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## **EIDOS AND ETHOS AMONG BAIGA, BHARIA AND SAHARIA TRIBES: IMPLICATIONS FOR DEVELOPMENT**

### ***Abstract***

*India is homeland of millions of tribes who carry their distinct and rich eidos and ethos. Historically tribal habitat is in the remote forest areas. They fulfil their requirements from their surrounding especially forest. Tribal had their own world view which was defined and legitimized in the light of their socio-cultural and environmental heritage. They not only constructed their culture on available resources rather they made every effort to retain it. Tribal cultural attributes gives them a way to live their life, provide them latency to cope up with odd social and economic condition, make their economy sustainable, decide their celebration and help to overcome with sorrow etc. Taking these into accounts the study focuses on eidos and ethos of PVTGs of Madhya Pradesh viz. Baiga, Bharia and Saharia. Broadly speaking the study is based on literature available on tribal cultural heritage and analysis of functional aspects of their culture. Secondary sources data from various governmental and non-governmental sources (NGOs), project reports, census and survey reports etc. have been entertained to support the analysis. Tribal narratives in general and narrative of Baiga, Bharia and Saharia in particular are also used as per requirement.*

**Keywords:** *Ethos, Eidos, Tribal Culture, Baiga, Bharia, Saharia.*

**Received:** 17<sup>th</sup> Oct 2019

**Revised:** 10<sup>th</sup> Jan 2020

**Accepted:** 12<sup>th</sup> Jan 2020

### **Introduction**

India is homeland of millions of tribes who carry their distinct and rich eidos and ethos<sup>1</sup>. As per the Annual Report (2016-17) of Ministry of Tribal Affairs, Government of India, there are 748 STs spread over states and union territories of the country of which 75 tribal communities have been declared as Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PVTGs) residing in 18 states and one union territory (**Annexure I**). It is worth to mention that categorization of STs as PVTGs came into existence from Fifth Five Year Plan for

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developmental purpose since it was unveiled by the Dhebar Commission Report (1961) and subsequently by Shilu Aao Commission Report (1969) that a section of Scheduled Tribes is at the bottom of developmental ladder which needs special assistance for their development<sup>2</sup>. These communities were termed as Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs) till 2006 and now they are called as PVTGs since the term 'primitive' was seemed to be derogatory.

Historically tribal habitat is in the remote forest areas. They fulfil their requirements from their surrounding<sup>3</sup> especially forest. Hence, they have developed a symbiotic relationship with forest<sup>4</sup>. Their culture was derived from their ecology so they had reciprocity with forest. Tylor (1871: 1) defines culture as a complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society. Tribal had their own world view which was defined and legitimized in the light of their socio-cultural and environmental heritage. They not only constructed their culture on available resources rather they made every effort to retain it. Totemism is one of the institutions which they developed to preserve and conserve their surroundings. Tribal cultural attributes gives them a way to live their life, provide them latency to cope up with odd social and economic condition, make their economy sustainable, decide their celebration and help to overcome with sorrow etc. Taking these into accounts the study focuses on eidos and ethos of PVTGs of Madhya Pradesh viz. Baiga, Bharia and Saharia.

### **Objective and Method**

Specific objectives of the study are- to know the role of tribal culture in their social, economic and political life; to know the concept of development from tribal perspective; to trace the elements of their culture relevant in contemporary scenario; and to find out the possibilities of inclusion of their cultural traits in their development.

Broadly speaking the study is based on literature available on tribal cultural heritage and analysis of functional aspects of their culture. Secondary sources data from various governmental and non-governmental sources (NGOs), project reports, census and survey reports etc. have been entertained to support the analysis. Tribal narratives in general and narrative of Baiga, Bharia and Saharia in particular are also used as per requirement. The study entrains to fulfil both pragmatic purposes for change agents as well as for academic purpose to meet needs of the scholars working in the area.

### **Socio-Economic Profile of Baiga, Bharia and Saharia**

Madhya Pradesh has 46 scheduled tribes of which three STs viz. **Baiga**, **Bharia** and **Saharia** have been declared as PVTGs constituting about 8 per cent of total Scheduled Tribe population of the state.

