

THE STUDIES ON INDIAN TRIBES:  
TOWARDS A FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYSIS

A Dissertation submitted to  
Jawaharlal Nehru University  
in partial fulfilment of the  
requirements for the M.Phil.  
programme.

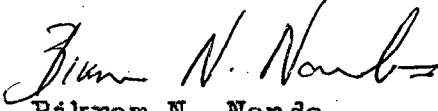
Bikram N. Nanda,  
Centre for the  
Study of Social Systems,  
School of Social Sciences

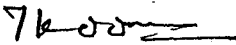
May 1977

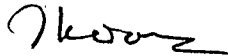
New Delhi

DECLARATION

Certified that the material in this  
dissertation has not been previously submitted  
for any other degree of this or any other  
University.

  
Bikram N. Nanda

  
T.K. Oommen  
Supervisor

  
T.K. Oommen  
Chairman

## C O N T E N T S

	<u>Page</u>
Acknowledgment	
I INTRODUCTION	1
II CRISIS IN BRITISH ANTHROPOLOGY	7
III TRIBAL ETHNOGRAPHY IN THE COLONIAL PERIOD	15
IV EARLY WORKS OF SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY ON THE INDIAN TRIBES	27
V CONTEMPORARY STUDIES ON THE TRIBES	38
VI TOWARDS A FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYSIS - THE INTEGRATIONIST APPROACH IN ANTHROPOLOGY	51
VII HISTORICAL MATERIALISM AND ANTHROPOLOGY	64
BIBLIOGRAPHY	75

---

## A c k n o w l e d g m e n t

I am extremely grateful to Professor T.K. Oommen for the invaluable guidance he has rendered me time and again. If he has criticised my earlier drafts, it has, however, improved the theoretical rigour and given the present form to the dissertation. The interaction I have had with my students at Jamia Millia Islamia has contributed much to the clarity of my ideas. And I shall take this opportunity to thank them too.

— Bikram N. Nanda

# I

Human thought in general, and therefore scientific thought, which is a particular aspect of it, are closely related to human conduct and to the effects man has on the surrounding world. Although it may be an end in itself for the researcher, scientific thought is only a means for the social group and for humanity as a whole.

— Lucien Goldmann

The recent approaches to Indian Tribal Studies, presented by L.P. Vidyarthi<sup>1</sup>, attempts at identifying empirical gaps and advocating the importance of eliminating them through ethnographic studies. The empirical gaps and inadequacies of ethnology and ethnography<sup>2</sup> on Indian tribes have often been identified and attempts at covering the All India picture of the 30 million tribal population has become the concern of many scholars. Vidyarthi works out the gaps and priority areas of research in the empirical landscape of the tribes. Indeed, the Indian Census, State Sponsored Tribal Research Bureaus, etc., have certainly accumulated very rich data. The detailed ethnographic material on the tribes is quite considerable. There is no denying the fact that micro as well as macro studies of a wide range of tribes already exist. Furthermore the number of scholars, missionaries, travellers, British administrators,

---

1. Vidyarthi, L.P., 'Tribal Ethnography in India', A Survey of Research in Sociology And Social Anthropology, New Delhi, I.C.S.S.R., Vol. III, 1972, p. 31. Also K.S. Singh (ed.), Tribal Situation in India, Simla, Indian Institute of Advanced Study, 1973, are a few among many such attempts in tribal studies.

2. The distinction between ethnography and ethnology is not quite sharp. Whereas by ethnography we refer to the professional anthropological study of particular tribes based on intensive fieldwork, Ethnology refers to comparative study of documented and contemporary cultures of different tribes and peoples. See International Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, New York: The Macmillan Company & Free Press, 1968, Vol. 5, p. 172.

novelists and specialists from universities, who have expressed their passionate concern with the tribes is considerable.

But despite such enormous empirical material, an adequate explanation of the present state of tribal societies is yet to emerge. The character of the social form of production, the contradictions located in the realm of the social form of production itself, the corresponding forms of exploitation, the developing forces of differentiation in the social organizations of the tribes themselves and the mechanism of their subjugation to the larger socio-economic formation, barely touched upon, have never been adequately grasped or rigorously investigated.<sup>3</sup>

Whereas, Vidyarthi highlights the gaps in the ethnography of tribes (such as the need for studying the North-Western

---

3. The existing literature in the field of Economic Sociology and Economic Anthropology has often confined itself with distribution and exchange, in the sphere of economics. On the contrary, an analysis of production has remained secondary and treated as being epiphenomenal. The following books are few among many which discuss "Work Organization", "Effectiveness", "Efficiency" and "Innovative Capacity" in production. Stanley H. Udy, Work in Traditional and Modern Society, Englewood Cliffs, Prentice-Hall, 1970; George P. Murdock, 'World Ethnographic Sample', American Anthropologist 1957 No. 59, p. 673; Manning Nash, Primitive and Peasant Economic Systems, Scranton Chandler Pub. Co., 1966; Clifford Geertz, Peddlers and Princes: Social Change and Economic Modernization in Two Indonesian Towns, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1968. But strikingly, the notion of production has been used as 'production in general. Earlier Marx and many later day economic historians have argued that production in general is a category with which no real historical stage of production can be grasped. See Karl Marx, Grundrisse, Pelican Books, 1974, p. 88. To begin with social production in general, and to proceed then to its direct opposite, consumption in general, is not a significant step forward. It replaces one historical abstraction with another, and ultimately progresses no further than the abstract ahistorical generalities. See Marx's Grundrisse for the outline of a historical understanding of production.

Himalayan tribes, etc., which have been neglected) he expels the possibility of any serious theoretical rethinking about tribal formations in Indian social anthropology. The theoretical and empirical state and status of concepts like tribe, tribalization, de-tribalization, tribe-caste continuum, sanskritization, revitalization (movements), Hinduisation, Christianization, urbanization, identification to great tradition, etc., so often used in anthropology need to be properly evaluated before we identify priority areas of research on tribal formation. Furthermore, it is important to identify the theoretical gaps which undoubtedly impose limits on the nature of our empirical research and investigation. These theoretical drawbacks and shortcomings frequently lead to an incorrect 'formulation' of facts even when they are perceived.

The history of Indian tribal formation as is presented or as is available to us now reflects the history of theoretical analysis of tribes. The concurrence of the appearance and disappearance of a new social phenomenon and the attempt to understand it is more striking in the case of tribal formations. Leo Huberman formulating this dialectical relationship between social reality and the theories of society attempted to "..... explain history by economic theory, and economic theory by history." For him this "tie up is important and necessary."<sup>4</sup>

---

4. Huberman, Leo: Man's Worldly Goods, New Delhi, Peoples Publishing House, 1975, Preface. Also see Ernest Mandel's introduction to Leon Trotsky's The Struggle Against Fascism in Germany, Pelican, 1975. The history of fascism is at the same time "the inadequacy of the dominant theory of fascism." p. xi.

The historical phases of tribal studies in India, one can argue, reinforces this perspective even clearly. In the formative period (1774-1919) the anthropological orientation of tribal inventories by British Administrators<sup>5</sup> crystallized within the framework of 'individual, isolated, segmentary' pictures of the life and cultures of the respective tribes. This phase of Social Anthropology, rudimentary in the form of ethnography, projected the All India picture of the tribal formation as a mere aggregation of 'republics' or 'communities' or 'sub-nations'. This orientation, conditioned by the colonial policies, coincided with the British-Colonialist regime in India and the disintegration of the native regimes - the break up of the traditional feudal estates. This orientation was determined by the colonialist interests and further determined the tribal and other social policies of the government. The studies from 1920-1949<sup>6</sup> are strikingly different from the colonial phase, the previous formative period. In this phase the attempts by mostly Indian scholars represent the studies of integration of tribes to the rising nationalist mainstream.<sup>7</sup> This orientation later culminated

- 
5. The prominent among them are W. Crooks, H.H. Risley, J.H. Hutton, J.M. Campbell, R.S. Lathan, L.S. O'Malley, et al, see Vidyarthi, L.P., op.cit., p. 37.
  6. A detailed identification of the different phases and the indication of the rationale of each of these phases in the tribal studies shall be undertaken in the following chapters of this paper.
  7. Bose, N.K., Hindu Modes of Tribal Absorption, Calcutta, 1928; Majumdar, D.N., A Tribe in Transition: A Study in Culture Pattern, London, 1937; Ghurye, G.S. The Scheduled Tribes, Bombay, Popular Book Depot, 1959 first published under the title 'The Aborigines so-called and their Future' in 1943.



in the negation of the 'fragmentary' and 'compartmentalized' categories<sup>8</sup> for analysing tribal formation and its substitution by interactional categories like "Sanskritization and Westernization", "little and great tradition" and "tribe and caste-continuum", etc. Since 1950's onwards, studies on the tribes have been more problem-oriented researches of power structure and leadership, of the effect of emerging "economic frontiers" on tribes, studies to assist tribal development programmes, community development programmes, studies on processes of change, etc. These studies were compatible with the post-independence difficulties of tribal integration and development. However, the present exigency, in the light of tribal unrests, movements and active participation in political protests, etc. — reflections of a deep underlying socio-economic crisis has given rise to a concern among scholars about the tribal question.<sup>9</sup> Thus our understanding of the theoretical crisis of Indian social anthropology would be an important step towards the analysis of this underlying socio-economic crisis in the tribal formation itself.<sup>10</sup>

---

8. See Singh, Yogendra, "Role of Social Sciences in India", Sociological Bulletin, Vol. 22, No.1, March 1973, p. 24.

9. See Singh, K.S., Tribal Situation in India, Simla; IIAS, Introductory Remarks.

10. The crisis in any theoretical thinking does not necessarily mean there is a crisis in the object of thought itself. But in the light of our review, this coincidence in the case of Indian tribal formation stands out clearly.

The task of construction of a theoretical framework for the study of the Indian Tribal formation is two-fold. Firstly, the outline of the theoretical crisis in Indian anthropology and secondly, the understanding of the crisis in the tribal formation itself. The two are organically linked. It is a theoretico-empirical critique — a critique of the way anthropologists are perceiving the tribes and the objective state of the tribes themselves.<sup>11</sup> This calls for an analysis of the state and status of the tribal studies and the underlying theories thereof from the perspective of sociology of knowledge. The link between the theoretical and conceptual framework of social anthropologists and the historical conjuncture of the societies analysed, lies in the domain of sociology of knowledge. Why have social anthropologists posed a set of questions as they were? What led them to pose a certain set of questions and not some others? These are the types of questions which we have in mind while reviewing the literature on the tribe. Though the attempt may not claim to be a contribution to theory, it is, we hope, a theoretical exegesis.

---

11. See Collectti, Lucio, "Marxism: Science or Revolution?" in Blackburn, Robin (ed.), Ideology in Social Sciences, Fontana, 1973, p. 373, for a better exposition of the meaning of a theoretico-empirical critique.

II

CRISIS IN BRITISH ANTHROPOLOGY<sup>12</sup>

The quasi-hegemonic role<sup>13</sup> British Social Anthropology had had its reverberations felt in Indian Tribal studies for the past few decades.<sup>14</sup> Nevertheless, there has been a considerable time-lag between the theoretical development of the British School and the Indian counterpart. In spite of the fact that within the British School, there were different currents of anthropological theorizations, the major impact was exerted by Functionalism. Functionalism was distinguished through the concept of 'equilibrium', which functioned as the problematic. The model of the primitive societies was assumed analogous to the functioning of a biological organism. (Malinowski -- biological model; Radcliffe-Brown -- Model of human body). Thus

- 
12. British Anthropology refers to the anthropological literature coming from the various departments of British universities from 1920 onwards mainly centred around the works of Bronislaw Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown; see Kuper, Adam, Anthropologists and Anthropology -- The British School 1922-72, Penguin Books, 1975.
13. "Anthropological studies in Britain grew up in the context of European and especially British Colonialism as a part of the colonial situation. Anthropologists for the most part did not question the colonial situation and the fact that they participated in it by investigating subjugated peoples. As they took the colonial situation for granted, often capitalizing on it, and some times actively supporting it, they did not perceive that colonialism created a colonial people -- 'the native peoples' -- under the economic, political and spiritual domination of an alien power which possessed and ruthlessly used the means of violence against them." See David Goddard, op.cit., p. 61; also see Gough, Kathleen, 'Anthropology: Child of Imperialism', Monthly Review, Vol. 17, No.11, 1968.
14. "Thus Indian Anthropology which was born and brought up under the influence of British Anthropology, matured during the constructive phase also on the lines of British Anthropology... On the lines of anthropology taught at that time at Cambridge Oxford and London." Vidyarthi, L.P., op.cit. p. 36.

each part of society performed a specific function for the survival of the primitive totality, perpetuating the equilibrium. The perception of social reality primarily crystallized around the immediately observable aspect of ritual or non-ritual social interactions. Thus the functionalists practice of field-work derived its justification as the supreme technique of data collection in Anthropology.

But Africa had remained the primary focus of British Anthropology for a long time.

"Africa remained virtually an academic monopoly of anthropologists until the fifties. It was also the primary focus of their field research after 1930. In 1943, Brauholtz, then President of the Royal Anthropological Institute, complained about 'natural tendency of British Anthropologists to study the inhabitation of British colonies.' He might well have added '.....in Africa'.<sup>15</sup>

The major bulk of conceptualizations in British Anthropology crystallized around African reality. The basis of Fortes' and Evans-Pritchard's opposition between state and stateless societies organized by a segmentary lineage system which became a classical, anthropological dichotomy (state/stateless) was a typical African phenomenon. The studies on the 'dominant lineage' groups was also inspired by the African tribal phenomena<sup>16</sup>

---

15. Kuper, Adam, op. cit., p. 136.

16. Evans-Pritchard, E.E. and Fortes, M. (eds.) African Political Systems, London, Oxford University for International African Institute, 1970. Also, Middleton, J. & Tait, D., (eds.) Tribes Without Rulers, London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1970.

