

Job satisfaction of professional journalists:a study conducted in Thiruvananthapuram district

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Chapter - I

Literature Review

LITERATURE REVIEW

INTRODUCTION

Man who was once a cave dweller, hunter of wild animals was made the centre and the captain of the ship named World by the increase in rationality and scientific advancement and knowledge.

Now he is capable to control and harness natural resources which once he worshipped. And by the advancement of man in diversified fields, he is undoubtedly the master of the entire world. By the advancement in communication the world has shrunk into the size of small globe, we are capable of accessing any information in any part of the world now. Likewise the travel has also taken many dimensions and thereby has provided us with opportunities to reach any point in the globe within a short time. These are the changes that took place in the cyber world and it is propelling forward in the rate of knots.

This growth and advancement is evident in almost all the countries of the world. But there are many groups of people who lead very primitive lifestyles. In this most advanced world, they are termed as tribes. They live as an isolated entity, with their specific culture, rituals, religion, and language and with their specific socio-cultural interactions within them. The global scenarios like recession, globalization, urbanization, McDonaldisation, inflation doesn't affect their subsistence form of lifestyle. Indonesian Kombeka's, Ethiopian Suri's, Mongolian Daradu's Russian Nenten's, Jarava's of Andaman Nicobar and Cholanayikkan's of Kerala, etc these people still live in this modern world without experiencing the modernity of this vast world.

Though the modern man has modernized, our perceptions to the tribal people have not changed. Once the tribes were an uncultured and uncivilized group to the so called modern man but now the perceptions have changed and they are being considered as a group of people who live in

complete harmony with the nature and unlike modern man they never try to exploit nature and its resources.

The great anthropologists who have studied about them are on the opinion that they should not be converted into the so called modern man instead they must get empowered in their habitat and environment. The insight on the life of tribes develops curiosity in the ordinary man as novel behavior patterns are observed among them.

Since the 21th century practically every human society on the planet has become accessible to enquiry. Over most of the inhabited globe, customs, belief, and institutions have been under the scrutiny of anthropologists. Since, the tide of second world war swept into the most obscure corners of the earth (into the far of North America, into New Guinea, the archipelago) thus exposing those lands where the last “savage” peoples had until then enjoyed a measure of safety in their isolation. (Nicolas. 1978)

Today many names once charged with mystery and romance designate landing spots for long distance jet airlines. Swifter means of travel and the increasing world population have had the effect of shrinking the planet. There is no fraction of the human race, no matter how remote and retarded it may still appear, that is not directly or indirectly in contact with others. Civilized and primitive cultures are now part of the same world and before long will be part of the same civilization. For even societies with the most widely divergent patterns of thought, whose customs and mores took thousands of years to develop along isolated paths, must impregnate one another once contact is established. This occurs in many different ways: sometimes those ways are clear; more often they are not.

TRIBES

Tribe, in anthropology, a notional form of human social organization based on a set of smaller groups (known as bands), having temporary or permanent political integration, and defined by traditions of common descent, language, culture, and ideology. The term originated in ancient Rome, where the word *tribus* denoted a division within the state.

It later came into use as a way to describe the cultures encountered through European exploration. By the mid-19th century, many anthropologists and other scholars were using the term, as well as band, chiefdom, and state, to denote particular stages in unilateral Cultural Revolution. Although unilateral cultural evolution is no longer a credible theory, these terms continue to be used as a sort of technical shorthand in college courses, documentaries, and popular reference works. In such contexts, members of a tribe are typically said to share a self-name and a contiguous territory; to work together in such joint endeavors as *trade, agriculture, house, construction, warfare, and ceremonial activities*; and to be composed of a number of smaller local communities such as bands or villages. In addition, they may be aggregated into higher-order clusters, such as nations.

As an anthropological term, the word tribe fell out of favor in the latter part of the 20th century. Some anthropologists rejected the term itself, on the grounds that it could not be precisely defined. Others objected to the negative connotations that the word acquired in the colonial context. Scholars of Africa, in particular, felt that it was pejorative as well as inaccurate. Thus, many anthropologists replaced it with the designation ethnic group, usually defined as a group of people with a common ancestry and language, a shared cultural and historical tradition, and an identifiable territory. Ethnic group is a particularly appropriate term within the discussion of modernizing countries, where one's identity and claims to landownership may depend less on extended kinship ties than on one's natal village or region of origin.

In the broad matrix of Indian society although numerically small, the representativeness of tribes is culturally effective and significant. The tribal heritage provides the soul to many ingredients of Indian culture. And a proper identification of the same is essential in the exploration of Indian social system and cultural heritage. As the caste society of India has some of its unique sociological characteristics, the tribe's exhibit a variety of customs and traditions of their own typical life styles. Because of the break

of a certain degree of isolation and subsequent growth of cultural contact, the influence of certain caste traits on the life and culture of some of the tribes are inevitable. Sanskirtisation, as well as urbanization have their own role in the process. Because of these forces and processes, as also for differentiation in customary ways of various groups, the uniformity in tribal socio-cultural milieu has been disrupted.

We have three stages in tribal living marked in most of the tribal communities. Some tribal's are sufficiently changed, some are in the transitional stage and others remain bogged down within the frame of traditionality. The creation of such stages of living can be attributed to the planned as well as the non planned efforts of non tribals. While the planned efforts are of recent origin, the non planned forces, of quite long standing, have had more influence. Such a trend is obviously the result of the great persistence of tribal problems, including those which got induced as a result of the introduction of agents of changes in tribal belts. The part, resolved through planned development, remains nothing much beyond a drop in the ocean. Only a very small number of tribals could be benefited through such ventures. A bulk of unresolved problems in the social, economic, religious and political life of tribals has accumulated over the years. Though the government, especially after Indian independence, has been increasingly eager to develop the tribals and to solve their problems, the unresolved problems continue to accumulate. Undoubtedly the development of tribes in comparison to other sections of society is a very difficult task.

Adivasi is an umbrella term for a heterogeneous set of ethnic and tribal groups claimed to be the aboriginal population of India. They comprise a substantial indigenous minority of the population of India. The same term Adivasi is used for the ethnic minorities of Bangladesh and the native Vedda people of Sri Lanka .The word is also used in the same sense in Nepal as is another word (Jana-jati), although the political context differed historically under the Shah and Rana dynasties.

Adivasi societies are particularly present in Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Gujarat, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Odisha,

Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu, West Bengal and some north-eastern states, and the Andaman and Nicobar Islands. Many smaller tribal groups are quite sensitive to ecological degradation caused by modernization. Both commercial forestry and intensive agriculture have proved destructive to the forests that had endured swidden agriculture for many centuries.

Evolution of tribe

Considerable debate takes place over how best to characterize tribes. This partly stems from perceived differences between pre-state tribes and contemporary tribes; some reflects more general controversy over cultural evolution and colonialism. In the popular imagination, tribes reflect a way of life that predates, and is more "natural", than that in modern states. Tribes also privilege primordial social ties, are clearly bounded, homogeneous, parochial, and stable. Thus, many believed that tribes organize links between families (including clans and lineages), and provide them with a social and ideological basis for solidarity that is in some way more limited than that of an "ethnic group" or of a "nation". Anthropological and ethno historical research has challenged all of these notions.

Anthropologist Elman Service presented a system of classification for societies in all human cultures based on the evolution of social inequality and the role of the state. This system of classification contains four categories:

1. Gatherer-hunter bands, which are generally egalitarian.
2. Tribal societies in which there are some limited instances of social rank and prestige
3. Stratified tribal societies led by chieftains.
4. Civilizations, with complex social hierarchies and organized, institutional governments.

Famous anthropologist Morton H. Fried (1975) has explained his Notion of the Tribe, provided numerous examples of tribes the members of which spoke different languages and practiced different rituals, or that shared languages and rituals with members of other tribes. Similarly, he

provided examples of tribes where people followed different political leaders, or followed the same leaders as members of other tribes. He concluded that tribes in general are characterized by fluid boundaries and heterogeneity, are not parochial, and are dynamic.

Fried, however, proposed that most contemporary tribes do not have their origin in pre-state tribes, but rather in pre-state bands. Such "secondary" tribes, he suggested, actually came about as modern products of state expansion. Bands comprise small, mobile, and fluid social formations with weak leadership, that do not generate surpluses, pay no taxes and support no standing army. Fried argued that secondary tribes develop in one of two ways. First, states could set them up as means to extend administrative and economic influence in their hinterland, where direct political control costs too much. States would encourage (or require) people on their frontiers to form more clearly bounded and centralized polities, because such polities could begin producing surpluses and taxes, and would have a leadership responsive to the needs of neighboring states (the so-called "scheduled" tribes of the United States or of British India provide good examples of this). Second, bands could form "secondary" tribes as a means to defend themselves against state expansion. Members of bands would form more clearly bounded and centralized polities, because such polities could begin producing surpluses that could support a standing army that could fight against states, and they would have a leadership that could co-ordinate economic production and military activities.