**Baiga** is one of the primitive tribe of Madhya Pradesh basically survive

on collection of forest produce. The term 'Baiga' means priest and the tribe is also called **panda**. Catchment of Narmada is their haunt which includes district of Balaghat, Bilaspur, Mandla, Rajnandgaon and Shahdol, but their main concentration is in the Tehsil of Baihar, Bilaspur, Dindori, Mandla, Niwas, Gaurela and Pushprajgarh (Debnath, 2005). It is divided into three sub-groups namely Bhinjhar, Bharoti and Narotia. As per census 2011, the total Baiga population in the state is 414526 which is 3.6 per cent of total scheduled population of the state. There are 996 female every 1000 male among Baiga. The literacy rate among Baiga population is 47 per cent and the male and female literacy rate is 56 per cent and 38 per cent respectively. Working population constitutes the 51.4 per cent of total Baiga population of which 63.2 per cent are agriculture labour, 18.3 per cent are cultivator, 1.6 per cent of working population involved in household industries and 16.7 in other activities.

**The Bharia** of Pataalkot call themselves "Bharia" distinguishing themselves from the Bharia outside the Pataalkot who call themselves "Bhariya Bhumiya", Bhumiya means 'owner, lord or master' of the soil but the meaning of Bhariya is obscure (Kurup, 1985). It's simple meaning can be taken as 'bhar' or 'weight', the Bharia then so called load carriers or coolies. Bharias have forgotten about their affinity so knowledge about their origin is apparent, one of the stories of origin says that Arjun, when matters were going badly with the Pandavas in their battle against Kauravas, took up a handful of *bharu* grass and, pressing it produced men who fought in the battle and became the ancestors of the Bharias. Russel and Hiralal consider that Bharia is the contemptuous form of Bhar and belong to the great Bhar tribe who were once dominant in the eastern part of the United Provinces (Russell and Hiralal, 1916). One of the stories says that when the Maratha territories were taken over by the British, Raghuji III hide in the Pataalkot and men who carried belongings of Raghuji III settled there and they are now called Bharias. According to census 2011, the total population of Bharia in the state is 97574 which constitute 0.02 per cent of total ST population of the state. Sex ratio among Bharia is 980. The literacy rate among Bharia is 48 per cent of which 57 per cent male and 38 per cent female population are literate. Of total population 49.07 constitutes working population among which 67.15 per cent are agriculture labour, 12.06 per cent are cultivators, 1.74 per cent are involved in household industries and 19.03 per cent are being engaged in other activities.

**The Saharias** are considered to be member of Kolarian group and a sub-branch of the Bhils. Living in north western part of Madhya Pradesh, the community is placed under the category of primitive tribes. The members of this tribe mainly live in Shivpuri, Guna, Gwalior, Morena, Bhind, Vidisha, Raisen, Sehore and Bundeli Janpad. They also live in Kota, Shahbad and Kishanganj areas of Rajasthan. As per 2011 census, the population of Saharia in the state is 614958 and sex ratio is 943. The literate population is 42 per cent of total Saharia population out of which 52 per cent and 32 per cent literacy

was found among male and female population respectively. Of total Saharia population, 44.8 per cent population is working of which 70.5 per cent are agriculture labour, 15.12 per cent are cultivator, 0.74 per cent engaged in household industries and 13.61 per cent of working population involved in other activities.

It can be traced from the above description that most of the working population of these three PVTGs are involve in agriculture labour. This indicates that they are inclining towards source of livelihood earning other than their traditional source. The shift in occupation reflects the impact of various processes of change and non-tribal interventions in tribal habitation<sup>1</sup>.

### **Eidos and Ethos**

Eidos is outer part of culture or its manifestation which is explicit and can be observed and ethos implicitly works behind eidos so both eidos and ethos should be studied to know any culture. Historically, tribal communities had philosophy or rationale behind their every aspects of life whether their way of earning livelihood, their food habits, dress pattern, totem, taboo, rituals, worshipping god or goddess and so on. Baiga believes that god created them as king of their land and directed to live happily with whatever they have whether in plenty or in shortage so they do not curse their destiny for poverty but believe it to be the wish of their god. This perception makes Baiga psychologically strong to face any kind of economic failure and help them to overcome. Saharia tribe believes that their god wants them to live in forest and survive on it so they think themselves the ruler of forest. Bharia tribe perceive themselves the load carrier so they get motivated to work hard in deep Patakot valley of Madhya Pradesh.

