

URGENT RESEARCH
IN
SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY

Proceedings of a Conference

Edited by
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PREFACE

The present volume of the Transactions of the Indian Institute of Advanced Study contains the papers presented at and the proceedings of our tenth Seminar, the one on *Urgent Research in Social Anthropology*, held at the Institute beginning July 15 through to July 20, 1968. The work of editing the papers and the proceedings was gladly undertaken by my two esteemed colleagues Dr. Behari L. Abbi and Dr. Satish Saberwal, to whom our grateful thanks are due. They also undertook to write a useful Introduction to the volume. We appreciate very much the trouble they have taken in this regard.

The work of editing and printing was done in a relatively short period of time for which the Editors and the Press deserve our grateful thanks.

We hope, the volume will be found useful by those who are interested in the Social Anthropology of India.

NIHARRANJAN RAY
General Editor

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BEHARI L. ABBI AND SATISH SABERWAL¹

Introduction

THIS essay attempts to highlight what appear to us to be the major themes of the essays in this volume. We notice the parallels and the contrasts in the arguments offered and attempt to place them in such perspectives as seem relevant to us. We do not summarize the papers; this task is best left for the reader to perform from his own viewpoint.

PERSPECTIVES

Despite their claim to being comparative sociologists concerned with the study of all human society, or anthropologists engaged in the study of man, social anthropologists with only a few exceptions have been mainly concerned with the social customs and institutions of 'black' peoples subject to 'white' rule. Fieldwork of varying duration in particular localities and synchronic analyses of data have characteristically led to portrayals of social conditions in the 'ethnographic present', though occasionally dual-synchronic and rarely diachronic studies of short range changes have also been attempted. Independence and the growth of industrialization and urbanization in the erstwhile colonies have accelerated the pace of social change in many of them. Besides a renewed concern with vanishing traditions, the discipline has been drawn into studies of emergent institutions and processes. These changing contexts as well as the internal critical pressures have impressed upon the discipline the inadequacy of its theoretical and methodological inheritance. Some of the innovative responses to this situation receive attention from Berreman; his bibliography is particularly welcome. Like other social scientists trying to understand the problems of 'development', anthropologists have drawn widely from the other

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disciplines, often under the banner of 'inter-disciplinary research'. This has led both to a certain deparochialization of the discipline and to a blurring of its distinctive identity. It is now one among many social sciences and humanities which claim specialist competence in a broad range of new areas while attempting to maintain their hold on the old. The papers of our contributors reflect these continuities and changes in varying degrees and combinations.

Though the discussion at the Conference showed a strong awareness of the need for research on emerging institutions, the papers presented dealt mainly with the traditional areas the authors knew best. As the recommendations of the Conference show, this tilted the balance in favour of those areas, and the research into emergent patterns and processes finds infrequent mention. In fairness to the Conference, that imbalance we attempt to redress in the following pages while discussing the various approaches represented in the papers.

THE HOLISTIC APPROACH

The functionalist truism that societies constitute systems of inter-related parts—institutions, norms, statutes, roles, patterns of interaction between people—has long been part of the social anthropological stock-in-trade. Its more extreme expressions—that social systems form integrated wholes, that nothing survives without having a function—have now yielded to a much greater theoretical awareness of boundary maintaining efforts by system-parts, of strife over asymmetrical distribution of power, prestige, and wealth, and of other complexities in the inter-relations of parts to each other and to the whole. A number of our contributors, in their own different ways, show this sophisticated awareness in their approach to the analysis of Indian civilization. While they stress the need to conduct research in a holistic manner, in the context of the total Indian civilization and culture, they also warn us that impressionistic generalizations now current about the nature of Indian civilization require empirical scrutiny.

To that end Gardner stresses the urgency of a theoretical synthesis of existing studies, to determine the distribution of traits and modes of cultural systematization both within a region and inter-regionally. These, he hopes, would help us not only to assess the cultural significance of both uniformities and diversities, but also to judge whether there is such a thing as the Indian culture. At the same time he is uncertain about the applicability of the concept of plural culture to India. He suggests that the Indian 'Great Tradition', in its myths and drama, has cultural materials whose analysis would offer insights about cultural and personality supplementary to those available from field observation (Narain, 1957).

Sinha has no doubt that there is such a thing as Indian civilization, and he, in contrast to the primarily cultural approach of Gardner, advocates a "selection of groups and problems with a view to theoretical understanding of the

totality of Indian society and culture as structures, patterns and processes". He is well aware, as Gardner is, of the diversity of Indian settlements, styles of life, religious, racial, linguistic and caste divisions, and the role of traditional states in regulating intercaste relations and in stabilizing regional styles of life. However, he notes that there is a pre-industrial and pre-market base of Indian civilization, and a core of social and cultural forms, including modes of inter-regional cultural communication, which continue to function today, though with varying amounts of modification. Feeling certain that a study of these enduring forms is critical for understanding the contemporary Indian civilization, he suggests a series of specific studies, so *phased* that initial work lays the basis for further enquiries. The idea is unexceptionable but Sinha does not suggest an organizational framework which would ensure the continuity of resources, personnel, and leadership necessary for implementing such a programme.

A variation on Sinha's theme is played by Saberwal; his interests centre not on the persisting traditional core of Indian civilization but on what he calls the contemporary 'generative independent realm'—the industrial urban society and the national macro-structures which generate the formative influences for the emergent society and culture. The analytic approaches he has to offer apply largely to middle-sized population units—a large city or a district (which also interest Jay and Nicholas)—but he asks us to strain our thoughts and resources in the direction of larger units still.

Niharranjan Ray, whose discipline is social history, goes one step further. Viewing 'national unity' as a major problem and a prime social objective for the people of India, and stressing the need to give 'social relevance' to our academic interests, he asks us to investigate :

What are the facts and factors, at various areas and levels of the society in which we find ourselves, that are conducive to national unity, what are those that retard this unity? To what extent are they historically conditioned, to what extent sociologically?

In this kind of social perspective, Ray suggests optimistically that:

...all the major problems of today in the social anthropology of India will fall into their proper places, one leading to and elucidating the other and indicating the interconnectedness of them all. . .

While each of the above positions is debatable, it seems to us that only through serious attention to propositions such as these can we proceed to 'nationalize our problems' as Uberoi urges upon us. His attempt to extend the holistic perspective to the whole world in terms of 'the primary opposition'

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between 'the terrible potency of the rich and the helpless squalor of the poor among nations' also merits serious consideration.

TRIBAL GROUPS AND SALVAGE ANTHROPOLOGY

Several papers and considerable discussion at the Conference were devoted to the twin issues of (1) the place of tribal groups in the emerging national society and (2) the academic and social relevance of recording cultural traditions which are now dying out. At stake here, especially in the first issue, is not only the future of the tribals but also differing conceptions of the moral destiny of the nation: that is, the complex of norms and ideals which will govern the inter-personal, intergroup, citizen-state, and other relations in the social order of tomorrow. For what may be deemed as realistic, practicable, or historically necessary is likely to be inextricably linked up with what is morally acceptable or desirable.

Tribal Groups

Roy Burman underlines the complexity of the problem of the integration of tribal groups by noting that different tribal groups have historically varied a great deal in the extent and manner of their participation in the larger Indian society. Seeking a detente between his own 'cosmopolitan humanism' and the 'genius of Indian civilization', he offers four models of the ways in which a balance between ethnic autonomy and social integration may be struck:

- I. Small ethnic groups identify with (merge into?) the dominant group ;
- II. Mutual give and take of the different parts yields a new whole ;
- III. The different parts persist autonomously, accepting simultaneously common group goals and symbols ; and
- IV. Individuals basically committed to cosmopolitan humanism form their own organizations and, insofar as it be compatible with this basic commitment, they also participate in other reference groups, including ethnic ones.

Considering the political context, Roy Burman distinguishes between two modes of asserting tribal identity: *subnationalism* and *infranationalism*, characteristic respectively of larger, less isolated groups and smaller, more isolated groups. If we interpret him correctly, the two types of groups differ significantly in their politics and associated cultural symbols and ideologies: the larger groups seek to exploit national symbols in order to gain a more equitable or bigger share of the national cake, while the smaller groups presumably prepare for similar assertiveness by re-interpreting their past cultural links, however tenuous, with similar neighbouring groups thus enlarging their identities. In view of the complexity of the issues and their evident social and theoretical significance, we trust Roy Burman will continue his efforts to give greater analytic precision to what appears to be an important distinction; he might also clarify further how this distinction is related with his models of social integration.

In presenting her analysis of the situation of the tribals in Maharashtra, Iravati Karve asserts that:

At no point can we stress tribalism as to give a separate group identity to the people. They can keep their names and customs without interference. But they must be rapidly assimilated to...the linguistic region within which they find themselves.

Unfortunately Karve explicates neither the process which will combine autonomy in 'names and customs' with rapid assimilation nor a model of the resultant social structure. However she appears to be not unhappy with the tribe-to-caste transition (whether it represents Roy Burman's model I or III does not admit of an easy answer) and other processes for assimilating the tribals which have operated in Maharashtra for centuries. She would, though, like a bit more cultural give and take (Roy Burman Model II): she holds up the liberal sex mores and the strife-reducing household arrangements of the tribals as practices which the non-tribals could profitably adopt.

The vexed question of the integration or assimilation of the tribes in the nation, in our opinion, calls for systematic exploration of various alternatives: the tribals' own conception of their position and aspirations for the future; Roy Burman's four models; the 'frame culture' which Currier (1968) says developed in the United States early in the twentieth century giving the various ethnic groups a shared national identity and also shared symbols for communication; the endeavours in Africa, China, and the U.S.S.R. to integrate diverse nationalities and tribal groups; the Scandinavian efforts to integrate the Lapps; and so forth.

Salvage Anthropology

Salvage anthropology (or, following the fashion set by Heine-Geldern and the Smithsonian Institution, Urgent Anthropology) draws inspiration from several sources: anthropologists' attachment to their own tradition (the discipline started as salvage anthropology); the romantic search for the exotic which draws so many to anthropology; the western humanist tradition aspiring to comprehend all human experience; a suspicion that there are more things in heaven and earth likely to be found among groups yet to be studied; an unwillingness or inability to develop that range of theoretical concerns which would enable one to determine what to look for and where. It is difficult to assess the value of a research proposal if the only argument advanced to support it is that the specific group has not been studied before and that it is fast changing or dying out. Fortunately several of our contributors go beyond this and try to justify their research proposals on grounds which are more plausible theoretically (Aiyappan, Bhagabati, Dube).

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Another pitfall for salvage anthropology is that the observed culture and even the elicited cultural history may represent not the traditional culture but an intervening impoverishment and distortion of it: what Sinha calls the 'secondary primitivization' of the Birhor and the Hill Kharia, represented in a more extreme form in the case of the Paliyan (Gardner, 1966). In the absence of historical records such distortions may be impossible to detect.

While we applaud the sense of wonder, the humanistic and scientific concerns which the salvage researchers represent, may we suggest to the more militant among the 'Urgent Anthropologists'—in places the label is used to suggest a subdiscipline—that they consider whether the time has come for a stock-taking, not through inventories of theses or publications but through a synthesis which collates the data for the worthy goals espoused. As Gardner reminds us, such a middle range synthesis has important functions, among others of making us pause and assess our achievement.

In a brief and unassuming note Naik commends for our studies a number of tribal groups, caste groups, cultural areas and institutions, and relationship between them—a *vade mecum* for Madhya Pradesh. He also lists priorities, for which one can be thankful; we can guess the criteria for this ranking, though a little elaboration here would have been useful.

MARRIAGE, DESCENT AND KINSHIP

Kinship, descent and marriage have always been a special professional concern of social anthropologists, and not surprisingly they appear repeatedly in our papers. Aiyappan would like closer scrutiny of changing kinship practices in several South Indian groups: presence or absence of cross-cousin marriage, social implications of PaFa-ChDa marriage, processes of change from matrilineal to patrilineal descent and filiation. The Laccadives' matrilineal complex marked with duolocal residence, in interaction with Islam's patrilineal ideology, fascinates Dube. Roy Burman (Appendix) mentions a survey of marriages carried out by the Census organization without going into details about its method or purpose. Nicholas refers to his own "vast and stupefyingly complex body of only partially analyzed data . . . on kinship and marriage in rural West Bengal". He is ready to test his ideas about analyzing the data and suggests a month-long seminar for anthropologists to work in the company of historians and others interested in family and kinship groups. Abbi examines, from his own theoretical standpoint, some neglected features of North Indian families, and urges their study as systems in their own right; he deplores what he calls a tendency to "superficial comparisons (implicit or explicit) with other systems, mainly Western".

CASTE AND STATE

Bhagabati (Assam), Vidyarthi (Bihar), and Naik (Madhya Pradesh) would

like village studies for their areas, but interest in field research focused on other kinds of sociological boundaries appears to be increasing. Although the Census now enumerates only the 'scheduled' castes (Roy Burman: Appendix)—and Berreman's criticism of the past performance of caste studies notwithstanding—professional interest in caste groups continues and some new questions are being asked. The supra-village relationships and the political role of caste groups interest Dube and Shah; the latter urges their study in urban areas particularly. The trading and entrepreneurial castes receive special mention, from Sinha for their traditional role in Indian civilisation, from Fürer-Haimendorf for their contribution to contemporary development. The level of internal differentiation varies from one caste to another, and Saberwal attempts to link this variable with status and network elaboration.

In contrast to Leach's interest (1960 : 7) in the ideal structure of caste system which he sees as ruling out inter-caste competition, both Sinha and Sanwal, more concerned with behaviour, recognize traditional inter-caste competitiveness, moderated by the intervention of the rulers of the kingdoms: both would therefore like urgent attention to be directed towards the political systems of feudatory states, now abolished, whose functionaries are still living and can instruct us in their traditional modes of operation. It should be noted, though, that segmentary competition between castes in precolonial times was likely to take at least two forms: *open power struggle* during a kingdom's time of troubles and, in more tranquil periods such as the past century, *status competition* mentioned most often in the recent discussions of sanskritization. Sanwal concentrates on the latter form and would look at the state's regulative role in Tehri-Garhwal.

From a wider economic, social, and political perspective, Berreman and Fürer-Haimendorf call attention to feudatory states in other parts of India. Dube, Naik, and Ray converge upon the political organization in Bastar, whose recent upheavals add to the intrinsic anthropological interest.

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS, BEHAVIOUR AND INSTITUTIONS

The papers in this volume display lively interest in the sacred realm. Dissatisfied with the existing knowledge of the theme of ritual purity and pollution in the Hindu tradition, Dube proposes to explore its diversity in the sacred books and in observed behaviour, in different cultural regions, and in the varied contexts of modernization. Bhagabati underlines the significance of the Vaishnavite movement of Sankardeva as a social force which has affected Assam for centuries; for a better understanding of the regional society he advocates a study of the social organization and the integrative functions of temples and other Vaishnavite religious centres (*satras*). Concerned with the wider canvas of Indian civilization, Sinha also notes the importance of various Vaishnava sects, Sadhus' networks and orders, *mutts*, and traditional colleges of

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Brahmans. Shah lends support to studies of all these and also of religion in towns and cities.

Nicholas is concerned with wider questions of theoretical treatment of symbols and symbolic gestures and of "the complex cross-relationship between ancient 'authoritative' texts, popular texts, and popular belief and practice". For the first he commends to us the approaches developed by Victor Turner wherein "culture is taken to be a system of symbols with a structure of its own" and "'dominant' symbols are seen as carrying heavy affective and semantic loads that make them both guides to ... and objects of manipulation in social action ...". To Nicholas this approach represents an advance on that of treating symbols "as collectively held representations of a 'proper' social order, which anthropologists since Durkheim have been doing". For the second he calls for a dialogue between anthropologists and textual scholars, which Gardner would also support.

Initiating one such dialogue from the other side, Shendge, a Buddhologist, explores sociology in search of a complementary perspective for analyzing Buddhist Tantrism. It appears from her note, perhaps necessarily speculative at this stage of data gathering, that tantrism, despite its great geographical spread and antiquity, has maintained a surprising uniformity in its more salient doctrines and practices. We hope Shendge would shed some light on how this was achieved when she presents her more detailed and better documented projected study.

LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS AND TRIBAL ORIGINS

Father Fuchs proposes that all the tribal languages in Middle India be analyzed in order to determine "something about the original homeland of the tribes, the time of their arrival in their present habitats and the course of their migrations in India". It is in Africa that linguistic analysis has yielded the most interesting historical inferences (McCall, 1964 and the citations therein). What inferences would be permissible in the Indian historical context is an issue we leave to the judgment of the linguists.

Father Fuchs goes on to suggest, however, that if it could be demonstrated that these peoples are relatively recent arrivals in the region, "this would certainly reduce much of the force of their agitation for regional autonomy, the so-called Jharkhand Movement". We are much less certain: history is highly plastic in its response to contemporary needs and aspirations, and political struggles rarely take notice of academic pronouncements.² The probable effectiveness of such findings apart, there is also the question of professional ethics. If the researchers tell the tribal groups that the enquiries aim to deflate their political movements, it is unlikely that they would get much co-operation; if the objective is concealed, the investigator leaves himself open to a charge of lacking in intellectual honesty.

SOCIAL CHANGE

In a rapidly changing country like India, a social anthropologist can scarcely function without grappling with one or another problem of change. Niharranjan Ray took pains to remind us that potent influences for change had reached India's villages steadily during the past century; studies which ignore them can tell only a very partial story. Understandably, then, virtually all our contributors make at least a passing reference to social change, and several of them propose specific studies in this area (for example, Mathur, Sen). We have already discussed proposals concerning modifications in the still persisting traditional institutions; here we shall comment primarily on those concerned with emergent institutions and processes.

Emerging Institutions and Processes

Turning boldly to the highest-order changes, Professor Fürer-Haimendorf asks: how is the Indian elite transforming India?⁹ It would have been helpful if he had also suggested some ways to design research which would answer this rather large question. In any case, one of this elite's strategies clearly is to sponsor the establishment of 'generative independent realms' which interest Saberwal: technological imports, heavy industry, research laboratories, universities, community development programmes, etc. The channels of government are the most powerful instrument this elite controls, and through them, as the remarks of several of our contributors indicate, it is able to initiate many changes.

Thus, a major shift in the locus of political power in Kashmir led to radical changes in land tenure, which in turn necessitated new patterning in inter-caste relations there during the fifties: Madan invites their scrutiny. (It is a pity that he does not discuss the political feasibility of such a study.) Aiyappan notes similar changes in Kerala and Tamil Nadu (erstwhile Madras) Bhagabati speaks more generally of political developments and urban and industrial growth as determining influences in Assam. Government-created economic opportunities, Sen tells us, have altered the Western Himalayan patterns of stratification and stimulated unviably expensive life styles.

The Tribal Areas

In relation to tribal peoples in Central India, Dube takes note of a wider range of factors canalizing change: population growth, depletion of forest resources, and the arrival of industries. When tribal peoples find themselves in—or move to—industrial settings, Dube asks, what are the patterns and determinants of selectivity exercised by them in exploiting the new opportunities available in this context? What are the determinants of industrial discipline for them?

Father Fuchs is rather more concerned with the miscarriage of change

resulting, he says, from an alignment between the agents of change, who work on government programmes, and those who have traditionally exploited the weaker groups and now have much political leverage. It is through this alignment that the programmes of change are aborted and allocations for them under-spent, thus fanning tribal discontent: this and the electoral competition for power lend support to tribal solidarity movements. Their messianic overtones could set off serious, violent and destructive conflict, but they could also be mobilized for purposes of development.

Tensions, Conflict and Political Sociology

Several contributors are acutely interested in social tensions, their aggravation and their resolution. Tensions between tribals and peasants (Assam, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh), between religious communities (Bihar, Orissa, Kerala?), and between caste groups (Bihar and elsewhere: no doubt these groups often stand for the agrarian haves and the have-nots) are mentioned repeatedly. Most contributors seem to disapprove of such tensions, which often issue in violence: presumably they would like the real underlying conflicts of interests to be expressed in institutionalized conflict in the electoral and parliamentary political arenas; the expectation here seems to be that if the combatants expect fair play in these arenas, they would probably not resort to violence. However, as Weiner (1963) shows, the scarcity of resources, the frequent unresponsiveness of authorities to peaceful requests however legitimate, and the propensity of interest groups to make extremist demands stimulate each other and help perpetuate the use of violence as a means of projecting group demands.

The problem of creating participative lower-level political institutions, present acutely in most areas of receding imperial control but not confined to them, has recently attracted attention enough to generate a subdiscipline, political sociology or political anthropology, concerned with the domain called micro-politics or local level politics (see, for example, Swartz, Turner, and Tuden, 1966; Swartz, 1968; Southall, 1969). Sachchidananda's call for assessing the Indian experience with Panchayati Raj is, in cross-cultural terms, a call for examining the local level political arenas and those which link the local with the state levels. Nicholas sees new vistas here for Indianists whose explorations in this area, he asserts, are already notable.

The Modern Institutions

The process of modernization, its students universally agree, entails the emergence of specialist institutions for particular functions, sometimes replacing and sometimes supplementing the multifunctional traditional institutions (such as the family, the lineage, the caste, or Weber's traditional bureaucracy) which themselves move towards specialization by shedding some of the functions.

Sociological understanding of the emergent macro-structure (of interest explicitly to Saberwal and implicitly to many others) depends substantially on studies of its constituent institutions, whether created a new or continuing from before.

Focussing particularly on the modern family, Abbi seeks to explore the re-definitions of roles and the changing patterns of behaviour within the family, particularly those contingent upon the growing tendency for girls to delay marriage and to seek higher education, employment outside the home, professional careers, and other factors which affect their status in relation to men.

Changing Status Differentiation: Some Implications

Abbi's discussion of the changing content of intrafamilial roles leads us to speculate on some social and psychological consequences of social mobility and the associated status differentiation within kin groups. In Sripuram, B eteille tells us (1965: 223), a man's religious status (caste), economic status (class), and political status (power) used to coincide in the past: "Membership in one or another [caste group] was the basis of the individual's identity, not only in ritual contexts, but also in the economic and political spheres". During recent decades the economic system and the political system have detached themselves from and increased their autonomy in relation to the caste structure: an individual of relatively low religious status has today better prospects of attaining relatively high economic or political status than was traditionally the case. B eteille does not pursue the matter into the domain of kinship, but we postulate that the relations of kinship are ordered by an ideology of equality (controlling, of course, for culturally specific criteria such as age, generation, sex, and affinity). In rural agrarian contexts such as Sripuram, where control over land is an overwhelmingly important determinant of overall status (Srinivas 1966: 12), presumably it is the lineages or family groups which now receive differential rankings stabilized over time. In a context of higher occupational mobility in urban areas, particularly among the Middle Classes (Misra, 1961), status is likely to be rather more of an individual matter, thus increasing the possibility that individuals of widely divergent financial resources and occupational status would form part of the same kinship networks. From the viewpoint of the traditional social structure, this is a situation of *status fracture*: individuals whom the constraints of kinship require to interact as equals in reality have widely discrepant statuses in other domains.

While the ideology of kinship presumably defines such status attributes to be irrelevant to interaction between kinsmen, in reality they intrude into such interaction in much the same way as sex affects interaction between men and women in contexts ideally defined as sexually neutral. Such *status intrusion* may affect relations between kinsmen, for example, when—perhaps unwittingly—one of them having a higher occupational status and greater financial resources

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(which may not, of course, always go together) raises sharply the costs of interaction to a level which strains—or lies beyond—the other's capacity. More generally, differences in education, westernization, commitment to tradition, and the resulting differences in the norms of proper behaviour may lead to conflict, embarrassment, or both.

Such discordant in-flow of objective status attributes from one social domain to another, which we call *status intrusion*, is a widespread phenomenon. Thus, Goffman (1961: 150) describing the general properties of social encounters, asserts:

A situated system of activity and the organization in which the system is sustained provide the individual with that one of his roles that will be given principal weight on this occasion. But even while the local scene establishes what the individual will mainly be, many of his other affiliations will be simultaneously given little bits of credit.

We suspect that our traditional systems of giving these little bits of credit, whether in the domain of kinship or general social life, are being strongly affected by the growing heterogeneity of the occupational system. Our informal observations suggest that new definitions are emerging, and not infrequently the juxtaposition of opposed definitions leads to varying amounts of mental distress and at times to strained social relations. The issues we have discussed above appear to us to be relevant not only to an understanding of interpersonal relationships between kinsmen and friends but also of the civic life generally, not only in India but also in all societies undergoing the occupational differentiation associated with modernization.

Specialist Sociologies

In line with the attributes of modernization mentioned earlier, Shah calls for specialized sociological work on bureaucracy, law and justice, police, army, medicine, education, and industry. The broad role structure in many of these fields is imported with varying degrees of deliberate adaptation to the Indian cultural context. Among the sociologist's tasks here would be to identify the intrusive Indian cultural content which may be dysfunctional for the institution's formal objectives and to locate the possibly beneficial forms of articulation with the institutional environment.

To Shah's list of specialist institutions requiring attention one could add: transport systems, including the social system aboard a freighter or a railway compartment; the underworld networks—the distiller, the smuggler, the black-marketeer, the prostitute, the pimp, and several other roles—and their ways of defending themselves from the hostile surrounding society; the social organisation of different political groups: the Swatantrites, the Naxalites, the Con-

gressites, and several others. Clearly the list can be expanded indefinitely.

Much else in these papers tempts us to comment, but we have already exceeded by far the length permitted to our contributors. Having prevailed upon several of them to excise their papers drastically, it is only fair for us to restrain ourselves too: besides, what they say for themselves is much more interesting, our introduction a mere appetizer.

In conclusion may we take this opportunity to thank our far-flung contributors for their generally cheerful response to the many editorial demands we made. Our inadequate library resources unfortunately prevented us from checking some points on which we had doubts; the responsibility for the accuracy of citations rests entirely with the authors.

NOTES

1. Our names appear here in alphabetical order : the responsibility for this essay rests with both of us, fully and equally.
2. In a parallel situation in Kenya, during the forties and the fifties when the Kikuyu were asserting their prior claims to the lands occupied by the Europeans, H. E. Lambert, an administrator-ethnologist, wrote at great length (for example, Lambert, 1950) to demonstrate that the Kikuyu immigration was not very much more ancient than that of the Europeans (implying, thus, that the Europeans' claim to the lands and to power was just as good). In the real Kikuyu drive for power in Kenya, as far as we know, Mr. Lambert's theses were not considered.
3. We would like to draw the attention of our western colleagues to what Galtung (1967) calls the asymmetry in the contemporary flow of social science research data between the rich and the poor nations. This asymmetry is particularly marked in the sphere of elite studies. May we, therefore, invite them to help restore the balance by paying greater attention to the elites at home.

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PART ONE
INAUGURATION

NIHARRANJAN RAY

Introductory Address

PROFESSOR Bose, esteemed colleagues and friends, ladies and gentlemen :

I have great pleasure in extending on behalf of the authorities of this Institute, of our small community of workers and of myself, a most warm and respectful welcome to each one of you individually and to all of you collectively. We are beholden to you for your kindly accepting our invitation. May your stay with us be happy and fruitful, comfortable and creative.

We have assembled here for one brief week to consider and define in theoretical and practical terms, the priorities of research problems in the field of social anthropology in India in the near future, and to suggest and plan, as precisely as possible, practicable ways and means by which scarce resources can be brought to bear on selected problem-areas and geographic regions. The research problems may be conceived in terms of (a) requirements of the development of the subject itself in terms of theory, methodology etc. and (b) of the obvious need to study vanishing and changing communities and their cultures in this vast sub-continent.

How we proceed to achieve this specific objective of the Conference, will be for you who are all experts in the field, to consider and define item-wise or otherwise, in your programme, at the very outset. I have therefore chosen not to draw up the detailed programme of the Conference, which we usually do for all the Seminars and Conferences that we hold at this Institute. First, I am no expert in the field, being an humble student of Indian history with a somewhat pronounced interest in social and cultural history, and secondly, I have, over the years, developed certain rather pronounced views—these in the

context of the situation in India, I would request you to bear in mind—on approaches to research problems in the field of the social and historical sciences, and these views I would dare not impose on you, even indirectly by laying down a programme, item by item. You will therefore have to draw up your own agenda, I am afraid.

But you would please excuse me if I try to place before you certain considerations of mine, which I think, have some bearing on the theme of this Conference.

Anthropology in India today is a respectable and autonomous intellectual discipline that has acquired almost universal recognition in our universities and learned societies and a distinctive place in our Union and State administration. From a subject that originated, insofar as India is concerned, in European, mainly British, colonial curiosity and necessity, it has now acquired a status where it stands by its own right, on its own legs, as a branch of science that opens the doors and windows to the knowledge of understanding of the facts, situations and experiences, and of the processes of evolution or extinction or persistence of human communities in and through given times and spaces—their habits and customs, faiths and ideas, laws and institutions, myths and rituals, traditions and practices. This knowledge and understanding of human communities of the past and the present is a great gain by itself inasmuch as it deepens and expands the realm of human consciousness and experience. But like many other sciences, it is also more often than not, I venture to suggest, again in the Indian context, a direct or indirect guide to individual and social action in and for our times as well as for the future. This is a pragmatic consideration without doubt, but one which I would not ignore altogether. As a social science, socio-cultural anthropology has indeed a great social relevance in India of today, besides being a very important intellectual tool for the elucidation and understanding of the total social process or processes through which the countless number and variety of human communities in India passed along the arrow line of time, from the distant past to our days. In other words, social and cultural anthropology besides being an intellectual discipline by itself, is also a good guide for social action and social change. At the same time it is also an efficient tool for the understanding of social and cultural history which, in its turn, helps better understanding and analysis of the Indian social and sociological situation of today and yesterday. That social history and social anthropology insofar as India is concerned at any rate, have to go together, and that this is a valid and fruitful approach to both the disciplines, I have, personally speaking, no doubt about.

In fact, social anthropology in India, to my mind, is not so much a study of vanishing as of changing communities and cultures, changing in a relatively slow or fast pace, but changing nevertheless. As a student of Indian history I know of hardly any caste or tribal group that has vanished or is vanishing

altogether ; one can indeed find, identify and locate, in some form or other, practically all the tribes and castes mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*, the *Purānas* and the *upa-Purānas*, for instance, with their ramifications and proliferations, through the ages to this day. It is like saying that Buddhism has vanished altogether from India, as many knowing people even do, without realising how most of the ideas and institutions of the religion have passed into what is called Hinduism. What has therefore been happening in history in respect of the tribal and caste groups, is the change in their structure and function, in their attitudes and behaviour pattern, in their size and form, in their power and status, for instance. The same process has been at work in our times as well, perhaps at a much faster pace than it ever happened in the past, and this for obvious reasons which I need not go into. Through the ages new communities with new cultures have also been entering India from time to time, and history has kept record of them too, in some form or other. Many of the older and newer communities and much of their respective cultures have been sought to be absorbed by more powerful communities in more than one process, one important of which my friend Professor M.N. Srinivas would call Sanskritisation, and I would perhaps call by the very long and well-known but somewhat less dignified term of social climbing on the part of the less and social expansion on the part of the more powerful ones. Besides Sanskritisation, politicisation too seems to have been a very important process of absorption. Be that as it may, all these small or large communities too, have left their traces in history and in the communities of today, in some form or other, be it in religion or language, habits or customs, tools or techniques, kinship or marriage pattern, laws or institutions etc. In India therefore, socio-cultural anthropology is as much a concern of the anthropologist as of the historian, and this concern should be more with the problem and the course of changing cultures of diverse communities of India, to my mind, than with that of vanishing cultures.

That by far the largest amount of work in the field of social anthropology in India is concerned with tribal communities or with small village communities or with caste, is an interesting social phenomenon of our times. Why this should be so is not difficult to understand, I believe. Tribal communities were and still are, relatively speaking, somewhat closed and static communities where the socio-cultural situation is more or less controlled, and hence easier to be documented, studied and analysed. Besides, in the formative and critical period of the development of the discipline of anthropology, the great tradition of the discipline was, in the main, concerned with the study of primitive peoples and their cultures which had come to face terrific political, economic and technological challenges from the most advanced civilisations of Europe, challenges that were all but impossible to be met. These peoples and cultures, were therefore, facing extinction, sooner or later, and European anthropologists were therefore naturally very keen to study and record as much

as they could, of these vanishing cultures. This great tradition seems still to be valid and potent, and where could one find except say, in Africa, Australia or New Zealand, a more fertile field than in South and Southeast Asia, where such tribes have been facing for the last half-a-century at any rate, the onrush of a fast-moving, land-hungry, and now industry-based social economy backed by more civilized and city-based powerful communities. Certainly our tribal communities which are not primitive, by the way, call for serious attention of our social anthropologists, not because they are a vanishing phenomenon but because they are being pressed on hard by more powerful cultures equipped with the paraphernalia of modern administration and a modern transport and communication system, and are hence being subjected to a faster tempo of change.

Our pre-occupation with small village studies is also equally understandable, though I am afraid, such micro-studies—micro in time, micro in space—have not been so far much of a help to the understanding of our village communities which have been in a process of slow and steady change over the last one hundred years, but now relatively faster change since the Second World War and our Independence, owing to a very complex web of social, political and economic factors. It has been dinned into our ears for the last one hundred years and more, by historians and sociologists, writers and thinkers, social and political leaders, that India lies in the villages and the villages hold the key to the understanding of India's social economy, culture and civilisation. This was so indeed, to a very large extent at any rate, perhaps till about the third quarter of the nineteenth century, though historically speaking, the statement has to be qualified again and again, in relation to time and space. But are they true today, were they true two decades, even four decades ago? Had not the two World Wars and whatever flowed from and followed them, brought in changes in the administrative machineries, the course of the movements in the social, political, trade union and agricultural fronts for example, and hence consequent changes in the villages? To my mind, therefore, the main problem in our village studies too, lies in this question of social change over the years and decades, which cannot be faced, far less studied and analysed, in the sort of village field work we have learnt to operate and become almost mechanically used to. Perhaps I am raising a methodological question, but when we go for a survey spread over a month to a year or so, to a village or a group of villages at a given point or over a relatively short span of time, all that we usually end up with is a description or a narrative of a relatively static situation that does not afford any indication of social change or changes which the village or group of villages may have been passing through. For such indications field work is not much of a help except through the recording of bits of information transmitted through individual memories of the villagers themselves, which are more often than not misleading if not unreliable altogether. Here, I

believe, the methods and materials of historical investigation can be of great help, positively and negatively. Very few village studies of our times seem to have taken advantage of such historical methods and materials which, to my mind, is one of the reasons why such studies have not yielded the results that were expected of them. Yet here is certainly an area that is worth studying in some depth, if only such studies are problem-oriented and not merely descriptive of relatively static situations.

Caste studies seem to me to be on a different footing. The system and organisation of caste is certainly a unique one in Hindu society, which affects and conditions to an extent other smaller communities that are just outside of but are in constant communication with this society. For a long time both historians and anthropologists were busy finding out the origins of the system and its course of evolution, the historians following their own methods and material, and anthropologists theirs, that is, by a comparative study of commensal and connubium taboos among primitive and tribal communities as well as in civilised Hindu communities. At a somewhat later stage were introduced studies in and analysis of the various forms and gradations of the system, and their structures and functions. These studies have certainly led to a much better understanding of the system, better appreciation of the persistence of the system that had withstood a number of attacks from great figures of history, and a deeper insight into its working, its ramifications and proliferations including the change it has been going through. All this has been a great gain.

But I believe, we have reached a stage in our caste studies when a new direction, indeed, an orientation is perhaps called for. The social phenomenon of metropolitan cities with their octopus-like industrial and administrative pulls, pressures and compulsions, intrusion of technology and small scale industries in the small towns and in certain areas, in the villages including the beginnings of mechanisation of agriculture, centres of big industrial plants, welfare measures undertaken in the rural areas by extension of the bureaucratic and administrative net-works, introduction of adult franchise not only in general but also in local elections resulting in the wooing of votes on caste basis and all that it connotes, active and effective state patronage to rural crafts and industries, relative protection and patronage extended to by government to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, the social and political implications of Independence and Parliamentary Democracy including the role of pressure groups, and many an allied fact and factor of contemporary life, are creating new vested interests in the system of caste, giving rise to a new reshuffling of forms and grades in the system, and to shifting arrangements of the traditionally hierarchical caste power and status structure. This has been happening to such an extent that while the label and general frame work of caste persist, its structure and function are in a process of significant change, change that is more political and economic in import and direction than religious, and social

in a narrow sense, which it was until comparatively very recent times. The study of caste from the point of view of the problems that we have been facing in this generation, and the one that I have just pointed out, is therefore an important desideratum, to my mind, both in micro and macro form. I need not point out that the methods of sociological analysis as applicable to societies developing under the pressure of modern political and economic demands on life, may be followed in all such studies, and this will, I am sure, be all to our profit.

Religion and religious cults, sects, institutions, etc. is one area in India in which there seems to be an increasingly diminishing interest among our anthropologists, and though there is still some lingering attraction for tribal religions, religious ideas and practices here and there, there is not much of any serious study of the civilised religions and religious communities. Whether one likes it or not the fact remains that the latter still play a big role in the life and activities of the Indian Hindu, Muslim and Christian communities, and they are increasingly coming to affect contemporary politics and economics of South and Southeast Asia. Many of you must have noticed how in recent years the traditional Buddhist monks and monasteries have been affecting politics in Ceylon, Laos, Vietnam, Korea and Burma, and Muslim religious groups in Malaysia and Indonesia. In India too, in recent years the organised Hindu monkish communities are increasingly becoming strong pressure groups in politics and trying to match what the Muslim socio-religious organisations have been doing for decades before Independence and Partition, and trying to do the same again. From the historical point of view this is no new phenomenon since organised religious communities and sects have always been playing, directly or indirectly, important roles in politics and in trade and commerce, but what seems to be new is the change in the structure and functions of the religious sects and their organisations, in their orientation and their modes and methods of operation. It seems to me curious that we have not yet made any serious attempt to study and analyse this social phenomenon of our times, and this in the context of history. Sociology of religion and religious cults, sects and institutions is still an untrodden field in India which, to my mind, has been very unfortunate.

To me it seems that our studies and researches in social and cultural anthropology still remains, by and large, socially unmotivated and hence descriptive-narrative of facts and situations of given times and spaces, and their analysis directed towards formulation of general theories or principles. There is nothing wrong in it, methodologically speaking, and such survey, description and analysis certainly afford us better understanding of a given social situation. But I wonder if socially motivated and problem-oriented research would not give us still better results and serve us much better not only in our understanding of given situations but also in dealing with them. We have a classical

Sanskrit aphorism: *Yādriṣṭ bhāvanār yasya siddhir bhavati tādriṣṭ*: the nature and extent of success depends on the nature and extent of what one asks for. Any scientific enquiry worthwhile pursuing, starts from the question that the enquirer asks of himself, from the specific problem that he sets before him. If one goes to the field without asking himself as precisely as possible, what he is going to look for, he is sure to end up by pulling out the Gandhamādan hill and carrying it home, leaving it to a Rāmachandra or some other individual to find out the *visalyakaraṇī*. It is true that such field-work does give us all the facts of a given situation, but the main task remains, which is to ask ourselves: what is the problem these facts present before us, and having asked the question, to set ourselves to the task of analysing the facts with a view to find out the answer.

To enable us to ask ourselves questions, to set problems before us of the nature and character I have been hinting at, one should have, I believe, a general idea, *first*, of the major problems connected with the development of the twin disciplines of sociology and social anthropology themselves, with a view to elaborating and strengthening their theoretical frame-work and their methodological base, and *secondly*, of the major social problems of India of the recent past and the living present. The first is of universal significance and would interest sociologists, social anthropologists and social historians all over the world, and no professional academic can afford to ignore such questions and problems. But since I am speaking in the context of India and am, rightly or wrongly according to the stand one takes, more interested at the moment in the social relevance of our research activities, I shall confine myself to the second.

What then, from the point of view of social anthropology and sociology, are the major problems before us?

The first and the most obvious one is the problem of social change, and the dozens and dozens of questions connected with this problem. This problem and the questions arising out of it, have to be faced at various levels, from various aspects, and at various areas of our life and activities. Since I have already referred to this problem I would not dilate upon it.

The second important problem is the one of national unity, to my mind. On purpose I am not using the current and popular phrase 'national integration', but 'national unity' instead, a phrase that was used by Gandhi-ji. Unity can be brought about by social action, but integration, to my mind, is an organic process which can take place only organically and under helpful conditions. All that human agencies can do is to create those conditions and look forward for the integration to take place. Be that as it may, if national 'unity' is one of our social problems and social objectives, I for one, should think that this should be given some priority and our research projects should be oriented to that end. We may start by asking ourselves: what are the

facts and factors, at various areas and levels of the society in which we find ourselves, that are conducive to national unity, what are those that retard this unity? To what extent are they historically conditioned, to what extent sociologically?

Once we ask ourselves this question, I would venture to suggest, all the major problems of today in the social anthropology of India, will fall into their proper places, one leading to and elucidating the other and indicating the interconnectedness of them all—regionalism involving language and culture areas; communalism involving studies in religious cults, sects, institutions, structurally, functionally and from the point of view of their past history and present-day orientation etc; caste and tribal problems, their varied patterns and their politico-economic manifestations, their nature, causes and implications; rural-urban tensions; centrifugal and centripetal pulls and pressures at various areas and levels; economic disparities and their nature, causes and implications; socio-economic organisation of the people at various areas and levels, the structure, functions and method of functioning of this organisation, to give only a few of the many other interrelated problems, less important or more. If we take up one or a relatively closely-related set of problems when we go to the field which may be a micro or a macro area, we may be able to identify, analyse and understand the various lineaments of a given social situation in a better and more satisfactory manner than has hitherto been possible. Area by area, level by level, sampled intelligently and with some amount of knowledge and experience, and then monograph by monograph or paper by paper, we should be able to form a total worthwhile picture of our contemporary life and society, which is also likely to provide at the same time a better understanding of the problems of national unity.

A third important national problem is the one relating to our social objective of a secular democracy, not merely on the political front but on the social and economic as well. Here there will be some overlapping, I am afraid, with the questions in respect of national unity that I have just referred to, but I have a feeling that such overlaps will help us understand better the interrelatedness of the two major problems. As in the case of national unity, so in this case too, one can try to formulate the questions that issue out of the problem, and then by an intelligent, careful and knowledgeable sampling, horizontally area-wise and vertically level or grade-wise, proceed to the field or fields to seek answers to them. On many points the records of fieldwork may have to be checked and supplemented by archival research, and this in respect of both the major problems.

Two more points I would refer to, and I will have finished. The first of these two is in respect of our politically sensitive areas lying almost all along the northern and eastern Himalayan borders. While any socio-politically conscious expert must respect, I am sure, the sensitivity of the areas, one cannot

forget that except for a couple or two of isolated areas, pretty little worthwhile study and analysis has been made of the peoples of these regions, historically speaking, some of the oldest in the land. The entire area is indeed almost a virgin field for social and linguistic anthropologists and they can no longer afford to ignore the area, for ignorance has already led to much of the confusion which has been worse confounded by the little knowledge of amateurs and administrators, that we have been witnessing in our times. I therefore, believe that it is one of our duties to try to convince our political leaders and our Government, of the urgent and imperative necessity of facilities and opportunities being extended to Indian experts in our universities and learned institutions and in the relevant Government agencies for undertaking programmes of intensive anthropological survey, study and analysis of the facts and factors that have been and are in operation in these areas. We should be neglecting this work only at our own peril.

Not so sensitive, and certainly not so neglected, but equally urgent and imperative is a closer study and analysis of the tribal peoples of the land, scattered not only all along the Vindhyan belt but in pockets, small or large, of other areas too. One cannot certainly say that social and linguistic anthropologists have been neglecting them ; no, we have quite a good number of significant studies on a number of tribes, which have enriched our knowledge of social anthropology in India.

But looking at the contemporary tribal situation in India, which is one of general restiveness in certain tribal areas and not too infrequent outbursts amongst them, I have often asked myself : do we know all that we should have known about them. I recognise well-enough that Independence and Parliamentary Democracy based on adult franchise, have released quite a good amount of new and hitherto unknown and unrecognised social forces, and the general restiveness and occasional outbursts that we notice amongst them is a part of, indeed in line with what we have been witnessing all around in the country. But does this explanation by itself meet the total tribal situation in the country as we see before our eyes? To my mind, it does not. Two or three instances of the kind of restiveness and outbursts of recent years I would have liked to analyse here, but I must refrain from doing so lest I take your time and try your patience. I have done this for myself with the help of Census Reports, Gazetteers and whatever monographic publications, excellent works by themselves, have been available to me, but I must confess that I found but little in them that could answer my questions with which I approached my analysis : for instance, to give only one example, what is the nature of the relation of the tribals of Bastar with their chief, the nature of their social organisation, of their political and economic obligations to the Chief of the tribe; to what extent modern land laws and administrative practices affected their socio-economic organisation; what is the transport and communication

system of the area, and the nature of the socio-economic relation of the area with the other neighbouring areas, and so on so forth, in short, what is the nature of social change that has been taking place over the years in that area that could bring about an outburst of the kind we had witnessed there a couple of years ago.

The point I am trying to make is that our tribal studies do not provide answers to questions such as these because we do not take up our studies by putting questions to ourselves, in other words, because our studies are not problem-oriented, a point I have already sought to make out, and therefore I must not harp on it any more.

We should be looking forward for the next six days to a very exciting and interesting confrontation of minds on a subject in which this Institute takes a deep interest. I hope before the Conference is brought to a close we should be able to draw up a list of priorities of research problems in the specific area of social anthropology in terms of our original invitation letter to which you responded so thoughtfully and so gracefully.

Ayamārambha śubhāya bhavatu

Let this beginning be for the good of us all

Thank you.

PART TWO
PAPERS

BEHARI L. ABBI

Some Neglected Aspects of North Indian Family

IN this paper I would like to draw attention to certain neglected aspects of North Indian family and show their relevance to the understanding of the family as it functions today, as well as to the assessment of the nature and extent of change in it. I shall not attempt to document the points I wish to make by giving a detailed review of existing studies and their individual strong points and weaknesses. But instead I shall just state the impressions I have formed and the reasons which led me to believe they are valid. My hope is that those of you here who have been engaged in or interested in family studies in India for a much longer period than I would help to correct the errors of both omission and commission including overstatement.

As a new-comer to Indian Studies I have been for the last couple of months going through the available literature on the family. I cannot claim I have covered it all, but I did try to go through as much as I could obtain from the Institute library here. While doing so I could not help feeling that most studies, whether specifically devoted to the family system or to a selected aspect of it, were mainly preoccupied with one major question: is the 'joint' family disintegrating and giving rise to the nuclear or conjugal family? At first the existence of a large number of nuclear families was treated as evidence of the growing breakdown of the traditional joint family system; but later Cohn (1961), Desai (1964), Dube (1963), Gore (1965), and Madan (1965) among others pointed out that fission in the parental family was part of the process through which in due course new 'joint' families came into being; such a process constituted a phase of the developmental cycle of the family and by no means an index of its disintegration. Closer examination of census data also

contributed to the growing skepticism about the extent of change : the size of the family throughout the country was small (ranging from 4.4 to 6.2 persons per household), and the number of households per 100 females ranged from 85 to 119 indicating thereby that extended family households constituted a minority (Census of India 1901 cf. Goode, 1963: 239; see also Orenstein, 1961, and Shah, 1968). In addition attitude surveys of students, teachers, city and rural people all confirmed the strength of the 'joint' family sentiment, though women who suffer most from it expressed a good deal of disenchantment (Kapadia, 1966: 272-308).

As different definitions of the term joint family were used by various authors, their studies could not be strictly compared and the extent to which 'joint' family actually prevailed could not be determined. One of the main points of contention here was whether the critical factors were living, cooking, eating and worshipping together or holding of co-parcenary interest in a joint estate and maintaining kinship ties by visiting, gift exchange etc. Madan (1962) examined various definitions and provided a clarification by suggesting that the term joint be restricted to designate co-parcenary familial groups irrespective of whether they are extended in composition or not. He also suggested a distinction between patrilineal extended and fraternal extended households. The first was unlikely to undergo partition as it contained only the families of the father and the only son. The second was more likely to do so as it contained families of two or more sons in addition to that of their father.

