mind that students or parents from ethically diverse populations bring with- those many beliefs, values, and attitudes which expressed are influenced by an individually unique adaptation based on personal style.<sup>80</sup>

Multicultural efforts must focus on normal behaviour and will know rather than on abnormal behaviour and illness. Far too many efforts at meeting the needs of ethnically diverse people fail because they begin from a view point of abnormality rather than normality. Factors such as 'low-self esteem' and 'self hatred' frequently assumed to be characteristics of ethnically diverse groups without any investigation

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<sup>79</sup> Don C. Locke op. cit., p. 67.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid. pp. 158-159

of the basis on which such claims are 'Ethnocentrism' as described earlier is the term used for group centeredness it is the tendency to see one's own culture as the centre of everything, the measure or standard against which all other life ways are evaluated it is the tendency to consider, one's own culture as the centre of everything, the measure or standard against which all other life ways are evaluated. It is the tendency to consider one's own culture superior to or better than, all other. This attitude, 'the attitude which extorts us' to civilize, the savages, to bring Christianity to Pagans' is not confined to western societies but disappears to be present in all societies for instance many non-literate societies do not have the name for themselves other than the people, the implication of-course brings that soon outside their group is a quite human.<sup>81</sup>

### **Globalization in the Twenty-First Century and Indigenous Cultures**

Galbraith termed contemporary America as the affluent society', in which the single minded pursuit of wealth led to massive exploitation of resources and materials through the years. Contemporary India reflects the western ethos while aggressively channeling the natural resources of the countryside to meet the needs of the urban industrial sector. From this biased resource use arise the grave inequalities of consumption within the nation.<sup>82</sup> Based on the culture and style of consumption, the Indian population can be divided into three classes: Omnivores ecosystem people, and ecological refugees. Omnivores have the capacity to draw upon the natural resources of the whole of India to maintain their lifestyles. Ecosystem people, rely on resources in their

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<sup>81</sup> Frank Robert Vivilo, *Cultural Anthropology hand books: A basic Introduction*. New York, Mc. Graw Hill Book co, 1978, p. 10

<sup>82</sup> Ramchandara Guha, 'How Much a Person Should Consume?', *Vikipa*, Vol. 28, No. 2. April-June 2003, p. 1



virility. Ecological refugees are those ecosystem people who have been displaced from their homes and live in slums. It is argued that the process of development in independent India is characterized by a basic asymmetry between the Omnivores and the ecosystem people. While Omnivores consume too much ecosystem people may be consuming much too little some of the consequences of this process as seen by Guha are:

1. Concentration of the decision making in the hands of Omnivores.
2. Use of State machinery for diverting natural resources for Omnivores prosperity, e.g. through subsidies.
3. Indifference of Omnivores to environmental degradation caused by them and passing of their costs to society.
4. Protects by the victims of development.
5. Creation of ecological refuges or a result of permanent displacement of ecosystem people.<sup>83</sup>

The growing popular interest in the wild and the beautiful thus not merely accepted the parameters of the affluent society by want see nature itself as merely one better to be consumed. The uncertain commitment of most nature lovers to a more comprehensive environmental ideology is illustrated by the paradox that they are willing to drive thousands of mile using up scarce oil and polluting the atmosphere, to visit national parks and sanctuaries thus using anti ecological means to marvel in the beauty of forests, swamps or mountains protected as specimens of a positive and 'untouched' nature.<sup>84</sup> This process has led to the aberration in social sphere globally. The modern state inequality in international level lies in four grounds:

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<sup>83</sup> Ibid. p. 1

<sup>84</sup> Ibid. p. 2

(i) This might take us initially into discussion about the different meanings of equality: empirical equality philosophical equality, legal equality, opportunity oriented or outcome oriented, individual or collective that are at play in the practices of modern states.<sup>85</sup>

(ii) While it is often tempting to assume that modern politics is predicted on assumptions about equality as a regulative norm, and thus to understand inequalities as aberrations from the norm that might some how be eradicated in order to bring us back to our proper normative principles, it is necessary to understand how “the international” is already constituted in principle as a normative account of the proper relationship between equality and inequality. It expresses this relationship in the various ways politics and the state are distinguished from economics or “the market”, in the ways principles of sovereign equality and “domestic, jurisdiction”, are reconciled with principles of great power hegemony and various kinds of interventions, in the incorporation a linear account of international order that depends on various historical practices of exclusion that various historical practices of inclusion necessary and natural; and in the way the most basic premises of the state of systems affirms the primacy of the internal as the ground on which to affirm the inferiority of the external.

Third, there is no single ground which can speak about inequality, no universal standard against which to measure the equal and the unequal even though each of the four identified expresses very powerful assumptions about what equality must involve. On the contrary, we

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<sup>85</sup> R. B. J. Walker ‘International Inequality’ *International Studies Review*. Vol. IV ISSUE-2, Summer, 2002, p. 10

have a range of accounts of how the relationship between equality and inequality ought to be expressed in the primary constitutive practices of modern and especially in the practices of the modern state. Finally, in order to engage with claims about more forms of inequality in our international context it might be possible, though necessarily misleading, to initiate analysis on any one of the specifics grounds identified here but quite different to take them all into account of once.<sup>86</sup>

Looking to the new century and the world, there are causes for optimism but also major challenges. On the positive side, globalization is bringing to the fore a common agenda for sustainable development, balancing economic progress with social and environmental concerns exciting partnerships and networks linking north and south. Commitment at the international level, action networks are enabled by the communication revolution, which breaks down isolation and allows rapid exchange of information and views.<sup>87</sup>

On the other side of the coin the challenges include the long term damage to the planet caused by the infatuation with materials goods in wealthy courtiers and enclaves, and the impacts of poverty and unemployment, which flow through generations. A number of factors complicate the challenges, firstly, the production and consumption processed that underpin the highly attractive global consumer lifestyle are unsustainable. They are taking us to past critical thresholds in the planet ability to absorb waste and pollution, and in the use of scarce resources, including the aim itself. Secondly there is an unequal distribution of the benefit of industrialization compared to the costs.

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<sup>86</sup> Ibid. p. 10

<sup>87</sup> Michael Corley and Philippe Spans, *Sharing the World: Sustainable Living*, London: Élan Pub. Ltd. 1998, p. 1

Most of the benefit accrues to a small member of wealthy nations, which are vastly over consuming the planets resources when assessed on precipitate basis. Conversely, a disproportionate amount of the costs are boras by people and countries, which do not share the benefit. This serious imbalance roughly along North-south lines if fore closing future development opportunities for southern countries. It also means that current favored models of national development fail to provide realistic guidance for the next century.<sup>88</sup>

Today almost the entire planet is one huge building site, fuel depot and waste repository. Great qualities of valuable things are extracted from nature. This primary production process already leads to enormous qualities of waste. The extracted materials one processed with a huge, mainly fossil fuel, energy input into goods which after use are discarded into environment as valueless, where they impair damage or even destroy ecological processes. This type of economy is not sustainable; particularly if we consider the many southern countries which are only at the beginning of their industrialization. If they copy the pattern of the North Global environmental degradation is inevitable. The fact that the economic subsystem is threatening to destroy society and ecology calls for new economy and management. This cannot happen in opposition to industry and economic institutions, but only with them. Their must be an active part of the transformation process.<sup>89</sup> Eco-innovation and entrepreneurship can make major contributions towards realizing a sustainable dematerialized economy. The potential benefit of technological development and eco-innovation, they are necessary but not sufficient for the changes in-production and consumption pattern, which must take place. This is for two reasons;

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<sup>88</sup> Ibid. p. 2

<sup>89</sup> Ibid. p. 15.

firstly, human nature embodies a strong propensity towards over consumption our genetic programming to secure life supporting basic needs for our self and ones family easily and unwittingly extends into a habit of over consumption which is hard to break. As long as these habits exist as market opportunities, companies will be around to exploit those opportunities. Involvement in technological efficiency must be complements by changes in social value, cutleries, and ethics towards sufficiency, and by legal financial and economic mechanism, which will encourage us to live with in the bounds of environmental space.<sup>90</sup>

Eco-innovation does not resolve the inherent socio-economic disadvantages of capitalism, which although it is recognized as the best game in town is far from perfect. There are endemics constraints such as poverty, structural unemployment arising from the replacement of labour by capital and a strong tendency of business for business to externalize environmental costs and to encourage over consumption for short-term profitability. These constraints can substantially reduce quality of life ever while Gross domestic product (GDP) is rising.<sup>91</sup>

### **Mahatma Gandhis' Views on Global Consumption Trends:-**

Mahatma Gandhi had pointed to the un-sustainability of the western model of economic development at the global level. 'God Forbid', he wrote, "the India should over take to industrialization after the manner of the west. The economic imperialism of a single island kingdom is keeping the world in chains. If an entire nation of millions took to similar economic exploitation, it would strip the world like

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<sup>90</sup> Ibid. p. 133.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid. p. 133.

locusts”.<sup>92</sup> In 1924 mahatma Gandhi had claimed that, to make India like England and America is to find some other races and places of the earth for exploitation’. As it appeared that the western nations had already divided all the known races outside. Europe for exploitation and there are no new worlds to discover, he pointedly asked “What can be the fate of India trying to ape the west”. Gandhi’s critique of western industrialization has of course profound implementation for the way we relate to the environment today. For him the distinguishing characteristic of modern civilization is an indefinite multiplicity of wants’, where an ancient civilization was marked by an imperative restriction upon, and a strict regulating of these wants’. In characteristically interpretations, he spoke of his ‘whole heartedly detesting this made desire to destroy distance and time to increase animal appetites, and of to the end of the earth an search of their satisfaction. If modern civilization stands for all this and I have understood to do so, call to call it Satanic.<sup>93</sup> At the level of the individual, Gandhi’s’ code of voluntary simplicity also offered a sustainable alternative to modern life styles. One of his best aphorisms that the ‘world has enough for everybody’s’ need but not enough for ones’ greed, is an effect an exquisitely phrased one line environmental ethic. This was an ethic he himself practiced, for resource cycling and the minimization of wants are integral to his life. Gandhis’ argument have been revived and elaborated by the present generation of Indian environmentalists.

### **Globalization Environment and Indigenous Culture:**

There are, in addition, reasons why political economy has failed to engage with the debate about the environment, natural resources were

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<sup>92</sup> Mahatma Gandhi, “Discussion with Capitalists” in *Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, Vol. 38, New Delhi, Pub. Division, P. 243.

<sup>93</sup> Ramchandra Guha, “How much a Person should consume?”, op. cit., p. 5.

never at the stage of the previous socialist thinkers.<sup>94</sup> Also the environment was rarely looked upon as a distribution issue. It was given in the development situation of most countries over which they had little control. Rather like the climate, natural resources were distributed according to the rules that man did not invent, thus disputes between men about them were not in healthy environmental. These disputes between men had their origin in the international economy and the class structure of the individual countries. So, many causes of the environmental crisis are structural, with roots in social institutions and economics relationships that anything other than a political treatment of the environmental lacks creditability.<sup>95</sup> Before considering the ways in which current global economic relations, prejudice the sustainable development and dictate the pattern of resources in the less developed countries, it is important to identify those factors that limit our ability to respond effectively to those uses. There are at least four was in which societies are prevented from elaborating effective environmental policies through the mystification of environmental values. Firstly, the development of 'high-technology' and the international division of labour lead us to ignore the links between the 'causes' and 'effects' of resources depletion, because of the priority given to our own physiological and psychological needs.<sup>96</sup> Secondly, the resource of mystification is what economist's term, 'externalities'. Those are the environmentalist's costs that are not included in the market price of commodity or service. Thirdly, resource misuse or depletion involves question of intergenerational equity which are rarely, if ever, considered in policy discussions. In most societies future benefit and costs of protecting the environment are valued less relative to current benefits

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<sup>94</sup> Michael Radcliff, *Development and the Environmental Crisis: Red or Green Alternatives*, London, Methane And Co. Ltd., 1984.

<sup>95</sup> Michael Radcliff, op. cit., p. 7.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid. p. 7

and costs, conservation and environmental protection became more difficult.