Tribal protect and preserve their totem<sup>1</sup> which helps in maintaining forest and biodiversity that is helpful for ecological balance. Social, economic and political institutions prevalent among tribal communities were mechanism to provide social security, economic sustainability and assurance of rights to every member of community. There are so many other myths ubiquitous in every sphere of tribal life can be traced that work as shock absorbance at time of crisis and stimulate them to be active, which are needed to be explored and this study is an effort in this direction since only study of their behaviour (eidos) is not sufficient to know their culture rather the context (ethos) should also be analysed for a holistic approach of their development.

### **Studies on Tribal Cultural Heritage**

The cultural studies of tribal communities had been done by various scholars both within India and outside, some of them based on **book view** or desk view and some on **field view**<sup>1</sup>. With emergence of importance of ethnographic studies a bulk of studies were conducted on tribal culture. In

Indian context, Malinowski was the first who began tribal studies with intensive fieldwork. After that number of village studies and particular community studies had been conducted by the scholars and that was the formative period of research in Vidyarthi's word (Akhup, 2013). It was followed by the constructive period where particular disciplines were established with their specific subject matter. The third and the last period of research was analytical i.e. laden with evaluation of state programmes on tribal development. It has been witnessed that the recent studies on tribal development are more or less a measurement and to know status of developmental indicators established by so called mainstream society. Albeit, number of ethnographic studies depict that there is a symbiotic relation of tribal culture with their ecology. How their culture is environment friendly, what they perceived about the poverty and prosperity, how they maintain sustainability in their economy, how their traditional and cultural values work as shock absorbance at time of crisis and various others issues which shows that happiness indicator among the tribe was high before the institutional interference have been witnessed in the ethnographic studies of tribal communities.

Elwin was frontier in in-depth studies of tribal culture. In his writings titled **Myths of Middle India (1949)** and **Tribal Myths of Orissa (1954)**, Elwin presented popular stories among the tribes of middle India relating to evolution of minerals, metals, birds, animal, trees, flower, sun, moon, earthquake, human body, man and many more, Elwin (1937) in his article titled 'The functional character of Baiga mythology' presented how myths among Baiga works as active and effective force to motivate them, to authorisation and to overcome of sorrow etc. Other researchers like T.B. Naik on Saharia, Stephen Fuch's writing 'Origin of man and his culture', Shakti M Gupta's work 'Plants myth and tradition in India' (1971), Devendra Thakur and D.N. Thakur's (1994) work on Tribal life and forest etc. show importance of tribal heritage for their development but this is lacuna of policy making that tribal culture is kept aside while formulating policy for their development which resulted into their cultural loss for which Elwin (1959) used the term '**loss of nerve**' and T.K. Oommen (2014) called it '**culturocide**'. In the name of development tribals have been brought at crossroad where various problems related to their livelihood security, cultural crisis, health, education (in term of their traditional education to learn way of life), seasonal outmigration and trafficking etc. have been emerged which were alien to them once upon a time. Their developmental status is measured on the basis of indicators development by so-called mainstream society which does not include the elements which are meant for happiness for tribal. In this way, happiness index has been excluded from indicators of development especially in context of tribal. The initiations taken without the tribal concern such as what does development mean for them? What are the things which make them happy? Instead of making improvement tribal seems to be at a lower level of well

being compared to their state before the process of change which in other word is called adverse inclusion<sup>1</sup>.

The heritage of tribal culture should be used in this manner that they cannot feel inferior in front of so-called mainstream society and their cultural values should be utilised in their livelihood earning and to bring sustainability again in their economy instead to make them exposed to be exploited with introduction of fruitless and alien culture for them but recent studies focuses on measurement of developmental indicators neglecting the elements of their culture which can be utilized for their development. Tribal culture can be implied for their development with broad purpose to analyse the behavioural pattern of tribes based on their values and those are environment friendly, having developmental possibilities, relevant in contemporary scenario etc.