My main quarrel with all this is that even when an attempt was made to classify the families into one or more types, the main concern had been with the general problem: whether patrilineal extended family was disintegrating and giving way to nuclear family. Legitimate and proper though this interest is, it is my contention that, firstly it has hindered our understanding of the nature and extent of change occurring in the extended family, for our tools have been too crude to measure finer changes. Secondly and more importantly it has given our studies a narrow focus and a particular slant which has prevented us from examining Indian families as systems in their own right, i. e., those having their own unique cultural and structural characteristics and making complex adaptations to industrialization, urbanization, a "Western" style liberal educational system, parliamentary democracy and other aspects of their changing environment. We have neglected to examine these processes and contented ourselves with superficial comparisons (implicit or explicit) with other systems, mainly Western. One result of this has been our failure to develop even a minimally adequate typology of nuclear and extended families in India, their special cultural and structural characteristics, their mutual interaction with each other and with the general social structure of the country. Such a typology would have not only enabled us to understand the extent and direction of change, but also to make more meaningful comparisons with

family systems elsewhere. I shall now try to clarify and support my contention by drawing attention to two main problems, relating (1) to the generational depth of a certain type of families, (2) to change in family roles in general.

Let us start with the observation made earlier that even at the turn of the century patrilineal extended families (of three or more generations) were in a minority. Most of the analysis of the family are devoted to this minority. Madan's analysis of the Pandit family in Kashmir (1965), and Nicholas' observations on rural families in Bengal (1961) make it clear that a joint family between a father and his married sons rarely divides, a joint family between brothers rarely survives. Father's jural and moral authority, demands of filial piety and the expectation of receiving a greater share of the family property after the father's death restrain the sons from enforcing their right to partition. If some fraternal families (those headed by an elder brother) did last a few years despite a relatively weaker moral and jural authority of the elder brother and absence of primogeniture as a support to his authority, it would be interesting to know what kept the family together as long as it did.

Now what about the majority of families of less than three generations depth, a number of whom are presumably an outcome of partition effected soon after the marriage of the son. If so, what are the critical pressures operating here? What about the moral and jural authority of the father and filial piety? Presumably these are not strong enough to prevent partition. Why not? This question has a theoretical relevance far beyond the context of Indian family. It is the general concensus of students of American family that the nuclear family, as a small group characterized by high rates of interaction, is highly charged with affect; and, according to Goode (1959), emphasis on love as a basis of marriage is functional in weaning the son from his strong emotional attachment to his family of orientation. Now, in the type of Indian family under discussion, which is possibly more often found among rural untouchables, there is no emphasis on love, nor on courtship, nor on self choice, nor on neolocal residence. Ideological supports emphasizing the exclusive husband-wife solidarity as against parents and other kin are also missing. Geographical and occupational mobility is also likely to be low, and the existence of close-knit networks is likely to produce specialization of roles and reduce husband-wife interaction (Bott 1957). What then is there in the Indian situation which pulls apart the son from the father and helps to maintain a family depth of less than three generations?¹

Although male roles in all societies carry superior prestige power and

authority as against female roles, the subordination of women to men in patrilineal extended family is particularly marked. In the traditional Hindu family, such features as denial of coparcenary right to daughters, dowry system, lower status of the bride's family Vs groom's family, cult of the husband worship, emphasis on selecting a husband senior in age and superior in wealth and status, parti-virilocal residence after marriage—all provided strong support for male superiority. In addition, early age at marriage facilitated the assimilation of the girl in groom's household and her indoctrination and training as a submissive wife and daughter-in-law. However, the growing emphasis on providing school and university education to girls, the rising frequency of late marriage, increasing social approval or at least tolerance of single girls and married women accepting employment and resulting greater opportunities for developing outside contacts and working side by side with men, increasing readiness to admit women to professional and other responsible salaried jobs, enactment of legislation giving equal coparcenary rights to daughters—all these must necessitate complicated adjustments in father-daughter, mother-daughter, brother-sister relations prior to marriage and husband-wife, mother-in-law, daughter-in-law and other in-law relations after marriage. Insofar as these women form part of patrilineal families, an examination of the interaction between them and other family members, their mutual conflict and co-operation and resulting newly emerging role definitions should help us not only to assess the extent and the direction of change, but also to correct the current tendency to substitute logical deductions for empirically verified facts. Similarly instructive should be the response of the families to growing number of educated spinsters choosing professional careers as against marriage.

The list could be indefinitely multiplied, but suffice will be to say that our main task is to study and analyze the great variety of change our families are undergoing, in both the internal structures and the networks of external relations with kin, caste, class, community and society. Such studies, while providing an insight into the distinctive characteristics of our family systems, would also facilitate more fruitful cross-cultural comparisons.

NOTE

1. It was pointed out to me at the Conference that Kolenda 1966 and 1967 had discussed the factors, including caste status, affecting increase or decrease in proportions of joint families. I have since been able to obtain her 1966 article which also gives a synopsis of the findings of the other not at hand yet. Her approach is different from mine, but her findings lend support to the argument put forward here.

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A. AIYAPPAN

Urgent Anthropology for Southern India

In this paper I should like to refer to the present status of social science research in India, for the standard of research in anthropology, urgent or otherwise, cannot be taken for granted. I should like next to refer to the image of anthropology among the Indian public, for ultimately the financing of research will depend on what the educated public think of the subject. Lastly, before indicating research priorities in my region, I shall give my reactions to some of the opinions expressed in articles on urgent anthropology in *Current Anthropology* (1967 : 366-414).

STATUS OF SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH IN INDIA

In August 1965 the Planning Commission appointed a Committee with V. K. R. V. Rao as Chairman and D. R. Gadgil, R. K. Mukherjee, A. Aiyappan, J. N. Khosla, M. S. Gore, Harbans Lal, and K. L. Joshi as members to survey "the current status of research in social sciences in the country and to make recommendations for its future line of development". The Committee sent its report to Government in May 1968, and its summaries have already been published. According to the Committee, Economics alone can claim to have made some progress, but even here a large research potential remains unutilised. Research in Political Science is the weakest though it has a very large number of university departments. Judged by the number of papers in standard journals Anthropology also fares badly. The reasons for the low output and quality of research are "inadequacy of financial support, shortage of supporting personnel, lack of facilities for training in research methodology, obstacles to effective communication and utilization of research, and absence

of assistance in planning, designing and co-ordinating research". Lack of adequate incentives to research workers and shortage of technical personnel are factors common to all the social sciences. Anthropology in India has several additional handicaps. In most universities it is taught only at the M. A. level. Generally only the stragglers who fail to get a seat in other disciplines seek admission in departments of anthropology. Job opportunities are also limited in anthropology so that drop-outs are frequent. Students and also teachers of poor quality function in a vicious circle. University authorities do not insist on research and, in most universities, the teachers do not get funds and facilities for research. During the last decade, the Research Programmes Committee of the Planning Commission has been financing research in all the social sciences, and several anthropologists have done such research.

The Rao Committee recommended to the Government of India the setting up of an Indian Council of Social Science Research to help research on an enlarged scale. The Planning Commission has accepted most of the recommendations of the Committee, and the report is now under consideration by the Ministry of Education. With Icssr's entry into social science research, the personnel problem will be met at least in part.

While our standards are low, we have made real progress during the last forty years. About 30 years ago in India there were perhaps only three or four Ph.D's. In social anthropology, now there are probably forty times that number. Anthropology is taught now in about fifteen universities, while 30 years ago only three had minor departments of Anthropology. Yet the number of anthropologists is too small for a country of the size of India and its ethnic complexity. The profession is poorly organized ; there is no established national association of anthropologists, no professional journal of national status. The profession also suffers by several anthropologists defecting to sociology.

IMAGE OF ANTHROPOLOGY

The image of anthropology seems not to have improved very much. What worries me is not the popular misconceptions but those harboured by people in high places. According to a personal report I got from Dr. Verrier Elwin, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari thought in 1946 that anthropology was nothing but a means to satisfy the idle curiosity of Europeans. Gough's description of a Tanjore Village had the unforeseen consequence of making anthropology disliked by some high-placed Brahmins of that area. A reference to the poverty and illiteracy of Travancore tribes in a review of Iyer's *Travancore Tribes and Castes* in *Nature* irritated the Dewan of the State, Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer. A very distinguished colleague, now no longer with us, wrote rather too frankly about sex and, as he was blessed with literary gift and a wide readership, many got the idea that anthropology must necessarily deal with sex and that books on anthropology should have sexy pictures. In spite of poor public

relations anthropology is somewhat known in Northern and Eastern India, but not in Southern and Western India. Unless we campaign collectively as well as individually, the subject and the profession may not get the necessary recognition. Introduction of anthropological material into school curricula should produce a firm base of interest for the future.

Anthropologists have been accepted in India as "tribalists", that is, experts of some sort on problems concerning our tribal population, and the tribes have come to regard them as their friends. Recently the Planning Commission set up a Panel to assist it in drawing up the next Five Year Plan for the welfare of the backward classes, i.e., scheduled castes and tribes. Anthropologists are well represented in this panel. I presume that here is a recognition of the role of anthropology in relation to the Harijan castes.

The village studies undertaken by anthropologists have added to the prestige of the subject. In several universities in India, economists, psychologists, and historians have begun to appreciate the potential of anthropological research for providing a socio-cultural base for their own disciplines. Recently (June 10, 1968) the Kerala Historical Association passed a resolution requesting the Kerala University to start a department of anthropology—a very friendly and unique gesture on the part of the historians.

URGENT ANTHROPOLOGY: SALVAGE ANTHROPOLOGY

The CA discussion on urgent anthropology has helped to clear up our ideas about our immediate tasks. What used to worry me in Kerala and Madras states was that our ethnographic mapping was incomplete, and there were several tribes of whom no anthropological study had been made. Improvement of communications, tarred roads, motor buses, migrations and elections have had their impact on the cultural and social life of the people of the remotest areas. Revisiting the Nayadi—the lowest beggar caste of Kerala whom I studied 37 years ago (Aiyappan, 1937)—I was surprised to find how sophisticated the present generation of Nayadis had become. One of them now owns a tile factory, others have gone to college, and yet others have become teachers. The highest caste of Kerala, the Namboodiri Brahmins, are also rapidly changing, while the whole regional culture is getting transformed under forces of modernization including communism. Two major castes of Kerala, the Nayar and Irava have been studied in some detail by Gough (for full bibliography see Schneider and Gough, 1962) from about 1945 and by Aiyappan (1944) since 1934, but both of us paid very little attention to the Nayar and Irava of Travancore. I would consider a detailed study of the Nayar and Irava of Travancore *most urgent* because it would help not merely to complete the regional ethnographic mapping but also in solving questions of great importance raised about Nayar marriage and family and also about matriliney in Kerala communities in general. Murdock (1949 :

190), for example, has said that patrilineal communities do not change to matriliney. In Kerala some castes have done so, and we should know more about this change. The study of these groups should be taken up urgently as legislation now has made their laws of inheritance patrilineal. The Nayar case is not just one of social change ; it is a case of urgent anthropology as the institutions with which we are concerned have vanished or are vanishing.

Though not of any theoretical interest, yet to complete the documentation of the social history of a region, there is urgent need for the study of some vanishing cultures and peoples. In the past, named groups of people have just vanished leaving no trace, for example, the Pana of the Tamil region. Castes with this name survive in Kerala and in Orissa, but concerning their relationships with each other and with the extinct Tamil Pana we can only make guesses. A caste known as Irava existed in Tamil country but vanished from that region. The Tamil-speaking Jaina, who have dwindled in numbers, are currently getting absorbed into various other castes. Members of the formerly open caste of Devadasi (Temple Dancers) are becoming Mudaliars, and the professional name may have no claimant some decades from now. Devadasis are of interest to students of dancing, of religion and of caste, and their mode of recruitment, initiation etc. are of wide interest to students of culture. In both these instances we deal with socio-cultural change, of course, but change amounting to the extinction of a group. Whatever data we now gather about them will be the last instalment and can rightly be called salvaged data.

While in some cases a group with its specialities vanishes, in most cases only certain institutions are affected. To students of kinship and marriage in southern India, a survey of changes in the marriage regulations is of great importance. I recently discovered that some of the *lowest castes of Kerala* abhor the custom of cross-cousin marriage, an abhorrence they share with the highest caste of the Namboodiri Brahmins. The Nayadi accepted cross-cousin marriage as an innovation because, they say, they found it difficult to keep track of blood relationships. On the other hand the Pattunoolkar, originally north Indians who settled in Madurai and other places, have adopted cross-cousin marriage as part of their Tamilization. Students of Dravidian kinship who hold cross-cousin marriage as a preferred norm for the region have to explain the exceptions of the (traditional) Nayadi and the Pulaya of Kerala. We have to learn much more about the history of kinship and marriage in southern India. Problems as to who had it as a native norm and who borrowed it, will be solved only after intensive research. The sources of information on many of these points are men of a passing generation. Also among the vanishing marriage practices needing urgent investigation is the grandfather-granddaughter marriage of the Reddi caste of Tinnevely.

URGENT ANTHROPOLOGY IN KERALA

Ethnographically the least known region of the Kerala State is Wynad. The little information we have is embodied in an old book *Wynad* by a Revenue Divisional Officer, C. Gopalan Nair. Numerically the largest tribe in Wynad is the Paniya about whom I have published a short article (1936). About the Mulla Kurumba, I understand that a Ph. D. thesis has been written but not yet published. I have nearly completed a report on the Murichiya. There are 16 other tribes in Wynad, all of them getting modernised in various ways. When I first visited Wynad in 1933, forests were everywhere, but in 1966 I was surprised to find the forests nearly gone and the whole Taluk "conquered" by Christian immigrants and converted into plantations, small and large. The ethnography of Wynad deserves urgent attention.

In the former Malabar District there are a number of small tribes at a very low level of development. Of these, I have published brief articles in English and Malayalam about the Aranadan of Nilambur who fifty years ago lived almost like the Vedda of Ceylon. In the same region are the Mala Nayar and Katty Nayakkan. At the extreme north of the State are the Mavilar and Alar, neither yet fully studied by anthropologists. Further south in the Attapadi Valley there is a little known tribe, the Muduga, whom Dr. Fürer-Haimendorf and later I visited. I have published a short paper (1959) on the megalithic funerary rites of the Muduga. Concerning the Muthuvan of the hills of North Travancore P. T. Thomas' Ph.D. thesis remains unpublished, as is also the case with Miss Gnanambal's thesis on the religion of three Travancore tribes.

Of the Kerala castes, particularly the lower ones, our information is scanty about the Travancore region. We still rely on what Thurston (1909) wrote, relying on Mateer and N. Subramani Iyer. Dr. K. C. Alexander's study of the Pulaya converts to Christianity has shown facets of Christian and Pulaya culture which were only vaguely known to the local people but not to anthropologists (unpublished Ph. D. thesis, Poona University). Studies of the scheduled castes suggested here would complete our ethnographic mapping.

About the Nayar of the Travancore area, K. M. Panikkar's articles (1918) still seem to be the best though written half a century back. Though one of the best studied castes of southern India, Nayar ethnography is still inadequate. The late Sir C. Sankaran Nayar has listed 63 sections or sub-castes of the Nayar; I wanted to see this list but did not succeed. The Brahmin-Nayar relationship in Kerala's social structure has been studied by Dr. K. Raman Unni, but his thesis has yet to be published (Ph. D. thesis, University of Baroda). I urge further detailed study of the Nayar and other matrilineal communities of Kerala and the South Kanara District of Mysore (the Bunt and Billava), for the Nayar descent system can be fully understood only

through comparison with contiguous matrilineal systems of the Tamil and Kannada areas. I am not aware of any other ongoing work among the matrilineal castes of Kerala and S. Kanara and would plead for high priority for it.

URGENT ANTHROPOLOGY IN MADRAS

I consulted several friends in Madras on what they would consider urgent in Madras State. The handicap here, as in Kerala, is the lack of funds and of men with adequate training. The most rapidly changing, and at the same time of considerable ethnographic interest, are the artisan castes, the Korva, the immigrant Telugu castes who have "Tamilised" themselves, and the Devadasis. Dr. V. Raghavan suggested a dictionary of caste names: these are being changed—we do not know how far back this goes but certainly it began before the 1871 census—and the likelihood of confusion will be less if an effort is made now rather than later to record changes. Miss Kuppu Subramanyam, another colleague, suggests as urgent the compilation of a corpus of kinship terms, ritual terms, and terms for household articles which vary with castes.

I was told by the Director of Harijan Welfare, Madras, that there is not much by way of modernization among the scheduled castes of Madras. They are, however, highly politicized and there are dozens of little known problems, new and old, concerning them, and I would like the study of Harijan castes of Madras to be given high priority.

ANDHRA STATE

Half a dozen tribes of the former agency areas of Andhra State are now being studied by senior scholars and lecturers of the Department of Anthropology of Andhra University. All of them selected the tribes on the ground that theirs will be the first ever monographic study of these tribes. Mr. D. L. Prasada Rao suggests that the following Andhra tribes deserve urgent research: 1. Manna Dora, 2. Mukha Dora, 3. Mali, 4. Kammara, 5. Kulia.

SOME SUGGESTIONS

A distressing feature of the situation in India is the great lag between research and publication. I have already referred to a number of Ph. D. theses which have remained unpublished. There are many more, some at least publishable, as also a number of anthropological reports prepared by the tribal research institutes.

There is also the sad picture of avoidable duplication of work: a tribe studied by a Government of India agency may be studied again soon afterwards by a state agency though for both the source of funds was the Govern-

ment of India. I do not, of course, want research to be regimented ; but when resources are scarce as in India, some co-ordination between the Anthropological Survey of India and the research workers under the Ministry of Social Security, the tribal research institutes, and the university departments of anthropology is necessary.

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GERALD D. BERREMAN

Urgent Anthropology in India

WHEN I ask myself, "what are the urgent problems in Indian social anthropology", I immediately think of the urgent problems facing this nation and its people, and of our claim to be students of "the science of man". Surely the most urgent problems for anthropologists are those most urgent to all people: poverty, ill health, hunger, hopelessness, bigotry, oppression and war. Whatever we can say that is relevant to these vital problems is urgent. And I think we have a good deal to say even now. Omer Stewart has maintained (1964) that our most urgent responsibility as social scientists is to communicate widely what we already know—to "popularize basic concepts". I think we need to go a step further and try to see to it that what we know is used as a basis for public policy, or at least that it will not be ignored in the formulation of that policy (cf. Berreman, 1968). Perhaps this, rather than original research, should be our first priority in view of the crises that face mankind today.

I do not underestimate the importance of research. The problems men face cannot be solved until they are understood, and I believe that social anthropologists are in a position to contribute significantly to that understanding through their research. Eric Wolf has said that as anthropologists, we have the opportunity and the obligation to create "an image of man that will be adequate to the experience of our time" (1964:94). This means that our research, like our teaching, must be relevant to the experience of India today. Yet, when I look at our professional journals and talk with my colleagues, I discover that there is relatively little research being done which contributes directly to that end. On the other hand, as scientists committed to the

discovery of truth about human behaviour almost anything we do has potential relevance. Therefore, part of the urgency in anthropological research is to design, carry out and present the research, even on traditional and seemingly esoteric anthropological topics, in ways which make its relevance apparent; which make its findings useable either in an immediate, practical sense, or in a longer range, educational sense. And the relevance and utility need to be relevance and utility for people—not just for the sources of research funds: governments, corporations, foundations and universities.

What we need to do to accomplish this is to exercise and convey the “sociological imagination” so brilliantly described and exemplified by C. Wright Mills in his book by that title (1959). Mills stood

“opposed to social science as a set of bureaucratic techniques which inhibit social inquiry by ‘methodological’ pretensions, which congest such work by obscurantist conceptions, or which trivialize it by concern with minor problems unconnected with publicly relevant issues” (p. 20).

He believed

“that what may be called classic social analysis is a definable and useable set of traditions; that its essential feature is the concern with historical social structure; and that its problems are of direct relevance to urgent public issues and insistent human troubles” (p. 21).

It is the understanding of the relationship between public issues and private troubles which he regarded as the goal of social science. The perspective necessary to its attainment he called “the sociological imagination” regardless of the disciplinary speciality. It is “the capacity to grasp history and biography and the relations between the two within society”; “it is the capacity to range from the most impersonal and remote transformations to the most intimate features of the human self—and to see the relations between the two” (pp. 6-7).

“By addressing ourselves to issues and to troubles and formulating them as problems of social science”, Mills said, “we stand the best chance, I believe the only chance, to make reason democratically relevant to human affairs in a free society, and so realize the classic values that underlie the promise of our studies” (p. 194). Mills epitomized the sociological imagination in his own works which included studies of: labour union leadership, *The New Men of Power* (1948); the plight of Puerto Rican immigrants in New York city, *Puerto Rican Journey* (1950); middle-class life in America, *White Collar* (1951); the military-government-business power nexus in the United States, *The Power Elite* (1956); the threat of thermonuclear war, *The Causes of World War III* (1958); the meaning

of the revolution in Cuba, *Listen Yankee* (1960). He spoke to the issues of his time and the troubles of his people as a social scientist. He did so with courage and with confidence engendered by faith in the scientific validity and the human relevance of his research. I urge that we do the same.

All of this does not mean that we should abandon our anthropological concerns to become researchers in social welfare, public health, or even applied anthropology as that term is usually defined; quite the contrary. It is precisely in the sociological imagination that the humanly urgent and the scientifically urgent coincide. Scientific understanding is the basis upon which human problems and public issues can be comprehended and their solutions rationally attempted. The sociological imagination does not belittle or negate scientific questions—it relates them to practical problems and issues.

When, in the invitation to this conference, we were asked to think of the priorities of research in terms of “the requirements of the development of sociological theory”, human relevance was necessarily *included* rather than excluded from consideration. Ours is the science of man; it cannot ignore human relevance. I am simply making the point that in all of our research and writing and teaching we should exercise the sociological imagination to the limit of our abilities lest we become a science of man irrelevant to men.

A number of specific research problems seem to me to be urgent in Indian anthropology. I will briefly enumerate them, leaving elaboration to subsequent discussion sessions. I shall begin with theoretical and methodological topics and proceed to more concrete and substantive topics. Inevitably the list will reflect my own biases and interests, and I will not hesitate to cite my own work as exemplification of those biases and interests. I do so less out of egotism than out of a belief that programmatic statements can be assessed adequately only when their authors have attempted to practice what they preach.

(1) *Comparability*: I believe it to be imperative that anthropological work in India be so designed, carried out and reported as to be comparable to research in other disciplines and in other cultures and societies. Science grows by communication among its branches and by comparison and accumulation of findings and interpretations. Yet it seems to me that Indian anthropology has tended to be isolated both from other social sciences and, to a degree, from the mainstream of theory and method in anthropology. Thus, for example, although we have studied caste until many have grown tired of it, we have made relatively little impact on even such a closely related field as that of social stratification. Conversely, we have made relatively little use of the findings, concepts and hypotheses common to that major sociological speciality. The result is, I think, that we understand caste *and* stratification

less well than would be the case if our studies shared more with studies of stratification elsewhere.

Caste studies in India have made similarly little contribution to the general understanding of other aspects of social structure or of economic and religious organization beyond the small group of India specialists. I do not advocate that we limit our understanding of caste to those aspects of it which are describable as stratification (or as economics or religion), but that we present our findings in language which will contribute to a broader understanding of those phenomena in the sciences of man and in the world at large—not just in Indian anthropology. I urge also that we utilize concepts derived from other studies, other disciplines and other cultures in attempting to analyze and understand caste and other aspects of Indian society. If we are a science, our methods, our concepts and our findings must be cumulative, comparable and generalizable. If not, then we are a species of Orientalists whose work, however accurate and interesting, is of little relevance to a science of man. By putting our work into the context of a broader social science, we will both benefit from and contribute to the insights of others working in different regions and utilizing different perspectives. We will thereby learn more about man in India while contributing more to the understanding of man in general.

The sociological imagination is the ability to see that which is general in the specific instance and that which is specifically relevant to a situation in general propositions. It seems to me that those who continue to emphasize the uniqueness of man in India and to deny or ignore the general relevance of what we know or the relevance of alien concepts to what we know, are as far from exemplifying sociological imagination as are those who speak exclusively in terms of abstract generalizations about social man without addressing themselves to the practical issues confronting man in India. I think one is as unfortunate as the other in the development of anthropology in and about India. I have elaborated this theme in another paper, "Caste in India: So What?" presented before the American Anthropological Association's annual meeting last December (1967). There I offered some explicit suggestions toward avoiding or overcoming the lack of comparability which I described as being common in Indianist anthropology. In another paper, "Stratification, Pluralism and Interaction: A Comparative Analysis of Caste" (1967), I have attempted to exemplify some of my recommendations for comparability in theory and concepts in the study of caste and stratification. In two others I have tried concretely to make cross-cultural comparisons, one between race relations in the United States and caste in India (1960), and one on a broader level (1966). In another (1967) I have suggested common implications of caste systems for processes of social stability and change. In still another (1963), I have tried to indicate some practical implications of caste organization for programs of planned social change in India. No doubt all of these

are superficial, but they are attempts in the direction of comparability and of theoretical and practical relevance.

The problem of comparability is by no means limited to the study of caste. Anthropological studies of political organization and social structure in India have been largely independent of analogous studies carried out in Africa and have had no comparable impact on our discipline. A similar situation exists with regard to studies of peasant economics in India and the rich field of Indian religion. There are many contributing reasons for this state of affairs, but one of them is that we have isolated ourselves from our colleagues by a tradition of Indianist exoticism which emphasizes the unique and ignores the comparable. Ralph Nicholas considers the problem elsewhere in this volume. I think we all seek comparability in our anthropological studies within India; I urge that we do so cross-culturally and cross-disciplinarily as well. This is urgent lest we become intellectually isolated and consequently impeded in analyzing our data, in comprehending its human implications, and in contributing to a growing social science.

(2) *Culture, Society and the Individual*: We have tended to focus on the Indian community and its norms, to the neglect of the individual in society and his view of his world. This has led to the virtual absence of materials from India in the field of psychological anthropology. With its diversity of cultures, social milieux and family types, India affords an opportunity for significant contributions in this field while research in this field offers major advances in our understanding of Indian society and culture and their relationship to individual experience.

Recently in the United States there has been considerable interest in "cognitive studies", that is, in discovering how people perceive the world around them and how their perceptions and the meanings attached to them are related to their behaviour. This approach has its roots in the work of such men as George Herbert Mead, William I. Thomas, Alfred Schutz and others. Its contemporary expression includes the approach of the "symbolic interactionists" in social psychology and sociology (e. g., Blumer, Cicourel, Garfinkel, Goffman, Rose, Shibusani; Fredrik Barth comes close to this perspective in anthropology). These people study behaviour in face-to-face interaction with the goal of deriving the implicit rules governing such relationships. They assume that behaviour has meaning to those who manifest it and to those who perceive it, that this meaning is to a large extent shared in society and is discoverable by observation and inquiry, that people act in terms of those reciprocal and shared meanings, and that this is the locus of the rules for choice-making and hence for predictability in social behaviour. My own research in India this year is in part an attempt to look at urban ethnic interaction from this perspective.

The "formal analysts" in anthropology (e. g., Colby, Conklin, Frake,

Goodenough, Lounsbury, Sturtevant) exemplify the cognitive orientation to research in quite a different approach. They view culture very much as scientific linguists view language. Using as their data primarily the terms people use to refer to phenomena in some part of their environment (including the social environment) they seek to discover how those people define their world. They look for principles or criteria by which members of a society impose order on the world, seeking to distinguish what is recurrent and significant (*emic*) from what is simply variant (*etic*). They regard this as a first step in understanding behaviour because people presumably act on the basis of their definition of the world and their situation within it. These analysts share with others interested in cognition the assumption that culture is a set of implicit rules for action discoverable by observing verbal and other behaviour. Their assumptions, methods and objectives are not entirely unique by any means, but their emphasis is unique.

In research undertaken from these perspectives it is important to clearly distinguish the "common sense" understandings of those whom one is studying from the "scientific" interpretation of the anthropological observer. The former are the data upon which the latter are based (cf. Schutz, 1962: 3-47). The scientific interpretations are no doubt our ultimate aim as I have discussed in (1) above, but they must be based on perceptive and accurate comprehension of the cognitive worlds of those we study. Here, therefore, I am appealing for the necessary empirical underpinnings of our scientific endeavors. A cognitive approach in research would illuminate the nature of Indian culture or cultures and society in a way not hitherto accomplished. We have too often tended to impose our conceptual categories (anthropological, western, Sanskritic and others) on the people we have studied and to analyze these. No doubt this is partly responsible for the retreat of some of our critical colleagues into emphasis upon the unique aspects of Indian culture and society. We have extremely little systematic information and understanding of how the Indian villager or urbanite—of how the many varieties of villagers and urbanites, or anyone else in India—views the world. Such understanding is not inimical to scientific interpretation; it is prerequisite for it. It is essential to understanding the relationship of social structure and culture to behavior and this understanding is practically and theoretically crucial. This is where Indian anthropologists have an advantage closed to foreigners whose understanding is necessarily second-hand and attenuated albeit not therefore valueless (cf. Srinivas, 1966, Ch. V).

(3) *Methodology and the Study of One's Own Society*: No doubt we all share a commitment to intensive research based on participant observation. This is especially important to the kind of insight and understanding I have discussed above. As a concomitant, I would urge the *explication* of research methods. This is vital. If we are to have detailed studies of Indian society

and culture which are convincing to other social scientists, we must convey to them the bases for our inferences and conclusions. This does not mean that we should adopt the trappings of the natural scientists. It does mean that we should be as explicit as possible about how we came to know what we claim to know. In a rough and qualitative way I have attempted to do this for my ethnography, *Hindus of the Himalayas* (1963); in my brief methodological monograph, *Behind Many Masks: Ethnography and Impression Management in a Himalayan Village* (1962); and I have elaborated the importance of explicit statements of research methods in my critical essay, "Anemic and Emetic Analyses in Social Anthropology" (1966). An excellent general statement of the problem is set forth in Cicourel's *Method and Measurement in Sociology* (1964). We need to bolster our studies of Indian society and culture with explicit statements of our assumptions, our methods and our modes of analysis. This is especially important, perhaps, for the anthropologist working in his own society who, because of his very familiarity with the subject, may overlook relevant facts or unwittingly make erroneous common-sense interpretations. Explicitness about methods and assumptions helps guard against such distortions; it is necessary for valid comparisons and for scientific credibility.

(4) *Processes: Cohesion, Conflict and Change*: Kathleen Gough has made an eloquent plea for the study of what is happening in the world today in her paper "World Revolution and the Science of Man" (1967). In large part, she is advocating social responsibility and sociological imagination in anthropology. She suggests that "social science, like all science, becomes morally and socially either meaningless or harmful unless its skills and knowledge are periodically referred back to the question, 'Science for what purpose and for whom?'" (p. 148). She goes on to contend that social science in the United States tends to implicitly or explicitly reflect and in fact support the Establishment—the vested interests of the *status quo*. A similar point could be made for any other country. This is perhaps more often a consequence of academic traditions and disciplinary socialization than of purposeful channelling of research in directions unembarassing to the establishment. But the effect is the same: scientific inattention to many vital, timely and urgent social events. The loss is a scientific one—a loss in understanding of the nature and functioning of society—as well as a practical and human one.

The anthropologist must be free to do research on whatever topics seem to him to be important, unfettered by political or other sanctions. This requires that social scientists educate public officials and others about the nature of social science and the necessity of freedom in scientific inquiry. It also requires diplomacy on the part of the scientist. Above all, perhaps, it requires commitment to truth and candour and the courage to act on that commitment and to defend others who do so. In all countries including the United States and India, there are heavy pressures and effective sanctions on

those who follow science to the truth as they see it when that truth conflicts with "official truth" or "national interest". Yet some of the most urgent research is precisely in the most sensitive areas, and especially in those areas of dramatic social, economic and political change.

India is a country in which social change is rampant. In her most recent research, Gough (1967) has been interested in why most of the South Indian villagers she studied 15 years earlier have come to support the Communist Party. Harold Isaacs (1964) has probed deeply into group social mobility in India. Sinha (1959) has studied the Bhumij-Kshatriya movement and Orans (1965) has studied a social movement among the Santal. K. Singh (1967) has investigated inter-caste tensions in villages and I have been interested in parallels between casteism and racism. B eteille (1965) has been interested in the relationship of caste, class and power and in backward classes. Galanter has looked into the legal implementation of "compensatory discrimination" on behalf of disadvantaged and oppressed groups in India. K. N. Sharma (1963) has inquired into the social composition and function of "resources groups", and has subsequently applied his analysis to the problem of corruption. Gunnar Myrdal (1968) has studied poverty and its sources in Asia, while Oscar Lewis (1962, 1966) has studied the "culture of poverty" in Latin America and the United States. Various scholars have studied urbanization and urban life. All of these are issues of both practical and theoretical import. All of these studies throw light on what is happening in India today and at the same time contribute to our general understanding of human behaviour. It seems to me that anthropologists have an urgent obligation to do detailed studies of such social processes and social phenomena, and to analyze them with reference to the findings of social scientists in other societies.

This requires less in the way of redirection of research effort than might at first seem to be the case. More important is that we pay attention to the relevance of the research we would do in any case. If we study caste, let us find out how it relates to problems of social cohesion, social justice, political behaviour, economic development and personal fulfilment. If we study family and kinship, let us see how these phenomena are related to patterns of urban migration, education and family planning. If we study social change, let us attend to vested interests, group conflict, the distribution of power and privilege as well as to cultural and social factors impeding or promoting innovation. If we do not, we will fail to observe the most portentous human events of the time and thus make a mockery of our claim to be the science of man.

(5) *Urban Anthropology*: Although the vast majority of India's people live in the countryside, the city plays an increasingly major role in India's national and public life. It is the source of many of the trends which characterize modern India and which will characterize future India. Anthropolo-

gists throughout the world are turning, appropriately, to urban studies, and we see this reflected in research under way and planned in India, especially in studies of the process of urbanization, such as those represented in *India's Urban Future* (Turner, 1952). I urge more such work, especially in the intensive manner of the anthropologist. We have excellent social surveys but we have yet to see a book from India analogous to Dore's *City Life in Japan*, van den Berghe's *Caneville: The Social Structure of a South African Town*, Young and Willmott's *Family and Kinship in East London*, or Liebow's *Tally's Corner*.

(6) *Urgent Research in the Himalayas*: We have been asked to devote attention to the geographic region as well as the problem areas of our research interest. I have worked in the sub-Himalayan area of Uttar Pradesh, specifically in Garhwal. For the most part, the urgent research problems in these hills are those common to the rest of India and therefore those discussed above.

Of special interest is the integration of the people of the Pahari area into the national cultural, political and economic life of India. This process is going on rapidly and largely unobserved. It offers excellent opportunities for on-the-spot observation and analysis of the impact of communication, transportation, education, community development, credit cooperatives, public health programmes, etc., in hitherto remarkably isolated communities. The impact is a human one as well as a cultural and institutional one. At the same time, rugged terrain and isolation have permitted maintenance of a high degree of cultural variation within small regions. Processes of boundary maintenance, group identity, inter-group relations and cultural transmission in relatively stable populations could still be usefully studied in some areas before that stability has been completely disrupted by outside agencies. Contact among Bhotia, Pahari and Plains peoples provides a focus for first-hand studies of acculturation and its impact on individuals and groups, using recently derived theoretical and methodological tools and not having to rely on memory cultures and *ex post facto* analyses.

There are numerous other research topics of interest in the Himalayas to which the term "urgent" might be applied. In the immediate vicinity of the site of this conference, for example, are fleeting opportunities for detailed study of social, political, economic and related aspects of essentially feudal kingdoms or estates and for study of their transition to becoming integral parts of democratic India. Their size and populations are small and those who comprised the systems are still alive to recall how these functioned. This is a rare opportunity to study feudal systems and their concomitants first-hand and in microcosm. Finally, I would like to see a detailed, first-hand, in-depth study of a Jaunsar Bawar village or region. This small and relatively accessible mountain area is one of the few in the world where polyandry is a flourishing

institution. I would like to know how polyandry really works there, and I am certain that the opportunity to find out will soon disappear as the Jaunsaris adopt the values of the dominant society of North India through schooling and other outside contacts. My interest in this esoteric institution is admittedly more a manifestation of my anthropological romanticism than of my sociological imagination. If pushed to a more scientific rationale, I would say that we cannot claim to understand man unless we can understand all of his social arrangements, and I do not think we now understand this instance of polyandry. I doubt that either our science of mankind would suffer much should we fail to comprehend Jaunsari polyandry, and for that reason I give it low priority, but I would regret that failure.

The high priorities must go to humanly urgent research. We will be shirking our social responsibility, and our science will suffer along with our people, if it is otherwise.

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ANNADA BHAGABATI

Anthropological Research in the Assam Region : Some Proposals

EVER since empirical field research became an established tradition in social anthropology, its practitioners have, from time to time, stressed the need for studying and putting on record cultures and forms of social life faced with the prospect of rapid transformation. At the present time, when the unique and indigenous modes of life all over the world are being influenced by numerous forces of change, this concern for studying them 'now or never' has become more intense than ever. My statement on the immediate research need in the Assam region is largely inspired by this general concern of social anthropology. This is a region of many cultures and communities which need to be studied and recorded before further changes take place. This is also a region offering excellent opportunities for studying emergent social, political and cultural trends among many hitherto isolated communities.

PAST RESEARCH : ETHNOGRAPHY OF THE TRIBAL COMMUNITIES

Basic ethnographic research is nothing really new in what was once known as Assam which included the North East Frontier Agency (for short, NEFA) and Nagaland. A series of detailed, factual monographs were prepared by a number of British civil servants (some of them trained in Anthropology) on various tribes among whom they worked and these were published under the auspices of the Assam Government. Many of these reports are useful ethnographic documents, at least when judged by the standards of the times when the studies were undertaken. Apart from satisfying the intellectual curiosity of Western ethnologists with volumes of information on 'primitive' art and artifacts, law and social customs, religious ideas and folklore, these accounts

served a more useful purpose nearer home : as reliable guidelines for administering the frontier tribesmen. Thus applied anthropological and sociographic research in the Assam region were initiated together and that too at a fairly early date. Col. P. R. T. Gurdon's work on the Khasis was published as early as 1914, while Professor Fürer-Haimendorf was perhaps the first and the last professional anthropologist to be commissioned by the Government prior to Independence to explore and establish friendly contacts with the tribes of the present Subansiri district of NEFA (Fürer-Haimendorf, 1955).

Since those early years, field research in the north-eastern region has very largely remained bound by the traditions of classical anthropology in its choice of field and, to some extent, in the character of documentation. With regard to the choice of field, the only area which is still regarded by many to be worthy of the social anthropologist's attention is that of the tribal communities and their cultures.

On documentation, there is still little evidence of presenting ethnographic material in an interpretative manner. Since the late 1950s, reports on a number of NEFA tribes have been prepared and published under the auspices of the NEFA Administration. Most of these reports are of a preliminary nature which follow a rigidly uniform plan of presentation of ethnographic materials and thereby fail to convey what social or cultural institutions are really important and in which tribal community. Though ethnographic field research is largely exploratory in nature, it can make little useful contribution to social anthropology unless the findings are properly analysed and interpreted. The field worker should have a clear understanding of which particular aspect of life in a community requires more intensive observation than the others. Moreover, any field investigator in the Assam region today must take into account the impact of new economic, social and political forces that have begun operating over the years. Apart from the NEFA series, there are only two major monographic studies on the tribes of this region which are of a social anthropological nature : Burling's study of a Garo village community (1963) provides a clear analysis of Garo kinship and social structure, and Fürer-Haimendorf's account (1962) of the Apatanis and their relationships with the neighbouring Daflas and Hill Miris is another valuable piece of ethnography.

CURRENT RESEARCH NEEDS : FIELD RESEARCH AMONG THE PLAINS COMMUNITIES

My main concern in this discussion is with the choice of field and with locating problems which, I feel, should be taken up in this region. For too long the emphasis here has remained on the study of the tribal communities to the near-exclusion of the peasantry and other inhabitants of the plains. This is not to deny the importance of further research into the rich and colourful

assembly of tribes in the hills nor to say that we know everything worth-knowing about them. But while some research has been done among these communities, very little systematic investigation has been carried out in any part of the 20,000 sq. miles expanse of the Brahmaputra valley. This region, stretching between the districts of Goalpara in the west and Lakhimpur in the extreme north-east, is dotted with over 16,000 villages and several towns. It has remained a virtually unexplored territory for the social anthropologists. Our understanding of caste and community structures or of the overall patterns of social relations and social change among any section of the 8.5 million rural inhabitants and over half million town-dwellers is still very superficial.

I am not, however, implying that basic research in social anthropology should be undertaken merely for the sake of regional or geographic coverage or because there are thousands of villages and millions of people in the Assam plains. These alone can never determine the need for social research. There are many pertinent historical, sociological and practical reasons in support of initiating field research in this region. In many ways, even our understanding of the hill tribals and their social, cultural and economic relations will remain vague and imperfect unless complementary research is undertaken among the peasants of the plains. In this region, the peasants and the tribals share many elements in common (Goswami 1967: 72-79). There are numerous instances of migration and of inter-cultural loans between the hills and the plains. Some of the historical reasons which make this area potentially interesting to the students of Indian social anthropology are outlined below.

Due to geographic isolation, the indigenous, predominantly tribal population of Assam was left out of the mainstream of Indian history and civilization for a long time. The Ahoms and other Mongoloid groups of people, especially in the upper reaches of the Brahmaputra valley, came within the fold of Hindu India much later (around Fifteenth century A. D.) than the indigenous inhabitants of most other parts of the country. Incidentally, formal acceptance of Hinduism is an ongoing process among many Bodo tribal groups of Assam which has given rise to the diffuse *Koch* caste. This caste has never really closed its rank and boundary over the centuries and keeps on admitting proselytes to Hinduism (Gait 1963 : 8 ; Hutton 1963 : 285). Furthermore, it appears that the merger of a small number of high caste immigrants in historical times with the local tribal population never really succeeded in producing a full complement of occupational castes, marked off from each other by rigid hierarchical arrangements. There are fewer artisan and trading castes in Assam than is the case with, say, neighbouring Bengal (Bose 1967 : 243-62). The traditional productive system of the region is thus less efficiently organized along the lines of hereditary guilds or castes and preserves much from the original tribal base. It is also important to note that though there are nearly three million Muslims in Assam, the Muslim rulers never really gained enough

of a foothold in the valley to be able to influence the social and economic organization in any appreciable manner. Finally, though Assam became a part of British India nearly one and a half century ago, this had only a limited impact on the traditional pattern of life. Except for the development of tea industry, itself rural in character, there was little industrial and urban development in Assam during the British period.

All these would suggest a degree of stability of the rural Assamese society which persisted well into this century. Some intensive studies should now be undertaken in order to find out in what ways it differs from or approximates the societies in other parts of India. Among other things social anthropologists have increasingly felt the need for a series of intensive field studies of village communities from different parts of India which alone can lead to the formulation of sound generalizations about the nature of Indian society. As Dube has commented : "Until this is done our picture of social systems in rural India will remain vague and inadequate" (1955 : 7).

Uptil now, the Census organization has brought out a few village survey reports from the districts of Assam. It plans to bring out a total of nine such volumes from the districts of the Brahmaputra valley. Though not intensive studies concentrating on particular problems of theoretical interest, these reports should provide some idea of the types of villages in this region and a general background of rural Assam. Besides these, a few short studies on social organization, caste and occupational changes in Assamese villages have appeared in various journals and reports.

More intensive problem-oriented field research in the Assam plains promises interesting results for comparison with the rest of India. Any of a variety of problems—such as the manner in which a regional caste structure forms and operates, the nature and degree of integration of non-Hindus (Muslims and Tribals) into the regional society, the character of the peasantry, or the integrative functions of the few sacred centres of the Hindus—could be taken up for study.

I shall now turn to another kind of situation which calls for our attention. Although the pace of social change has been relatively slow in the past, the conditions have altered significantly in Assam since the 1940s. In a way, the partition and independence of India accelerated the wheel of change. Among various developments, mention may be made of the high rate of population increase [The rate, for example, was 34.4 per cent in the 1951-61 decade as compared to the all-India increase of 21.5 per cent (Goswami 1963 : 1827)] and consequent pressure on agricultural land and scarce rural resources, rapid spread of literacy and formal education, limited urban and industrial growth and the rise (through rural emigration) of a sizeable town-based Assamese population competing for jobs and economic opportunities with each other and with an ever-increasing number of immigrants from other parts of India.

To these might be added the introduction of various governmental programmes, legislation, and political developments including the institution of universal adult franchise and the panchayat system of self-government. All these contemporary developments are likely to affect the traditional societies of the Assam plains in some measure. It should be worthwhile to explore the social consequences of these new developments.

Apart from being academically useful, the results of some of this research can be of practical value to planners, policy framers and others concerned with the problems of economic and social development in the Assam region. But the so-called applied social research in the form of rapid surveys can seldom be of academic as well as practical value. Srinivas, among others, has expressed his apprehension about "practical", specifically administrative problem-oriented field research because such research adds little or nothing to our understanding of the social and cultural systems (Srinivas 1962 : 145-6). As Benedict has recently pointed out, some applied anthropological research stems from the expectations of quick results by government and other agencies who perhaps wish to introduce a programme of economic and social development as soon as possible (1967 : 584-5). But as he further pointed out : "Applied anthropology is not a discipline in itself. It must be firmly grounded in the theories and methods of anthropology" (1967 : 586). Considered in this fashion, there are many practical ends which even basic research can serve in Assam. This region is at the moment beset with numerous social problems which often become political in nature and which include inter-cultural and inter-group dissension, tensions, and conflicts. Intensive anthropological studies of the various communities, which take into account the historical as well as the newly-emergent forces, can at least give us an idea of the quality of the problem in this region.

SOME PROBLEMS FOR RESEARCH

I have so far tried to draw the attention of anthropologists to a region about which our knowledge is deficient in many respects. I shall now attempt to indicate some specific areas where anthropological research should be undertaken in the Assam region.

1. *Typical village communities from the three major culture areas of the Brahmaputra plains.* These basic studies will not only provide a picture of the rural society—its castes, cultures and so forth—but will also be very helpful for research in social change, urbanization, etc.

2. *Social relations between tribals and Hindu peasants.* A large number of Kachari, Lalung, Mikir, Miri, Garo and other tribals live in the plains districts of Assam. The quality of social relations between the castes and the tribes and the extent to which the tribals are influenced by the dominant Hindu society should be studied. Incidentally, many social changes that plains

tribals adopt deliberately, e.g., the shift from matriliney to patriliney among the Rabhas in Goalpara district, seem to be due to Hindu influence.

3. *Social relations between the inhabitants of the hills and the plains.* There are many instances of formalized social, economic and political interaction between the hill tribals and the peoples of the plains, especially in the extreme north-east. Some of these contacts are of a long-standing nature. For instance, the relationships of the Noctes and Wanchos of Tirap district in NEFA with the plains people of Sibsagar district have continued from Ahom times. In the past, such relationships were stabilized politically through the exchange of gifts between Ahom kings and tribal chiefs. It will be pertinent to examine the present nature of these relationships, especially the expanding trade relationships. Similarly, the traditional social, ceremonial, and economic relationships of Sherdukpen tribesmen of Kameng district in NEFA with the Kacharis and other plains people of Darrang district provide an interesting area of research. There are many indications that the annual migration of the Sherdukpens to the plains will gradually diminish in importance due to availability of economic opportunities in the hills. There is thus a very urgent need to take up this study.

4. *Social organization of the sacred centres and their integrative functions for the regional society, sometimes including the tribals.* The temples of Kamakhya and Hajo and the vaishnavite *satras* (religious centres) of Majuli, Nowgong district and Barpeta are very important institutions in Assam. The vaishnavite movement of Sankardeva has been one of the most important social forces in Assam for the last five centuries. The *satras* are the foci of this movement and these should be interesting areas for anthropological research.

5. *Social change.* The consequences of recent political developments and urban and industrial growth in Assam should receive attention from social anthropologists.

6. *The growing social tensions and conflicts between various communities.* The study of inter-community relations and social tensions should receive urgent attention in Assam.