Therefore, are can safely assure that poverty is the result of economic forces and distributive processes? In each of the case we considered contributed to rural poverty. Clearly resource poor areas are resources poor partly because of structural processes. However, the inhabitants of poor environment are not poor simply because they are allocated too little land. The misuse of their environment is enforced and traceable to their poverty. They both receive a smaller 'share' of natural resources and make excessive demands of the 'share', they receive. These might be described as the 'proximate' and underlying causes of rural poverty. Lastly, returning to a point that was made our ability to respond effectively to the environmental consequences of resource use is seriously impaired by each society's commitment to its own ideology of economic growth. It remains to be seen weather long-term employment, enforced leisure and the burgeoning 'black-economy' will serve to make us more environmentally conscious in the future.<sup>97</sup>

The most fundamental reality about the tribal situation is a new image about the tribal social formations. The conventional view about the tribes was that they represented stage in the evolutionary scheme of human social organization. But new faced with environmental crisis as a sequel to mans' relentless question conquer nature, the old notion of the tribe peasant continuum is under severs strain. Elements of performance are being discovered in tribal social formations. They are no longer looked upon as transitory phenomena. The represent a different principle of organizing individuals into collectives based on

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<sup>97</sup> Ibid. p. 8



moral relations rather than encourage power, and on expansion of self into surroundings as well as on reciprocity, mutuality, and equity. India with its long struggle of freedom through peaceful means recognized this basic reality in two ways, as a humanitarian ethos and acceptance of the right of the tribals to self-management. These two are of Indian polity were reflected in the provision of protective discrimination in the constitution and in the fifth schedule of the constitution on the one hand and on the schedule of the conditions on the other while the providing of the protective discrimination reflected the concern of the leaders of the freedom to ensure the participation of the tribals in building up the nation and the state apparatus of India. The fifth schedule reflected more their paternalistic concern for social justice to the tribals; the sixth schedule on the other hand was an attempt to accommodate the self-regulatory urge of the tribals and their customary rights over habitats and their internal social relations.<sup>98</sup> What the tribals demand today is not participation in prefabricated structures of management, but partnership at every level, local to regional, national and global.<sup>99</sup>

Unfortunately India and most countries of Asia and Africa are allowing hijacking of indigenous cultures by global hegemonies forces. India's governments approach in these matters seem to have been continued to reacting to what other are saying or doing, rather than giving lead to the world non-hegemonic forces by taking advantage of the emerging situations to press for a new International Economic order based on equity, about which there was much talk in the air, in the 1970s' recognition of the continuity right over the resources should be the kingpin of the new partnership. Today a global norm is emerging in

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<sup>98</sup> Ramchandra Guha, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.* p. 20.

the use of resources by self-regulatory institutions. The autonomous bodies of the tribal communities should be free to draw up their plan of using their resources to meet the basic needs of the population like food, clothing shelter, wealth, health care, and elementary education.<sup>100</sup>

Modern technology has two thrusts: one that places the soul of human individuals and makes machines of them; the other that enables human individuals to interact with one another on a much more larger scale, in much greater intensity than ever before in the past, to understand the interrelations of diverse elements in the phenomenal world including validity of otherwise of many assumptions of primary social formations. Modern technology is now radiating many of assumptions of primary societies, which were subdued and suppressed. This made reassertion of indigenous vision rooted in the life process at the ground level possible. A parallel Globalization, away from the reflections of globalization, is clearly on the agenda. It is expected that with the year of the indigenous peoples, this will be further reinforced and will awaken the hope of a new dawn for mankind.

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<sup>100</sup> B. K. Roy Burman, *Indigenous and Tribal People: Gathering Mists and New Horizons*, New Delhi, Mittal Pub., 1994, p. 21.

## Part II

### STUDYING THE REGION

The study of the tribes always begins with the ecological study of the people. According to an earlier understanding of History no authentic record of nomadic peoples is available. Until and unless they themselves to a fixed habitation and rid themselves of their migratory instincts and habits.<sup>101</sup> For about 800 years, from 300 BC to 500 AD. In the ancient Indian inscriptions no mention about them society of tribal comes except the names of the rulers, and very rarely of those of the ruled.<sup>102</sup>

In the following details relationships between geography and history of tribal people of India with special reference to Gujarat have been discussed below are the following topics to be discussed:

1. Nature and Humans
2. Geographical pattern of India
  - 2.1. Nuclear Zones
  - 2.2. Areas of Relative isolations.
  - 2.3. Areas of isolation.
3. Tribal Regions of India and main Tribal Communities within.
4. The Geography of Gujarat.
5. Cultural Geography of Gujarat.
  - 5.1. The Eastern Tribal Tract in nineteenth and twentieth century.
  - 5.2. The population status of Gujarat in comparison to India; mainly scheduled tribes population under 2001 census.

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<sup>101</sup> Radhakumud Mookherjee, *The Fundamental Unity of India: From Hindu Sources*: New York, Longmans' Green and Cos. 1914, p. 2

<sup>102</sup> H. D. Sankalia, *Studies in the Historical and Cultural Geography and Ethnography of Gujarat: Places and peoples in Inscriptions of Gujarat 300 BC-1300 AD*, Poona, Deccan College, 1949.

### Nature and Humans

Any stage related to the humans adequately begins with a look at their physical and natural environment; the land in which they live; the climate water and vegetation with which they nurture themselves. All these organic factors exercise tremendous influence on the life and growth of man. All these organic factors exercise tremendous influences on the life and growth of man. A proper understanding of this factor enables the researcher to contextualize the human experience in time and space.<sup>103</sup>

The natural environmental of a region determines the form of human society. The human beings develop the region according to their needs, while the regions nature determines the rate and change.<sup>104</sup> With the settlement of a human group the first thing the humans came across is their surrounding environment. The constant interaction and struggle to survive and sustenance , to live the way they want, makes the humans to evolve a specific adaptation with the environment of the particular space. The adaptation leads to the growth of a particular culture of that specific region. The cultural growth continues with technical advancement of the people which thrives itself on the exploitation of the environment. Thus, the stage and the technological attainment of society at any given time determine the relative influence of the environment at that period.<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>103</sup> M. R. Majumdar, *The Cultural History of Gujarat*, Bombay popular Prakashan, 1965, P. 11.

<sup>104</sup> B. Subbarao, *The Personality of India*, Baroda, the M. S. University Press, 1956, p. 4.

<sup>105</sup> According to Robert Arvill, 'Change is of-course inherent in the relationship of man and the nature. What is new required is a purposive and regulated change to a design'. Ibid. p. 4, in *Man and Environment: Crisis and the Strategy of Choice*, Penguin Books 1967, P. 21.



## II      Geographical Pattern of India

The essence of the civilization is the progressive emancipation of man from the influence of his natural environment by its understanding, exploitation, and finally its mastery. Thus, there are always at any time, an essential equilibrium between factor like the physical environment and human communities, depending on their degree of adjustment to the now conditions.<sup>106</sup> The society is made-up of elements drawn from diverse origins. Within the population of India there are more than three hundred ethnically differentiated communities; caste groups, language, and religious groups, displaying striking differences in social organizations and cultural patterns, in material cultures.<sup>107</sup>

The first scholar to propound the theory of the Indian subcontinent geography and its relation with people of India was Dr. B Subbarao.<sup>108</sup> Besides B. Subbarao's theory, Bernard Cohn and Aijazuddin Ahmad' views will be taken into consideration.

The peoples' settlement in India is based on their cultural advancement which is evident in their patterns of habitations. The higher material cultures were seen in river basins, those of less advanced material culture reside in regions near foothills and primitive cultures were seen in dense forests and high hills. These settlement patterns make us to accept the fundamental concept of areas of attraction areas of relative isolation, and areas of isolation. The whole pattern of development of material culture can be defined a one of horizontal expansion of the higher cultures, leading to a displacement ,

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<sup>106</sup> B. Subbarao, op. cit., P. 62. Somehow the environmentalists today speak of a different kind of interface. For details see Ramchandra Guha, op. cit.,

<sup>107</sup> Aijazuddin Ahmad, *Social Geography*. Jaipur, Rawat Pub., 1999. p. 15

contraction, and isolation of the lower cultures in different parts of the country, at different period and at different cultural levels.<sup>109</sup> In the words of Bernard S. Chon, the cultural Geography of India can be seen as the persistent interaction, until very recent years of three kinds of zones: Perennial or nuclear zones, route zones, and zones of relative isolation.

**Nuclear Zones:** The nuclear zones are river basins and plains starting with north-western India. The river basins of the country, the Indus, the Ganges, the Narmada, the Tapti etc. were in turn penetrated and exploited by large scale agricultural communities, driving the older and static people in a more primitive economy. The main river basins of the country with a rainfall of twenty and forty inches, which can sustain large scale agricultural communities, have been colonized or occupied.<sup>110</sup>

Historically, the first major nuclear zone is Gandhara, to the north of the Salt ranges around Peshawar. This is the area where invaders from the north-west, the Greeks, and successive wave of other invading group of people. It has been a region characterized by its role in transmitting influences from western and central Asia into India.<sup>111</sup>

### ***Zones of Relative Isolation and Route Zones:-***

In between the areas of isolation and nuclear zones came areas of relative isolation. These zones display a different pattern of

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<sup>109</sup> Ibid. p. 6.

<sup>110</sup> B. Subbarao, op. cit., pp. 5-6.

<sup>111</sup> Punjab the land of the five rivers between the Jhelum and the Satluj is a difficult area to characterize culturally, lending to be transitional between the centre around Peshawar or over the Hindu-Kush in Afghanistan and cultural-political centres around Delhi and Agra. The Satluj-Jamuna Doab and the Ganga-Jamuna doab, Kurukshetra and Panchala are also major nuclear zones 'doab' is the Hindi language word for the land between two rivers. Bernard S. Cohn, op. cit., pp. 24-25

development but their isolation was broken up slightly later than the areas of attraction.<sup>112</sup>

The Ganges valley and the plains of the Indus, cut off from the bulk of the subcontinent by the Thar-desert, are a region of relative isolation. The area known as Rajputana or Marwar has been populated from the tenth century on by Rajputs and other refugee peoples pushed by Islamic peoples in the period 1000 AD. to 1200 AD. They established their culture over shattered tribal peoples, particularly in the Aravali range. South of the Aravali range is the Malwa plateau, a semi arid but not impossible table land. Malwa is a classic case of the third kind of cultural region found in India. These areas in effect connect the nuclear zones with the areas of isolation.<sup>113</sup>

### ***The Areas of Isolation:-***

In the areas where the environmental conditions were not favorable for technological advancement their certain communities had remained predominantly in a food gathering and hunting economy, supplemented by primitive agriculture and stock-raising. Throughout the world these refuge zones have remained areas of inhabitation for the people of less sophisticated martial culture. One can see the close relation between the thick jungle and rain forests and the main centers of the so-called primitive tribes. There is a harmonious adjustment of their physical and cultural environment, which has enabled them to survive upon; there is a remarkable difference in settlement patterns between the plains and the uplands still sheltering the tribal

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<sup>112</sup> B. Subbarao, op. cit., pp. 5-6.

<sup>113</sup> Bernard S. Cohn, o. cit., p. 26.

communities. While the villages of the plains are generally nucleated, we get the dispersed type of settlements in the uplands.<sup>114</sup>

The zones of isolation, in effect, connect the nuclear regions of attraction and have no persistent political tradition or tradition of unity of their own, as the nuclear zones and zones of relative isolation tend to have. Socially and culturally, shatter or route zones are mosaics rather than highly distinctive culture with diagnostic aspects of social structure.<sup>115</sup>

In the northern part of India there are several other zones of relative isolation, all of which are hilly or mountainous. These include Hindukush and Himalayas.<sup>116</sup>

There are two other major zones of relative isolation in the northern-central India, both of which are associated with hilly and relatively inaccessible country. The Vindhya Mountains, 1500 to 3000 feet high, run from the eastern part of Gujarat north of the Narmada River, almost to the Ganges east of Benaras. From the river Narmada the terminal hills of Kaimur range can be seen. To the south of the Narmada and the Vindhyan mountains is another series of mountains and hills through northern Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, North Western highland Orissa and South-eastern Bihar in the Chhota Nagpur plateau. The central zone of isolation, with its broken terrain and tribal

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<sup>114</sup> B. Subbarao *op. cit.*, p. 7. For cartographic details see fig. No. 1.

<sup>115</sup> Bernard S. Cohn, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

<sup>116</sup> "The first of these lies within the northern mountain arc. All across the northern frontiers of the subcontinent from the Kirthar range near the Arabian Sea. It separates Sind, the Indus Valley from the southern part of the table-land of Iran through the Suleiman range and Hindu-Kush mountains, which separates west Pakistan from Afghanistan is a series of loosely organized tribes, who lead a semi-military, semi-pastoral way of life in the hill and mountains and practice settled agriculture in the valley since the end of first millennium they have been Islamicised and the little subject to consistent political control." *Ibid.* p. 26



population, is a transition zone. It divides India into two major cultural zones: The Indo Aryan speaking north and the Dravidian speaking south, with the exception of southern Maharashtra. The transitional quality of this central belt is rejected in the fact that some of the tribes speak Mundari language. It is a distinct language family, which is separate not only from the Tibet-Burma of the Himalayan fringe and the north eastern tribal area but also from the Indo-Aryan of the north and the Dravidian of then south other tribes such as the Bhils speak an Indo-Aryan language and still speak Dravidian language.<sup>117</sup>

According to Aijazuddin Ahmad, since the tribes a display a high tendency of clustering and concentration in the hilly and the forested tracts of the country, they are highly unevenly distributed between the states of Indian Union. On the basis of the relief, the states and the Union territories may be grouped into two categories;

- a) Those characterized by rugged topography and,
- b) Those with an open relief, plains and river valleys.

The tribes are highly concentrated in the former category than in the latter one. As an example, in the Punjab, Haryana, Chandigarh, Delhi, and Uttar Pradesh which lie over the Indo-Gangetic plain have rich agricultural base. There the percentage of tribals is either the least or almost nil. They have either no tribal population or else the numerical strength of the tribal population is negligible. In Uttar Pradesh for example, the tribes are mostly concentrated in the hilly districts of Uttaranchal. Likewise the tribes are either non-existent or their population is negligible over the plains of Bihar and west Bengal. On the other hand tribes have a strong presence in the plateau region of south- Bihar. They are also predominant in the hilly districts of north

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<sup>117</sup> See, B. Subbarao, Op. cit., pp. 18-21.