✓ The study of the Indian tribes had never attracted the attention of British anthropologists for intensive research until the post-Second World War period. As far as the British School is concerned, the only department which developed interest in India, was the School of Oriental and African Studies, with anthropologists like Adrian Mayer and F.G. Bailey. Though, earlier in the thirties R. Firth and E. Leach had come to Asia, but it is only in the late fifties that works on India appear. This belated interest of British Anthropologists partly explains the initial time-lag between the theoretical development of the British School and Indian Anthropology.<sup>17</sup>

In spite of the fact that there is a lag in both the Schools of Anthropology, the impact and the preponderance of British School on Indian Tribal Studies cannot be evaluated without discussing the state and status of British Functionalism. The present phase in the history of Functionalism, provides the

- 
17. The excessive concern of Anthropologists with the caste system in India is one of the factors which explains the negligence of Tribal Studies. To outsiders, Indian society generated an interest in studies on caste and the entire Hindu society was equated with a caste society leaving behind these casteless tribes theoretically untouched. Even a recent work by Louis Dumont Homo Hierarchicus, London, Paladin, 1972 dismisses any rigorous study of the existence of the idea of hierarchy among the tribals in India in spite of the fact that large sections of tribes such as Gonds, Konds, Ranas, Santals and Mundas are integrated into the caste system on the level of "clean sudras". See F.G. Bailey Caste and Economic Frontier, Bombay, Oxford University Press, 1958. Kond-potters, originally aborigines, are now treated as Oriyas of 'clean sudra' status.

key to the essentials of its theoretical framework and the past history of its growth.<sup>18</sup>

Peter Worsley, R. Needham, David Goddard and W.G. Runciman<sup>19</sup> are a few prominent among many who explicitly recognize a theoretical and practical crisis<sup>20</sup> in British anthropology. This underlying crisis is more often realized by those outside the circle of anthropologists and also among anthropologists themselves. The following is the basic outline of arguments put forward to substantiate the theoretico-practical crisis. (1) British Social Anthropology represented functionalist analysis of 'primitive' societies. The concept of "equilibrium" was never critically examined. Either it was the 'static equilibrium' (Fortes, Evans-Pritchard et al) or 'moving equilibrium' (Leach, Gluckmann et al) model of society which dominated.

- 
18. Our discussion of the present crisis in Anthropology is the basis of our understanding of the past history and its past influence on Indian Anthropology. "Human anatomy contains a key to the anatomy of the ape. The intimations of higher development among the subordinate animal species, however, can be understood only after the higher development is already known." Marx, Karl, Grundrisse, Introduction, Penguin Books, p. 105.
19. Worsley, P., 'The End of Anthropology?', Paper for the 6th World Congress of Sociology, 1966. Needham, R., "The Future of Social Anthropology: Disintegration or Metamorphosis?" Anniversary Contributions to Anthropology. Leiden, 1970. Goddard, D., "Anthropology: The Limits of Functionalism". Ideology in Social Sciences (ed.) Blackburn, R. Fontana, 1972, p. 61. Runciman, W.G., Sociology in its Place, London, Cambridge Univ., 1970. Also see Banaji, J., "The Crisis in British Anthropology", New Left Review, 64, Nov-Dec. 1970, p. 95.
20. See Gouldner, A., The Coming Crisis in Western Sociology, New Delhi; Heinemann, 1971, for the best exposition of the concept of 'crisis'.

This represented a static analysis of society. Structures were defined to avoid contradictions. History was expelled apriori. The study of transition from one structure to another was viewed only in an organic evolutionary perspective. The idea that structures might be capable of internal transformations never existed in their theoretical optics.<sup>21</sup> (ii) David Goddard argues that the root failure of functionalist approach, was the absence of a satisfactory definition of structure.

Instinctively, they have confined themselves to the appearance of things, never attempting to analyse the relationships latent in the things themselves.... Structure has been identified with the totality of empirically given social relationships in tribal societies. It is, therefore, a simple and not a complex notion because it relates directly and virtually without mediation to the empirical reality of social life.<sup>22</sup>

(iii) Peter Worsely has warned

that if Social Anthropology continues to uphold its traditional concern with the primitive, it must inexorably die out with its subject matter, though this may take a long time still... as 'primitive' societies become incorporated into 'developing' nation-states and aggregation of nation-states and of ideological, economic, political etc. entities, often cutting across nation-states or subsuming them within blocks and groupings.<sup>23</sup>

---

21. See Banaji, Jairus, op.cit., p. 95. Also for a critique of functional analysis see Carl G. Hempel's "Logic of Functional Analysis", in May Brodbeck (ed.) Readings in the Philosophy of the Social Sciences, New York; Macmillan, 1968.

22. Goddard, David, op.cit., pp. 62-63.

23. Worsley, Peter, op.cit., quoted by Kuper, op.cit., p. 232.

A similar view argues that major bulks of the tribesmen are only peasants, emphasizing the point of extinction of the legitimate object of anthropological study.<sup>24</sup>

W.G. Runciman is of the view that social anthropology is disintegrating and merging into other social sciences, which amounts to splits within social anthropology and the break-up of the subject along with the transformation of its subject matter - 'savages'. The subject matter of anthropology is going to be the concern of burgeoning, regional specialists like Africanists, etc. That political anthropology, economic anthropology, etc., are merging into more stabilized branches like political science, economics, and so on. With the consequence that anthropology as a distinctive branch of social sciences, is getting subjugated to other disciplines and losing its theoretical status and empirical basis.

The above arguments put forward in the exposition of the crisis both in the theoretical framework and in the practice of social anthropology for Adam Kuper are not sufficient conditions for the disintegration of Anthropology. To Kuper,

whichever theoretical model is used, the distinctive anthropological perspective remains. This is to begin by assuming that the actors' models are part of the data... while his (actor's) familiar routine of participant observation in closely knit units must be retained, it will have to be combined with other techniques.<sup>25</sup> (emphasis mine)

---

25. See Kuper, Adam, op.cit., p. 237.



The alternative to the functionalist theory in Anthropology that Kuper suggests is "..... the new conflict model of the plural society, which originated in the work of Furnivall, and which has been developed particularly by M.G. Smith, Pierre van den Berghe and Leo Kuper."<sup>26</sup> Thus ".... I feel that Social Anthropology will not be assimilated to any Social Sciences, including Sociology.... that the Anthropologists can hope that their past achievements do still hold out promise for the future." Some later studies on the Indian tribes<sup>27</sup> have been in the foot steps of Conflict model (the alternative that Kuper suggests) and a critique of these studies shall be taken up in the later part of this paper. However, what is important over here is the fact that the traditional functionalist approach in anthropology is undergoing a moment of crisis. Whereas Kuper retains the technique, participant observation "combined with other techniques" for the study of the "plural societies" - he certainly recognizes the socio-historic limitations British functionalism faces and the inadequacies of the functionalist theory to explain present historical tendencies.

The present epoch is an epoch of crisis in British functionalism. The alternative models like conflict models, etc., which are suggested, are for us, symptoms of this crisis in functionalism.<sup>28</sup> Due to the lag, which we have already mentioned,

---

26. Ibid., p. 237.

27. See Bailey, F.G., Tribe, Caste and Nation, Bombay, Oxford University Press, 1960, Caste and the Economic Frontier, Oxford University Press, 1958.

28. Here we are concerned with functionalism only. However, in the course of this paper we shall attempt at critiques of individual studies employing conflict models, etc.

the Indian anthropologists are yet to realize the symptoms of such a theoretico-practical crises which British functionalism is undergoing. The inability to perceive the crisis and hence a theoretical rethinking to overcome the crisis will raise a considerable problem in perceiving the dynamics of social change in the Indian tribal formation.

In the chapters that follow we shall undertake a critique of the few representative studies on the Indian tribes in the background of this theoretical discussion. Since the present critique has been from the perspective of sociology of knowledge it will enable us to realize simultaneously the limitations of the existing tribal studies and acknowledge their potentiality to contribute to the explanation of individual social phenomena which have unfolded in the tribes under unequal historical circumstances.

III

TRIBAL ETHNOGRAPHY IN THE COLONIAL PERIOD

There is a greater commonality on the description and conceptualization of the Indian tribal reality during the Colonial period than in the nationalist or the post-independence phases of social anthropology. It is only the sharing of a strong Colonial orientation<sup>29</sup> that such possible consensus in the ethnographies of a wide range of tribes has been inevitable. Thus, any one of these studies is a representative work, from the point of view of the sociological perspective and the rationale of this phase of the tribal studies.

Risley, in The People of India, defines a tribe in the following ways:

A tribe as we find it in India is a collection of families or groups of families bearing a common name which as a rule does not denote any specific occupation; generally claiming common descent from a mythical or historical ancestor, and occasionally from an animal, but in some parts of the country held together rather by the obligations of blood feud than by the tradition of kinship; usually speaking the same language and occupying, professing, or claiming to occupy a definite tract of country.<sup>30</sup> (emphasis mine)

- 
29. The orientation of these early ethnographies was administrative rather than academic or scientific. They were intended primarily to acquaint the administrator with the diversity of custom in the different tribes. In spite of some sociological digressions, by and large the ethnographies did not deviate from the main task of producing "compendia of colonial information for the administrator." See Dube, S.C., 'Social Anthropology in India', published in Indian Anthropology: Essays in memory of D.N. Majumdar (eds.) T.N. Madan and Gopal Sarna, Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1962, p. 237.
30. See Risley, Herbert, The People of India, Delhi, Oriental Books Reprint (1915) 1969, p. 62. Exactly a similar definition was stated by W. Crooke in his Natives of Northern India, London, 1907, p. 36.

The clear description of tribes, thus defined, lead an independent existence, whose conditions many British administrators themselves have regarded as ideal. The tribes were mostly found in the hill tracts which are the home of the most primitive races that "probably preceded the caste"<sup>31</sup>. Unlike the caste based societies the tribes were single homogeneous communities. In contradistinction to castes, no section of the tribe ever claimed or associated with a specific occupation. The conditions of the hill-country, as described by the bulk of tribal inventories, were particularly favourable to the growth of these self-independent tribes. Each narrow valley with terrace cultivation on the adjoining slopes supported a small number of families, isolated from the outer world, and depending upon their own labour for all the necessaries and most of the luxuries of life. The tribals had occupied distinct tracts exclusively for themselves until lately.<sup>32</sup>

The beginning of the breakdown in the insularity of the tribes came as an integral part of colonization during the early part of British rule. Opening of new channels of communication increased the volume of non-tribal immigration into these regions.

---

31. "Few people in India enjoy a happier life than the residents of some of these valleys." W. Crooke, The Native Races of British Empire: Northern India, London, 1857, p. 37.

32. For instance, the beginning of Oriya migration from the plains into Kondmals coincided with the annexation of Kondmals into the British territory around the middle of the nineteenth century. See Bailey, F.G., Caste and Economic Frontier, Bombay, Oxford University Press, 1958, p. 36.

Most of the new settlers carried on profitable trade in the hills. The products of the new town-based industries penetrated the tribes. Thus the advent of this commercial frontier into a relatively simple, self-sufficient tribal economy brought about a rapid destruction of the tribal self-sustaining formations. This dissolution of the tribal insularity culminated in a greater dependence of the tribals on the non-tribals, who acquired large portions of land in various regions of the hills. The more tribal production developed a commodity character, the greater became the distance separating the tribes from the market, the more dependent the tribal became on an intermediary. The traders and merchants, in other words, the settlers' frontier found a place between the producer and consumer.

This often led to the merchant inducing a number of tribals, who until then produced as tribal, secondary occupation, to work for him, making their secondary into their chief occupation. Later the tribals were brought under their command as wage labourers. To draw them away from their tribes and to concentrate them in a place of work was a further step. All that happened in the process was that these essentially self-sufficient tribes were restricted little by little to one kind of work in which they become dependent on selling, on the buyer, the merchant, and ultimately produced only for and through him. The merchants bought their labour originally only by buying their product; as soon as they restrict themselves to the production of this exchange value and thus must directly produce exchange value, must exchange their labour entirely for money in order to survive, then they came

under his command, and at the end even the illusion that they sold him products disappeared.

In bad years the tribal's cash receipts were not sufficient to cover his requirements of cash; he was, therefore, compelled to borrow. Exploitation by usury capital was established on this basis. Even in certain areas, under these new conditions, colonialism increased the tribals need for cash directly through revenue collection.<sup>33</sup> Besides the tribal's payment of taxes and state revenues he had to purchase not only his luxuries but even those goods which were essential to consumption. Parallel to this in many areas, money-lending by non-tribals flourished.<sup>34</sup> In these areas barter was replaced by payment in cash. The only means available to the tribal of earning this cash was the sale of his products, not, of course, those which he produced in his backward home-based simple industry, but those which the industry of the

- 
33. For instance in 1765, Shah Alam handed over the financial administration of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa to the East India Company. Since Chotanagpur was a part of Bihar in its financial administration, its relationship with the Company started from this time. In course of the Company's rule, the original annual claim from Chotanagpur was raised first to Rs.14,100 - and then to Rs.15,041. This territory being a forested area where there was little improvement in agriculture, it became increasingly difficult to pay such a large revenue. The revenue from Chotanagpur was constantly in arrears. For a brief account of economic history of Mundas see Bose, N.K., The Structure of Hindu Society, Bombay, Orient Longman Limited, 1975, p. 49.
34. "When the Oraon has taken his paddy house, his first business is to repay with interest (generally at 50 per cent) to the 'Sahu Mahajan' — the rural Shylock — the grains he may have borrowed from him during months of stress. Besides paddy, loans thus repaid, an Oraon may have an old interminable account to settle with the Mahajan or money-lender." See Roy, Sarat Chandra, The Oraons of Chotanagpur, Ranchi, Ranchi Bar Library, 1915, p. 128.