### **Tribal Myths and Its Philosophy**

Russell and Hiralal (1916: 79) mentioned in their book '**Tribes and Caste of Central Province of India**' about the myths related with origin of Baiga. As per the myth, god (supernatural power) first created the *Nanga Baiga* and *Nanga Baigin* then asked them to opt for source of their livelihood earning. Nanga Baiga and Nanga Baigin proposed to live their life based on forest by cutting down trees then god permitted them to do so. Once, Baiga had cut 2000 Sal tree (*shorea robusta*) so god asked him to burn the sal tree and to scatter seeds of kutki (*Picrorhiza kurroa*) over the ash of sal tree and then to take rest for few month, after which he would get a good production. In this way, they justify slash and burn cultivation as the wish of god and they also perceive that god had asked them to grow kutki. If we look at the feature of kutki then find that Kodo (*Paspalum scrobiculatum*) and Kutki can survive in drought-stricken areas having low rainfall and poor soil (Jain, 1988: 107). As per the narration of villager, kodo and kutki seeds can also be stored for a long time without using any pesticide. Even, if any of the seed is kept with kutki then it also saves the seed from being rotten. These crops do not require much attention and care so once these crops are seeded tribal can go for rest till ripening of crops and meanwhile they can indulge themselves in other activities like food gathering and hunting etc. These millets are more nutritious than many other millets. Shiv Kumar (et. al, 2010) found kodo-kutki millet based biscuit the best in comparison to soy based millet. As per Centre for Advanced Research and Development (CARD) research, kodo-kutki millets are three to five times nutritionally superior to widely promoted rice and wheat in terms of proteins, minerals and vitamins.

Fuchs (1952) mentioned that once god did not bath for a long then he made two statues with the dirt of his chest and armpit. One day god saw these two statues and thought to make these statues alive so he put some drop of blood from his little finger on the statue of male. The male awake and asked for his wife then god told him the art to make the statue alive and then he

applied it on his wife statue. Male Baiga and his wife then went to *singar* island where they established earth and started living there. Such myth inspired Baiga to treat the earth as their own creativity or treat themselves as a contributor in its creation. How can anyone harm his own creativity? Such notion motivates them to be environment friendly. Their familiarity with medicinal herbs is treated as gift of god for them and they take it as their liability to treat the ailments.

Bharia relate themselves with Pandavas of Mahabharat. As per a popular story, when the matter of Pandavas was going bad with Kauravs then Arjun put a handful of *Bharru* grass and created an army with that *Bharru* grass. Bharia believed themselves as the successor of that army. According to Kurup (1986: 9), Maratha Raghuji III took shelter in the *Rajakhoh* cave of Patalkot after a defeat with British, he brought some people with him to carry his belongings. Person came with Raghuji III as coolies settled there who later known as Bharia. There are so many beliefs popular among Bharias of Patalkot related to their surnames (clan) like *Bagothiya* is a clan who believes that their ancestor hid himself near the shadow of *Bagh* or tiger, hence they are called by his name and *Chalathiya* believes that when others sit down to take rest, his ancestor continued walking and was, therefore, called *chalathiya* which means one who walks much and so on (see **Annexure II**).

In context of Saharia tribe, Crooke (1896: 252) believed that the term 'Saharia' is made up of Arabic word 'Sahara' which refers to desert. According to Thakur and Thakur (1994: 114), the word Saharia can be traced in vedic literature also- Sahara tribe is mentioned in Aitareya Brahmana and the term 'Sahara' has also been mentioned in Mahabharata and Aranya Kanda of Ramayana. Albeit there is a shortage of myth related to socio-economic life of Saharia but Mandal (1998: 14) discussed a myth related to it- as per the myth when god created this *bramhand* (earth) he also made an elevated platform upon which he asked Saharia to sit in the centre. As the other people came they displaced the Saharia and took their place and in this way the Saharia was shifted to the edge of the platform. God returned after sometime and then asked Saharia why he was at the edge then he replied that everyone push him to the corner then god replied Saharia that he did not deserve to live with other people so Saharia selected remote forest as their habitat as per the god's wish. They perceive that living in remote forest area is the wish of their creator so they do not feel bad living isolated in forest area.