In some countries, such as the United States of America and India, tribes are polities that have been granted legal recognition and limited autonomy by the state.

Archeologists continue to explore the development of pre-state tribes. Current research suggests that tribal structures constituted one type of adaptation to situations providing plentiful yet unpredictable resources. Such structures proved flexible enough to coordinate production and distribution of food in times of scarcity, without limiting or constraining people during times of surplus.

Characteristics of Tribes and their Origin

A tribe is an indigenous social group formed either before the nation state was founded or independently of the nation state. Most tribes live in remote, inaccessible usually hilly areas. Tribal people do not usually identify themselves with their nation state and attach a lot of importance to preserving their cultural identity and core value system. In some countries like the USA and India, identifiable groups of indigenous people have been legally recognized as 'tribes' by the nation state and offered special protection for preservation of their culture and lifestyle. Special statutes help them to follow, and thereby preserve, their distinct tribal customs and practices. There has been much inconclusive debate on the characteristics that define a tribe. Some observers say that the tribal way of life that predated the nation state is 'more natural' than the individual-centric 'modern' way of life that is becoming more and more common, among the affluent section of the population in most parts of the world. This modern lifestyle is modeled largely on lifestyle typical of Northern, Western and West-Central Europe, the USA, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. This uniform way of life is spreading so widely that some observers have asked in alarm 'Are we heading towards a largely uniform world where everyone will wear the same clothes and listen to the same music?' However, that is a separate issue. Some observers believe that tribal practices are usually rigidly defined, followed consistently over long periods, limited to the particular tribe, and that tribal loyalties are much stronger than loyalty to the nation state or even to the ethnic group. However, the above views have not received universal acceptance. In his 1972 study 'The Notion of the Tribe' Morton Fried has cited many examples of members of one tribe speaking different languages and practicing different rituals. Fried also found instances of the same tribe supporting different political leaders, and of members of one tribe going to the extent of supporting leaders of another tribe. His conclusion, therefore, is that tribes are often heterogeneous, have changing boundaries, are not necessarily insular and are evolving continuously. Some recent research has suggested that many tribal structures have evolved over the years out of the need to cope with wide fluctuations – from acute scarcity to abundance – in

availability of food and other essential resources. The tribal social structure helps to coordinate production and distribution of resources within the community in times of scarcity without preventing their members from enjoying the surpluses in times of abundance. Fried has suggested that most contemporary tribes, also called 'secondary tribes' (viz. tribes formed after the nation state came into being) have originated from pre-state bands rather than from pre-state tribes. Bands are small, mobile and fluid social formations with weak leadership, that neither generate surpluses nor pay taxes and also do not have a standing army. As the nation state expands, it may set up secondary tribes out of the pre-state bands as a method of extending administrative control and economic hegemony into the remote hinterland where direct political control is not cost-effective. By encouraging or even requiring these bands on the borders of the nation state to settle down into secondary tribes, the nation state may be able to organize them into surplus producing tax-paying groups with a well-defined leadership responsive to the needs of the nation state. The 'scheduled tribes' of the USA and British India are examples of this kind of tribe formation. Alternatively, in an attempt to resist expansion of the nation state the pre-state bands could organize themselves into tribes with centralized political control. This central leadership would then co-ordinate the economic activities, and this process would eventually lead to creation of a surplus that would be able to support a standing army.

TRIBES OF INDIA AN OVERVIEW

Although terms such as *atavika*, *vanavāsi* ("forest dwellers"), or *girijan* ("hill people") are also used for the tribes of India, *adivasi* carries the specific meaning of being the original and autochthonous inhabitants of a given region and was specifically coined for that purpose in the 1930s. Over time, unlike the terms "aborigines" or "tribes", the word "adivasi" has developed a connotation of past autonomy which was disrupted during the British colonial period in India and has not been restored.

In Nepal, the infiltration of Khas people from west to east through the Middle Hills, then the consolidation of dozens of petty kingdoms by the

Shahs followed by the usurpation by the Ranas brought indigenous nationalities under orthodox Hindu rule and then codified inferior social and political status into a corpus of law known as *Muluki Ain*. Although the Shah kings were restored to power in the revolution of 1950, they still governed mostly for and through high caste Bahuns, Thakuris, Chhetris and Newars. Enfranchisement of adivasis except Newars—seldom advanced beyond lip service. This produced grievances that were instrumental in the Nepalese Civil War, where the rank and file of guerrilla fighters was largely adivasi. Thus in Nepal, there are no historical parallels to British interference with orthodox Hindu discrimination, nor was there much resembling India's significantly effective post-Independence efforts to improve the lot of adivasis.

In India, opposition to usage of the term is varied, and it has been argued that the "original inhabitant" contention is based on the fact that they have no land and are therefore asking for a land reform. They argue that they have been oppressed by the "superior group" and that therefore they require and demand a reward and more specifically a land reform.

In Northeast India, the term adivasi applies only to the Tea-tribes imported from Central India during colonial times, while all tribal groups refer collectively to themselves by using the English word "tribes"

The Scheduled Tribe groups who were identified as more isolated from the wider community and who maintain a distinctive cultural identity have been categorized as **'Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups' (PTGs)** (previously known as Primitive Tribal Groups) by the Government at the Centre. So far seventy-five tribal communities have been identified as 'particularly vulnerable tribal groups' in different States of India. These hunting, food-gathering, and some agricultural communities, have been identified as less acculturated tribes among the tribal population groups and in need of special programmers for their sustainable development. The tribes are awakening and demanding their rights for special reservation quota for them.

There is a substantial India recognized as tribal under the Constitution of India. Tribal people constitute 8.6% of the nation's total population, over 104 million people according to the 2011 census. One concentration lives in a belt along the Himalayas stretching through Jammu and Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh, and Uttarakhand in the west, to Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura, Arunachal Pradesh, Mizoram, Manipur, and Nagaland in the northeast. In the northeastern states of Arunachal Pradesh, Meghalaya, Mizoram, and Nagaland, more than 90% of the population is tribal. However, in the remaining northeast states of Assam, Manipur, Sikkim, and Tripura, tribal peoples form between 20 and 30% of the population.

Another concentration lives in the hilly areas of central India (Chhattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh, Odisha and, to a lesser extent, Andhra Pradesh); in this belt, which is bounded by the Narmada River to the north and the Godavari River to the southeast, tribal peoples occupy the slopes of the region's mountains. Other tribes, including the Santals, live in Jharkhand and West Bengal. Central Indian states have the country's largest tribes, and, taken as a whole, roughly 75% of the total tribal population live there, although the tribal population their accounts for only around 10% of the region's total population.

There are smaller numbers of tribal people in Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, and Kerala in south India; in western India in Gujarat and Rajasthan, and in the union territories of Lakshadweep and the Andaman Islands and Nicobar Islands. About one percent of the populations of Kerala and Tamil Nadu are tribal, whereas about six percent in Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka are members of tribes.

The concept of 'original inhabitant' is directly related to the initial peopling of India, which, due to the debate on topics such as the Indo-Aryan migration hypothesis, has been a contentious area of research and discourse. Some anthropologists hypothesize that the region was settled by multiple human migrations over tens of millennia, which makes it even harder to select certain groups as being truly aboriginal. One narrative, largely based on genetic research, describes Negritos, similar to the

Andaman's adivasis of today, as the first humans to colonise India, likely 30–65 thousand years before present. 60% of all Indians share the DNA haplo group M, which is universal among Andaman's islander adivasis and might be a genetic legacy of the postulated first Indians. Some anthropologists theories that these settlers were displaced by invading Austro-Asiatic-speaking Australoid people (who largely shared skin pigmentation and physiognomy with the Negritos, but had straight rather than curly hair), and adivasi tribes such as the Irulas trace their origins to that displacement. The Oraon adivasi tribe of eastern India and the Korcu tribe of western India are considered to be examples of groups of Australoid origin. Subsequent to the Australoids, most anthropologists and geneticists agree that Caucasoids (including both Dravidians and Indo-Aryans) and Mongoloids (Sino-Tibetans) immigrated into India: the Dravidians possibly from Iran, the Indo-Aryans possibly from the Central Asian steppes and the Tibeto-Burmans possibly from the Himalayan and north-eastern borders of the subcontinent. None of these hypotheses is free from debate and disagreement.

Ethnic origins and linguistic affiliations in India match only inexactly, however: while the Oraon adivasis are classified as an Australoid group, their language, called Kurukh, is Dravidian. Khasis and Nicobarese are considered to be Mongoloid groups and the Munda and Santals are Australoid groups, but all four speak Austro-Asiatic languages. The Bhils and Gonds are frequently classified as Australoid groups, yet Bhil languages are Indo-European and the Gondi language is Dravidian. Also, in post-colonial India, tribal languages suffered huge setbacks with the formation of linguistic states after 1956 under the States Reorganization Act. For example, under state-sponsored educational pressure, Irula children are being taught Tamil and a sense of shame has begun to be associated with speaking the Irula language among some children and educated adults. Similarly, the Santals are "gradually adopting languages of the areas inhabited, like Oriya in Odisha, Hindi in Bihar and Bengali in West Bengal."