In this discussion, I have attempted to provide a brief outline of research activities in the Assam region and to justify the need for more attention to the plains than it has received. To my knowledge, there are three organizations which have evinced a limited interest in the area, namely, the Handicrafts and Social Studies Unit of the Census organization which has its own strategy of research and publication over the entire country, the Anthropological Survey of India which has a branch at Shillong, and the Department of Anthropology at Gauhati University which has only a few staff members all of whom cannot be expected to be interested in research in this region. Besides,

a University teacher is frequently handicapped by the lack of adequate leave facilities for taking up a field project. In addition to above organizations, the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes has in his latest Report (1966-67 : iii) recommended the setting up of a small research cell in every state which can undertake the collection of sociologically relevant information on the general population as well as the scheduled castes and the scheduled tribes. If this materializes in Assam, there will be some further scope for organized field research.

Apart from studies taken up by full-time scholars, the fieldwork done by the Master's degree students can be used for filling the gap in our knowledge of the area. At the University of Gauhati to which I belong, the students who specialize in social anthropology have to prepare a dissertation based on field work. Though these reports are mostly of a simple ethnographic nature yet they contain much interesting information. If properly edited and brought out annually, even in cyclostyled form, for circulation among anthropologists and others, these reports will certainly prove to be useful.

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S. C. DUBE

Five Research Proposals

SIXTEEN years ago, at the invitation of Professor Heine-Geldern, I attended one of the earliest symposia on Urgent Tasks of Anthropology held in Vienna during the Fourth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences. On re-reading the condensed version of my oral presentation published four years later (Dube 1956), I find that in a large measure I shared with the other participants a concern for studying vanishing tribal cultures and rare institutional forms. In the developing countries there has been a noticeable shift in their conception of what is *urgent*: rather than studying quaint and exotic little groups they would have their anthropologists concentrate on social and cultural phenomena relevant to nation building. But I am still oldfashioned enough to believe that the wonder that permeates mankind is worth exploring. As such, I would not accord too low a priority to what is known as *salvage anthropology*. A concern for theory was implicit in my statement, and I emphasized—though, at that time, it looked like sounding a discordant note—the need for problem-solving research focused on the mainstream of the society. In visualizing urgent problems of anthropological research we should look at their relevance to theory and nation building, but at the same time the study of disappearing ways of life should not be ignored.

Five research proposals, each with a degree of urgency associated with it, are outlined in this paper. These research ideas reflect the interests and concerns of the faculty in the Department of Anthropology and Sociology at the University of Saugar. Some of them refer to geographical regions other than the one in which the university is physically located, but in such cases our interest emanates from past and/or continuing experience of research in the

particular problem-area. These research proposals aim at studying situations that are being modified rapidly by the changing contexts of life, and which, as such, deserve to be recorded and analyzed. These areas of research also have significant bearing on theory, and research on them—if it is planned and carried out imaginatively—can be expected to register definite conceptual advances. It is our hope that in the foreseeable future we shall carry out all or some of these researches either by ourselves or in collaboration with other Indian or foreign universities and research organizations. The outcome of most of these researches will have definite policy implications.

THE RITUAL PURITY/POLLUTION THEME

Caste is believed to represent a special form of social stratification because of the pervasive influence of the concepts of ritual purity and pollution. Patterns of inter-personal as well as inter-group relations are governed significantly by these concepts. The complex of belief and behaviour emanating from these concepts has not been recorded and analyzed so far in any depth. A doctoral thesis in preparation at Saugar by Samarendra Saraf suggests the possibilities of further work on this theme on a comparative level, taking account of regional diversities in their tribal, rural, and urban contexts.

The focus of these studies—proposed to be undertaken in three or four culture areas to begin with—may be on

- the views of the sacred books on ritual purity and pollution, and their local and regional manifestations;
- the central and peripheral attributes of this complex of belief and behaviour; and
- the changes in belief and behaviour associated with these concepts as a result of industrialization, urbanization, education, and so forth.

The results of such an exercise are likely to illuminate certain significant aspects of the structure and functioning of caste as well as the changes on one of its most sensitive but vital frontiers.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION OF CASTES

The tradition of studying single villages and individual castes has, in many ways, obscured our understanding of inter-caste and inter-village networks, which are an important dimension of contemporary village life in India. In this context the inter-village network of political ties and organization of individual castes is especially important.

Pradhan's *The Political System of the Jats of Northern India* (1966) is a welcome contribution in this field. B. R. Chauhan has presented, in his *A Rajasthan village* (1967), some important material on *chokhala*, i.e., inter-village

caste organizations. Recent research in rural Madhya Pradesh shows that some castes have a comparable organization known as *kudaria*. This material is being prepared for publication. These researches notwithstanding, there is need for more work focused on this theme.

It would be useful to organize this research on a comparative basis in two or three geographical regions having pronounced cultural differences. It should study

- intra-village political organization of individual castes in terms of its structure and function;
- inter-village political organization of individual castes, also in terms of its structure and function;
- the role of these organizations in the emerging regional and national caste organizations; and
- the role of these organizations in *micro- and macro-politics*.

The relationship of these organizations to other political organizations—*intra-village inter-caste panchayats, inter-village inter-caste panchayats, statutory panchayats at different levels, and so forth*—will also be a useful area of study.

The results of this research would strengthen the growth of political anthropology in India. They will also have an indirect policy bearing in the context of the country's commitment to institution building through democratic decentralization.

MATRILINEAL SOCIETIES IN THE LACCADIVES

Analyses of matrilineal systems (operating in a variety of cultural and ecological settings and following various residence patterns) and their comparison with kinship systems based on different principles of descent, inheritance, and succession have contributed to a clearer understanding of certain important elements and principles of social organization. Forming a very small proportion of the peoples of the world and being greatly vulnerable to change, the matrilineal societies merit special attention.

The eternal problem that the matrilineal systems have to face is how to combine continuity and recruitment through women with control and authority vested in the men of the lineage. Unlike the patrilineal systems, these systems run through all the possible alternatives open to them in terms of residential grouping, but they fail to combine neatly residence, descent, and authority. The absence of coordination between lines of authority and descent—which is characteristic of matriliney, authority being a male function and group placement a female function—can be said to be mainly responsible for the inherent conflicts and built-in difficulties, for the division of a complex of rights, obliga-

tions, and affections into two opposed roles (that of the father and of the mother's brother), and for the tug between the conjugal and paternal ties and matrilineal loyalties.

Of the various possibilities in terms of residential grouping tried by matrilineal societies, the pattern of *duolocal* (or *natolocal*) residence, which is marked by the absence of conjugal family of husband, wife, and children either as an independent unit or as one embedded in a larger kinship unit, is of special interest to the students of social structure. The Nayars of Central Kerala are the most discussed group in this context and have long been known as the test case for kinship theories. Another example of this form of grouping is found among the Menangkabau of Central Sumatra. Although duolocality of spouses as one of the alternative patterns of residence is also found among some other matrilineal societies, these two—the Nayar and the Menangkabau—are regarded as the only true representatives of this type of arrangement. The extreme rarity of this residence pattern has led the anthropologists to regard it as an oddity and an exception. A study of the matrilineal people with duolocal residence pattern living on the Laccadive, Minicoy, and Amindivi group of islands is urgently required. It will not only record a type of social structure not widely known, but will also make a noteworthy contribution to studies on family, on kinship, and generally on social structure.

Recently these islands have been brought on the anthropological map. A doctoral thesis on marriage and kinship in the island of Kalpeni by A. R. Kutty (1965) at Saugar is the only completed study on any of these islands. The Office of the Registrar General of India is carrying out socio-economic surveys of these islands. One of their investigators, who collected the data for the island of Amini, is now making a sociological study of this island for his doctoral thesis at Saugar. A long paper by Leela Dube and A. R. Kutty in '*Matriliney and Islam in Kalpeni (Laccadives)*' (press), explores the impact of a religion with predominant patrilineal emphases on a matrilineal society.

Laccadive, Minicoy, and Amindivi group of islands, popularly known as the Laccadives, lie scattered in the Arabian Sea at a distance of between 123 to 240 miles from the southwest coast of Indian mainland. It appears that centuries ago a matrilineal system with duolocal residence pattern was carried from the Indian mainland to the Laccadives. The immigrants, according to local history, were mostly matrilineal Hindus. Even after their conversion to Islam they continued to be matrilineal.

This factor makes these islands all the more interesting. The people present a remarkable spectacle of adaptation and compromise between matrilineal principles (with an absence of conjugal family) and Islam (with its pronounced patrilineal emphases and injunctions regarding conjugal relationships, paternal responsibilities, and filial duties). These groups would offer an extremely fruitful comparison with the matrilineal Nayars who also follow the

duolocal residence pattern but are Hindus, and with the matrilineal Mappillas of Kerala who are Muslims but do not follow the duolocal residence pattern. Studies on the Nayar by Panikkar (1918), Aiyappan (1932a, 1932b, 1934), Gough (1952, 1959, 1962), Mencher (1962), and Nakane (1963) will provide a useful basis for comparison. The Mappillas, described in bare outline by Gough (1962), deserve to be studied in detail.

After their inclusion in the Indian Union as a Union Territory in 1956, these islands have been exposed to significant changes. A new administrative set-up has come into existence. There is considerable intensification of economic activity opening up new avenues for gainful employment. Educational opportunities have also increased. There has been a distinct increase in communications between the islanders and the Indian mainland. These islands, thus, seem to be heading towards sweeping changes. It is necessary, therefore, to make a study of their relatively uncommon social organization as soon as possible. The working of the Taravad organization and domestic groups, of the institution of marriage (with high rates of divorce), of the two kinds of inheritance systems—matrilineal and Islamic—prevalent on the island, and of the authority patterns appear to be fruitful areas of study. Analysis of subsequent changes will then be a useful focus of study.

A similar study of matrilineal Pnars of Assam will also be useful.

POLITICAL SYSTEM IN TRIBAL BASTAR

Though there are a large number of excellent ethnographic studies on Indian tribes, analyses of their political organization are not adequate. Political anthropology, in a way, has yet to make its appearance in India.

British social anthropologists have evolved a useful typology of primitive political system on the basis of African materials. Representing the first generation of writings in political anthropology and being linked to the structural approach, their studies do not deal adequately with change in political systems. An articulate school of political sociology is emerging, however, in the United States: it lays emphasis on process and change as well as on the functional relationship between constituent aspects of the political system. This approach has given a new dimension to the study of political sociology.

Studies of tribal political organization in India can be undertaken in these theoretical frameworks. More specifically, we could try to find out whether the typology of political systems developed on African materials is valid in the context of the political organization of Indian tribes. A functional analysis of political systems in tribal India could also be attempted. What are the main units of political structure? How are these units interrelated? And what are their functions in the maintenance of the system? How did these tribal organizations adjust to British rule and its intermediaries in India? How are the tribes reorganizing their political systems in independent India? Can we

draw any generalizations regarding the dynamics of these political systems in the light of the various modifications that they have undergone at various stages? Our main theoretical concern should be to find out how a political system, with a particular set of characteristics, responds to a particular force of change.

In the context of the contemporary political situation in India, study of political organizations has assumed a great importance. Studies of political systems could analyze the structures of power, the channels of communication, and the lines of command and obedience in tribal societies. For any attempt at planned change a thorough knowledge of the location and distribution of power is most essential. To plan and execute strategies of emotional integration effectively, prior knowledge of the power situation in tribal societies is indispensable.

As a case study, it would be useful to analyze the political system in Bastar, the land of the Maria and the Muria. The Maria are divided into two sections—the Hill Maria and the Bison-horn Maria; one with a food-gathering economy, and the other practising shifting cultivation. The Muria are settled cultivators, although some of them also practise shifting cultivation. These tribes have a strong cephalous political structure. The ruler of Bastar, who is also the chief priest of goddess Danteswari, is regarded as the political head. The institution of *Majhis*, at the lower level of political organization, is also well-established.

An attempt will be made in the proposed study to see what the nature of political organization among these three tribal groups—each having a different economic pattern—was, how it functioned in the past, and what modifications it underwent through the successive stages of non-tribal political domination. More particularly, we could study how tribal political organization functions now in Bastar, especially after the succession of a new ruler to the throne. An input-output analysis of the political organization could be undertaken. An attempt could also be made to identify the structures of political socialization and recruitment, interest articulation, interest aggregation, and political communication, and to see how these structures function in relation to the national political organization.

Another aspect of the study would be an examination of the genesis, growth, and manifestation of tribal unrest in Bastar. Bastar has a long tradition of tribal unrest. At least three times—in 1876, 1910 and the 1960's—in about a hundred years, the tribes have risen against political authority. Such a study may be of some help to the country in formulating sociologically valid policies and programmes of action for solving the problem of tribal unrest in India.

TRIBES IN THE INDUSTRIAL SETTING

Growth of population, depletion of forest resources accompanied by strin-

gent legal restrictions on the exploitation of these resources, penetration of some industries into the tribal areas, and contact with the outside world have brought many tribal groups into industrial settings. These tribal groups live in two worlds—the tribal and the industrial and as a consequence are full members of neither. Being participants in the industrial system, they undergo a process of alienation from their tribal system, but the extent of alienation is not such as would permit them to become completely integrated into the industrial system. This duality of membership generates psychological conflicts and tensions, resulting in serious consequences for their commitment to both the tribal and the industrial system.

The impact of the extension of the industrial frontier on tribal life in Africa has been analyzed thoroughly. Besides providing an analytical framework, these analyses have made a significant contribution to the understanding of tribal behaviour in the industrial setting.

In India, notwithstanding the fact that a large number of industrial centres have substantial tribal labour, not many studies of this type have been undertaken. Martin Orans' study of the Santal in Jamshedpur (1959) is a notable exception. Another useful study by L. P. Vidyarthi is awaiting publication. Of course, there are a number of socio-economic surveys dealing with tribal labour in Bihar, West Bengal, and Assam, but they only offer some quantitative data on tribal labour. Their authors have not attempted a deep sociological analysis.

Tribal industrial labour is found in two types of situations: (1) where the tribes have left their original habitation and have come down to far-away industrial centres located in non-tribal areas, and (2) where the industry itself has penetrated into the tribal areas.

Both situations deserve to be studied, but we would like to begin with a study of the second situation.

The establishment of an industry in a tribal area brings certain new opportunities to the tribal people. These lie outside their tribal system, and participation by the tribes in exploiting the new opportunities would have the effect of drawing them away from their social system. Some of the people in neighbouring areas exploit these opportunities, some do not. There is selectivity with regard to the exploitation of opportunities also: not all are exploited. The general pattern is that particular groups of people exploit selected opportunities. It would be of sociological significance to know which group, with what socio-economic characteristics, exploits which opportunities, and to what extent.

In the area of sociology of industry several provocative hypotheses have been developed in certain specific situations, but they need to be verified in different contexts before their scientific validity can be accepted. Weberian and post-Weberian stand on the impact of social and religious values on economic behaviour, Park's proposition regarding the impact of *social marginality*

on economic behaviour, Barnett's emphasis on the position of an individual in the social system, Slotkin's findings on the impact of role inadequacy, McClelland's concept of *n* Achievement, and Festinger's theory of cognitive dissonance, all need empirical verification in varying social situations.

The participation of tribes of Assam, with different systems of descent, economic organization, and social and religious values, in the tea gardens would provide an excellent laboratory for testing some of these hypotheses. The main theme would be to find what categories of people, under what circumstances, exploit which opportunities, to what extent, and with what consequences both to themselves and to their communities.

Another aspect of this study would be to identify the difficulties that tribal labour encounters in the industrial centres. It would be the concern of the proposed study to locate the institutions which are dysfunctional as well as those which are eufunctional to the development of commitment to industrial discipline among the tribal groups. A knowledge of these factors would be of great help in formulating policies and in planning strategies for increasing commitment to industrial discipline in the tribal labour.

Many more projects can be suggested, as indeed they would be suggested by other participants in the Conference. In view of paucity of funds and scarcity of trained personnel, it is necessary to select only a few key problems to begin with. The studies to be undertaken should promote the academic growth of social anthropology, and should, hopefully, throw up results with definite policy implications. In the process they would also put on permanent record some aspects of traditional societies that are passing.

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STEPHEN FUCHS

Urgent Anthropological Research in Middle India

IN 1952 I wrote a paper on "Anthropological Research Problems in Central India" for the Fourth International Congress of the Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences in Vienna (Fuchs 1956), discussing the theoretical problems of primary concern to this Congress. Therein I stated that of the 47 aboriginal tribes listed by Russell and Hiralal (1916), only ten had been touched by anthropological research (in fact, the number should have been eleven, for I had overlooked Griffiths, 1946); of these, six had been studied in areas outside Central India. The Census of India 1961 listed 58 tribes in Madhya Pradesh; only thirteen have been studied scientifically.

Since 1952, anthropological research in Middle India at any rate has unfortunately not made much progress. A few more monographs have been published since: Naik (1956 : Bhil), Nag (1958 : Baiga), Fuchs (1960 : Gond and Bhumia), Nath (1961, on the Bhils of an area in Gujarat, adjacent to Madhya Pradesh), and Naik (1963 : Abujhmarhias of Bastar). In 1963 the National Council of Applied Economic Research also published its *Socio-economic Conditions of Primitive Tribes in Madhya Pradesh*.

Prof. W. Koppers' numerous articles on the Bhils in Jhabua District, M. P., published in various journals, mostly in German, have been collected and translated into English, but remain unpublished for want of funds. There are also plans for Father Jansen's excellent study of the Bhilalas in the former Barwani State, accepted by the University of Vienna as a Ph. D. thesis, to be translated into English. Leela Dube's *The Gond Woman*, accepted as Ph. D. thesis by the University of Nagpur, also awaits publication.

Some other tribes have recently been studied, mainly by young Indian

anthropologists (Fürer-Haimendorf, 1958 and 1964). A number of papers on Middle Indian tribes have appeared in various journals, but most are short and sketchy. All this shows that little research has been done in the last twenty years among the tribes of Middle India. This is deplorable because some of the tribes are changing rapidly and much of their old culture will soon be lost irretrievably.

The same must be said about research among the numerous Scheduled Castes in Central India. Their study should prove very rewarding, since they may have retained many elements of the ancient Indian culture. The Census of India 1961 returned 68 Scheduled Castes in Madhya Pradesh, but very few of them have been studied systematically : Briggs on the Chamars (1923) and the Doms (1953), and Robertson's brief treatment of the Mahar (1938). A study of the Mahars around Indore and Nagpur was undertaken in 1959 by Jayasri Das Gupta, but I have no information whether it was published. I may also mention my monograph on the Balahis (1950). Mayer (1960) and Mathur (1964) concern the higher castes in Middle India.

The most urgent task would be, in my opinion, to step up research on the various tribes and castes in Middle India before they disappear and are assimilated by the national culture in the making. The Tribal Department of the Government of India has apparently realised this urgency and has established Tribal Research Institutes in the States with large tribal populations : Madhya Pradesh has one at Chhindwara, and another was planned at Nagpur, but I have no further information about it. The Chhindwara Institute was very active while Dr. Naik was its Director, but seems to have slowed down after his departure.

The Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, in his Report of 1963-64, complains that "there is a dearth of properly qualified and experienced persons for manning the newly created posts" (p. 151). This scarcity of trained personnel is, however, due not to the unavailability of trained anthropologists in India but, as the Commissioner himself pointed out in his Report, to the fact "that the pay-scales offered are not attractive enough or adequate efforts are not made by the concerned Departments to search for suitable persons ; there are delays in the execution of such preliminaries as construction of buildings, finalisation of details of the set-up, pattern of working, etc. Sometimes only junior officers are recruited to begin with, instead of the Director or Principal, and naturally such people are not able to give a good start to the working" (p. 152). Such factors deter competent anthropologists from joining these institutes, and they seek more lucrative congenial posts elsewhere.

The above Report gives a detailed account of the work of the Tribal Research Institute at Chhindwara, about the problems under current investigation, and the future plans. It also mentions research by the Anthropological

Survey of India (p. 110) and the various university Departments of Anthropology. But here I have to voice another grievance: The publications of the Indian Government and of the Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh concerning anthropological studies remain generally unknown and unobtainable. Very few copies are sent out for reviews, and if one orders a book from a Government Press, he receives either no reply at all or only after several weeks, if not months. It appears that after the books have been printed no one is responsible for their sale. The only Tribal Research Institute that is an exception to this rule is that at Calcutta. The Deputy Director, Mr. Amal Kumar Das, seems to have a sense for publicity and tries to make his publications known. The many publications of the Census Department too are largely unknown and unavailable. There is a certain firm at Calcutta, Ranjan Gupta, which sells them as "rare and valuable" at threefold price !

After this first and foremost task of Indian anthropology, namely, to speed up the study of the aboriginal tribes of Middle India not yet touched by anthropological research, I would suggest some other important studies to be carried out without delay.

One is this : While reading the Reports of the Commissioner of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes one is struck by the repeated complaint that in spite of huge funds being made available for the social and economic uplift of peoples by the Indian Government and in spite of the great number of social workers employed in this work, the Scheduled Castes and Tribes have benefited so little. Often it was not even possible to utilise all the funds provided by the Government of India. It would be an urgent and eminently practical task to study the reasons for this failure of the welfare schemes.

I see two main reasons for it : one is the lack of enthusiasm in the very groups which benefit from these schemes. The reasons for this aversion to change and improvement must be ascertained. They might lie in their mental attitude and cultural situation, but also in the reformers' wrong approach : a lack of psychological preparation for this change and improvement. It should also be pointed out that these reforms are forced on these classes too much from without, and their own cooperation is often not sought sufficiently. The tribal leaders are usually ignored by the social workers who, in addition, often belong to the very classes which in the past exploited them and kept them subservient. No wonder they are received with suspicion, and cooperation from the tribals and low castes is lacking.

The second reason for the failure of many welfare schemes inaugurated with the best intentions by the Government, in my opinion, is the opposition, both hidden and open, of the non-tribal societies living in close symbiosis with these tribals, often exploiting and domineering over them. To this class of people

belong the wealthy landholders, merchants, money-lenders, even the officials living in the tribals areas. This class in general represents one of the great conservative forces in India. It is reluctant to give up its traditional privileged status and its strong economic and social dominance over the under-privileged classes ; and indeed through its wealth, superior intelligence and great influence it controls to a large extent local, state, and national politics. It finances the political parties and sends its representatives in great numbers into Parliament and State Assemblies. In one way or another these people are able to oppose and even sabotage the socio-economic welfare schemes of the Government of India in the fear that they might lose their privileged position and sources of income. The inherent danger in this intransigent conservatism is that the tribals and low castes, through frustration, might one day resort to violent means to remove the obstacles in the way of their social and economic improvement, democratic means having failed. A thorough study of the role and influence of this class on the tribals should be made, if possible region-wise ; and ways and means would have to be found to compensate it for any loss incurred, materially or in prestige, power, etc., through the uplift work among the tribals. Only then will this class of people be willing to release its hold on the tribals and to cooperate with the welfare schemes of the Indian Government for their benefit.

Another problem that requires urgent study is related to the first ; it concerns the so-called messianic movements among tribal people in India. Such messianic movements are in evidence wherever there is a clash between primitive and vastly superior cultures. They have been studied best in Oceania but are also reported from North and South America, Africa and China.

In India I mention only the revolutionary movement of the Munda Birsa Bhagwan about seventy years ago in Chhotanagpur. While collecting material for my *Rebellious Prophets* (1965) I was struck by the potency of messianic conceptions in tribal society and by the great danger threatening India if such movements are ignored. They work like dynamite in tribal societies, and there is ample evidence that such ideas are gaining more and more popularity among the tribals, especially of Middle India. For here the tribals live in great numbers and strong concentration, with their tribal society still intact and their sense of power gradually awakening. Provocations for sparking an explosion are unfortunately all too frequently given. Clever politicians and demagogues could make use of such ideas dormant in the tribal mind and set in motion tribal movements, which might indeed seriously disturb peace in the country and lead to much bloodshed and destruction. On the other hand, these messianic movements could also be used for the greater benefit of the tribals, as was done, for instance, in the Raj Mohini Move-

ment of the Gonds, and the Sri Narayana Guru Movement of the Ezhevas (cf. Fuchs 1965 : 88-93, 268-75).

Practical considerations would dictate that a study of these two problems is as important as the theoretical study of the tribes so far ignored by anthropological enquiry. In these times of general unrest, open violence and revolt against the established and traditional order, not only in India but all over the world, the Indian Government and people should receive due warning about impending dangers inherent in the protracted denial of the rightful demands and in withholding the full rights of citizenship to the Scheduled Castes and Tribes. According to the Census of India 1961, the Scheduled Castes numbered 64½ million, and the Scheduled Tribes over 29 million, adding up to 93½ million, almost one fifth of India's population. The Negroes in America have shown what a determined under-privileged minority can do with resort to violence. Should India's under-privileged 93½ million get it into their heads to obtain their rights by force, what a revolution would it be!

In my 1956 paper I mentioned eleven research problems as urgent and important from a more academic viewpoint : these still need as much attention and may be mentioned here briefly.

1. The various tribes in Middle India speak either Aryan, Dravidian or Mundarian languages, only Nahali being unrelated to any of the three language groups ; it is probably pre-Dravidian and pre-Mundarian. An analysis of all the tribal languages might help us to find out something about the original homeland of the tribes, the time of their arrival in their present habitats and the course of their migrations in India.

2. Another problem is the origin of the various original tribes in Middle India, especially the main tribes, such as the Oraon, Munda, Gond and Bhil. Such a study might even have political significance, if it could be proved, for instance, that the Dravida-speaking and Mundari-speaking tribes are not the true Adivasis of their present habits, but relatively new arrivals. This would certainly reduce much of the force of their agitation for regional autonomy, the so-called Jharkhand Movement.

The problem of the origin of these tribes can only be solved by combined research by physical and cultural anthropologists, linguists and prehistorians. Good research is being done by a group of physical anthropologists of the University of Calcutta, and by its linguists who have worked especially in the eastern regions of Middle India. Much fruitful research is also carried out in prehistory, especially by the Deccan College under H. D. Sankalia, but so far it has not been possible to link up the prehistory with the early history of the aboriginal tribes.

3. The tribes and castes of Middle India have a rich folklore. The Tribal

Research Institute at Chhindwara is supposed to collecte this folklore but cannot possibly do it alone. Its analysis will be helpful in establishing ancient cultural links and tracing the origin and migration of the tribes and castes in the past.

Many other problems could be mentioned as urgent, and their solution might possibly illuminate the still very obscure early history of India. It might be wiser, however, to rally our resources and to concentrate on studies which have an eminently practical value and are important for the economic, social and political progress of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes on the one hand, and on the other contribute to the maintenance of peace and order in India. For such research, it will be easier to obtain funds and facilities from the Government and other interested bodies.

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C. VON FÜRER-HAIMENDORF

Fundamental Research in Indian Anthropology

THE twenty-one years since the achievement of Independence have seen a notable transformation in Indian anthropology. Until 1947 anthropology was taught in only a few of the Indian universities, and there was a widespread belief that anthropologists were concerned only with the study of the primitive tribal populations ; there was also the equally prevalent suspicion that British anthropologists advocated the policy of isolating the tribal population from their Hindu neighbours in order to divide the Indian nation, creating thereby minorities which would support the colonial regime. Today these issues are no more relevant. Anthropology and anthropologists have become respectable in India, and the subject has been introduced into many universities and other educational institutions. Numerous Indian anthropologists, moreover, have visited foreign countries, notably England and the U.S.A., and on returning to India have introduced there the various schools of thought with which they became familiar overseas.

The involvement of the Government of India as well as of several state governments in projects aimed at the welfare and the integration of tribal and other backward communities has led to an increasing emphasis on the application of anthropological research to practical problems. Anthropologists employed in tribal research institutes and in similar institutions have been expected to investigate matters relevant to the administration and to the economic and educational progress of tribal populations. While this emphasis on problems of immediate concern did not exclude ethnographic research in

depth, there has in fact been a tendency to concentrate on such problems at the expense of widening and intensifying our knowledge of individual tribal communities.

For the administrator and the politician many of the most primitive populations are of comparatively little interest. Their numbers are small and they are unlikely to cause any disturbances of which governments would have to take note. In this respect they differ greatly from such substantial tribal groups as Nagas, Mizos, or Santals. Those expected to apply anthropological knowledge to the solution of contemporary problems have therefore little incentive to spend much time and energy on the study of such small tribal communities. Yet, it is just the most primitive groups which most easily lose their individuality and are absorbed within more advanced ethnic groups. Their study is hence even more urgent than that of the bigger tribes which have a better chance to maintain at least some aspects of their traditional way of life.

A reiteration of the need to intensify anthropological efforts may therefore not be out of place. This applies not only to India, but to conditions in many parts of the world. Historians often deplore the ethno-centrism of the scholars and philosophers of ancient Greece and Rome, who left to posterity so few authentic accounts of the peoples living on the borders of the Mediterranean world. A similar reproach can be levelled at the chroniclers of most of the historic Asian empires, for their writings, too, contain only fragmentary reference to "barbaric" tribes distinct from the writers' own ethnic groups. Yet, there is an excuse for these writers' parochialism. The diversity of peoples and of cultures was then considered a natural and permanent state, and there was hence no sense of urgency to record the condition of populations that seemed to stagnate in less advanced states and had no chroniclers of their own.

Today, the position has totally changed. Whether or not we like the levelling of cultural differences, the spread of a world civilization dominated by technical skills and achievements has to be accepted. Modern industrial towns are basically similar whether in Europe, Asia, Africa or America, and the unification of urban styles of living, most noticeable in the technologically most advanced countries, will inevitably spread to agricultural regions, where at present villagers may still persist in traditional culture patterns. Even there, however, the erosion of local cultural styles is progressing rapidly. It is no exaggeration to say that the building of every motor-road or aerodrome in developing countries hastens the decline and ultimate disappearance of local cultural styles.

It is not for the historian and social scientist to deplore this development, but the need to record the infinite diversity of human cultural expressions before the process of amalgamation has blotted them out is great. The present

generation is probably the last to have the possibility of collecting information about the many diverse ways in which primitive mankind adjusted itself to different types of environment and of discovering the thought processes, moral ideas and religious concepts of those who never crossed the threshold of literacy. Any failure on our part can never be remedied, and thoughtful men of the future will inevitably charge us with the neglect of unique possibilities if we allow the last archaic civilizations of our days to vanish unrecorded. The representatives of no other discipline, except perhaps zoologists studying species threatened with extinction, are subject to such urgency. The historians' documents are largely safe in archives and libraries. The materials studied by archaeologists lie usually under protective layers of earth, and a delay in their excavation rarely causes the loss of irretrievable data. Yet, it has always been easier to obtain funds and support for archaeological excavations than for the field research of anthropologists.

The case for a "crash programme" of research can be demonstrated by considering just one area where the more primitive traditional cultures are being rapidly eroded. In the extreme south of the sub-continent several primitive forest tribes live in the hills of the former state of Travancore. L. A. Krishna Iyer's *The Travancore Castes and Tribes* (1937-41) contains a compilation of the information then available on these ancient populations. Yet, although since then some anthropological fieldwork was done in the area and a few minor articles dealing with the Kanikkar, Muthuvan and Urali have been published, there exists no comprehensive study of any of the Travancore tribes. Considering the incipient disintegration of tribal life, already apparent when I visited the region in 1953, it seems very doubtful whether within a few years such a study could still be undertaken.

Further north we meet similar deficiencies in our ethnographic knowledge. While the Nayar of Malabar are the subject of a voluminous literature, and the Toda and Kota of the Nilgiris have been described in considerable detail, there is very little satisfactory information on the forest tribes inhabiting the slopes of the Nilgiris. Neither the Muduga and Irula, nor any of the Forest Kurumba have been seriously studied. Their old modes of life too are rapidly giving way before the improvement of communications, the growing exploitation of forests, and the influx of new settlers into hill and forest areas. Coorg has been placed on the ethnographic map by Professor M. N. Srinivas, but the entire Tulu speaking area of south Kanara is an ethnographic lacuna, and information on such important communities as the Bunts and Naduvas is virtually non-existent.

It would be tedious to continue this survey of ethnographic gaps, but we should realize that even in regions fairly well covered by competent anthro-

pological work, there remain communities which so far have not found an adequate chronicler. The Korkus of Madhya Pradesh, the westernmost Munda speaking tribe, for instance, has never been studied in detail, and in the highlands of Orissa, where Elwin has so successfully worked among Bondos and Saoras, the large Gadaba tribe still awaits a fieldworker who will report on its colourful and complex culture.

Furthermore, even tribes such as the Mundas of Birhors, which a generation ago were the subject of anthropological monographs, are known very inadequately in terms of contemporary anthropological methods. However meritorious Sarat Chandra Roy's pioneer efforts may have been, his monographs leave many questions unanswered, and the reports on the Mundas by later observers do not amount to a modern analysis.

Likewise, most of the regions which at one time were in the limelight of anthropological interest have been completely neglected in recent years, perhaps owing to an erroneous idea that nothing more remains to be done. Thus none of the Naga tribes described by Hutton and Mills more than forty years ago has attracted the serious attention of anthropologists. The political turmoil in Nagaland is today certainly a bar to research, but even in the twentyfive years between the publication of Hutton's major works and the first signs of unrest in Naga Hills, no intensive research was done among Angami and Sema Nagas. There can be no doubt that a re-study of these tribes would be worthwhile, but even greater is the need to investigate such tribes as Changs and Kalyo Kengyus, of whom we possess no full accounts of any kind.

In NEFA too the task of studying the numerous tribes has hardly begun. Welcome though the slim monographs issued by the Research Department of NEFA may be as preliminary descriptions, they ought to be followed by far more comprehensive studies. Today, when the tribes of India's borderlands still lead their traditional life and political changes have not yet greatly affected the material aspects of their culture, there would also be an overwhelmingly strong case for recording those distinct tribal cultures in all their diversity and complexity, not only in detailed monographs but also on cine film and tape, creating thereby documents for the cultural history of mankind which future generations will be thankful to possess. Even in ten years time many of these tasks may no longer be feasible.

In view of my long-standing interest in the tribal populations of India, I have emphasised the urgency of research among some of the more primitive ethnic groups. Not that there are no urgent problems relating to traditional Hindu society ; many sections of high Hindu castes are also undergoing rapid changes and no time is to be lost to record and analyse social patterns which

may soon be a matter of the past. The feudal system of the minor states of Rajasthan, for instance, has never been studied by professional anthropologists, and with the passing of princely power, the entire social structure of these states is bound to alter. Many who participated in the functioning of the traditional political system are still alive and available as informants, but in a few years the last witnesses of the old order will have passed away and the opportunity for direct personal inquiries will have been lost.

Apart from the 'urgency' to study disappearing customs if they are to be studied at all, there is also the 'urgency' of examining the processes by which the elite groups of India are transforming the country into a modern industrial nation. These two types of urgency correspond to the two main stimuli that gave rise to the social sciences in the industrial societies of the West : and intellectual desire to increase our knowledge of the workings of society, and a pragmatic concern to control or promote explosive social change.

We may here consider the framework within which anthropologists have so far worked. Among the non-tribal peoples anthropological studies have been mainly village-oriented. The village has proved an attractive unit because of its defined boundaries and ease of coverage, and the fieldwork itself has been of a very high order. This concentration on village studies has resulted in a number of serious limitations :

Firstly, some regions of India have received much more attention than others and Hindus in general have been studied disproportionately more often than Muslims.

Secondly, village studies stop by-and-large at the boundaries of the village. The village is not a microcosm of society and the social structure of a region cannot be understood from the study of individual villages, for it consists of the links between villages and not of the links within the village. It is significant that despite the importance of caste in Indian society we have few studies of single caste groups, and, in an age when India's economic development must rely heavily on entrepreneurship and business ability, we have no major study of an Indian trading community.

Thirdly, the majority of village studies have been carried out by anthropologists either trained in or influenced by British social anthropology. They have focused on certain aspects of social relations, often to the neglect of the cultural form in which these relations are expressed. We do not, for example, find in these studies detailed information on myth, ancestor-worship, or magic, which would furnish the material for comparative research. It would also be of considerable interest to know the variations in Sanskritic ritual in different parts of India so that these could be meaningfully related to variations in social organization.

Urban sociology has only recently begun in a tenuous way and we require much greater concentration in this field. Many conflicting statements are

made about the break-down of caste and the joint family with urbanization and industrialization, but these lack sound empirical basis. In order to assess to what extent the joint family is breaking down in an urban environment, we require first to know its distribution in the rural population and the way in which the household purse is managed. Incidentally, some studies of caste in towns and factories have been largely vitiated by the way in which caste has been defined. For example, Christians, Muslims, Sudras, Lingayats and Marathas have all been classified as 'castes', although the first two denote religious affiliation, Sudra is a varṇa, Lingayat is a sect, and Maratha is a term covering a cluster of endogamous groups (cf. 1940, Survey of Cotton Textile Industry published by the Bombay Millowners' Association; and P. N. Prabhu, *A Study of the Social Effects of Urbanization on Industrial Workers Migrating from Rural Areas to the City of Bombay*, UNESCO 1956).

In concluding, I would like to revert to the second meaning of the term 'urgent' and comment briefly on the role of social research in Government planning. Almost all anthropological and sociological studies yield material useful for effective planning in that they provide knowledge of the society which it is desired to change. But research could play a more specific role. The Government of India has enacted numerous legislative measures designed to modify whole areas of Indian life and is incurring heavy expenditure in an attempt to raise productivity. In many cases we have no knowledge beyond general impressions of the consequences of these measures, their effectiveness in practice, and their unintended consequences. Sociological research could provide for Government the means for continuing assessment of the effects of planned change and report back the results of the various policies. Such information might not always be welcome, but it would be instructive. It should be possible, for instance, to establish at both Central and State levels, small units of trained sociologists, anthropologists, and economists engaged in limited and well-defined research projects designed to test the results of particular measures : the extent, for example, to which the Hindu Succession Act has in fact changed the pattern of inheritance, the effects of the various land reform acts on the system of landholding, the results of community development projects and so forth. The cost of implementing a proposal of this kind would be relatively small and, in so far as the research might lead to a more effective use of national resources, it could well enable substantial savings.

PETER M. GARDNER

The Urgency for a Synthesis of Indian Cultural Materials

IN the formal invitation that was issued to participants in this Conference, research was described by implication as consisting of (1) data gathering, (2) compilation and analysis of materials, and (3) theory-building. Unfortunately, as students of Indian culture, we have been most enthusiastic in our data collection and theory building, but quite remiss when it comes to the laborious intermediate processes of compilation and analysis. Because of this lapse, I would like to leave to other participants the task of detailing the unstudied peoples and regions that we generally consider urgent, and to restrict my remarks instead to what is at present the very critical and, in my opinion, equally urgent matter of piecing together Indian cultural materials.

Fields and subfields of active scientific endeavor tend to be characterized by an oscillation of interest between the divergent exploration of new frontiers and the reducing and synthesizing of the findings (demonstrated for anthropology by F. M. Keesing 1953 : 16, 44, and *passim*). If we concede that compilation and analysis are the prerequisites for meaningful synthesis, and that reduction and synthesis in turn are among the perconditions for opening fruitful new lines of enquiry, then we must view with distress our perennial aversion as students of Indian anthropology to a rounding out of our research activities. To be conversant with this problem is not to effect its solution. Indeed, awareness of the problem appears to be coupled with an appreciation of its ever increasing magnitude; the astute fall back upon the fact of India's diversity to excuse yet another generation of emphasis upon the particular. This situation is ironic in two senses. For one thing, as anthropologists we lecture our students with a great deal of conviction each term on the virtues

of the holistic approach that is both unique and fundamental to our discipline. For another thing, we could well ask how one could design a useful micro study or a fruitful comparison within the Indic area without giving at least tentative thought to the context for such studies. Surely only the very compilation and analysis that we keep sidestepping will demonstrate the ways in which, and the extent to which, the truisms about diversity are based in fact.

We have been asked by the sponsor of the Conference to think of research priorities in terms of practicability. While I have phrased rather abstractly my case for the urgency of a data synthesis, some examples will help to bring us back to a level of specificity that facilitates practical solutions. Each one of these examples is intended to provide a tangible conceptual framework with the help of which a synthesis might eventually be effected.

First, there is a large number of cultural traits that have been mapped across the Indian sub-continent (the most useful of these being 15 of the 16 maps published by the Anthropological Survey of India, Bose and Sinha, 1961). When one isolates classes of cultural phenomena, the distribution of which should be primarily a function of a single factor (e.g., ecological constraint or ready transmissibility), then maps of their distributions can be sorted into several categories accordingly. If for each of these categories a composite map is drafted and then superimposed upon standard historical-political maps, and maps of natural geography, a single hour's work reveals a number of provocative associations. For one thing, as regards the disagreement between Karve and Bose over the degree of association to be found in India between linguistic and other cultural distributions, Karve's contention that there is a significant association is borne out for at least one major class of cultural phenomena (Bose and Sinha 1961 : iii ; Karve 1965 : 1-4 ; Gardner 1968). Furthermore, both the association and the distributions themselves are in most instances susceptible to rational explanation. I feel compelled to urge serious restudy of these long-ignored materials. Admittedly, emphasis upon mapping could carry us back to the distributional theory of earlier generations ; but it could, if we so chose, carry us *forward* in ecological theory, in our understanding of culture contact, and in our integration of anthropological and historical materials. Existing maps suggest a great many hypotheses concerning cultural processes—their promise more than justifies further mapping, should anyone have the resources to do this.

Secondly, the kind of systematization that allows for storage, communication, and standardization of Indian cultural materials is a fertile area for study. We speak casually of Indian culture but I trust that most of us have reservations about the concept of "an Indian culture". To begin with, the heterogeneity of cultural forms across the region far exceeds that which is normally implied by the idea of "a culture". What is more, for ecological and other reasons, not only cultural traits but also the manner of cultural (sub-) systema-

tization is highly variable. It varies significantly, for instance, from desert to delta and from traditional elite to perennially depressed. Many of us are no happier applying the alternative concept of a pluralistic culture to the Indian case. Nevertheless, I would like to commend as a promising line for further work Berreman's idea that caste systems resemble plural systems but differ significantly in the way that they are built around consensus (Berreman 1967: 52-6). We might wish, for instance, to field test the hypothesis that Indians commonly rationalize cultural difference as role difference not just between ranked social strata, but also between regions, thereby effecting a superficial but sweeping consensus of immense importance to overall cultural systematization. If we are at all successful in conceptualizing the Indian situation, the results should prove to be no small contribution to general cultural theory.

Thirdly, although the term "Great Tradition" is in common parlance among those who study India, the concept to which it applies has been developed very little since Redfield's final utterance on the subject a full 10 years ago (his Stanford lecture, quoted in Singer, 1958). Given the enormous body of data that is available on the sophisticated and formalized aspects of Indian culture, and on the communication of this sophisticated culture, it is surprising that social scientists have not seized the opportunity that it presents for the actual study of the structure and dynamics of this particular sort of complex cultural system. To claim that the reflective is not the province of the ethnographer is to pose an antithesis to the most fundamental tenets of Radcliffe-Brown, Malinowski, and Levi-Strauss; to claim that anthropology cannot cope with such data is to deny that anthropology can mature even to the extent of fulfilling its own definition. As a concrete instance of what can be done, a tentative survey of the materials indicates that there are two different, but not unrelated levels of culture and personality structuring in India—one that is familiar, on the implicit level, and another that is rather unfamiliar to the social scientist (but not to the philosopher!) by virtue of being formalized or consciously explicit in the culture. What I mean by this distinction is that, apart from the level of culture and personality interplay that has been the subject of traditional research by anthropologists, psychologists, and psychiatrists (Carstairs, 1957; Mintura and Hitchcock, 1966; Steed, 1955), there is another and much more explicit level of such interplay that has for its locus sophisticated Great Tradition myth and drama. Greece, after all, possessed its classic dramas too, such as *Oedipus Rex*. By virtue of the fact that the second level constitutes a public, consciously edited, and to some extent rationalized expression of culture and personality dynamics, it must of necessity play a different part in the overall cultural system. Spratt, in deriving his understanding of Hindu culture and personality in large part from myth, has unwittingly helped to initiate research in this area (1966). This is only one example, and perhaps an unpopular one at that. But the point remains that

to ignore so-called Great Tradition materials is to abandon the holistic approach to cultural systems that has been one of the main tools of our discipline.

Each of three examples given above bears upon a different and limited aspect of the structure of overall cultural systematization in India. Taken in conjunction with one another, these three approaches and others will help embark us on a synthesizing course of action, a course that should in turn provok fertile new thought about research priorities of a more specific nature.

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EDWARD J. JAY

Social Anthropological Research in Chhatisgarh

IN line with the aims of this Conference, I have endeavoured below to present (1) a brief summary of my current research in the region of Chhatisgarh, (2) a possible approach to the study of regions as wholes with specific reference to Chhatisgarh, and (3) a short list of possible future research topics in the region. It is somewhat doubtful if these subjects can be labelled "urgent" in the literal sense of the word, but insofar as they represent my own conception of what is important in present and future research, they do seem to fulfil the requirements set forth in the letter of invitation. What follows makes no attempt at a general appraisal of other research carried out in the region, but I suspect that Professor T. B. Naik will compensate for this shortcoming in his presentation.

CURRENT RESEARCH

As defined by linguistic criteria, Chhatisgarh comprises the southern and eastern portion of Madhya Pradesh, including most of the districts of Raipur, Durg, Bilaspur, and Surguja, and substantial portions of Raigarh and Bastar, roughly 35,000 square miles in all. There are approximately six million speakers of Chhatisgarhi, which is a dialect of Eastern Hindi. The region can also be defined in terms of a uniform culture, sense of identity, and certain structural characteristics, but space does not permit an exhaustive discussion of all these indices, and, moreover, they are in themselves a subject of my present research.

The aim of this research is two-fold: first, to study the basic ethnography of Chhatisgarh, and second, to study selected patterns of relationship among

social units of the area as a whole. Together, these goals comprise an effort to define and comprehend a socio-cultural "region" within the context of Indian Civilization.¹

In pursuit of the first objective, field-research was begun on November 29, 1967. The area in the vicinity of Raipur, largest city of Chhatisgarh, was first canvassed, and a small village near the town of Rājim was chosen for intensive ethnographic study. To my knowledge there is no published monograph on any Chhatisgarhi community. It therefore seemed necessary to undertake such a study, treating a particular village as ethnographic sample. The area around Rājim appeared to be a suitable location for the purpose, as it is within a twenty-five mile radius of the important city of Raipur, and yet not so close as to be considered a "suburb". Moreover, Rājim itself,² located at the confluence of three rivers, is an important rice-marketing and milling centre for a large portion of Chhatisgarh. The famous Rājiv Lochan temple at Rājim is an object of pilgrimage for peasants from all over Chhatisgarh.

The village chosen for intensive study is hereunder referred to by the pseudonym Devpairi. It is a community of 155 families (about 800-1000 population), divided among some twenty caste segments. The descendants of the former Brahman *mālgūzār* comprise several powerful land-owning families in the village. The remaining families include cultivators, fishermen, and weavers in substantial numbers.

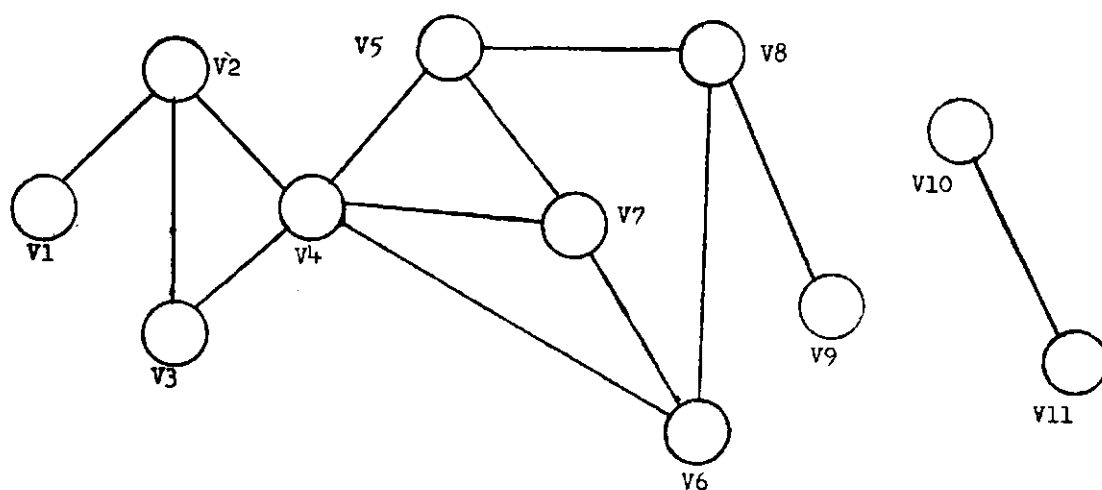
Methodology in relation to the village as a social unit consists of participant-observation and interviewing. Information under standard ethnographic categories, such as kinship, caste-ranking, religious beliefs and practices, and life-cycle rites is being collected in this way. An interesting feature of religious life also under study is the widespread Kabirpanthi cult, which has a regional *math* and *sarvarakār* at Devpairi.