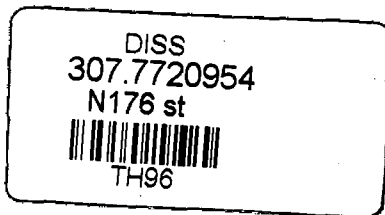
towns and the settled cultivation of the plains did not produce.<sup>35</sup>  
In this way, the process of change started, and large bulks of tribals were finally forced to become what we to-day understand by peasants - pure agriculturists. The further he was forced into this specialization then greater became the subjugation of the hills, the abode of tribes by the plains, the centre of their future administration.<sup>36</sup>

Under such a condition of economic crisis, the tribals whose existence was jeopardized by fundamental changes revolted during the late nineteenth century. Some of the tribal revolts are well known such as Sardar Larai (1885) and Birsa movement (1895-1900) among the Mundas, Ganganarian Hangama (1832) among the Bhumij, Kol Rebellion (1832), Santal rebellion (1857-58), Rebellion of Kacha Nagas (1880's), Kondmahal uprisings of 1860 and 1862, etc.<sup>37</sup>

- 
35. For instance, growing turmeric and a specialized cultivation of turmeric in the mountain sides is associated with the Konds in highland Orissa. Over a considerable period of time it became a convention and tradition that turmeric-growing is the work of Konds. The settlers, Oriyas, made their money by trading in turmeric. See Bailey, F.G., "Capital, Saving and Credit in Highland Orissa (India)" in Firth Raymond and Yamey, B.S. (eds.), Capital, Saving and Credit in Peasant Societies, London, Allen and Unwin, 1969, p. 118.
36. To-day, the tribal research bureaus continue to be situated in the capital cities of most of the States in India, not to speak of the Anthropological Survey of India which is at Calcutta - India's leading metropolis.
37. See Sinha, Surjit, "Tribal Solidarity Movements"; a review published in Singh, K.S. (ed.) Tribal Situation in India, Simla, 1972, p. 410; also L.K. Mohapatra, "Social Movements Among Tribes of India", Singh, K.S. (ed.) Tribal Situation in India, 1972, p. 399; Mukherjee, P., History of Orissa, Vani-Vihar, Utkal University, 1970, p. 481; E.T. Dalton, Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal, Indian Studies - past and present, Calcutta, 1872, p. 169.

The series of tribal movements and uprisings remained as the most vital and necessary expression of the socio-economic crisis which had engulfed the tribes. None of the British ethnographers, take account of tribal movements, revolts or rebellions. not to speak of the deep underlying tribal indebtedness and their socio-economic crisis. Risley, Crooke, Dalton and O'Malley who account for the major bulk of tribal ethnography in this period confined themselves to an idealized portrayal of individual tribes. Even if there are references to tribal 'revolts' or 'insurrections' in Dalton, the treatment of this syndrome of social change remains sporadic and partially touched. That the revolts could be a structural consequence of the tribal subjugation followed by the socio-economic crisis, remained outside their questioning. Thus, the staticity of their description expelled movements a priori even suppressing the empirical existence and the historical actualities of tribal movements. If the British ethnographers were 'empiricists' then they remained unfaithful to empirical facts. They failed to describe social realities that existed. Thus in the long tradition of British empiricism, most of them seem un-British. If they had described only what really existed, the works of many of them would be far more relevant than what they are to-day. Often enough, the tradition of empiricism has been criticised for its lack of a 'theory'. In that the empiricists did not really follow a theoretical procedure to present their bare facts and empirical descriptions. As of course it is. But what puzzles us even more is that many empiricists fail to record and care





to describe everything they see. They lack minute and disciplined observation in whatever they may observe.

However, the only reference to change we come across is the so-called 'cultural' process of 'Hinduization'. O'Malley and Risley have referred to Hinduization as an exclusively "cultural phenomenon" in great detail. O'Malley observed "Among many tribes there has been an infiltration of Hindus, which has acted as a solvent upon religious and social customs and has tended to disintegrate tribal organization. Whole tribes or sections of the tribes have been converted into depressed castes as a result of Hinduization."<sup>38</sup> In a similar vein Risley wrote, "All over India at the present moment tribes are gradually and insensibly being transformed into castes." From the ethnography of this period what emerges is a strong tendency among almost all the tribes to embrace Hinduism when they came into contact with it. As a prominent instance of this phenomenon Bradley-Brit mentions the case of the Santals who have adopted Hindu festivals and customs, though they are "one of the most exclusive of all the aboriginal tribes and still regard the Brahmin and his faith with all their old animosity."<sup>39</sup> The reform movement among the Santals, started in 1879 by Bagirath who called upon them to give up eating pigs and fowls and drinking liquor; and to abandon the worship of their tribal god 'Marang Buru' for that of the one

---

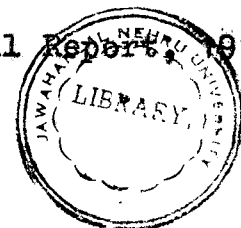
38. See O'Malley, L.S.S., India's Social Heritage, Oxford; Clarendon Press, (1934) 1975, p. 76.

39. See Bradley-Brit, Census of India, Bengal Report, 1911, p. 216. DISS

Y, 7244 'N7

L71

TH-96



true God. Risley thought that the Kurmis of Western Bengal are a Hinduized branch of the Santals, who though very particular with whom they eat, have no objection to eating cooked rice with the Kurmis. The Kurmis employed Brahmins for the worship of their Hindu Gods but not for that of the rural or family gaities.

Thus the concept of 'Hinduization' remained a bare description of the cultural process. The social content or the motive force of Hinduization was never identified. That the specialization of certain sections of the tribes on particular occupations might have been a force contributing to the conversion to particular castes became inconceivable in the framework of British ethnography. Even one might argue that the motive-force behind 'Hinduization' is not cultural imitation per se but a challenge and revolt against the socio-economic deprivation that the tribals were confronted with. In other words, it could be a 'cultural camouflage' for latent confrontation for social and economic power.<sup>40</sup>

With respect to the series of revolts, in tune with the partial understanding of the tribal problems the British Government, having failed to repress the militancy of the tribals, initiated a series of 'protective' legislations.<sup>41</sup> This led to the

---

40. For a similar critique of Sanskritization, see Harold A. Gould "Sanskritization and Westernization, A Dynamic View", Economic Weekly, Vol. 13, June 24, 1961, pp.945-50; also see Singh, Yogendra, Modernization of Indian Tradition, Delhi, Thomson Press, 1973, p. 12.

41. For example, the first enactment 1st January 1897 Kondmal Land Regulation or Article 60, 1936, in Orissa represent the protective legislations by the British.

official categorization of tribes as distinct from the Hindus. In the course of time protective legislations did not solve the problem of the tribes. Whereas in Chotanagpur, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa tribes continued to be dominated by settlers, in other areas such as NEFA, Naga Hills, etc., were virtually cordoned off from contact with the mainstream of Indian civilization.

The socio-economic crisis in the tribes, which were described to be "ideal" a few years before, never improved and several consequences followed. One of the important consequences is the socio-economic differentiation even within the tribes. By 1930's among the Mundas of Chotanagpur the system of land tenures was based very largely on descent in the male line from the original founders of villages, and those who are so descended had special rights, which were protected by legislation. There were two clear-cut stratified sections, called 'Khuntka Hidars' and 'Bhimbars'. The former, who were in a minority, were descendants of those who cleared the forest and founded villages before landlords appeared on the scene: the name meant 'clearer of the jungle'. They still retained full proprietary rights in the whole area included within the village boundaries, subjected to the payment of a fixed quit-rent to superior landlords, and had tenants under them. The 'Bhimbars', on the other hand included not only the descendants of the original settlers and co-proprietors, but also the descendants of those who reclaimed land and formed villages in areas where landlords had already acquired proprietary rights. Consequently they had no proprietary rights but had land

either rent free or on payment of a small quit-rent which could not be enhanced.<sup>42</sup> In spite of ample evidence of differentiation within the tribes and the emerging contradiction between the tribals and the settlers there is very little mention of these trends in the studies on the tribes during the colonial period. And tribes continued to be conceptualized as homogeneous "collection of families" or groups without any "specific occupation" in contradistinction to stratified, caste-based and differentiated societies.

The only exceptions from the colonial ethnography of this period are 'Mundas and their Country and The Oraons of Chotanagpur, by S.C. Roy. Although Roy quite clearly grasps the contradiction between the tribals and non-tribals he does not provide the causes of such a contradiction. This is partly because the economic history of the Mundas for Roy is more or less the descriptive politico-historical account of the governance of these tribes. Roy writes:

As we have seen the vital impulse that has hitherto regulated their tribal life and guided their social development has been the desire to secure alliance and concord wherever possible. In most of their institutions we have seen the social soul striving, in its own way, for union and cooperation within the clan, the village, the partia or the tribe. As for outsiders, Oraon tribal history has naturally made this people suspicious of all aliens. Although occasionally in the past they made fitful efforts to prevent the spoliation by alien jagirdars and thikadars of their rights in land, the tribe as a whole before long resigned themselves to fate.<sup>43</sup>

---

42. See Roy, S.C., The Mundas and Their Country, Bombay; Asia Publishing House, 1970, p. 62 and also see O'Malley, L.S.S., India's Social Heritage, Oxford; Clarendon Press, 1975.

43. See Roy, S.C., The Oraons of Chota Nagpur, Ranchi; Ranchi Bar Library, 1915, pp.436-37.

Thus Roy clearly takes note of the symptoms of the crisis such as the various revolts, the confrontation of tribals with non-tribals, etc. But the nature of the crisis in the very structure of the new relations that had emerged remained unidentified and unspecified. Roy's conclusions to the issues among the Oraons remained within the British colonialist orientation.

Roy writes:

It was reserved for their British rulers to introduce amongst them the shining light of education to quicken their moral nature, widen their field of opportunities and give them a broader outlook on life.<sup>44</sup>

Roy accepted the consequences of the British rule as inevitable and the only solutions to the problems of the tribes. The spread of missionaries in the tribes effected a large conversion of tribals into Christianity.<sup>43</sup> Eventually this led to the emergence of European missionaries as a reference group for the new tribal elite. This was also the period when literary and formal education spread among a section of the tribals, some of whom moved into the lower echelons of the colonial administrative machinery. This marked the emergence of a minority of educated tribal elite.

Characteristically S.C. Roy provides the link between this phase of tribal ethnography with the next phase that was to mark the beginning of the Indian anthropological tradition. In describing the culture of a tribe like the Oraons, for instance,

---

45. See Kharieleno Terhuja, 'The Christian Church Among the Angami Nagas'. K.S. Singh (ed.) *op.cit.*, p. 294; also see Mohapatra, Kulamani, "Christianity in a Tribal Village" in Bala Ratnam (ed.) Anthropology On the March, Social Sciences Association, 1963, p. 352.

Roy had on the whole under-rated territorial or regional differentiations, and tried to present a composite picture of 'Oraon Culture', which did not actually apply to any particular section of the tribe which lived as a 'community', and was separately identifiable either in space or in time. However, Roy's study may be viewed to be in the middle range between descriptive macro level ethnography on the one hand and intensive, microscopic study on the other. In this phase of tribal studies Roy had undoubtedly broken new ground by realizing the importance of a historical account in an appreciation of a tribe's culture, even though, this history was a politico-administrative account of the tribe. The tradition of intensive fieldwork in a particular tribe that was to follow the early phase of ethnography may be summarized in the following reflection of N.K. Bose on S.C. Roy's intellectual resilience.

To this extent he paid a homage to the functionalist school by his confession to the present writer a few months before he passed away that if he were to be given the chance of living his life over again, he would disregard all the ethnographic accounts which he had written in the past. Instead he would busy himself in a small village of a small region, and study in microscopic detail how the life of the community was built up, as well as the culture. This desire to engage in a new adventure of intensive microscopic was proof of his superb intellectual resilience.<sup>46</sup>

---

46. See Bose, N.K., Introduction to S.C. Roy's Studies in Indian Anthropology, Indian Studies past and present, Calcutta, 1966, p. iii.

IV

EARLY WORKS OF SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY ON THE INDIAN TRIBES

Whereas the first phase of tribal studies could be distinguished by ethnography, the second phase which almost coincided with the beginning of Anthropology as an academic discipline in Indian universities<sup>47</sup> may be termed as the phase of early Social Anthropology on the tribes. There is, however, a less obvious difference between the first and the second phase of tribal studies. It cannot be said that the first phase is purely descriptive while the second is analytic and concerned with problems. The difference is rather one of degree. The earlier concepts of ethnographers were no more than conveying the social and cultural picture of tribes. The studies in the second phase, when more Indians entered the field, have followed earlier model and produced comprehensive volumes on tribes as well as individual tribes, but have done more than that. For these social anthropologists the priority was to confine to

---

47. The process of acceptance of anthropology as an academic discipline in Indian universities came as a very slow process. The first autonomous department started in 1920 at Calcutta University. Then short courses in anthropology were developed at different universities as a part of the curricula in economics, political science, philosophy, sociology, etc. The department at Lucknow University was the second in the country to have instituted the second chair of professorship. See, M.N. Srinivas and M.N. Panini, 'The Development of Sociology and Social Anthropology in India', Sociological Bulletin, Delhi, Journal of Indian Sociological Society, Vol. 22 No.2, Sept. 1973.

those particular tribes which helped them to recognize few common issues and problems of general reference. Often there were attempts to understand not only a particular tribe, but even a segment within a tribe, never been tempted to portray all they could of their chosen tribes for personal observations. This theoretical orientation crystallized within the framework of functionalism but never reached the functional rigour of analysis. Though it is difficult to say that the studies between 1919 to 1949 could be categorised into this phase yet for all analytical conveniences one can identify the rationale in the writings of this period.