Tribal classification criteria and demands

Population complexities, and the controversies surrounding ethnicity and language in India, sometimes make the official recognition of groups as adivasis (by way of inclusion in the Scheduled Tribes list) political and contentious. However, regardless of their language family affiliations, Australoid and Negrito groups that have survived as distinct forest, mountain or island dwelling tribes in India and are often classified as adivasi. The relatively autonomous Mongoloid tribal groups of Northeastern India (including Khasis, Apatani and Nagas), who are mostly Austro-Asiatic or Tibeto-Burman speakers, are also considered to be adivasis: this area comprises 7.5% of India's land area but 20% of its adivasi population. However, not all autonomous northeastern groups are considered adivasis; for instance, the Tibeto-Burman-speaking Meitei of Manipur was once tribal but, having been settled for many centuries, is caste Hindus.

It is also difficult, for a given social grouping, to definitively decide whether it is a 'caste' or a 'tribe'. A combination of internal social organization, relationship with other groups, self-classification and perception by other groups has to be taken into account to make a categorization, which is at best inexact and open to doubt. These categorizations have been diffused for thousands of years, and even ancient formulators of caste-discriminatory legal codes (which usually only applied to settled populations, and not adivasis) were unable to come up with clean distinctions.

An additional difficulty in deciding whether a group meets the criteria to be adivasi or not are the inspirational movements created by the federal and state benefits, including job and educational reservations, enjoyed by groups listed as scheduled tribes (STs). In Manipur, Meitei commentators have pointed to the lack of scheduled tribe status as a key economic disadvantage for Meiteis competing for jobs against groups that are classified as scheduled tribes. In Assam, Rajbongshi representatives have demanded scheduled tribe status as well. In Rajasthan, the Gujjar community has demanded ST status, even blockading the national capital of

Delhi to press their demand. However Government of Rajasthan declined Gujjars demand by saying that they are treated as upper caste and they are by no mean a tribe.¹ In several cases, these claims to tribal hood are disputed by tribes who are already listed in the schedule and fear economic losses if more powerful groups are recognized as scheduled tribes; for instance, the Rajbongshi demand faces resistance from the Bodo tribe, and the Meena tribe has vigorously opposed Gujjar aspirations to be recognized as a scheduled tribe.

Scheduled tribes

The Constitution of India doesn't give a clear definition for the scheduled tribes. Article 366 (25) defines Scheduled Tribes as "such tribes or tribal communities or part of or groups within such tribes or tribal communities as are deemed under Article 342 to the scheduled Tribes (STs) for the purposes of this Constitution". In Article 342, the procedure to be followed for specification of a scheduled tribe is prescribed. However, it does not contain the criterion for the specification of any community as scheduled tribe. An often used criterion is based on attributes such as:

1. Geographical isolation - they live in cloistered, exclusive, remote, inhospitable areas such as hills and forests.
2. Backwardness - their livelihood is based on primitive agriculture, a low-value closed economy with a low level of technology that leads to their poverty. They have low levels of literacy and health.
3. Culture, language and religion - communities have developed their own distinctive culture, language and religion.
4. Shyness of contact – they have a marginal degree of contact with other cultures and people.

TRIBES IN KERALA

Tribals in Kerala (Adivasis of Kerala) are the indigenous population found in the southern Indian state of Kerala. Most of the tribal people of Kerala live in the forests and mountains of Western Ghats, bordering Karnataka and Tamil Nadu. According to the 2001 census of India, the

Scheduled Tribe population in Kerala is 3, 64,189 (male - 1, 80,169 and female - 184,020). Wayanad has the highest number of tribals (1, 36,062). Idukki (50973) and Palakkad (39665) districts are the next two that make the lion portion of the native tribal people groups in the state. Paniyar (Paniya) is the biggest tribe among the 35 major tribes. Tribals in Kerala are living on the hill ranges, mainly on the Western Ghats, bordering Karnataka and Tamil Nadu. As a natural border, the mountain has branches in Kerala as well as in Tamil Nadu and Karnataka. The tribals on the Kerala hills are only listed here.

LIST OF SCHEDULED TRIBES (ST) IN KERALA

[As Amended by the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Orders (Amendment) Act, 2002 (Act 10 of 2003) Vide Part-VII - Kerala - Second Schedule Notified in the Gazette of India dated 8.1.2003]

1. Adiyar
2. Arandan [Arandanar]
3. Eravallan
4. Hill Pulaya, Mala Pulayan, Kurumba Pulayan, Kuravazhi Pulayan, Pamba Pulayan
5. Irular, Irulan
6. Kadar [Wayanad Kadar]
7. Xxx
8. Kanikkaran, Kanikkar
9. Kattunayakan
10. [Kochuvelan]
11. Xxx
12. Xxx
13. Koraga
14. Xxx
15. Kudiya, Melakudi
16. Kurichchan [Kurichiyan]
17. Kurumans, Mulla Kuruman, Mulla Kuruman, Mala Kuruman
18. Kurumbas, [Kurumbar, Kurumban]

19. Maha Malasar
20. Malai Arayan [Mala Arayan]
21. Malai Pandaram
22. Malai Vedan [Malavedan]
23. Malakkuravan
24. Malasar
25. [Malayan, Nattu Malayan, Konga Malayan (excluding the areas comprising the Kasaragod, Kannur, Wayanad and Kozhikode Districts)]
26. Malayarayar
27. Mannan
28. Xxx
29. Muthuvan, Mudugar, Muduvan
30. Palleyan, Palliyan, Palliyar, Paliyan
31. Xxx
32. Xxx
33. Paniyan
34. Ulladan, [Ullatan]
35. Uraly
36. Mala Vettuvan (in Kasaragod & Kannur districts)
37. Ten Kurumban, Jenu Kurumban
38. Thachanadan, Thachanadan Moopan
39. Cholanaickan
40. Mavilan
41. Karimpalan
42. Vetta Kuruman
43. Mala Panikkar

Xxx- As shown in Govt. records

Primitive tribes in Kerala

Tribal people groups who are food-gatherers (without any habit of agricultural practice), with diminishing population and very low or little literacy rates can be called as Primitive Tribes. Cholanaikans, Kurumbas,

Kattunaikans, Kadars and Koragas are the five primitive tribal groups in Kerala. They constitute nearly 5 % of the total tribal population in the State. Cholanaikans can be said as the most primitive of them and found only in the Malappuram District. Only a handful of families are living in the Mancheri hills of Nilambur forest division. Kattunaikans, another lower-hill community related to Cholanaikans, are mainly seen in Wayanad district and some in Malappuram and Kozhikode districts. Kadar population is found in Trisur and Palakkad districts. Kurumbas are living in the Attappady Block of Palakkad district. The Koraga habitat is in the plain areas of Kasaragod district.

TRIBAL RESEARCH

Indian society is marked by considerable heterogeneity and has therefore been received more in terms of differences than similarities. The major social categories in terms of which the differences have been conceived are religion, territory, language and caste. These categories were reinforced during British rule through decennial enumeration and classification of the population into groups and categories. One of the major intellectual and administrative preoccupations of the colonial state was to classify population into groups and category. To the already existing groups or categories, a new category was added during this period this was the category of tribe .The study of groups that later came to be described as tribes began with the establishment of the **Asiatic society of Bengal** in 1874.

From then on scholars- administrators wrote general works on the land and people of different region in which References were made to caste and tribes. They also made inventories of caste and tribes in the form handbooks, monographs, gestures.

Vidhyarthi (1982) describes this phase of research on tribes in India as the **formative period dating from 1874 to 1920**. The latter two phases were identified as the constructive (1921 – 1949) and analytical phase (1950 onwards). The curriculum in the universities in India and the later adoption of an analytical or action oriented approach in the study of tribes. In the post

independent period there was a flood of literature on tribes which came from three main sources.

- Anthropological survey of India
- University departments of sociology and anthropology
- Tribal research institutes that were set up in states having a substantial tribal population.

Tribal research institutes were established in mid 1950s mainly to undertake problem oriented research for the effective formulation and implementation of developmental programs in tribal area. Considerable research was carried out in these institutes in their early phases and widely disseminated. However the research output of these institutions has steadily declined both in quantitative and qualitative (Oxford India companion to sociology and social anthropology, vol: 1)

There is an information gap on a very large number of communities in India and whatever information that exists on them is scanty or needs to be updated. The anthropological survey of India launched a project on the people of India on October 2, 1985. The objective of the project was to generate a brief descriptive anthropological profile of all the communities of India. The impact change and development process on them and the links that bring them together. As part of this all India project the ethnographic survey of all communities of Kerala was taken up in collaboration with local scholars (Sing 1992).