### **Tribal Myth Implication for Development**

It has been mentioned above that tribal culture has been derived from the ecology of their habitat and they legitimize it with their myths. Their myths provide them courage, satisfaction, motivation and art to live what they have and what they are. They believe that god (creator of world) told them that their life would depend upon land, they would eat the root of trees,

they would cut wood log and carry them on their shoulder and their wives would collect tree leaves to sell (Naik, 1955). Saharia was directed by god to live in forest and god gave Bharia-Bhumia the possession of land and right of its consumption and conservation. It was their creator's direction to perform shifting cultivation and to collect forest produce for livelihood so they are doing so. Even they believe that god had asked them not to hurt the earth by ploughing, if they do so then their children have to suffer. Such beliefs legitimize their way of livelihood earning.

Similarly, other spheres of their life are also associated with some kind of myths. Besides agriculture and forest produce collection, tribal were also involved in animal husbandry and poultry. A story mentioned by Elwin (1939) regarding taming of animal and sacrifices in rituals. As per the story, once when the earth became unstable then god called Nanga Baiga and Nanga Baigin to help in making the earth stable. They had nothing to sacrifice on earth except their children but a hen met them on the way when they were going to help the god then hen gave them her four chicks (pullets) and asked them to sacrifice two of them and to keep the remaining two with them. Similarly, both pig and barking deer handed their four babies for sacrifice. Further, coconut tree presented its fruit to dedicate god. In this way, they (tribal) legitimize the sacrifice of animal and dedication of things to praise god and also at time when any of the community member infringe the social norms. Praising god with sacrifice is the manifest function but the latent function behind such rituals is social gathering because after sacrifice, tribal collectively cook the sacrificed animal and enjoy the feast together. This is a platform for frequent interaction of community members which increase the social bonding.

Stories related to cloth, ornaments and metals are also popular among them. For instance, it is believed that when god called Nanga Baiga and Nanga Baigin, they did not have cloths to cover their body. They were hesitating to go in front of god without clothes so they asked *Bhimsen* to arrange clothes for them. *Bhimsen* brought some clothes but it was too short to cover their full body so Nanga Baigin covered her chest with a small piece of cloth and below the waist with other. Small piece of cloth was left for Nanga Baiga so he made a *langot* with it and covered below the waist only. According to other narration, once goddess earth said to Nanga Baiga, "I am without clothes and you are wearing clothes", so Nanga Baiga gave up all his clothes for the earth except a small *langot*. Historically, tribal clothing was limited to basic requirement only, female covered their body between shoulder and knee and male covered their body below the waist only and sometimes wore turban. In this way, they think that what they are wearing is wish of their god (supreme authority). If we look at the geographical features of tribal habitat then find that it is always in remote forest with zig-zag and sloppy path so small clothes make it easy for them to move freely and fast. Dress only meant to cover the body for them not an instrument to enhance their beauty. They had their own definition of beauty



which was limited to decoration of body only with ornaments, leaves, flowers and tattoo. Leaves and flowers were also used as home decoration.

The above discussion highlights how prevalent myths among tribal encourage them to live their life simple, limit their requirement only to basic needs fulfilment, provide them support at time of crisis and inspire them to be happy in every situation. In other words, their way of life derived from popular myths among them.

### **The Changing Dimensions**

Attributes of culture i.e. Eidos and Ethos were always present in tribal culture. Tribe had such a rich cultural heritage that they were sovereign over their livelihood earning; they has sustainable economy; they had social norms and values for social control and had informal institutions for social sanctions; they had institution for social, political and economical socialization i.e. family, peer group and dormitory; they had traditional mechanism to cope up with social, economical and political crisis; and they had enriched health practices for various ailments. It may be possible that some of the myth among tribal are irrelevant and unscientific but majority of them are based on empirical experience and socially relevant. For instance, use of medicinal herbs at its raw form without any side effects, collective consciousness for community as well as individual problems and principle on which people produce as per their capacity and consume as per their necessity (principle of community ownership) and various others.