This phase in its development, characterized by the beginning of detailed monographic studies of individual tribes, mostly through anthropological fieldwork and enquiry, was also determined by the social milieu and the need of the historical conjuncture as it were. The earlier accounts of tribes, insufficient in their understanding of the social structure were never adequate for an intensive understanding of the problems and issues involved. This demanded the need for detailed studies of tribal groups. In this phase the earlier classificatory scheme of various tribes with reference to "common descent from a mythical or historical ancestor" was often replaced by distinctions based on the nature of the social organization of the tribes such as hunters, fishers and gatherers, nomadic groups, shifting cultivators, peasants, artisans and castes or even on an appreciation of the territorial or regional differentiations as a basis of



classification. Perhaps the most crucial difference between the first and the second phase lies in the fact that the latter identified individual cultures not as isolated entities rather as a part of the total Hindu fold which were evidently inter-linked with the other sections of the Indian population. This perspective was a natural expression of the rising nationalist movement in India. The most representative of this period is G.S. Ghurye's Scheduled Tribes, first published as The Aborigines so-called And their Future in 1943. This book was recognized widely as a major breakthrough in anthropological studies on the tribes.<sup>48</sup>

Though the perception about the tribes during this phase transcended the earlier conception, the tribes being viewed as the aborigines of the tracts which they occupied, their problematic remained the phenomenon of 'Hinduization'. Ghurye criticised many British ethnographers for their denial of the fact that tribals are a part and parcel of Hindu civilization. Ghurye wrote, "the so-called aborigines who form the bulk of the schedule tribes and have been designated in the Census as

---

48. 'His treatment of the problem is fairly exhaustive and the views marked by him mark a sharp departure from the conventional anthropological approach which looks upon the tribes as an isolated social entity... It must be said to the credit of the author that unlike many anthropologists who get lost with their anthropological excursions, Prof. Ghurye has viewed the problem from a broad, national perspective.' See Mehta, Uday, in Seminar (Bombay) October 1960, quoted in some opinions on the book Schedule Tribes, Bombay, Popular Prakashan, Third Edition, 1963, p. 403.

animists are best described as backward Hindus."<sup>49</sup> (emphasis mine) Ghurye discussed the assimilational strains and stresses probably from a different angle than Elwin had done. Elwin had distinguished three sections of tribes with respect to their degree of Hinduization, first such sections as the Raj Gonds and others who have successfully fought the battle, and are recognized as members of fairly high status within Hindu society. Secondly, the large mass that has partially Hinduized and has come into close contact with Hindus, and thirdly the hill sections, which "have exhibited the greatest power of resistance to the alien cultures that have pressed their border."<sup>50</sup> Elwin had earlier found a great difference between the two classes. "The second class has suffered moral depression and decay as a result of contact from which the third class has largely been free."<sup>51</sup> Elwin had identified the causes of the depression in the second category of tribals as being mainly twofold as far as contact with Hindus during the British days are concerned. Firstly, the loss of their land, lowering their prestige and self-confidence. The first cause had received attention from many scholars and was a wide ranging phenomenon which occurred lately in spite of the protective legislations. Conventionally a lot of prestige was attached to land among many tribes, thus transfer of land to outsiders lowered not only the economic but

---

49. Ghurye, G.S., Scheduled Tribes, Bombay; Popular Prakashan, 1963, p. 20.

50. Elwin, V., Loss of Nerve, p. 1.

51. Ibid., p. 2.

also the social status of the tribals.<sup>52</sup> The second cause according to him was the short and transitory nature of the contact with Hindu religion. Under such circumstances "the aboriginal becomes ashamed of his own faith, but has no chance to learn another - and the decay of religion is the result."<sup>53</sup> Ghurye accepted the former cause as an inevitable condition and premise of Hinduization. He took note of a number of tribals who lost their land to the Hindus. Some of them were fairly good agriculturists of the usual sort, carried on crude cultivation of the shifting variety. But this loss of land was largely an incident of conquest or a result of the favour of ruling families and later the British administration to settlers from plains. With respect to Elwin's description of the second cause of tribals moral degradation, Ghurye almost rejected this as being a very marginal phenomenon.

Ghurye's model of analysis remained one of integration as against the isolationist or atomistic model of earlier ethnographers. He viewed the integration of the tribes into the main fold of Hindu society as being an inevitable need of the national issue. According to him, in the pre-British era, the contact of the Hindus with the tribes profited the tribes greatly even in spite of the tribals loss of land to the Hindus. The tribals in all probabilities got their knowledge of agriculture

---

52. "As the full rights of citizenship in a tribe, however, are attached to property, the Konds are as a rule opposed to the practice of land selling." (T.J. Matby), The Ganjam District Manual (ed.) by G.D. Leman, M.C.S. Madras, 1882, p. 157.

53. V. Elwin, op.cit., p. 36.

from the Hindus. The Hinduized ones almost began to like settled life, and as a result of the creation of complex wants some sections became far more steady and mobile labourers than they ever were in their original surroundings. Ghurye argues that some of them no doubt must have lost their moorings and must have been cowed down by the "superior labouring capacity and staying power of the Hindus they came into contact with." But Ghurye does not consider this to be a general phenomenon so as to cause a moral degradation among the tribals. He considered the possibility of the less sturdy ones being succumbed under the stress and strain of the new situation. Whereas, there were others, according to Ghurye, who despite their loss of land, went on working as farm labourers and on the whole were better "fed than their congeners who retired to the hills and forests." Thus in Ghurye's integration approach Hinduization functioned as an inevitable and a positive phenomenon from which the tribes ultimately profited a great deal.<sup>54</sup> The process of Hinduization which resulted in the entrance of tribals back to the lower echelons of the Hindu caste-based hierarchy, thus justified the slow process of an ongoing integration of these segments of the Indian population into a larger Hindu cultural order. Ghurye distinguished three views on the solution of the problem of the tribals (a) No change and revivalism, (b) Isolationism and

---

54. "It is seen from the description of the life and conditions of a number of the so-called aboriginal tribes of various temperaments, and different reactions towards the Hindus, that most of them have profited by their contact with the Hindus." Ghurye, G.S., op.cit., p. 57.

preservation and (c) Assimilation. Ghurye criticised Elwin's attitude towards the tribal reform movements as "preserving tribal cultures as they are or as they were." Elwin desired to see the tribes protected in their interests and also stabilized in their old tribal culture. He was, according to Ghurye, both a no changer and a revivalist.<sup>55</sup>

Ghurye also criticised the British policy towards the majority of Indian tribes which was in its essence isolationist ~~is criticised by him~~ as "segregating the tribes." He particularly criticised Hutton who lamented the creation of new wants in the tribes that drive the more enterprising people to seek gainful work outside and the introduction of money economy as they lead to 'rapid' change in value. Hutton in most of his pronouncements<sup>56</sup> on the subject desired that no change should be brought about by outsiders. Because in that case it came about too quickly for it to be smoothly adopted. Segregation, Hutton argued, would provide that optimum of protection which would eliminate this chance of rapid and discomfortable change. Ghurye criticised<sup>57</sup> Hutton's isolationist attitude. And again recognized that Hutton unlike Elwin is by no means a no-changer, but who believed that isolation will alone procure the necessary conditions of a smooth, not a rapid change.

---

55. Ghurye, G.S., op.cit., p; 173.

56. Hutton, J.H., "The Connection of Difficult Nagas and Other Tribes in Assam." Census of India, (1921), 1923, Vol.3, pp. xxi-xxvi.

57. Ghurye, G.S., op.cit., p. 163.

In contradistinction to revivalism and isolationism Ghurye opts for assimilation and integration as a solution to the tribal problems almost in tune with the atmosphere of Indian studies in this phase of nationalist emphasis on 'integration'. Strengthening ties of the tribals with the non-tribals was suggested for the major problems of these backward areas. How such integration may be brought about was left as a matter of practical administration. Nevertheless, what was believed to be important is that the theoretical background can be provided by brief but integrated account of the social and cultural life of the tribals.<sup>59</sup> Not only was integration the practical solution to the tribal problem but integration functioned as a theoretical premise to understand the social structure of the tribes.

In the first place Ghurye justified substantively that it is not necessary to call the tribes aborigines in order to get their claim for social treatment recognized. He wrote: "To adjust the claim of the different strata of the Indian society on the ground of the antiquity or comparative modernity of their settlement in India is a frightfully difficult task, which, if undertaken, will only let loose the forces of disunity."<sup>60</sup> Ghurye emphasised the unity by identifying the similarity of a large number of important problems of tribals with that of the non-tribals. He identified that the problem of land and its proper

---

58. For an outline of the rationale of the nationalist current in Indian Social Sciences, see Singh, Yogendra, "The Role of Social Sciences in India." Sociological Bulletin, Delhi, Journal of Indian Sociological Society, 1973, March.

59. Ghurye, G.S., op.cit., p. 207.

60. Ibid., p; 13.

cultivation is very largely the same for a large section of Indian population, whether aboriginal or non-tribal. The large sections who derived their subsistence through agricultural pursuits were exploited in various possible ways by money-lenders, absentee landlords, rack-renters and middlemen. Ghurye believed that all the people who were thus being exploited were really backward. The identification of the commonality of the problem regarding land which also explained the tribal issues was for the first time identified and explained.

Ghurye's approach seems to be influenced by the broad framework of economic nationalism which culminated in the first decade of this century in the writings of Indian Nationalists.<sup>61</sup> At this time, with respect to the peasantry, the national leaders continuously, and in the end with some success, agitated for lowering of land revenue and for its permanent settlement. Many of them also pleaded for safeguards against tenants being rack-rented by landlords. G.S. Ghurye, N.K. Bose and D.N. Majumdar adopted the nationalist approach towards development and general welfare of the community as a whole of which tribal welfare was only an integrated part. The tie-up of the problems of the tribes with that of the larger sections of the Indian society was characteristic of this nationalist approach. Their primary concern was with aspects which were related to the problem of development and welfare in general and not with particular advancement in any isolated tribe or even tribes per se. They in a way

---

61. See Chandra, Bipan, Rise and Growth of Economic Nationalism in India, PPH, 1966.

refused to examine different aspects of tribal life in isolation from the central question of national identity. Thus, it is not a coincidence that many anthropologists hereafter took interest in the study of caste, religion, village communities, etc. This changed the traditional confinement of anthropological research in India to study of tribes geared largely to needs of administration.

The early and even later writings of N.K. Bose and D.N. Majumdar are attempts which are similar to Ghurye's understanding of the tribal integration into the Hindu fold. In his later writings N.K. Bose has emphasised a great deal on the problems of National integration, even after Independence. Ghurye's own writings such as Whither India (1974) and Social Tensions in India (1968), etc., in spite of being published much later continue to persist with the model of integration and assimilation of Hinduism by the tribes.

The approach certainly transcended the weakness in most of the earlier tribal studies that described their units of observation in an isolated frame of reference. Tribes were viewed often as independent units and described as self-contained cultures, without adequate consideration of their vital links with other tribes and the Hindu peasantry. What existed was brief accounts of the process of Hinduization. In contradistinction, N.K. Bose devoted a separate study, for the study of Hindu methods of tribal absorption in 1941. Ghurye deliberately refused



an itemised description of aspects of tribal culture which limited the scope for understanding their unity.

This perspective, essentially different from the earlier, made them ignore other aspects of contemporary reality. The brilliance of their grasp of the essential problem of tribes arose from the fact that they focused their attention on the integration of tribes to the larger Hindu society. But then precisely for that reason the weakness — the analysis of the tribes internal structures tended to escape their attention. An analysis of the emerging forces of differentiation, internal stratification, occupational polarization; and the emergence of the English educated tribal elite within single tribes was never considered important. They did not realize that even within the framework of their approach they could have analysed far more scientifically the differentiation in the internal structure of the tribes themselves and the conflicts and contradictions bound up in that structure. This remained the major theoretical weakness of the integrationist perspective in the nationalist phase as well as of the descriptive ethnography in the colonialist phase.

CONTEMPORARY STUDIES ON THE TRIBES

Studies on the tribes in the post-independence period have covered larger areas of anthropological investigation and have been empirically exhaustive. The research carried on in this period has been extensive thus surpassing research in the earlier two phases of the tribal studies. However, it is important to note that the study of transition and change in the tribes become as strategic in this period as the study of tribal staticity and insularity was in the colonial period. Social anthropologists begin to concern with matters of change at the very time in the history of tribes when change becomes a problem. They do so when rapidly increasing industrialization and urbanization has already threatened the growth of these essentially tribal and agrarian formations. And the process of uneven development in Indian economy posits the underdevelopment of these backward regions in its most complex form. Such historical-relativity in the theoretical interests of Indian anthropology, however, does not seem to preclude continued closeness to ground plan for policy orientation. The British followed a state policy which was in its very essence traditionally pluralistic. And their orientation towards tribal staticity was as consistent for the tribes under their empire as the present attitude of socio-cultural change is for the tribes under the modern Indian State.

In a way, studies in this period are as varied as the varied array of tribes that are in India. In another way, the theoretical perceptions are as different as the anthropologists

that have studied the tribes. Yet there is one unique umbilical chord, however, that binds bulk of the anthropological treatises of this period. It is the anthropological concern with the processes of change in the tribes that marks the rationale of this last period in the history of tribal studies. Any systematic categorization of the wide array of tribal studies in this phase to distinctive anthropological perspectives will mean identification of the modes of their enquiry into the process of change. Two substantive ways of viewing changes in the tribes are consistently pursued, such as structural-functional and cultural analysis of change.

---

62. Cultural Studies:

S.K. Srivastava, The Tharu: A Study in Cultural Dynamics, Agra, Agra Univ. Press, 1958. David G. Mandelbaum, 'The World and the World View of the Kota', M. Marriot (ed.), Village India, Chicago, Chicago Univ. Press, 1955; also 'Technology Credit and Culture in a Nilgiri Village' in M.N. Srinivas (ed.), India's Villages, Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1955; also 'Polyandry in Kota Society', American Anthropologist, 1938, 40, pp. 574-583.

Martin Orans, The Santals. L.P. Vidyarthi, Cultural Contours of Tribal Bihar, Calcutta, Punthi Pustak, 1965.