Parmood Kumar misra (1978) Argued that “Anthropologically southern tribal zone (southern states) of India is poorly covered. There are only few full length monographers on the tribes of this zone. Some of the tribal groups like the Toda and the Kotta have attracted the attention of social scientist the world over but the other groups were ignored.

Tribal research in India has attained a distinct position in social science researches as it has become the prey of pseudo researchers whose interest is to obtain a research degree towards the fulfillment of employment

requirements. Indian society has a plethora of various communities and social groups professing different religions, speaking different dialects and using different languages as mother languages. Culturally also there are different and distinct labels by each of the communities forming the boarder society blended as Indian society.

Tribal Research and Cultural Foundation

Tribal Research and Cultural Foundation, a National Organization was set up in 1998 at Poonch, Himachal Pradesh with the objective to promote Socio-Economic and Cultural aspects of Tribes residing in India. As an independent agency on Research and Culture the organization is a specialized body working on Tribal studies. Its stated purpose is to contribute to Gujjars studies and nomadic research by promoting national collaboration through research, studies, and culture in order to further universal understanding about Gujjars especially nomadic tribes of Jammu and Kashmir.

Three bodies are responsible for policy-making, governance, and day-to-day administration at Tribal Research and Cultural Foundation

It is provided in the Constitution of the Tribal Research and Cultural Foundation that its headquarters shall be at Poonch but it may be partially work in Tribal belts of India.

MAJOR FUNCTIONS- To meet aspirations of people living in India, a multi-ethnic and socio-cultural country the Tribal Research and Cultural Foundation set up offices at the following places and assigned them the role of development of the languages

The Tribal Research and Cultural Foundation have been assigned the roles of an organization to works like a visionary body. This has been done with a view to provide integrated approach and inter-disciplinary co-operation and co-ordination between the All the tribal bodies working in India.

KIRTADS

It is purely a governmental organization under the Scheduled castes and Scheduled tribes Development ministry and functions as a separate Directorate. Its main objective is to carry out research that helps to promote development among the scheduled communities in Kerala. It also attempts to identify the needs and problems confronting the marginalized section of the population and suggest recommendations to the government in finding a panacea for their overall development. This was established in the year 1972 as Tribal Research and Training centre (TR & TC) at Calicut, Kerala in a national pattern for the tribal development.

MAJOR TRIBAL ETHNOGRAPHIC WORKS

There so many valuable studies about tribes which give a clear picture of tribal communities and their socio-cultural life. The studies of several Anthropologists have given valuable insights on the socio-cultural-politico-economic life of the tribes. Some of such ethnographic studies are being mentioned here:

BARNETT (1961) discussed about the tribal group in pacific islands. He has conducted his study over a span of ten years and based on this observation. Farming is the primary occupation of women. Men clear new land of heavy growth and cut borders of the forest that perpetually creep into old clearings. They claim that they posses magical powers and could interact with invisible spirits. This is considered to be an inherited trait and they train these black magical rituals for their entire lifetime and if a person is critically ill, he or she believes that these invisible spirits have cast a spell on them and would get the help of the black magician.

Community service is a primary obligation. Not interested in kinship system. They believed in supernatural beings. They worshiped the sea and also they were animistic in nature. Their geographical features have influenced their way of living, subsistence and their religion.

Majority tribes live under poverty line. The tribes follow many simple occupations based on simple technology. Most of the occupation falls into

the primary occupations such as hunting, gathering, and agriculture. The technology they use for these purposes belong to the most primitive kind. There is no profit and surplus making in such economy.

VERRIOR (1937) has discussed about an epic ethnographic study on Gonda tribal community. An elaborate study over four years has clearly depicted a picture of their social and cultural life. Gonda tribes have two great heroes one is Rai Linga – king of the forest, second- Lakshmanajathi , brother of Sree Rama. 'Tutta', is the symbol of Gonda poverty, 'phulmat' represent the romance of the forest. Each clan worships a clan god known as Persapen.

The gonda dances are amongst the most colourful. In fact, the birth of dance has a legend behind it. The gonda live and function in large joint families, the unit known as Bhai Bund. Government policies on forest reserves have affected tribal peoples profoundly.

Government efforts to reserve forests have precipitated resistance on the part of the Gonda involved. Intensive exploitation of forests has often meant allowing outsiders to cut large areas of trees (while the original tribal inhabitants were restricted from cutting), and ultimately replacing mixed forests capable of sustaining tribal life with single-product plantations.

Nontribal have frequently bribed local officials to secure effective use of reserved forest lands. They subsist on food-gathering, hunting and minor forest produce collection. The collection and selling of minor forest produce is the major source of income. The Gonda's were considered to be rulers once; they even had their reign over the non-tribal areas. The Gond Rajas of Garha-Mandla and Chanda are examples of an adivasi aristocracy that ruled in this region, and were "not only the hereditary leaders of their Gond subjects, but also held sway over substantial communities of non-tribals who recognized them as their feudal lords."

CAREY (1932) discussed about the Chin Hills and their inhabitants of north eastern part of India. It was a six month long study which gave several

valuable insights about them. The study also deals with the history, geography and general characteristics of the people, their appearance, clothing, village pattern, feast, marriage, superstitions, beliefs etc... It was found out to be that the tribe comprised of various clans and communities.

In many parts of this tribal population suffers from chronic infections and diseases out of which water borne diseases life are threatening. They also suffer from deficiency diseases. They sometimes suffer from goiter due to lack of iodine. Leprosy and tuberculosis are also common among them. Infant mortality was found to be very high among some of the tribes. Malnutrition is common and has affected the general health of the tribal children as it lowers the ability to resist infection, leads to chronic illness and sometimes leads to brain impairment. The ecological imbalance like cutting of trees have increased the distances between villages and the forest areas thus forcing tribal women to walk longer distances in search of forest produce and firewood

N.E.PARRY (1932) published Monograph of Assam hill tribes, with primitive customs and mode of life. It reflected the stratification of culture in the Assam and Burma hills. Externally and superficially they appear to be definitely 'Kunai' tribe. Their language and material culture associate them with 'Lushies' and 'Chins'. They are not remarkable for their beauty. They are however physically well built and strong. Their village is generally built on some high slope in an easily defended position. Mode of agriculture was very primitive. The only tools they possess are small infant 'hoe', 'adao' and axe.

Educationally the tribal population is at different levels of development but overall the formal education has made very little impact on tribal groups. Earlier Government had no direct programme for their education. But in the subsequent years the reservation policy has made some changes. There are many reasons for low level of education among the tribal people: Formal education is not considered necessary to discharge their social obligations. Superstitions and myths play an important role in rejecting education. Most

tribes live in abject poverty. It is not easy for them to send their children to schools, as they are considered extra helping hands. The formal schools do not hold any special interest for the children. Most of the tribes are located in interior and remote areas where teachers would not like to go from outside.

W.H.R.RIVERS (1966), Antony R Walker (1986); Jesuits missionaries studied about the well known tribe of western gats in south India, The Thoda of Nilgiris. This tribe has been studied in great detail by scholars from various parts of the world. Such studies include from anecdotes of missionaries, travelers, administrators etc... The Thodas have been a puzzle to many anthropologists and sociologists for their physiognomy, temperament, costume, habitation, way of life etc...

SACHIDANADA (1965) has written a Profiles of Tribal Culture in Bihar. This is a collection of 22 papers between 1953 and 1964 on various aspects of tribal life and culture in Bihar. It highlights the important characteristics of tribal village and tries to study it as a distinct unit. It elaborates the social organizations such as caste, class, position of women and role of dance and music in tribal life.

The economic cooperation evident in the traditional setup of the tribal village and the problem of tribal economy is described in general. It highlights the political aspects of tribal life and its changing scene. Rice is the staple food of these people. The people are non vegetarians. They have few scruples regarding their diet and they eat fowls, pork, scaly and scale less fish, field rats, jackals, fox, cats, mongoose, carrion, etc. Most of the men drink country liquor and toddy, but rarely, they take bottled liquor. Most of the males and females smoke and chew tobacco. Though these people take tea and coffee, consumption of milk and milk products is very low.

Palul Farmer (1938) has written an Ethnographic profile of Cahuila Indians, It elaborated seven years study of this community. It reflected the stratification of culture in the Cahuila Indians. The mythical origin of the Cahuilla is said to have been in the north, in which account they agree with the Luiseño. The large low-flying meteor, dakush, is distinguished from

ordinary shooting stars, ngamngam, and is said to live in San Jacinto Mountain, a belief which agrees with those of both Luiseño and Diegueno. The eagle "is the general of the Indians," volunteered a Cahuilla, by which no doubt he meant to express a mythological and ceremonial importance of the bird parallel to that which it has among other tribes of Southern California.