The second aim of the research consists of an attempt to go beyond the village by tracing wider patterns of interaction, and later mapping these so as to suggest the structure of regional networks. Some years ago Dr. A.C. Mayer, toward the close of his important work *Caste and Kinship in Central India*, stated succinctly what I consider to be a significant problem for social anthropological research in India:

This book expresses in its own way a present trend in studies of Indian peasantry. This is towards taking a larger canvas than the village. Thus, Dumont talks of studying a single subcaste . . . (and Marriott has considered the ways in which the village is or is not an isolable whole, and suggests that villages cannot be studied as systems on their own. What, then, are to be the objects of future research . . . ? If the region is the proper field, the difficulties of research in its hundreds of villages and dozens of castes appear great. How is the intensive work of the anthropologist to be adapted to these conditions? (1960: 274-75).

One approach to the problem raised by Mayer is the study of networks and fields. A partial outline of this type of study, with reference to India, was published a few years ago by Cohn and Marriott in a short paper (1958) and has been further developed recently by Srinivas and B eteille (1964). The network approach has also been used by a number of investigators in other parts of the world. Bott (1955), Barnes (1954), Hanssen (1953), and others have applied some form of the network concept in their research. In earlier work on a Hill M arj a Gond village (1963) I attempted to utilize the concept to illustrate the degree of contact between a tribal community and the outside world. And in a later paper (1964) I tried to standardize the definitions of "network" and "field". I will not attempt here a full theoretical discussion of these concepts, but will try only to indicate ways in which their application to the study of Chhattisgarh as a region may prove fruitful.

The concept of "network" refers to any system of social relationships defined institutionally or with reference to a particular type of activity. A marriage network, for example, would consist of connections by marriage among all the people of a region. The region itself, for purposes of marriage, would thus constitute that area enmeshed in the network. A simplified network, by way of illustration, can be diagrammed as in Figure 1.



V = Village

Figure 1

This network consists of nine villages. Not all villages are connected directly with one another. For example V 1 and V9 are connected with only one other village each by marriage ties, but can be said to be part of the network because the villages to which they are linked (V2 and V8, respectively), are in their turn connected to other villages of the network. Villages V10 and V11, on the other hand, are not included, since they are not connected directly or indirectly to any village of the network. Note also that because of size, importance,

or some other factor that would require investigation, certain villages, such as V4 have more extensive contacts than other villages.

The corollary concept of "field" refers to that portion of the network relevant to particular social unit only. In Figure 1, for example, the marriage field of V4 consists of its direct connections with villages V2, V3, V5, V6 and V7, and could be diagrammed separately, as in Figure 2. As for the intensive

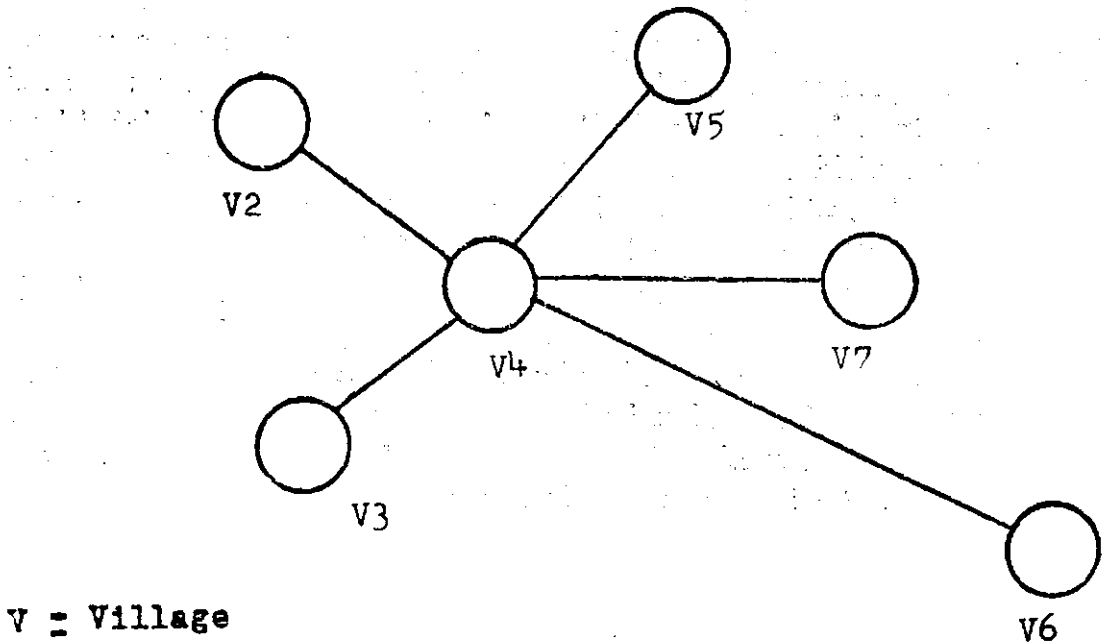


Figure 2

methods of the social anthropologist, these are better adapted to studying the social field of a particular community rather than a complete regional network, which in most cases would require a team of researchers. In fact, some "network" studies in the literature are in reality social field studies. The term "networks" has been used in a variety of ways, thus contributing to a certain amount of confusion.

A further point to be made here is that although the social anthropologist cannot undertake the study of a complete network (except possibly in the most restricted circumstances), he can, by his study of social fields, *suggest* the nature and shape of various networks in an area. The field of a particular village can provide insight into regional network in about the same degree as the culture of a particular village can provide insight into the culture of a whole region.

EXAMPLES FOR CHHATĪSGARH

Due to various circumstances, the present research, unfortunately, was begun quite late during the period allotted, and so far most of the time has been taken up with the collection of standard ethnographic data, so that study of Devpairi's social fields will be very incomplete. But certain attempts have been

made to trace economic, ritual, and marital relationships beyond the village.

Data on economic ties has been confined largely to the marketing of rice, the chief foodgrain of the area, through local buyers who set up shop in the village at harvest time, middlemen in Rājim, and ultimately large-scale purchasers in Raipur. Other economic ties on the productive side are between the villagers and contractors in Rājim, who arrange for the weaving of cotton cloth and the rolling of *bīṛīs*. Most of these products are eventually marketed through Raipur, which constitutes a kind of "centre" of the economic networks of the area.

In the ritual sphere, numerous ties to the temple complex at Rājim have been recorded, as well as ties to distant religious centres such as Allahabād, Bodh Gaya and Varānasi.

Socially, the horizontal ties of caste within the region are significant. Caste *panchayats*, each headed by a *sarpanch* or *rājā* as he is often called, in this area typically regulate the moral conduct of caste fellows and function as money-lending agencies. Most castes also support a temple located in a particular religious centre. Marriage and kinship ties within the regional caste also constitute an important type of network. Of course the social field of Devpairi includes links to these networks.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH IN CHHAṬĪSGARH

Since the study of networks and fields will be only partially completed during the present research, its eventual completion suggests a useful goal for future work in the area. Not only would the study of networks and fields contribute to an understanding of the region in a static sense, but it would contribute to an understanding of the dynamics of the region. Many years ago Radcliffe-Brown suggested (1952 : 203-4) that social evolution consists of a process whereby social networks are elaborated and expanded in scope. Though there is insufficient space here for a discussion of this idea, it can be observed in passing that certain networks (e.g., kinship) may tend to contract and become less elaborate, as others (e.g., economic) expand and grow more complex as evolution proceeds. In Chhatisgarh, a major steel plant has been established at Bhilai, near Durg. The effects of this plant on economic networks might be a fruitful avenue of research.

Aside from networks other aspects of social and cultural phenomena remain to be studied in Chhatisgarh. I am sure that Professor Naik is in a better position than I to inform the Conference on work that has already been done, but let me suggest a few areas which I believe can still be studied with profit:

1. History of the area, with particular reference to the *mālgūzārī* system of land tenancy and its economic importance, past, present, and future.³ Another historical topic of importance is the role of Brahmans in the religious and economic evolution of Chhatisgarhī culture. Many Brahman families in

Chhaṭisgarh originally came to the area from Uttar Pradesh.

2. The urban centre of Raipur, its structure and functions in the region.
3. The religious centre of Rājim, its structure and functions in the region.
4. The study of additional villages in other districts of the region, for comparative purposes, and to enlarge the sample of Chhaṭisgarhī culture and social structure.
5. The study of Chhaṭisgarhī values, world view, folklore, medicine, and music.
6. The study of ecological adaptations and material culture in various parts of the region.
7. Administration and politics in Chhaṭisgarh.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

A final note should be added on the subject of the Chhaṭisgarhī region a unit of study. One may well ask, why study a region at all, and why Chhaṭisgarh in particular? The arguments in favour of regional studies are many, but I will limit myself to this: if the social anthropologist is interested in the study of Indian Civilization as a whole, he most certainly will have to break it down into a series of regional studies. Political units may or may not coincide with socio-cultural regions, but in any case would be subsumed under such regions. From a series of regional studies can be built up a picture of the larger whole which we call "Indian Civilization". In fact, I would argue that the concept of "region" is the basic social reality with which we are, or should be concerned. The arguments against studying regions are mostly technical or strategic, not theoretical or substantive. But even here, if it be argued that the job is "too big" for the social anthropologist, I would ask who then is going to do it? If the reply is: "sociologists," then let us call ourselves sociologists and get on with the job. I am not, however, opposed to team research or independent collaboration with specialists in other disciplines. I would favour any and all attempts to add to knowledge, and there is no doubt that the research historians, political scientists, economists, sociologists, and geographers can be helpful to us, just as our work in turn can be helpful to them. But I cling to a view of social anthropology in the good old-fashioned sense of the broadly integrating discipline, the one discipline which constantly seeks to understand the total, holistic aspects of social life.

As for Chhaṭisgarh in particular, I can answer this question in two ways: one way is to reply in the manner that one employs when asked by laymen "what made you get interested in India, any-way?" We must, of course, each answer this type of query in our own personal way. The other justification for working in Chhaṭisgarh is to point to such attributes as its solidly "peasant" characteristics, its manageable (?) size, its homogeneity (I think) of culture, its relative isolation from some of the "major forces" of Indian history, its border-

line position between north and south, and the like. Needless to say, depending on one's interests, these same characteristics could be used as arguments *against* considering this region, or could be used with equal facility in favour of some other region. But Chhatisgarh, like other regions, is after all part of India, and I think in that lies the ultimate justification.

NOTES

1. The research has been undertaken on a Faculty Research Fellowship of the American Institute of Indian Studies.
2. Actually, the town is divided into two parts, Rājim proper, located to the south of the Mahanadi River, and Nava Para Rājim, located to the north. Rājim proper is primarily a temple centre, while Nava Para Rājim is primarily a commercial centre.
3. Although legally abolished, a modified form of *mālgūzāri* continues to exist covertly, and because of certain widespread social attitudes, is likely to persist into the future.

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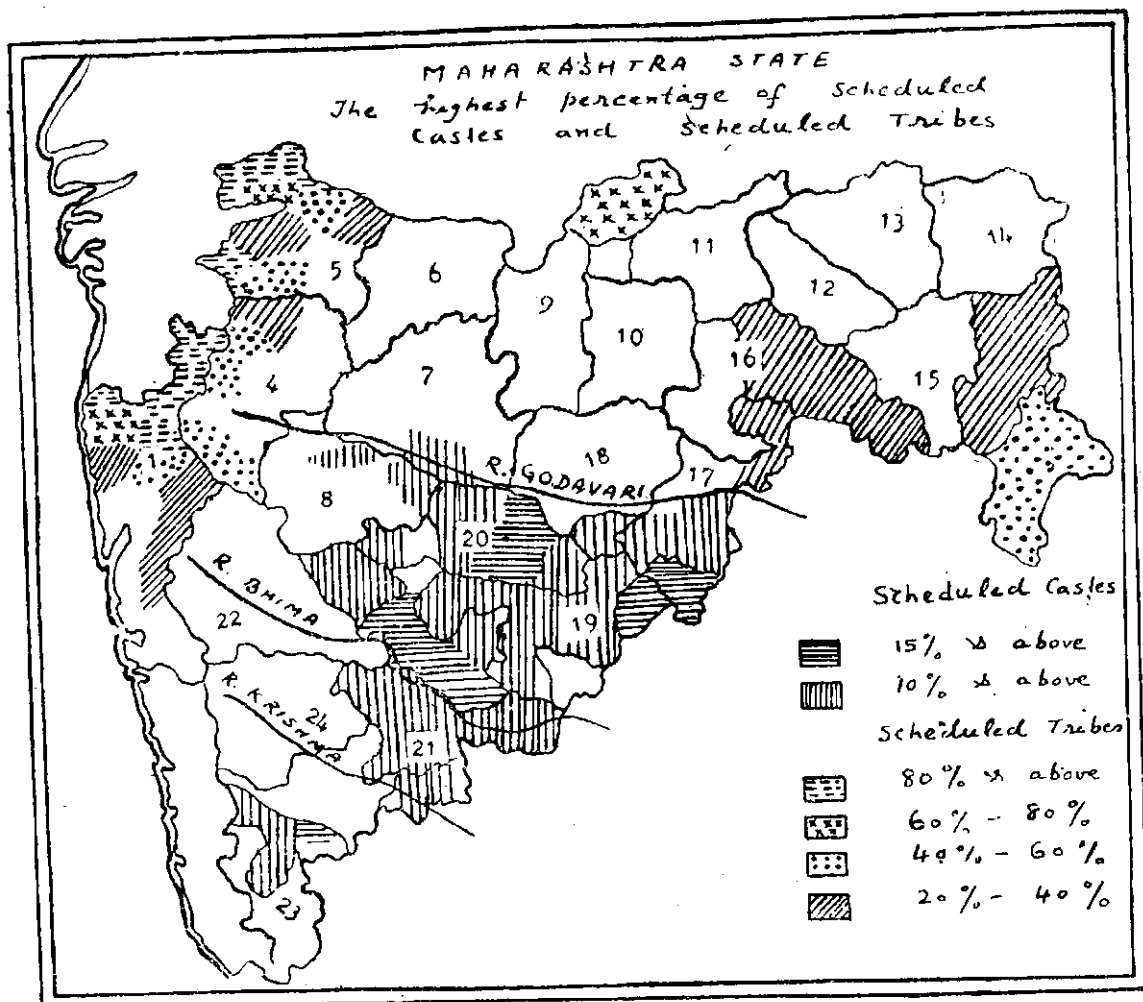
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I. KARVE

The Tribals of Maharashtra

THE primitive tribes in Maharashtra present an interesting pattern of occupation. In the map appended are given the areas which have the largest percentage of tribal people called Scheduled tribes and those which have the largest percentage of Scheduled castes. It will be seen that the two areas are very far apart except in one small region near Chanda.¹

The primitive tribes occupy in Maharashtra the north-western corner, a small area in the centre of the northern boundary and the north-east corner. This represents partly the forested belt of Maharashtra. It also shows the continuity of this belt and the primitive tribes into the forests of the Narmada basin and the forests of southern Orissa and North eastern Andhra. In Maharashtra, forests of the type found in Western Nasik district and North Konkan are also found in eastern Ratnagiri, Western Satara and Kolhapur districts but no primitive tribes are recorded there. Further south, there is a belt of primitive tribes occupying Coorg forests, Nilgiri forests and Nalla Malai hills, i.e., South Mysore and South Andhra. This shows that in south Maharashtra, the Godavari and Bhima Basins and part of Krishna basin have no primitive tribes. In Andhra, however, part of the Godavari area and Krishna area has primitive peoples. Andhra in the east shows that its thickly populated areas are the coastal parts near the mouth of Godavari : Shri Kakulam, Kakinada and the lower reaches of Krishna, the Guntur district. The ancient Amaravati remains show and emphasise this very well. We have to imagine to ourselves a central part, not too thickly populated, occupied by primitive tribes. Then there is an eastern portion, populated and colonised by peasants, adjacent to South Central Maharashtra and North Karnatak.



- 1) Thana,
- 2) Colaba,
- 3) Ratnagiri,
- 4) Nasik,
- 5) W. Khandesh,
- 6) E. Khandesh,
- 7) Aurangabad,
- 8) Ahmadnagar,
- 9) Buldhana,
- 10) Akola,
- 11) Amravati,
- 12) Wardha,

- 13) Nagpur,
- 14) Bhandara,
- 15) Chanda
- 16) Yeotmal,
- 17) Nanded,
- 18) Parbhani,
- 19) Bhir,
- 20) Osmanabad,
- 21) Sholapur,
- 22) Poona,
- 23) Kolhapur, and
- 24) Satara.

It was this part which formed perhaps one part of the Trai-Maharashtra (the ancient region and kingdom ; it means three-Maharashtra). In a similar way North Karnatak region adjacent to Maharashtra was a land of settled kingdoms. This was perhaps another part of Trai-Maharashtra. The Godavari-Bhima basin formed the third part. Pratihsthana the ancient capital is in the middle of this region.

In Maharashtra this very region shows the highest concentration of the scheduled castes. Do they represent a portion of the primitive tribes who entered the Hindu caste system and who mingled with some already existing lower castes? I mention these facts to show that from an anthropological point of view the problem of the primitives has many important aspects and is closely connected with our ancient past and may offer insight for understanding historical events and folk movements.

Our anthropology is urgent in a sense quite different from that in other areas of the world as will be seen below. The primitives have lived with us for at least the last two thousand years. Being the non-interfering caste society that we are, each group lived in its own circle, governed by its own norms, without the desire to convert others to these norms. Though the cultural differences were great, the two groups (the primitive and the non-primitive, i.e., the peasants) were about equal in other respects—each feared and defended itself from the other. Again, as in the caste society the two groups met for certain types of economic transactions.

This picture changed with the coming of the British. Through their missionaries they made deep inroads into the life of the primitives, who were however "protected" from the rest of the Indian Society. As Kathleen Gough says the anthropologist took on the role of a benign protector of these innocents.

Thus matter stood till 1947. The Indian government in spite of the protests of Indian anthropologists and the primitives themselves kept more or less the same policy as the Imperial British. The first realisation of the wrongness of this policy came with the Chinese assault, the Naga rebellion and the demands of Assam hill tribes. It was then realised that the tribals were as much Indians as others and must be amalgamated to others as soon as possible.

Primitiveness is but a passing phase. Most of the Khasis, Mundas, Santhals, some Gonds and Bhils have already passed that stage and live a life comparable to the life of the peasants. As to their picturesque customs, other castes have customs and festivals no less picturesque. They want to take part in national life on terms of equality. They deserve protection like that guaranteed to the backward, but not deliberate isolation.

The main tribal peoples in Maharashtra and their numbers are given below. In the 1961 census 40 tribes are mentioned. Of these the 14 most important are listed below.²

	Area	Name of the tribe	Population 1961	Percentage to total Scheduled tribes popu- lation
1.	Western and North Western	Bhil	5,54,052	23.99
2.	„	Mahadeo Koli	2,64,565	11.44
3.	„	Konkna	2,11,095	8.88
4.	„	Katkari	1,35,839	5.87
5.	„	Gamit	98,842	4.27
6.	„	Malhar Koli	85,636	3.71
7.	„	Dhanka	46,907	2.01
8.	„	Warli	2,31,525	10.18
9.	„	Thakur	1,57,902	6.65
10.	North Central	Korku	50,271	2.10
11.	North Central and eastern	Gond	2,67,844	11.37
12.	North eastern and Eastern	Andh	60,181	2.51
13.	„	Kolam	43,555	1.83
14.	„	Pardhan	31,110	1.34
15.	Other twenty six		7,11,156	3.69
16.	Unclassified		30,836	0.16
				100.00

All the tribes' population has grown since the 1951 census. Of these the Bhils and Gonds are most numerous and progressive. Both Western and Eastern primitives are getting rapidly drawn into the mesh of modern industrial development because industry has come to their very doors. The Konkana migrate every year in large numbers from their hilly Maharashtra area to coastal Gujarat Sugar Mills. The Bhils are taking education in city schools and colleges. Some at least were involved in the struggle of Maharashtra for linguistic province and have sat in the legislative assembly. They resent greatly what they consider to be the government's attempts to confine them to their mountainous jungle territory.

The government's programme to help the tribal people consists mainly of three things:

(1) Creating inalienable rights of the tribals to their lands. A tribal cannot sell his land to an outsider; nor can an outsider purchase land or take possession of land in payment of a debt in tribal area.

(2) Attempting to make them live a debt-free life by subsidising them for activities agricultural and others.

(3) Opening of schools—mainly primary schools in the tribal area.

These activities are good, but there are others which are unnecessarily restrictive, moralistic or uncalled for. Of the restrictive moralistic activities the following are a few examples. In many areas prohibition is preached or introduced among the tribals. I have seen in the Bhil area how utterly useless this attempt is. The Bhils love liquor as much as they did before prohibition. They have now been introduced to illicit brewing because of the prohibition. Secondly, most of the primitives have a sexual code different from that of the peasants, which appears to be a loose code to the welfare officers who come mostly from the higher caste of the Hindu Society and are therefore narrow and bigoted. Sometimes they try to impose their ideals of what is seemly and respectable on the primitive people in their charge. This is entirely uncalled for. We who have failed to keep our younger people in line or satisfied have no right at all to interfere in the traditional modes of social control which the tribals have evolved.

The third area of interference is rather peculiar. Most of the tribals build their own houses with their own labour. They cut the timber needed for the main supporting posts. They split the bamboos for roof and walls and even bake their own roof tiles. They call the neighbours to help them build a house. Anybody who has lived in such houses knows how spacious and airy they are. Some houses are rather poorly built but they can always stand comparison with the mud houses of the peasantry. The government has built what are called permanent houses for some tribals. These are narrow cells with tin roofs, all clustering together in indescribable ugliness. One wonders if it would not be better to let the primitives go on building their houses and give them help in materials rather than impose a new monotonous plan on them.

These efforts reveal a fundamentally wrong attitude, which is to treat the tribals as somehow inferior in all respects to the peasant society. The tribals have successfully held their own in centuries long contact with the peasants. They have a social framework even older than ours, and while it was evolved in more primitive conditions of life, it does not show either immaturity or primitiveness. Some of their customs, techniques and values deserve to be considered seriously as alternatives to our own social norms.

This has been demonstrated to me vividly again and again as I have

moved in primitive areas. Among the Jungs the land is owned by the village community. Each adult male is given land, so that when a boy comes of age he gets land and when a man dies his lands are added to the village pool. Among the Munda the son who looks after the father (generally the youngest) gets the land of his father. Certain goods are possessed by individuals but land is not. Among Bhils who own the land they cultivate, as soon as a man marries he erects his own small house next to his father's. The other brothers also do the same. Sometimes a favourite daughter is induced to come and stay with her husband in another house nearby. This settlement gives a peculiar shape to Bhil habitation areas. I have called it the hen and chicken model. The father and his sons work on the same land. The supply of cereals is kept in common bins. Each household draws every day from them what is needed for the day's feed. Each household ordinarily cooks for itself, except when there are guests at the father's house; then the daughters-in-law may be called in to help the mother-in-law.

This arrangement has many of the advantages of a joint family but, because of the separate houses, avoids much of the bickering found in joint families. The freer sexual code and the easier divorce practices certainly make one jealous of the primitive people. Many of these institutions are bound to change and change rapidly, but the pressure to change must not come from others with a view to reforming the primitive.

Not only the primitive but the whole of the Indian caste-society is facing the 20th century and its challenge. All parts of this society—the primitive tribes, the betwixt and between people like Mahadev Kolis, Gamits, the various so-called wandering criminal tribes, the semi-nomadic shepherds, Bharwada and other people—are giving up their way of life. They are all meeting the challenge of survival very well, and so the urgency of anthropology does not involve a fear of their extinction. The urgency refers to the rapidity of change and the necessity to record what might vanish in a few decades.

The necessity for record is not merely an interest in the curious and the strange; the record is necessary as it gives us a glimpse into the cultural history of humanity. It is also necessary because in this age of confused values it gives us glimpses into alternate ways of life. This whole question has another dimension: the question of the tribes is linked up with our national unity and security. At no point can we stress tribalism so as to give a separate group identity to these people. They can keep their names and customs without interference. But they must be rapidly assimilated to the rest of the Indian population, and by the rest of the population I mean the linguistic region within which they find themselves. Again all the primitives are generally bilingual, all understand and speak the language of the region besides

their own language, and they must be made literate in the language of the region which would enable them to take part in the intellectual life of the region to which they belong. This has happened in the case of the scheduled castes who have produced in modern Maharashtra a distinctive literature of their own and who take their stand on equal terms with others.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. This map is constituted from two maps. One facing page 27 and the other facing page 219 of the Census of India 1961, Vol. X, Part V-A.
3. Census of India, 1961, Vol. X, Part V-A, p. 223.

T. N. MADAN

Urgent Research in Social Anthropology in Kashmir

FROM the point of view of the social anthropologist the state of Jammu and Kashmir consist of several culturally distinct regions. So far as the areas on the Indian side of the Cease Fire Line are concerned, there are three such broad regions, namely, (i) Jammu, (ii) Kashmir Valley, and (iii) Ladakh.

Jammu is in several respects—geographical, racial, linguistic, religious and cultural—an extension of the adjacent areas of Punjab. Since I do not know this region of Dogra culture very well, I will not write anything further about it (see, Crane, 1956).

THE KASHMIR VALLEY

The Kashmir Valley is surrounded on all sides by high, albeit not impassable, mountains, and has a distinct geographical, racial, linguistic and cultural character. About 95% of the population consists of Muslims; the only sizable minority is that of Kashmiri Brahmans, known as Pandits, who number about 90,000. Sikhs, Christians and others total about 1% of the population. It is noteworthy that, with the exception of a sprinkling of Bohras in urban areas, *all* the Hindus of the Valley are Brahmans subdivided into two subcastes, priests and “non-priests”.

The number of books that have been written in English about the Valley is considerable. Though many of them contain observations about the culture of the people, they are not formal ethnographical works. Some of them are, however, greatly valuable. The pride of first place among such works must go to Sir Walter Lawrence's *Valley of Kashmir* published in London in 1895 and reprinted in Srinagar last year. Mention may also be made of books by Koul,

1924; Biscoe 1922; and Kaumudi, 1952.

Modi published some papers in the *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay* about half a century ago (see e.g., Modi, 1917). A master's level thesis on the life cycle of Kashmiri Pandit women was presented to the Lucknow University, Department of Anthropology, in 1956 by Mrs Kamala Sapru (née Madan) but the same has not been published yet.

The only full-length social anthropological monograph published so far on the peoples of the Valley is the present writer's *Family and Kinship: A Study of the Pandits of Rural Kashmir* (1965).

The above book is concerned, as the title indicates, primarily with the kinship organization of the Pandits. The fieldwork on which it is based was done in 1957-58. The previous ten years had been a period of far-reaching political and economic changes in the state of Jammu and Kashmir. The autocratic rule of the Maharaja had ended in 1947 when, after the incursion of tribal raiders and the Pakistani army into the Valley, a popular national government was formed by Sheikh Abdullah. After hundreds of years, government of the State had passed into the hands of the native people. Agrarian reforms, more radical than any attempted elsewhere in India, accompanied by other equally radical measures, were enacted in 1950. These political and economic changes altered the life chances of the Pandits, requiring them to make many new adjustments (see, Madan, 1966). A very recent visit (in June 1968) to some villages in Kashmir revealed that the adjustments which were beginning to take place in the early 1950's have proceeded apace and are already assuming the form of structural changes both in the internal social organization of Kashmiri Pandit society, as well as that of Kashmiri Muslim society, on the one hand, and in the traditional interrelations between these communities on the other.

Unfortunately there are no published anthropological studies of Kashmiri Muslims. There is urgent need therefore to study the Muslim social structure, with its peculiar social stratification which is the result of very intimate, historical as well as contemporary, ties with Hindus.

Combined with general studies there should be micro-studies of certain Muslim occupational groups (such as cobblers, scavengers, boatmen, market-gardners, cowherds and so forth) which are hereditary and largely endogamous. These groups seem to be losing their distinctiveness through occupational mobility and intermarriage with other Muslims.

Kashmiri Muslims consist of a majority of natives, descendants of converts called Sheikhs, and of a minority of immigrants such as Saiyyads, Moghuls and Pathans. Today the latter have survived only in name. A fresh wave of Muslim immigrants, however, has entered Kashmir in the last 100 years; these are the Gujar and Bakarwal, cowherds and goatherds. They are racially, linguistically and culturally quite distinct from the native Muslims with whom

they do not intermarry. They live on the fringes of settlements in forests and are nomadic. They are in many ways outside the pale of law and have their own *jirgas* to regulate their social life. They would make an excellent subject for a social anthropological study.

Equally important to study is the fast-changing pattern of Pandit-Muslim relationship. The Muslim occupational groups have traditionally performed vis-à-vis the Pandits roles which artisan and service castes perform elsewhere in the country. The Kashmiri Pandit has been able to retain his state of ritual purity and economic well-being through the cooperation of the Muslims—barbers, washermen, scavengers, oil-pressors, cowherds, potters, blacksmiths, carpenters, masons, tailors, tenants, etc. The relationship has been of the kind called *Jajmani* in social anthropological literature. As stated above, new patterns of relationship are emerging as a result of political, social and economic changes, and if studies are not undertaken *now* we may never be able to capture the traditional social organization of rural Kashmir.

Turning to the Pandits, they seem to be changing even faster than the Muslims. My book contains hardly any information on their religion and religious specialists. There are some studies of Kashmir Shaivism by philosophers, notably the works by Chatterji (1914) and Dasgupta (1951-55), but no studies of the actual performance of rituals and the meaning that people in general attribute to them. I have in mind the now familiar and important distinction between Great and Little Traditions. I have briefly pointed this out in two papers (see, Madan, 1961 and a forthcoming paper). What is *urgently* called for is (i) a study of religious practices among the Hindus and of the myths and meanings enshrined in the Little Tradition and (ii) a study of the “brotherhood”—so-called—of priests. More and more Brahman priests are sending their sons into secular occupations including the army. It may not be long before practising astrologers and priests will be reduced to a few hundred individuals (not families) in the whole of the Valley.

Kashmiri Hindus are supposed to be subject to *Mitakshara* law and the Muslims to the Hanafi code. In actual practice both communities have customary laws which depart in significant ways from the written texts. In some rural areas I found Muslim customary law to be derived from Hindu sources. (This has been confirmed by a judge of the Jammu and Kashmir High Court.) It would be both interesting and useful to undertake a compilation of Muslim and Hindu customary laws in the Kashmir Valley.

LADAKH

The third cultural region mentioned in the beginning is Ladakh. Once again there is very little ethnographically authentic information available about this region and its Buddhist and Muslim inhabitants. The number of travellers' accounts also is not as plentiful as in the case of the Valley because the

inaccessible and climatically inhospitable Ladakh has not attracted many tourists or travellers. The Jammu and Kashmir volume of the Imperial Gazetteer (1908) provides general information. Since then Prince Peter of Greece and Denmark (1963) has published an account of polyandry in Ladakh in his magnum opus on the subject. A few papers also have appeared in journals (see, Asboe, 1938 and 1947 and Bamzai, 1952). Crane (1956) also contains some valuable information.

Ladakh has strong racial, linguistic, cultural and religious affinities with Tibet. The predominant religion is Buddhism, followed by Islam. A research project in the area was undertaken by the Department of Anthropology, University of Delhi, a couple of years ago, but no results have come out so far. Ladakh is virgin territory for anthropologists and it may be worthwhile for a two or three-member team to visit the place on an exploratory mission. Many problems suggest themselves in the areas of family life, social economy, religion and religious organizations such as monasteries.

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K. S. MATHUR

Social Anthropology of Uttar Pradesh: Urgent Research Problems

UTTAR Pradesh is one of the biggest, and the most populous, of the states in the Indian republic. It has variety in its topology, climate, peoples and cultures. Parts of the state, like the Western districts, have good soil, industrious people and development potential, and these regions have consequently responded well to the development plans. Other parts, like the Eastern districts, Bundelkhand and Mirzapur are not as well gifted by nature, their people have been relatively poor and backward, and they have not reacted as well to development plans. Extra efforts have been and are being made by the administration for developing these areas and peoples, most of whom are of tribal or scheduled caste extraction. To my mind, the principal task of urgent anthropological research in U. P. has to be the study of such areas and peoples, their social structures and cultures, their problems and the factors which have retarded developmental work and social change among them.

This note argues, then, that the priority tasks are (1) to analyse the study of social change in the tribal and rural life of U. P. in the light of the sequence of awareness, acquaintance, and adoption of innovations, and the time lag involved between the several stages of adoption, and (2) to locate and examine the factors which help or hinder the acceptance of such innovations. It is pertinent to know in this context whether the time lag between the research results, so far obtained, by experiments in cultivation and agricultural growth, in this region can be reduced. To answer such and other questions, it is essential to study the factors which promote or retard the transmission of new knowledge to the people of this state.

Having lived and worked in U. P. almost from the beginning of my career

in 1950, I would define the geographic region of my choice as the State of Uttar Pradesh. During 1950-52 I did some preliminary exploratory work in the three "tribal" pockets in U. P. They are (i) the hill area of Jaunsar-Bawar (District Dehradun), (ii) the "tarai" stretching from Nainital District in the west to Gorakhpur District in the east, and (iii) the Kaimur region (southern part of Mirzapur district). All these areas have people markedly different in their culture from their neighbouring peasants: the Khasa of Jaunsar-Bawar differ from other hill people in the State inasmuch as the Khasa ideally practise polyandry; the Tharu and Bhoksa of the Tarai, living in close proximity with Hindu and Muslim peasants, have changed their ways of life considerably over the past eighty years and seem to be losing what Majumdar (1944) called a "matriarchal matrix" and "dominant position of women"; similarly the people of Dudhi, undoubtedly part of the tribal stock of North-eastern Madhya Pradesh, have been open to cultural influences for almost a century and a half, particularly since the construction of the Rihand Dam began in 1951.

Another area I became familiar with in 1963-65 is eastern U. P., comprising the area north of River Ganga and east of River Saryu. At the instance of the Patel Commission and the Research Programmes Committee of the Planning Commission, we undertook a survey of economic development and social change there. The objective was to assess the degree of social change and to correlate it with the success of economic development plans and other relevant socio-cultural factors.

Comprising of a large number of linguistic and cultural groups, Uttar Pradesh shows a great, almost bewildering variety of cultural and behavioural patterns. It has been spoken of as the melting pot of races and cultures. Ethnographic or historical studies of its peoples and cultures would be a tremendous job which, I do not think, can be done under Urgent Anthropological Research.

I feel that under the circumstances, our endeavour should be to study social and cultural change. The objectives should be twofold: (i) to develop theories of, or more exactly models for, change in different social and cultural situations, and (ii) to measure the extent and direction of change under the impact of development plans and social legislation.

SOME SPECIFIC PROBLEMS

(1) *Human problems in technological and social change in the Rihand (Mirzapur District)*. The study of human problems in technological and social change in the Rihand area can be a study of the adoption of innovations and thereby a study of decision-making for farming and industries—both cottage and large scale. The traditional values of society as well as the awareness, acquaintance and adoption of new values of life need to be thoroughly examined for

the study of such change. The changes brought about by the new technology do not fail to surprise the people but a majority resists the innovations, thanks to a commitment to tradition. The consequences of industrial development in Mirzapur District are worthy of our attention. The attitudes of people—their conservatism rooted in religious beliefs and concepts of social limitation—have to be examined at length : this may enable us to help them accept innovations and promote them on their own.

(2) *The rate and direction of change and its causes in at least three villages of eastern U. P.* As noted previously, Eastern U. P. has lagged seriously behind Western U. P. in economic development. A thorough study of selected villages of this region will bring out the fundamental factors responsible for the insignificant expenditure by people of all occupational and business classes on education, medical treatment, and entertainment.

(3) *The changing role of the Tharu and Bhoksa of Nainital Tarai in the context of the growth of sugarcane farms and power stations in that area.* Growing sugarcane production and the establishment of power stations in the Nainital Tarai have created a monetised economy in place of a tribal economy. The study of various aspects of tribal villages, e. g., the population distribution, the utilization of land, and the modes of income and expenditure, will aid the planners in designing the future of this state.

(4) *Change in society and culture in rural Western U. P. brought about by industrialization and agricultural innovation.* Since Western U. P. has undergone industrialization and also agricultural improvement to attain a measure of prosperity, studies in this region should enable us to identify the social environments that mobilize human beings for collective acts.

(5) *Changing social organization of the people of Jaunsar-Bawar in the wake of the progressive breakdown of polyandry and elevated social status of the Kolta and other such lowly groups.* The community development programme launched in Jaunsar-Bawar has effectively changed the outlook of the people in the area and social change has been quite smooth. Polyandry has declined, and the people have acquired new values. The social status of Kolta and other down-trodden groups has improved. The study of these developments should provide new insights for programmes of planned change.

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T. B. NAIK

Urgent Research in Social Anthropology (With reference to Madhya Pradesh)

I AM writing this note from the field near Alirajpur where the Bhilalas, who I think require urgent research, live. Hence it is sketchy and short. But I think it will suffice to give an idea of the areas and the problems requiring urgent social anthropological research in Madhya Pradesh.

1. The works of Hislop, Grigsan, Elwin, Hivale, Koppers, Fuchs, Griffith, S. C. Dube, Leela Dube, Naik and others are known to us. Some very good work is also being done by Jay who is here with us and Babb.

2. When I was at the Tribal Research Institute, Chhindwara, I and my colleagues, as required by the administration, carried out such tribal research as socio-economic surveys, studies of tribal political organization, educational problems and industrial labour. In addition, we carried out numerous other studies of which I mention below a few important ones :

- (a) The Abajhmadias ; aspects of a little known culture.
 - (b) Crime among the Bhils.
 - (c) Dhurwas of Bastar.
 - (d) Tribal Economic Organization and Market.
 - (e) Collection of the songs of the Pardhans :
 - (i) & (ii) Gondyani—Parts 1 and 2 (iii) Ramayani (iv) Pandwani.
 - (f) A collection of Chhatisgarh folksongs :
Tulsi Ke Birwa Jagay
 - (g) Short ethnographic notes on little known tribes and castes like Bhimmas, Dhulias, Agharias, Rauts, Lanjhas, Dewars, Kolis, Nagesias, Naikdas, etc.
3. But many gaps still remain in our anthropological knowledge about

Madhya Pradesh. I give below a few examples :

- A : (a) There is no good study of the Bhilalas (except for a Ph. D. thesis in German by Jansen).
 (b) Little is known about the Bhils of Ratlam, Jhabua, Badwani (except for a book of mine being published in September, 1968).
 (c) We have no satisfactory source of information about the Hill Korwa economy and society.
 (d) Even though we know Bastar as a very backward area full of tribal people and call it the Rising Giant, no large scale study in depth—anthropological, sociological and economic—has ever been attempted. We have no studies on the Halbas, Parjas and Gonds.
 (e) The Gonds are one of the largest tribal groups of India but very little is known about them.
 (f) The Korkus, the western-most Mundari speaking tribe, on which I published a special issue of the *Bulletin of the Tribal Research Institute*, require a detailed study.
 (g) In Chhatisgarh there is a prosperous agriculturist tribe called the Kawars whose population is about 3 lakhs. Very few anthropologists know anything about the culture and society of this great tribe.
- B : There are no social anthropological studies of :
 (a) The wandering tribes like Dewars and Bhimmas.
 (b) The so-called criminal tribes like Kanjars, Bahelias, Shikaris.
 (c) Many important scheduled castes.
- C : No one has yet seriously tried to study the peasantry of M. P. (interestingly there are some agricultural castes who are spread over many States of India) like the Kurmis, Lewe Patidars, Marars and Raghuvanshis (among the non-tribals) and Madias, Kawars and Bhilalas (among the tribals).
- D : There is absolutely no data on the Bardic Tribes of M. P., the Pardhans, Dholis, Lanjhas, Gogias and Dewars, and their literature.
- E : So far little work has been done on the Brahmans of Chhatisgarh (who seem to be un-Brahmanic in many ways) and other middle-rank castes.
- F : A few other problems that have yet to be tackled are :
 (a) Cultural regions, neighbourhoods, networks and caste hierarchy in Chhatisgarh and other areas.
 (b) Structure and Organization of the tribal village in a regional set-up.
 (c) Ceremonial friendship and Guru-chela relationship in Chhatisgarh in the light of caste hierarchy.

- (d) Malwa as an extension of Gujarat culture and the Bhil's culture as a part of the regional culture.
 - (e) Important tribal and rural institutions like the weekly market, serfdom (or *harwahi*), panchayats, fairs, death-gatherings.
4. Priorities should be given to the following :
- (a) Little known but important tribes like the Korwas and Bhilalas.
 - (b) Problem-areas like Bastar.
 - (c) Vanishing traditions like those of the tribal bands. Some of the bardic traditions are actually dying out : the Lingo legend is not heard now.
 - (d) Agriculturists like the Kurmis.
 - (e) Wandering tribes like the Bhimmas.

I have taken up the study of the Korwas, the Bardic Tribes and the Bhilalas and put research students on the Bastar and the Kurmis.

RALPH W. NICHOLAS

*Suggestions for Future Anthropological Research in South Asia**

WHAT is most urgent for social anthropologists concerned with Southern Asia is probably not the "salvaging" of ethnographic information on "vanishing" cultures but rather the placing of data and theory derived from Indian research before the world anthropological forum. The position of South Asian specialists in anthropology—whether British, American, Indian, or Ceylonese—appears to me to be less favorable than that of specialists in several other world areas. There are two interconnected reasons why this is so: (1) little intellectual leadership has come from South Asian studies for anthropology at large, and (2) because anthropologists outside the South Asian field, rightly or wrongly, do not see our work as relevant to their interests, we wind up talking to one another and to other South Asianists.

It is my contention that if South Asian anthropology is to be a part of anthropology, then it must de-parochialize itself. There are two phases to this de-parochialization, one of which is not of much concern to other South Asianists but in the other of which our colleagues in South Asian studies will be intimately involved. It is for us anthropologists to take data, method, and theory drawn from South Asia before our profession in order to persuade them of the significance of our work. In this responsibility, our task is far more difficult than that of the Africanists, for example, whose leadership position in social anthropology is firmly established. But we have potentially so much

*This paper was originally prepared for a panel convened in the Spring of 1968 by the South Asia Committee of the Association for Asian Studies. The panel was intended to assess the present state of South Asian studies in the U. S. and to project future lines of scholarly work in the area. This paper expresses my personal priorities for anthropological research in India.

that is new, so much that lies on the frontiers of anthropology as it is presently developing, that we cannot help but give to our discipline a set of unforeseen directions. It is in discovering these new directions that we receive unique forms of assistance from colleagues in other branches of South Asian studies.

I cannot examine most of the exciting new lines of research in which South Asian specialist anthropologists could provide genuine leadership. I shall take up four areas of future research in which I believe South Asianists can take a position of commanding importance in anthropology if we are willing to collaborate with others in our work and if we are willing to take our results to a wider professional audience in comparative forums.

1. *Symbolism, society, and culture.* Religion, mythology, and symbolism have been important concerns in anthropological research right from the modern foundation of the discipline. E. B. Tylor, J. G. Frazer, and Emile Durkheim stand as the founders of some of these concerns, which have risen and declined in their importance to anthropologists since the beginning of the present century. Mauss and Hubert worked with Indian scriptural materials in their analysis of "Sacrifice" while Mauss also discussed evidence from Sanskrit literature in his famous essay on "The Gift". But in anthropology since the Second World War, leadership in the analysis of ritual, symbolism, myth, cosmology, and religion seem to me to have passed to the Africanists. Notable contributions to the study of this complex of subjects by anthropologists working in South Asia are small and by no means fully developed. M. N. Srinivas's *Religion and Society Among the Coorgs*, some of the pieces by Louis Dumont and David Pocock in *Contributions to Indian Sociology*, the article by various anthropologists in the volume edited by Edward Harper on *Aspects of Religion in South Asia*, and a scattering of papers, those by Michael Ames and Nur Yalman being very striking, come to mind as important works. However, the full implications of the simultaneous "textual and contextual" approach to Indian religions envisioned by Milton Singer in *Traditional India: Structure and Change* and elegantly exemplified in the volume on *Krishna* are far from being realized. Even if anthropologists concerned with South Asian religion learn Sanskrit and other written languages, they are not likely to master both the languages and their literatures sufficiently to make them usable in research at the high level of proficiency demanded by Sanskritists and literary scholars. Collaboration between anthropologists, with their field observations of rituals, recordings of myths, and exegesis of symbols through direct interviews with practitioners of the religions under study, and the textual scholars, with their written prescriptions for rituals, authoritative versions of myths, and literary exegesis of symbols, will probably result in major advances in both fields.

Africanists and other anthropologists working with non-literate peoples have had an advantage in that there are no sacred texts to complicate their informants' renderings of their myths, symbols, and cosmological systems.

South Asianists who pretend that they are working in a purely oral tradition, however, are clearly unrealistic. Both Brahmans and ordinary villagers consult books for the verses to sacred songs, procedures for rituals, and astrological information. The complex cross-relationship between ancient, "authoritative" texts, popular texts, and popular belief and practice constitute problems of substantial dimensions that cannot easily be solved by scholars of any one discipline working alone.

Most of what I have said will not surprise any South Asian specialist, but when it is taken in conjunction with the potential inherent in new anthropological approaches to the study of symbolism (I have in mind the approach taken by V. W. Turner in *The Forest of Symbols* and *The Drums of Affliction*), then it seems to me clear that we can no longer afford to assign religion, ritual, myth, and symbolism places of secondary importance in our work. When symbols and symbolic gestures are treated merely as keys to understanding the structure of society, as collectively held representations of a "proper" social order, which anthropologists since Durkheim have been doing, then other approaches can provide the same or similar information. However, when a culture is taken to be a system of symbols with a structure of its own, when "dominant" symbols are seen as carrying heavy affective and semantic loads that make them both guides to social action and objects of manipulation in social action, then it is clear that symbolism cannot be ignored or treated as an epiphenomenon.

The range of papers presented at the recent State University of New York (Binghamton Campus) conference on New Perspectives on Religion and Myth in South Asia that Owen Lynch organized suggests the size of the problem to be confronted in this area. The myths generated by caste-elevating movements, the role of deities in social integration, Islam in Pakistan, domestic rituals, and many other sources and vehicles of dominant symbols must be re-examined. The special relevance to South Asian studies of what may initially appear to be a rather esoteric line of enquiry is suggested by an intriguing statement of Bernard Cohn's in his contribution to *Regions and Regionalism in South Asian Studies* (p. 22) :

The first prerequisite of regionalism is what may be termed a pool of symbols which may be drawn upon and around which the content of the idea of regionalism can be formed for a particular region. In the Indian case the symbol pool has usually been made up of religious and/or literary and/or political historical symbols. The symbols may be couched in linguistic terms, that is, the language of a particular region is believed to be the main carrier and, to many, the rallying point for the regional movement. When, however, one gets behind the identification with the language *per se* and looks at the content of the particular set of symbols

that make up the regional identification, it is apparent that it is literature, religion, and political history that are being called upon, not the language itself.

Political rhetoric, literary societies, the publications of caste and religious movements will all come in for a fresh analysis under the new views of symbolism.