Bengal as well as over the plateau districts of the states bordering on Bihar and Assam. Despite being an extension of the north Indian plain, they support a large chunk of tribal population. In fact, every eighth Assamese is a tribal. The southern states of Kerala, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, and Andhra Pradesh lie mostly in the plateau region and yet the population of tribes in these states is not very large. It varies from 1.03 percent in Tamil Nadu to 6.3 percent in Andhra Pradesh. The tribes are, however, numerically strong in the central Indian States from Gujarat and Maharashtra in Orissa and Bihar. Among them Madhya Pradesh has the highest proportion of tribal population, followed by Orissa (22.21%), Gujarat (14.92%), Rajasthan (12.44%), Bihar (7.66%) and west Bengal (5.60%).<sup>118</sup>

The northern-eastern states stand out as a category in themselves as the population of these states is predominantly tribal. Tribal proportion is particularly high in Mizoram, Nagaland, Meghalaya (85-95%), and significantly high in Arunachal Pradesh (64%). On the other hand about one third the total populations in Tripura and Manipur consist of tribes. The share of tribal population is overwhelmingly large in certain union territories such as Dadra and Nagar Haveli and Lakshwa-Dweep. On the contrary, the proportion of tribes in the population of Andaman and Nicobar islands is insignificant. Evidently tribal communities have either by their choice favored concentration in inhospitable environments or conversely the peasant societies have pushed them and confined them to these enclaves thus having free access to the potentially rich land suited preeminently to the agricultural pursuits. This by and large, mutual exclusivity of the

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<sup>118</sup> Aijazuddin Ahmad, *Social Geography*, New Delhi, Rawat Pub. 1999, p. 17.

tribal and the peasant modes is an important attribute of spatial distribution of social categories in India.<sup>119</sup>

#### IV Geography of Gujarat

Gujarat is seventh largest state in Indian State with 6.1 percent area of the Indian Union and 4.7 percent of its population. Lying on the Arabian Sea coast the state is situated between 20°1' and 24°7' north latitudes and 68°4' and 74°4' east longitude and shares both the land and the sea frontiers of the country.<sup>120</sup> What we know of the Gujarat in the twenty-first century is the country extending roughly from mount Abu in the north to Daman in the south, from Dwarka on the Arabian Sea in the west, to Dahod in the east. It is bounded on the north by the desert of Marwar, on the north-west by the Great Rann of Kutch on the west (if Kathiawar is included) by the Arabian Sea. On the south by the Deccan plateau which almost about on the Coastal plains between Daman and Dahanu, on the east by the gorges of the Narmada and the Tapi, with the Satpura in between on the north-east by the Mewar and Malwa plateaus.<sup>121</sup>

In the ancient times the country south of the Mahi or at times south of the Narmada up to the river Purna, was known as 'Lata while 'Anartta' was the name of the country extending from Kheda to Palanpur or Vadnagar in the north, and including Dwarka in the west. The rest of the country, viz. the southern portion of the peninsula was

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<sup>119</sup> Ibid. p. 125. In support of this argument see writings of Ramchandra Guha, Madhav Gadgil, Jean Dreze, Vandana Shiva and several other environmentalists.

<sup>120</sup> K. R. Dikshit, *Geography of India: the Land and People* New Delhi, National Book Trust, 1979, p. 1

<sup>121</sup> H. D. Sankalia, *Studies in the Historical and Cultural Geography*, Poona, Deccan College, p. 9.

known as the 'Saurashtra' as it is even known by its Prakrit name 'Sorath'.<sup>122</sup>

The bifurcation of the state of Gujarat was drawn up on the map of India with the split of the bilingual state of Bombay to which it was part till 1960. The area however existed as a distinct cultural region even earlier and came to be formerly recognized as Gujarat in the tenth century AD.<sup>123</sup>

### **Physiographic features of Gujarat**

The physical features of the state indicate the following three distinct physiographic units based upon the relief slope and landforms, physiographical features such as soil drainage pattern, climatic variations and agricultural development. These three distinct features are as follows;

- a). Mainland Gujarat
- b). The Saurashtra
- c) The Kutch.

The mainland Gujarat consists of three distinct zones:

- i) The eastern Highlands (or the Eastern tribal tract)
- ii) The Central plains
- iii) The Coastal plains

While studying the physiographic of Gujarat two distinct landforms features becomes intrinsically important, these are plains of Gujarat and their neighboring highlands. Between the marshy coastal zone, the plateau, and the mountains in the interior lay the plains of

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<sup>122</sup> H. D. Sankalia, op. cit., p. 9.

<sup>123</sup> K. R. Dikshit., Op. cit., p. 1.

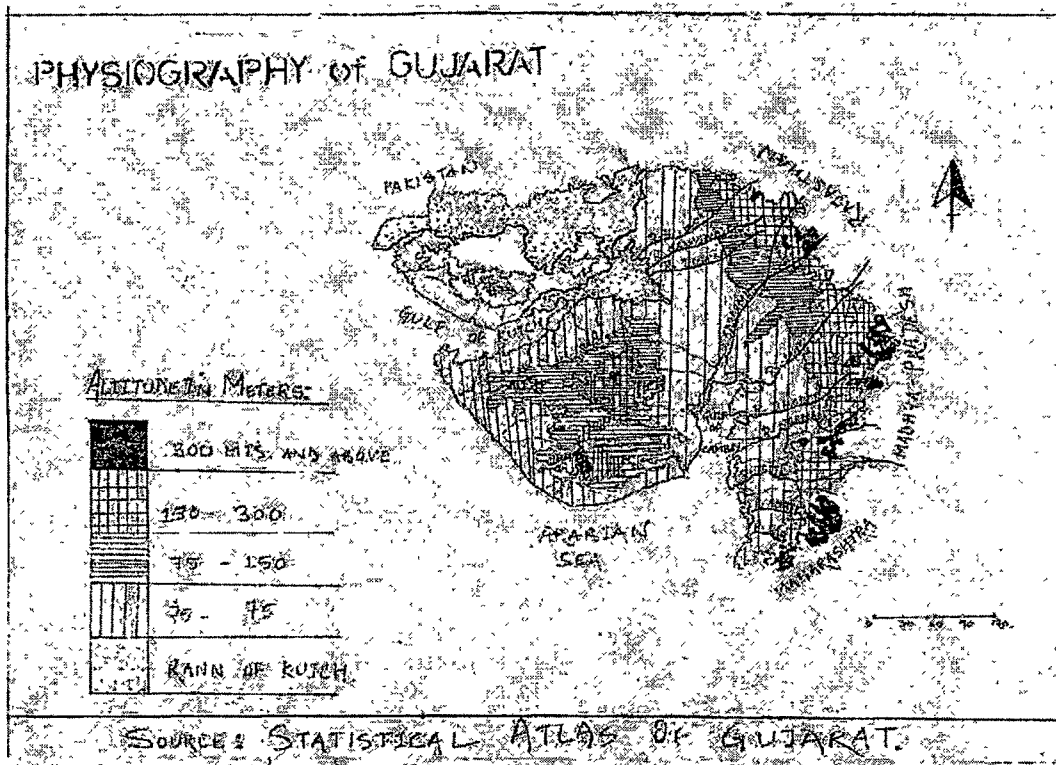
Gujarat, drained principally by the Sabaramti, Mahi, Narmada, and Tapti rivers, and their tributaries. The plains are remarkably flat where most of the rivers descending from the highlands of Central India are suddenly changed into sluggish meandering streams.<sup>124</sup> From north to south, despite the regularity of terrain the plain presents on variety of soils, from the friable any soils with localized patched of loess in the Kheda district to the black cotton variety in the valleys of the Narmada and the Tapi. This is a reflection of the lithographical character of the rocks which provide the waste material. The exposed crystallize base , with a gneissic complex that borders the plain in the north, provides sandy material in contrast to the Trappe in the south that breaks and decompose to the clayey black soil.<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.* p. 16. Infact the Eastern plains of Gujarat are well demarcated by its confinement between the coastal marshes on the west and a rupture of slope on the east rising upto the mountains. The plains appear like a post tectonic depression filled with alluvium, whatever the origin of the plain. In the twenty-first century it is filled with deep alluvium transported by rivers and the soils likely to have resulted from the decomposition of Trappe in the basins of the Narmada and the Tapi. At its widest part, the plain is 125 kms. wide south of Baroda. Abutted on the eastern side by the pre combine in rocks in the north and the Deccan Trappe in the south, the plain tapes southward till

<sup>125</sup> K. R. Dikshit, *Op. cit.*, p. 16.

### Physiographic Map of Gujarat:



The entire Gujarat lies twelve meters above sea-level in minimum. Most rugged and formidable are the highlands that encircle the state from the north north-east, and east occupying parts of Sabarkantha, Panchmahals Baroda, Surat, and Bharuch districts. The higher part of this almost continues hilly region occupy the northern part of Sabarkantha district, the eastern part of the Narmada, Tapi divide, and the eastern margin of the Valsad district <sup>126</sup>

<sup>126</sup> "Morphologically there are three components in these prophetic highlands. The northern part represents the outliers of the Aravalis which are composed of the old crystalline or metamorphic Dharwar Rocks and drained by the river Sabramati and Mahi. South of the Chhota Udepur is the Deccan Trappe furrowed by the Narmada and the Tapi. Of this, the highland north of the Narmada is the offshoots of the Vindhyan Mountains known as the Vindhyan hills. While south the tributaries of the Narmada and dissected by those tributaries of the Narmada and forming the western most projection of the Satpura hills, South of the Tapi are the Sahyadris approaching close to the coast." Ibid. p. 16

Topographically, the eastern highlands are composed of three units. In the north are the Ratanmal and Pavagadh hills, forming the water divide between the two river systems; The Mahi and the Panam in the north and Narmada with its tributaries Orsang and Karjan in the south. In the Central part are the Rajpipla hills occupying the Narmada-Tapi interfluves and forming a veritable escarpment overlooking the Narmada valley. South of the Tapi begin the Sahyadris running parallel to the coast.<sup>127</sup>

The land south of the Mahi is a plateau extending between Godhra and Dahod ranging from 150 meters to 300 meters in attitude, and drained by the river Panam. A tributary of the river Mahi, comes from east of the Devgadhi Baria, the Plateau Rivers in the hills which finally merges into the Malwa plateau on the south it rises in the east-west running ridge between Rajgadhi and Ratanmal forming the watershed. With the exception of Pavagadh hill (829mts.), which stands isolated with the western rim of the plateau, nowhere does the height of the plateau exceeds 500 mts. above sea-level. South of the Orsang are the hills of Chhota Udaipur which continues across the Narmada merging into the Rajpipla hills. The Rajpipla hills are a complex of difficult peaks, the highest of which is Mathasan (8090 mts.) in Narmada district about thirty kilometers south-east of Rajpipla. They are body dissected by the river Karjan and its tributaries which may have captured every part of the head water of the Tapi. The Tapi River forming the southern boundary of the Datpwas flows at a distance of about sixteen kms. South of the Tapi the Western Ghats make the great continental divide. From Songadh to Daman, the chain of the Western

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tributaries of the Narmada and forming the western most projection of the Satpura hills, South of the Tapi are the Sahyadris approaching close to the coast." Ibid. p. 16

<sup>127</sup> Ibid. p.17

Ghats is very regular, rising high locally in the hills of the Dangs and Dharampur.<sup>128</sup>

#### IV Cultural Geography of Gujarat

The Gujarat region which is composed of two parts, the mainland Gujarat and the peninsula of modern Saurashtra- was not known as Gujarat in the ancient times, nor did it formed one Geographical political unit.<sup>129</sup> Up to the tenth century, 'Gurjara' Mandala', or 'Gurjara Bhumi', hardly denoted territories comprising modern Gujarat. During the thirteenth century, the whole of the northern Gujarat was known as the territory of Gurjaras, which is why Hemchandra describes the army of his Solanki patron Kumarpala as consisting of Gurjaras.<sup>130</sup> Gujarat generally represents the territories that actually comprised 'Gujarat' from the Chalukyan period to the period of the Maratha regime.<sup>131</sup> The credit of giving the first systematic account of the west-coast part goes to Ptolemy who divides the west-coast into Saurashtra and Lat Desha. Ariarke and Danurike describe the divisions which almost confirm to the present cultural zones of the coastal regions. He also mentions many ports, among which is Sopara. The Arab writers of the ninth and tenth centuries have left us account of the ports of Gujarat, Konkan, and Malabar. The trading community consisted of all classes of indigenous-merchants, Hindus Muslims, and Europeans. Barbosa (1500-1514 AD.), Mentions the Seasonal nature for the trading communities only during fair weather and had small settlements of vital importance in the coastal regions.<sup>132</sup>

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<sup>128</sup> Ibid. p. 3

<sup>129</sup> M. R. Majumdar, op. cit., p. 11.