The most important ceremony of the Cahuilla seems to have been the annual tribal mourning gathering, hemnukuwin. This was in addition to singing immediately after a death. Jimsonweed or toloache, kiksawal, which plays so important a part in the initiation ceremonies of the Luiseño, Yokuts, and other tribes, was customarily used for religious purposes. It was not learned definitely that it was expected to be drunk by every boy or young man of the tribe, but such seems to have been the case. It was thought that the objects or events seen in the visions caused by the drink would come true. It was especially believed that the use of the jimson-weed would bring riches, no doubt in connection with the general idea that it conferred power and the attainment of desire. It was also used as a medicine, especially in ease of broken bones. The Yokuts also employed it extensively for this purpose.

DSR.PRAKASH (2010) has prepared paper reports the ethnographic profile of Yerukala, a plains tribe living in West Godavari district of Andhra Pradesh. This paper is based on the data collected through various ethnographic techniques in some villages of Narasapuram mandal. The social status of the tribe is very low in rural areas. However, they claim superior status over scheduled castes. It is a patriarchal society. And it possessed a few sub-tribes and several exogamous Patrilineages. Uncle-niece marriages and cross cousin marriages are highly preferred. Child marriages are not unusual. And monogamy is common. It is a patriarchal society and patrilocal residence is the norm. People are no vegetarians.

Most of the Yerukula people are illiterate. Occupationally, these people have the history of being involved in criminal activities such as

burgling and dacoit. However, many of the Yerukulas have changed their occupation. Religion of the Yerukula is animistic and the influence of Hinduism and Christianity is noticed. This paper also reports various ceremonies and rituals associated with various life cycle events namely, birth, naming, menarche, marriage, divorce and death.

STEPHEN FUCHS 1973) in his study of THE ABORIGINAL TRIBES OF INDIA It is a comprehensive and reliable description of the tribal population in India. He elaborates about the tribes of South India. According to him - there is good evidence to prove that south India was populated by human groups in very early times, already in the early Paleolithic period. The economy of the nomadic tribes in south India was entirely based on the accumulative method of gathering food and Hunting. Tilling the soil, animal breeding and any handicrafts were originally unknown to them.

The food gathering and hunting tribes in south India are the following,

Aranadan , Allar . Irular, Kadar, Kattunayakar, Kurumbar etc...

The social structure of the South Indian tribe can be enumerated as no uniform family pattern can be discovered among the primitive tribes of Southern India; most of the tribes have been strongly influenced by their neighbors who are more advanced in culture. There is great Freedom in the marriage regulations of the tribes in south India, while Tamil Nadu most of the tribes are matrilineal. In Kerala some tribes are matrilineal, others matrilineal . In Kerala marriage by capture is common among the Mannar and frequent among the Muduvar . Most south Indian tribes practices tribal endogamy though in rare cases they do accept marriage partners from tribes or casts who are of a higher social rank , the Malayar and Manner , too have a clan system . Kattunaikar worship trees, rocks hills, snakes and other animals and even claim origin from them. The tribes of south India practice a religion which to some extent can be characterized as animistic, most tribes venerate the forces of nature and find their Gods on the hills and in the forests of their habitat, they venerate tiger and snake Gods and also the sun and the moon, they have a strong veneration for their ancestors. From the

economic point of view the tribes of south India can be divided into food gatherers and hunters, shifting cultivators, dependent farmers, and independent cultivators.

Newspaper reports of Cheriyam Cholanikan (2012-2013)

Madhyamam, Malayala Manorama and Mathrubhoomi have reported about the pathetic condition of the Cheriyam Cholanaikans, the life of misery and pain lead by them. Their life style is still so primitive and these reports highlighted the fact of them being living as a separate entity and highly isolated from the main stream of the society. Thus these reports were crucial in bringing about awareness in the masses that such a tribal group exists in the Cheriyam forest.

CONCLUSION

From all these literature the researcher understood about the socio-cultural life of tribes. Unlike castes, which form part of a complex and interrelated local economic exchange system, tribes tend to form self-sufficient economic units. For most tribal people, land-use rights traditionally derive simply from tribal membership. Tribal society tends to the egalitarian, with its leadership based on ties of kinship and personality rather than on hereditary status. Tribes typically consist of segmentary lineages whose extended families provide the basis for social organization and control. Tribal religion recognizes no authority outside the tribe. Any of these criteria may not apply in specific instances. Language does not always give an accurate indicator of tribal or caste status. Especially in regions of mixed population, many tribal groups have lost their mother tongues and simply speak local or regional languages. Self-identification and group loyalty do not provide unfailing markers of tribal identity either. In the case of stratified tribes, the loyalties of clan, kin, and family may well predominate over those of tribe. In addition, tribes cannot always be viewed as people living apart; the degree of isolation of various tribes has varied tremendously. The nature of their life is influenced by the region, topography, climate, social background, culture etc....

The critical reviewing of the literature has proved to the researcher that no studies were conducted about the Cheriya Cholnayikkans and therefore the outside world has no idea about them. On the basis of all these facts, the researcher decided to study about the Cheriya Cholnayikkan tribes of Mankada, Kerala highlighting the variables affecting their socio-cultural life. With regard to the geographical distribution of the tribes, they are found to vary according to their culture, ethnicity, rituals etc... However the publications of the KIRTADS have enlisted the tribes within Kerala and such a group (Cheriya Cholanaikkan) was not found in the list of KIRTADS. Thus this study is of prime importance and this can be a pioneering anthropological analysis of the Cheriya Cholnayikkans which will lead us to useful insights in understanding them.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The Cheriya Cholanaikkans are the smallest scheduled tribal community in the State located in Mankada panchayath of Mallapuram district, specifically in the Cheriya forest. They are a nomadic hill tribe engaged in hunting. Cheriya Cholaniakkans population has a total of 21 people including males (10) and females (11) (Mankada Panchayath records-2011).

Cholanaikkans are considered as one of the most primitive and vanishing tribes and one of the oldest native communities in Kerala. According to the records of Government the Cholanaikkans are seen only in Nilamboor tribal belt in Malappuram. Officials in the ITDP Block of Nilamboor came upon this community in the Cheriya forest of Mankada Panchayath, 62 km away from the Nilamboor forest in 2010. They found this community in Cheriya forest does not have any connection with those Cholanaikkans of the Nilamboor forest and hence they live in isolation from the mainstream society. For a long time this tribal group in Mankada panchayath had not entered into Government records until in 2010 after these officials visited their dwelling place and confirmed that they were of Cholanikkan origin. The officials identified their pathetic living condition and took initiatives to implement development programs for them. This attempt however was unsuccessful because of the Cheriya Cholanikkans non cooperative attitude towards the programme.

No research study has been carried out on this community as yet and therefore little is known about their cultural, social or economic life. Thus the researcher is interested to study the socio cultural life of the community and their integration into main stream development. Hence the present study proposes to undertake an ethnographic exploration into the life of Cheriya Cholanaikkans community in Cheriya forest of Mankada panchayath.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The study will be helpful in finding out the present condition of the Cheriya Cholanaikkans. This community which is still backward in social

and cultural fields is often ignorant about the Government policies and programs. The existing studies primitive tribes only focus on certain aspects alone and are sketchy. The present study intends to carry out a scientific investigation and thereby bringing the actual conditions of this tribe to the attention of the Government and thereby helping the policy makers to formulate policies and programs in such a manner that it will be assistance to this tribe. Moreover findings of the study of such a unique tribe will be a contribution to the existing knowledge in the field of social anthropology.

CHAPTER-II

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Synopsis

1. Title
2. General and specific objectives
3. Research design
4. Concepts
5. Pilot study
6. Unit/ universe
7. Sources of data collection
8. Tools of data collection
9. Field work
10. Contact persons
11. Limitations of the study

Topic

**SOCIO-CULTURAL LIFE OF THE CHERIYAM CHOLANIKKANS
OF MALAPPURAM DISTRICT AN ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY**

General objective

To study about the socio-cultural life of Cheriya Cholaniikkans of Malappuram district.

Specific objectives:

1. To study about the cultural life of the Cheriya Cholaniikkans.
2. To understand social life of the Cheriya Cholaniikkans.
3. To explore the level of integration into main stream development

Research design:

The Researcher carried out this research using qualitative approach to obtain the details of the socio-cultural life of the Cheriya Cholaniikkans. For

this purpose the ethnographic design was found to be the best, to capture their life situation.

Concepts:

- **Ethnography:**

Ethos – people and Grapho – to write, that is, the literal meaning of ethnography is to describe people through writings. Ethnographic study is a qualitative method aims to learn and understand a cultural phenomenon which reflects system of meaning guiding the life of a group. It was pioneered in the field of socio- cultural anthropology but has also become popular method in various field of social science particularly in sociology.

- **Community:**

Community means a group of interacting individuals sharing a colonized environment. The group possibly living in the same proximity and share some common values. It is also attributed with social cohesion within the shared geographic location. The word can be extended as national or international community.

Pilot study:

The Researcher had conducted a pilot study at Cheriya Forest on 19/08/2012, to ensure the feasibility of the study and validity of the topic selected. For conducting the research study the researcher contacted the Makada panchayath members and Head of the community (Chamakaran), expressed his intention to conduct a study, the researcher also conducted a pilot study among them. The pilot study turned out to be a great success and from this the researcher understood that the study is feasible.