2. *Political anthropology.* More than any other phenomenon in society, politics has had the effect of forcing anthropologists out of the comfortable world of static formal analysis. Structures of kinship groups or kingdoms can be described in abstract, timeless terms; in politics, however, there is an inherent emphasis upon action. South Asianists have contributed more to political anthropology than to the anthropological study of religion. There seem to me to be several reasons for this: First, the widespread prevalence in South Asia of factional political groups in villages, districts, states, political parties, and wherever else one looks, has forced politics to our attention. Second, the pattern of collaboration based upon common interests of anthropologists and political scientists has developed well and naturally; no external incentives in favor of interdisciplinary research have been necessary to bring them together. Third, the kinds of political process that take place even in relatively remote parts of rural India are sufficiently complex and dynamic to require the development of more sophisticated forms of analysis (like those proposed by Bailey in *Tribe, Caste and Nation*) than were previously employed by anthropologists dealing with allegedly autonomous tribal societies.

Rural India does not offer the anthropologist an opportunity to pretend that he is dealing with an isolated, autonomous society. There is a sense in which a South Asian village is a unit society, but it cannot be understood in only these terms: it is also a part of a much larger and more complex society and it is implicated in the political process of the large society. Of course, similar situations exist in contemporary Africa and Latin America, but anthropologists working in South Asia seem to me to be better prepared than the specialists in these other areas to make significant advances in the analysis of complex processes. This is one area of research in which South Asian anthropology is heard in the wider forum of the profession and where, at the same time, we have only begun to exploit the riches of our material.

3. *"Field theory"*. The permeability of village boundaries to social processes originating outside them is related to another important problem to the solution of which South Asianists are likely to make the major contribution. In the South Asian countryside, social processes of all kinds can be seen as taking place over social fields of varying size and composition. When an event occurs in a village and when it is the people of the village who are involved, then it is the village that is the "field" for this event. A diverse set of

connections link villagers into larger social networks, however, and provide the basis for action in an extra-village field. Do the networks created by marriage, marketing, panchayat samitis or basic democracies, religious centers, and administrative centers tend to correspond or do they overlap one another? A series of roughly coterminous networks would signify the existence of significant supra-village social units that I have temporarily labeled "micro-regions". While it is likely that some portions of rural South Asia may not come apart neatly into such unities, I am encouraged to think that they are quite important to some areas: I have in mind particularly the areas of East Pakistan studied by Peter Bertocci in which the village is often not an entity of sociological significance.

In the development of a conception of social fields in rural South Asia and in their empirical examination, anthropologists and geographers are likely to collaborate. Historians may be able to illuminate some of the problems that will arise when several network boundaries terminate jointly by discovering, for example, that these are artifacts of the boundary of an earlier chiefly domain or other barrier to free social intercourse.

4. *Kinship.* System of kinship and marriage in South Asia may be the field of investigation ripest for a major synthesis. Much research has already been done but very little of it has been published yet. Several important recent publications (I will not try to list them here) suggest to me fruitful new lines of attack upon what I regard as a vast and stupefyingly complex body of only partially analyzed data that I have on kinship and marriage in rural West Bengal. There are several other anthropologists in positions similar to mine. To carry out the analysis of this material will require a good deal of time, but it also calls for some ideas and an incentive. The ideas are ready. A major conference, seminar, or workshop would provide the incentive. I expect that discussion of ideas and data will take a long time, including time to digest new ideas and to try them out on one's own data. Therefore, my present thought is that a summer seminar of perhaps four weeks duration is the appropriate vehicle.

Kinship is often thought to be an arcane branch of anthropology. The fact is, however, that some of the most interesting work in the field is being done by Ronald Inden in social history. Other historians who are dealing with Indian family histories may have contributions to make to such a seminar and could probably profit from some of the anthropologist's arcane knowledge. There may be people in other disciplines whose work brings them into contact with South Asian families and kinship groups and who might find such a seminar useful.

This has been a hasty examination of some future lines of research in South Asia that I believe are of fundamental significance to social and cultural anthropology. As it turns out, each of these areas of concern overlaps the

interests of specialists in other disciplines, suggesting that they are likely to be of some importance to South Asian studies generally. My principal criterion of selection, however, has been disciplinary significance because I think it is of critical importance for South Asianists to bring their work to the attention of anthropology at large.

B. K. ROY BURMAN

Socio-political Processes in India and Integration of the Tribal Societies

THE problem of the integration of tribal people in Indian Society is to be considered in the context of their historical relations, the genius of Indian civilization and the emerging socio-economic situation in the independent India.

The historical relations do not follow any uniform pattern. There are tribes like the Gonds, Bhils, Kols, Kacharis who are in close contact with the neighbouring Hindu and Muslim population for centuries and within a common tradition, common history. Ekalavya, the almost superhuman, if tragic, model of a devoted disciple, as beautifully depicted in the Indian epic, *Mahābhārata*, is considered to be a Bhil. Rani Durgavati, the valiant Queen who gave her life in the battle field for resisting the invasion of the imperial army, was a Gond; Birsa Bhagawan, who fought the British towards the end of the last century was a Munda. There are innumerable such instances of great men and women rising from the dusts of the small communities of India and becoming heroes and heroines of the nation as a whole. In their turn, these small communities have assimilated a good deal of the great traditions of their neighbours and made the same their own. In West, South and Central India, there is hardly any tribe, which in one way or the other does not associate itself, with some events of personalities, depicted in the epic stories, the *Rāmāyana* and the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas*. Some tribes of Central India, have cast their net wider. According to them Lav and Kush, the twin sons of Rama, were the cousins of Hassan and Hussain, the grandsons of the prophet of Islam. It would not be a matter of great surprise, if in the course of time, Jesus Christ, has his resurrection in the womb of a tribal mother.

Yet there are tribal societies like the Adis, Akas, Daflas, Tangsas, Wanchos

of North East India, who lived in comparative isolation until recently. It is only in the Post-independence period that their contact with the rest of the country has been intensified. Their culture heroes are little known outside, and likewise, the main streams of Indian history and Indian tradition have limited significance for them. The problem of integration of this group of tribals is different from that of the former.

The genius of Indian civilization which has significant bearing on the problem of national integration can be briefly described as unity in diversity. In operational terms, it means broad tolerance for different ways of life and also considerable autonomy of the different institutions at different levels. By and large, the social and religious processes have been little affected by the local political power-structure; and the processes at the local level have remained distinct from those at the regional and inter-regional levels. The great civilization of India is a mosaic of innumerable small civilizations; at the same time, it has an immanent quality which permeates the entire structure. The implication of this for the integration of tribal communities would be considered after a brief discussion of the emerging socio-economic situation in the independent India.

Deprived of the basic amenities of life for generations, under the colonial dispensation, India launched upon a programme of building up a welfare state, immediately after the attainment of independence. The history of liberation struggle and the imperative need of maintaining national unity, made avowal to the principles of secular democracy and socialistic pattern of society almost inevitable.

Four general elections have taken place on the basis of adult franchise. Community development programmes with participation of the organs of democratic decentralization have been pushed through, all over the country. Communication facilities have expanded several fold; literacy has spread rapidly and infra structure for agricultural and industrial developments has been laid down. Besides, the special provisions made in the constitution for protecting the economic, cultural and political interests of tribal and other backward people and bringing them at par with the rest of the nation are being implemented. These special provisions include reservations in legislatures and services and steps for educational advancement and economic well being.

All these are having tremendous impact on the tribal communities of India. Paradoxically these have on the one hand brought them closer to the nation and on the other created new distances. The interpretation of this dynamic situation would depend on one's own understanding of the meaning of integration.

To many, social integration is the same as cultural assimilation. But this

does not appear to be correct. Social integration means acceptance of common goals and symbols by different parts of a whole; basically it is a dimension of political relationship and not cultural relationship. People with diverse cultural traits may foster common goals and symbols, as the Jews from different parts of the world in Israel; on the other hand people with identical culture traits and stemming from the same ethnic stock may fall apart, as the English speaking colonists of America who declared themselves independent of the mother country and chartered a separate course of their own.

In a plural society there are at least four models of social integration, namely: (i) identification with the dominant group, (ii) mutual give and take of the different parts to constitute a new whole, (iii) co-existence of different parts as autonomous systems and simultaneous acceptance of common group goals and group symbols, (iv) organisation of individuals whose basic commitments are to the values of cosmopolitan humanism and who consciously and freely accept membership of different reference groups for the sake of deepening and diversifying their intellectual and moral experiences, in a manner, compatible with their basic commitments.

In India, those who are accustomed to look upon the tribals only as the bearers of retarded cultures, frequently advocate that the tribals should become integrated in the national life by effacing their own identity and adopting the culture and way of life of the neighbouring Hindu population. There are again others who take a teleological view of history, that, through the operation of an inexorable law in the social situation of India, the tribal societies would be inevitably brought within the fold of Hinduism and thus the objective of national integration would be achieved. In support of this view, they point out that culturally the difference between the tribal communities and the Hindu folk-societies is very narrow and that the process of transformation of tribal communities into Hindu castes has gone on unabated in all ages. They also point out that the ethos of Indian civilization, viz. unity in diversity, has promoted this process in the past and will promote it in future. They however fail to observe that currently a reverse process is taking place. Many tribal communities, which in the past consciously strove to adopt the symbols of Sanskrit Hinduism are now giving this up. In addition, a fundamental change is taking place in the world view of the tribals as well as other folk-societies. Until recently, the main focus of their world view was the ritual order, through which they tried to keep the supernatural powers in good humour and ensure their own welfare. Now, that they are by and large aware that technology is the god, they have little motivation left for adoption of Hindu gods and goddesses, or for being incorporated in the Hindu ritual order.

Thanks to the unswerving lead given by Nehru, the influence of those who believe in the integration of the tribal communities through the bond of reli-

gion, is not much in the intellectual life of the country. There are however many, who genuinely believe that under certain situations religion may be misused to retard the integration of the tribal communities in the national life. For instance, there are many allegations that foreign missionaries, while preaching Christianity, have encouraged separatism among the tribal converts. Undoubtedly there are individual cases of this sort; but the more discerning students of the tribal situation are aware that the influence of the foreign missionaries can be easily over-emphasised. Firstly, there is no reason to think that the bulk of the tribals are not integration oriented at the national level, secondly there is no reason to think that the intellectual elites that have emerged out of many of the tribal communities do not have minds of their own.

Coming back to the models of integration, it appears that the second model, namely, mutual give and take of the different parts to constitute a new whole is more popular among the liberal section of the national leadership. They consider that many elements of tribal life, are worthy of emulation by the so-called civilized people, and that while the tribals should learn many things from their more advanced neighbours, the latter also should be prepared to accept certain things from the tribals, so that there may be intercommunication on the basis of mutual respect and understandings.

The third model is being advocated by some anthropologists and sociologists in the country. It is based on the recognition of the fact that very frequently symbolic values are associated with different manifestations of the social and cultural life of a people and that the people concerned try to perpetuate the symbols as the central principles of their community life; disturbance of such symbols may result in social anomie. Recognition of this fact leads to the suggestion that for the purpose of the integration of the larger group, it is not necessary to eschew the symbols of the smaller groups. These may continue in their respective spheres; at the same time new symbols may be created and made meaningful for all concerned in the larger social system.

The fourth model is visualised as a distance ideal by those who are conscious of the problem of eclipse of freedom in closed societies and loss of identity in ubiquitous states, irrespective of their political systems.

Now the question arises, as to which model is more likely to find favour among the tribal communities. For answering this question, one is required to understand two apparently similar but basically different phenomena, currently found among them. These are sub-nationalism and infra-nationalism.

The phenomenon of sub-nationalism is found among the communities like Kacharis, Oraons, Mundas etc. But it is not confined to them alone. It is found among larger societies like Bengalis, Oriyas, Marhathas, Tamils, Telugus etc. It is the child of an unholy marriage between the national society and

the welfare state, which has been solemnised on the alter of modern technology with the trappings of formal democracy *but without the blessing of the high priest* which would have given it permanence. The high priest referred to here, is the determined elite which has imbibed the spirit of renaissance—an untiring quest for the facts of life, an uncompromising rationalism and an inspired universalism—and which would not swerve from its social responsibility of cleansing the social structure of all its anachronistic elements. In the absence of such an elite, the sub-national units, while ostensibly swearing by the national symbols and national goals, tend to rake up, not without a sense of guilt, parochial symbols and parochial goals and cling on to them, even though the latter may not be compatible with the former. To some extent, this phenomenon is noticeable in all the modern states; but it is taking a menacing character in the emerging societies because of the interplay of the following factors. (i) In the traditional setting, national society generally means the existence of the symbols of the various segments of the population in a hierarchical order. But so long as these are not buttressed by the apparatus of the State, apart from some priority in the scale of prestige, these do not mean much actual domination of one segment over the others. If there is segmental domination, it is because of historical reasons not because they are parts of a national society. (ii) With the emergence of welfare state, the apparatuses of the State tend to be ubiquitous and the innocent symbols of the nation become surcharged with power. In such a dispensation, minority status becomes a status of eternal subordination and frustration. Previously what was accepted with grace is now considered as a mark of disgrace. (iii) Rapid technological transformation, which is indispensable for the fructification of the goals of welfare state, would require strategic investment of the limited resources for the maximisation of output. But this also means postponement of the measures aimed at creating an egalitarian society. Thus a strain of development is inevitably caused and a mortal competition ensues among the different segments for having the maximum share of the limited resources. Political action therefore flows mainly along these segmental loyalties.

With local variations, here and there, the above processes are taking place in India also, and many of the tribal societies have not been slow to jump into the bandwagon of sub-nationalism. But this is also a sign of their modernisation. This means that the primitive complex of the tribal communities is rapidly giving place to minority complex.

Sub-nationalism is a phase of modernisation in another sense also. It implies a process of readjustment in the social relations of the components of the nation through the self-assertion of the segments which had remained subdued through generations. In a way, it makes the task of national reconstruction easier. If there is an elite with its roots in the soil, confidence in itself and clear vision about the future, it can harness the aspirations of the

sub-national groups including the tribal communities for effecting an overhaul of the total social structure. In a general way, it can be stated that in the transitional stage of national reconstruction, the second model of integration is likely to find more favour among such elites.

The social dynamics among the tribal communities which were living in comparative isolation until recently is marked by another phenomenon viz., infra-nationalism. While sub-nationalism is a phase of contraction, infra-nationalism is a phase of expansion. One is a by-product, the other is a proto-type.

Infra-nationalism develops in a primitive community, living in comparative isolation and unacquainted with or uncommitted to national symbols and national goals, when it is seized by the urge to rapidly change its standard of living and enjoy the benefits of modern technology. Such a community finds that for the satisfaction of its aspirations, the diffused command over physical resources, and the resources constituted by factual knowledge, ideas and ideologies, must be replaced by unified command over all types of resources. As a result, a vigorous search for new social identities and new horizons of ideas and ideologies ensues.

It can be stated appropriately that infra-nationalism is rooted in the past, but it draws its succour from the present and spreads its wings towards the future. It is history in the making. In its march, the clan loyalties are submerged in the tribal and the tribal in the inter-tribal loyalties. It is not necessarily incompatible with national loyalty; rather national loyalty is a logistic need for infra-nationalism. But whether nationalism would be able to subsume infra-nationalism would to a large extent depend on a number of geo-political factors and the quality of the nation itself.

In this matter, India seems to be in an advantageous position. The history of its liberation struggle, its democratic constitution, the serious efforts of its intelligentsia to strengthen the secular processes of the country, the influence that the masses have been able to exercise in determining the national policy, have tremendously impressed the emerging elites of the little communities in the phase of infra-nationalism. The special position that India holds in the geo-political structure of Central and South-east Asia, is also not unnoticed by them. There are also many traditions which are shared by the tribals and their neighbours, at the regional level if not at the pan-Indian level. All these are positive factors, which would enable Indian nationalism to contain within its fold, infra-nationalism of its tribal communities. But there are a number of negative factors as well, which should not be overlooked. There is a gap between professions and practices; India's economy does not possess the necessary resilience even after the implementation of the three five year plans and above all secularism of India has been put to severe strain, again and again, in spite of the vigorous efforts of the national elite.

Taking an over all view, the infra-nationalism of the tribal communities can be considered as an asset to Indian nationalism. It has provided a challenge in the Toyenbian sense, to meet which, Indian nationalism is to rise to its moral height. It seems that the third model of integration will mark the relation between the comparatively isolated tribal communities and the rest of the nation, for some time to come.

As regards the fourth model of integration, at present it is only a logical construct. But in the context of the manifold efforts all over the world to give organised expression to the unity of mankind this is a distinct probability which also should be kept in view.

SATISH SABERWAL

Towards A Model of Indian Society

THE PROBLEM

FOLLOWING the anthropological consensus in the mid-50's (expressed most influentially in Marriott 1955), Bailey, Beals, Berreman, Bêteille, Dube, Epstein, Madan, Mayer, Orenstein, to mention only a few, have made monographic reports on the social structures of particular villages in India. Important contributions to the understanding of Indian society, based primarily on work in particular villages, have also come from Cohn, the Freed, Gough, Gould, Harper, Kolenda, Mencher, Nicholas, Opler, Rowe and a host of other workers. This corpus of village studies has recently led to important second order analyses, most notably by Cohn (1965) and Kolenda (1967).

The impulse for studying Indian villages was derived from the anthropological premise that the small community is a microcosm whose study will illuminate the structures of the macro-society (e. g., Firth 1951 : 17-18). In retrospect this turns out to have been too optimistic a view, for there is no reason to expect that the macro-structures of Indian society would be in any way isomorphic with its micro-structures. Historians and historically inclined sociologists have long been impressed with the traditional autonomy of India's village communities : while empires, emperors, and lesser rulers have come and gone, the local world of the village has continued mainly in its own course, with behaviour controlled and order maintained largely by and through the leaders of the caste and the village and their councils. (Note that the Redfield-Singer approach to the village-in-a-civilization deals with the *cultural* interrelations between the Little Tradition of the village and the Great Tradition of the civilization ; it has little to say on the social structures at the two levels). Social relations in village India have traditionally been discontinuous

with the social relations in urban India and those underlying the apparatus of the state : the latter have reflected the organizational principles of conquering, intrusive societies far oftener than those of the indigenous rural society.

The British period made no difference to the situation, with the rulers strongly resistant to the processes of indigenization which had tended to incorporate previous rulers into Indian society. The large-scale institutions whose formation the British sponsored or stimulated followed organizational principles radically different from those underlying the indigenous institutions of rural India. With increasing control by Indians over the shaping of the national institutions, these latter have shown rather greater sensitivity to the traditional organizational principles (for example Rudolph 1965); but this amounts only to interesting variations on themes which are clearly alien to and discontinuous with the traditional rural society.

One point more : if we concede, following Gellner (1964), that the decisive influence and the primary transformation of our time is represented by industrialization (including the scientific revolution in agriculture), it is clear that the rural society is in large measure a 'dependent realm', responding and reacting to stimuli arising in the specialist institutions of the macro-society, which is clearly the generative 'independent realm' : to seek to understand the latter through a study of the former can only be a *cul-de-sac*.

THE METROPOLITAN CENTRES

Outside the village, India's sociological surface has barely been scratched, and one can begin almost anywhere. For example, the variety of integrational levels in Indian society finds conspicuous expression in the metropolitan centres, but urban sociology has received little systematic attention yet.¹ The following preliminary remarks discuss a few elements in the situation.

Analyzing dialectical variation in Uttar Pradesh, Gumperz and Naim (1960 : 94-95) have shown that *the District Town*, where men from the District's many parts—each with its own *local* dialect—converge, a distinctive *sub-regional* dialect emerges which is used by the speech community in the market for its immediate purposes. Linguistic mapping of metropolitan urban centres would probably reveal the parallel development of multiple dialects within a city, matching its ethnic heterogeneity. This heterogeneity in turn reflects the power of industrial, commercial, educational, and bureaucratic centres to attract personnel from far and wide. Immigrants into the metropolitan centres, especially those with low incomes, appear to organize themselves residentially in terms of their areas of origin. Thus, in an incisive report on migrants from Senapur, a village in Eastern U. P., to Bombay, Rowe (1964) tells us that they view the city largely as an extension of their village ; they go to the city in search of supplementary incomes to augment

the village resources which have remained inelastic in recent times, but in the city they occupy distinctive neighbourhoods : the city has come to contain a 'bit of Senapur'. The immigrants also organize themselves into associations based on caste, and these provide anchorage to the new immigrant.

The immigrant subcultures, then, retain their identities, expressed in organizations marked with intensive internal interaction on the one hand and consciousness of cultural-linguistic differences on the other. When this ethnic consciousness seeks to assert itself through organizations of wider range, the means for organization and propagation are ready to hand in the metropolitan centre : public transportation by road and rail ; communication media, primarily the printing presses able to produce booklets and community newsletters ; public places for accommodating conferences, etc. The metropolitan centre thus becomes the originator and disbursing agent of a variety of cultural materials. In it operate groups addressing audiences of various scales : the newsletter listing available brides and bridegrooms for one's caste-mates ; the vernacular press extolling the past history of one's language group ; the national newspaper or magazine, addressed to more of a national elite audience, and concerned more with issues of wider import. From the metropolitan centre too the travelling salesmen fan out to visit their retailers in smaller towns. The diversity of messages emanating from the metropolitan centre matches the diversity of relational matrices focussed in it.

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

Here our interest in the metropolitan centre arises from the fact that it accommodates the institutions which give structure to the macro-society ; experiences in its settings generate the sentiments underlying the macro-society. In approaching the latter, sociologists have often employed the perspective of social stratification to consider the nature of social strata, of power, of the mechanisms regulating the distribution of resources between the strata. Decisive influence on one's research methods—and findings—is exercised by the *size* of the field delimited for analysis : whether the nation-state (e. g., Porter, 1965 on Canada) or the local community (e. g., Warner, 1963 in the United States) or some unit in between. The social anthropologists' technical equipment would tend to incline them towards smaller units for enquiry.

Note that beyond the minimal hunting-gathering bands (and some others characterized by small-scale and a highly egalitarian ethic, e. g., Saberwal, 1969), all societies are stratified in terms of control over resources. Furthermore, during the process of industrialization, major alterations in the pattern of stratification are inescapable : old resources acquire new significance, entirely new resources acquire unprecedented importance, and the new order requires for its effective maintenance that the attributes to be rewarded change

radically. Consequently, this perspective of changing stratification is particularly appropriate for our purposes in India.

Industrialization, then, alters the 'shape' of stratification. In considering some of the factors contributing to this alteration, let us begin with agriculture. Scientific agriculture requires that the farmer optimize the mix of a wide range of agricultural inputs ; this requires managerial and commercial skills of an order much greater than those of the traditional, small-scale, often subsistence agriculture. It also requires the ability to mobilize substantial amounts of capital, both for fixed equipment and for the input mix. While one would expect these abilities to be very unevenly distributed between peasants, for those who have them the rewards would be much greater than were possible in the traditional agriculture. In India as elsewhere (see Moore, 1967 on England, France, U. S. A. and Japan) the new agriculture would affect the staying power of the small peasant proprietor (or share-cropper) engaged in independent cultivation as against the large landowner cultivating for himself. The situation should clearly have consequences for stratification, though their precise shape has to be determined empirically.

Likewise, in industry too, the production technology imposes its own constraints on the optimum units of factory organization. While the pattern of ownership admits of great variation, the scale of operations largely determines the pattern of management and control—and the associated differentiation in power and status—in the industrial context. Then again, as industrialization has increased, the demand for skilled workers, office workers, supervisors, and managers has grown, and the middle income (and status) groups have become more numerous in one country after another.

The canalizing factors (Barth 1966 : 3) noted above would be expected to press towards *changing* the established shape of stratification ; most on-going social systems, however, also have processes which conserve, or renew, the established shapes. Thus Harold Gould (1963 : 436-37) notes that 'Indians who, on almost no other grounds, interest themselves in orthodox religious procedures' continue to accept arranged marriages. By denying opportunities for direct access to potential spouses, the prevailing normative order makes one submit to one's kin and caste-mates for marriage, and 'the wedding ceremony, replete with great receptions, distinguished guest lists, glittering lights, fireworks, blaring loudspeakers and public processions'—and the elaborate ceremony continuing into the early hours of the morning—becomes 'a means of reaffirming or improving the family's social status at least once in every generation, an aspect of the internalization of the religious value system itself'. However radical a young man's social outlook may have been, the marriage complex recaptures him for his family—and for endeavours to maintain and enhance the family's status.²

Whatever the shape of stratification, however, particular persons still

have to enter particular roles. In the limiting case, educational technology with a battery of tests and a variety of training programmes could undertake to prepare each person for the one best role he has inherent talent for; such was the ambition of the creators of Scientific Management. While one may conceive of an ideal society wherein social mobility is all concentrated into the educational system—Marshall (1963 : 113-15) finds in England such a society—in real societies most individuals find room for manoeuvre in relation to goal attainment through much of the life cycle. Cumulative goal attainment can be expected to raise an individual's position or status within the social system. Close scrutiny has repeatedly revealed the use of a variety of social networks for goal attainment, often supplementing or replacing the more formal and public institutions of the society. The following discussion will show that the use of social networks is intimately related to considerations of status differential and social stratification.

THE MORPHOLOGY, THE UTILIZATION, THE DISTRIBUTION AND THE CULTURE OF SOCIAL NETWORKS

Morphology

A network is a series of inter-locking relationships, each characterized by reciprocal expectations (at varying levels of specificity). Several distinctive patterns of relationships can be identified. For example :

The totality of an individual's dyadic relations constitutes his *personal network*. If he nurtures these relationships for specific (and not diffuse) objectives, it may be called a *focussed network* : it has a dual focus, on the objectives and on him, the focal person. Adrian Mayer's action-set (1965) and Eric Wolf's patron-client relations (1965) are examples. The network's history is likely to depend upon the nature of the focal person's objectives and his capacity to meet the expectations of those he wishes to incorporate and keep in his network.

The literature is replete with examples of individuals, in pursuit of particular objectives, being led from one contact to another until they find someone able to influence the particular outcome. The initiator of this search, A, knew B, who had previously been linked with C, and so forth ; between A and C there was no prior contact. In such a *linear network*, we have a series of dyadic relationships, each constituent dyad having its own history, being created and maintained because its members wish to maintain it for their diverse needs. (Cf. Wolf's discussion (1965) of expressive and instrumental friendship).

Where memberships in formal groups overlap, with A, B, and C assembling in one situation, B, C, D, and E in another, A, C, F, and G in a third and so forth, we have *inter-locking networks*. Skinner's Thai-Chinese elite (1958) exemplifies such networks. The links in these networks continue while parti-

cular groups last, and the concerned individuals continue to be their members. The links might persist as dyadic relationships after an individual's withdrawal from the group.

Utilization

Concerning utilization, I distinguish between three types of network with reference to the scarcity of desired resources ; the complexity of constituent relationships is another distinguishing mark.

<i>Type of network</i>	<i>Scarcity of resources sought</i>	<i>Complexity of the constituent relationships</i>
Access	low	simplex
Influence	medium	”
Patronage	high	multiplex

The initiator's problem in *access networks* is to get something simple, some information, or local guidance, or a bit of hospitality. The search is routinized, usually successful, and not normally associated with feelings of obligation. The role of the barber in the search of a bridegroom in rural North India (Lewis 1965 : 66) is one example of a link in a chain of this sort ; the traditional economic and religious networks identified by Cohn and Marriott (1958) are also of this sort.

Where the initiator seeks relatively scarce resources through intermediaries whose status is approximately equal to his own, we have *influence networks*. The network is simplex, in that it is likely to process a single request at a time. Srinivas and B eteille's case of securing admission for a son in an engineering college is an example (1964 : 166). The network is usually linear but may be inter-locking.

Rather more involved are *patronage networks*, each constituent relationship embodying multiple considerations, such as the distribution of goods or jobs, the demonstration of personal loyalty, the provision of votes or of armed strength. Wolf has discussed the issues lucidly (1965), and Gould posits similar structures for the Indian political system (1969).

Distribution

While the use of networks for goal attainment—and therefore for influencing one's place in the status system—is generally acknowledged, it can also be argued that the distribution of networks within a society reflects the pre-existing status system. For India, the village society has had a number of hierarchically ranked status groups, the castes. Resources controlled by the castes vary widely from one to another ; besides, among the more resourceful castes (or, if you prefer, caste-clusters) some have used their resources to prepare their members for the newer urban roles (in industry, government, etc.) much more extensively than others. Thus some castes are much more

highly differentiated internally than others.

Members of a highly differentiated caste control a greater *variety* of resources (such as influential access to job opportunities). In contrast, an undifferentiated caste is, in a classical anthropological term, segmentary, in that its local segments are much like each other, controlling the same sorts of resources. Consequently, the members of a highly differentiated caste will be more strongly motivated to establish *instrumental* relationships with caste-mates, whether for access to jobs or for supply of foodgrains during scarcity. For undifferentiated castes, the intra-caste interaction should turn more around ceremonial events and should have consummatory emphases. We have three variables here :

S : the caste group's *status* in the area's hierarchy,

D : the extent of *differentiation* within the caste, and

N : the length (and also the number and the intensity of utilization) of the *networks* used instrumentally.

The following propositions may be considered :

Where S is constant, N varies directly with D. The underlying rationale has been explored above.

Where D is constant, N varies directly with S. The reasons for this are twofold: first, the lower status groups seem to participate in fewer social networks (e. g., Gumperz 1958 : 679-80), possibly because they have fewer resources to invest for maintaining these networks; and secondly, we have some evidence from Harold Isaacs (1965 : 130 ff) that upwardly mobile low caste men in urban areas, anxious to live in middle class neighbourhoods, find it necessary to assume middle *caste* identities in their relations with their neighbours; furthermore, they limit the danger to these identities by confining interaction with caste-mates largely to events elsewhere. If this is so, upwardly mobile lower caste men, the more insecure about their status, may be under greater pressure to prune older relational matrices than similarly placed higher caste men.

Culture

The fact that A, B, C, D, and so forth have social relationships of one kind or another linking them can help A persuade D to decide favourably *only* if the intermediaries are willing to transmit A's expectations through the network. This expectation flow (E. F.) is clearly a key determinant of the network's success. What are called *close-knit networks* have high E. F., so that expectations are transitive; *loose-knit networks* have low E. F. (Srinivas and Bétéille 1964 : 166-67).

The norms governing E. F. are critically important for network operation. These norms represent the definitions by network members of such matters as : what B might expect of A; what A might expect of B what A

might expect B to transmit to C on behalf of A; C's definition of what it is appropriate for B to transmit to him on A's behalf; and so forth. In an effective network, these various definitions are congruent with respect to A's objectives, but if B or C changes his definition, the network fails: a chain is only as strong as its weakest link.

In any relationship the E. F. should be high if the tie is multiplex, low if it is simplex. Alternatively, in pursuing an objective, A can seek to focus multiple links on C: the larger the number of converging links, the higher the E. F. through C. (The framework developed here has close affinity with that presented by Barth 1966; this will be explored on another occasion).

How is E. F. influenced by status differential? High E. F. along the same status would be predicted for the simple reason that reciprocal expectations can be expressed where status is equivalent. Concerning status differentials, one notes first that high status people (H. S.) generally control more resources than low status people (L. S.); consequently, H. S. have greater capacity to meet L. S. wishes than vice versa. However, since L. S. are normally far more numerous than H. S. and since the totality of resources is generally less than the demands upon them, the E. F. should be expected to drop sharply in transmission from L. S. to H. S. A L. S. man, in conveying a request to a H. S. decision-maker, will try to move gingerly through intermediaries with whom he has multiplex ties. Conversely, a H. S. man, needing help from a L. S. man, can approach the latter directly, confident that the latter would welcome the contact for later use.

ANALYZING THE MACRO-SOCIETY

In the foregoing I have suggested some analytic approaches to medium-sized societal units, larger than the village but still considerably smaller than Indian society as a whole. Concerning the latter, our analyses have been concerned primarily with the traditional society (e. g., Cohn and Marriott 1958); where attention is given to the emerging society, the levels of insight and analysis rarely rise above those of a talented journalist (e. g., Srinivas 1965: 560-77). I have noted that the nation-state could be examined from the perspective of social stratification: Porter (1965) has done so for Canada and C. Wright Mills (see, references in the Berreman paper in this volume) for the United States.

How effective this line of attack will be depends upon the quality of relevant data previously assembled by other agencies. In this regard work done by the Census organization, the various national Enquiry Commissions, the National Sample Surveys, the public opinion polls, etc. deserves careful scrutiny.

Where spatial mobility is still insubstantial—and even the spatially mobile retain strong identifications with their areas of origin—there should

be value in exploring a supplementary perspective utilizing territorial units. Where administrative units have political and other functions, they may well correspond with boundaries concerning significant interaction, shared norms, and identities. Some preliminary comments on the interactional correlates of administrative units follow.

Recent anthropological literature suggests the following characterization of *the village's* relationship with the surrounding Indian society. It has traditionally been autonomous enough to permit consideration as an 'isolable whole' characterized by 'Little' traditions, but it has a variety of extensive links (of varying time depths) with other communities : ties of marriage (and hence of uterine kinship) ; commercial relations ; political ties (some of traditional authority, others of contemporary electoral politics) ; religious ties (with pilgrimage centres and other sources of the Great Traditions) ; ties with urban centres (the job market for migrant workers, contacts with government agencies, educational institutions and so forth). The weakness of this statement lies in the difficulty in assigning weights to the different sorts of ties in the total context.

In delimiting interaction, *the Tehsil* or the sub-division has traditionally been the *least* significant unit of those discussed here ; but the salience of such units is closely related to the politico-administrative arrangements effective at any given time. Important administrative, judicial, and in recent years community developmental activities have converged on the Tehsildar or the Sub-Divisional Officer.

The District headquarters have an important concentration of offices led by the District Commissioner (or Collector) : following the British practice, it has become customary to assign a multitude of tasks to the D. C., and then a number of assistants who attend to these tasks on his behalf. Though electoral constituencies have no enduring relationships with district boundaries, I gather that political parties base their electoral work in a district at its headquarters. The place is often the hub of the district's bus services too and hence of its distribution network.

Reporting on East Pakistan, Schuman (n. d.) describes the distinctive forms of 'personality' associated with each of the four districts covered in his survey : the differences between them were reflected both in self-descriptions and in traits assigned to people from other districts. Parallel data for the proletariat in Dacca and other urban centres indicate that these differences have been dissolved. In contrast, the Senapur migrants (U. P.) to Bombay reported by Rowe (1964) retain strong identification with their home area, with intensive interaction *within* the migrant group. Compared with the East Pakistanis, does the Senapur migrants' greater attachment to their original identity reflect greater insecurity on their part in the more heterogeneous environment in an alien linguistic area ?

Following the Linguistic Reorganization of States in India, the administrative unit of *the State* has in most cases become co-extensive with the 'folk' boundaries of *Linguistic and Cultural Areas*. Thus, in non-Hindi areas, the state becomes the boundary for organisations based on language, for example the vernacular press. It becomes an important, often autonomous, unit for political parties; some of them operate exclusively within the state. The parties aim to control—or at least influence—the decision-making organs of the state. State-wide interaction is, in turn, likely in the context of both the making of demands on the decision-makers and the distribution of resources by them. The interactional consequences of state political decisions regarding the medium of instruction and food zones could be explored.

The political and administrative identity of *the Country* is manifest. It contains multiple cultural identities: underlying most of them are shared cultural traditions accumulated over the millenia; overlying them is the rather deliberate, officially nurtured cultural identity of the 'New India'. The national identity is defined through countless elements: the flag, the national anthem, 'national' institutions like the Indian Institute of Advanced Study, and so forth.

Structurally, the country is an administrative unit. It sets the final boundaries for political parties: supra-national linkages are embarrassing for them. The country is a common market: Its fragmentation into food zones a recent, presumably temporary deviance. Matching the flow of goods are country-wide matrices of formal and informal social relations: a manufacturer in Delhi expects his distributor in Bombay to provide him with a car while he is in town—and vice versa; a grain merchant in one North Indian town expects room and board from a fellow merchant when visiting another town. Professional organizations such as the Indian Science Congress, the Indian Sociological Society, and others too undoubtedly nurture extensive social relationships, whose disciplined assessment is awaited.

CONCLUSION

In this paper I have argued that insights concerning the macro-society are likely to arise more through the study of the 'caste-free sphere' of Indian Society than through the 'caste sphere', that is rural India (Yogendra Singh 1968: 178). An enlargement of the units of study is also necessary. For the medium sized unit, possibly a city or a District, I have proposed a perspective combining the study of changing stratification, of mobility, and of social networks. On a still larger scale, the study of social stratification may again offer a useful mode of analysis; a supplementary perspective may lie in the interactional consequences of administrative delimitation. The programmatic comments of this paper should give some measure of the work that remains to be done.

NOTES

1. The surveys sponsored by the Planning Commission in the mid-50s, summarized in part by Bulsara (1964), provide useful background information. Hazlehurst (1966) and Fox (1967) have recently published brief analyses of aspects of the social structures of North Indian small towns.

2. Informal observation—and contemporary public opinion—in North America indicates that this taming of the radicals is often delayed there until after a couple of children have blessed the marriage. Then the parents, recalling their own socialization, seek to ensure appropriate schooling and continuity of social relations for the children. This encourages ‘responsibility’: a situation captured on a recent *Time* cover in the query: ‘Can you trust anyone under 30?’

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SACHCHIDANANDA

Some Urgent Anthropological Problems in Bihar

FOR the past fifteen years a number of anthropologists at the initiative of the late Professor Heine Gelderne have evinced deep concern about recording the life-ways and thought-ways of vanishing tribes and cultures. The question is of now or never, for tomorrow may be too late. Urgent Anthropology owes its inception to this deep and sincere desire to record and retain for the purposes of scientific analysis the fast disappearing cultures of little communities. A number of conferences, publications and memoranda have kept alive the issue of salvage anthropology.

The question of urgency raises two important issues, those of theoretical significance and of social and administrative relevance. Some studies may be urgently needed from the view point of refining and testing newly developed concepts and theoretical formulations, or for closing existing ethnographic gaps. Certain tribes or castes which may be vanishing either statistically or as distinct entities may be selected for study for this purpose. Studies of the second kind may focus on subjects like the widespread disquiet in tribal areas in India or the social tensions between different social groups. These, incidentally, are extremely urgent social problems and social anthropologists will do a great service to the discipline if they analyse them and provide suggestions for their solution. Sometimes it may not be possible to completely disentangle issues of theoretical relevance from those of social relevance as they may have a bearing on each other. It is against this background that I have analysed some of the urgent anthropological problems of Bihar which stand as a challenge to the present day social scientist.

The first problem I propose to deal with is that of the conflict between tribals and non-tribals in Chhotanagpur and Santal Parganas. This problem is not unique to Bihar. In some parts of the tribal areas of India's north eastern borders, it has raised its head in the form of the growth of infra-nationalism. Of late, the tribals in Bihar have been gripped by a grave disquiet, which culminated in the disturbances at Chiri nearly 40 miles north west of Ranchi that ultimately resulted in a police firing leading to the death of six tribals. Some time before, there was a free fight between tribal and non-tribal students at Ranchi. It was almost a riot and the trouble was averted by closing the Ranchi University. A new organization called the Birsa Dal, named after the great Munda leader who flourished at the end of the 19th century, has come into being. It is a militant body and its demands include the creation of a separate Jharkhand state in the Indian union, the handing over of the administration of Chhotanagpur to the tribals and the appointment of an Adivasi as the Vice-Chancellor of Ranchi University. Disturbances have occurred at several places in Chhotanagpur. For each of these, the authorities have suggested a number of reasons. But to a discerning observer, all the unrest springs from one main source, the frustration of the political aspirations of the Adivasis. Such factors as the failure of government efforts for the economic betterment of the Adivasis at large, the continuing of land alienation, the spread of education and the gradual emergence of a middle class among the tribals of Chhotanagpur have also contributed to the unrest.

Tribal unrest in Chhotanagpur has also to be viewed against the background of the happenings in Nagaland, Mizo Hills and the agitation for a hill state for the tribal people in Assam. Grave as the reasons for the disquiet in Chhotanagpur are, the tribals in that area are no doubt encouraged by stiff opposition being presented by the rebels on India's eastern borders. They are also encouraged by the concessions made by the Government of India to meet political aspirations of the tribals in eastern region. The militancy of the movement may be attributed to the failure of the Adivasi leadership to better the lot of the people economically and to satisfy their political aspirations.

It would be useful at this stage to review briefly the rise and growth of political organization among the Chhotanagpur Adivasis. Half a century ago J. Bartholmen, a Christian tribal student of the St. Columbia's College, Hazaribagh, set up a student organization to help poor and unfortunate Adivasi students. Similar organizations were started in various educational institutions. Later on some of the leading members of these organizations formed the Chhotanagpur Unnati Samaj. Some time later a Kisan Sabha which was more political in nature came to be formed. In the late thirties, the Chhotanagpur Adivasi Mahasabha was founded with the threefold objective of fighting against the administration by Diku (outsiders), for getting a separate state of Chhotanagpur and for the betterment of the socio-economic and politi-

cal status of the Adivasis. In 1939-40 Jaipal Singh took over the leadership of the Mahasabha. By 1950 the number and the influence of non-Adivasi leaders in the organization had increased and the Sabha was given a new regional name, the "Jharkhand Party". The party was able to secure most of the tribals seats in Chhotanagpur and Santal Parganas during the 1952, 1957 and 1962 elections. But the leaders were tired of being in the opposition and in 1963 merged with the Congress. Adivasi leadership was rent by factions, and in the four year that the Adivasi leaders were in the government, they could not redress the grievances of the tribals for which they used to criticise the government while they were in the opposition. The tribal mass is completely disillusioned about the erstwhile leadership. Some of the leaders were badly defeated in the 1967 general elections. It seems the cup of tribal indignation is full and discontent is widespread. It is but natural that a number of political parties are fishing in troubled waters and fanning the flame of revolt.

The problem is growing in magnitude every moment. It is high time that social anthropologists with their well known sympathy for tribal interests should try to probe deep into the reasons for such a state of affairs. This study should include a comprehensive inquiry into such measures of the government as have been carried out in the name of tribal welfare, the reasons for their lack of success, the sources of frustration of the tribals, the rising tide of political aspirations of the educated tribal youth and the tribal elite etc. If possible, recommendations be made for solving the problem in the best interests of the tribals and the nation at large.

Another problem whose gravity is enhanced by its constant recurrence is that of group tension. Group tension as distinct from tension in an individual arises from causes that affect the entire group. Inter-group tension may be said to exist when members of two or more groups mutually perceive each other as agents of tension. Tension in this context may be defined as a state of effective arousal which results from deprivation (non-fulfilment of needs), frustration (continued blocking of needs and goals-directed activity), perceived threats (to the individual's personality) and from conflicts between needs, values and interests. Tension is subjectively to be identified with such experiences as dissatisfaction, anxiety, depression and aggression (K. K. Singh : 1967 : 16).

It was in the early fifties that Nanavati and Vakil (1951) tried to focus attention on the gravity of group tensions and their consequences. Soon after Professor Gardner Murphy (1933) at the invitation of the Government made a systematic effort to study the problem on a national scale in co-operation with Indian scholars. Radhakamal Mukherjee (1951) carried out a study of intercaste tension and produced a work based on researches at Lucknow.

Such studies were, however, not continued possibly because those who started them were not primarily concerned with them and returned to their own fields of specialization. Thus they were unable to provide the long term commitment necessary for an adequate study, which, to my mind, should include a study of not only different contexts which lead to increase or decrease of tension but also the socio-cultural milieu in which the tension developed.

Singh (1967) gave an account of the caste tension as manifested in two villages in the district of Jaunpur, Uttar Pradesh. It is based on a study carried out in 1954-55 with three broad objectives viz., (a) exploration of the nature of tension and the issues of conflict characterizing each one of the sample castes, (b) measurement of the amount of tension in each caste and (c) discovery of the facts that explain inter-group and inter-individual differences in tension.

Another study of intergroup tension is the work on the riots of Rourkela (Chatterjee *et al.*, 1967). The study was conducted soon after the riots in 1964. In these riots which spread to many parts of the Ranchi district Hindus, Muslims and tribals were deeply involved. The study leaves much to be desired. It stresses the need for a better-organized investigation. Prolonged contact with the communities and depth interview with selected respondents over a period of time by trained investigators might help identify the basic causes of tensions and deep seated insecurities, which might permit the development of hypotheses to be tested with larger samples.

In the past one year and a half, there have been a number of communal riots in Bihar of quite a serious nature. Each of them lasted several days. Important as it is from the point of view of law and order and from the political angle, such a situation calls for a deep sociological probe. Only a well designed socio-psychological study can reveal the underlying causes of this recurrent trouble. The fears, anxieties and frustrations of human groups involved in the riots merit immediate attention. Suppression of a riot, restoration of law and order and of status quo is no solution of the problem.

Such strained relations are the manifestations of inter-group tensions, which not only characterize relations between religious groups but also those between castes. Bihar has earned a bad name for the prevalence of casteism on a large scale. In the past year or two the conflict between castes has become more prominent than that between classes. In several towns there have been full fledged caste riots leading to grievous injury to persons and even loss of life. Caste tension leading to armed conflict is generally manifested among students reading in colleges and schools. Sometimes teachers also inspire and direct the caste riots. All actions are sought to be explained on caste lines and the entire atmosphere seems to be surcharged with the consciousness of caste. The problem is becoming serious enough to merit immediate attention. But to find remedies one must go deeper than the facts on the surface and analyse

what goes on in the 'minds of men'. A study of the problem in the localities where the tension is high with the help of a suitable sample supplemented by observation and open-ended interviews would be extremely useful.

There are other areas of tension. One has been mentioned before : the tension between the tribals and non-tribals in Chhotanagpur. This has led more than once to armed conflict in the past. In the present century however, amicable relations have generally existed between the two communities though there have been minor cases of individual exploitation. Historical memories of exploitation and oppression do exist and are symbolised by such terms as 'Diku' (one who vexes) used by the tribals for the non-tribals. With the growth of education many a tribal who was content to be an agriculturist in the village before, has come to town to seek employment in the government services, commercial houses and industrial establishments. With the emergence of an industrial complex round Ranchi and in other areas of Chhotanagpur, the demand for preference to the 'sons of the soil' in matters of employment began to be made. More than that, many tribal leaders in their speeches warn the non-tribals in Chhotanagpur to leave voluntarily, otherwise they would be thrown out by force. The battle cry is now "Chhotanagpur for the tribals". Attacks on non-tribals have become frequent after the emergence of the militant Birsa Dal.

There are other areas of inter-group tension, but the three outlined above viz. the communal tension, inter caste tension and the tribal non-tribal tension are extremely important for the nation. Research projects in these fields are an urgent need.

The third problem is that of Panchayati Raj. In India we have given ourselves a democratic constitution embodying certain institutions and processes borrowed from the West. Democracy is a value and a way of life. In Indian society, which is rent by various schisms of class, religion, state, caste and language, the pre-requisites for democracy do not exist. There is no equality worth the name. The attitude of dependence upon authority is reinforced by family environment which inhibits the growth of personal autonomy. One must obey the elders of the family, one must obey one's superior officers, one must obey the government. All combine to create a mood of acceptance and unquestioned submission. This leads to an image of the government, nurturing and protecting, and absence of self help.

Efforts are being made to usher in social and economic democracy in the wake of political democracy. Gandhi-ji was keen to take Swaraj to the villages and encourage the people to participate in their own government. It was in pursuance of this objective that democratic decentralization was put into operation and the Panchayati Raj took shape. It started in Rajasthan late in

1959 and gradually spread to other states, though the form and the pattern differed from state to state. It was soon discovered that the said decentralization was a misnomer. In most places the transfer of power was most grudging, in some no power was transferred at all. Gandhi-ji's dictum that "people should have all the powers, necessary to do what they are competent to do" was completely forgotten. In the circumstances, the achievements of Panchayati Raj in none of the states have been remarkable.

The hopes that community development in the villages would be strengthened by Panchayati Raj and people would have sense of participation in the programme were belied. The people who know now hold that the Panchayati Raj is hampering the community development programmes. Elections to the Panchayati Raj bodies were indeed held but those elected did not always represent the people in an effective way. The authority of such leaders who wielded power informally in the village before the elections was legalized. These leaders had their own axe to grind. There was a sudden eruption of factionalism and each village became a centre for factional conflict. The new executives began to misuse their powers and the people had no remedy against their so-called elected leaders. The worst form of corruption and nepotism was let loose. As a cynic said, if anything was decentralized, it was corruption. Even those Panchayat leaders who wanted to do good to the people could not do so due to poor resources and administrative deadlocks.