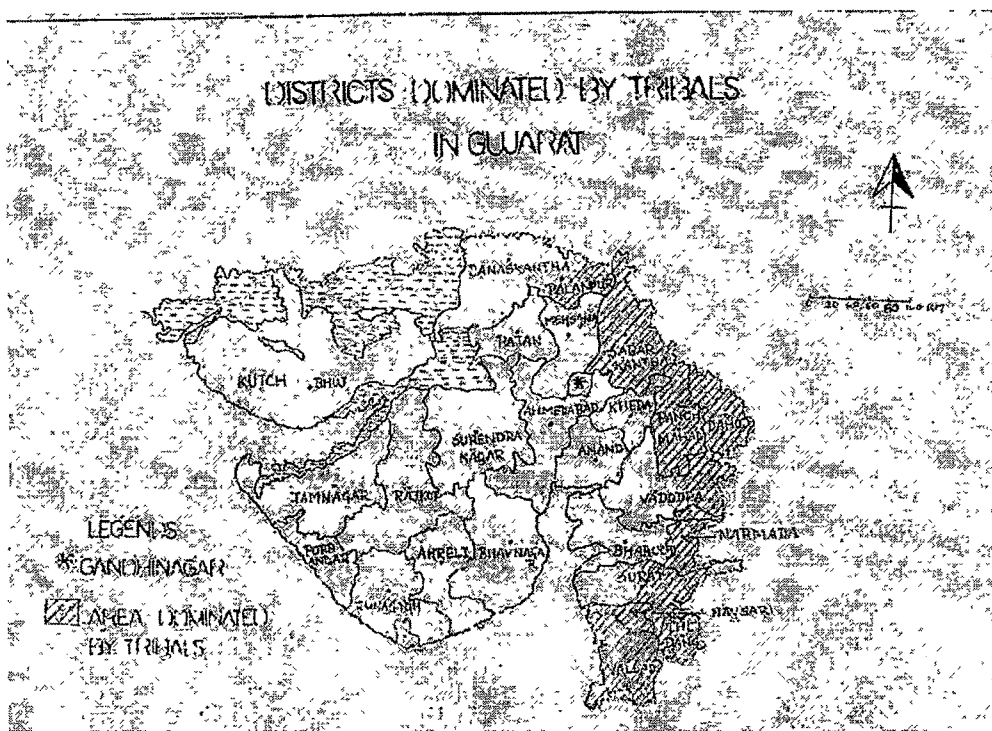
<sup>130</sup> Ibid. p. 18.

<sup>131</sup> Ibid. p. 18.

<sup>132</sup> C. D. Deshpande, *Western India: A Regional Geography*, 1948, p. 4.



### Districts dominated by tribes in Eastern tribal tract



The territories known in earlier period is under different names such as Anarta, Lata. Apparent Saurashtra Kutch, etc., these boundaries of Gujarat have been found varying throughout the course of history.<sup>133</sup>

The British districts,<sup>134</sup> occupying about twenty-five percent of the area of the Gujarat region and twenty percent of its population were agriculturally more fertile and accounted for a major part of the resources of this region. The areas administered by the state with the

<sup>133</sup> Ibid. p. 12.

<sup>134</sup> It may be asked: "What was the basis on which the British fixed the size of their districts and taluka? Two things might give us the clues first, the comparisons of the size of the district with the size of the Zilla or the similar units during the Mughal rule. We need not consider the practice prevalent during the Maratha hegemony over Gujarat. For though they might have introduced some changes in the Deccan proper as far as Gujarat and other Provider are concerned they were content to allow old forms to continue". in H. D. Sankalia, op. cit., pp. 17-18.

sole exception of Baroda, were economically and agriculturally backward. After Independence, the princely states like their counterparts elsewhere in the country merged into the Indian union and Gujarat was divided into three units for administrative purposes. The old British districts together with a few states including the Gaekwad State of Baroda the end of the thirteenth century or the beginning of the fourteenth century, and the cause there of was neither geographical nor ethical, but mainly political the Muslims being 'chiefly responsible for it. Thus, even though the boundaries of Gujarat Empire were not the same for all periods of history yet the whole political and administrative unit was known as Gujarat.<sup>135</sup> The present modern state of Gujarat of the Indian Union had chequered history. With the foundation of British rule in India during the nineteenth century, Gujarat ceased to be a province as it need to be during the Muslim period and was included in much bigger Bombay Presidency that extended from Karachi to Karnataka. The area of present Gujarat was divided into five British districts viz. Ahmedabad, Bharuch, Panchmahals, Kheda, and Surat and large member of native states and estates.<sup>136</sup> Remained as usual a part of the larger Bombay state, but peninsular Gujarat, Saurashtra- was made into a part 'B' and 'C' states in the country.<sup>137</sup> With the extinction of the princely states from the map of Gujarat, the region was recognized as Gujarat and there emerged sixteen districts which continued even after the organization of states on a linguistic basis in 1956.<sup>138</sup>

### ***Areas of Isolation in Gujarat***

The areas of isolation in the state of Gujarat which inhabited the people of primitive cultures extend from the north in Danta taluka of

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<sup>135</sup> Ibid. p. 12

<sup>136</sup> Ibid. p. 13

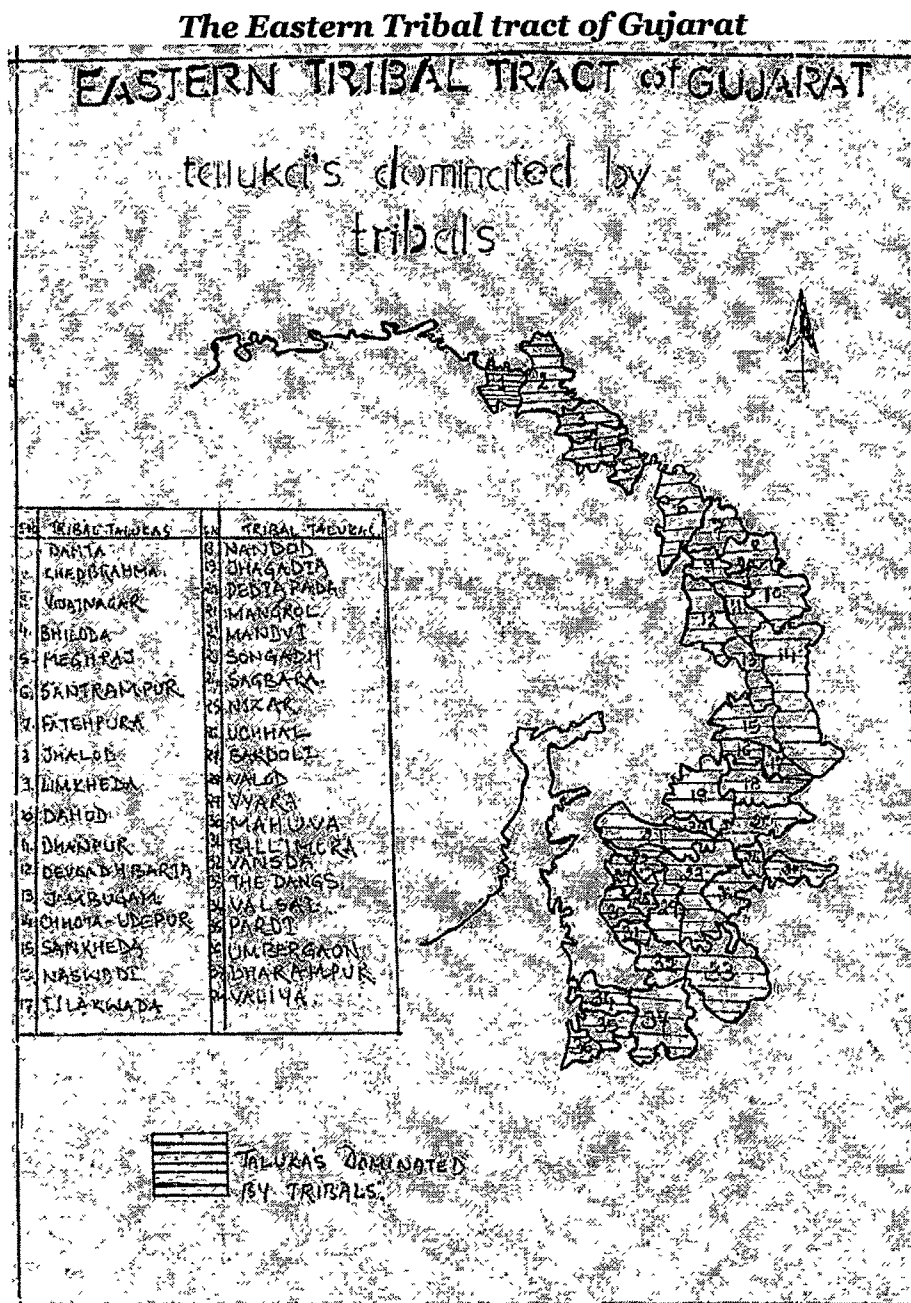
<sup>137</sup> K. R. Diskhit, op. cit., p. 3.

<sup>138</sup> Ibid. p. 3. After 2000 the total number of districts in Gujarat has increased by twenty five.

Banaskantha district till Kaprada taluka of district Valsad in South Gujarat. The entire belt mentioned above is spread in eastern part of main land Gujarat, which constitutes jungles undulating hills, stone filled rivers and tribal population of different communities. Rugged and formidable are these highlands that encircle the state from the north, north-east and east occupying parts of Banskantha, Sabarakantha Panchmahals, Dahod, Baroda, Narmada, Surat, Dangs, and the Valsad districts. The vertically higher part of this almost continuous hilly range occupies the northern part of Sabarkantha, the eastern part of Narmada-Tapi divide, and the eastern territories of the Valsad district. The vertically higher parts of this almost continuous hilly range occupy the northern part of Sabarkantha, the eastern part of Narmada-Tapi divide and the eastern territories of the Valsad district.<sup>139</sup>

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<sup>139</sup> Metamorphologically there are three components of this peripheral highland. The northern part consists of the offshoots of the Aravali which are composed of the crystalline or metamorphic Dharwar rocks and drained by the rivers like banas. In the north of Banaskantha these rocks rise gradually and reach a peak of 1722 meters at Guru-Shikhar in Mount Abu complex. The highland devoid of vegetation is dissected by the river Banas in the west and the Sabarmati in the east. The Sabarmati on the as rises from a hill about 900 meters from above sea level and not far from the temple of Abu Bhavani. The eastern and northern flanks of the hills are drained by the Chambal and its tributaries while the southern and western flanks are drained by the Mahi the Sabarmati, the Banas, and their tributaries.



The eastern tribal tracts of the Eastern highlands are known so, because the territory is marked by the continuous presence of high

attitude land forms and presence of forests ever these. Due to existence of such forest ecology it always remained a favorable zone for the people of seclusion and refuge culture, i.e. Primitive culture. Even in twenty-first century the highest concentration of tribal population in Gujarat is found in this part. This zone displays a veritable history in terms of political and cultural Geography. Several times the boundaries of the Gujarat State (eastern tribal tract in particular) were reshuffled effecting lives of the people and the rulers. A brief description of these changes in the region is given in order as a crucial backdrop to the later developments.

The northern most part of the eastern tribal tract constitutes Danta taluka of Banaskantha district, Khedbrahma, Vijainagar and Bhiloda taluka of Sabarkantha district, Santrampur, Fatehpura, Jhalod, Dahod, Limkheda, Dhanpur and Devgadhi Baria talukas of Dahod district. All these places underwent significant administrative changes because of which several cultural and environmental changes were also seen in these territories.

The Danta is the northernmost part of the Gujarat's Tribal tract. The name Danta is derived from the pilgrimage centre 'Dantorio Vir', which is located three miles away in western direction from the Danta. The total area of the state was 347 square miles. The dynasty which ruled Danta had lineage from Parmar clan. After creation of separate Gujarat Danta was made part of the Banaskantha district.<sup>140</sup>

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<sup>140</sup> Shah Damodaradas Rewadas, *Mahikantha Directory*, 1905. The Present district of Banaskantha consisted of two former first class Princely States of Pabanpur and the Radhanpur and the other former Indian states, estates and Thanas, including Tharad Morwada Taluka, Danta, Deodar, Tervada, Varahi, Surgam, Santapur, Bhabhar, and Chadchat. The petty State of Kanker remained under Mahikantha Agency till 1844, when it was transferred to the Palanpur Agency. The Palanpur Agency was established in 1817 which consisted of two first class states of Palanpur and Radhanpur and other states and estates. Later on it was named as Banaskantha Agency. In Danta State a large area was

The second important region of the eastern tribal tract constitutes Khedbrahma, Vijainagar, and Bhiloda talukas of the Sabarkantha district.<sup>141</sup> Lying on the north-east part of the Gujarat State, the district has its own unique history influenced by its exquisite Geography. The district can be divided into two parts. The hilly region and the plain, the hill tracts are spread over Khedbrahma, Vijainagar, Bhiloda, and Meghraj talukas, along with minor offshoots in Idar and Himmatnagar talukas. In parts of Vijay agar talukas, the hill ranges cross the height above 300 feet's during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries these hills were clustered with jungles but with gradual development many a hills have turned barren. In the centre of Khedbarhma taluka these is a three hundred square mile are known as Poshina Patta (Poshina belt) the region is forested and hilly where population of Grasia Bhils resides.<sup>142</sup>

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covered by the forests which were reserved as the hunting zone by its rulers. Even in Twenty-first century many of the tracts of the forests of Danta are kept intact by the forest department of India. Field trip of Danta May 2003.

<sup>141</sup> "In the year 1933 AD the Sabarkantha Agency with headquarters at Sadra civil Station was constituted by the amalgamation of the Mahikantha and Banaskantha Agencies. Prior to 1933 AD the administration of these two agencies was on the usual lines under the Political Agent. In 1948 the people of present Sabarkantha found the name Mahikantha as a misnomer. The name Mahikantha was changed into Sabarkantha as a result of agitation by the social activist. The district at present takes its name from the river Sabaramati which separates it from the Palanpur and Mehsana districts in the west. On account of the merger of twenty nine princely states and estates and Modasa Mahal of the former Ahmedabad district of the former Bombay State The district in its present form came into existence in August 1949." G. D. Patel (ed.), *Sabarakantha ni Lokganga* (Gujarati) Himmatnagar, 1965, p. 227.