Unit/ universe of study:

UNIT

21 members of the Cheriyam Cholanaikkan community, including 3 males, 3 females and 15 children.

Sources of data:

The researcher will collect data from both primary and secondary sources. Primary data will be collected from the members of the Cheriyam Cholaniakkan community. Secondary data will be collected from published documents containing information on Cheriyam Choalanikkans.

Conduct of the study-

Researcher travelled by foot for one and half hour to reach the forest and spent 7 days with this community, interviewing and interacting with all 21 members and observing their life. Source of data collected from them was primary in nature and the tool used for collection if data was interview guide, camera, and tape recorder.

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The limitation specific to this study is-

1. The difficulty to understand the language and accent of the Cheriyam Cholanaikkan.
2. As it is an ethnographic study making generalization is difficult.
3. There is lack of existing literature about the Cheriyam Cholanyikkan and this is limitation of the study.

CHAPTER-III

INTERPRETATION OF DATA

INTRODUCTION

Cheriyam forest is an isolated forest area which does not have any connection with other forest. It is surrounded by small villages like Thaya Cheriyam, Kottiel, and Pallipadi. This forest is in Malappuram district south of Mankada panchyath. Cheriyam forest extends to about approximately three acres. This forest also acts as boundary between Mankada panchyath and Anakayam panchyath. Mankada is geographically not a mountain region but an upcoming township in Malappuram district. Cheriyam Kottial is about 5 Km from Mankada town and from there starts the journey of about one and half hour on foot through hazards mountain path to reach Cheriyam forest. Cheriyam forest is rich with it diverse forest resources like medicinal plants, honey, wax, etc



Cheriyam forest is also known for its beautiful rock shelters and streams and springs. Cheriyam cholanaikkans dwell almost in the middle Cheriyam forest.

CHERIYAM CHOLANAIKKAN TRIBES

Tribes are the real aboriginals of the forest. They live in forest and enjoy all the privileges of our biodiversity. Cheriya Cholanaikkans is one of the tribal communities in the Cheriya forest of Malappuram district of Kerala..



Early they were known as **KALLIKAL ADIVASIES** because they were living in caves, as cave is locally known as **Kalli** in that particular region. But the origin of this group of people was not enlisted in any government records of tribes. So they were denied all the government grants and support. Many journalistic reports have highlighted their pathetic condition and social exclusion. Different social organizations are actively influenced and advocated for their rights and protection. This type of pressure leads to local authorities to take initiative and to take necessary action. In 2007 **ITDP** (Integrated Tribal Development Project) officials and panchayath authorities of Mankada visited their dwelling place and they recognized this community as Cholanikan in origin on the bases of their Bio-Anthropological indices and their dwelling place. Today even after being included in Scheduled Tribal list as Cholanaiker, they are continuing to live a life of misery and pain.

In appearance they are generally of short stature, well built strong bodies, slightly dark complexion, round or face and curly hair for both men and women. The women have leaved their long hair open normally.

Their demographic profile consist of 21 members in their community and the oldest member being 52 years if age and the youngest member being 3 years old. The sex ratio among them is 10 males and 11 females. Their population is diversified on the basis of age within them.

Origin and History

Genuine evidences shedding light to their origin and history are not available. According to the tribal head of this community, who is popularly known by the name 'CHEMMAN", their ancestors migrated to Cheiyam forest from Nilaboor forest before more than three generations. This is the only available information related with their origin and ancestral history. There is not substantial evidence to prove that the Cheriya Cholanaikkan has originated from the Cholanaikkan of the Nilamboor forest, but they claim their ancestral roots to them. In 1970s one local news reporter named Saidalavi accidentally found a group of tribal people in Cheriya forest living without any kind of connection with external world which lead to further reports

CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

The Cheriya Cholanaikkans doesn't have the passion for ornaments and dress like other tribal communities. They see dress as way covering up the nudity. It is not at all a style statement for them. Usually the men wear dhotis (Lunki) tied to the left and the shirt is worn unbuttoned. The women of the community wear Maxis. Although nowadays the children in this community uses modern dress which are mostly donated by clubs, organizations to them. Women never use gold ornaments mainly because of low economic status. They do like to own and wear gold ornaments, but their economic conditions restrain them from doing so. They struggle to meet the two ends of life and in this situation ornaments are not a real concern for them. The women in this community wear KARIWALA as a daily ornament

with great interest. They don't usually wear any type of chain or ornaments depicting their religion. For them the most important thing in their daily life is food not clothes.

SOCIAL LIFE OF CHERIYAM CHOLANIKAN

Social life is structured along the dimensions of time and space specific social activities take place at specific times, at specific place and time is divided into periods that are connected with the rhythms of social life, the routine of the day, the month and the year. Specific social activities are also organized at specific places; particular places for instance, are designated for such activities as working worshipping eating and sleeping.

In the case of Cheriyam Cholanaikkan, their social life is closely related with their territory and the specific geography of their land. Their lives are so depended on their area that they are unable to sustain out of the Cheriyam forest. They will just like a fish out of water if they are displaced from their habitat that is the Cheriyam forest.

a. DWELLING PLACE

There is lot of steep places having very large rocks and rock caves in this region. The rocks caves in which the tribes dwell in this forest region are better known by the name **ALA**. They consider their **ALA** as very sacred places where outsiders will not be permitted to enter. Their belief is that their ancestral spirits too reside in the ALA .



These caves are also known as rock house, cave is a shallow cave-like opening at the base of a bluff or cliff. They are formed because a rock stratum that is resistant to erosion and weathering has formed a cliff or bluff but a softer stratum more subject to erosion and weathering lies just below the resistant stratum and thus undercuts the cliff. Thus the caves are being formed in rocks and they use these ALA only for sleeping in the night, as for their other needs such as day time relaxation, preparation of food and stuff and other articles etc. They build small hut of grass and palm leaves very adjacent to the ALA.

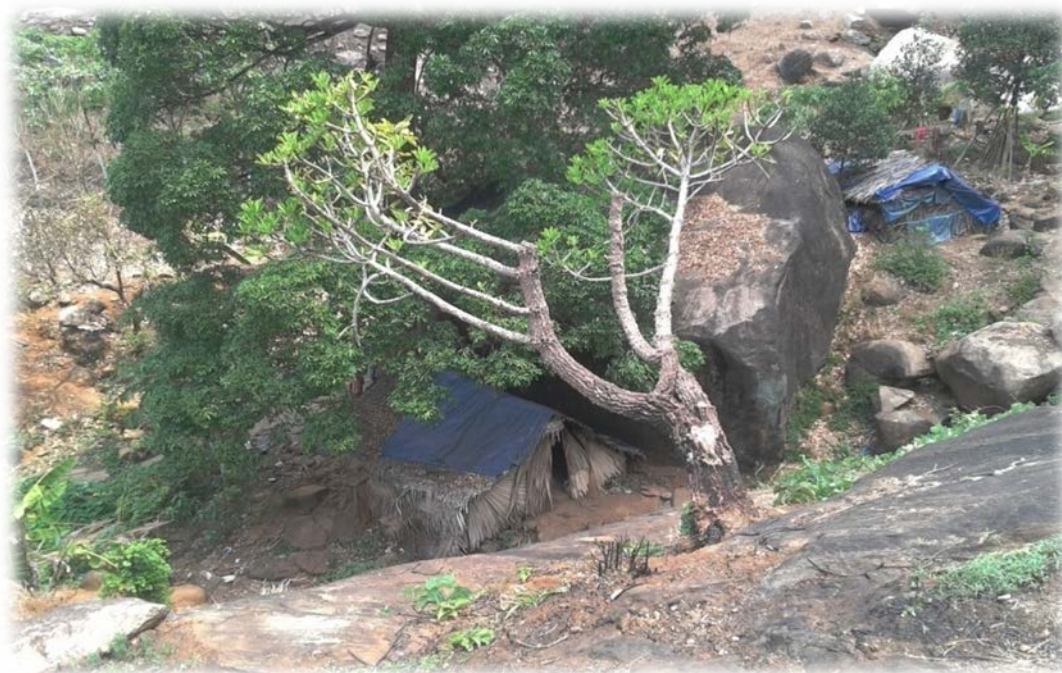
They inhabited these caves for generations and thus they have been highly acclimatized to the conditions over there and they can't survive anywhere other than the caves in the Cheriyam forest. They believe that their ancestral spirits are present in the cave and thus this notion makes it the safest place for them to live and to spend their nights.