The process of change in tribal community began during Colonial India in form of administration over the tribal haunt and most importantly by Christian missionary<sup>1</sup> in name of development. In independent India, tribal were believed to be less developed in comparison to other communities so developmental intervention was made which began with community development programmes and still going on with various modifications. The overall scenario of tribal has been changed but these are imposed or induced changes which are both functional and dysfunctional. For instance, displacement of tribal from their age old habitat and deforestation snatched their traditional occupation and compelled them to search alternate which has made their livelihood insecure<sup>2</sup>. Paul Russell quoted that nothing on this earth is more international than disease that can be seen among the tribal communities. They are now prone to diseases which were never in their mental horizon like HIV-AIDS, Cancer, Diabetes etc. Historically, they (tribal) live in forest area which is rich in medicinal herbs and shrubs and they had knowledge about the use of such medicinal herbs and shrubs but commercialization of such knowledge deprived them from such knowledge and now they are compelled to buy medicine from the market which is made up of raw material available in their own habitat. Their cultural identity is in danger and most of the tribal cultural elements are in verge of extinction, for instance, language, arts, dance and songs etc.

### Conclusion

Traditional knowledge of tribal can be incorporated in framing tribal development policies and programmes so that they do not feel alienated and can enthusiastically participate in developmental initiatives. For instance, tribal who are popular as medicinal men (*panda or ojha*) in their community can be trained in preliminary medical practice so that primary treatment can be made accessible to tribal at local level which can be available for 24×7, they trust and feel comfort with their own community member so they can be easily made aware with health and it is also a job opportunity for tribal who is trained; tribal communities have expertise in distinct work and art like Agariya is good in smelting of iron, Baiga are well known as medicinal men and Raji is good agriculturist. Similarly various other tribal communities are there who have distinct expertise like in fishing, basketry, artisan, pottery, bamboo work and so on. Hence, their expertise should be cashed in providing them occupation with proper training so that they can perform their occupation with interest. Government has started skill development programme to provide livelihood security but problem with such training programme is that tribal are trained with the skill which is very much alien to them and do not attract them. Although they get training in government programme but after training they return back to their own livelihood source because it is neither of their interest nor suitable to their locality, for instance, training of chef where there is no scope of restaurant and *dhaba* and training of masonry where people prefer to construct their house themselves.

Tribal development is measured with index developed by non-tribal community which is based on health, education and income. Albeit, these are the basic necessities of life but the things which has been ignored is what tribal people think of development and what quality of life is meant for them. Their happiness index, freedom index and security index are missing from the indices of development which should be incorporated in measuring development especially in context of tribal communities.

### Acknowledgement

An earlier version of the paper was presented in the National Seminar on “The Philosophical Aspects of Tribal Eidos and Ethos” [5-7 December, 2018] organized by Rajiv Gandhi Chair in Contemporary Studies, Barkatullah University, Bhopal, Madhya Pradesh. The author extends his sincere thanks to Prof. S.N. Chaudhary who offered advice and shaped my thought on this paper. The limitations if any are that of the author.

### Note

1. Kroeber (1948: 293) in his book ‘Anthropology’ presented attributes of culture as ‘Eidos’ and ‘Ethos’ of which the former is Greek word which means “idol” as a derivative, denotes form or appearances or likeness which can be describes explicitly and the latter denotes first of all disposition it means people ways or customs.

Further Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952) categorized these as explicit and implicit. In 1936, Gregory Bateson applied broadly the concept of eidos and ethos in his study of 'Naven Custom' of New Guinea tribe. Emmerich (2015) said that eidos and ethos are conceptually distinct but cannot be separated in practice and eidos is inseparable part of ethos.