Oscar Lewis, "Peasant Culture in India and Mexico: A Comparative analysis" in M. Marriot (ed.) op.cit.; Surjit Sinha, Tribe, Caste and Tribe Peasant Continuum in Central India, Man in India, 1965, 45(1), pp. 58-83. Sachchidananda, Culture Change in Tribal Bihar, Calcutta, Bookland Private Ltd., 1964.

Functional Studies: F.G. Bailey: Caste and The Economic Frontier", Bombay, Oxford Univ. Press, 1958. Tribe, Caste and Nation, Bombay, Oxford Univ. Press, 1960. "An Oriya Hill Village" in M.N. Srinivas (ed.) op.cit.; "The Scope of Anthropology in the Study of Indian Society", in T.N. Madan and Gopal Saran (eds.), Indian Anthropology: Essay in Memory of D.N. Majumdar, Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1962; 'Peasant view of bad life', in Theodor Shanin (ed.) Peasants and Peasants Societies, Penguin, 1970.

T.B. Naik: Impact of education on the Bhils; Cultural Change in the tribal life of Madhya Pradesh. Research Programme Committee, Planning Commission, New Delhi, 1969. The Bhil a study, Delhi, Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh, 1956. The Abhuj Marias, Tribal Research Institute, Chhindwara, 1963. G.S. Arora, Tribe, Caste and Class Encounter, Hyderabad; Administrative Staff College, p. 74.

F.G. Bailey's "Tribe, Caste and Nation" together with his other publications on the tribes and peasants in Central Orissa represent the structural-functional approach to the study of changes in the tribes. Bailey's focus remained the participation of Konds in the three socio-political arenas: the way they carry on some of the features of the tribal way of life, their increasing participation in the Oriya Caste society, and the beginning of their endeavour to enter the larger democratic polity.<sup>63</sup> Bailey's point of analysis is the meeting place of three different functional systems: the tribal system of the Konds, Oriya Society based on caste, the modern economic, political and administrative systems. Bailey finds different rules appropriate to each arena and he also discovers situations through his case study technique, where Konds find themselves troubled and unclear as to which mode of behaviour is appropriate.

Bailey emphasises the functional differences between tribal and Oriya societies in their socio-political structures. According to him, Tribal lands tend to be vested in clans: the kinsmen of a clan together share a productive territory. This land-clan nexus is singled out as the main differing feature between tribe and jati. The Konds have localized clans. "Membership of the clan is, under this system a condition of holding and exploiting land in the clan territory. A right to land is not

---

63. See F.G. Bailey, Tribe, Caste and Nation, Bombay, Oxford University Press, 1960, p. 186. Some Konds ultimately wanted to "reach the top by becoming the member of the State Legislative Assembly."

achieved by subordination to anyone else, but by equality as a kinsman."<sup>64</sup>

Direct access to land, according to Bailey, is the prime test of tribal organization. The larger the proportion of a given group in India that has direct access to land, the closer that group is to a tribal kind of organization. Conversely, Bailey concludes, the larger the proportion of those in a group whose right to land is achieved through a dependent relationship, the more does that group maintain a jati organization.

To Bailey, another difference between tribe and caste organization in political arena lies in the mode of incorporating new groups, whether migrants or allies. The tribal Konds incorporated new groups haltingly, occasionally by making them into fictive kinsmen; they could cooperate effectively with agnates and affines but could not readily deal with non-kinsmen. The Oriya villagers had no such difficulties; they could have economic, political, even religious collaboration with others without disturbing the kinship spheres of their jatis.

Thus, the changes in the tribal organization anticipated by the impact of Oriya caste society are from a 'segmentary' to an 'organic' social organization. Tribal societies were more segmentary. Tribes men viewed component groups of their society as more autonomous, viewing each group as similar in function

---

64. See F.G. Bailey, Ibid., 1961, pp.11-12.

and status to any other segment of the tribal society. Caste societies tended to be more "organic" where each caste is part of an organic whole: its members provide necessary, specialized functions for the whole. Each unit is not taken to be autonomous or necessarily equal to any other. The changes from a "segmentary" to an "organic" social organization occur in the Kond tribes in a dual process. Firstly, the shift to the traditional caste standards and secondly the adding changes towards modern, especially political organization like the larger state machineries.

Bailey draws our attention to the tribal association, 'Kui Samaj'<sup>65</sup> which attempts to do for all the Konds what the Oriya caste associations were trying to perform. It reforms the Kond customs and paves the way for the political weight of the Konds in the state politics.

The cultural approach which may be represented by the studies by Martin Orans, Surjit Sinha, Vidyarthi and others emphasises on the cultural spheres of distinction between tribes and the Hindu caste organizations and thereby the evaluation of the cultural changes in the tribes. The changes Orans noted, particularly among Santal industrial workers in Jamshedpur was fundamentally an increased emphasis on work, study and rank attainment and a concomitant discouragement of 'pleasure'. The Santals were taking on the attitudes and values of contemporary Indian civilization even as they were vigorously rejecting the traditional symbols of Hinduism.

---

65. 'Kui' is the language in Kond tribes.

Surjit Sinha, in his series of writings<sup>66</sup> describes how most of the Bhumij tribals had gone far, towards becoming Kshatriyas and had convinced themselves that they were Kshatriyas. Though their leaders realized that the traditional Kshatriya way was no longer the best means of social advance, so some decided that there was more to be gained if Bhumij declared themselves to be tribesmen fundamentally altering the nature of their earlier tribal identity. Their new political ways nevertheless have a good deal in common with the programme of ritual reform like the Santals. Both assume a desire to rise higher in a wider society than just that of their particular tribes. They require moderation, discipline, postponement of immediate gratification. The nationalist dispensation demands quite as much discipline as do the caste standards, but this discipline is directed more to acquiring education than to regulating diet and to developing political roles rather than to separating sexual roles.

---

66. See Surajit Sinha, 'The media and Nature of Hindu Bhumij Interactions', Journal of the Asiatic Society, 1957, 23(1), "Changes in the Cycle of Festivals in Bhumij Village", Journal of Social Research, 1958, 1 (1), 'Agricultural Crafts and Weekly Market, South Manbhum', Journal of Anthropological Survey of India, Calcutta, 1961, 10(1), and also 'Tribe-Caste and Tribe-Peasant Continuum in Central India', Man in India, 1965, 45(1).

The Bhumij, according to Sinha, want to be classified as a tribe but do not aim to revert to a previous state of tribal isolation and cultural separation. They begin to push zealously ahead toward secular gain and wider social advancement. These goals were introduced through the Bhumij Rajas and were later reinforced by sectarian gurus. The holy men, who thought they were lifting the immortal souls of their followers, also sharpened their material ambitions by opening a wider world for them. These ambitions were further heightened among those who received some modern education, who are urging the tactical shift to tribal classification within the same strategy of cultural mobility.

The cultural approach in its theoretical orientation has a relatively narrow focus. It deals with selective cultural categories and the processes of change in them. It emphasises upon the primacy of cultural forms and their impact on the other dependent social imperative.

The culturalists have been concerned with what may be termed as a 'tribal character', the values, and attitude patterns. And on this build up typological constructions such as tribe-jati continuum, etc., which focussing upon the formal aspects of tribal culture reduces all tribal societies to a common denominator and treats them as if they all had the same structural dynamics and potentiality of internal change. The concept of cultural change in the tribes may be criticised for its



obvious lack of focus and specificity. Despite the fact that the multiplicity of definitive traits lie in the variety of causal cultural relationships suggested, the inevitable weakness lies in their lack of suggestion as to which traits would be considered as causes, which as effects and under what circumstances and historical situations. Tribal culture is viewed as a 'web' or a network independent of the social organizations and historical situations, without ever posing the question of predominance of definite cultural traits and their inter-dependent connotations with other traits in the same culture.

The culturalists' emphasis on fusion of the traits of a caste with that of tribal culture explains causation through external contacts which lead to the diffusion of new roles and values in the tribes. Change here implies heterogenetic change. The contribution of intra-cultural elements to change remains outside their theoretical optics. Even the tribal societies which have been influencing each other for hundreds of years and out of such interactions any possibility of conflict or contradiction leading to change is virtually treated as non-existent by the cultural anthropologists on Indian tribes.

On the other hand, the functionalist analysis of social change in the tribes is founded on a deep-seated inability to distinguish between the visible field of ritual or non-ritual social interactions and the inner structure of the formation, Between antagonisms on the surface of the social field (Bailey's competition among actors for power) and the historical contra-

dictions bound up in that structure itself. Thus studies on tribes expelled history apriori, and the justification offered was that the only alternative to culturalists was inductive functional studies. The use of conflict model is implicit in Bailey's treatise of socio-political change among the Konds of Orissa. Here conflict becomes the normal process of society. Politics becomes the competition for command over resources. The primary focus of analysis lies on conflict and not on the processes of historical change. And again, according to Bailey, not all conflicts effect societal change because many conflicts are 'scaled off' though few might develop into contradictions and be pushed further to effect changes. But with Bailey 'Structure' is defined to exclude contradictions,<sup>67</sup> just as the culturalists defined tribal culture as having no germs of orthogenetic changes in their own realms. Hence both have limited theoretical power to explain change. In making a functional analysis the elements of social contexts abstracted are those of coherence and continuity. The relationship between the different roles are part of one structure only in so far as they either reinforce one another or at least do not in the end contradict one another. Such a 'structure' of the functionalists contains rules for the resolution of conflict. Often enough, conflict plays an important and crucial part in maintaining the structure. Bailey cites the example of caste and tribal councils or

---

67. "A Structure as I am using the word cannot be self-destroying. See F.G. Bailey, op.cit., p. 152.

associations which meet to settle conflicts between lineages. So conflict in one group may bring into force the maintenance of stability in a larger group.

Yet Bailey's unit of analysis remains to be the actor. Society remains an arena, i.e., a mere aggregation of individual actors. All members of society are actors who are ultimately power seeking and trying to acquire command over resources and other men. Thus, logically follow conflicts, disputes and competitions which underlie the functionalist's entire analysis. Bailey gives us ample examples of conflicts among Kond clans, between Konds and Oriyas and individual lineages, etc. But the historical significance of these conflictual situations remains to be examined.

In both, the functionalists (F.G. Bailey et al) as well as culturalists (Martin Orans et al), the idea that structures or cultures may be capable of internal transformations is unthinkable. Changes induced by a compulsion located in their own realm, or that the study of transition from one structure to another might be a legitimate theoretical pursuit is thus unthinkable from such theorizations. Yet, the functional/cultural syndrome of analysis of change, however, remains the anthropological canopy over the entire period since independence which has often enough restricted the vision and perception of anthropologists in India. Seldom have anthropologists transcended the limitations imposed by this syndrome of analysis of change. The functionalist approach may be best viewed as an impact of the British functionalist anthropology

The cultural approach, however, may be viewed as the influence of the tradition of the American cultural anthropology on the Indian anthropologists, who are yet to escape the Anglo-American anthropological theorizations and turn towards other traditions of anthropological thinking.

Given the limited scope of the present paper, the following over-simplified paradigm may be constructed to identify the perception, problematic, theoretical perspective and the implicitly underlying policy orientation of the three major phases in the history of tribal studies; British ethnography, early social anthropology and the current phase of anthropological studies that we have already discussed.

A Heuristic Paradigm Showing the Growth of Indian Anthropology

Phases of tribal studies	Perception	Problematic	Theoretical Perspective	Policy Orientation
1. British Ethnography 1770's - 1920's	'Tribes' as aborigines	Insularity and staticity of Tribal animism	Atomistic	"Traditional Pluralistic"
2. Early Social Anthro- pology 1920's - 1940's	'Tribes' as backward Hindus	Assimilation and Hinduization	Integration- ist	"Traditional monistic"
3. The Current Phase of Tribal Studies 1950 onwards	'Tribes' as Citizens of larger polity	Tribe/Caste/ Nation Detribali- zation	Inter- actionist	"Modern Pluralistic"

A Note on the Paradigm

The paradigm on page 49 is intended to be nothing more than merely a summary of our analysis of the various phases through which studies on Indian tribes have been carried on. As we move from British ethnography to the contemporary tribal studies, the perception may be viewed as having changed in a direction of linear theoretical change from encyclopedic ethnography to intensive micro-level field study. Similarly the problematic has been shifting from ethno-cultural to a socio-political context. The theoretical perspective from empirical to an analytical study of tribes, the policy orientation with the British remaining 'traditional pluralistic', with the Nationalists a 'traditional monistic' and the post-independence attitude of 'modern pluralism' towards the tribes.

---

TOWARDS A FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYSIS: THE  
INTEGRATIONIST APPROACH IN ANTHROPOLOGY

Having identified the leading theoretical orientations of tribal studies in India, the question to be posed is, will an integration of these solve the problem? In other words, will an 'integrated paradigm'<sup>68</sup> help to establish contact with the reality of the tribes. As a viable alternative to the existing paradigms in anthropology the "integrated paradigm" is already suggested by some anthropologists. Maurice Godelier's Rationality and Irrationality in Economics (1972), however, represents an attempt to integrate various theories of functionalism (Radcliffe-Brown et al), structuralism (Levi-Strauss et al) and marxism (Marx et al) around the theme of 'rationality' and 'irrationality' in economic anthropology. Godelier outlines the convergence of these three theoretical frameworks in the following way:

- 
68. The integrationist approach as a theoretical current has been already existing in Social Sciences. The most prominent examples are the writings of the Frankfurt School (Theodor Adorno, Horkheimer et al) attempting to integrate Freud and Marx. W.F. Wertheim's Evolution and Revolution, Pelican, 1974 attempts to integrate functionalism and dialectic theories around the theme of 'evolution and 'revolution' to construct a 'dynamic model of society', Berger and Luckmann's Social Construction of Reality, Penguin (1966) attempts to integrate Weber and Durkheim around the theme of society as 'Subjective' and 'Objective' reality. Yogendra Singh's Modernization of Indian Tradition, Delhi, Thompson Press, 1973 represents yet another example of integrationist approach, at the realm of concepts for the study of social change in India. For the purposes of this paper we shall be concerned only with Maurice Godelier, who is representative of integrationist approach in anthropology. The critique of Godelier is undertaken with the intention of demonstrating the impossibility or the liabilities of an 'integrated paradigm.