The near failure of Panchayati Raj raises important issues for future administrative planning. Only a systematic study can reveal the weaknesses in the conceptual framework, the planning and the implementation of the Panchayati Raj. The people cannot be sustained by words alone. The urgency of such a study cannot be over-emphasized. Its findings may save a large slice of over-scarce national resources from going down the drain.

There are several problems of theoretical interest towards the more important of which we now turn.

In Bihar new industrial complexes are coming up at several places. Once the industry is established, it begins to influence the life of the people in the surrounding areas. It would be useful to make a detailed survey of the economy and society in the area before the setting up of the factory. This will serve as bench mark data for a later study to assess the extent of culture change. Bokaro where the Steel Plant is coming or Barauni where the oil refinery has been established might be chosen for such study. Although work has started on these projects, it is not yet too late to begin the study.

Until now we do not find any studies of tribals living in predominantly non-tribal areas. These may lead to important theoretical formulations in the area of culture change, resistance to and acceptance of innovations and

isolating the hard core from the soft core of culture. The Rohtas Hills from where the Oraon are said to have dispersed to Chhotanagpur and Santal Parganas still provide a home for 2000 Oraon, most of whom have forgotten their language and customs. A large number of Oraon were taken as indentured labour for the indigo plantations in the Bettaih subdivision of the Champaran district. They are known there as Dhangar. Similarly the Oraon living in far off Purnea, cut off from their home land may form suitable subjects for study. Tribal labour from Bihar working in far-off tea gardens in Assam may also be taken up for such studies.

No full length study of the Kherwar and Chero of Palamau have been made uptill now. Both of these communities have a rich historic past and the Chero chiefs ruled over a large empire for a long time. It is in this area that the historian and the social anthropologist can join hands.

In Bihar, as elsewhere, a number of tribes are undergoing the process of transformation into castes. A close look at this social process will be very rewarding.

Then there are the vanishing castes. Some like Pachchania and the Nonia have lost their traditional profession of vaccination and manufacture of salt-petre which was common in north Bihar. These castes have taken up other occupations and have lost their distinct identity, as functional groups.

Unlike other parts of India, no village study has been published from Bihar. There is no account of the rural life in Bihar beyond what Grierson wrote in *Bihar Peasant Life* about a century ago. Nor there is any authentic study of family and caste in any part of Bihar. It is necessary therefore that a thorough study be made of village, family and caste in various cultural zones of Bihar at an early date.

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On the Study of Social Stratification in the Hill-regions of Uttar Pradesh

THE hill-regions of Uttar Pradesh are at present divided into two administrative units, Uttarkhand (comprising the districts of Chamoli, Pithoragarh and Uttarkashi) and Kumaon (comprising the districts of Almora, Garhwal, Nainital and Tehri), each under the control of a Commissioner. Traditionally, however, the hills include, 1) a Bhotia-speaking belt which lies along the Indo-Tibetan border on the Indian side from Nepal in the east to the Niti-Mana passes in the west; 2) a Kumaoni-speaking area bounded in the east by Nepal, in the north by the Bhotia tract, in the west by the Garhwali-speaking area and in the south by the tarai plains; and 3) a Garhwali-speaking area with the Kumaoni-speaking area to the east, Tibet and Bhot to the north, Himachal Pradesh to the west and the foothills of the Siwalik to the south. In the present paper¹ I am going to concern myself only with the Kumaoni and Garhwali-speaking regions. Kumaoni and Garhwali dialects, it may be pointed out here, constitute what has been classified as the Central Pahari branch of Hindi.

Though different dialects are spoken in Kumaon and Garhwal and the two have some minor cultural differences, they have much in common. From my own social anthropological research pertaining to Kumaon and from the published material on Garhwal it appears that the two areas share a common cultural and ethnic heritage. Both were under the rule of the Katyuri dynasty for several centuries. In both the largest 'ethnic' stratum is made up of what in published literature is variously referred to as *Khasa*, *khasha*, *khasiya* or *khasi* who comprise the traditional peasantry. The next smaller stratum in both areas comprises the *dom* or *dum*, traditionally the serfs of the *khasi*, but

now largely serving the agriculturists as artisans, menials and tenants. The *dom* occupy the lowest rank in the status hierarchy with the *khasi* next above them. Numerically the smallest but ritually the highest group in both Kumaon and Garhwal is made up of Brahmins and Rajputs who consider themselves descendants of immigrants from the plains who conquered the tribalistic *khasi*, established themselves in power and are commonly believed to have evolved a system of caste stratification with themselves at the top of the hierarchy. The primary basis of social stratification in both Kumaon and Garhwal was the degree of control over political and economic resources and only secondarily other factors. Ritual criteria, though not irrelevant for purposes of status allocation were subordinated to other criteria.

Though sociologically intriguing, Central Pahari society has not received adequate attention from students of social stratification. This is particularly lamentable as the study of caste in the hills promises, in my considered opinion, to give us new insights into and enhance our understanding of caste elsewhere, especially in its developmental and operational aspects.

To be sure, there exist a number of descriptive accounts in English of some aspects of the life and culture of the hill people by civil servants (Atkinson, 1884 and 1886; Eyde, 1923; Lal, 1921; Stowell, 1928; Traill, 1828; Turner, 1935 and Upreti, 1883 and 1907), missionaries (Oakley, 1905) and others with an anthropological bent of mind (Gairola, 1922; Joshi, 1929; 'Mountaineer', 1860; Ram, 1916 and Smith, 1836) and though some of these contain much that is of anthropological value, none gives particular or detailed attention to the system of social stratification amongst the Hindus of the hills. There are also several works in Hindi dealing with the region which, though informative in bits and pieces, are in no way more specific than those in English. For Kumaon the history written by Pande (1939) and for Garhwal that by Raturi (1928) contain much useful information.

The most recent and systematic ethnographic account for any part of the region is that by Berreman (1963). Berreman's description of 'kin, caste and community' in a Garhwali village near the hill-resort of Mussoorie undoubtedly fills a gap, but it suffers from the usual defect of ethnographies, viz., dealing with too many things in too little a space. Moreover being a single-village study, it tells us virtually nothing about the regional caste system which surely conditions or affects the system at the village level.

For its survival over a length of time a system of social stratification as rigid as that of caste requires, besides a moral-religious ideology, some kind of a secular-legal system of sanctions to uphold it. The temptation to skirt

around or straightway reject the moral-religious ideology for the sake of getting on in the world and secure material advantages is always great in a society with such structured inequality as that of caste. A system of caste, to be viable, must have in-built provisions to ease tensions and resolve conflicts arising within it from time to time as a result of the growth of incompatibilities between its different dimensions and threatening the very basis of the system. A system of secular sanctions and authority become necessary in a caste-stratified society to regulate such matters as inter-caste relations as well as mobility within the system under specific circumstances. In the absence of such status regulating mechanisms, as is the case in contemporary India, mobility comes to find expression in an idiom other than that of caste and in the long run at the cost of the system. The formation of classes or other less-enduring structures within or across castes in contemporary India is an example of this phenomenon.

It has often been reported in many recent studies of caste that castes or their segments, encouraged by modern politico-economic conditions, have been actively competing with one another for greater power and advantages and in the process making the system of caste weaker. But, was the situation the same even before the forces of modernization and westernization became operative following the establishment of British rule in India, or even before that when the greater part of India came under the political control of Muslim rulers? We do not have enough historical evidence to argue this way or that for those parts of India which passed out of the political control of Hindus at an early date, or which because of their geographic position were unable to resist the tide of modernization. Virtually the whole of the Indo-Gangetic plains and peninsular India would be covered by one of these two conditions. For this vast area, then, we have no certain evidence which could throw some light on the operational and dynamic aspects of the caste system.

Recent studies on caste also tell us that castes manage their own affairs through caste councils and are constantly trying to gain all kinds of status advantages for themselves. This is discordant with at least one basic attribute of caste, that of hereditary ascription of status and status advantages. Constant and unhampered competition between castes for status advantages over and above those hereditarily allocated is also dysfunctional for the system of caste stratification. Some sort of 'competition' for status advantages must, however, have always existed and the questions to be asked then are : 1) Traditionally, that is before the forces of modernization set to work in a cultural region, what was the nature of status-competition between castes? Within what limits did such competition operate? 2) Traditionally, again, what kept competition for status from becoming 'free for all' and 'each for himself'? What kinds of restraints were placed on this competition and how? 3) What made these restraints inoperative and with what consequences for specific caste

system? Answers to these questions cannot, perhaps, be found in every cultural region of India but there most certainly are regions where the traditional system is still operative or where transformations began to appear within living memory and these can be profitably studied to get answers to the questions raised.

Though contemporary social anthropological literature on caste shows an awareness of these issues, it does not discuss these, perhaps because material for such discussion is impossible or extremely difficult to get now. We are often told that castes are mobile, that they try to rise in the social-ritual hierarchy with the aid of Brahmins and genealogists, by adopting sanskritic practices, by taking on a new name, by securing enlistment as a particular caste in official documents and records, and so on. What we are not so often told, however, is how often and to what extent these attempts succeed. Any attempt on the part of a caste or a section thereof to rise in the socio-ritual hierarchy can succeed only if it is able to overcome the resistance of the caste above which or in the rank-range of which it wishes to move. It must also secure recognition of its rank superiority from other castes in its original rank-range within the region. Both conditions are extremely difficult, if not impossible to bring about, for they involve status equality or status loss for one or more castes vis-a-vis the status-seeking caste. This takes us back to the argument I initially put forward that for the survival and continuity of the system there must be institutionalized provisions to regulate status movement within the system.

Indian history provides a few pointers (such as the formal conferment of Kṣatriya status upon the ruling clans which came to be called Agni-kula Kṣatriya) which show that in India a formal system of caste management existed in regions under the control of Hindu kings. In a recent study of status mobility amongst the Newar of Nepal, Rosser (1966) refers to an instance where a dispute over status superiority between two Newar castes is referred to the royal court for adjudication. This instance conclusively points to the existence of a secular authority outside any single caste with authority to enforce its decisions in matters pertaining to caste in the same manner as a court of law would in regard to matters placed under its jurisdiction. For many parts of India dominant castes are reported to have performed till recently similar functions but apparently only in regard to castes equal or inferior to themselves in ritual status. The capacity of dominant castes to perform caste-regulative or status-management functions is limited by various factors. A dominant caste has, for one thing, no formal authority vested in

it for this purpose and though by holding out threats of one kind or another it usually succeeds in getting its decisions accepted, a numerically large or economically well-off caste, or a section thereof can always refuse to oblige.

My own study² dealing with the development of and changes in caste in Kumaon indicates that in this Central Pahari kingdom, prior to its conquest by the British in 1815 A. D., all matters pertaining to caste were under the formal control of the state which acted through hereditary officials known as *dharmadhikāri*. This official belonged to the highest Brahmin caste, the *Chauthani*. During the rule of the Chand dynasty³ in Kumaon there were several *dharmadhikāri*, each exercising jurisdiction over a defined part of the kingdom, usually over a *mandal* or *pargana*. The *rajguru* (religious preceptor to the king), also from the highest Brahmin caste, exercised overall supervision over the *dharmadhikāri* at the lower levels. The ultimate authority in matters relating to caste was vested in the king but he obviously must have given due weight to the specialist advice of his own religious preceptor. Though the existence of a formal administrative machinery for caste-management in pre-British Kumaon is known, operational details about it are not at all well-known on account of the time lag of about a century and a half since the imposition of caste-neutral British rule when the traditional method of bureaucratic management of caste was given up.

It, however, seems possible to find answers to most of the questions raised if, as already suggested, attention is shifted further west to the erstwhile state of Tehri-Garhwal (comprising the present day districts of Uttarkashi and Tehri). The area enjoyed internal autonomy under a Hindu king right upto 1950 and parts of it have remained virtually closed to forces that have been instrumental in materially altering the nature of caste stratification elsewhere in India. The general politico-legal, economic and ideological conditions under which the caste system functioned in the Central Pahari region around the beginning of the 19th century (and perhaps elsewhere in India in the past) can thus be reconstructed. The period of eighteen years which has passed since the state's merger into U. P. is not long enough to dull the memory of the actors in the system and an authentic picture of the pre-1950 system can be obtained with relative ease. Government records can be analysed to further clarify the picture. Fewer castes, smaller population and greater cultural homogeneity in the hills as compared to the other regions of India would be a decided advantage in as much as the social stratification system will be simpler to study and more manageable at the analytical level.

If this material is to be fully exploited to enhance our understanding of caste in the Central Pahari region and, perhaps, also elsewhere, it is imperative that intensive investigations, involving not only the traditional type of social anthropological fieldwork but also including a detailed processing of all the available records, reports, rulings, decisions etc., on matters pertaining to

caste in the old Tehri-Garhwal state be taken up at once. In the new political set-up with its anti-caste ideology much of this valuable material stands in danger of getting lost as it already has from other parts of the Central Pahari region and elsewhere in India.

NOTES

1. This is a revised version of a working paper submitted to the Conference on Urgent Research in Social Anthropology held at the Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla, India from the 15th to the 20th of July, 1968. I am thankful to Mr. B. S. Baviskar of the Department of Sociology, University of Delhi for commenting on the original version of the paper.
2. Under the title 'Changes in Caste in Rural Kumaon' this study was accepted by the University of London for the award of the Ph. D. degree in Social Anthropology in 1966.
3. The Chands are believed to have come to Kumaon from near Allahabad in the 10th century A. D. By the end of the 16th century the Chands had succeeded in extending their rule to the whole of Kumaon. Not much is known about the system of caste stratification in pre-Chand Kumaon. The Chand administration is almost universally believed in Kumaon to have been responsible for creating and sustaining the system of caste stratification which flourished in Kumaon at the time of its conquest by the British and which is still continuing with several changes. The Chands, early in their rule, evolved a system of grading the population of their kingdom into eight categories with differential control over political, economic and ritual advantages. These categories in course of time provided the basis for the growth of the present system of caste stratification.

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BISWAJIT SEN

Problems of Western Himalaya Borderland

SOCIAL research is urgently needed in this politically sensitive part of India which has a common international border with the Chinese-occupied Tibet in the north, and Pakistan-occupied part of Kashmir in the north-west. Until recently, the three frontier districts, discussed in this paper, despite their relative isolation from the rest of India, served as a bridge between her and Tibet. All the old major trade-routes to the different parts of Central Asia and Tibet passed through these districts; and it was through these routes that such a precious article as *paşmina* (goat-wool), from Changthang region of Western Tibet, reached, different parts of India.

Culturally the area had a heterogenous population, with different religions, languages and social institutions. Each district consisted of several culturally distinct groups which were interacting with varying intensity with the people of the rest of India and Western Tibet. Whatever little is known about the area is through the old travelogues, excavation and exploration reports and a few more recent writings of anthropologists.

The present social structure can be stratified in four vertical divisions; (1) a native-oriented group, whose members manifest the basic values and beliefs of the aboriginal pattern of life, mostly oriented towards Western Tibetan pattern; (2) the elite-oriented group, whose approach is like the advanced middle-class people of the plains; (3) a transitional group, which is in the dilemma between the native-oriented and elite-oriented groups; and (4) the untouchables ('lower-caste' who being unable to obtain higher status in the village community, are putting political pressures on the elite-oriented group by non-cooperation. The elite-oriented group is at present dominating

the fields of village and district politics. A detailed study of the existing land-tenure system and the role of religious institutions in this context may reveal some significant facts.

This short note will deal with Ladakh, Spiti and Kinnaur districts, and it will discuss certain recent developments in the fields of social, political and religious life of the people. Both micro- and macro-level studies are necessary to understand the various problems which are emerging due to the developmental programmes, including building of road links to the plains, launched by the Government of India, and other socio-political factors. A more detailed assessment needs to be made of the processes of change in recent times than this note will be able to provide, for the information on which it is based was gathered during two brief field trips, one to Ladakh during June—September 1964 and the other to Kinnaur during May—August and September 1967.

THE SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS SITUATION

In Leh (a sub-division of Ladakh) the bulk of the population is Buddhist and the main minority communities are the Muslims and the Christians. Inter-marriage between a Buddhist and a Christian poses no problem. The spouses are free to follow their respective religious practices and the children also can choose the religion they like. But in the case of a Muslim marrying a Buddhist or a Christian girl, she has no alternative but to adopt the religion of her husband. The Buddhist Ladakhis have recently begun to resent this, and in 1962 and 1964 they organised a move to stop this practice. In Kargil (a sub-division of Ladakh), where the whole population is Muslim, the people resisted when an attempt was made to build a Buddhist monastery. It is to be noted that the population of Leh has its allegiance to the rest of India, but the loyalty of the population of Kargil area is less certain. In Spiti, the people are mainly Buddhists. In Kinnaur the northern high-landers are Buddhists and the southern lowlanders Hindu. The Hindu population is divided into castes, and inter-marriage between the 'high castes' (*Khosias* or *Kanet-Rajputs*), and the 'low castes' i. e., *Chamang* or *Koli* (weavers and shoemakers), *Badi* or *Ores* (carpenters) and *Domang* or *Lohar* (blacksmiths and silversmiths), cannot be conceived of. But the Nepali immigrants, who are generally engaged as day-labourers in different construction works, occasionally marry local girls causing resentment among the local people who do not like losing their girls to foreigners. The fact that unmarried girls play a vital role in economic and other domestic activities aggravates this feeling of loss and resentment. It may be mentioned here that the Nepali immigrants have also created some political problems in Sikkim and Darjeeling districts, where they have now become a major group.

THE ECONOMIC SITUATION

Ladakh, Spiti and northern part of Kinnaur are geographically close to Tibet, and culturally and linguistically they have been highly influenced by the Western-Tibetan people. Also Religious identity has forced them to look for inspiration in Tibet. In contrast, southern part of Kinnaur has been deeply influenced by the Indian tradition. In the past the whole northern part depended on Tibet for the supply of rock-salt, a daily necessity, and of wool required for clothing. Tibet on the other hand depended on these people for the supply of foodgrains. A significant minority of the border people were directly or indirectly involved in these transactions as traders. In course of time, a system grew up whereby the Indians kept their flocks in Tibet permanently and got in exchange things like wool, butter and dry-meat. Though since the Chinese aggression in 1962 the trade is no longer in operation, the affluent trading class has been able to rehabilitate itself in other professions, and they now own most of the shops in Ladakh, Spiti and Kinnaur. But those who were indirectly involved in trading have not been so fortunate. A section found it lucrative in transport trade, taking things from the Indian plains to the inaccessible mountains, but as most of the areas have now become connected by motorable road, the trade has tended to pass out of their hands.

At present a major portion of the poorer class is engaged as day-labourers in construction and developmental schemes of the government. The cash has brought them some economic relief but no guarantee of economic stability. As soon as the works are completed, the real problem will crop up.

As a result of the present increase in cash the traditional food-habits are changing. The people have lost interest in their traditional drink, salt-tea, a nourishing though costly drink; and they have become used to tea with sugar. They are less fond now of their staple-food maize, barley and millets. Rice and wheat which have both to be imported are entering into their daily menu. How long can the government supply sugar, rice and wheat at a subsidised cost, in those difficult areas?

They are gradually giving up their traditional dress of home-spun wool, and shoes made of hide and dried grass. Now they are inclined towards cotton clothing and factory-made shoes. The castes traditionally making these things are being thrown out of employment and are in search of new jobs.

These areas, being hilly and arid, generally produce insufficient food. The people formerly used to obtain foodgrains from the plains in exchange for wool, butter and salt. Most of the families practised animal husbandry, for food, clothing and transportation. At present they are facing difficulties in rearing large flocks. Most of the forest areas are under reservation by Forest Department, and for pasturing the flocks the people have to pay heavy taxes to the authorities. Moreover the people no longer regard this profession as

honourable. It is the children who usually look after the flocks. Given a choice, no school-going child will return to it. The declining interest in the profession has resulted in a shortage of wool and butter, which are now imported from the plains.

The idea that the area is politically sensitive, has been inculcated among them, somehow they have gained importance as a people and their need will get priority from the government. Needless to say, it is not a healthy situation. They are not inclined to contribute anything substantial for their own development and well-being. In most cases they refuse to supply even physical help. Even to maintain their own religions they are demanding government support. The demand for office jobs has increased, and many people are leaving their traditional occupations, some of which are still lucrative.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION

In the past, in this area, particularly in the northern region, the Buddhist monks popularly known as Lamas were connected with monasteries as administrative heads, and enjoyed a special status in political and socio-religious fields. A few of them were also engaged in transborder trade. To maintain their social and religious position some among them are engaged in active politics. For example, Kushak Bakula, the head of Yellow Sect in Ladakh, in addition to enjoying traditional loyalty, was Minister for Ladakh Affairs for more than a decade. He is out of the Ministry at present and agitating for a NEFA-type of administration in Ladakh. This demand is regarded as communal by a section of the Muslim population. The Buddhists are loyal to Bakula but the Muslims follow Kachu Mohammad Ali (M.L.A.) and Habibulla (M.L.C.). The major political parties in this area are Congress and National Conference. It is interesting to note that in the Congress there are both Muslim and Buddhist leaders, but in the National Conference only Buddhist. In Kinnaur, formerly there was only one party; but during the last general election the sitting M. L. A. (Congress), was defeated by a candidate from a newly formed party. Both candidates belong to Kinnaur, but the present M. L. A. held a high post in the State Government. People refuse to follow any particular party or religious head; they now prefer individuals who are likely to speak for them.

In Kinnaur, the rich traders and big landholders have become shop-keeper, panchayat leaders, and trustees of religious institutions, and as such a class by themselves. But they are not satisfied with the present-day village and panchayat politics. The educated persons are also not happy with the existing situation in their districts. They have ideas and aspiration for a better position. The earlier contacts with the plains are gradually fading, as the people do not have to come down for their daily requirements.

From the outside, the people seem to be what they were before but they appear different when studied from within. In the past the lower castes did not have any social communication with the higher ones; so each developed a separate dialect of its own. The lower castes, at present, have their own temples, priests and leaders. Now they need not depend on the higher castes, for they have new opportunities for earning money. The higher castes are unhappy with this new transformation for which they blame the government who have encouraged the lower castes to seek higher status. The present policy of the government, however, suits the lower castes. With government loans they have acquired houses which they can rent out, if they so wish. But unfortunately most of them are in debt for some reason or other and consequently in danger of losing the privilege of being house owners.

All this has brought a constant continuing conflict among castes, classes and clans for the sake of grasping political power by any means whatsoever.

A. M. SHAH

Urgent Research in Social Anthropology: Some Points for Discussion

I POINT out below certain major areas of research which have not received sufficient attention and need to be developed urgently for the growth of Social Anthropology in India.

(a) The study of religion is given very little attention today. The most critical problems of study in this field are the following: (i) sect as a principle of social structure in all the religions in India; (ii) temples, monasteries, ascetic orders (*sadhus, sanyasis, fakirs, etc.*), and centres of traditional learning; and (iii) religion in towns and cities.

(b) Caste has been studied and talked about by many. However, we do not have as yet a correct and comprehensive understanding of it. Studies of the following problems are of strategic importance: (i) caste in towns and cities; (ii) caste as a horizontal unit cutting across villages and towns; (iii) a comparative study of large and usually hypergamous castes (such as Rajputs, Patidars, Kolis, and Marathas) on the one hand and small endogamous units (such as *ekdas* and *gols* in Gujarat) on the other, with special attention to kinship and marriage; and (iv) caste associations.

(c) It is necessary to have field-studies of many 'organisations', a few of which are listed below: (i) bureaucracy (e.g., the study of a Government office as functioning unit); (ii) law and justice (e.g., the study of a law court as a functional unit); (iii) police; (iv) army; (v) medicine; (vi) education; and (vii) industry. Some significant work has been and is being done in some of these fields, but it is necessary to extend the area of Social Anthropology to all these and other such fields.

(d) There is a conspicuous absence of studies of nomadic groups such as

Bazaras in several parts of India and the Bharavads and Rabaris in Gujarat.

(e) A great deal of data-retrieval needs to be done: (i) records of village and town censuses and surveys conducted since the middle of the eighteenth century; (ii) records of caste panchayats and associations; (iii) records of temples and monasteries; (iv) *puranas* and such other myths of castes, sacred rivers, temple-towns, etc.; (v) journals of castes and sects; (vi) records of former zamindars and local officials; (vii) records of merchant families; (viii) records of genealogists and mythographers; and (ix) local newspapers, magazines, pamphlets, etc., of the earlier period. There should be some arrangement to preserve field-notes and other data collected by eminent social anthropologists.

(f) It is necessary to do a great deal of bibliographical work on the beginning of Social Anthropology in India. We do have Haimendorf's bibliography, and a mimeographed one by Mandelbaum which needs to be published. However, they are not comprehensive, and it is necessary to fill up the lacunae. This bibliographical work should pave the way for a history of Social Anthropology in India.

MALATI J. SHENDGE

A Note on the Sociology of Buddhist Tantrism

It remains a controversial issue as to who is more fit to undertake the type of work proposed to be done here—a sociologist or a Buddhologist. Both specialists suffer from certain handicaps.

While trying to understand Buddhist Tantrism, I have come across a number of problems which have either been left unsolved for lack of enough data or in cases where the solutions were offered they were found unsatisfactory and inadequate. The proposed project will attempt to solve some of these problems by correlating findings of sociological analysis to the historical accounts of the period and the results of recent archaeological excavations carried on in areas like the Swat Valley in Pakistan where Buddhist Tantrism flourished in ancient days.

Tantric Sources: As far as the tantric sources are concerned the material will be collected from the extant tantric literature in Sanskrit and Tibetan translations of Sanskrit works and from works written in Tibetan on India.

1. Tantras: their theory and practice.
 2. The accounts of the lives of the tantric saints or *siddhas*, of which at least three versions are available in the *bsTan.hgyur*. Also the published version of Taranath's work could be used.
 3. Histories of Buddhism in India and Tibet written by Indian and Tibetan writers. In this may be included the historical works of Taranath, Bu.ston, Sum.pa.mkhan.po, gSon.nu.dpal, Kun.dgah.rdo.rje and others.
 4. Records like *pothis* and *bahis* kept at the various tantric shrines.
- These materials could be supplemented with other relevant material.

Scope of the Note: The purpose of this short note is to test certain ideas about possible sociological analysis and as such no final formulation of questions is attempted. So also the data for analysis have been selected and limited. Only some salient features of Buddhist Tantrism and certain questions as to the picture of society in which the tantrics functioned are discussed.

Though scholars have accepted two varieties of Tantrism, viz., Buddhist and Hindu, no satisfactory attempt has been made to define the exact nature of Tantrism, the place, time and causes of its origination and the causes of its assimilation by Buddhism and Hinduism. Here I shall confine myself to a discussion of the salient features which characterise Buddhist Tantrism.

SALIENT FEATURES OF BUDDHIST TANTRISM AND THEIR SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

The salient feature of Buddhist Tantrism seems to be the use of sense-experience as a means towards the attainment of Nirvana. The tantric practicant is told again and again not to undergo any hardship nor to curb his desires in order to attain Nirvana. Nirvana can be attained through the fulfilment of the five senses. This is exactly opposed to the doctrines of other religious systems which have always considered sense-experience as a hindrance to spiritual experience. Could this be called a case of ideological opposition?

This sense-experience is sought through material fulfilment of different kinds: e.g., the consumption of wine and five kinds of meat is advocated. Music and dance are not eschewed. Intimate company of women is given supreme place. Not only this but also the free expression of emotions and their transference into action is emphasized. All these observances are in complete opposition to those of certain other religious sects, including early Buddhism.

A detailed investigation of the social status of the practicant and his relationship with women will bring to light the following facts. As far as the former is concerned, it may be said that many of the *siddhas* came from royal families but also there were many other coming from *brahmana* and *kṣatriya* families. The occupational castes of some are also mentioned. But curiously enough in the *tantras* themselves, the caste or social status of the practicant is not mentioned, which may mean that by establishing relations with the tantric, the individual really broke away from all social hierarchy and ties and that is perhaps the reason why the mention of social-status was not thought relevant. Now to consider the latter, i.e., practicant's relationship with women: It is often said that he should contemplate in the company of *brahmani*, *rajaki* (washer-woman), a *dombi* (a low-caste woman), *candali*, *antyaja* (women from lower castes) or a *Kinnari*, a *yaksi*, an *asuri*. In general, women's company should be sought. Conceptually, the reason given is that women are the embodiment of Prajnaparamita. Taking this literally, ordinarily the reverence felt for the embodiment of Prajnaparamita would be expressed in ways exactly

opposite to those adopted by the tantrics. Looking at this in the social context two explanations are possible. (1) Does it point to the possibility that tantrism was a religion of the lower strata of society, especially lower class women being the carriers of the cultic practices later adopted by the higher classes? (Not infrequently does one hear about the king or prince being initiated by the brandy-selling women or swine-keeper woman.) This could be one kind of movement, i.e., from the lower to the upper. In the observance of certain rituals, especially initiation (*abhiseka*) which was originally the coronation ceremony (*cakravartyābhiseka*) performed at the time of assuming royal power, a movement in reverse can be perceived. Could this point to real social intercourse and interchange between various strata of the society at the time when Buddhism assimilated Tantrism into its fold? (2) Assuming that a society with rigid caste-system would forbid relations with women outside the caste, the tantrics ran counter to this by asking the followers to have relations with women irrespective of social status or caste. Thus the tantric mode of conduct opposes the prevailing social norm. Another relevant feature that may be mentioned in this connection is that the practicant is always urged to contemplate in the close company of his mother, daughter, sister and niece, in order that he should attain *siddhi* quickly. Once again these are exactly the kinswomen with whom the normal social code forbids sexual relations. The norm for the practicant as a member of a religious group is opposed to the norm socially prescribed. Also this deprives the women of all social and familial status in the context of the tantric group: she stands there in his eyes as object, above the society (as an embodiment of Prajnaparamita) as well as out of it. She is a non-social entity used as an instrument.

From this analysis it follows that the tantrics on the one hand opposed ideologically the pattern of religious life by introducing sensual experience as a means of attaining Nirvana, and on the other hand as far as the social norm of behaviour was concerned, they freed themselves from all moral obligations by considering woman as a non-social entity. It remains to be seen what kind of society would give rise to and tolerate the existence within itself of such groups.

Another problem that poses itself is in connection with the functional levels of the tantric practicant: Did he function on two different levels, namely the level of the tantric group and that of the society? Could he be a member of both without any disharmony? In the lives of the *siddhas*, there are instances of a *siddha* being persecuted by the king who found him in the embrace of a 'low-caste' woman. But after the persecution, the king relents because of the supernatural powers of the *siddha*. In other words, the society still expected adherence to its norms of behaviour, from the *siddha* and the ordinary citizen alike, although an exception was made in the case of the *siddha* by the recognition of his supernatural powers. In this connection, attention may be drawn to a modern document viz., the Kinsey Report on the sexual behaviour of adult

American male. There, a member of a civilized community can and does satisfy his abnormal sexual urges in a way which screens him off from public gaze, while outwardly he conforms to the approved behaviour-pattern. In other words, he functions both as a normal citizen and as an individual with deviant urges. For the tantric, the normal sexual behaviour itself was institutionalized, but the patterns of institutionalization were different from those followed in the society at large.

Looking at the historical development of Buddhism, it remains to be seen why an intellectual religion of the higher classes like Buddhism allowed in its folds religious practices predominantly ritualistic, emotional and probably a product of the lower strata of society. The assimilation of the rituals, the diverse ways of worship and the use of sense-experience as a means to spiritual experience changed the character of Buddhism completely. The originally monastic, intellectual and aristocratic religious system suddenly opened itself to the masses. The explanation of the change must lie in social change. Or was this an attempt to come to terms with Hinduism while maintaining its identity? Did this contribute towards the disappearance of Buddhism from India? Also could it be said that Tantrism was an answer to a problem faced by a society which could neither forego the fulfilment of the senses nor could it help being preoccupied with the spiritual quest?

The tantric practices are meant primarily to transform the individual practi-cant and as such have psychological implications. As the preoccupation of the so-ciologist is to establish patterns of relations between the individual and the group, the philosophical basis, the psychological implications, or the wider consequences of such practices are practically left out of consideration. It might amount to treating Tantrism as a bundle of a few esoteric practices which it is not. It is a whole system of thought and has to be treated as such. This can be done only by correlating the philosophical, psychological and sociological factors in a pattern.

These are some indications of the interactions of society at large and tantric ideology and behaviour as its outcome in the past. In India Buddhist Tantrism has long ceased to be a living force directly. But many practices of tantric origin still have meaning for many Indians. In the northern border regions of India and in Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim, it is still a living faith. It would be interesting to see how Tantrism has affected these societies, e.g., in Nepal, where Tantrism is still practised extensively, there is a separate caste of Vajracaryas known as *banjras*.

It would also be interesting to consider the implications of the youth movements in U.S.A. like the Hippies, yippies or the widespread practices like those of wife-swapping. The point here is whether these and such movements could carry in them the germs of tantric practices. The striking difference between these movements and Tantrism is the absence of transcendental spiri-tual goal in the former.

SURAJIT SINHA

Urgent Problems for Research in Social and Cultural Anthropology in India : Perspective and Suggestions

INTRODUCTION

ON the occasion of the Fourth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Science at Vienna in September 1952 a symposium was held under the leadership of Professor Heine-Geldern on the "urgent tasks in the field of Ethnology and Linguistics". The central focus of this symposium was on 'salvage anthropology', i.e, the study of primitive tribes before they disintegrated under the impact of the rapid growth of industrialization and modern means of communication. The underlying premise of this approach has been that for a total understanding of the cultural history of man we cannot afford to keep unrecorded any relevant material of group behaviour just as a zoologist cannot afford to leave any form of life undescribed in any corner of the world at any point of time. The focus of urgency of these anthropologists has been on the primitive hunters and gatherers, swidden cultivators and the like. *The Bulletin of the International Committee on Urgent Anthropological and Ethnological Research*, first published in 1958, continues to emphasise the above perspective.

Broadly speaking, the urgent problems in social anthropology of the Indian population may be approached from at least three distinct vantage points:

(a) Following the lead of the *Bulletin of International Committee on Urgent Anthropological and Ethnological Research* relatively unrecorded and/or dwindling (?) primitive groups may be selected for covering the missing links in our study of world culture. In a special list of "Tribes of Primitive Hunters and Food Gatherers" for urgent research prepared in the same journal the following Indian tribes are mentioned: Malapantaram, Nattu Malayan, Kadar, Ernanan, Paliyan, Yanadi, Sholaga, Irula, Kurumba, Birhor, Raji, Chepang and

Kusunda, Fulu, Ongi, Jarawa and North Sentinel Islanders (no. 1. 1958).

This approach would demand a crash programme on a limited time basis with a view to thorough anthropological documentation of primitive groups and customs which have little chance of survival during the coming few decades.

(b) Selection of groups and problems with a view to theoretical understanding of the totality of Indian society and culture as structures, patterns and processes.

(c) Anthropological study of problems urgently needed in national reconstruction and development.

For the purpose of this paper I shall leave aside the third approach although it has important bearing on detailed planning of urgent anthropological studies in terms of the first and the second approaches mentioned above. As a developing nation we cannot afford to divert a disproportionate quantum of our limited manpower of professional anthropologists away from scholarly involvement in planned social change.

LIMITATIONS OF THE APPROACH OF 'SALVAGE ANTHROPOLOGY OF THE PRIMITIVES' IN THE INDIAN CONTEXT

Although I am fully aware that the non-literate primitives need special attention because they have no literate chronicler among themselves to record social norms, and their changes, I feel that exclusive urgent attention on the 'vanishing' primitives has some essential limitations in the total perspective of Indian society:

1. First of all, the primitive tribes cover a very limited (though significant) dimension of the total complexity of Indian society and culture.

2. Even the primitives, except perhaps for the remote aboriginals of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, cannot be properly studied except as historically dependent categories of Indian civilization. Here I agree with Kroeber's view on the straggling primitives, in his classic paper "The Ancient Oikumene".

"The primitives in the area, or adjoining it, derive their cultures mainly from the civilizations characteristic of the *Oikumene* as a whole through reductive selection Basically, however, these retarded or primitive cultures in or adjacent to the *Oikumene* are fully intelligible only in terms of 'oecumenical civilizations'. They usually add to what they share some lesser measure of their own proper peculiarities and organizations and they have developed a distinctive style of their own. But in the main these backward cultures depend and derive from the greater ones whose nexus we have been considering" (Kroeber, 1952, p. 392).

Without this perspective of connectedness various kinds of misinterpreta-

tions and errors may easily creep in. To give some examples, anthropologists of the Mundari tribes of Chhotanagpur usually regard the so-called 'hunting and gathering' Birhor and the Hill Kharia as representatives of the more archaic phase of these groups of tribes. A little probing will indicate that in both these cases exclusive dependence on "hunting and gathering" is a later phase of development and specialization in response to the penetration of the case-based economy into these areas and extensive deforestation which make the earlier pattern of primary dependence on shifting cultivation untenable. Close scrutiny of the cultural patterns and processes among the tribes of the Indian mainland will indicate evidences of 'devolution' or secondary 'primitivization' among certain groups. These processes cannot be properly understood except in the context of the larger society.

3. It is generally assumed that the tribes are changing at a faster rate than the castes. Except for a few extreme cases like the Great Andamanese the above assumption is not based on systematic examination of facts. We know that during the last five decades or so there have been enormous changes in certain institutions among the Hindus such as Kulinism in Bengal, Nambudri-Nayar Sambandham relation, rules of inter-caste distance of pollution in Kerala, role of college of Brahmans as interpreters of Dharma-Sastras in the regulation of social norms, traditional schools (Gharanas) of kirtana music in West Bengal and so on. Thus, if we are interested in recording vanishing customs these are as plentifully available among the peasants and the urbanites as among the tribals.

4. The cry of alarm about vanishing customs need not be overstretched in the case of Indian population. Our general impression is that social structures and cultural patterns of the marginal tribes are not changing at such a fast rate as to induce us to take up a large scale crash programme in salvage anthropology in terms of *ad hoc* search for vanishing customs at the cost of a systematic study of the total society and culture in India.

A PLEA FOR URGENT ANTHROPOLOGY IN THE PERSPECTIVE OF TOTALITY OF INDIAN CIVILIZATION

The above limitations in the *ad hoc* search for vanishing customs among the so-called 'vanishing' primitive tribes in India lead me to emphasize the choice of urgent problems in the perspective of the totality of the Indian civilization. Just as one may be interested in the archaic primitives as historical prototypes anthropologists may also be concerned with knowing the social organisations of the essentially pre-industrial and pre-market (in the sense of Karl Polanyi) base of Indian civilization as a major example of the world civilizations. Urgent anthropological research may be directed towards fully documenting the traditional core of the civilization in terms of significant contemporary social and cultural forms. This approach does not ignore the primitive strata,

but only views the latter in the context of the dominant core of the civilization.

Here, again, the choice of problems may be guided by emphasis on either of the following concerns:

- (a) Study of forms and processes which are rapidly changing.
- (b) Phasing of research in such a way that certain programmes are first systematically completed on an urgent basis so that the next stages of research may be taken up on the basis of sound ground work.

My own suggestion is that our primary emphasis should be on the second approach while paying sufficient attention to the rapidly changing groups and traits.¹

(a) *Co-existence of several pre-industrial production systems*

The dominant pattern of economy of this sub-continent is settled agriculture combined with crafts, fishing and livestock breeding. At the fringe of this basic economy are the hunters and gatherers, shifting cultivators and numerous categories of nomads. The surplus in local production is circulated over wider regions by professional trading castes and communities.

Assuming that we know something about the varied social and cultural organisations of agriculture through the recent village studies since 1950,² very little work has been done in the fields of social-cultural economy of the artisans, fisherfolk, nomads, traders and socio-cultural organization of traditional markets. These latter topics should receive our urgent attention.

I may mention here that Anthropological Survey of India has completed rapid reconnoitre survey of basic agricultural tools and of certain crafts such as pottery and metal work (brass, bronze and bell-metal) all over India. Recently special studies of marine fisher-folk, nomads and traders have also been undertaken.

On the more primitive level our research programme must provide thorough documentation of the hunting and gathering and swidden cultivation levels. Primitive trade or exchange systems such as these among the tribes of NEFA or among the tribes in the chain of islands in the Nicobar Islands should receive urgent attention.

(b) *Types of ethnic groups*

The socio-cultural field of India may also be conceived as clusters of several categories of ethnic groups living in villages and towns: tribes, Hindu castes, religious minorities etc.

Although the earlier tribes and castes volumes did cover some general description of customs of all the above categories in different regions of India, recent growth of anthropological interest in village communities rather than on specific castes, has left the anthropological study of castes on broad regional or all India perspectives, practically untouched. Dumont's study of the Pramalai

Kallar (1957), Pradhan's work on the Jat (1964) and the earlier monographs on the Mahar (Robertson, 1938), the Chamar (Briggs, 1938) and the Dom (Briggs, 1953) are exceptions.

It is proposed that all India studies may be taken up of a few selected categories of castes: Brahmans, Rajputs, Kayasthas, some untouchable castes, selected artisan castes, traders and fisher-folk.

It would be worthwhile to study the Moslems in different regions of India as a special project. Similarly a study of the Jains and the Sikhs may also be taken up.

(c) *Levels and types of local communities*

Although we have several anthropological studies on village communities since 1950 there is virtually no "anthropological study" of urban communities. The few published monographs on towns and cities are in the nature of socio-economic surveys. Study of towns, specially the relatively ancient towns of various functional categories located in different cultural regions of India, should receive special attention. These will provide us with an understanding of the traditional urban base of the Indian civilization which is sadly lacking at present.

(d) *Regional and all-India networks and centres*

It is known that apart from ethnic groups, villages and towns social and cultural forms are stabilised in terms of wide regions such as former zamindaris and feudatory states, dialect and language areas and all India networks of *mutts* and sects etc.

In the course of my own field work among the Bhumij of Manbhum and, later on, among the tribes of Bastar, it became apparent to me that our understanding of the cultures of particular ethnic groups would remain perpetually incomplete unless the role of the integrative organisation of the state or the zamindari was taken into consideration (Sinha, 1962). The state and/or zamindaris guide, to a considerable extent, the regional pattern of inter-group interaction and stratification and the regional synthesis of styles of life.

In a country like India where social relations and cultural forms are closely guided by patterns of land-tenure and land-distribution, the merger of princely states and the abolition of zamindaris are very significant events. Anthropological study of a few selected zamindaris and feudatory states may be undertaken in different regions before the outlines of these regional institutions are blurred beyond recognition.

One of the characteristic features of Indian civilization is that it always had various modes of cultural communication beyond the political and economic boundaries of states. The organization of all India networks of Sadhus such as those of the Dasnami order or of ascetics of narrower territorial range such

as the various Vaisnava sects deserve special study by anthropological method.

(e) *Organization of specialists*

Any civilization has its own mode of organizing specialists who live in urban as well as rural centres. It is known that the ancient pattern of learning Sanskrit as well as many of the higher arts such as classical music, dance, painting, temple architecture and sculpture have undergone considerable change due to competition with emergent new forms and cultural demands in the society and also due to the decline of traditional patronage.

Anthropologists may immediately take up the study of a few important centres of traditional Sanskrit learning in different regions of India and also study the traditional colleges or associations of Brahmans and their roles in giving judgments on social norms through debates and interpretations of *Dharmaśāstras*. The mode of transmission of styles among some of the important schools (*gharānas*) of classical music and dance may also be taken up on an urgent basis. In some cases these studies may be followed from urban centres through peasant and tribal villages.

SUMMING UP

In the above pages I have suggested a framework for deciding the topics for urgent research in Social Anthropology in India and proposed a few general topics for investigations.

In suggesting the totality of Indian civilization as the framework of urgent study, I am not proposing to ignore the primitive tribes. I am only pleading that they be given a proportionate emphasis and viewed in relation to the core of the peasantry.

Since Independence anthropological research on the people of India has received considerable impetus through the strengthening of the Anthropological Survey of India and opening of new university departments and research institutes. The volume of work by foreign scholars have also increased considerably and several foreign universities have specialized in developing anthropological research programmes on Indian population. It is widely felt by interested scholars that there is inadequate communication among the various scholars engaged in pure research on the Indian population. We badly need some institutionalized arrangements for pooling and processing of information on current research programmes on social-cultural anthropology of the Indian population and to periodically review the grounds covered in order to define problems which need urgent attention. It is hoped that some constructive ideas will emerge out of the present conference sponsored by the Indian Institute of Advanced Study under the able guidance of Professor Niharranjan Ray.

NOTES

1. In organising the research programme of Anthropological Survey of India Nirmal Kumar Bose suggested the following successive phases of research on all-India level : survey of selected material traits ; study of selected crafts ; study of carrying capacity on land of different productive techniques such as hunting and gathering, shifting cultivation, terrace cultivation etc.; caste associations and mobility in different regions of India ; study of higher integrative institutions such as temples, the claim of *mutts* established by Adi Sankaracharya etc. see, Bose, 1961, and also 1952, 1954, 1962 and 1966).

2. Unfortunately this assumption is not based on firm grounds for these anthropological studies usually lack rigorous description of the technology, economy and social organisation of agriculture.

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J. P. SINGH UBEROI

Science and Swaraj

THE aim and method of science is no doubt uniform throughout the world but the problem of science in relation to society is not. The problem or problems of science in a rich, technologically satiated society are different from, even opposed to, its problems in a society of poverty lately liberated from colonial bondage. The two sets of problems and two situations cannot, without serious falsification, be placed upon a single continuum. It is scientism and not science which conceives of them along the single line of unilinear evolution. Our understanding of the proper content of science, its problems and its priorities in relation to a particular society will depend on our attitude toward this question.

Certain evident discontinuities, oppositions and relations in the real world must be considered if we are ever to conceive of our science from our point of view correctly. The sociology of knowledge is a study of urgent practical importance today, for some consideration of it should form the prolegomenon and background to the determination of particular priorities and objectives.

I believe that the advancement of science in India cannot be separated from the advancement of independence. The end of our intellectual and practical apprenticeship in science is long overdue by any sensible reckoning, but we are constantly cajoled or browbeaten to prolong it for one reason or other. We can be frustrated by force where we cannot be contained by strategy and system. Such things are done to poor nations and peoples today, in science as in politics, in the new fashion of false cosmopolitanism and false humanitarianism, not in the old terms of colonial tutelage or racism. The latter ideologies emphasized discontinuities and hateful ones, while nowadays

all talk is of brotherhood, harmony and sweet reasonableness, but the results are not totally dissimilar. The nuclear non-proliferation treaty, in effect poised to subvert both our science and our independence, is a characteristic product of the new era, combining humbug and coercion in equal proportions.

As a social institution science, national or international, cannot and does not live outside its era. It is no different in this regard from other human institutions. The twin facts of the terrible potency of the rich and the helpless squalor of the poor among nations constitute the unitary framework, the primary opposition of our technocratic age. The chasm is fixed between us and them. There is no "world community of science", unless that phrase be another name for the national and international science of rich nations. Scientistic internationalism is a bridge of illusion, a cloak of comfort across the chasm. The existing system of foreign aid in science, to which the internationalist notion of collaboration lends credence, in truth upholds the system of foreign dominance in all matters of scientific and professional life and organization. It is nothing but the satellite system, with an added subsidy. It subordinates the national science of the poor to the national and international science of the rich. It confirms our dependence and helplessness and will not end them. The reason for these effects is simple and fundamental: the national and the international system inherently are synonymous for the rich but opposites for the poor. This ineluctable relativism is the iron law of international collaboration.

I am well aware that it is taboo to bring up such matters at scientific conferences, even when they are ostensibly called to consider them. A deep silence is liable to descend on all sides if someone broaches the unpalatable truth. Permit me to quote in this connexion the illustrious name of Claude Lévi-Strauss and the events of a planning conference on urgent anthropology that was held in Washington in 1966, of which our present conference is a genetic offspring. During his lucid address of 17 September, 1965 to the Smithsonian Institution, which apparently had inspired the idea of the conference and copies of which were provided to all participants (Sturtevant 1967: 355c-356a)*, the great Frenchman had spoken of the ambience of anthropology and sought to draw certain implications for its future. He had said that anthropology is the outcome of an historical process which had made the larger part of mankind subservient to the smaller and thrown millions into bondage. "Anthropology is daughter to this era of violence" (Lévi-Strauss 1966: 126a). He therefore doubted if there can exist any real "reciprocity of perspective" between the two unequal halves of mankind, lately in the relation of exploiters and exploited, for: "Between our attitude toward them and their attitude toward us, there is and can be no parity" (Ibid.: 125b-126a). He went on to explain the likely consequences for anthropology in our time.