<sup>142</sup> Chandubhai Patel, 'Posina Pattana Adivasi Viksa Karyana thoda Anubhavo' *Vidyapith*, Sep.-Oct. 1965, p. 243; "Spreading from the Danta taluka the offshoots of the Aravali mountains range cover this entire region as undulating chain of hills which has crossed rivers Sabaramati, Harnay, Hathmati, Meshvo, Moram and Watrak from North to South"; *Gujarat through Maps*, University Granth Nirman Board. Ahmedabad 1973; "Due to availability of water and presence of hills the forests of moist and dry deciduous type grew in this region. The main forest covers are spread over Khedarahma, Vijainagar and parts of Bhiloda and Meghraj taluka along with Idar and Himmatnagar. Main forest ranges are in Khedbrahma. Attarsumba in Vijanagar, and Vadali and Raigadh forest ranges in the Bhiloda taluka" See, S. B. Raiyagore, op. cit., pp: 57-58.

The earliest settlers of the district were Bhils and kolis. These people ruled the region with the arrival of Rajputs and Muslims in plains of Sabarmati and other rivers of the district in the western part, the tribals seceded to the eastern highlands as their refuge zones. These they remained as settlers and kept congenial relations with the rulers of plains.<sup>143</sup> In 1820 AD British's rulers came to region and established subsidiary alliance with the rulers of the district. In 1838 Sir James Outram instituted border panchayat for the settlement of the numerous bloods feuds and disputes which often occurred between the wild Bhils of the Rajputana frontier. The tribal chiefs of the eastern border were brought under jurisdiction of political Agent of Mahikantha in 1839. Since then Bhil chiefs, remained docile to the authority with their cultural rights intact.<sup>144</sup>

South of Sabarkantha is situated Dahod district, earlier part of the Panchmahals district (1960-2000 AD.), and formerly part of Rewakantha Agency and Panchmahals district during British regime. The Dahod district is dominated by the tribal population. Mr. J. P. Willoughby the first Political Agent Rewakantha gives vivid account of this region during nineteenth century. The talukas of the district, Santrampur and Devgadhi Baria were earlier part of Rewakantha Agency.<sup>145</sup>

The States under Rewakantha Agency: The princely States which are part of Dahod district were earlier part of Rewakantha Agency are Santrampur and Devgadhi Baria State. The two States were ruled by local Rajput chieftains in association with local Bhil Rajas or chiefs. In

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<sup>143</sup> For references see *Mahikantha Files at Political Department*, MSA, Mumbai.

<sup>144</sup> Mahikantha Files, PD/ MSA/ Mumbai. Also see S. B. Rajyagore, *Chaos on History of Sabarkantha*.

<sup>145</sup> Rewakantha files, PD. MSA Mumbai.

northern most part of district came the Santrampur taluka, earlier known as Santrampur Estate or Sunth Estate.<sup>146</sup> According to McDonald and J. P. Willoughby, Devgadhi Baria was one of the petty states which were comprised within the wild and mountainous skirts on the east of the province of Gujarat.<sup>147</sup> It extended for about 64 kms, four east to west and about 67.5 kms. From north to south, bounded on the north by the principality of Santrampur and on the south by that of Chhota Udepur, and on the east and west by Sindhia's possessions of Dohad and Godhra like other states of the same stamp. It was founded by the Rajputs of Chohan tribe whom the Muslims conquest drove to seek an asylum amongst the Bhils. The Bhils were later subdued by the Chohan Rajputs.<sup>148</sup>

<sup>146</sup> Report on Santrampur State, Districts Record office Dahod. "Geographical Santrampur State is fairly diverse. The taluka has hill ranging between heights of 150-300 feet and is migrated mainly by river Mahi and its tributaries. In the North West part of this taluka there is the spread of jungles which are tropical dry deciduous forests' Statistical Atlas of Gujarat, Ahmedabad State Survey. 1975. PP. 78-79. Before 1200 AD in the taluka Bhil chiefs used to dominate, in 1255 AD Parmar Princes of Jhalod are here to settle down at village Bahrapuri changing its name to south. There forth Princely State of 'Sunth' or Santrampur came into existence'. See G. D. Patel, Panch Mahal District, P. 90. The Parmar chiefs continued to rule the state for considerably longer duration. During British period they came under Subsidiary alliance and became pale of Rewakantha Agency in 1819 AD. The State in Rewakantha Agency was referred as Sunth Rampura. The territory of the State extended towards Loonawara a State in west Banswara State of Rajputana Agency in north and Jhalod taluka of British Panchmahals district in south-east. Within the state there existed small states of Bhils and Thakors like Kudana Umbethi etc.' See, A. MacDonald, *Brief Historical Sketch Of The Petty State Of Baria On The Rewakantha* Report Submitted to Government. 18<sup>th</sup> Jan. 1820 MSA Mumbai p. 117; and Comp No. 140 Rewakantha: Kudana on the question of the adoption by the Thakors of Kudana, Rewakantha files, Vol. V, No. 149, PD MSA/ 1872/ Mumbai.

<sup>147</sup> A. MacDonald, op. cit., p. 17 before the merger of the Devgadhi Baria in the Rewakantha Agency in 1818. The region was studied in detail by the British administrators Mr. A. MacDonald and Mr. J.P. Willoughby in 1820 and 1826 respectively.

<sup>148</sup> Ibid. pp. 121-122, 'Baria was divided into six districts. For further details see, J. P. Willoughby, 'Historical sketch of the petty state of Baria' in the Rewakantha Report submitted to Government on 18<sup>th</sup> October 1826, p. 151. Another important part of State of Devgadhi Baria is 'Ratanmal', situated on the north they limit of Devgadhi Baria State. State of Ratanmal extends over then hills of Ratanmal and villages in habited by the Bhils in the region. Ratanmal has height from 800 to 1500 feet, which stretches towards north of Aravalis. The chain of densely wooded table land forms a watershed between the Areas and the Mahi river systems. The hills are drained by one important river Panam which originates from Ratanmal itself. See YVS. Nath, *The Bhils of Ratanmal*, Baroda MSU, 1960, pp. 2-w. The Bhils of Ratanmal enjoyed a considerable freedom due to their location which seems to be an absolute refuge zone. In 1792 AD plunderers of Gwalior and Dhar State invaded villages of Kanjeta and Ratanmal under the command of Scindia. To avert the



Jhalod and Dahod are two other talukas of importance. Before coming under the jurisdiction of the British, they were part of Bhil chieftainship. It became disputable territories between Gaekwads and Sindhias. In 1860, after skirmishes with Sindhias the talukas were transferred to British regime and it later became part of Panchmahal talukas. Geographically except on the side of some of the higher hills the uplands and valleys are open and less wooded than the other parts of the district.<sup>149</sup>

Down south to Dahod, the main talukas of the Baroda district dominated by tribals are Chhota Udepur and Sankheda. The former was part of Rewakantha Agency, whereas the latter was under the Baroda State. Sankheda town is situated on the right bank of the Orsang River.<sup>150</sup> The rulers of Sankheda belonged to Chauhan clan. According to Campbell, the histories of Sankheda Malwa chiefs 'associated to Chauhan princes of Pavagadh who in medieval times were defeated by Muslim rulers of Gujarat. The chiefs took refuge in the deeper jungles of neighboring territories. Between Orsang and Narmada river plains, there used to be eight chiefs ruling viz. Rathod at Vajiria, Chauhans at Agar, Munda at Gadh, Daima at Uchhad, Gori at Jiral, Solanki at

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plundering the Bania state entered into a compromise with the inventors by agreeing to pay a certain sum of money on condition of their retreating. This precedent was frequently followed on subsequent occasions. The amount of tax was known as *Ghora-vera* (Horse-tax) which was controlled by the Bania State for the Powers of Dhar State. Though these destructive inroads ceased to be made since the establishment of the paramount influence of the British government in central India the tax continued to be levied by the Bania on its own account the amount of varied according to the seasons. The Thakore of Ratanmal retained a tributary to Bania State till 1940. With the death of the Ratanmal State's last chief on 14<sup>th</sup> April 1940 without any legitimately heir, The British authorities gave the right of Ratanmal State to Baria Darbar. Since then the State remained under the Rewakantha Agency, till its merger in the Indian Union after Independence'. Also see F. NO. 7256/ year-1940/ *Sub: Raja of Baria*. Political Department, MSA, Mumbai.

<sup>149</sup> G. D. Patel, op. cit., p. 91.

<sup>150</sup> S. B. Rajyagore, Gazetteer of India: Gujarat State Gazetteers, *Vadodara District*, Ahmedabad 1979, pp. 4-5.

Narwadi Palasni, and Gadh. They kept their lands without changing their faith.<sup>151</sup> The subjects of the Sankheda and Sankheda Mehwas are mainly the Naikda and Dhanka Bhils who reside in the villages, forests and hills of this region.<sup>152</sup>

To the east of the river Orsang comes Jambugam a territory which was under Chhota Udepur in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, From Jambugam towards Chhota Udepur are located Pavijetpur and Tejgadh villages. In the entire tract lie thick jungles on the comical hill ranges from north towards North-east and South.<sup>153</sup>

The rulers of Chhota Udepur belonged to the family of Bania State. This state had become tributary of the Gaekwads previous to the advent of British Government. It was transferred to the British Government in 1820 along with the petty States in Mahikantha by an agreement made in 1822 by which the Gaekwad surrendered his control.<sup>154</sup> The Chhota Udepur State had four administrative divisions, viz. Chhota Udepur, Jambughoda, Karali and Kawant. Karali and Jambughoda possess fertile soil which attracted Patidars (the famous peasant community in Gujarat) as settles over there. In Kawant and Chhota Udepur soil is hard and less fertile and the chief agriculturists here are kolis Bhils, Naikadas, and Dhankas.<sup>155</sup>

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<sup>151</sup> S. B. Rajyagore, *Gazetteer of India: Gujarat State Gazetteers, Vadodara District*, Ahmedabad 1979. pp. 4-5. 'Early in the eighteenth century when Mughal authority was weakened and Maratha authority not established the Sankheda chiefs were able to spread their power over the rich plain lands of Gujarat enforcing tribute in land and money as far as the walls of Baroda. However, they could not carry on their activities for a longtime. When Baroda was ruled by strong ruler the Sankheda chiefs were forced to pay a regular tribute and to refrain from disorder. See J. P. Willoughby, op. cit., p. 98.

<sup>152</sup> J. P. Willoughby op. cit., pp. 98-99.

<sup>153</sup> *Gazetteer of Vadodara District*, op. cit., p. pp. 24-25.

<sup>154</sup> Ibid. p. 25.

<sup>155</sup> Dhirajlal H. Desai, *Chhota Udepur Administration Report*, 1945 BRO/ Baroda, P. 46. The State of Chhota Udepur continued with its rulers' status as king till 1970 although the state was integrated with the Gujarat State Government after Independence.

South of tribal blocks of Baroda district is Narmada district. All the seven talukas of district Tilakwada, Naswadi, Nandod, Jhagadia, Valia, Dediapada, and Sagbara are tribal blocks. The first two talukas prior to independence were part of Baroda State, whereas the rest of the five were in the jurisdiction of Rajpipla state of Rewakantha Agency. The two talukas are situated on the northern most boundary of the district. The inhabitants of Tilakwada mainly constitute of Mehwasis and Bhils. Rajpipla interposed between Khandesh and Gujarat, extends from the Narmada to the Tapti. It is thinly inhabited by the people of mountaineers, chiefly of the Rajput caste and Bhil communities.<sup>156</sup> The most distinct feature of Rajpipla is its hills and the people inhabiting them. The Rajpipla hills are offshoots from Saputara range of mountains. Rajpipla was a first class state in the Rewakantha Agency. Its rulers were Gohil Rajputs. The four divisions of the state were Nandod, Jhagadia, Dediapada, and Valia. There were also feudatory Vasava chiefs of Sagbara and Vadi.<sup>157</sup>

Following the Narmada district, the entire eastern hill tract and the strip of low land came under the boundaries of Surat, Navsari, Valsad and the Dangs districts of the State. During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the above mentioned talukas of Surat were part of Baroda State and Surat district under British regime. In the nineteenth century these all talukas were thickly forested with tropical dry and moist deciduous forests.<sup>158</sup> The thick forests and undulating hills made the region to be known as 'Ranipradesh'.<sup>159</sup> The talukas which came under British-Surat districts were Mandvi, Bardoli, Valod and Chikhli

<sup>156</sup> J. P. Willoughby, *Memoirs of the Rajpipla State*, April, 1921, MSA, Mumbai.

<sup>157</sup> M. R. Palande (ed), *The Gazetteer of Bharuch*, Ahmedabad, 1971, chapter-1.

<sup>158</sup> *Statistical Atlas of Gujarat*, Chapter on 'Tribal Area Sub Plan'.

<sup>159</sup> 'Rani' in Gujarati language means jungle or forest. Therefore, the region was known as 'Ranipradesh' meaning a region inhabited by the forest dwellers.

talukas ruled directly by the British authorities. These regions were dominated by tribals like Chodharas, Dhankas, Dhodias, Dublas etc.<sup>160</sup>

The most significant block of the Eastern Tribal tract is the Dangs. The country contains a superficial area of about 1000 Square miles with of population of about 19000 (1871 census) and it is bounded on the north by the Nawapur *patta* of Khandesh Collectorate. It was divided into five principal and two smaller Dangs viz. Dang Garvi Dang Wasurna, Dang Amli, Dang Dherbeuti, Dang Pimpri, Dang Jawahar, and Dang Chinchli.<sup>161</sup> Each Dang Principality has its own Bhil chief or Rajah. They are quite independent of each other, except in warfare, when all are bound to join the Garvi standard with their quota of armed men. The Dang country is a forest tract.<sup>162</sup>

The southern-most part of the eastern tribal tract is the tribal blocks of Dharamapur, Bansda, Pardi, and Umbergaon of Valsad district. Before Independence, Dharampur and Bansda were native state under Surat Native State Agency whereas Pardi and Umbergaon formed part of Surat district proper.