This clearly depicts the picture of a cave in the dwell and we can infer that they are having a peaceful time in the midst of these limited shelter. They could rise up to the challenges thrown to them by Mother Nature and they are ready to adapt to it. For instance in heavy rains, strong winds, thunder storms and lightning they are quite comfortable in these living conditions. They have no complaints and no regrets about their living and they enjoy peaceful harmony with nature that is envious to us. In no way do they resemble the modern man who is keen to alter the natural conditions for his benefits and even for his luxurious lifestyle....

b. LEADERSHIP

The territory (region) in which they reside in is called **CHEMAM**. At present there are three ALA (family) in this Chemam. The leader of this CHEMAM is called **CHEMAKARAN**. The existing Chemakaran of the CHEMAM is one 52 year old Ayappan cheman who is the supreme authority of the entire tribes inhabited here. He is the one who presides over their entire social and religious practices and ceremonies



c. OCCUPATION

This community depends upon the surrounding forest for their livelihood. They go to the forest and collect whatever resources available there including honey, herbs, wax, fire wood etc... There is no specific or fixed time for their work (collection of forest goods); they go to the forest at early morning and then they roam about their collecting the things they need, they might hunt animals and may come back at dusk. Finally they get the forest goods cashed through agents in the nearby market at Thaye Cheriyam. They sometimes work as coolies in the surrounding areas and that too in need of particular returns (rice, money) from the outsiders. They are exploited by the outsiders on the basis of the wages. Their wages are highly exploitative in nature and this is evident if we list out their daily wages that is the daily wage for men is Rs.150 and for women is Rs.100. They get these wages for continuous ten hour hard labor. With compared to their traditional occupation of honey gathering and collection of forest goods, this occupation of being a daily wage laborer to the outsiders is a medium of them being exploited on the basis of wages.

d. FOOD

Food is the cultural symbol of every community. The diversity of a community is based upon their food habit. Cheriya Cholanaikans, they mainly collect food through hunting and collection of forest goods. But nowadays they use rice and vegetables. Even though they use rice and vegetables, their main food is traditional food. The traditional food can be dividing into two types:

1. VEG-Plant food, Leaves, Tubers and roots, fruits, seeds etc
2. NON VEG-Fish (PARAL) Crabs, Birds, Rabbit etc

They make variety of dishes from these items. They consume less spicy food. The mostly eat steamed food item along with naturally available fruits. Normally they don't use any kind of milk and milk product.

e. MAJOR DISHES

Honey is the major forest product available here; they make variety of dishes and product with the help of honey. One of the major food items is a mixture of honey and pepper along with water. Another major item is *KUNGIYAPPAM*. *KUNGIYAPPAM* is important dish prepared by honey, rice flower etc..

Tapioca is also one of the major food items. They mainly use dried tapioca instead of the natural ones. The dried tapioca is powdered, and then used to prepare variety of dishes like *POOLA APPAM*.

One of their major non vegetarian items is Pararl fish. This is also one of the staple foods. They make this dish by rubbing salt and pepper on the fish and then the fish being wound in a leaf and finally steamed.

f. FAMILY

Their community has three families only. Each single family is known as Ala. This Ala is known by the head of the family. For instance the family headed by Ayyappan is termed as Ayyappan's Alla, or the family headed by Murukan is termed as Murukan's Ala. This Ala represents a nuclear family. The head of the community is termed as Chemmakaran and he is the one

who takes decisions regarding the community and of individual Ala's, while the family head doesn't have a role in decision making. So in effect Chemmakaran plays the role of 'karanavar'. The three families jointly strive to generate their daily income through their occupation. This income is shared commonly within the three families and thus they don't have a claim in their individual income. This income is given to the Cheman and it is viewed as the income of Chemmath. A portion of the income is equally distributed by the Chemmakaran to each family in the community and the rest is being saved by Chemmakaran. The forest products are also being stored by Chemmakaran and he distributes it according to the needs of each Ala. The food is being cooked separately at individual Ala's and they do not share this food. Even though it looks like nuclear families individually, the system proves to be of joint family in nature.



g. Socialization

Their socialization process is closely related with forest and their ways of dependence with the forest and environment. The children become familiar with every nook and corner of the forest from early childhood itself. The elder children in the family take the pain of looking after the younger siblings in the family. The children are being brought up or being socialized to grow up into an isolated community from the mainstream.

As mentioned earlier the social life of Cheriya Cholanaikkann is closely related with the forest and their surroundings. They depend on rock shelters for their housing and thus adapt a primitive mode of shelter as their home. Their subsistence too is based on forest. Because of an authoritarian leadership of Chemmakaran, they live a life of harmony and peace.



The picture shows a contradicting scenario with respect to their behavior, because they don't go to schools and are not at all interested to study or to learn. The children are being taught by the parents the curiosity to explore the forest and not the curiosity to study through formal education. They are taught how to hunt and to gather honey instead of teaching them, letters. A person can get integrated into the society by many methods and education plays an important role, but their attitude towards formal education is not positive. They do not rightly understand the importance of education and thus do not show a positive attitude toward educating their children in schools.

CULTRUAL LIFE OF CHERIYAM CHOLANIKAN

The culture of any society is composed of two main elements, material and non-material elements. The non-material elements include language, art forms, religion, songs and hymns among them, rituals, believes, etc. While the material aspects include dresses, food, etc... In the case of Cheriyam Cholanaikkan, their cultural aspects are closely related with the forest and its surroundings.

a. RELIGION

They practice animism and in which they worship trees, nature and their ancestral spirits. The belief is that their ancestors after death transform them into natural forms such as trees, etc. And they have strong belief is black magic and they are on the view that this will safeguard them from diseases and enemies. There are several superstitious believes among them for example if a person is suffering from fever, their belief insists them to burn three green chilies and then dispose the ash. By doing this they are in the belief that the evil spirits within the person which has caused the illness will also be turned into ashes and then it can be thrown out. They use these kinds of practices in the remedy of most of the diseases. The Chemmakaran is the one who leads the practices of black magic and related rituals. Chemmakaran finds remedies and cure for troubles and diseases through black magic. These black magic rituals are termed as *urattasadu*, *devavalasasadu*, *adikkan*, etc. Mainly have three types of God's:

1. Kadudeva (The forest as such all in it)
2. Oledeva (The springs and streams)
3. Hadudeva (Ancestors)



The main deity is a Banyan tree that stands tall in their Chemmath. According to their beliefs this tree is sacred as it contains the spirits of their ancestors. They worship the tree before starting each day and each endeavor. Their religion has also its peculiarities and so they don't have festivals in their religion, and in religious rituals songs are being regularly used. The songs which they use in religious rituals depict about the brave hearted and loving ancestral spirits.

For instance:

Enn achcahnnanmara muchhachahhanmare hudavayo hudavayoooo
Niegalokke nannmale kaatholennee ,
engadaaa enakkkedakal pokkananeeeeeeeeeee..

This is a call for their ancestral spirits to protect them from evil and to forgive their shortcomings and except this ritual they don't have any religious rituals. The cheriyam forest area is surrounded by Muslim- Hindu population but this has not influenced their religion and its practices.

b. LIFE CYCLE CERMONIES

This community performs rituals and other ceremonies connected with the life cycle ceremonies. The major life cycle ceremonies are Birth, Naming, Marriage, and Death.

1. BIRTH

During the pregnancy period women of this community confines herself in a seceded hut near the ALA. An old and experienced woman of the community cuts the umbilical cord. The mother is concerned to be unclean for forty days. The naming of new born can be at any time and if the father is present, he is expected to name the child; otherwise the maternal uncle does this.

Even the period of modernization this community still follow the traditional delivery system. Usually this type of process is successful among them but sometime it takes ugly effect.

2. MENARCHE:

On attaining the first menstruation, the girl is secluded in a temporary hut and she has to sit/sleep only on the palm leaves till the pollution period is completed. The menstruation of a girl is regarded as unclean and she is kept in seclusion. On the 6th or 10th day, a ceremony will be conducted to purify the girl. On that day, girl's mother or a close relative removes all the material used by the girl during these days. And the girl will be given bath with oil, turmeric and neem leaves, and dressed in new clothes.

3. MARRIAGE

They marry within their community and usually don't enter into marriages with persons belonging to other tribal community. People marry from within their Chemmath. Marriage between cousins is encouraged in this community. Their last marriage was around 12 years back. Their rituals in marriage are so simple. That is when a man and a lady decide to get married, with the consent of the elders or family head start to reside in an Ala. Then as they live together, after a few days, Chemmakaran authenticate the marriage by terming them as '*Ganda*' & '*Ennu*'. That makes them

officially wed. Such a marriage is completely free from rituals & practices, including banquet. They don't use symbols such as 'Thali' for marriages. Divorce is not practiced among them and if a partner dies, the other one is allowed to re-marry. But this is allowed with the condition that the new partner must accept him or her along with children. Even though the rituals and practices don't have a significant role in marriages, marriages play a key role in binding their community together.