There is first the methodological principle that social relations must be analysed as forming 'systems'. Then there is the principle that inner logic of these systems must be analysed before their origin is analysed. We see at once that, as regards these two principles, marxism is 69 not opposed to structuralism or to functionalism. (emphasis original)

Beginning with these two principles Godelier develops his critique of functionalism — thereby stating his position on the methodology of Anthropology. Godelier criticises functionalism both from the stand point of structuralism and historical materialism, in that what is common to these two major theoretical frameworks remain alien to functionalist analysis. Thus Godelier writes:

What both structuralists and Marxists reject is the empiricist definition of what constitutes a social structure. For Radcliffe Brown and Nadel, a social structure is an aspect of reality itself: it is order, the ordering of the visible relations between men, an ordering that explains the logic of the complementarity of these visible relations. 70 (emphasis mine)

For Godelier structure is not a reality that is directly visible and so observable, but a level of reality that exists beyond this visible relations between men, and the functioning of which constitutes the underlying logic of the system.

In the light of Godelier's integrationist approach, the anthropologist's order of investigation which he opts for, may further be elaborated in the following steps:

---

69. Maurice Godelier, Rationality and Irrationality in Economics, 1972, NLB., pp. xxi.

70. Ibid., p. xix.



- (i) What the elements of the system are ?
- (ii) What the relationship between the elements is at a time 't' - synchronic study of structures?
- (iii) How the relationships are formed and evolved - diachronic study of structures?

For Godelier the scope of Anthropology has to vastly expand in order that it may explain and deal with the largest number of living economic and social systems which still retain, despite the varying extent of the transformation in them. These economic and social formations, for Godelier, include the pre-capitalist, capitalist and post-capitalist socio-economic formations. It is Marxism and Economic Anthropology, according to Godelier which have the theoretical potential for the scientific enquiries into the various social formations. He first of all attempts at the definition of economic system of any society. In that he synthesises both 'formalists' (Burling, Le Clair, etc., who see economics as that aspect of all activities which relates to the allocation of scarce means to alternative ends) and 'substantivists' (Polanyi, Dalton, etc., who see economics as concrete activities, not explicable in term of the principles of market society) definitions of economics. Godelier writes:

The economic forms both a domain of activities of a particular sort (production, distribution, consumption of material goods) and a particular aspect of all human activities that don't strictly belong to this domain, but the functions of which involve the exchange and use of material means. The economic thus appears as a particular field of social relations which is both external to the other elements of social life and also internal to them, that is, as a part of a whole that is at once external and internal to the other parts, a part of an organic whole.<sup>71</sup> (emphasis mine)

The rationality and irrationality in the economic structure according to Godelier cannot be tackled from the angle of an apriori idea about rationality. A speculative definition of what is rational cannot explain the economic structure. Godelier attacks the claim that all categories of "bourgeois economics" are applicable to all societies, attributing to all societies and epochs a "bourgeois rationale". He treats the appearance and disappearance of social and economic systems in history as being governed by a necessity "wholly internal to the concrete structure of social life." Furthermore, there is no rationality 'in itself' nor any absolute rationality. What is rational to-day might be irrational tomorrow. What is rational in one society may be irrational in another. Finally there is no exclusive economic rationality.<sup>72</sup> Godelier emphasises the need to analyse the basis of the 'economic structure' and the basic forms of transformation of these forms of 'economic structure'.

Godelier relativises the concept of rationality. In his synthesis of functional anthropology Marx's historical materialism and Levi-Strauss' structuralism, he distinguishes between the rationality of the economic behaviour of individuals and rationality of the behaviour of the system as a whole. The rationality of individual's economic behaviour does not necessarily lead to a rationality of the functioning of the totality of the system, rather individual rationality might heighten the irrationality of the societal totality. Similarly, he distinguishes between the intentional/unintentional rationality

---

72. Ibid., p. 318.

of individual behaviour as well as the functioning of the total system. A conscious rational economic behaviour might just heighten an irrationality unconsciously even at the individual level. In other words, intentional rationality may not always lead to a rationality in the economic behaviours. This Godelier draws from Levi-Straussian structuralism which distinguishes the conscious/unconscious levels of human "rationality". Reflecting upon the relevance of Marxist political economy to Economic Anthropology Godelier distinguishes the rationality of a given system and its historical irrationality in comparison to higher mode of production. Capitalism which is rational in comparison to the preceding feudal mode of production turns to be irrational with reference to the Socialist mode of production. The relativization of the notion of rationality is, thus done at various moments such as: individual/societal rationality, intentional/unintentional rationality, contemporary/historical rationality.

With specific reference to Godelier's integrationist approach we could pose the following questions:

- (a) Does the product of such synthesis result in a coherent paradigm or a mixed bag - a fragmentary totality of mechanically mixed concepts ?
- (b) If a paradigm emerges, does it necessarily lead to a paradigmatic revolution in Social Anthropology in order to overcome the crisis in functionalism?
- (c) What is the theoretical and historical validity of the definitions generated?

- (d) What are the explanatory and exploratory powers of the concepts generated by the synthesis?
- (e) What is the process of abstraction of concepts and structures in the theoretical space?
- (f) What is the unity and disunity between history and structure?

These questions may not be posed in their pure, abstract and isolated form. In their totality they seem to have greater relevance and importance for a theoretical evaluation. Talal Asad<sup>73</sup> in his critique of Godelier rejects the 'mechanically combined elements of 'substantivists' and 'formalists' into the definition of economics. He poses the following questions:

- (a) What is the purpose of constructing a synthetic definition of economics?
- (b) Is it not important to penetrate the ideological roots of Economic Anthropology before synthesising definitions?
- (c) Or to uncover a problematic which is obscured by the existing theoretical practice of economic anthropology?

Godelier's synthetic definition of what is economic is based on an integration of the formalist and substantivist definition of what is economic. This theoretically constituted definition may not be relevant to the study of tribal formations.

---

73. Asad, Talal: "The Concept of Rationality in Economic Anthropology", Economy and Society, London, Vol. 3, 1974, p. 211.

Engels in his Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State, emphasised not only the production of material means of subsistence but also the reproduction of human beings.<sup>74</sup> In contradistinction to Engel's definition of economics, Godelier's outline of economic structure seems to be a product of history. This definition may be compatible to the formations mostly dominated by material production for an external market or primarily for exchange where 'a particular aspect of all human activities...the function of which involves the exchange and use of material means' (Godelier), but not the 'agricultural self-sustaining formations' (Meillassoux).

In Godelier the integration of theoretical frameworks remains the problematic and the objective content of analysis remains, the abstraction, society in general. The society in general, in Godelier, is the totality of pre-capitalist, capitalist, and post-capitalist structures to which Godelier attempts to apply his synthetic definition of economic structure.

---

74. Engel writes, "According to the materialistic conception the determining factor in history is, in the last resort, the production and reproduction of immediate life. But this itself is of two fold character. On the one hand, the production of the means of subsistence, of food, clothing and shelter and the tools requisite thereof: on the other, the production of human beings themselves, the propagation of the species....The less the development of labour, and more limited its volume of production and, therefore, the wealth of society, the more preponderatingly does the social order appear to be dominated by ties of sex". Selected Works, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Moscow, 1973, p. 191. In a similar vein Claude Meillassoux observes the logic of "reproduction of life as a pre-condition to production". "From Reproduction to Production", Economy and Society, London; Vol. I, p. 101.

Godelier poses the question ".....how are we to conceive the relations between the determining structure (economic) and the dominant one (kinship, religion, etc.), and what determining power in economic relations is it that dictates that there shall be dominance by kinship-relations or by politico-religious relations?"<sup>75</sup> Thus Godelier gives apriori importance to the 'determining power of economic' (as he defines it) to all epochs of society. Since his limitation of economic is within the problematic of substantivists/formalists, his economic structure might be in turn determined by the form of reproduction of human beings. Not only does the object of analysis becomes the analysis of an abstraction of society in general but also the notions of historical time is the generalized time. Marx had criticised this "generalizing framework", whose basis of everything remains "the immortal discovery that in all conditions men must eat, drink, etc."<sup>76</sup>

Theoretically society does not exist in general but only in the particular socio-economic formations whose inner laws of motion could be revealed. Since Godelier's object of analysis becomes society in general rationality gets relativised and turns to somewhat Weberian definition of "Substantive rationality" which can only be grasped relative to an autonomous system of cultural values.

---

75. Godelier, Maurice, op.cit., p. ix.

76. Marx, "Randglossen Zu Adolf 'Wagners' Lehbuch der politischen O'Konomie", Werke Vol. 19, p. 375. Quoted by Colletti, Lucio. From Rousseau to Lenin, New York, MR. 1972, p. 25.

Considering Godelier's experiment at integration, two methodological drawbacks of integration become clear. These drawbacks offer considerable resistance in the construction of an integrative framework, not only in social anthropology but also in sociology. Firstly, can we disengage a particular concept from a theoretical framework and integrate it into a different theoretical totality, without changing the meaning of the original concept? Secondly, can the axial or secondary character of the concept which is specific to its position in the theoretical space be retained in the process of integration? The first question is the logical outcome of the fact that the meaning of a concept emerges only in its structural relation to the other concepts in the theoretical framework as well as its relationship with the concrete reality from which it is derived. The relationship of a concept to the reality from which it is accentuated cannot be considered in isolation; it only exists in the theoretical and ideological framework in which it is used; its problematic.<sup>77</sup> The second question is again a reinforcement of this principle of the logical relation of the concept to the theoretical totality. Its position determines the axial or

---

77. Problematic is used in the Althusserian sense, see, Althusser, Louis, 'For Marx', Penguin, 1969.

Yet at a different level, a similar methodological rigour is reinforced by structural linguistics. "... the idea that position of a linguistic sign or the inversion of a linguistic form actually changes the meaning... Meaning has become a question of total field, of context... Everything depends on where a sign is found, on whether or not it is inverted on what has been excluded in order that it should be there at all, and its relation to all other signs in a given context." See introduction by Roger C. Poole to Levi-Strauss, Totemism, Pelican, 1969, p. 13.

secondary character of the concept, in relation to others. This makes the process of integration complex and offers a considerable resistance to the construction of an "integrative paradigm."

However, the significance of Godelier's attempt at an "integrationist paradigm" in the field of anthropology remain the following:

(a) An identification of<sup>2</sup> certain commonality of elements in the various theoretical paradigms becomes clear. Godelier identifies the priority of the study of 'systems' over individual units and the logic of the structure over its evolution and genesis.

(b) In his attempt to bring out some methodological principles for critical use of the categories of economic anthropology, Godelier only succeeds in relativising the concept of rationality and constructing a taxonomic classification of individual/societal, intentional/unintentional, contemporary/historical rationalities and irrationalities.

(c) In his critique of functionalist anthropology Godelier has not succeeded in constructing an alternative theoretical framework to overcome the crisis of functionalism.

(d) Godelier's unsuccessful attempt at integration reinforces the logical inadequacy of integrationist approach, whose motive force remains integration (i.e. to identify common denominators of various theories), to offer an effective solution to the crisis in existing paradigms. In other words,



it is not possible to undertake any critical appraisal of anthropological studies with the determined principle of integrating them into an unified single "integrationist paradigm."<sup>78</sup> Nevertheless, all attempts at integration grasp the acute theoretical stagnation of present day paradigms with respect to changing socio-historical formations and force upon us the need for theoretical ruptures from the past traditions and conventions of anthropology.

Thus, an attempt at integrating the various theoretical currents in Indian anthropology, already discussed will not enable us to overcome the limitations of each of these currents.

In different historical conjunctures Indian anthropologists have exaggerated partial aspects which camouflaged the essentially underlying dynamic processes in the tribes. The process of disruption of the tribal insularity started during the British rule but colonial ethnography had exaggerated the tribal insularity and staticity. Just as they had emphasized the homogeneity in the tribes when the forces of polarization and differentiation were already released by colonialism. The nationalists emphasised the integration of the tribes to the single unified "Hindu fold" precisely at a time when the forces of uneven development in India had already come to play. Similarly the present concern for socio-cultural change in the tribes coincides with the period of economic stagnation and

---

78. "Knowledge of human reality is not attained by uniting the partial and distorting conclusions of a factual or psychological sociology with those of a political or simply positivistic history. Concrete knowledge is not a sum but a synthesis of justified abstractions. If the abstractions are not justified, their synthesis is impossible." See Lucien Goldmann, The Human Sciences and Philosophy, London, Jonathan Cape, 1973, p.23.

restricted growth or even underdevelopment in the tribal formations. Very few anthropologists transcended the limitations imposed by the very mode of their exaggeration itself. It is by far difficult even for 'Social Scientists' to transcend the dominant ideological ethos of a particular time which conditions their perception of reality.

However, in the study of primitive formations, anthropology in general and Indian anthropology in particular, has never turned into the relevance of historical materialism, the science of social development set out by Lewis Morgan. That the fundamental concepts of historical materialism be themselves transformed in such a way as to produce empirical studies as in a new and specific field - that of the tribes has thus remained alien to anthropologists.