2. The Dhebar Commission observed four different layers among scheduled tribes, at the base of which they found a group of tribals "in an extremely underdeveloped stage and at the topmost level amongst the tribals... a layer that can very well afford to forgo any further help. We feel that this lowest layer needs the utmost consideration at the hands of the Government (*See Dhebar Commission Report 1960-61*).
3. Benerjee et. al. (1992) argues that tribal communities of India are intimately connected to forest in such a manner that their folk songs and dances revolve around forests and in natural calamities, forests are their last succour. Farnandes (1993: 65) said that forests yield the type of produce which the tribal needed to live on. In their turn tribal developed a culture to preserve forest. This vested interest developed a symbiotic relationship between forest and tribal but the 'constructive dependence' which ensured a balance between people's and forests is being replaced by 'destructive dependence' whereby people's survival necessities no more the prevention but the destruction of forest.
4. This vested interest developed a symbiotic relationship between forest and tribal but the 'constructive dependence' which ensured a balance between people's and forests is being replaced by 'destructive dependence' whereby people's survival necessities no more the prevention but the destruction of forest.
5. Other social institutions were also constructed by Adivasis (tribals) like youth organizations, council of elders, customary laws, sacred groves, tattoos, taboos, barter system, means of entertainment, practices relating to the management of vital demographic events and so on to regulate their life. (*See Kumar, 1998*).
6. Ezekiel (1956) quoted- one of the earliest consequences of placing a non-monetized economy in relation to a money economy is the emergence of wage relationship. The first impact of monetized on non-monetized economies is the emergence of wage relationship. (*see Ezekiel, 1956*)
7. A totem is a plant, animal or object which is the symbol of a social group, particularly a clan or a tribe. The totem is taboo it means if totem is any animal or plant then it may be eaten on ritual occasions but otherwise it is carefully avoided as sacred. In 1950s, Radcliffe Brown argued that totemism is essentially a system of classification with respect to the relationship between man and nature. Each tribes have its own *gotras* or sub-category or kinship organization had their own totem. For instance, suppose some clan had snake as their totem so they will never kill the snake rather they will worship the snake and protect it.
8. The knowledge about religion, caste, family, village, geographical structure is gained through sacred text or from books. Srinivas calls it book view or bookish perspective which is also known as Indology, when the knowledge about elements of society is obtained through field work, it is called field view (*for details please See Srinivas, 1955, 1979*).
9. Nathan and Xaxa (2012: 1) write that development is invariably a form of change but not all forms of change can be development. There are forms of change that may disadvantage communities and instead of development the change leads to

deprivation where dispossession, for instance, ends up with the community, or its members, being at a lower level of well-being compared to their state before the process of change. In the language of social exclusion, this is a process of adverse inclusion.

10. Intervention of Christian Missions in the tribal world was both dysfunctional and functional from the point of view of their identity as well as improvement in their quality of life. Elwin (1955), Mills (1973), Haimendorf (1980), Sinha (1993) and several other scholars, for example, apprehended that Christianity poses a threat to the tribal identity. According to Sinha (1993), the above apprehensions appear to be notional in the light of the views of the tribal Christian intellectuals and elite of the region. Can one ignore the emergence of ethnicity and ethnic movements prevalent among the highly Christianized tribes of the region? If Christianity is not synonymous to the Western Culture, how can it be equivalent to a distinct ethnic identity, especially when the ethnic elite are conscious to maintain their identity (P. 155).
11. As per documentation of Padhi and Panigrahi (2011) in context of deforestation and displacement in Odisha- "The impact of massive deforestation has been observed in the life way processes of tribal people and can be categorised as environmental effects, social effects and economic effects. The social effects of deforestation restrict tribal people's access to the forest and affect their religious activities, life cycle rituals, customs, practices and habits. Similarly, the economic effects of deforestation have drastically influenced the traditional livelihood resource of tribal people, which were providing them with food and economic security."

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**Annexure I**  
**State-wise list of PVTGs**