Bansda was a tributary state under the supervision of the Surat Political Agent, with an estimated area of two hundred forty square miles. Bansda is a belt of forest covered zone. It is full of small hills and valleys, lying between the Surat plain and the Sahyadri mountains. The taluka of Dharmapur is well supplied with rivers. The Damanganga, the Kolak, the Par, the Vanki, The Auranga, and the Ambika, all flow

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<sup>160</sup> Comp. No. 511, Pt VI, Vol. No. B RD. 1917, sub: Administrative Report of Surat District, MSA Mumbai.

<sup>161</sup> Comp. No. 1551, Vol. No. I, No. 87 Khandesh, sub: Administration Report of the Khandesh Political Agency: 1872-1873, PD, 1873, MSA-Mumbai.

<sup>162</sup> Ibid.

through it on their way to the Gulf of Cambay and Arabian Sea.<sup>163</sup> Due to year round presence of water the taluka has certain forest cover. Though with passing time it is declining still if conserved the forest cover of Dharampur is far better than many of the districts of Gujarat.<sup>164</sup> Areas of western India that were formerly princely States witnessed substantial growth in urban centers around their capital towns. These urban centers continued to exercise hegemony over their hinterlands.

The vast majority of India's, nearly 625 million or 73.9%, in 1991 lived in what are called villages of less than 5000 people or in the scattered hamlets or other rural settlements. Those with the smallest rural populations proportionately were the states of Gujarat (65.5%)

### **The Tribal Communities of India and Gujarat**

An understanding about the tribal communities of Gujarat requires the knowledge of the tribal distribution in India. This could best be had from a survey of the academic works on the marginal communities, specially the tribals.

### **Marginal communities and studies about them:**

Since ages the state authorities had patronized writing around themselves. The writers would glorify the deeds of these patrons and their coteries giving scant attention to masses at large. This remained a dominant trend till the very modern times. It was only in the second half of the nineteenth century that with increasing democratization of societies that working and laboring people started gaining attention. For the Indian scene, the study of tribal-peasant movements was taken up

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<sup>163</sup> J. M. Campbell (ed.), *The Bombay State Gazetteer: Surat State*, 1891, pp. 250-255. Also information collected during field work of Dharampur 26<sup>th</sup>-28<sup>th</sup> March 2003. At present all these rivers remain dry for four months between February to May due to decline of forest cover and average rainfall.

<sup>164</sup> [Http://www.mapsofindia.com/census2001/population/Gujarat](http://www.mapsofindia.com/census2001/population/Gujarat)

differently by Ranjit Guha and his historian colleagues in India and abroad broadly designated as 'Subaltern historiography', this approach seeks to restore a balance by highlighting the role of the politics of the peoples against the elite politics.<sup>165</sup>

The whole thrust of the subaltern historiography is on reconstructing 'the other history' i.e., history of peoples, politics, and movements and their attempt to make their own history. It is one of those serious issues of social science scholarship which has raised many theoretical and methodological issues.<sup>166</sup> Debates on multiculturalism in the western democracies have often fuelled discussions of minority histories. The expression 'minority histories' would thus now refer to all those parts on whose behalf democratically minded historians have fought the exclusion and omission of the mainstream narratives of the nation.<sup>167</sup> To an African proverb, "Until lions have their own historians, hunting will always be glorified," We might safely add that unless lions have their own futurists their historians will be stuck in the hunting centric narratives. They have to look at humans and their historians who are stuck in Eurocentric schemes of community organization, identity construction, and meaning productions.<sup>168</sup>

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<sup>165</sup> "The 'elite' and 'people' are viewed as binary domain to constitute a structural dichotomy. Adherents to this approach argue that the elitist historiography whether of the non-colonialists or nationalists variety has always overstated the part the elite has played in building Indian nationalism, but it has failed to acknowledge, far less properly interpret, the contribution made by the people (masses) on their own, independently of the elite'. For further details *Subaltern studies* Vol. I-X.

<sup>166</sup> D. N. Dhanagare, The relation continued... between 'subaltern parts' and the practice of historicism is not one of mutual exclusion, subaltern parts act as a supplement of the historians parts and in-fact aid our capacity to historicize. They enable history, the discipline, to be what it is and yet at the same time help to show forth what its limits are'. See, Dipesh Chakravorty, 'Minority Histories: Subaltern parts' *EPW*, Feb' 28 1998, p. 840

<sup>167</sup> Dipesh Chakravorty, op. cit., p. 480.

<sup>168</sup> S. P. Udayashankar, 'Local Histories and Global Futures', *Gandhi Marg*, Vol. 19 No. 12, Jul-Sep', 1997, p. 223

One major theme involves a questioning of the whole way in which historians have understood the relationships between the people living in the regions of isolation and those who lived in the areas of attraction in the Indian history. It is commonly assumed that the tribal peoples who inhabit the mountains and forests of India have been in a state of tension with the civilization of the plains for millennia. The history of the tribals is seen to be a long process of that continuous to this day. Ajay Skaria maintains that such an understanding was in-fact a creation of a British colonial Policy.<sup>169</sup> If there is one overall theme that stretches across tribal history, it is that of the outsiders as exploiters whether this exploitation was in the pre-colonial period as the dominant society intruded into the tribal area. The colonial Government got a stranglehold on the forests and the habitat of these tribals forcing them into a monetary and revenue system that was completely beyond their comprehension and leaving them to the mercies of the landlord, the forest contractor and the moneylender. Eventually the post-colonial state government that supposedly was to liberate them from colonial rule, in-fact established more continuity with them disjunction from the old regime, to perpetuate once again an internal colonization. There have been persons of good will too, who have sided with the tribals and even at times stated their lives for them. Such allies can have some liberties role, and they have indeed done some good. But they have all remained outsiders and as such, have eventually also divided and fractured tribal society. Whether these outsiders be the communists or the Naxalites, the missionaries or the Sangh Parivar Government or non-Governmental agencies.<sup>170</sup>

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<sup>169</sup> David Hardiman, 'Adivasis on Their Own Terms', *EPW*, July 15 2000, p. 2520

<sup>170</sup> Rudolph Heredia, 'Tribal History: Living Word or Dead letter'. *EPW*, April 29' 2000, p. 1525

### Terminological Squabbles

In 1957, International labour organization adopted convention 107 concerning the protection and integration of indigenous and other tribals and semi tribal populations in independent countries. In this convention 'Indigenous' was conceptualized as the pre-European invasion social entities of the Americas, Australia and New Zealand. As this Convention looked at the tribal people as representing a transitory phase in the evolutionary schema of the human social organization it was considered unsatisfactory not only by the increasing self-consciousness indigenous and tribal peoples but a body of social scientists and social historians with wider humanist vision. In 1989, convention 107 was expanded by adding Convention 169. Under the new Convention the scope and geographical regions of the indigenous people was widened. According to Martinez Cobo, own dominant people with distinct cultures in their respective states should be categorized as indigenous.<sup>171</sup> The World Bank has, on its own, declared that in India, the term 'indigenous' means 'scheduled Tribes'. Whereas India and most Asian and African countries have asserted that in these parts of the world it is difficult to say who are indigenous and who are not in historical-chronological sense. Although the constitution of India has placed the aboriginal groups of India with a category known as scheduled Tribes and has also given various concessions and protection under Article 342, yet there is no particular definition about tribes in anthropology.<sup>172</sup>

According to Baidyanath Saraswati, the term 'tribe' refers to a "constellation of somewhat reformed aspects of primitive life, generally constituting a homogenous unit speaking a common language, chaining

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<sup>171</sup> B. K. Roy Burman, *Indigenous and Tribal people: Gathering Mist and New Horizon*, New Delhi, Mittal Pub. 1994, p. 4

<sup>172</sup> Stephen Fuchs, *The Aborigines of India*, Bombay, 1972 Chap-II.



a common ancestry living in a particular geographic area, lacking in scientific knowledge and moderate technology and having a social structure based on kinship". The subtlety of the definition is that tribe in relation to modern society is a separate humanity.<sup>173</sup> T. B. Naik has proposed the following seven criteria by which a tribe can be recognized: (1) a tribe has the least functional interdependence within the community. (2) It is economically backward. (3) It is geographically isolated from other peoples (4) it speaks a common language or dialect which may however be subject to regional variations. (5) a tribe is politically a unit under a common tribal authority. (6) In a tribe its members are averse to change. (7) A tribe has its own traditional laws which often differ from those of the majority community.<sup>174</sup> According to government of India, the term Scheduled tribe applies to a community with comparatively simple and of residential instability a, a simple though not at ways classless social organization, and especially that feeling of being a different and separate social unit. They are different from scheduled castes in a sense that they do not have direct relations with mainstream Hinduism and being apart from majority they are not considers socially backward. The scheduled trines are known with various names as; aborigines, primitives, adivasis etc. However, in present situation they refrain to be called as *vanvasis*.<sup>175</sup>

The term 'adivasis' meaning 'original inhabitants' of a particular region was first used in the Chhota Nagpur region of Bihar in 1930's and extended to other regions in the 1940's by A. V. Thakkar, who worked

<sup>173</sup> Baidyanath Saraswati, *Tribal Thought and Cultured: Essays in Honour of Shri Surajit Chandra Sinha*, New Delhi, Concept Pub. 1991 p. 13; According to Lucy Mair, a tribe as an independent political division of a population with a common culture. According to G. W. B. Hunting Ford, a tribe is a group united by a common name in which the number take a pride by a common language, by a common territory and by a feeling that all who do not share this name are outside enemies in fact. See Lucy Mair.

<sup>174</sup> T. B. Naik. *The Tribes of Gujarat*, Ahmedabad, 1951.

<sup>175</sup> Stephen Fuchs, op. cit., p. 1522.

among the tribals. The Gandhians popularized the other politer equivalents such as 'raniparaj', 'vanyajati', and 'girijan'. In the historical Indian context, adivasi refers to a wide variety of communities which earlier had remained relatively free from the controls of outside states but were eventually subjugated during the colonial period and brought under the control of the state.<sup>176</sup>

The idea of indigenous people' is an issue of considerable contention in India today which was hardly so till twentieth century. Presently in twenty-first century social workers, administrators, politician and even scholars widely use the term without feeling uneasiness in the use of its native equivalent viz., 'adivasi'.<sup>177</sup> According to L. M. Shrikant, it is not correct to call tribes as indigenous people of India as the term was applied in Latin America or elsewhere. The terms used for tribes such as *adijati*, Adivasi are too a misnomer, though the term *vanyajati*, *girijan raniparaj* are useful for identifying the tribes who still live in hilly or forest areas, which are in accessible.<sup>178</sup> Shrikant advocates caution and care in the use of terminology for the different communities while studying utmost care to their history and habitation. Preference to terms such as *kaliparaj raniparaj*, and *vanyajati* over *adijati* and *adivasis* advocated because in many cases these tribes may not be the original inhabitants of the region where they reside now. They may well turn out to be migrant inhabitants. Therefore, L. M. Shrikant prefers to use the general term tribe.<sup>179</sup>

<sup>176</sup> Rudolph Heredia, op. cit., p. 1552

<sup>177</sup> Virginius Xaxa, 'Tribes as Indigenous people of India', *EPW*, Dec. 18, 1999, p. 3589; G. S. Ghurye had, of course, some reservation to the use of such term the expressions he used was so-called 'aborigines'.

<sup>178</sup> L. M. Shrikant, 'Western and Eastern Deccan Tribes' in K. S. Singh (ed), *The Tribal Situation in India*, IAS, Shimla, 1972, p. 200.

<sup>179</sup> Bina Sengar, *Modern Studies on Adivasis of South Gujarat*, MA Dissertation, The M. S. University, Baroda, 2000, p. 2.

To G. S. Ghurye, "Apart from the facts that the terms like aborigines or adivasis are question begging and pregnant with mischief, the fact that the constitution of India speaks of these people as the scheduled Tribes renders any other designation utterly wrong."<sup>180</sup> S. C. Dube finds it difficult to speak of original inhabitants, for tribal traditions themselves make repeated mention of migration of their ancestors. To him there is considerable evidence to suggest that several groups were pushed out of the areas where they were first settled and they had to seek shelter elsewhere. There are several groups of the tribal communities which are being absorbed in the Hindu religion.<sup>181</sup> Historians have taken pragmatic and cultural aspects into consideration while defining the term 'tribe'. While aborigines the terms such as aborigines and tribes Sumit Guha states that the, "Two terms have the different meanings; tribal refers to the term political organization of a community, while aborigines means one present from the beginning, origin, or literally 'of the sunrise'. Any identification of a particular group of people as aborigines of a particular area implies the existence of a substantial genetic continuity between them and the first human population of the region, a hypothesis with some limited validity in the new world. But quite unsubstantiated in the old. The equality between tribes and aborigines, originates in fact as nineteenth century racial theory which argued that certain races among the Africans were incapable of progressing beyond tribal organizations unless forcibly integrated into societies dominated by superior races. It is a consequence of this idea that aboriginal is tribal and tribal

<sup>180</sup> G. S. Ghurye, *The Scheduled Tribes*, Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1959, pp. VII-X. Although Ghurye discards the concept of adivasis and aborigines surely he does not agree with the term 'scheduled'.