4. DEATH

After the death of a particular person, they bury the dead body near to the hut. While burying the place the dead body is in sit upright position. Usually they cover up the dead body with paya (grass bed). According to their faith they do not conduct any after death ceremonies. They believe that the spirit of dead person will eventually go to the banyan tree or rocks within the territory. The dead are usually burnt, but occasionally buried in a lying posture, with the head placed towards south. It is said that some members are buried and some members are burnt. The ashes are either left at the place of cremation or thrown into the stream.

c. ART FORMS

Every tribal community has their distinct traditional art forms. It shows their unique cultural tradition. But in the case of Cheriym Cholanikkans this unique feature is not well known and they don't have any specific tribal dance and musical instruments. They have the passion to compose poems about their day to day life. Mostly they are based on their traditional occupation like hunting and honey collection. Among this community many of them are actively involved in this kind of activity.

Elder members of this community explain about their ancestors, forest, Rocks, banyan tree as a major deity through various heroic stories. But none of these stories and poems are recorded anywhere else. At the time of religious rituals they use various religious songs to please their gods like OLE DEVA, KADUDEVA, and ANCESTORS. They usually do these prayer songs when going for their daily works like hunting and honey

collection. Even if they do not have well celebrating and rich art forms like in any other tribes. But they have their own above said traditional folks like poems and stories.

On comparison with other tribal communities they do not possess a wide cultural diversity but they have cultural practices and rituals specific to their context and habitat. The songs and rhythms being practiced among them date back to generations and these limited rituals and practices help in the unifying of this small community.

INTEGRATION INTO MAIN STREAM DEVELOPMENT

The integration into mainstream development is understood by measuring their adaptation to the general main stream community and how the main stream world has influenced in their areas of socio-cultural life. The tribes show gradual integration into the main stream but this is not visible in the case of Cheriyam Cholanaikkan.

a. Status of Women in areas of socio-cultural life

Under usual circumstances the head of Chemmath are men and the religious activities are also headed by them. The women have an equal importance in occupation and income generating activities. The daily requirements in the form food, etc are met by the joint effort of men and women in their community. The discussions and talks regarding decision making are assisted by women.

b. Education

They show a negative attitude towards formal education. The children are exposed to forest and nature from a young age onwards. They are taught to hunt, collect honey and even ten year old child knows how to do this and he has a clear idea about the forest. They were never sent to school but by the intervention of the panchayath officials, some of their children were sent to MLP School Thazhe Cheriyam. But they don't attend the classes regularly and in fact most days they are absent. May be they are not

yet ready to break the shell they have created for them. The attitude to these Government activities makes improvement in their life style so hard to come by. Another example of them being not co-operating to activities aimed for their benefit can be sited as, some social workers and their organizations took the pain to teach them at their Ala for free, but they have lend a deaf ear to this suggestion. With respect to these factors, their highest qualification is a boy who had continued his study till the 3rd standard. The elderly generation is completely illiterate and they are ignorant or unaware of the significance of education which results in them being exploited.

c. HEALTH

AS far as their health facilities are concerned, they have a PHC in Mankada Panchayath for the treatment of illness. But at times of illness and diseases, they treat with herbs available in the forest or black magic (witchcraft or sorcery) which in most cases will not be successful.

But they do not avoid the facilities of PHC. It was understood that they have an not enquired the details of PHC or even visited it. In Feb. 2013, The Mankada panchayath and Mankada PHC jointly organized a medical camp in this region and realized that the majority of the people in this tribal community are suffering from vary severe diseases such as, TB, Anemia, Malnutrition.

d. INFRASTRUCTURE

Even today they are leading an isolated life fully deprived of all the basic needs and facilities like electricity, water, roads, etc...They have to depend upon the surrounding forest for their primary needs, and the rarely seen streams and springs for water. Due to the lack of roads and conveyance facilities they remain in the depths of the forest without having contacts with the outside world. Communication devices such as telephones, mobile and televisions are quite strange to them.



In the case of water used by these tribals, they have the water springs that come out of the rocks in many places; these sources have never been exhausted even in the dry seasons. The quality of water is high which provide them with high level of immunity against diseases.

e. NON TRIBAL INFLUENCE

They are influenced by the panchayath authorities especially by the ward member. They try to integrate them into the main stream and thus interact with them for implementing different plans of the panchayath to strengthen them. The nature of this interaction is authoritarian, and the tribe's belief blindly in the panchayath officials. The NGO have a crucial role and the tribal interaction with the NGO's operating there is quite humane and the officials of the NGO view them as fellow beings and a harmonious relation exist between them. Thus the interaction of the tribes with the outside world is minimal. They may go to the market to sell the forest products they have collected and are reluctant to stay there for a long period of time and usually return back quickly. They rarely work as coolies in the surrounding areas and that too in need of particular returns from the outsiders. Their practices, rituals and way of life have not been influenced by the outside world.



They were pleasant and joyful and were reluctant to share their worries to the researcher. Their plight and living conditions may seem to be pathetic for an outside observer, but they enjoy a sense of safety and security within them. The mother of the family is so important that she tally's the budget of the ALA and teaches the children to live in harmony with the nature. They have an inherent reluctance to interact with others (non-tribal) and thus the developmental strategies do not often reach these marginalized communities.



A society can be termed to be developed only if it has achieved good results in the aspects of health, education, equality in wealth and opportunities, infrastructural development, etc. In the case of Cheriya Cholanaikkan integration into the mainstream development is very poor. They don't own property and they are solely dependent on the forest for their needs. Likewise, they show a stringent negative attitude toward formal education.

CHAPTER- IV

SUGGESTIONS & CONCLUSION

INTRODUCTION

Adivasis have been a community of interest to the entire world. The outsiders (vaannavasi) were keen to observe the cultural texture of tribal life. Since the period of colonization, they have been an object of the study. And due to these vast researches in the field of tribal ethnography we came to know about the different tribes that inhabited this world. But nothing were known about the Cheriyam Cholanayikkkan and they exist in the government records as Cheriyam Cholanayikan even though they have separate way of living and diversified cultural texture than the Cholanayikan of the Nilamboor forest. This gave the researcher the motivation to study about them and thus to understand their cultural identity using an ethnographic method. They being an isolated society who had very limited contact and interaction with the outside world and this were the primary anxiety of the researcher about the feasibility of the study. But the pilot study was an eye opener which made the researcher understands that, they are co-operative and thus will make the study feasible.

Summary

The Cheriayam Choalnaikkan was a tribal group who reside in the cheriyam forest of the Mankada Panchayath. It's is a small group consisting of only 21 members residing in 3 ALA's, they are basically cave dwellers. They area of residence is known as Cheamam and their head is known as Chemmakaran. He was the main authority in their rituals and practices. They have a subsistence life style and their main occupation is hunting and gathering. They have a religion of animistic nature and their main deity is a Baniyan tree in the Cheamam. They don't posses rich art forms and cultural practices as compared to other tribal communities. Their main art form is story-telling and composing poems about their ancestors, forest, etc. They have a strong negative attitude towards the formal education system. And this attitude makes it tough for the organizations (Gov, NGO's) that strive to uplift them through education.

Their family system may seem to be nuclear in type but actually it serves the function of a joint family because they live in harmony and co-

operation within them. They are least integrated into the main stream society. Their rituals and celebrations are minimal and simple. The study is not their life was just thought-provoking and exiting for the researcher. Their example teaches how to live in harmony with the nature and how to conserve it while the modern man is solely concerned with exploiting the resources of the nature.

CONCLUSION

In a modern society although there is development and changes occurring at a rapid pace, still the community Cheriya Cholani leads a primitive life. Their day to day life starts with forest and ends with forest, they work hard and most of their livelihood depends upon this Mother Nature. They are not aware of modern day symbols like twitter, face book, shopping mall etc....But they know each and every aspect of forest in which they are residing. They are not in contact into the main stream society because of that they are still innocent. For tackling the enemies the modern society depends upon the quotation gangs etc..... But this community they use three kanthari chilly to tackle the same. They see the Mother Nature sacred and make livelihood nature without causing any imbalances to it. Thinking that they are peaceful in their own home World.....

SUGGESTIONS

- They don't get any support or financial aid from ITDP officials so the researcher suggests that if Gov. (ITDP) plans a program for the benefit of tribals include the Cheriya Cholani. Plan an extensive program which includes the overall support of this marginalized community.
- The contradicting factor is that this community doesn't want to get rehabilitated because they are involved deeply in their surroundings and nature.

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Appendix

Interview Guide

Cheriyam cholanikkan

- a. Origin
- b. History

1. Appearance

- A.bio-anthropological figures
- B. clothing and ornament

2. Language

- A. origin of language
- B. script of language
- C. family of language

3. Family

- A. type of family
- B. size of family

4. Marriage

- A. Type of marriage
- B. Marriage rituals
- C. Ceremonies

5. Religion

- A. Type of religion
- B.Ceremonies
- C.Major festivals

6. Demographic profile

7. Integration to main stream development

- A. education

- B. health
- C. infrastructure
- D. non tribal influence

8. Social Structure

- A. leadership
- B. Clan system
- C. Status of women

9. Festivals

- A. Major festivals
- B. Days