S.No.	State	PVTGs
1	Andhra Pradesh (including Telangana)	1. Bodo Gadaba 2. Bondo Poroja 3. Chenchu 4. Dongaria Khond 5. Gurob Gadaba 6. Khond Poroja 7. Kolam 8. Kondareddis 9. Konda Savaras 10. Kutia Khond 11. Parengi Poroja 12. Thoti
2	Jharkhand (including Bihar)	13. Asurs 14. Birhor 15. Birjia 16. Hill Kharia 17. Korwa 18. Mal Paharia 19. Parhaiya 20. Sauria Paharia 21. Savar
3	Gujarat	22. Kathodi 23. Katwalia 24. Padhar 25. Siddi 26. Kolgha
4	Karnataka	27. Jenukuruba 28. Korag
5	Kerala	29. Cholanaikayan 30. Kadar 31. Kattunayakan 32. Kurumba 33. Koraga
6	Madhya Pradesh	34. Baiga 35. Bharia 36. Saharia
7	Chhattisgarh	37. Abhuj Maria 38. Hill Korba 39. Kamar 40. Birhor
8	Maharashtra	41. Katkaria 42. Kolam 43. Maria Gond
9	Manipur	44. Marram naga
10	Odisha	45. Birhor 46. Bondo 47. Didayi 48. Dongaria Khond 49. Juangs 50. Kharia 51. Kutia Kondh 52. Lanjia Saora 53. Lodha 54. Mankidia 55. Paudi Bhuyan 56. Soura 57. Chuktia Bhunjia
11	Rajasthan	58. Saharia
12	Tamil Nadu	59. Kattunayakan 60. Kota 61. Kurumba 62. Irular 63. Paniyan 64. Toda
13	Tripura	65. Reang
14	Uttarakhand (including Uttar Pradesh)	66. Buxa 67. Raji
15	West Bengal	68. Birhor 69. Lodha 70. Totos
16	Andaman & Nicobar Island	71. Great Andamanese 72. Jarawa 73. Onge 74. Sentinelese 75. Shompen

Source: Annual Report (2016-17), Ministry of Tribal Affairs, New Delhi: GoI.

**Annexure II**  
**The Clans with Legends of their Origin**

Name of the Clan	Legend of Origin
Bharadhiya	They came from a place called Bhardagarh and called themselves Bharadhiya.
Khamariya	Khamariya were named after the Khamar tree. Khamaria clansmen do not eat fruits of Khamer tree.



Panchaliya	Pachaliya or Khud-Pachaliya means a ditch for throwing rubbish. They originated from such a ditch.
Bagothiya	He hid himself near the shadow of <i>BaghI</i> or tiger, hence his descendents were called by this name.
Angariya	<i>Angar</i> means fire, and the ancestors of this clan sat near a fire burning in the ifeld. Hence, they were called Angariya.
Bijaliya	<i>Bijili</i> is lightening. He saw lightening and fell down. Other saw him and called him Bijaliya.
Dandoliya	<i>Dandi</i> means a man's beard. Since he tried to hide himself in the beard, his descendents were called by this name. But some Bharias say that <i>dandi</i> is a stick and members of this clan do not fix a stick to plough or <i>bakkhar</i> .
Chalathiya	When others sat down to take rest, he continued walking and was, therefore, called <i>Chalathiya</i> which means one who walks much.
Routhiya	<i>Routhiya</i> is one who keeps weeping. While others talked and laughed he kept weeping. So he and his descendents were called <i>Routhiya</i> .
Thakariya	While walking, footfalls of some animals make the sound <i>thak-thak</i> . He caught a leg of the animal when the sound stopped. He was therefore called <i>Thakariya</i> .
Kanchiholiya	<i>Kanch</i> is a part of <i>dhoti</i> which a man passes in between his legs and tucks to his waist at the back. It is said that one of the ancestors while walking his son caught his <i>kanch</i> , and therefore he was called <i>Kanchiholiya</i> .
Nahaliya	He was very fond of bathing, <i>Nahaliya</i> means "one who is fond of taking bath" hence his descendents were called <i>Nahaliya</i> .
Mahaniya	He "agreed" to do something for another man who stopped him. He agreed and was called <i>Mahaniya</i> .
Gwaliya	In ancient time, there was a fort at a place called Gwaliagarh. The ancestor of <i>Gwalia</i> clansmen wa fond of climbing to the Gwalia hill and was, therefore, called <i>Gwalia</i> .
Kudamiya	<i>Kudamiya</i> is one who speaks slowly to himself. While taking rest he used to speak to himself in this manner.
Bagdariya	Bagda means a fly. One of the ancestors used to play with and kill flies, so that his children were called <i>Bagdariya</i> .
Kundaliya	Near him a snake sat coiled or in <i>kundali</i> , so he was called <i>kundaliya</i> .
Bilai Koliya	He touched the tail of a cat ( <i>Billi</i> ) and was called <i>Bilai Koliya</i> .
Amodiya	Not known.

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Source: Kurup, A.M. 1985.: *Continuity and Change in a Little Community: A Study of the Bharias of Patakot in Madhya Pradesh*. New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, pp.69-70.



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