The anthropologists have often idealized the 'tribes', turning to other social realities only lately, one may also add, that marxists have equally, or even more idealized the 'modern working class'<sup>79</sup> neglecting the so-called tribals and their

---

79. Marx in his own writings concentrated on the study of Capitalism, and he dealt with the rest of history in varying degree of detail, but mainly insofar as it bore on the origins and development of Capitalism. Yet, with respect to the tribes in the oriental history his views definitely changed by late 1850's. By 1848, however, it is probable that he knew "no more about oriental history than is contained in Hegel's Lectures on the Philosophy of History (which is not illuminating) and such other information as might be familiar to Germans educated in that period. Exile in England, the political developments of the 1850's and above all Marx's economic studies, rapidly transformed his knowledge." See introduction by Eric Hobsbawm to Karl Marx: Pre-Capitalist Economic Formations, London, Lawrence and Wishart, 1969. Some of Marx's later reflections, Formen, in the form of notes of 1857-58, now for the first time translated into English by Jack Cohen and edited by Erich Hobsbawm throw new light on Marx's mature views on Asiatic Societies and tribes thereof and open up a relatively fresh line of research on the tribes from the point of view of historical materialism as against orthodox marxism.

potential significance. The collapse of the earlier mode of tribal organization resulting from the deep penetrating frontier of Capitalism which blurred or obliterated the difference between the traditional notion of tribals and non-tribals, is well known. Yet in what specific ways is this change taking place? What are the distinct economic rhythms and movements by which the subordination of these tribes to the capitalistic production is taking place? What is the historico-political significance of this social process are questions which have never been investigated. Most of the marxist 'Critiques' of anthropology have remained mere theoretical or historical exegeses, without ever confronting social reality itself. In the concluding chapter we undertake a brief discussion towards the relevance of historical materialism to understand the dynamics of changes in the tribal formations.

VII

HISTORICAL MATERIALISM AND ANTHROPOLOGY

Emmanuel Terray<sup>80</sup>, transcending even the limits of Engel's appreciation<sup>81</sup>, emphasises the elements of historical materialism in Morgan's 'Ancient Society'.<sup>82</sup> Engel's limitations<sup>83</sup> seem to have been imposed on him, in retrospect, by the cultural atmosphere of Darwinism and social ethnological discoveries of the period he shared with Morgan. Despite the fact that Engels had written this in 1884, after Marx's death, his famous "Origin of Family, Private Property and the State", remains, if not a valid treatise on primitive formations, at least an authentic interpretation of Morgan's Ancient Society. Engels thus commented on Morgan: "The rediscovery of the original mother-right gens as the stage preliminary to the father-right gens of the civilized peoples of primitive society as

- 
80. Terray, Emmanuel, Marxism and Primitive Societies, New York; Monthly Review, 1972.
81. Engels, Frederick, 'Origin of Family, Private Property and the State (1884)', Karl Marx and Frederick Engels Selected Works, Moscow, 1973.
82. Morgan, Lewis, Ancient Society (1877), Cambridge, Mass; Belenap, 1963.
83. Engel's limitations are clear from the importance he gave to philosophical-cosmological developments, the philosophy of 'nature', in other words, the extension of 'historical materialism' to 'dialectical materialism'; as is well known the latter term owes its origin to Engels himself. The conception of "laws of the evolution of human history" so essential to Engels later culminated in orthodox Marxism. See Lucio, Colletti, From Rousseau to Lenin Ch. on Bernstein and Second International, London, New Left Books, 1972.

Darwin's theory of evolution has for biology and as Marx's theory of surplus value for political economy."<sup>84</sup>

Terray identifies the elements of historical materialist conception of primitive formations in Morgan. And distinguishes this rational kernel in ancient society from the Darwinian evolutionary shell, which more or less mystifies the rational kernel. Terray writes, "...It was not Morgan's purpose to describe the different stages of human social evolution, or to write a history of humanity, but to construct a theory of that history, that is a system of concepts to make it possible to think it out scientifically."<sup>85</sup> (emphasis mine) In spite of what Morgan's immediate preoccupations and theoretical aims have been, Ancient Society needs a "symptomatic" reading<sup>86</sup> because of the classical nature of the work.<sup>87</sup>

---

84. Engels, Frederick, op.cit., p. 201.

85. Terray, Emmanuel, op.cit., p. 24.

86. See Louis Althusser: For Marx, Penguin, 1975 Glossary for the use of the concept 'Symptomatic'.

87. The progress of scientific theory and the nature of the relevance of classics has been often realized by many sociologists. "These (classics) too are subject to revision. Their permanently enigmatic quality is a challenge and invitation to such revision. Their inexhaustibility does not arise from an inevitable ambiguity of formation... Their study will remain... among the chief conditions of the progress of the subject that does so much to render them antiquated and at the same time, to give evidence of their continuing indispensability." See Edward Shils, 'The Calling of Sociology': Epilogue to Talcott Parsons, et al (Eds.) Theories of Society: foundations of modern sociological theory, New York, The Free Press, 1965, p. 1448, for a clear view towards the position of classics in the contemporary theory construction.

The basis of Morgan's classification of human history from 'savagery' to 'civilization' through 'barbarism' remains the 'art of subsistence'.<sup>88</sup> Inventions and discoveries of the tools of production mark the beginning and end of each "ethnic period."<sup>89</sup> The motive force of change comes from the sphere of the 'art of subsistence', which has a determinant role. Thus the epochs have been distinguished by the inventions of fire and fish-eating, the bow and the arrow, pottery, the domestication of animals, metallurgy and the alphabet. Corresponding to each of these "arts of subsistence" there emerge definite forms of social institutions — forms of family, forms of property, forms of government — which form in their totality an ethnic period." Morgan defines an "ethnic period in the following way:

Each of these periods has a distinct culture and exhibits a mode of life more or less special and peculiar to itself. This specialization of ethnical periods renders it possible to treat a particular society according to its conditions of relative advancement, and to make it a subject of independent study and discussion.<sup>90</sup>

- 
88. "Mankind are the only beings who may be said to have gained an absolute control over the production of food, which at the outset they did not possess above other animals....It is accordingly probable that the great epochs of human progress have been identified more or less directly, with the entanglement of the sources of subsistence." Lewis Morgan, op.cit., p. 19.
89. "It is probable that the successive arts of subsistence which arose at long intervals will ultimately form the great interest they must have exercised upon the condition of mankind, afford the most satisfactory bases for the divisions, (into ethnic periods)...." Lewis Morgan, op.cit., p. 9.
90. Ibid., p. 13.

Thus Morgan distinguishes the following important 'ethnic periods' which are important though not as universal evolutionary phases but as analytically distinguished forms of societies:

---

Ethnic period	:	Art of Subsistence
<hr/>		
1. SAVAGERY:		
Lower stage		Natural subsistence upon fruits and roots on a restricted habitat.
Middle stage		Acquisition of fish subsistence and a knowledge of the use of fire.
Upper stage		Invention of bow and arrow.
2. BARBARISM:		
Lower stage		Invention of Art of Pottery
Middle stage		Domestication of animals, cultivation of maize and plants by irrigation with the use of adobe brick and stone.
Upper stage		Invention of the process of smelting iron ore with use of iron tools, etc.
3. CIVILIZATION		Invention of phonemic alphabet, use of writing.

---

In Morgan's theoretical optics there is no universal path of transition from one ethnic-period to another but unique ways of transition and change. Morgan admits of deterioration and regression running counter to the flow of progress.<sup>91</sup> There

---

91. "The destruction of the ethnic bond and life of particular tribes, followed by their decadence, must have arrested for a time, in many instance and in all periods, the upward flow of human progress....Cases of physical and mental deterioration in tribes and nations may be admitted, for reasons which are known, but they never interrupt the general progress of mankind." Lewis Morgan, op.cit., pp. 39-58.

are also instances of stagnation and fixed states of societies. Furthermore, Morgan approved of the co-existence of two ethnic forms in a given formation. He applied it to the transition of government and of family. The two forms are articulated by the dominance of one over the other. Thus in Morgan's view the fact that a particular people had passed from one condition to another at a particular time could be explained by various, and often accidental circumstances and their analysis was important. It is important that the conceptions of history in Morgan is not an unilinear time series.<sup>92</sup>

These aspects of Morgan's analysis of ancient societies underline a historical materialistic conception of human societies. Terray equates the notion of "art of subsistence" with Marx's conception of "means of production" and the outline of "ethnic period" with that of the conception of a "mode of production". Marx's notion of a mode of production represents a union of the material technological process and its social forms, i.e., the

---

92. Just as Marx's conception of the stages of evolution are not strictly chronological but analytical — so also is Morgan's notion of historical time. The following paragraph makes this clear:

"Each of these (ethnic) periods has a distinct culture and exhibits a mode of life more or less special and peculiar to itself. It does not affect the result that different tribes and nations on the same continent and even of the same linguistic family, are in different conditions at the same time. Since for our purpose the condition of each is the material fact, and time being immaterial." Lewis Morgan, op.cit., p. 12. (emphasis mine)



totality of society's production relations among people. The concrete activities of people in the material-technical production process presuppose concrete production relations among them. Historical materialism understands a mode of production as a specific system of productive forces and production relations among people.<sup>93</sup> It distinguishes by means of abstraction, two different aspects of any formation, the technical and the socio-economic, the material-technical and its social form, the material productive forces and the production relations. Thus a study of production relations always presupposes their unbreakable connection with the material-technical process of production, and in its research assumes a concrete stage and process of change of the material-productive forces. Marx's and Engel's admiration of Morgan was based on the fact that Morgan had analysed the ancient societies on the basis of the ever changing "arts of subsistence" and the social forms thereof.

94

To Morgan just as to Marx each social institution represented an active principle. It is never stationary, but advances from a lower to a higher form as society advances from a lower to a higher condition, and finally passes out of one form into another of higher grade. Thus the starting point of the

---

93. See Karl, Marx, Grundrisse, introduction to the critique of political economy, Pelican, 1973; A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy, Moscow, 1970.

94. See Lewis Morgan, on the Institution of Family, op.cit., p. 444.

analysis of social phenomena in order to grasp the dynamics of change would begin with the investigation of "arts of subsistence"/ means of production and relationships of production and the social organization of labour. The distinguishing aspect of historical materialism remains an identification of the core dimension in a social formation. An investigation into the social organization of production remains the most important empirical investigation. Marx had already outlined the historical roots of all varied forms of simple commodity production, which is the patriarchal-subsistence mode of production based on small scale parcellized property and the exploitation of family labour.<sup>95</sup> The patriarchal enterprise continues to dominate this form of production. The producers regard the expenditure of labour, as the indispensable pre-requisite for the labour-product, which is the thing that interests them above all.

Thus, Meillassoux in his study of the tribes practising shifting cultivation observes the concern for reproduction of human beings, strongly entrenched notions of seniority and of anteriority, respect for age, cult of the ancestors and fecundity cult, etc.<sup>96</sup> Indeed, an analysis centred around production and not distribution will reveal the inner mechanisms of a social formation. To Marx, as a pure form, simple commodity production

---

95. See Karl, Marx, A Contribution to a Critique of Political Economy, Moscow, 1970, p. 33; Eric Hobsbawm: Karl Marx, Pre-Capitalist Economic Formations, London, Lawrence & Wishart, 1969.

96. See Claude Meillassoux, 'From Reproduction to Production', Economy and Society, London, Vol. I, p. 93. "Concern for reproduction becomes paramount, not only reproduction of subsistence but also reproduction of the productive unit itself allowing the producers to benefit in the future from their past labour... Now the reproduction of the unit is biologically and structurally assured through the control of women considered as the physiological agent of the reproduction of the producers." (emphasis mine)

is a form of economy of a purely subordinate and transitional character in which the following characteristics are distinct:

(i) The labour process preserves its patriarchal character with predominance of the self-sufficient peasant family-labour farm as the basic enterprise of production.

(ii) The producing households preserve not only their self-sufficiency, transforming only their surplus into commodities but their independence as the basic agents of the productive process, chiefly expressed in their freedom to allocate labour-time between commercial production and immediate consumption, and between the different types of commodity production.

(iii) The system of accounting remains a specifically patriarchal, subsistence-based interpretation of 'costs' and 'profits', in that subsistence remains the goal of production, even in these limiting cases where the whole of household labour time is absorbed in commercial production.

(iv) As the coefficient of marketed output rises and the monetary components of the labour income expand, the volume of sales will tend to vary inversely with the movement of prices.

(v) Fluctuations of the market introduce a process of differentiation among simple commodity producers, which in the first instance remain a differentiation of wealth, i.e., preserving its historical content as a differentiation of simple commodity producers.

Marx, in his Grundrisse, discusses the subordination of the simple commodity mode of production to the power of capitalist frontiers which converts this mode into the embryonic basis of specifically capitalist production, but a capitalist production which retains the determinate organization of labour specific to 'pre-capitalist' enterprise. He describes this in the following way:

This exchange of equivalents proceeds; it is only the surface layer of a production which rests on the appropriation of alien labour without exchange, rests on capital as its foundation, and, when it is regarded in isolation from capital, as it appears on the surface, as an independent system, then it is a mere illusion, but a necessary illusion.<sup>97</sup>

Indian scholars have never investigated the subjugation of the simple commodity form of production to the all engulfing capitalist economic order. To indicate only briefly and entirely by way of hypothesis, the following questions shall specify the nature of the investigation; keeping in accordance with the theoretical foundations of historical materialism.

- (i) Who is working with whom and for whom?
- (ii) What are the circuits of the products of labour? and where does it ultimately go?
- (iii) Who controls the means of production and product?

(Control over means of production also means the control over the means of physiological reproduction used to reproduce the life of the human producer, i.e., women and subsistence)

---

97. Karl Marx, Grundrisse, Pelican, 1973, p. 509.

- (iv) What are the compulsions to produce surplus-product?
- (v) How does the production system reproduce itself?
- (vi) What is the relationship between the patriarchal sufficiency of these small enterprises and the capitalistic economic order?
- (vii) What are the mechanisms of dominance of capital over the quasi-independent simple commodity form of production?
- (viii) What are the various coercive forms of exploitation, the relations of production which tie the enterprise of small commodity producers to the wider economic system mediated by merchant capital or industrial capital?
- (ix) How does the fluctuations of the market affect the simple commodity producers?
- (x) In what ways does the differentiation of the simple commodity producers takes place?