*The letters c, a, etc., indicate the column on the page.

Now, what happened when the international conference of 48 anthropologists from 22 countries met, with these considerations before it? The deliberations of the conference calmly ignored the distinctions which Lévi-Strauss had sought to make, be it noted, by simply "failing to consider his reason", as the official record puts it (Sturtevant 1967 : 356b). Instead of facing the unpleasant truth, or considering the sociology of science, "attention was devoted (although not explicitly in these terms) to means for making anthropology more palatable" (Ibid. : 356b).

It is the way of internationalism and international science always to draw the sting of conflict by acknowledging the role of oppositions and contrarities in pure thought and nature, while reducing the real conflicts and struggles of mankind to meaningless formulae. I refer to the report of Ralph L. Beals on international research problems and ethics as an example of the prevalent style. It is the familiar jargon of "international anthropology", complete with "international exchanges", "co-operation" and "two-way cross-cultural research" (Beals 1967 : 473a-474a). Almost in passing Beals writes of the former human subjects of anthropology that they were studied partly because "they were clearly apt to disappear shortly" (Ibid. : 470b). This formula is the new bland euphemism of international social science for genocide committed and connived at by rich and powerful governments. I fully expect to be told soon in the same vein that, when the Jews were clearly apt to disappear, a few far-sighted Nazi scientists took the final opportunity to enhance human knowledge by making an experimental study of them. Such sophistry is the inevitable result of discussing international problems and ethics without reference to the structure of concrete reality.

Let us return to India. A little research will show there are two ways of formulating the present position of anthropological or sociological studies in India. (1) Nirmal Kumar Bose says, "The position of Indian anthropology has, on the whole, been colonial in relation to Schools which have dominated the European or American scene from time to time" (Bose 1963 : 46 *quoted in* Ferreira 1967 : 77). Unfortunately I find that this is the minority view. Most people, on the contrary, prefer to say : (2) Indian scholars, on the whole, have not as yet made an original and significant contribution to the development and refinement of international anthropology (or sociology or whichever other science). The two modes of expression lead to two quite different trains of thought and action. The Bose formulation, as I see it, puts the emphasis on decolonialization. It leads us to wonder why the "colonial relation", broken in politics, persists in science. The second formulation by subtly shifting the emphasis to "originality", which is a pseudo-problem, obfuscates the issue and paralyzes action. At best it will make us run with borrowed money to attend the next international conference to learn how to be original.

We are so accustomed to the second mode of thought that John V. Ferreira, who quotes the Bose formulations, in fact understands it as a candid confession of "sterility" (Ferreira 1967 : 77). A simple transformation perhaps but one in which the "colonial relation" has disappeared from view altogether. Virility, supposing that we had ever possessed any, is lost without focus and object.

In deference to high fashion, I should perhaps express the matter as a formula, apparently passionless. In my view then :

Lévi-Strauss : Beals : : Bose : Ferreira

This appears to be succinct enough but it is at the same time too concrete a summary. Another reference to Beals' view will explain the issues better. I find that in terms of his categorization I am one of the misguided few who, in plain words, "place national interests, as they conceive of them, above the international values of anthropology" (Beals 1967 : 472b). (Apparently Beals expects the black sheep to be found in closed rather open societies but that only how thoroughly all sheep, black and white, are brainwashed nowadays.) And what are the international values of anthropology ? It appears that there are two: "contributing to the improvement of the art of government and the betterment of the human condition" (Ibid. : 472b). Here we have the matter in a nutshell. If you pursue these noble and laudable aims within the internationalist framework, then you are pure and white, like the nuclear non-proliferationists. If you pursue the same aims but within the nationalist framework, then you are dissident and black.

I therefore conclude the argument with the following set of oppositions which are structurally equivalent:

Rich : Poor : : International : National : : White : Black

This is the matrix of science and *swaraj* in today's world seen from our point of view. Every swarajist should recognize what are the essential pre-conditions, under this system, for the advancement of universal science in our environment. Until we can concentrate on decolonialization, learn to nationalize our problems and take our poverty seriously, we shall continue to be both colonial and unoriginal. A national school, avowed and conscious, can perhaps add relevance, meaning and potency to our science ; continued assent to the international system cannot.

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L. P. VIDYARTHI

Urgent Anthropology for Tribal Bihar

IN response to the pressing situation of 'now or never', researches in Urgent Anthropology have become a world wide movement. In Indian context, some of the significant points in regard to Urgent Anthropology may be highlighted. In the wake of technological advancement and industrial development, the folk and traditional societies are fast being affected, and their respective styles of life have witnessed a considerable change. In view of this, there is a need of calling for haste to study, those cultures of the primitive and folk societies (Hunters, food gatherers, food collectors, pastoral nomads etc.) which are likely to cease to exist in the near future. The study of such vanishing culture will provide to cultural historians, on ethnographic plane, some relevant data to reconstruct and to analyse the phases of history of human culture.

Secondly, the microscopic study of the various processes of transformation from one culture sequence to another can be best carried out within the contemporary changing folk and traditional communities. There are some tribes in India, for example, which are in the process of change from the nomadic to the settled style of life, or from the stage of shifting cultivation to that of settled cultivation, or from tribal religion to Christianity. The present century perhaps provides the last opportunity to study these vanishing phases of human experiences in India.

Thirdly, there are certain age-old communities which are threatened with demographic or cultural extinction, and it is our professional obligation as social anthropologists to record the symptoms, the traits as well as the functional ingredients of such communities. We must then accept the challenge of

studying vanishing culture and changing society, and do our best to serve the cause of Urgent Anthropology.

In the light of these objectives, if we look at the State of Bihar,¹ we come across four distinct culture-linguistic regions: (1) The Magahi,² (2) The Maithili, (3) The Bhojpuri, and (4) The Tribal, or more popularly adivasi. While the first three areas are characterised by their respective caste-dominated rural societies, the geographically, ethnically and linguistically distinct Chhotanagpur Plateau is characterised by tribal culture ranging from hunters and nomads to shifting and settled cultivators, and even to industrial and office workers. From the point of view of Vanishing Culture the Plateau comprising the Chhotanagpur Division (Ranchi, Singhbhum, Palamay, Hazaribagh and Dhanbad) and the district of Central Pargana is of special significance.³

Tribal Studies in the Past

Before 1912, it was the exclusive task of the selected British administrative officers like Dalton, Risley, and O'Malley and a few devoted missionaries like Hoffman, Boading, Dehohn to write about the tribes and castes of Bihar.⁴ Though their writings are not very comprehensive and scientific, yet they being the first continue to provide us with the base-line data for understanding the subsequent changes.

Between 1912 and 1937 about half a dozen monographs on the Munda, the Oraon, the Birhor, the Kharias (in two volumes based on extensive field work) were written and published by the late S. C. Roy of Ranchi.⁵ When in 1886 he started his career as a lawyer at Ranchi, he developed a humanitarian interest in the Munda and other tribes of Chhotanagpur. Later under the inspiration of British officers and anthropologists he turned to writing about the changing life and culture of the tribes, and even at that time, he emphasised the need of their urgent study as they were under the impact of modernism. Though these descriptive monographs may not come upto the theoretical sophistication of the contemporary times, they are still the models in many cases for future researches, and they definitely provide the ideal sources of base line information on the respective tribes.

While Sri S. C. Roy was active in his ethnographic researches, the Calcutta University, under the inspiration of its Vice-Chancellor, Sir Asutosh Mukherjee, started the teaching of anthropology in 1920, and since then the teachers and the students of the Department of Anthropology of Calcutta University have continued to visit the adjoining tribal areas of Bihar on study-cum-excursion trips. The results of these were published from time to time in the shape of papers and reports.

The first full length work on the tribe of the Ho based on a three year field work (1924-26) was brought out by Dr. D. N. Majumdar in the year 1937 under the title, *A Tribe in Transition* which was later revised and published

in 1950. His study was followed by Dr. P. C. Biswas's field work (1931-34) among the Santhal and the publication of his book on the Santhal in 1951.

Work by the Department of Anthropology at Ranchi

The period of ethnographic study, initiated by the early workers like Dalton, Risley, Hoffmann, Booding, and established by trained ethnographers like Roy, Das, Majumdar and Biswas, received an organised support when the University Department of Anthropology and Tribal Research Institute were established at Ranchi in the year 1953 and 1954 respectively. Between 1953 and 1968, the Department of Anthropology, in collaboration with the Council of Social and Cultural Research, Bihar, and with the occasional assistance of other institutions, conducted considerable social anthropological researches in the six districts of Chhotanagpur Division and Santhal Parganas. The field work programmes of the Department may be summarised into four categories:

1. The research programmes of individual teachers.
2. The post-graduate student field research programmes.
3. The doctoral field research programmes.
4. The large scale research projects sponsored and financed by outside agencies.

The Individual Research Programmes

Among the individual researches and publications mention may be made of my study of the Maler (*Maler tribe : A study in the Nature-Man-Spirit Complex of a Hill tribe*, 1963) of Rajmahal Hill which among several things describes the details of shifting cultivation, now in the process of extinction among the hill tribes of Bihar. The important orienting concept, in this book, is that of cultural ecology or the adaptation of social arrangements to the requirements of surviving in that harsh environment by means of a certain technological inventory. Methodologically, the book demonstrates an approach to the description of Maler culture in terms of Nature-Man-Spirit Complex. Another book, *Cultural Configuration of Tribal Bihar*, apart from proposing a typology of the Tribes and discussing the concept of detribalisation, includes several chapters on the nomadic Birhor, the economic changes, the impact of Christianity and urbanisation on various aspects of tribal life etc. My recent presidential address to the Anthropology and Archaeology section of the 55th Indian Science Congress on culture change in the tribes of modern India attempts to summarise some of our findings regarding the processes and patterns of change that are evident in modern tribal societies of Chhotanagpur in particular and India in general. It also points out the gaps in the study of culture change among the tribes of India that need to be bridged urgently. Members of the staff, who usually do field work among the tribes every year, have published several papers on various aspects of tribal culture.

The Post-graduate Field Research Programmes

Post-graduate students of anthropology with one or two teachers of the Department conduct six-week field-researches in one or two tribal villages carefully selected every year for intensive investigation. While it is not possible to give the details of the researches carried out, all care is taken to ensure effective field work as well as the preparation of the report.

On an annual basis, under this scheme during the last fifteen years, in general, a sample of two villages—one isolated and the other acculturated—was selected from among the Munda, the Oraon, the Ho, the Santhal, the Parahiya, the Korwa, the Maler, the Mal Paharia, the Birhor, and field reports on the demographic, economic, social, and religious systems of these villages as well as on the culture change, folk-lore, community development programmes, position of women, life-cycle, process of socialisation, value system, marriage, family and kinship system etc. were prepared. The specific problems that could be best studied in some of these villages (as for example the impact of Christianity, or of Hinduism on the village, inter-group relationship, homicide and suicide, art, and craft etc.) were also selected for special enquiry from time to time. Under this master's programme the Department of Anthropology is in possession of 150 field reports on the tribes (and 30 on other groups) which are a faithful recording of the ethnographic materials on various aspects of the more important tribes of Chhotanagpur; and if they are published after a careful filling in of the gaps and full editing, they are bound to serve a useful purpose.

The Doctoral Field Research Programmes

Under the doctoral programmes of the Department nine Ph. D. theses, on different aspects of impact study as well as comparative and interactional studies of the tribes of Chhotanagpur and Santhal Pargana, have been completed, and many more are in the process of completion. From the point of view of Urgent Anthropology, the two theses relating to impact study on vanishing religion and vanishing economy, and the two on changes in tribal leadership in Chhotanagpur and tribal economy of the Parahiya are of special significance. Among the works that are nearing completion a mention may be made of the study of the artisan tribes (Lohra, Karmali, Mahali, Chikbaraik) of Chhotanagpur, the demographic study of two selected tribes of the nomadic Birhor and the agricultural Santhal, and of the uprooted families of the Bokaro Industrial Complex. All these three doctoral projects are of special significance from the point of view of Urgent Anthropology.

The Large Scale Research Projects

Under the auspices of the Department of Anthropology, four large scale impact studies on the tribes of Ranchi and other districts have been completed and are in the process of publication. The report of the first on culture change

among the Munda and Oraon of Ranchi district has already been published by Sachchidananda, and of the second on Cultural Configuration of Ranchi written by me has just been released. The third report on the Impact of Hatia Industrial Complex on the tribes of Ranchi has just been sent to the press for publication by the Planning Commission. The fourth research project, on the changes in the pattern of leadership among six selected tribes (The Birhor, the Maler, the Ho, the Munda, the Oraon, the Santhal) of Chhotanagpur and Santhal Pargana, has been in progress for the last one year, and field enquiries in the selected villages, sub-divisional towns and district headquarters have been completed. This project aims to understand from a historical perspective the emergence of a new type of regional and national leadership from the rural-bred, charismatic and tradition oriented leadership.

While studying the impact of Ranchi city on the tribal villages, and of the Hatia Industrial Complex on the neighbouring villages, and carrying out leadership studies, certain aspects of the culture of a number of selected villages have also been examined. Of the village studies a special mention may be made of our study of the six uprooted villages of the Hatia Industrial Complex which are no more in existence now. In addition to these studies of somewhat contextual nature, a full-fledged village study of Ghaghra was also carried out with the financial assistance of the Census Operation of Government of India. Again, some selected villages of the Maler, Santhal, Oraon and Munda were studied by a team of anthropologists of Ranchi and Juntendo Universities, under the auspices of the Indo-Japanese joint Research Project which aimed to present a complete anthropological picture of selected tribal villages of Middle and South India.

The Tribal Welfare Research Institute

The welfare-oriented research of applied nature has been sporadically undertaken by the Tribal Welfare Research Institute, the Government of Bihar and the Tribal Orientation and Study Centre, the Government of India (now under the Government of Bihar). In addition to the publication of a book on the life and time of Birsa and a couple of handbooks on the tribes of Bihar, the Institute has brought out a few bulletins which include the results of some of their applied researches on the problems related to tribal welfare and culture change among the tribes. A collection of essays on the tribal institutions and changes have been published by Dr. Sachchidananda under the title, *Profiles of Tribal Culture in Bihar* by the former Director of the Institute. Among the unpublished works two reports, one on land alienations among the tribes of Ranchi, and the other on tribal workers of Jamshedpur deserve early attention for publication.

To conclude, then, tribal studies in Bihar are on the right track. I can say without any fear of contradiction that Chhotanagpur now ranks as one of

the most extensively studied areas in India from the point of view of basic ethnography. The anatomy of the tribal society of Chhotanagpur has been well x'rayed and the work that remains to be done is of a more sophisticated, analytical and comparative nature. In the pages that follow, I will refer to some such topics as are significant for Urgent Anthropology. In doing so care will be taken to indicate the gaps in our studies in Bihar and also to provide some guide line and categories for cross-regional application in other parts of India.

CULTURAL TYPOLOGY

On the basis of ethnographic studies in Bihar, a typology of the tribes of Bihar has been suggested and tested. The typology as discussed elsewhere has found cross-regional validity in certain other areas of India. It is my proposition that for undertaking researches in Urgent Anthropology, it will be necessary to make a typological approach. In order to construct a typology of the tribes of different parts of India, the typology of the tribes of Bihar, developed on the basis of ecology, economy, level of integration and sequence of changes, may prove to be meaningful and it is stated below along with suitable examples from tribal Bihar.⁶

- (i) The forest-hunting type. The Birhor, the Parahiya, the Korwas.
- (ii) The hill cultivation type. The Maler, the Hill Kharia.
- (iii) The plain agricultural type. The Munda, the Oraon, the Santhal, the Kharia.
- (iv) The simple artisan type. The Mahali, the Chikbaraik, the Asur, the Lohra.
- (v) The pastoral and cattle herder type. The Kisan (The Nagesia), the Toda and the Gaddi from other areas.
- (vi) The agricultural and non-agricultural labour type. Sections of the tribes, working in the mining and manufacturing industries; traditionally they belong to the tribes of the (iii) and (iv) categories.
- (vii) The skilled and white collar job type. Some individuals of the families of the tribal communities are now working in offices, hospitals, factories and so on.

All these types of tribes are, more or less, in the process of transformation. The very typology reflects the various gradings from hunting and food gathering to the industrial phases. The heterogeneity in the tribal communities and the corresponding changes in the societies reflect a number of 'traditional' and 'modern' processes of change described in my presidential address already mentioned.⁷ This paper reviews the major processes of change in tribal areas, and points out the urgency of studying tribes of various types that are changing under the impact of (1) Hinduisation, (2) Christianisation, (3) democratic experiments and welfare schemes and (4) urbanisation and industrialisation.

Passing and Emerging Cultures

In addition to fixing up the typology of the tribes and relating them to the process of change, the result of the change has to be recorded. It is rather necessary for the Urgent Anthropologists to fix up the focus. If his interest is in 'passing culture', he will obviously choose situations ideally with 'zero point' of change. If his interest is to study the 'emerging culture' he will obviously select situation which will enable him to study the vast extent of change, from the 'ideally zero point'. Methodologically an Urgent Anthropologist will be interested in both, the 'vanishing culture' and the 'emerging culture'. The former because it will 'pass away' and the latter because the situation of modification or combination will not be repeated again, and will not be observable.

Vanishing Economy

From the point of view of economy, a micro-study of the three types of Birhor, the nomadic, the settled and the colonised, or the two types of Maler, the shifting and the settled cultivator is of special significance. The recent study under our doctoral research programme on the three types of the Parahiyas—food gatherers, shifting cultivators and settled cultivators—completed by Dr. R. K. Prasad is also of great interest. For combining an interest in studying primitive economy with that in basic ethnography, tribes like Birjia (nomadic jungle tribe) and Korwa (food-gathering jungle tribe, also agricultural-labourers) deserve an immediate attention. It is an interesting situation for an ethnographer to record the styles of life of the nomadic Birhor, and then the passing of nomadic Birhor to a settled way of life as the *Junghi* or the *colonised* Birhor. It should be equally rewarding for the Urgent Anthropologists to record the passing from shifting to settled cultivation of a section of Maler and Mal Paharia of Rajmahal Hills in Santhal parganas. These provide examples of "vanishing or passing and emerging economy".

Vanishing Religion

Then, there are examples of 'passing and emerging religion' too. The tribal religion or Sarana religion among several sections of the tribes is being replaced by Christianity or higher form of Hinduism. Except, Dr. K.N. Sahay's work, on the impact of Christianity on four Oraon villages, submitted in the shape of a doctoral thesis, no other systematic study has been reported from any part of India. This study established, on the basis of rich ethnographic details, that change in religion had led to corresponding changes in festivals, village organisation, *rites-de-passage* economic life and other aspects of Oraon culture.

Vanishing People

Then, there may be tribal communities which are threatened with demographic extinction. Our Census however, reports that the number of most of the tribals in Bihar are ordinarily on the increase except on the nomadic Birhor, the hill Maler, the Kisan, the Gorait and the Banjara (Census 1961 : Vol IV, Part V-A, pp. XV). Among these, ethnographic studies of the Kisan, the Gorait and the Banjara have not been undertaken. A study of these tribes should be rewarding from both ethnographic and demographic points of view. These tribes are not being threatened with an immediate extinction, but elsewhere certain tribes may provide a clear-cut example of a vanishing population.

Vanishing Village Life

Chhotanagpur also provides example of *vanishing villages*, those uprooted and disintegrated, in the wake of industrialisation. In the districts of Chhotanagpur, which are rich in industrial potentialities, several village communities faced cultural extinction with the emergence of industrial complexes like Heavy Engineering near Ranchi, Power Plant at Patratu, and Steel Plant at Bokaro. Again, several village communities faced cultural extinction in the implementation of river valley projects like the Damodar, the Naughat and others. In one of our large scale research projects on Heavy Engineering near Ranchi and in two of the doctoral dissertations the 'vanishing culture' of some of the uprooted villages and disintegrated communities have been recorded. There is, however, scope for further researches in these and other areas where industrial urbanism is taking roots.

The Vanishing Institutions and Customs

Even from this brief survey of the published and unpublished literature, it is quite clear that the tribal Bihar has been fully covered at the level of descriptive ethnography. It remains, however, a major task before the social anthropologists to study the various tribal societies in terms of their characteristic institutions and systems. The dying institutions of youth dormitories and Akhra secret societies need to be studied urgently on inter-tribal and inter-regional levels. The study of totemism and clan organisation, as demonstrated by Ferriera's work on *Totemism of India*, provides another line of enquiry which needs to be taken up among the tribes of Bihar. There are a set of symbols related to clan or village unity as reflected in the maintenance of huge flags by each village or clan-group, and in the use of certain designs to indicate the sanction or resistance in social behaviours etc., which need to be carefully recorded; and their implications on the inter-tribal levels may be analysed.

On the pattern of *Crime and Custom in Savage Society* by Malinowski, tribal laws relating to marriage, inheritance, economic and social participations, and

various taboos and sanctions need to be recorded in context with tribal ethics and jurisprudence.

Changing Individuals and Leaders

Along with the study of 'passing' and emerging institutions, customs symbols, sanctions and taboos, it is hightime to study the 'changing man', himself. A careful student of Urgent Anthropology has to see the meaning, understand the valuation, and feel the 'feeling', associated with objects, or acts, or issues in the minds of the tribals. In collaboration with psychologists, selected tribals need to be studied with the aid of such concepts as 'basic personality structure', ethos, world view, 'themes' and spirit.

A study of changes in tribal leadership of Chhotanagpur Plateau is in progress under the auspices of Planning Commission. This study should give us a picture of the changing moods, policies and programmes of the tribal leaders. However, a study of the emerging middle class as well as of the tribal elites will be of immense sociological significance, and should be taken up on an urgent basis. Such a study may not only provide us with an understanding and insight into socio-economic roles of the middle class in tribal areas but also contribute to the theory of Middle class in general.

Vanishing Art, Aesthetics and Folk Dance

To the student of tribal culture, it is evident now that the combination of dance, song and drum constitutes an integral part of the Adivasi culture in Bihar as in other parts of India. It is through the dance that these tribal societies celebrate the cycle of man's life and of the seasons. In other words, the dance, at least in parts, reflects the social, religious, economic and political style of life and thus is of great social anthropological significance.

Despite this the social anthropologists who studied tribal culture did not give adequate attention to the study of dance and other art-forms. This negligence may be due to two reasons, firstly the lack of expertise about the technical character of dance and other art forms, and secondly the lack of theoretical insight for analysing dance as a cultural element. The knowledge about the technical aspects, however, can be gained by anthropologists by collaborating with experts in dance and music.

The tribal dance is fast dying out, and the factors of transformation are becoming so strong that, whether we like it or not, the traditional style of dance is likely to disappear. It is, therefore hightime, that at least some anthropologists should join hands with other experts to undertake a comprehensive study of the tribal dances etc., in the light of modern theoretical developments regarding the cultural and functional importance of these art-forms.

The Vanishing Folklore

The importance of folklore as a part of as well as a tool of culture has by now been well established. The folklore can properly and more accurately be called a barometer of social structure. Considering its significance the Department of Anthropology introduced the teaching of folklore as one of the special papers about a decade ago, and under the post-graduate research scheme, trained students, having knowledge of the respective tribal languages, have collected, translated and analysed the myths and legends, and folk songs and riddles of the Maler, the Santhal, the Ho, the Munda, and the Kharia. In a series of master's theses on each tribe, the classified material have been translated into English, and the cultural elements in the folk songs, folk tales and riddles have been properly analysed with a view to extract a picture of the total culture of the respective tribe. Some of the materials reflecting cultural elements are to be published soon in the special number of the *Journal of Folklore* from Calcutta. Also a student having knowledge of several tribal languages has taken up the researches on Tribal Folklore of Bihar for his doctoral assignments.

With the decline in the institutions of Youth dormitories and Akhra, with the accelerated tempo of urbanisation and industrialisation and consequent changes in attitudes, the various forms of folklore is in the process of being lost. It is suggested that the folklore already collected be published with necessary additions and modifications. Further, folkloric monographs on such tribes as have not yet been studied be taken up for field investigation on an urgent basis. While editing the unpublished materials and planning for further researches, sporadic collections of folk songs and tales by the missionaries, the British administrators and other scholars of literature be taken into consideration.

To conclude, then, Chhotanagpur Plateau covering six districts of Bihar and the adjoining areas of Madhya Pradesh and Orissa provides rich laboratory for researches in Urgent Anthropology. The uniqueness of this area impressed Robert Redfield long ago who advised me to portray the living sequences 'from primitivism to civilisation' as reflected in the surviving 'styles of life' of food-gatherers, hunters, shifting cultivators, settled peasants, craftsmen, and emerging industrial-urban workers living in close proximity. This conservation of the various cross-sections of society and culture of human history, as well as the existence of situations characterised by 'vanishing economy', 'vanishing religion', 'vanishing people', 'vanishing culture', 'vanishing institutions and customs' as well as 'vanishing art-forms and oral traditions' make Chhotanagpur really a centre of attraction for cultural historians and urgent anthropologists. The student of cultural process and development anthropology whose emphasis is on the study of 'emerging' society finds Chhotanagpur equally attractive, for both traditional as well as modern processes of change are in full action there.

With this theoretical and methodological awareness, Urgent Anthropology has been in action at the Department of Anthropology for the last fifteen years. However, in spite of the different types of research projects undertaken by the students, teachers, research scholars and research workers, certain gaps remain in the fields of urgent social anthropology. If adequate funds are made available, the work of Urgent Anthropology at the University of Ranchi will be accelerated. As a centre of Urgent Anthropology in South Bihar and adjoining tribal areas, the University will take up the issue of processing the unpublished materials, and will organise field expeditions to fill the above mentioned gaps. In view of certain recent political developments in Chhotanagpur, the case of Urgent Anthropology has become still stronger and the problems have to be tackled with utmost academic concern.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. See, my paper "Cultural Linguistic Region in Bihar", in *Cultural Contour of Tribal Bihar*, Punthi Pustak, 1964.
2. While the problems of Urgent Anthropology in the first three cultural-linguistic zones will be highlighted in another paper, I would like to make a passing reference to my work and interest in Magadh area, which date back to 1948 when as a student of Geography I undertook a survey of the ancient and historic town of Gaya. This was followed by my study of the Gayawal priestly caste as a dying community, and then as a student of Chicago University, I wrote a doctoral dissertation on the Sacred Complex of Hindu Gaya. The Magahi culture-linguistic zone was selected by the Department of Anthropology last year under the post-graduate Field Research Programme and a field investigation was completed at Rajgir, the site of the Capital of ancient Magadh Kingdom, (a centre of attraction for tourists also) and a Magahi village Mayer near Rajgir. This study of a typical town and a typical Magahi village has provided us with a starting point for studying the various complexities of Magahi culture. As the study stands, it reflects a different type of urgency to study the caste factions, the caste based political loyalty, the new awakening among the lower castes, the discovery of a Muslim community following a Hindu style of life, the increasing violence and tensions among the castes, a new interest in agricultural economy due to the rising prices, a new type of preparedness to face the crisis during the draught and famines and so on. The village Bihar is now in a new mood which Urgent Anthropology should catch for the proper understanding of the changing mood of the peasant communities.
3. The history of the ethnographic studies in Bihar has been summarised by me in several contexts. See introductions to the books, *Cultural Contours of Tribal Bihar* (referred to earlier) and *Bihar Ke Adivasi*, College Centre 1960. Also see "Social Anthropological Researches in India", in *Journal of Social Research*, 9, No. 1, 1966.
4. Refer to *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal* by E. T. Dalton, Calcutta, 1872 ; H. H. Risley's *Tribes and Castes in Bengal*, Calcutta, 1891 and *Peoples of India*, Calcutta,

1903. Among the missionaries J. J. Hoffmann, *Encyclopaedia Mundarica*, in 13 volumes published from Patna in 1950, and P. O. Boddington's several books on Santhal deserve special mention.

5. S. C. Roy's important works are (1) *Mundas and their Country*, Calcutta : City Book Society, 1912, (2) "Magic & Witchcraft on the Chotanagpur Plateau: A study in the philosophy of primitive life", *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 44, 1914, 324-350, (3) *The Oraon of Chotanagpur*, Ranchi : Author Bar Library, (4) *The Birhor, a Little Known Jungle Tribe of Chotanagpur*. Man in India Office, Church Road, Ranchi, 1925. (5) *Oraon Religion and Customs*, Ranchi, Man in India office, 1935. (6) *The Kharias*, vol. I & II, Ranchi, Man in India Office, 1937.
6. The Typology, originally formulated under the inspiration of Fred Eggan and Julian Steward was published in 1958 in *Anthropology Tomorrow*, Chicago. The typology was discussed in several seminars in India in different contexts and the revised typology is presented here. For details see Chapter II in *Cultural Contours of Tribal Bihar*, Calcutta : Punthi Pustak, 1964, and the proceedings of the Summer Seminar held at Darjeeling in 1964 under the auspices of Anthropological Survey of India.
7. For details see Chapter 9 in *Cultural Contours of Tribal Bihar*, Calcutta, Punthi Pustak, 1964, pp. 163-75.

PART THREE
DISCUSSIONS

First Business Session

Chairman : Professor Nirmal Kumar Bose
Rapporteurs : Dr. B. L. Abbi
Dr. Satish Saberwal

THE Chairman called the meeting to order at 9.40 a.m. and asked Dr. Surajit Sinha to present his paper.

DR. SINHA started by quoting Robert Redfield to the effect that one could not "enact" a culture, and proceeded to assert that, like culture, "urgency" could not be enacted either in anthropological research. The urgency should grow out of natural involvement in various research problems by anthropologists working on the population of India. He felt that the study of the changing tribal peoples and of others would fall into place more appropriately if we took an integrated view of the Indian civilization and planned our urgent research in a relaxed manner. In illustration of his approach he cited, in addition to the examples in his paper, a three-years project of the Anthropological Survey of India on the sacred city of Benaras which will focus, in one year on the Sadhus, sects, and monastic organisations ; the next year on the organization of learned specialists ; and in the last year on the cultural ecology of temples.

DR. J. P. S. UBEROI in presenting his paper highlighted the points raised in the paper concerning the differential significance of "internationalist" social science research for academics in the rich as against the poor countries. He wanted research priorities and objectives for Indian workers to be fixed against this background.

DR. ROY BURMAN in presenting his paper characterized the widespread concern with "vanishing cultures" as pathological and called for greater attention to emergent aspects of India's society and culture.

DR. KARVE presented her paper next and said that the tribal and other peoples had lived in India together for millenia and stressed the importance of the historical dimension for their adequate understanding. She also suggested that Indian culture would be enriched through learning from the traditions of the tribal groups.

The Chairman then summarized the main points of the four papers and declared the floor open for discussion.

In reference to Uberoi, DR. JAY regretted the politicization of academic discourse. He sensed danger in stressing "national" perspectives in science and expressed the fear that it might inhibit individuals from pursuing their enquiries with freedom. He cited the development of Lysenkoism in the Soviet Union as an example of what could happen.

Elaborating on Uberoi's point about the differential significance of internationalism for the rich and the poor, DR. SABERWAL said that his observations in North America led him to conclude that North American social scientists combined internationalism in their fieldwork with the advancement of national interests at home. This was achieved through differentiation between academics, *some* of whom took contracts from the U.S. Army, C.I.A., etc., and also through differentiation between one scholar's concerns at different times.

DR. T. N. MADAN expressed appreciation of Uberoi's concern with a national definition of problems. He maintained that sociology must take fuller account of native categories of thought than it has. He wondered, however, whether an overweening accent on nationalism in scientific thought may not carry with it the danger of closed systems and closed minds, in short of cultural solipsism. He, therefore, pleaded that the possibilities of such a development should be squarely faced and adequately discussed. He supported the relaxed approach of Sinha and Roy Burman as against a narrowly conceived applied approach. In reference to Karve, Madan felt that an excessive solicitude for tribal tradition could prevent us from recognizing the imperative material needs, of the tribals, such as food, education, and medical care.

DR. GARDNER in reference to earlier comments on nationalism in scientific work suggested that it could take various forms : the humanitarian nationalism of Sinha, Roy Burman, Karve, and others on the one hand and the military nationalism of North American social scientists mentioned by Saberwal on the other. He felt that Saberwal's remarks were rather unfair to the North American academics on the whole.

DR. ABBI asserted that the contemporary differences of wealth between nations had important consequences for the sociology of knowledge. The ability of rich countries to assemble large numbers of scholars also enabled them to set particular trends in the social sciences, and this influenced problem selection by academics in the poor countries.

DR. BERREMAN expressed sympathy with the Uberoi-Saberwal position and said that, in contrast to Gardner, he felt that U. S. social scientists continued to be receptive to sponsorship and funding by agencies of the U. S. Army. Academics in North America were, in fact, often unwilling to examine the consequences for research of the conflict of interest between poor and rich nations.

While DR. H. S. GILL was not worried by Army sponsorship of research, it had been his experience in U. S. A., U. K., France, etc., that linguists in each country stressed the local professionals' contributions and perspectives and denigrated the work of others. Our concern with internationalism has prevented us from developing distinctive approaches and perspectives as other nations have done.

DR. AIYAPPAN questioned the relevance of Uberoi's paper for the seminar. He called the seminar to return to its major themes and added that some research was really "urgent".

DR. VIDYARTHI argued that a researcher had to be free to determine his own problem and to follow the approach he thought would be best. On such matters there could be no legislation.

DR. NIHARRANJAN RAY commented that Jay's analogy between Lysenko in the biological sciences and a national orientation in the social sciences was misleading.

The Chairman denied that a nationalistic sociology for India was being projected at the Conference. In any case, even when working with defective theories such as Lysenko's, the Soviet botanists had effectively attacked special problems of agricultural production in Siberia. He stressed that social science research in India should show an awareness of the local environment.

DR. DUBE asked whether social anthropologists were interested in the study of society or, as several previous contributors had implied, in that of civilization.

In initiating replies to the preceding discussion DR. SINHA said that there is now a growing interest in applying social anthropological techniques to the study of complex societies and civilizations.

DR. UBEROI held that his paper was really devoted to the sociology of knowledge ; he was not questioning individuals' motives but only examining

the social system of science. He stressed the distinction between cultural uniqueness and political independence, advocating not a culturally unique sociology but a nationally independent one. Any national thrust entailed risks, and if it occasionally led to the emergence of Lysenkoes, he would be prepared to take that risk. The contemporary international academic culture is heavily weighted in favour of the academics of rich countries. For us the important considerations should be to define our relevant problems and pursue their solutions, not worrying about the sources of ideas : that task can be left to be performed by our intellectual biographers.

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DR. ROY BURMAN expressed general sympathy with the Uberoi position but was unwilling to harbour the emergence of Lysenkoes.

While presenting his paper DR. A. M. SHAH explained some general ideas forming the background of the paper. He advocated (a) the study of traditional as well as modern society, (b) the study of history for a proper understanding of traditional society, and (c) importance of the field-work methods in understanding the modern society.

DR. BERREMAN discussed the social context in which his paper was prepared, namely an unprecedented social upheaval in United States arising from the growing strains from Vietnam, the worsening racial situation expressed in Black Separatism, growing student militancy, and the recent political assassinations. This had created a feeling of helplessness among liberal intellectuals, leading them to a withdrawal from contemporary concerns. He pointed out that the Black-White separation in the U. S. had its parallels in the discontinuities between the rich and the poor within India and that it could generate similar conflict.

In reference to Shah's paper, DR. T. B. NAIK called attention to the work of Bengali novelists (e. g. Mani Shanker Mukerji (Shanker), whose work has been translated into Hindi) who have explored the nature of social relations in hotels, courts, etc.

DR. ROY BURMAN called the attention of the Conference to the work of the Tribal Research Institutes, which were exploring some of the issues raised by Shah. He felt that the prevailing high-brow disdain for their work was unwarranted. He also supported Shah's proposal for a sociological study of the army, although the government has felt that the subject was too sacred for study by uninitiated civilians.

DR. DUBE, commenting on the Berreman and Uberoi papers said that the

discussion of Uberoi's paper had made him uneasy : a degree of preoccupation with one's own problems is taken for granted. However, in problems of development, the whites have been just as interested as the browns : the exclusion of the former would retard the understanding of our own problems. We can't expect to solve all our problems by ourselves : the exclusion of vital thought-currents from abroad will be extremely dangerous. In the year 2000, the human condition will be such that our differences now will seem insignificant—therefore a new dimension in anthropological speculation is necessary.

DR. SABERWAL, commenting on Shah's paper, noted that social anthropology in India, in its anthropological dimension was concerned more with the traditional institutions contributing to the contemporary society and in its sociological dimension with the new emergent institutions and processes. In the latter there was room for a variety of sociological specialities concerned with the various new institutions, such as the sociology of medicine, of education, and of bureaucracy. Concerning data retrieval he drew a distinction between 'hard' and 'soft' records ; the latter can be explored only in the context of intensive fieldwork.

In reference to the Dube intervention, DR. ABBI said that the drawing of conclusions for contemporary analysis from a vision of the future was a questionable pursuit. The latter should not be used to wish away the unpleasant aspects of the contemporary situation.

DR. AIYAPPAN said that Berreman's reference to a clash between the rich and the poor was a real and present threat, actualized in Kerala. Caste associations there are being split along class lines in the political context.

DR. SINHA reminded Uberoi of his own membership in the upper middle class and said that this would bring pressures upon him which will generate conflict between his habitual social interests and 'cultivated' conscience. He felt that the recent tendency of the intellectual elite of West Bengal to move from leftist politics to the ivory tower indicated how middle class mental habits may ultimately prevail.

Second Business Session

Chairman : Prof. N. K. Bose

Rapporteurs : Dr. S. K. Ghosh

Dr. B. L. Abbi

Because of the presence of Dr. M. N. Srinivas the Chairman requested him to make a statement and to introduce himself. DR. SRINIVAS in his introduction raised questions fundamental to research in sociology and social anthropology in India. The problems are too many, and our situation is like that of a child in a well-stocked sweet-meat shop. He stressed the need for a division of labour and work as regards vanishing cultures and contemporaneously vital cultures. He also spoke of cultural and social change, integration, assimilation, and methodology. He called for field studies in the different linguistic areas and advocated that Indian society be studied not only by western scholars but also by others from Japan, Burma, etc. He commended the Sinha and Shah papers in particular and wanted to have the Indian civilisation studied as a unit. To him the study of Indian civilization also meant the study of the vast corpus of written literature. There are various levels of Indian civilization : interaction between castes and tribals, regions and boundaries, secularization, diverse sub-nationalisms, the changing character of networks, emerging nationalism—all these should be investigated. Furthermore Indian civilization spreads beyond the confines of the political entity that is India : into parts of central Asia, Tibet and parts of southeast Asia. How is it possible to take note of this phenomenon in our micro-studies of Indian civilization. Dr. Srinivas dissociated himself from Lévi-Strauss' view of anthropology as being concerned with only the primitives.

Three papers were presented :

Dr. Saberwal : Towards a model of Indian Society

Dr. Berreman : Caste in India—so what ? and

Dr. Gardner : The Urgency for a synthesis of Indian cultural materials.

DR. SINHA pointed out that comparing caste in India with "caste" in the United States involved a comparison of analogous rather than homologous systems. The caste system had not only a pattern of stratification but it also

involved a characteristic division of labour. Any comparison of the Hindu caste system with social systems elsewhere should include both these structural components.

DR. ABBI commenting on Berreman, pointed out that though several types of questions might be asked, all questions did not have equal status. He also suggested that the Berreman approach distorted the nature of caste in that it treated the system of ritual ranking merely as a rationalization of social stratification.

DR. MADAN raised the question of meaningful levels of comparison. He maintained that, just as comparison between cultural areas too close to each other will yield little by way of generalisations, similarly cross-cultural comparison between culturally and geographically distant areas, such as Japan, the U. S. A. and India, may produce only trite and banal conclusions. He pointed out that comparison inevitably proceeds by abstraction and leads to the progressive elimination of what is not common between the areas or systems that are being compared. Such a loss of data is particularly grievous if sociology is to help with practical advice. Generalizations are of limited value when we turn to their practical utility unless they are reintegrated with empirical data.

DR. GARDNER said that if he had understood Sinha correctly, we should not compare part systems ; in cross-cultural comparison no two items could be identical and how were we then to make comparison ? He further pointed out that one could not discredit a comparison between Indian and American caste on the basis of a discrepancy between the Indian belief in complementary birth-ascribed roles and American democratic ideals. Forming a co-tradition with the official "charter" ideology is the belief of many white Americans that Negroes are either less than adult or less than human.

DR. KARVE supported Berreman and said that cross-culturally some variables were comparable. She pointed out that 'we-group' versus 'they-group' behaviour of caste groups in India was very similar to that of racial groups in the United States.

DR. JAY, following Kroeber, drew the distinction between historical and scientific methodology : science destroys the uniqueness of data. All wars are somewhat unique and somewhat different from one another ; yet these are compared with each other. likewise with the different systems of caste or social stratification.

DR. BERREMAN noted that the systems of stratification in India and in the

American South had much in common: how is one to explain the similarities? He argued that Negroes had never been included in the American ideal of equality fully. In reply to Abbi he asserted that ritual ranking could be treated as a rationalization of social stratification, paralleling the belief in racial superiority in America.

DR. VIDYARTHI opined that in a discussion of the problems of urgent anthropology, this argument about caste did not belong. As regards the method of comparison he advocated Indianization of social sciences. He thought that as Indians were the practitioners of caste system, so Indian experts should go and study the systems of stratification abroad rather than the foreign scholars being invited to India as suggested by Srinivas.

DR. GILL said that Srinivas' repudiation of Lévi-Strauss was besides the point. Lévi-Strauss had defined anthropology from his particular perspective in France, a view which had emerged through intensive interaction with his local colleagues. We too should "nationalize" our perspectives.

DR. UBEROI referring to Saberwal's concern with downward mobility mentioned several sources of relevant data. He felt that most sociologists, including Srinivas, had neglected the study of downward mobility. Referring to Berreman's comparisons of caste systems Uberoi said that these were at too low a level: to compare them in the context, not of social stratification or inequality, but of the sociology of kinship, of politics, of economics, or of religion would be much more rewarding.

DR. SRINIVAS accepted Uberoi's charge that "downward mobility" had been neglected by him and wanted to know about more sources of data. He opined that data collection was absolutely necessary—pamphlets of all kinds and documents on peasant and tribal revolts should be properly collected.

Concerning "downward mobility", DR. RAY pointed out that historical documents were available. He suggested that various journals of caste associations, documents of small religions sects, records of small temples, *maths*, *akharas* should be collected, and he said that he already possessed some documents of this kind.

FATHER FUCHS informed the Conference that East German scholars were very much interested in peasant and tribal revolts and had already analyzed these in Bihar.

DR. BERREMAN expressed agreement with comments by Gill pointing out the

importance of studying the internal structure of particular societies as opposed to merely constructing cross-cultural typologies, as such study is a prerequisite to any typology. He mentioned Gerhard Lenski's *Power and Privilege* as a source in which there is a discussion of 'downward mobility'. He criticized some of the ideas expressed by Uberoi and suggested that the caste system is better characterized as an *expression* of stratification rather than as being itself stratification. Obviously many other things are expressed in caste as well, including ideology, religion, politics, economics, kinship, etc.

With reference to Berreman, DR. MADAN wondered whether a kind of coexistence was not possible between those who looked upon caste as an expression of stratification, or unequal access to economic and political power, and those, like Dumont, who consider hierarchy, or unequal ritual status, as the cardinal principle. In fact, Berreman himself may be said to have engaged in both these kinds of exercises, of course at different times.

DR. NAIK pointed out that tribal studies conducted by government departments had not contributed much to the discipline.

DR. SHAH said Saberwal's concern with administrative units and Gardner's with culture areas were not very illuminating.

DR. MATHUR pointed out that the chapter on caste mobility in a book by the late Professor Majumdar was very significant—he saw the lower castes' mobility not as upward but rather as tangential.

DR. GARDNER insisted on the development of a new approach to regions. He was interested not in cultural areas (both continuity and discontinuity have to be taken for granted), but in the study of the different processes that affect cultural distribution. He pointed out that the maps published in 1961 by the Anthropological Survey had never been analysed but could have been. He argued that more maps for certain classes of cultural characteristics (such as those with primarily ecological distribution) would be useful.

DR. RAY recalled that the Archaeological Survey of India had issued a series of maps from time to time, which could be very useful for our purpose.

DR. SABERWAL argued that the interactional consequences of administrative boundaries were worthy of attention, though the internal structuring within each administrative unit may not be identical. He was also interested in the process whereby a small elite whose members occupied multiple offices became differentiated functionally.

DR. JAY pointed out that the geographers had produced a large number of excellent maps un-noticed by anthropologists.

DR. RAY BURMAN informed the audience that his department had prepared 1500 maps showing the distribution of scheduled castes and tribes, crafts, social characteristics, etc. He mentioned various journals in Manipur in local languages which could be very useful for the history of the area.

The Chairman in his concluding remarks noted with regret that anthropologists had not used the available map resources on India, and pointed out that the use of soil, ploughs, etc. could serve as indicators of different cultural zones. In his book written in Bengali, *Hindu Samajer Garan*, he has used materials from many local records, caste journals, etc. which had given him a deeper understanding of various political movements. He also called attention to the temple records extending over nearly three centuries, which show how the various castes were inter-related in the context of services, and also the crucial position of the king in relation to the castes which formed the bulk of Hindu society. Such studies, he held, might give us more insight than we could think of.

Third Business Session

Chairman : Prof. N. K. Bose

Rapporteurs : Dr. S. Saberwal
Mr Biswajit Sen

DR. N. R. RAY started the session by listing the emerging points of consensus at the conference. The following were raised by him for general consideration by the participants.

1. Some work on 'vanishing cultures' continued to be warranted, but sustained work should focus on India's changing culture as a whole. A genuine and sincere interest should be developed to understand the existing problems and needs.
2. Development of a national perspective and a national definition of problems is a matter of urgency.
3. All studies, micro- and macro-, should be placed against the totality of Indian civilization.
4. Funds for the discipline's growth and research will be available provided the research is useful in the interest of the country and makes some impact on the public.

In connexion with organisational problems the Chairman said that a lot of data concerning various temples, deities, and associated institutions were lying unused. Some organisation should take charge of collecting these data and making them available to scholars.

DR. SRINIVAS requested Dr. Roy Burman (Census Organization) and Dr. Sinha (Anthropological Survey) to supply notes which would outline the range of data and reports in their establishments.

DR. T. N. MADAN, presenting his paper on "Urgent Research in Social Anthropology in Kashmir", said that the urgency in his paper referred more to vanishing cultural practices and to conceptual clarification than to vanishing peoples or to application, though he was fully aware of the importance of the latter. He stressed the urgency of salvage anthropology in Ladakh.

Kashmiri Muslims also should be studied because they were a good illustration of how the conversion of Hindus to Islam resulted in, *inter alia*, the Hinduization of Islam. These Muslims had endogamous, hereditary occupational groups, analogous to Hindu artisan and service castes.

Recent land reforms and other political and economic changes had altered the structure of social relations in villages among Muslims themselves and between them and Hindus. These changes should be studied at both the micro- and the macro-levels.

The *Gujars*, a nomadic tribe, should be studied since they had started settling down, and intermarriages between the *Gujars* and the Muslims had taken place.

DR. A. BHAGABATI in his paper regretted that research in Assam region had concentrated on the tribal peoples of the hills and neglected the plains. The study of social changes resulting from voluntary community legislation, e. g., from matriliney to patriliney, which resulted in a change of residence rules and other cultural aspects was essential. The study of social tensions which had become important in Assam in the last decade lay mid-way between pure research and the welfare type of applied research. Bhagabati also suggested that field-reports produced by post-graduate students might be of great use if properly edited. He urged the Conference to pass a resolution asking universities to allow faculty members to take study leave with pay.

MR BISWAJIT SEN presented his paper. The Western Himalaya had a common international border with Tibet and Pakistan. He stressed the importance of urgent research in those areas, neglected so far by anthropologists and sociologists. His note described the rapid transformation in the economic, political, and social situation, resulting partly from the development of road links and other projects undertaken by the Government. He also referred to the impact of the Tibetan culture on the religious and social life of the peoples, who had little contact with the plains people of India. He argued that economic change had induced changes in the social and religious institutions, and a new political situation had developed.