<sup>181</sup> "The Scheduled Tribes are neither called the 'Aborigines' nor the Adivasis nor they are treated as category by themselves by and large they are together with the Scheduled castes and further envisaged as a group of the backward classes". S. C. Dube, *The Tribal Heritage of India*, Shimla, IAS, 1977, p. 55;

aboriginal".<sup>182</sup> To Ramchandra Guha, "The term 'tribe' is the terminology which is part of constitution of India and defines the forest dweller and their region with their societies."<sup>183</sup> What becomes clear from the contemporary and past studies is that the term 'tribe' has been widely accepted and used as also sanctioned by the constitution of India. At the same time the term 'Adivasi' is also gaining currency and various scholars have adopted it as heuristic device.<sup>184</sup>

### Tribes of India: Gujarat

It is often assumed that tribes are comities of unchanging culture. But what is slowly becoming clear is that they were neither indifferent to the European invasion nor incursions of the new comers life state; that they were not locked into a rigid unchanging culture. Yet there were aspects of aboriginal culture and philosophy which proved remarkably resistant to change. Traditional society was, therefore both more conservative and more innovative than standard accounts have suggested with their picture of a culture too rigid to bend.<sup>185</sup> To appreciate the above view, a brief sketch of the main tribes of India and the tribes under study of this thesis will not be out of place.

For the study about tribals of India indeed no intelligent approach to the aboriginal problem is possible without recognizing that the tribesmen fall into at least four main cultural divisions each of which demands distinct administrative treatment.<sup>186</sup>

<sup>182</sup> Sumit Guha, *Environment and Ethnicity in India. 1200-1991*, Cambridge, CUP, 1999, p. 6.

<sup>183</sup> Ramchandra Guha, 'Fighting for Forests: State Forestry and Social Change' in Mendelssohn Oliver and Baxi Upendra (ed.), *The Rights Of Subordinate Peoples*, New Delhi, OUP, 1996, p. 20.

<sup>184</sup> For details see Bina Sengar, op. cit., p. 4.

<sup>185</sup> Roger Moddy (ed.), *The Indigenous Voice: Visions and Realities*, Vol. I, Copenhagen, Zed Books, 1988, p. xxi

<sup>186</sup> Verrier Elwin, *The Aborigines: No. 14*, Oxford Pamphlets on Indian Affairs, OUP London, 1943, p. 8.

According to Verrier Elwin, there are four kinds of aborigines who live in India. The first two classes consist of the comparatively small blocks (probably not more than five million of real primitives living in the hills. The word 'living' is properly applied to them; these highlanders do not merely exist like so many ordinary villagers. Their religion is characteristic and alive; their tribal organization is unimpaired; their artistic and choreographic conditions are unbroken; their mythologies still vitalizes the healthy organization of tribal life. Geographical conditions have largely protected them from the debasing contacts of the plains.<sup>187</sup> Their main features of social life are: (i) its members live a largely communal life. (ii) Economically they still share with one another, (iii) for them are cultivation is more them a form of agriculture, (vi) They are shy to strangers.<sup>188</sup>

The second categories of aboriginals live in country equally remote and they are equally attached to their solitude and to their ancient traditions. But they have begun to change in many small and subtle ways. The difference can be seen very mildly in a comparison between the Hill Marias and the Bison-Horn Marias of Bastar state, or between the Bhumias and the Abujhmar Baigas. The main characteristics of this category are:- (i) their village has become individualistic; (ii) they no longer share things; (iii) cultivation is more a habit than a part of their life; and (iv) they are more accustomed to outside life.

The third category of aboriginals is the most numerous; it probably numbers thirty million all those who under the influence of

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<sup>187</sup> Ibid. p. 8

<sup>188</sup> Ibid. p. 8

external contact have begun to lose their hold on tribal culture, religion, and social organization.

Finally we have the fourth category, which consists of the old aristocracy of the country, probably dating very far back indeed—represented to day by great Bhil and Naga Chieftains, the Gond Rajas, a few *Binhjhnar* and *Bhiya* landlords, Konku nobleman, wealthy Santhal and Uraon leaders and some highly cultured Munda tribes' men. These retain the old tribal names and their clan and their rules and observe elements of tribal religion though they generally adopt the Hindu faith and live in modern and even in European style.<sup>189</sup>

### Tribes of India

There are in India about two hundred and fifty tribes differing widely from one another in physical appearance, culture, and material welfare. The total percentage of tribals in India is eight percent, which is vast enough to be a definite, political, cultural, and economic unit of the Indian population (1941 Census) if tribes are counted as one undivided block.<sup>190</sup>

<sup>189</sup> Ibid. pp. 10-11.

<sup>190</sup> The tribes are distributed all over the hilly forest tract of the country, some of which are even beyond the reach of our civilization. Many places in the Himalayas for instance are not approachable. In the same way the tract of the hot and damp forests of the Godavari Valley are unsuited for colonization, on account of malignant malaria and other drastic diseases prevalent in those tracts. The tribes living in such remote tracts are called the isolated tribes. There are hills however, scattered all over the country, that afford shelter to the people. There are some tribes that live in the hills bounded by large plains. The vicinity of plains makes the contact of the aboriginals with the people of the plains easy. The market places are the most important contact centers. The more prosperous people living in the plains naturally influence the simple folk from the hills. Besides the two broad divisions viz. the isolated and the partially assimilated, the aboriginal population can be understood with their geographical distribution. If we divide India into three belts then we knew exactly where the principle tribes live in: to be precise the Upper or Northern belt comprises the Himalayan ranges and the Gangetic Valley. The principle tribes dwelling in it are Lepcha (Sikkim) Kami (Sikkim and Bengal), Khar (Sikkim and Up), Gurung (Sikkim), Kol (UP), Lkhapa (U.P.), Pasi (U. P.) etc. The middle belt is the largest and extensive in area. It includes three major mountain ranges, viz., the Vindhya, the Satpura, and the Sahyadris, and four important river beds, the Narmada, the Mahanadi the Tapti, and the Godavari. The

## Tribes of Gujarat

The tribes of Gujarat are spread in the Eastern districts ranges from Rajasthan in the north, Madhya Pradesh in the east to the Maharashtra in the south. The tribes of Gujarat account for fifteen percent of the total population of the state. They are specially spread in the districts of Banaskantha, Sabarakantha, Panchmahals, Dahod, Vadodara, Bharuch, Narmada, Surat, Navsari, Valsad, and the Dangs.<sup>191</sup> Thirty two talukas of these districts have an adivasis population of over fifty percent. The Government has classified them as adivasis talukas for the sake of development programmers.<sup>192</sup> Out of these the districts of Surat and PanchMahals have the maximum number of tribal population of all the districts.<sup>193</sup> It is significant that the largest aboriginal tribe in the state is that of the Bhils. The Bhils too have been differentiated into numerous (29) tribal sub-groups. These sub-groups are spread over along the Eastern belt of hilly Gujarat. Some of the major names are Gamit, Chodhari, Vasava, Kokna, Warli.<sup>194</sup>

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principle tribes of the belt are kacheri (Assam) Naga (Nagaland), Garo (Meghalaya), Munda (Bengal, Bihar), Oraon (Bihar and Orissa) *Bhuiya* (Orissa), Asur (Orissa), Gond (U.P.) Agaria (M.P.), Korku (M. P) Baiga (M.P.), Bhil (Central India, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Rajasthan.) Koli (Gujarat-Maharashtra), Kukna (Maharashtra), Katkari (Maharashtra). The lower belt covers the southern portion of India, the Krishna and the Kaveri Valleys, the Nilgiri ranges and the Cochin-Travancor and Malabar, and the whole of the southern India. The principle tribes belonging to this belt are Badaga (Nilgiri) Toda (Nilgiri), Kuduven (Travancore), Khond (Tamil Nadu) *Tranvalan* (Kerala) *Malayan* (Cochin) *Nayadoi* (Malabar), and Chenchu (Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra). Durga Bhagwat, *A Primer Anthropology*, Baroda, Padmaja Pub. 1946, p. 7.

<sup>191</sup> Lancy Lobo, 'Adivasis, Hindutva, and Post Godhra Riots in Gujarat', *EPW*, Nov. 30, 2002, Vol. No. XXXVII, p. 4844.

<sup>192</sup> *Ibid.* p. 4844

<sup>193</sup> P. G. Shah, *Ethnic History of Gujarat*. Bombay, Gujarat Research Society, 1968, p. 83.

<sup>194</sup> Lancy Lobo, *op. cit.*, p. 4844, 'According to the list of Scheduled tribes of Gujarat the tribes are: (1) Bhil, Bhil Garasia Dholi Bhil, Dungri Bhil, Dungri Garasia Mewasi Bhil, Rawat Bhil, Tadvil Bhil, Bhagalia Bhilala, Pawra, Vasava, and Vasave, (2) Chaudhari, (3) Chodhara, (4) Dhanka, Tadvil, Tetaria, Valvi, (5) Dhodia, (6) Dubla, Talavia, Halpati, (7) Gamit, Gamta, Gavli, Mavchi, Pardhi, (8) Kathodi, Kathkari Dhor Kathodi, Dhor Kathakari, Son Kathodi, Son Katkari, (9) Kokna, Kokni, Kukna, (10) Kolgha, (11) Naikda, Nayaka, Chotivala, Naika, Kapadia Nayaka, Mota Nayaka, Nana Nayaka, (12) Rathwa, (13) Warli, (14) Vitolia, Kotwalia, Barodia. S. C. Bhatt, *The Encyclopedic District, Gazetteers of India: Western Zone*, Vol. VII, New Delhi, Gyan Pub. 1997, pp. 97-98.

**The Bhils:** About a hundred years ago the adivasis of Gujarat were called the 'Bhils of the hills'<sup>195</sup> Gujarat Bhils belong to two main divisions, one of partly Rajput and the other of pure Bhil descent. The former of have adopted certain Rajput clan names, such as Baria, Dangi Savra, Katara, Malwania, Parmar and Rathod.<sup>196</sup> The *pur* Bhils were chiefly found in Rewakantha and the Panchmahals. They are of two kinds: Hill and plain Bhils. These two kinds are further sub-divided into numerous clans. But as all intermarry and differ in no way in their habit and custom it would serve no useful purpose. Wilhelm Koppers presumes the homeland of Bhils as follows; the original homeland of the Bhils seems to point towards the Aravali Mountains and the western Vindhya. It seems probable that the western Satpuras need not be considered those latter regions, as they are not healthy and still largely un-habited. Therefore one may consider the western Vindhya and the Aravallis to be the most probable homeland of the Bhils.<sup>197</sup> Anthropologists for more than a century have been trying to find the origin of the Bhils. It is absolutely surprising that they have repeated the ancient origin of the Bhils and postulated their affiliation to diverse peoples with out any empirical evidence at all.<sup>198</sup>

<sup>195</sup> Lancy Lobo, op. cit., p. 4844.

<sup>196</sup> James Campbell, 'Criminal Classes of Bombay Presidency', Bombay, MSA, 1904, p. 37

<sup>197</sup> Wilhelm Koppers and L. Jungblut, *Bowmen of Mid-India*, Vol. I, Series Indica-6 Wien (Vienna), 1976, p. 10; Also see G. A. Grierson "The Bhil languages including *khanoeshi banjarani*, or *lahani*, *Bharupia* and others" in his *Linguistics Survey Of India*, Vol. IX, *Indo-Aryan Family Central Group Part III*, Calcutta, Govt. Printing Press, 1907, p. 1.

<sup>198</sup> Robert Deliege, *The Bhils Of Western India : Some Empirical And Theoretical Issues In Anthropology In India*, New Delhi, National Pub. House, 1985, p. 14. 'It has been said that the word 'Bhil' is derived from the word 'Bhil' of the Dravidian language. The word means 'arrow' which is essential element for the Bhil'. For further details see, M. R. Palande (ed.), *Gujarat State Gazetteer: PanchMahals District*, Ahmedabad, Govt. Press. 1961. p. 207, and Shobhnath Pathak, *Bhilon Ke Beech Bees Varsh*, (Hindi) Delhi. Prabhat Pub. 1983. p. 17.





A Bhil woman threshing her crop produce, Village Dagunya, District Dangs, December 2003

The social organization among Bhils has three forms of authority. The chief; or the headman, the Council of five (*Panchayat*) in the cases of quarrels and disputes between neighbours, the decision of the head or chief of tribe to his classmen is fully administered. The chief of the Bhil is known as 'Gamit' or 'Patel', from the above one can infer that democracy prevails among Bhils and they maintain it because of their unity. The authority of chief which is generally hereditary gives the holder a position of respect and makes him a referee in social disputes. The Bhil *Panchayat* 'Council' could be entirely composed of village headmen. The council decides all marriage disputes, punishes in breach of tribal rules and when the offender confesses then the abused is

retrieved.<sup>199</sup> The village is the basic unit of their organization; most of the people from a village belong to a simple lineage and are in control of the affairs of the village.

Within the Bhils another important sub-community is that of the Bhilalas and the Patelias, they are the tribal peasant groups in the Dahod district area. The Bhilalas are today far more committed to agriculture than the Bhils who depend to a greater extent on forest produce leaves and on manual labour. The Patelias are better cultivators in the area. They cultivate land of good quality. Even when they are seen living at higher altitudes as compared to other tribals, they own relatively good and leveled lands while the Bhils cultivate the rocky and undulating hill sides.<sup>200</sup> There is a trend of upward mobility among the Bhilalas. So they are claiming to be Rajputs and putting their efforts in that live.