Historical materialism,<sup>98</sup> thus, provides both a continuation of and a sharp break with the earlier traditions of tribal studies in India. The analysis of conflicts and contradictions in the political arena and the emerging cultural traits according to which social changes have been analysed remains common to the contemporary anthropologists and historical materialism. But unlike Bailey's political determinism and Martin Oran's cultural determinism there is a need to focus attention and theoretical

---

98. "Far from being exhausted marxism is still very young, almost in its infancy, it has scarcely begun to develop." See Jean-Paul Sartre, Search of a Method. New York; Alfred Knopf, 1963, p. 30.

interest primarily in the relations of social production and are marked by these super-structural surface phenomena. The negligence of the analysis of production relations, which is often left out for economists to tackle, reinforces the need to penetrate beneath the surface appearance of things and lay bare for analysis the hidden structure. It is in this respect that a break with earlier anthropological traditions and most important contributions to the studies of tribes may be made.

The analysis of these simple commodity producers, often presented to us as the 'tribes', ever since the early British ethnographers, from the perspective of historical materialism, shall reveal significant sights into their contemporary social organization. Furthermore, such analysis can lay down the basis for policy planning by the state or even help formulate the strategic role these so-called 'primitive' people would play in the making of history. As of now, there is a complete paucity of such studies. Hence any attempt at empirical studies might possibly mean reformulations in the existing theoretical constructs of the marxist paradigm in the light of contemporary sociological facts.<sup>99</sup> We hereby propose to undertake an empirical study of a tribal complex to be selected during the course of our Ph.D. programme.

---

99. "Scientific research requires freedom and independence from all external interference. Similarly, it demands of the researcher, not that he renounce all ideology, but that he make every possible effort to subordinate ideology to the reality of the facts he is studying in his work." See Lucien Goldmann, op.cit., p. 25.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Althusser, Louis, For Marx, Penguin Books, 1969.
- Arora, G.S., Tribe, Caste and Class Encounter, Hyderabad; Administrative Staff College, 1974.
- Asad, Talal, 'The Concept of Rationality in Economic Anthropology', Economy and Society, London, Vol. 3, 1974.
- Bailey, F.G., Tribe, Caste and Nation, Bombay, Oxford University Press, 1960.
- Bailey, F.G., Caste and the Economic Frontier, Bombay, Oxford University Press, 1958.
- Bailey, F.G., 'An Oriya Hill Village: I' in M.N. Srinivas (ed.), India's Villages, Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1955.
- Bailey, F.G., 'An Oriya Hill Village II', in M.N. Srinivas (ed.), India's Villages, Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1955.
- Bailey, F.G., 'The Scope of Social Anthropology in the Study of Indian Society', in T.N. Madan and Gopal Sarna (eds.), Indian Anthropology: Essays in Memory of D.N. Majumdar, Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1962.
- Bailey, F.G., 'The Peasant View of Bad Life' in Theodor Shanin (ed.) Peasants and Peasant Society, Pelican Books, 1973.
- Banaji, Jairus, 'The Crisis in British Anthropology', New Left Review, London, No. 64, Nov-Dec. 1970.
- Berger, Peter and Luckman, The Social Construction of Reality, Penguin, 1967.
- Blackburn, Robin (ed.), Ideology in Social Sciences, Fontana, 1973.
- Bose, N.K., The Structure of Hindu Society, Bombay, Orient Longman Limited, 1975.
- Bose, N.K., Hindu Modes of Tribal Absorption, Calcutta, 1950.
- Bose, N.K., 'Marriage and Kinship Among the Juangs', Man in India, 1928, 8(4).
- Bose, N.K., 'Scheduled Castes and Tribes', Man in India, 1970, Vol. 50.
- Bose, N.K., 'Change in Tribal Culture Before and After Independence' Man in India, 1964, Vol. 45.

- Bose, N.K., 'Integration of Tribes in Andhra Pradesh', Man in India, 1964, Vol. 45.
- Bose, N.K., 'National Seminar on Hill People', Man in India, 1967, Vol. 47.
- Bose, N.K., 'An Anthropological View of Indian Civilization', Man in India, 1972, Vol. 52.
- Bose, N.K., 'Land-Man Ratio in Tribal Areas', Man in India, 1971, Vol. 51.
- Bose, N.K., 'National Integration and the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes', Man in India, 1968, Vol. 48.
- Bose, N.K., 'Tribal Situation', Man in India, 1969, Vol. 49.
- Bradley, Brit, Census of India, Bengal Report, 1911, p. 216.
- Brodbeck, May, (ed.), Readings in the Philosophy of the Social Sciences, New York; Macmillan, 1968.
- Chandra, Bipan, The Rise and Growth of Economic Nationalism in India, People's Publishing House, (1958), 1966.
- Chattopadhyaya, K.P., 'Khasi Land Ownership and Scale', Eastern Anthropologist, 1949, 2.
- Colletti, Lucio, From Rousseau to Lenin, London, New Left Books, 1972.
- Crooks, William, Natives of Northern India, London, 1907.
- Crooks, William, North-Western Provinces of India, Delhi, Indological Book House, 1971.
- Dalton, E.T., Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal, Indian Studies Past and Present, Calcutta, 1872.
- Dube, S.C., 'Social Anthropology in India', in Indian Anthropology; Essays in Memory of D.N. Majumdar, Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1962, p. 237.
- Dumont, Louis, Homo Hierarchicus, London, Paladin, 1972.
- Dumont, Louis, 'Tribe' and 'Caste' in India, Contributions to Indian Sociology, 1962, No. 6.
- Elwin, Verrier, India's North-East Frontier Agency in the 19th Century, Calcutta, Oxford University Press, 1959.
- Elwin, Verrier, The Religion of An Indian Tribe, Bombay, Geoffery Cumberlege, 1955.



- Elwin, Verrier, The Tribal Art of Middle India, Bombay, Oxford University Press, 1951.
- Elwin, Verrier, 'Notes on the Juang', Man in India, 1948, 28(1).
- Elwin, Verrier, The Baiga, London, John Murray, 1936.
- Engels, Frederick, 'Origin of Family, Private Property and the State', (1884) in Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Selected Works, Moscow, 1973.
- Evans-Pritchard, E.E., The Nuer, New York, Oxford University Press, 1974.
- Fallers, L.A., 'Are African Cultivators to be considered Peasants?' Current Anthropology, 2(2), pp.108-110.
- Fenchtwang, Stephen, 'Explaining Religion as Ideology: a working paper, for discussion and revision only presented to the Association of Social Anthropologists Decennial meeting, London, 1973 (unpublished).
- Firth, R. and Yamey, B.S., Capital, Saving and Credit, London, Allen and Unwin, 1969.
- Fortes, M., and Evans-Pritchard, E.E. (eds.), African Political Systems, London, Oxford University for International African Institute, 1970.
- Frankenberg, R., 'Where Speculation Ends?, Marxism and the Social Anthropology of Real Life. (unpublished).
- Geertz, Clifford, Peddlers and Princes: Social Change and Economic Modernization in Two Indonesian Towns, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1968.
- Ghurye, G.S., The Scheduled Tribes, Bombay, Popular Book Depot, 1959.
- Ghurye, G.S., Social Tensions in India, Bombay; Popular Prakashan, 1968.
- Ghurye, G.S., Mahadeo Kolis, Bombay, Popular Book Depot, 1957.
- Ghurye, G.S., Whither India, Bombay, Popular Prakashan, 1974.
- Gluckmann, M., Custom and Conflict in Africa, Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1955.
- Goldmann, Lucien, The Human Sciences and Philosophy, London, Jonathan Cape, 1973.
- Gough, Kathleen, "Anthropology: Child of Imperialism", Monthly Review, 1968, Vol. 19, No.11.

- Gould, Harold A., 'Sanskritization and Westernization; a Dynamic View', Economic Weekly, 1961, Vol. 13, June 24.
- Gouldner, Alvin, Coming Crisis in Western Sociology, New Delhi, Heinemann, 1971.
- Hempel, Carl G., 'The Logic of Functional Analysis', in May Brodbeck (ed.) Readings in the Philosophy of the Social Sciences, New York; The MacMillan Company, 1968.
- Hobsbawm, Eric, Karl Marx: Pre-Capitalist Economic Formations, Lawrence & Wishart, 1969.
- Huberman, Leo, Man's Worldly Goods, People's Publishing House (1935) 1975.
- Hutton, J.H., 'The Connection of Difficult Nagas and Other Tribes in Assam', Census of India, (1921) 1923, Vol. 3.
- Kahn, Joel S., 'The Place of Minangkaban Blacksmiths in the Indonesian Economy' (unpublished paper), London, London School of Economics, 1973.
- Kuper, Adam, Anthropologists and Anthropology, Peregrine Books, 1974.
- Leman, G.D. (ed.), The Ganjam District Manual, Madras, M.C.S., 1882.
- Levi-Strauss, Claude, Structural Anthropology, New York, Andor Borles, 1967.
- Madan, T.N. and Sarna, G. (eds.), Indian Anthropology: Essays in Memory of D.N. Majumdar, Asia Publishing House, 1962.
- Majumdar, D.N., Races and Cultures of India, Bombay; Asia Publishing House, 1973.
- Majumdar, D.N., The Affairs of a Tribe: A Study in Tribal Dynamics, Lucknow, Universal Publishers Ltd., 1950.
- Majumdar, D.N., A Tribe in Transition: A Study in Culture Pattern, London, Longmans Green & Co., 1937.
- Malinowski, B., Argonauts of the Western Pacific, London; Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972.
- Mandel, Ernest, Introduction to Leon Trotsky's The Struggle Against Fascism in Germany, Pelican Books, 1975.
- Mandelbaum, D.G., Society in India, 2 Volumes in one, Bombay, Popular Prakashan, 1972.

- Mandelbaum, D.G., 'The World and the World View of the Kota' in McKim Marriot (ed.) Village India, Chicago, Chicago University Press, 1955.
- Maranda, Pierre, 'Dialectic Anthropology: a Maoist Approach to LAU SOCIAL Structure', (unpublished paper), London, 1973.
- Marriot, McKim, Village India, Chicago, Chicago University Press, 1955.
- Marx, Karl, Grundrisse, Pelican Books, 1974.
- Meillassoux, Claude, 'From Reproduction to Production', Economy and Society, London, 1972, Vol. 1, p. 93.
- Middleton, J. and Tait, D., Tribes Without Rulers: Studies in African Segmentary Systems, London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1970.
- Mohapatra, L.K., 'Social Movements in Tribes in India, in K.S. Singh (ed.) Tribal Situation in India, Simla, Institute of Advanced Study, 1973.
- Moore, Wilbert E., 'The Exportability of the Labour Force Concept', American Sociological Review, No.18, 1953.
- Morgan, Lewis, Ancient Society, Cambridge, Mass.; Belknap, 1963.
- Mukherjee, P., History of Orissa, Vani-Vihar, Utkal University, 1970.
- Murdock, George P., 'World Ethnographic Sample', American Anthropologist, No.59, 1957, pp.673.
- Naik, T.B., Impact of Education on the Bhils, New Delhi, Wedoli Advertisers, 1969.
- Naik, T.B., The Bhil, a Study, Delhi; Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh, 1956.
- Nash, Manning, Primitive and Peasant Economic Systems, Scranton, Chandler Pub. Co., 1966.
- O'Malley, L.S., India's Social Heritage, Oxford, Clarendon Press, (1934) 1975.
- Orans, Martin, The Santal, A Tribe in Search of a Great Tradition. Detroit; Wayne State University Press, 1965.
- Parsons, T., Shils, E., Naegel, Kasper D. and Pitts, Jesse R., (eds.), Theories of Society: Foundations of Modern Sociological Theory, New York, The Free Press, 1965.

- Ratnam, Bala, (ed.), Anthropology on the March, Madras, Social Sciences Association, 1963.
- Risley, H.H., The People of India, Delhi, Oriental Books Reprint, 1969.
- Risley, H.H., The Tribes or Castes in Bengal, Calcutta, Bengal Secretariat Press, 1891.
- Roy, S.C., The Mundas and Their Country, Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1970.
- Roy, S.C., Studies in Indian Anthropology, Calcutta, Indian Studies Past and Present, 1966.
- Roy, S.C., The Oraons of Chota Nagpur, Ranchi, Ranchi Bar Library 1915.
- Runciman, W.G., Sociology in its Place, London, Cambridge University, 1970.
- Singh, K.S., Tribal Situation in India, Simla, Institute of Advanced Study, 1973.
- Singh, Yogendra, 'Role of Social Sciences in India', Sociological Bulletin, Vol. 22, No.1, March 1973, p. 24.
- Singh, Yogendra, Modernization of Indian Tradition, Delhi, Thomson Press, 1973.
- Sinha, Surjit, 'The Media and Nature of Hindu Bhumij Interaction' Journal of the Asiatic Society, 1957, 23(1).
- Sinha, Surjit, 'Agricultural Crafts and Weekly Market: South Manbhum', Journal of Anthropological Survey of India, 1961, 10(1).
- Sinha, Surjit, 'Tribe, Caste and Tribe Peasant Continuum in Central India', Man in India, 1965, 45(1).
- Smelser, Neil J., The Sociology of Economic Life, New Delhi, Prentice-Hall of India, 1965.
- Srinivas, M.N. (ed.), India's Villages, Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1955.
- Srinivas, M.N. and Panini, M.N., 'The Development of Sociology and Social Anthropology in India', Sociological Bulletin, Journal of Indian Sociological Society, Vol. 22, No.2, Sept. 1973.
- Taylor, John, 'Review Article of Marxism and Anthropology', Terray, E., Economy and Society, Vol. 1, No.3, 1972.

- Terray, Emmanuel, Marxism and 'Primitive' Societies, New York, Monthly Review, 1972.
- Udy, Stanley, Work in Traditional and Modern Society, Englewood Cliffs, Prentice-Hall, 1970.
- Vidyarthi, L.P., 'Tribal Ethnography in India', in A Survey of Research in Sociology and Social Anthropology, Vol. III, I.C.S.S.R., Bombay, Popular Prakashan, 1972.
- Wertheim, W.F., Evolution and Revolution: The Rising Waves of Emancipation, Pelican Books, 1974.
- Worsley, Peter, 'The State of Theory and Status of Theory', British Journal of Sociology, Vol. 8, No.1, Jan. 1974.
-