The three papers were then opened for discussion. DR. ROY BURMAN suggested that the regions of Ladakh and Kashmir should be studied in different perspectives. DR. N. R. RAY pointed out the Institute's interest in the Northern areas. The role of Buddhist monasteries in those areas would be an interesting study since all the land belonged to the monasteries. He said that the study of the *Gujars* should not be confined to Kashmir only because they were scattered over a wider area.

DR. SACHCHIDANANDA mentioned a resolution passed by the Raj Gonds, in

which they decided to change their practice of accepting bride-price, but in practice this has not yet been accepted. He was curious about the effectiveness of community legislation in Assam.

DR. A. M. SHAH pointed out that it was necessary to distinguish between written laws and customary laws even with regard to traditional legal systems in India.

In the second half the following papers were presented.

DR. DUBE presented a summary of his paper. He stressed that the concepts of purity and pollution in different regional settings had not been studied adequately. The urgency of studying inter-village political networks of individual castes was emphasized. He suggested a study in the Lacadive islands, where the society was matrilineal and the religion was Islam : analysis of the impact of matriliney on Islam and of Islam on matriliney should be rewarding. The pattern of duolocal residence involving the absence of conjugal family needed careful study.

FATHER FUCHS presented a summary of his paper "Urgent Anthropological Research in Middle India". He proposed as urgent the study of the attitude of non-tribals dominant in tribal areas towards the tribal welfare schemes of the Indian government, as also the study of the so-called "messianic movements". He also said that through the study of language the history of the aboriginals and their origins could be learned. Folklore should also be studied to understand the history of their migrations and different cultural aspects to a greater extent.

DR. JAY presented his paper "Social Anthropological Research in Chhatisgarh". He suggested that each problem be considered on two different counts : (1) its social relevance and (2) its scientific relevance. Criticising Uberoi's view he stressed that for a scientific study of the situation the dichotomy between national v. international must be discarded : in science there could be no "national" viewpoint. We should be specific about the problem ; a "vanishing culture" should not be taken to mean the numerical decay of a population. Instead of studying a whole civilization, which is difficult, we should study particular villages thoroughly, and it may be useful to apply network concepts in the study of regions.

DR. T. B. NAIK presented a summary of his paper "Urgent Research in Social Anthropology (with reference to Madhya Pradesh)". He mentioned that little was known about the Bardic tribes, the Korkus and the Gonds. Different tribes and castes had created political problems. Without scientific

study it would be difficult to understand the reasons. The weekly markets and panchayats should also be studied extensively.

DR. MATHUR presented a summary of his paper "Social Anthropology of Uttar Pradesh". He said that social change, social stratification, industrialisation, etc. should be studied as urgent problems. The tribes Tharus and Bhoksas in the *terai* region of U. P. should be studied in the context of development of sugar-cane industries there. The western part of U. P. had changed rapidly due to industrialisation while the eastern part of U. P. had not changed nearly as much.

DR. BERREMAN presented a summary of Dr. R. D. Sanwal's paper. Dr. Sanwal stressed the study of the caste's regional basis. He also urged that mobility and change be studied at length. Useful records were available with the Chiefs and Rajas of the princely states which had continued in U. P. Hills until recent years.

DR. SABERWAL said, in reference to Jay, that a "national" perspective would emerge as a consequence of decisions concerning the content of the educational process and the allocation of resources. Such a perspective would not exclude the use of non-Indian viewpoints.

DR. SHAH stated that we should be careful in using the terms 'caste' and 'tribe'. Several groups have been labelled as tribes by anthropologists although they do not have the so-called tribal characteristics. Should the anthropologists label a group as a tribe simply because it is labelled so by the Government ?

DR. JAY replied that we should be careful about the possibility that a particular tribal group had retained its characteristics and had not changed.

DR. UBEROI stated that problems in the caste system should be studied from the view points of the sociology of religion, sociology of politics, sociology of kinship, and sociology of economics. He also mentioned that the residence patterns in the Lacadive Islands had similarities with local organization in Melanesia.

DR. NAIK agreed with Shah in that some tribal groups behaved like castes though they were called tribes.

DR. SRINIVAS suggested that Bardic groups distributed in Rajasthan and Gujarat should also be studied to find out their relationship with the Bardic tribes of Madhya Pradesh.

Fourth Business Session

Chairman : Prof. N. K. Bose
Rapporteurs : Dr. S. K. Ghosh
Shri Biswajit Sen

At the beginning of the session DR. N. R. RAY spoke of the value of foreign collaboration in anthropological research and specially emphasised the necessity of collaboration with neighbouring countries such as Burma, Ceylon, Afghanistan, etc. He requested Dr. Sinha to draw up the resolutions of the Seminar. The meeting was then handed over to the Chairman.

The following papers were presented in the first half of the session :

DR. SACHCHIDANANDA in presenting his paper asserted that for northern Bihar our major source still was Grierson's *Peasant Life*. He discussed the role of the tribals—both Christian and non-Christian—in the formation of the tribal solidarity group “Birsa Seva Dal”; the rise of a new tribal elite ; the frustration of the tribals' political ambition through betrayal by their leaders ; inspiration from Assam for the demand for Jharkhand State ; casteism with its peculiar shape in Bihar ; intercaste, intercommunal, and tribal—non-tribal tensions ; caste riots ; failure of Panchayati Raj due to the authoritarian tradition in the social life of Bihar ; the special problems of tribals in non-tribal areas ; the transformation of tribes into castes, e. g., the Oraons becoming Mahatos in the Shahabad area in Northern Bihar. He called for a regular survey of changes in tribal Bihar.

DR. VIDYARTHI presented his paper and said that he and Dr. Sachchidananda had shared between them the tribal areas in Bihar and so he spoke only of the problems of Southern Bihar, in particular Chotanagpur. His was mainly a stock-taking of work—anthropological or otherwise—done on Bihar. He pointed out that tribals of all kinds can be found in Bihar, starting from the food-gatherers, hunters, and nomads including some who had settled and colonised. He urged urgent study of tribal villages, institutions, values and symbols, which were under severe stress due to the growth of industry, mining, etc., in Southern Bihar. Though some studies had been done and others were in process, we have no specialised study of a particular community or village in Bihar.

The Chairman intervened to say that Bihar had a unique tribal situation as they had been exposed to extensive industrialisation.

DR. GARDNER was surprised to find that the middle-class and the elites had been mentioned only among the tribals in this Conference. He called for a careful study of the middle and upper-classes in Indian society at large. He was a bit sceptical of Sachchidananda's statement about authoritarianism resulting from foreign rule and opined that, even before foreign rule, the quality of inter-personal relations had not been very different. He drew attention to a passage from Tamil Sangam literature as an example.

DR. SABERWAL in reference to Sachchidananda, wished to know what sanctions, what effectiveness, anthropologists' ideas concerning tribal groups would have with the powers-that-be. He also asked Vidyarthi whether tribesmen in Bihar gave him their co-operation in his research although he was a plainsman—when the tribesmen were trying to oust plainsmen from the University.

DR. UBEROI commenting on Vidyarthi's paper, wanted to know on what principles of priority a selection could be made among his various problems : He also queried the precise relevance of Vidyarthi's theoretical framework and pointed out that the Malinowski citation did not fit in with Vidyarthi's paper.

DR. ROY BURMAN commenting on Gardner, pointed out the varied contexts of literacy, population and typology in which the middle-class had to be studied. Regarding Sachchidananda he suggested that land alienation took place in many different ways. The socio-political impact of Chotanagpur people working in Assam and returning home had also to be considered. He called attention to the census department's work in North Bihar, specially the collection of the *terra cotta* materials.

FATHER FUCHS : Since Christian converts were mentioned he wanted to know the role of the tribal Christians in the movements in Bihar. Was it Christianity or education which was more important ?

DR. NAIK was surprised at the phrase tribal middle-class. He opined that middle-class in general has everywhere almost the same aspirations, the same psychology.

DR. SRINIVAS returned to his analogy of 'a child in a sweetmeat shop', meaning that there were so many problems to be studied and, perhaps, individual workers should be left to work on what problems they could, with

whatever resources they could muster. However, though each area was unique, there should be some priorities.

DR. SHAH was worried about the problem of class and asked how far it was relevant to behaviour in traditional Indian society.

DR. GARDNER thought that class referred in part to a style of life, and whether or not it was an important determinant of behaviour in India had to be examined empirically.

The Chairman intervened to say that although the problems raised by the two speakers specifically concerned Bihar, these were not simply Bihari problems but were the problems of rapid modernisation taking place in various parts of India and should therefore engage our immediate attention. Some studies on the middle-class were already available in Bengali by Bengalis, including his own work and that of Dr. Niharranjan Ray. He then read passages from a book by the late Dr. Rajendra Prasad, published in 1939 on the Bengali-Bihari question to stress the relevance of understanding the struggle of underprivileged groups for gaining a place in the sun.

DR. SACHCHIDANANDA said that he was not aware of any anthropological study of the middle-class and of the legacy of foreign rule (Surajit Sinha informed him that two research fellows were working at the Anthropological Survey on the *Bhadra Lok-Chotelok* phenomenon). He opined that dependance on authority is part of the Indian national character. He agreed with Father Fuchs that the role of Christian converts both tribal and non-tribal must be studied.

DR. VIDYARTHI remarked that tribal groups had available two models for acculturative emulation : that of Hinduism and that of Christianity : the study of the religious ideas of Hindu villages in the vicinity would be helpful in understanding the choices of the tribal groups. The political tensions did not affect his research on tribal leadership adversely, for the presence of tribal students in his department gave the tribal peoples confidence in him. He accepted the value of Roy Burman's suggestion for inter-regional studies. However, Naik's objection against his typology was unacceptable to him. He said that the typology used by him had proved its worth, and it was useful in other areas also. He did not understand the worries expressed by Srinivas about the emphasis on research in Chotanagpur. After all his was a stock-taking for Chotanagpur.

DR. SINHA described a case study of 'Dadaism' among a group of scientists in Calcutta and asserted that Dadaism had functional value.

The second half of the session started with DR. AIYAPPAN's paper. He raised several problems from peninsular India such as matrilineal communities changing to patriliney, past changes of patrilineal communities to matriliney, mobility of castes, change in caste names, further studies of the Nayara and Iravas, particularly in the Travancore region, vanishing communities such as the Devadasis and Jains, and historical problems such as the disappearance of the Pana and Irava from Madras State during medieval times. He drew attention to the numerous castes and tribes of southern India which have never been studied by anthropologists.

DR. SHAH mentioned three doctoral dissertations at the University of Baroda on South Indian communities and pleaded for their publication : on the Muthuvans by P. T. Thomas, on the Nayars by K. R. Unni, and on religion in three Travancore tribes by Gnanambal.

DR. GARDNER was surprised at the gaps in the South Indian tribal studies. He referred, however, to several foreign scholars working on South Indian society.

DR. SRINIVAS also mentioned the work done at Baroda, specially Unni's thesis on the Nayars and a study at Oxford and wanted them to be published as early as possible.

DR. ROY BURMAN wanted a thorough study of the different 'Adi' movements.

DR. ABBI then presented his paper on "Some neglected aspects of North Indian Family". He posed some fundamental problems on the family structure of North India and stressed the need to analyze the consequences of recent social and occupational changes for the structure of the family.

DR. SHAH gave some information about similar work done by Orenstein, Kolenda and himself. He suggested that the use of such terms as the nuclear and extended family be avoided.

DR. JAY cited a Chhatisgarh *mālgūzār* nuclear family which assembles on various occasions like an extended family, with its members returning to the village from cities.

DR. GILL dwelt on the method of analysis and drew parallels from linguistic analysis. He pointed out that the use of the comparative method required study of oppositions, bearing in mind that not all oppositions have the same

kind of functional lead.

DR. JAY : On a symbolic level also it is important to study the family. For example, in the Chhaṭisgarhī case just cited, when members of the family assemble, they put on village clothing, avail themselves of traditional village services, and so on.

In reply DR. ABBI referring to Shah's comment about the desirability of avoiding terms like the nuclear family, pointed out that it was necessary to identify the critical points in the development of the family before deciding whether a particular term was applicable.

In presenting her paper DR. SHENDGE discussed features of Buddhist Tantrism. The problem posed by her was two-fold : (i) As Tantrism had long ceased to be a social force, its analysis will have to deal with source material available in the form of Buddhist works mentioned in her paper : could sociological techniques, designed primarily for the observation of existing societies, apply to societies of the past ? (ii) The development of a technique which treats Tantrism as a comprehensive system.

DR. KARVE pointed out that Shendge's version of tantrism was very narrow. She referred to the *nyasa* version in *Bhagavadgītā* and also another aspect in *Ramraksha*. She felt unhappy about the stress on sexual practices in the narrow version of Tantrism.

DR. SHAH said that the paper obviously reflected the influence of the sociologists at the Institute and asserted that sects were very important in social structure. Also, it was necessary to keep certain general problems in mind while studying the Tantric groups and to compare them with similar groups such as the Hijaras. It would be relevant to see the Tantras in the context of such problems as those of individual versus society, man versus woman, and purity versus pollution in Hindu society. The Tantras negate some opposites and reproduce others. Why do the Tantras negate caste and family ? He was interested to know not only the presumptions but also the practices of the Tantras and whether there was any fictive kinship system in the Tantric groups.

DR. MATHUR pointed out that the anthropological study of religion was of two kinds—transcendental and earthly. He wanted to know whether there was any magical element in Tantrism. He wondered whether Tantrism had anything in common with the hippies in North America today.

DR. GARDNER opined that the paper dealt with an enclave of anti-culture and, to that extent, treated phenomena comparable with those of contemporary North America.

DR. GILL asserted that the term 'inversion' would be more suitable than the term 'opposition' used in the paper, and he wondered whether this misuse of the term indicated a partial miscarriage of the influence of the local sociologists.

DR. N. R. RAY agreed that a major issue had been raised here. He pointed out that such esoteric practices and *laissez faire* methods facilitated the release of social tensions and acted as a safety valve to the larger society.

In reply DR. SHENDGE pointed out that in her short note she had chosen some salient features of Buddhist Tantrism which had social relevance, and the reasons for the choice had been explained. She added that Buddhist Tantric practices were of two types : magical, including six kinds of action (*satkriyā*), and practices aiming at psychic transformation. The difference between the Hippies and the Tantrics was noted in the paper.

The meeting was then adjourned.

APPENDICES

Editorial Note

WE are happy to present here a second paper by Dr. Roy Burman of the Census Organization. He reviews here the past and the continuing roles of his organization in ethnographic and sociological research in India. The scale is large: 600 village studies, survey of 200 traditional crafts, 1500 maps, one lakh cards indexing the data on different communities in various sources, and so on. In private communication Dr. Roy Burman has regretted that Indian academics tend not to use this major resource in their research. Considering the magnitude of the effort invested, this is unsatisfactory. Ways have to be found for improving both the usefulness and the utilization of this important decennial attempt at national self-portrayal.

Initiative in this regard has to come from the users: to their needs and suggestions the Census Organization appears to be sensitive and responsive. Victor D'Souza reports his experience:

. . .the value of the huge mass of census data for sociological research would be greatly enhanced if only the information regarding occupations could be presented according to the prestige dimension of occupations. From my personal talk with the Census Commissioner of India I could gather that if a standardized scheme of prestige classification of occupations could be evolved, this should be possible at least in future census studies. (Basic issues in sociological research in India. In *Sociology in India: Seminar*, 15-20 December 1965, ed. R. N. Saksena, Agra: Institute of Social Sciences, Agra University, p. 124.)

Communication channels between the academic users of the data and its suppliers, the Census Organization, should be given a formal, institutional standing; perhaps the necessary initiative can be taken at the next meeting of the Indian Sociological Society.

B. K. ROY BURMAN

The Role of the Census in Ethnographic Studies in India

THE first centenary of the Census in India is going to be celebrated in 1971. Ever since its inception, the Census operation has proved to be a great stimulant of ethnographic studies in India.

Before the commencement of the 1871-72 Census operations, committees of local influential persons were set up in several provinces to discuss the question of caste classification and the groupings of castes and communities. In the presentation of the Census data, the recommendations of these committees are broadly followed. In the 1881 Census, an attempt was made to record more minutely than on the previous occasion, the numerous sub-divisions of castes and to secure materials which could form the basis for a more satisfactory classification of castes and communities. The term 'tribe' was applied during this Census to the semi-civilized inhabitants of mountains and forests. They were shown as a special group of agriculturists though some of them did not practise agriculture at all.

In 1901 Risley, the then Census Commissioner tried to classify the Hindu castes into seven categories according to their social standing.

1. Brahmans.
2. Castes other than Brahmans.
3. Clean Shudras.
4. Clean castes served by degraded Brahmans.
5. Castes other than group IV whose water is not taken.
6. Unclean castes.
7. Unclean feeders.

In 1911 the general instruction to the enumerators was that each person be free to describe himself according to his will and pleasure. More or less, the same procedure has been continued to be followed till now. An enquiry was instituted in 1911 to ascertain the castes and tribes contributing more than one per mile of the total population and satisfying any of the following criteria.

1. Denied the supremacy of the Brahmans.
2. Did not receive mantra from a Brahman or other recognised Hindu guru.
3. Denied the authority of the Vedas.
4. Did not worship the great Hindu gods.
5. Were not served by good Brahmans as family priests.
6. Had no Brahman priests at all.
7. Were denied access to the interior of ordinary Hindu temples.
8. Caused pollution by touch or within a certain distance.
9. Buried their dead.
10. Ate beef and did not reverence the cow.

In the 1921 Census the term 'depressed classes' was used for the first time, but it was not adequately defined. It seems to have included a wider range of castes and tribes than the untouchables.

Along with the 1931 Census a special enquiry was conducted throughout India on the basis of which communities properly classifiable as tribes were distinguished from castes and among the former those classifiable as primitive tribes were listed. An attempt was also made to list all the depressed castes in the country, and the Census Commission suggested the following tests to determine inclusion in the category of depressed classes:—

1. Whether the caste or class in question can be served by clean Brahmans or not.
2. Whether the caste or class in question can be served by the barbers, water-carriers, tailors, etc., who serve the caste Hindus.
3. Whether the caste in question pollutes a high caste Hindu by contact or by proximity.
4. Whether the caste or class in question is one from whose hands a caste Hindu can take water.
5. Whether the caste or class in question is debarred from using public convenience, such as, roads, ferries, wells or schools.
6. Whether the caste or class in question is debarred from the use of Hindu temples.
7. Whether in ordinary social intercourse a well educated member of the caste or class in question will be treated as an equal by high castemen of the same educational qualifications.
8. Whether the caste or class in question is merely depressed on account

of its own ignorance, illiteracy or poverty and but for that would be subject to no social disability.

In the post-Independence India, enumeration of castes as such, during the Census operations has been discontinued, as discrimination on the basis of caste, creed and religion has been prohibited under the constitution. But an exception has been made in favour of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes for the protection and development of whose cultural and economic life there are special provisions in the constitution. For the fulfilment of the constitutional needs in respect of these categories of population, the Census Organisation is required to enumerate them separately during the census operations.

This discontinuation of enumeration of castes is often criticized by the students of Indian society. They point out that in the social life of India, caste continues to be a real force and because of non-availability of castewise data for the country as a whole, which only the Census can provide, a thorough analysis of the social situation in India has become extremely difficult. However even in the pre-Independence period opinions were divided on whether caste enumeration should be made during the census operations. The following arguments were recorded during 1921 Census in favour of omission of caste from the enumeration schedule :

1. It is an anomaly that a Christian Government should indirectly help to prolong the existence of the caste system ;
2. The statistics serve no reasonable purpose as they are inaccurate.
3. The perpetuation of caste distinctions which a Census record implies encourages feuds between rival caste groups.

Undoubtedly, arguments on the similar lines played an important part in influencing the decision of the Government of India in this matter after the Independence.

However, because of the reasons indicated earlier, in the post-Independence period not only the scheduled castes and tribes are separately enumerated but also the data in respect of them are compiled separately in a large number of tables. In 1961 Census, such tables were prepared on the following items:

1. Industrial classification of persons at work and non-workers by sex ;
2. Age and marital status ;
3. Education ;
4. Religion ;
5. Persons not at work classified by sex, and type of activity for scheduled castes ;
6. Persons not at work classified by sex and type of activity for sched-

uled tribes ;

7. Mother tongue and bilingualism for scheduled tribes.

In addition to providing the statistical data, the Census Organisation has also undertaken the task of preparing ethnographic notes in respect of a large number of scheduled castes and tribes of the country. There are reasons why it is necessary to take up such studies for the Census Organisation. During its decennial operations, it is faced with the problem of establishing the identity of the various communities and their sections, which claim to be enumerated as scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. The social boundaries of the various communities are in a state of flux, and ethnographic studies are required to keep track of the changes. Otherwise, comparison of the consecutive census figures would give altogether a wrong picture. In addition to the problem of establishing identity of the different ethnic constellations there is another aspect, in which the Census Organisation as well as the welfare and planning agencies are interested. It is ethno-demography. It requires an analysis of the data available in the census tables in respect of each scheduled caste and scheduled tribe so that the historical and cultural factors responsible for the demographic pattern can be identified and the impact of the emergent demographic pattern on the social structure can be determined. The insight thus gained should also be useful for interpretation of the demographic pattern of the country as a whole.

The Census Organisation proposes to prepare ethnographic notes and monographs in respect of about 1100 scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. It is a massive operation. It requires not only research by individual scholars but also creation of an infra-structure which would enable the scholars to carry on their studies. Before giving an account of the infra-structure it seems necessary to discuss the perspective of anthropological studies in India in the context of which the ethnographic studies are being carried out by the Census Organisation.

As already mentioned the Census Organisation has a long tradition of ethnographic studies. Mitra, in his preface to the Tribes and Castes volume of West Bengal Census, 1951 pointed out "in 1901 and 1911 anthropologists of the eminence of Risley and Gait, were at the helm of affairs, their reports on the two censuses were largely anthropological and their chapters on castes and tribes have come to stay as classics... The Census of 1921 seems to have paused for breath but the following census burst forth into brilliant scholarship under Hutton in charge of India and Porter of Bengal". But, apart from the tradition of anthropological research by the Census in the country as a whole there is a larger tradition of such researches whose beginning can be traced to the last part of the 18th century. It is also necessary

to take note of that.

Four broad temporal divisions may be recognized in the development of Indian Anthropology. The first phase extends upto the 1880s. The second extends from the 1880s to the first world War. The third covers the end of first World War to 1950, the fourth is still continuing. The period up to the 1880s can be termed as the preparatory phase which was slightly marked by intellectual liberalism. 1880s to the first World War was the constructive phase which reflected the intellectual positivism of the age. The period between 1920 to 1950 was a period of confrontation between Indian and Western systems. In this confrontation there was a shift from the study of societies and customs to the study of institutions and their functions. The period after 1950 can be termed as the neo-exploratory phase marked by an eclectic search for new horizons. In this phase, it is neither society nor institutions that constitute the dominant interest. More emphasis is given to the dynamic inter-relations among institutions and among communities. At the beginning of this phase, acculturation processes received more attention; now the shift is towards inter-relations among communities in the context of an emerging world system.

These four phases though related to each other are not unrelated phenomena in their development, are perhaps more related to certain crucial situations in India's history as well as the world's. The preparatory phase in India started towards the later part of the 18th century with the East India Company taking interest not only in the trade and commerce of the country but also in creating a suitable climate for the trade and commerce to flourish. The importance of such studies was however more clearly appreciated after the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857. It made the foreign rulers conscious of the fact that if they were to administer the country well, they must know the people. A memorandum prepared round about 1860, indicated the need of studying the manners and customs of the subjects of the Imperial Government. Accordingly, a number of British officials were commissioned to prepare accounts of the manners and customs prevalent in various regions among the different categories of population. The studies of Hunter, Dalton, etc. are the outcome of this. The next phase, that is, the constructive phase, may be considered in the context of two developments. Firstly, the liberal formalism of the mid-victorian era was being replaced by new social ideologies more marked by positivism. It is at this phase, that the ethnographic surveys by Risley, Thurston, Enthoven, Roy etc. were taken up. The emphasis was more on specific castes and tribes than on regional customs and traditions. The third phase coincided with the growth of nationalism in India. Also it coincided with the weakening of the faith of the Indian intelligentsia in the wisdom of the West. In this phase anthropological studies were started in some universities, either as a full-fledged, or a part

subject. Though, a few monographs were prepared by Indian as well as foreign scholars like T. C. Das, D. N. Mazumdar, Hutton and Elwin, more emphasis was placed on the problems of culture contact and functional interpretation of various institutions. The fourth phase has coincided with the growing need of an ancient civilization trying to come to terms with the modern world. Here problems are not identical with those of the emerging societies of Africa or Latin America, being those of an ancient society fighting for its survival through an overhaul of its social structure. In this phase a number of exploratory studies in several directions are taking place.

In every phase of the development of anthropological studies in India, the Census Organisation not only has kept pace with the ethos of the time but also in some cases has served as the pace-setter. However, without further delving into history, the efforts currently being made by the Census Organisation in connection with the ethnographic studies would be briefly described here.

In 1961, a separate wing, Handicrafts and Social Studies Unit was set up in the Office of the Registrar General and Ex-officio Census Commissioner, India, to co-ordinate the various special studies including the ethnographic studies. From the very beginning, this special wing strove to build up the infra-structure which would make possible the preparation of ethnographic notes and monographs on a very large number of communities; and the following steps were taken.

1. Preparation of consolidated statements showing the position of scheduled castes, scheduled tribes, denotified communities and other communities of similar status in the different statutes and censuses starting from 1921. These statements have since been published in three volumes.
2. Preparation of bibliographies in respect of scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and marginal communities in alphabetical order. The bibliographies have been circulated in seven parts.
3. Preparation of cards, indexing the references about the different communities in various census reports and other published sources. About one lakh such cards have already been prepared. It is proposed to publish these references in due course.
4. Preparation of maps showing distribution of all scheduled castes and scheduled tribes on the basis of the data collected during 1961 Census. About 1500 such maps have been prepared.
5. Compilation of statistical data from earlier census reports showing the trends of change in population, literacy and religion among the

various scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. The compilation of data on population change has been completed for all the States and Territories. The compilation on change of literacy and religion has been completed for five States and Union Territories. In respect of all the remaining States and Union Territories it is expected to be complete within this year.

6. Analysis of existing information in respect of the various scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and other claimants to that status, for determining whether their inclusion in or exclusion from the list of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes would be justified. Such scrutiny has been done and necessary advice given to the Ministry concerned in respect of about 1000 communities.
7. Compilation of bibliography of publications in different tribal languages. Only recently this has been brought out and issued for circulation.
8. Collection of information about social mobility movements among the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes in the different development blocks of India through Social Education Officers and other Officers of the development blocks. Information in respect of about 200 blocks have been collected.
9. Compilation of information about the incidence of crime of different types among ex-criminal tribes and also about the surveillance maintained by the police over them even now and the steps taken for their rehabilitation. With the assistance of the State Governments, the data have been collected for almost all the States and Union Territories of India and a monograph is under preparation.
10. Preparation of a catalogue of tribal specimens in important museums of India. This has been done for twelve museums.
11. Preparation of index cards on the representations received by the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes during 1956-1961 from the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes throughout the country.
12. Preparation of index cards on the representations received by the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Commission which was set up by the Government of India in 1961. This work, alongwith that of preparation of index cards on the representations received by the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes has given an insight about the problems of the groups and their aspiration-motivation pattern. Preparation of folders in respect of all Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes containing available statistical data and extracts from published sources. About 1500 such folders have been prepared.

The above preparatory activities have placed at the command of the Census Organisation an infra-structure which today enables the research workers to take up work on any caste or tribe without wasting time for the compilation of the background information.

A few other preparatory works by the Census Organisation also deserve mention. But before that, the perspective underlying them needs to be noted.

It is a truism among the anthropologists that tribal communities do not live in isolation. But it seems that the meaning of this truism is not always properly understood. In the 19th century the social contacts of the tribal communities mainly centred around the market or other local agencies of change; but today the tribal communities constitute part and parcel of the nation state. Frequently, their social frontiers have global dimension. The tribal communities are swayed by infra-nationalistic and sub-nationalistic urges in the different parts of the country. To a considerable extent the preparatory works of the Census Organisation in the matter of ethnographic studies have been influenced by this awareness.

An important preparatory work undertaken by the Census Organisation is the compilation of basic data for constructing the socio-economic setting relevant for the study of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. These basic data include:—

- (a) comparative study of the demographic pattern of the total population and the tribal population of each State and Union Territory in different ecological contexts;
- (b) reconstruction of regional ethno-history with indication of the political status enjoyed by the tribals in different periods;
- (c) compilation of information relating to the agrarian structure and the special position of the tribals in different periods;
- (d) compilation of information relating to the forest resources and the forest laws with particular reference to the tribals in the different areas;
- (e) compilation of statistical data relating to health and medical services, communication facilities, development of activities, functioning of the political institutions and the special privileges for the problems of the tribal population.

This task of construction of the general setting which would enable systematic interpretation of the observations in respect of the different tribal communities has been found to be the most difficult one. Even after continuous efforts for five years not much progress could be made. But it is felt that any agency which is to conduct ethnographic studies on a massive scale must have the picture of the general setting in respect of each region separately, so that the tribal communities may be studied in their situational context and not in isolation. Along with this task of construction of the general

setting for each region, another task has been undertaken by the Census Organisation, which involves a methodological awareness.

In its approach to the task of ethnographic studies, the basic technique of the Census Organisation has been to formulate problems of short range adjustments in response to specific factors and also to trace the locus of long range trend which is the outcome of the inter-play of ecological, technological and demographic factors at different levels. It is realised by the designers of ethnographic investigations, under the aegis of Census, that in the study of any human group, both the local dimension and the global dimension have their own importance. In the context of the modern world, an ethnographic study will be a perfunctory one, if it confines itself to the investigation of the problems of the tribals at the local level only and if it does not examine the involvement of the tribals in the political, social and cultural institutions at the regional, national and other levels and also if it does not examine the influence exercised by the inter-play of different forces, including the ideological on the communities concerned. It is not easy to translate this realisation in operational terms, particularly when the ethnographic studies are carried out as rapid surveys on a large scale. But any ethnographer, who is sensitised about his surroundings will have to grapple with these problems or else he will be elbowed out of the field, by other disciplines.

It should be appreciated that it is not the mirage of disappearing culture which should haunt an anthropologist today, unless his anthropology itself is the vestige of a disappearing science. His main concern is to take stock of the emerging cultures and emerging societies. It is with this understanding of the basic task of ethnography that a few studies which would provide conceptual, methodological and substantive support in ethnographic studies have been taken up by the Census Organisation. These are as follows:—

1. Study of socio-economic development among the hillmen of north-east India;
2. Socio-economic survey of the scheduled areas of Rajasthan;
3. Pattern of rehabilitation of the displaced persons of Rourkela;
4. Shifting cultivation and its changes among the tribal population in different parts of India;
5. Socio-structure and cultural orientation of Christians converted from scheduled castes;
6. Traditional rights of scavenging as claimed by scavengers in urban areas;
7. Inter-group and inter-personal relationship among the tribal and non-tribal students of a college hostel in Manipur;
8. Perception of history as a dimension of attitude orientation towards

current situation among tribal and non-tribal population in Manipur;

9. Study of tribal and non-tribal labourers in the Tea Plantations of Assam and Nilgiri Hills;
10. Study of the extent of non-adherence to traditional occupation among the scheduled castes.

On each of these studies a separate monograph is under preparation. In fact, the monograph on Rourkela and the Tea Plantation labourers and also one part of the catalogue on tribal specimens are already in press and the monograph on traditional rights of scavenging as claimed by scavengers in two urban areas have been published. Report on the extent of non-adherence to traditional occupations among the Scheduled Castes, is also ready for all castes under the alphabetical series 'A'. It will be soon released for circulation. Another report on the occupational mobility among the Schedule Castes found to be engaged in scavenging and allied occupations during 196 Census is also ready and will be soon circulated.

One other study undertaken by the Census, deserves special mention. It is a survey of marriages with consanguineous and affinal relations among different communities in 500 villages of India. The data obtained through the survey are being published in a separate volume. It is at present in the press. Besides providing the statistical data, some analytical work has also been done in this connection. In respect of each community an attempt has been made to find out through library research and correspondence with scholars and institutions who have done work on the community concerned, whether the marriages recorded during the course of the survey are customary to the community or whether these are considered to be deviations from the norm. A second attempt has been made to determine whether there is a regional pattern irrespective of caste or community in this matter. The third attempt is to find out whether for the same community there is uniformity of custom in this matter.

Ethnographic studies of the Census have derived considerable support from three other series of studies. These are:—

1. Socio-economic survey of about 600 villages including about 200 tribal villages in different parts of India.
2. Survey of important fairs and festivals throughout India.
3. Survey of about 200 traditional crafts throughout India.

On the basis of these surveys, a few hundred monographs have already been published. These have provided considerable insight to the Census Organisation, about the dynamism as well as the stagnation in the different regions. Currently, the Census Organisation is preparing itself to launch upon another massive

programme, viz. that of preparation of directories on all towns of India. These directories, besides describing the physical aspects of the towns and the living conditions of the town dwellers, would provide information on their ways of life as well as on rural-urban linkages and continua. Each directory will also contain a section on the perspective of development and planning for the town. A few hundred towns situated in the areas, predominantly inhabited by tribals will be covered. Apart from the substantive information that this project will yield, it will undoubtedly provide new concepts and methods for ethnographic surveys and for the interpretation of the data.

The training of the research personnel has also been undertaken. In 1961 a seminar on special studies was organised with the participation of supervisory personnel at the State level. Later on a list of ethnemes (units of ethnographic observations) was drawn up with a five digit code. The major divisions in which the ethnemes were grouped are as follows:—

- I. Name and identity
- II. Area where found
- III. Origin and history
- IV. Demography
- V. Physical characteristics
- VI. Family, clan and analogous divisions of the community
- VII. Dwelling, dress, food, ornament and other material objects distinctive of the community; system of recording time, space, weight etc.
- VIII. Environmental sanitation, hygienic habits, disease and treatment
- IX. Language and literature
- X. Education and literacy
- XI. Economic life
- XII. Life-cycle (birth, marriage and death)
- XIII. Religion
- XIV. Leisure, recreation and child-play
- XV. Relation among different segments of the community
- XVI. Inter-community relationship
- XVII. Structure of social control, prestige and leadership
- XVIII. Social reform and welfare
- XIX. Bibliography
- XX. Glossary of local terms

The broad aspects of the frame and other problems connected with rapid ethnographic surveys were discussed in two study camps held in 1965. Further field training was imparted to the investigating personnel by organising a few field training camps in several States. A frame has also been pre-

pared for scrutiny of the ethnographic reports in a uniform manner.

An attempt has also been made to involve the scholars in the universities and other academic bodies in these studies. Three years back, a communication was sent to the anthropology departments of the various universities, that if they made available, their reports of rapid ethnographic studies on different scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, the Census Organisation would be happy to publish them and would be prepared to bear atleast a part of the expenses, through payment of small honoraria. The response however has not been satisfactory.

At present, ethnographic notes and monographs have been prepared in respect of 419 communities. Their state-wise distribution is indicated in the statement below:—

Sl. No.	Name of State/Union Territory	No. of ethnographic notes prepared
1.	Andhra Pradesh	24
2.	Assam	6
3.	Bihar	12
4.	Gujarat	13
5.	Jammu and Kashmir	1
6.	Kerala	26
7.	Madhya Pradesh	10
8.	Madras	30
9.	Maharashtra	97
10.	Mysore	16
11.	Orissa	61
12.	Punjab	8
13.	Rajasthan	2
14.	Uttar Pradesh	50
15.	West Bengal	5
16.	Dadra and Nagar Haveli	4
17.	Delhi	26
18.	Himachal Pradesh	14
19.	Manipur	1
20.	Tripura	3
	Total	419

In the preparation of the ethnographic notes and interpretation of the ethnographic data, the researchers in the Census Organisation are feeling the need of supplementary research in a number of fields. Some of them are indicated here.

- (1) Role of syncretism in culture change and social persistence.
- (2) Role of different economic classes in upholding different values in a parochialism-universalism scale in the context of the specific social histories of the different communities.
- (3) Occupational ethos and dynamics of persistence and change in the same, in the context of occupational mobility.
- (4) Socio-economic ranking of occupations in the context of inter-play of traditional values and modern values.
- (5) Changes in the nature of authority and influence and in the nature of sanctions for the same; shift of political and economic power in different contexts.
- (6) Problems of development of entrepreneurs and maintenance of social base on rapid expansion of market; and the introduction of technological change in traditional crafts.
- (7) Construction of a development model in the search for new social identity and new ideological horizon among tribal and other folk societies with different socio-political histories and at different levels of technology.
- (8) Problems of social and cultural adjustment on the transformation of a nation society under colonial rule to a nation state in the post-colonial period.
- (9) The problem of youth with particular reference to the inter-play of defence mechanisms and the forward looking social processes in a nation state in the process of incorporation in the world society.

It is hoped that the present seminar will be able to give some attention to these problems of great relevance for the transformation of descriptive ethnography into insightful ethno-sociology.

Resolutions

THIS Conference of Social Scientists was organized in order to consider the problems of urgent researches in social anthropology in India. (The Conference was inaugurated on the 15th of July and ended on the 20th of July 1968, the venue being the Indian Institute of Advanced Study in Simla.)

The Conference came to a number of broad agreements. The problem of urgency can be looked upon from two points of view. There are areas or fields of investigation in social anthropology which are of very great theoretical significance, and there are areas where problems connected with national development call for our immediate attention. It was generally felt that in India, both of these concerns could be combined; and it should be the purpose of social scientists working either in the universities or research institutions, to make significant contribution to both these fields.

The Conference was of opinion that in the study of problems in Indian anthropology care should be taken to view them against the general background of Indian civilization which, incidentally, cannot be confined within the political frontiers of present day India but extends beyond it. One of the characteristics of this civilization is the coexistence of diverse styles of life from the very primitive to the most technologically advanced. It is likely that the former are likely to be radically transformed in the near future in the context of the vast programme of planned economic development which the country has undertaken. This invests the recording of the primitive styles of life with an urgency, which the study of the adaptation of tribal people to industrialization and to the emergence of modern political systems is socially most relevant.

The scientists assembled in the Conference presented research problems each in his own geographical area, and tried to arrange them in an order of priority. These are being presented area-wise at the end of this note. A number of significant problems of a very urgent nature were also raised and observations of theoretical significance made in the course of these presentations. These were as follows.

There are a few peoples and cultures in India which are vanishing fast. The Jarawa or the Sentinelese or the Shompen may be taken as examples. Attention has to be devoted to them as quickly as possible. But on the mainland of India, tribes of this degree of isolation are lacking. For centuries

they have been drawn into the economic vortex of their more advanced neighbours even when they have maintained their identity for a long time. In modern times, they have rapidly, and also massively, been brought into confrontation with a fast-changing, modernized productive system.

This historical fact has given rise to several problems which require our urgent attention. The tribes, in any part of India, have to be studied in their relationship with the traditional productive organization as well as in relation to the new.

In portions of India like NEFA, Bastar, or the mountain of Andhra Pradesh or Himachal Pradesh, communities organized in terms of caste came into intimate interaction with tribal communities through ancient ritually organized fairs, festivals or temples. These interactions are now fast disappearing, and they should be studied and recorded as quickly as possible before they finally disappear altogether. The nature of the territorial networks of inter-relationship have been changing fast at the economic, social and political or ritual levels. Changes in those networks may also be made a special focus of study.

Through these and otherwise also, studies have to be made of the way in which tribal communities were brought into social inter-relationship with their neighbours in the past, as well as in the present. The present sudden and massive confrontation seems to lead to a fear among many tribes of losing their identity or individuality. Adult franchise has brought to them new political rights, and a consciousness that through the exercise of political power they can improve their economic and social position as they could never do before. This has led in some parts of India to the need of rediscovery of their separate cultural identity, and sometimes also of its exaggeration.

This phenomenon is of supreme significance from the social and political point of view, and it is a passing phenomenon which may not repeat itself in history once more. It is therefore of great importance that this should also be studied and recorded in every part of India as rapidly as possible.

India is a land of villages, where 70% of the people are yet dependent on agriculture. With the growth of roads, extension of schools, electricity, radios and so on, the rural folk are rapidly coming in contact with new forms of economic organization. But all sections of the population are not changing at an even rate. Numerous reactions have taken place in the past, and are also taking place now. And these have resulted in reformatory as well as messianic movements or sometimes in violent expressions of discontent as in the Santal rebellion of 1855. A full study of these movements is urgently called for.

With regard to the question of modernization, social scientists have to pay special attention to the effects of Panchayati Raj, the extension of industrial establishments, the effect of reform of land-laws etc. on the rural folk of India, whether tribal or otherwise. With the progressive disappearance of old cultures, new cultures are in emergence, and so are new classes in place of old. It would

be of both theoretical and practical significance to study how these new upper and middle classes are being formed in place of their ancient counterparts.

While studying the processes of modernization, as outlined above, it would be of importance to note how many of them came about through active social decisions, and how many followed unpremeditated efforts of revolt which eventually led to new social or cultural forms.

From the theoretical point of view, again, there are areas in India where patriliney has been replacing matriliney; and it would be of great interest to record how exactly this is taking place in States like Assam or Kerala. In view of its theoretical significance, a fresh study of the kinship system of the Purum Kuki tribe is urgently called for.

We shall now indicate area-wise, some of the urgent problems of research as suggested in the different papers presented in the Conference. This, however, does not exhaust the list of topics which may be included in a programme of urgent research in social anthropology. Keeping this in mind we are listing below some topics and groups for urgent study and would request colleagues to add to these others which appear to them important.

We have already mentioned the coexistence of different styles of life. We would like to emphasize the study of the tribe-caste continua in different parts of India and during various historical periods and of dominant castes in different regions of India.

NORTHERN ZONE

Kashmir and Himachal Pradesh

- (1) Occupational groups in Kashmir, Hindu or Muslim, and the way they are interlaced into something like a caste system.
- (2) The Gujjars and Bakarwals.
- (3) Monasteries and Buddhist communities in Ladakh and Kargil; particularly marital relationships in a polyandrous society where some profess Buddhism or Christianity or Islam.
- (4) Buddhist monasteries in Lahaul and Spiti and their relationship to the economic and cultural life of the people.
- (5) The part played by Hindu temples and Buddhist monasteries in the district of Kinnaur. Economic and social relationship between linguistic groups, like the Tibetans and Kinnauris in that district.

Assam

- (1) Interaction between castes and tribes through temples like Kamakhya, Hajo or trading fairs as in Doimara (between the Kachari and the Sherdukpen), and through the Satras or Vaishnava establishments.
- (2) Social changes brought about deliberately, as among the Rabhas.

- (3) Growing class-division among tribes themselves, and also among them and the plains-people.

MIDDLE INDIA

Madhya Pradesh

- (1) Study of tribe-caste relationship as in the Dusserah of Bastar. Changes taking place due to the extension of modern administration. Political system of Bastar.
- (2) A study of open or concealed serfdom.
- (3) Retrieval of Bardic songs and traditions.

Uttar Pradesh

- (1) Detailed study of Eastern U. P., and the effect of cane-sugar growing upon the Tharus, Bhoksas, etc.
- (2) Causes of the relative stagnation of Eastern U. P. district in contrast to the Western.

EASTERN INDIA

Bihar

- (1) Inter-group tensions.
- (2) Tribal social and political movements; their basic causes, the direction they are taking and the causes thereof.
- (3) The rise of new rural and also tribal elite.
- (4) The character of the passing culture and of the emerging one.

SOUTH INDIA

- (1) Ethnographic study of vanishing cultures as of the erhavas, Southern Nairs, etc.
- (2) Study of matriliney as among the Kurchi and in the Laccadives.
- (3) A detailed study of the Wainad.
- (4) Persistence of untouchability and backwardness, as among the Christian Pulayas.

Retrieval of records, making available census data or data in possession of Anthropological Survey of India or the Universities, or Union, State or private archives. This, of course, applies to the whole of India.

Recommendations

1. Data awareness and data Retrieval

(a) Each Department/Institution of Anthropology and Sociology and related discipline should circulate its annual report to the sister institutions. The reports should include information on the names of the teachers and research staff and research work of the department at various stages of progress.

It would be desirable to have this information reported in journals of anthropology and sociology in India. All these information should be compiled periodically at one central place and made available to interested scholars and institutions. Anthropological Survey of India may be requested to undertake this work.

(b) The Conference stressed the need for compilation, at an early date, of the unpublished M. A. and Ph. D. dissertations submitted to various universities in the fields of Anthropology, Sociology and allied subjects. The Conference stressed the need for the publication of abstracts of Ph. D. dissertations in anthropology and sociology, submitted to the Indian Universities, in the Indian learned periodicals. It was also suggested that arrangements be made for the micro-filming of all the above mentioned Ph. D. dissertations.

(c) The Conference urged the necessity for making available to the scholars out of print and rare volumes such as 1931 Census, Tribes and Castes Volumes etc.

(d) The Conference stressed the importance, for anthropological and sociological research, of unpublished documents such as village records, records of temples and monasteries, caste associations, documents of bardic castes, and the old zamindaris and princely states.

(e) The Conference would also like to emphasise the value of pamphlet literature on religious, political and social matters for understanding contemporary cultural and social trends in the country.

(f) The Conference wishes to stress the need to persuade the state governments and other relevant authorities to preserve these documents at the state archives for the use of scholars.

The Registrar General of India may be requested to compile information on available data mentioned above during the 1971 Census operations.

2. *The Conference stressed the need for universities and similar bodies to take a more active part in carrying out urgent anthropological research*

(a) The Conference noted that the staffing pattern of departments of anthropology and sociology was not such as to facilitate substantial research work. The Conference desired that the staffing pattern should be such that at least one member of the staff could be engaged in carrying out intensive field work and/or to writing by his field material. This would also require block grants of a quinquennial basis to carry out research on topics of importance. This would mean that steps should be taken to convince the authorities concerned that the carrying out of field research by the staff and the students of the Departments of Anthropology and Sociology should be regarded as a part of the normal activities of these Departments. This point has already been made in the Review Committee on Sociology of the U. G. C. and necessary steps should be taken to urge the authorities concerned to implement the recommendations.

(b) The Conference is of the opinion that anthropology and sociology have not been given their due importance in our country which is engaged in gigantic task of achieving economic development and instituting basic changes in social institutions and attitudes. In order to make up for the past neglect of the disciplines concerned it would be necessary to attract a percentage of gifted students to these disciplines by the award of suitable fellowships and scholarships by the U. G. C. and other similar bodies.

(c) The Conference recommends that the latest findings of the anthropologists and sociologists should be incorporated in the social studies syllabus at the high school level.

(d) The Conference also felt the need to introduce suitable changes in the University syllabuses in order to enable our graduates to undertake field and other research on a firm basis. The Conference recommends that the Indian Institute of Advanced Study convene a seminar on the Teaching of Anthropology and Sociology in the Indian universities, at an early date.

3. *Collaboration among scholars and institutions in promoting urgent social anthropological research*

(a) The Conference notes with regret that there is not enough active collaboration between scholars in various institutions. This has had detrimental effect on the quality of work carried out and has also led to avoidable duplication of research which a country like India, with limited resources, can ill afford.

The Conference urges the institutions concerned to take better advantage of the existing facilities for the exchange of visiting scholars under the U. G. C. scheme of visiting Professors and Scholars.

The Conference wishes to emphasise that collaboration should not be confined

to universities but should include all organisations carrying on Anthropological and Sociological research. It notes with regret that there is very little communication between the university Departments and the Government Research Institutions, both at the all India and the States level, and it stresses the need to take the necessary steps to exchange of personnel, on a temporary basis, between the universities and the government research organisations.

(b) The Conference considers it desirable that certain groups, institutions and problems be studied simultaneously by scholars from different parts of the world. The conference particularly deploras the lack of contact between Indian scholars and their peers in other Asian, and also in African countries. The Conference stresses the need to take immediate steps to provide facilities for the interchange of scholars in India and the neighbouring countries.

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