### **The Chodharas:**

One of the most urbanized and educated tribes in Gujarat are Chodhara, Found mostly in south Gujarat region of the Gujarat State.<sup>201</sup> The Chodharas do not appear to worship any of the regular deities of Hinduism. Like Bhils Chodharas also believe in 'dakan' i.e. witchcraft and ghosts. This concept of witch and diseases associated with their

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<sup>199</sup> M. R. Palande, op. cit., p. 155.

<sup>200</sup> The Bhilalas are closely related to the Bhils, Barelals, Patelias and another group inhabiting the Vindhya and Satpuras. They have a considerable constitute of Rajput blood in them. They claim Rajput descent and are considered to be of higher status than the neighboring tribal groups. Loknath Soni, 'The Bhilalas: Case of Upward Mobility and Rajput Identity', *Adivasi Gujarat* Vol. 7, No. 1 1997, p. 18.

<sup>201</sup> D. P. Khanpurkar, 'Chodharas', *Journal of Gujarat Research Society* Vol. II Jan 1945, No. 1 p. 6; "The Chodharas claim to be partly of Rajput descent and according to their own account were once carriers in the Rajput kingdom of Northern Gujarat from where they fled south at the time of Islamic invasions". See, B. H. Mehta, *A summary of the Economic Life of an aboriginal Tribe of Gujarat*, 1934, p. 311.

presence has led to growth of a class of men who work for the cure of such disease. These men are known as '*bhagats*',<sup>202</sup>



Chodhara couple getting married. Observe the change in the marriage customs and costumes. Village Vedchhi, district Surat, Feb 2002.

#### The Dhankas:

P. G. Shah did a detailed study of social and economic life of the Dhanka tribe.<sup>203</sup> The Dhankas are largely spread over Baroda, Bharuch, and Narmada district specially concentrating in Chhota Udepur and Rajpipla where they are in majority. In Garudeshwar taluka Bharuch, Dhankas constitutes almost ninety five percent of the population.<sup>204</sup> According to S. C. Bhatt, Tadvi, Tetaria, and Valirs are sub-groups of

<sup>202</sup> B. H. Mehta, 'Religious thought and Worship amongst the Chodharas of Gujarat', extracts from the *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol. XV, No. 4, Sept. 1933, pp. 22-23

<sup>203</sup> P.G. Shah, *Tribal Life in Gujarat: Dhanka Tribe*, Delhi, Bhartiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh, 1985.

<sup>204</sup> Ibid, p. 55.

Dhankas<sup>205</sup> whereas R. E. Enthoven asserts Tadvi to be a sub-group born out of illegitimate child of Bhil women and Muslim women during times of Aurangzeb.<sup>206</sup> The Tadvis therefore form a sub-group between Bhils and Dhankas.

Patriarchal joint family is the unit of Dhanka community. The family usually takes the occupation of agriculture, and the whole family participates in it. The family institution is based on congenial relations and respects to elders.<sup>207</sup>

### **The Dhodias:**

According to Enthoven, Dhodia with a population of 94,381 in 1901 were chiefly found in Surat, Thana, and southern planks of Gujarat. They are one of the prominent field labouring classes of the society. They are found chiefly in Chikhli, Valsad, Pardi in the south of Surat and eastward through Bansda and Dharampur and the western portions of Khandesh. Dhodias were part of Bansda State too, and according to Baroda State Gazetteer, "Dhodia is a primitive tribe found in Navsari District".<sup>208</sup> Dhodias follows animistic religion. Their favorite deities of worship are Brahman Dev, Iria Dev; they worship these deities with a belief that their devotees are protected from the affection of witches, ghosts, small-pox, and cholera or other such endives diseases.<sup>209</sup>

<sup>205</sup> S. C. Bhatt, *op. cit.*, pp. 97-98.

<sup>206</sup> M. R. Palande, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

<sup>207</sup> P. G. Shah, *op. cit.*, p. 142. There are not endogamous divisions of Dhodias. The name of few of the kuls are as follows: Atar, Bavisa, Bhaboa, Bharlea, Bhat, Bhoi, Mota Bhoi, Nana Bhoi, Brahmani, Chhasdhola, Chobdia, Desai, etc.,

<sup>208</sup> J. M. Campbell, *op. cit.*, pp. 312-315.

<sup>209</sup> 'Dhodias are inclined to worship Gods only when they suffer. They visit a place known as Dev-Unai, a hot water spring for bath.' R. E. Enthoven, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

### The Dublas:

Dublas are found chiefly in Bharuch, Surat, and Valsad districts. The tribe has about twenty sub-divisions deriving their names from peculiarities of their own for e.g. Talavias' for they lived near *talav* or ponds and tanks.<sup>210</sup> Dublas are classed among the kaliparaj, i.e. dark races, a common term in general use for adivasis of Gujarat. The Dublas are weakling as their name is said to mean, for a feeble people soon aged by their hard life and their fondness for liquor.<sup>211</sup> Dublas are part of a major system called *Handolia* or *Hali*. From the study of B.H. Mehta in Mandvi taluka Surat district it appears that there are two types of agricultural labourers as in the rest of Gujarat. (1) The halis or permanent servants attached to a family for life, or for a period of one year (2) labourers who work on a daily basis.<sup>212</sup> Dublas are primarily animists and believe in witchcraft, sorcery, or major. They engage a Bhagat sorcerer to drive away diseases who works out the cure by means of a broom made of *neem* leaves.<sup>213</sup>

### The Gamit:

The Gamits are also known as Gamtas or Gamtada. They are mainly found in Surat and Navsari districts of Gujarat. They are followers of animistic religion and worship Waghdev, Damadev, and Devli Mata. They never make use of a Brahmins Service nor pay him any respect.<sup>214</sup>

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<sup>210</sup> M. R. Palande, *Gazetteer of Bharuch*, op. cit., p. 160.

<sup>211</sup> P. G. Shah, op. cit., pp. 60-65.

<sup>212</sup> 'The Hali is a permanent servant employed by a family for a period of one year, getting three months leave and receiving fixed wages, boarding, lodging and clothes. The contract is renewable every year. Amongst the aborigines the Hali is often an orphan boy or a girl, or an unmarried son or daughter of a poor labourer. If the hali has no home, he stays with his master, other wise he goes home to his family for a period of three months after the Holi festival.' B. H. Mehta, *A summary of the Economic Life*, op. cit., p. 339.

<sup>213</sup> R. E. Enthoven, op. cit., p. 12.

<sup>214</sup> S. C. Bhatt, op. cit., pp. 97-98.

**The Grasias<sup>215</sup>** : Bhil Grasias appear to be an intermediate tribe being a mixture of Bhils and Grasias and they can be elevated and absorbed in the Grasia tribe according to cretin customs prevailing among Grasias. The grasias in Gujarat have not been treated as a separate tribal group in the scheduled lists of tribes in Gujarat although in Rajasthan where they are located south-west of Aravali hills, they have been listed as a separate tribal group. In Gujarat they have been grouped under the Bhil Grasias.<sup>216</sup>



A Bhil Garasia wedding at village Shamalaji, district Sabarkantha, May 2003

<sup>215</sup> Colonel Erskine has described the Grasias as follows, "Allied to the Bhils but ranking just above them in the social scale are the Grasias, the principle inhabitants of the Bhabhar and also numerous in the Santpur and Pindaric tehsils. According to Sir John Malcolm, term Grasia denotes, Chiefs who were driven from their possessions by invaders and established and maintained their claim to a share of the revenue upon the ground of their power to districts or prevent its collection". The word is derived from word 'Giras' signifies mouthful and has been Metaphor physically applied to designate the small share of the produce of the country which these plunders claimed. The Grasias are said to have come from Mewar many centuries ago. It is often assumed that they are the descendants of Rajputs by Bhil women'. cited in P. C. Dave, *The Grasias: Also so called Dungri Grasias A Scheduled Tribe in Bombay and Rajasthan State*, Delhi Bhartiya Adimijati Sevak Sangh, 1960, p. 1

<sup>216</sup> 'However, the Grasais of Danta taluka, who have retained their social cultural ties with the Grasias of Rajasthan feel degraded if referred to as Bhil Grasias'. 'As a result we come across three kinds of Grasia viz, Rajput Grasias Dungri Grasias, and Bhil Grasias in Banaskantha and Sabarkantha districts of Gujarat'. R. B. Lal., *Sons of Aravalis: The Grasias*, Ahmedabad, Tribal Research and Training Centre, Gujarat Vidyapith, 1978, p. 4.

### **The Kathodis:**

Kathodias are found in Sabarakantha, Bharuch, Surat, and The Dangs district of south Gujarat. The Kathodias are said to have been brought in Gujarat from Maharashtra by some Bhil contractors and traders for employing them as forest labourers for making catechu from khair trees. Socially Kathodias choose their settlements in the forest to suit their convenience, selecting a plot that promised good hunting for village and food gathering. These dwellings are further developed as a house.<sup>217</sup>

### **The Naikadas:**

The Naika form one of the important tribes of Gujarat, they are also known as Naiks or Naikadas in some localities. The Naikadas are chiefly found in the Panchmahals but also in Baroda, Narmada, Bharuch and Surat districts.<sup>218</sup> The Naikadas have been generally without land and though there may be a few landlords, the bulk of the population was at one stage nomadic till twentieth century. Generally the Naikadas of the Panchmahals are landless labourers and wood culture or forest produce gathers. Very few have bullocks and ploughs and most of them possess no land even in hilly areas.<sup>219</sup> The religion of the Naikadas is animistic and they follow the practices of superstition, magic, and witchcraft.<sup>220</sup>

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<sup>217</sup> Mustava Musali and Garish Pandya, *The Kathodis of Gujarat: A Socio-Economic Survey and Development Plan*, Ahmedabad, Gujarat Vidyapith, Tribal Research and Training Centre, 1987, p. 1.

<sup>218</sup> S. B. Rajyagore, *Gazetteer of Gujarat*, op. cit., p. 85.

<sup>219</sup> P. G. Shah, op. cit., p. 3.

<sup>220</sup> Ibid. p. 45.

**The Rathwas:**

The Chhota Udepur region is also known as 'Rath Pradesh' because the main tribal community inhabiting this region is Rathwas.<sup>221</sup> Though the main occupation of Rathwas is agriculture, they are also avid hunters. The palm trees are most respected and resourceful trees of Rathwas. Their other economic activity is animal husbandry.<sup>222</sup>



A Rathwa family at village Rangpur, Feb 2001

**The Vasavas:**

Enthoven calls the Vasava a subdivision of Dublas and the Bhils and the Vasava a synonym for Vasava Dublas.<sup>223</sup> However, it is contrary because they cannot be subdivided of both Bhils and Dublas at the same time. The main areas of inhabitation of Vasavas are Baroda and

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<sup>221</sup> S. S. Tadvī, *Palna Rathwa*, Ahmedabad, Shree Laxmi Pustak Bhandar, 1977, p. 228.

<sup>222</sup> Ibid. p. 309

<sup>223</sup> R. E. Enthoven,



Narmada Districts. In the later district they were known to be inhabiting since a longtime and in two fit is talukas Sagbara and Valia they had ruling principalities. Apart from these places they reside in Nandod, Wadi, Gunther Raisinghpur, Singhpur, Nala, Aanivihi Khonjana and parts of Khandesh in Maharashtra.<sup>224</sup>

### The Warlis:

The Warlis are an aboriginal tribe living in the north eastern part of the district including the erstwhile Jawhar State, the Portuguese territory of Daman, Dharampur, and Bansda in Surat Agency and in the western part of the Nasik district, especially in the Eastern slopes of the Sahyadris.<sup>225</sup> In Gujarat Warlis live in hilly tracts of Dharampur and Bansda. In the Eastern parts of Dharampur, there are some villages exclusively inhabited by Warlis. Warlis also reside in the central and southern parts the Dangs. Warlis of the Dangs remember that their forefathers came to this district from the Dharampur.<sup>226</sup>

The Warlis in general are agriculturists. In Dangs some of the Warlis follow the profession of iron-smith. This profession has become their prerogative in Dangs. In Dharampur majority of Warlis are agricultural laborers of rich Parsi Zamindars. Who intruded the jungles with their liquor casks in the nineteenth century? During the nineteenth century none of the Warlis were in any army nor in police, or in any branch of government services except the forest department. A large number of them held no lands and were the tenements of Brahmins and

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<sup>224</sup> Lalubhai Vasava, *Bhil Vasava Jatino Aitihāsik Parichay*, MS Collected from Ahwa-Dang Seva Mandal- Dec 2002. Documents on Sagbara and Valia Giras are available in Baroda Record Office, Baroda.

<sup>225</sup> K. J. Save, *The Warlis*, Bombay, Padma Pub. 1945, p. 1; D. P. Khanpurkar, *The Aborigines of South Gujarat*, Part -I, Ph.D. thesis University of Mumbai, 1944, p. 278

<sup>226</sup> R. E. Enthoven, *The Warlis*, op. cit., pp. 454-455.

other large landholders. Some were reduced to the status of bonded labourers or Serfs.

These tribal communities of Gujarat today constitute major population living under unprivileged category. They are the one undergoing tremendous social and political upheaval. The following chapters will explore the genesis and undergoing transformation of these societies.