



This work is protected by copyright and other intellectual property rights and duplication or sale of all or part is not permitted, except that material may be duplicated by you for research, private study, criticism/review or educational purposes. Electronic or print copies are for your own personal, non-commercial use and shall not be passed to any other individual. No quotation may be published without proper acknowledgement. For any other use, or to quote extensively from the work, permission must be obtained from the copyright holder/s.

**SOCIAL ASPECTS
OF
PRODUCTION AND REPRODUCTION
IN
BONDA SOCIETY**

Bikram N. Nanda
Submitted for the Degree of Ph.D.

1982

UNIVERSITY
OF KERALA

ABSTRACT

As of now there is an enormous empirical material on the Indian tribes. But an adequate explanation of the present state and status of tribal societies is yet to emerge. Indian tribal studies, however, fall into two different paradigms - cultural and functional. The culturalists have been concerned with what may be termed a "tribal character", the "values" and the "attitudes patterns". On the other hand, the functionalists have studied "political" and "economic" organizations of tribes to construct tribe-caste dichotomies and continuums.

Neither the functional nor the cultural approach adequately grasps the process of change in these societies and their subjugation to the society-at-large. Often enough conflicts and contradictions have been studied to the extent that they play a role in maintaining the already existing culture or structure. The transformation of one culture/structure into another in these societies has been more often than not overlooked.

In order that the theoretical and empirical gaps may be overcome an attempt is made in this thesis to draw upon recent developments in historical materialism in the context of Indian tribes. This opens up a possibility of investigation into the social process of (re) production and the concomitant values and ideologies in these communities.

The less known Bonda highlanders of Southern Orissa in eastern India provide an instance of a society caught in a process of change from an

earlier mode of tribal organization to a society guided by the market economy. The organization of labour force among the Bonda is undergoing a shift from the traditional communal labour aid to a form of wage labour. This process of change started by colonialism has gained renewed momentum after independence. The state sponsored development agency mediates this change towards commoditization of labour products as well as labour power and exerts economic and cultural pressures on the highlanders.

The historical materialist construction of Bonda society as undertaken in the present work includes the realities and realms of knowledge available to the Bonda producers themselves - for cognition of their social conditions and its related consequences.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I gratefully acknowledge two institutions - Jamia Millia Islamia, for allowing me the precious time and University of Keele, for offering me a suitable place to undertake this research.

This research was possible because the Commonwealth Scholarship was awarded (its tenure renewed) to me. During the course of my research I lived in Britain for over two years. This period may not have been sufficient to know and understand Britain. But, it was long enough to understand India which I had previously taken for granted. I thank The Commonwealth Scholarship Commission in the United Kingdom for giving me this opportunity.

Without the supervision and friendship of Ronnie Frankenberg and Ursula Sharma this work would not have been possible. I am deeply grateful to both of them.

While conducting fieldwork, I enjoyed the confidence of Bonda highlanders and tried the patience of government officers. I must take this opportunity to thank them too.

I am indebted to Jo King for the patience and skill of typing this thesis into its present form.

Last, but certainly not least, I am grateful to Anjana for her renewed political and personal encouragement. Words cannot express how important this has been to me.

Bikram Nanda

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

<u>Sl. No.</u>		<u>Page No.</u>
(i)	Bandiguda Villager carrying Jack Fruit	102
(ii)	Kirsanipada Priest and his Wife making a Plough	102
(iii)	Mudulipada Sarpanch on his Dangar Land	106
(iv)	Primary Cutting of Forest Growth	106
(v)	Local Weekly Market at Mundiguda	122
(vi)	Widows at Bandiguda	122
(vii)	Cattle of the Village Level a Plot of Dry Land	176
(viii)	Preparation for Digging	176
(ix)	Watch Tower for Protecting Crops from Wild Animals	203
(x)	Taking High Yielding Rice Seedlings from Government Nursery	203
(xi)	Distribution of Government Medicines	253
(xii)	Distribution of Loans to Villagers by an Official of the Cooperative (L.A.M.P.S.)	253

LIST OF TABLES

<u>Sl. No.</u>	<u>Page No.</u>
1. Bazaar Prices in 1863-65	76
2. Bonda Calendar	114
3. Villages, Households and Population	118
4. Village-wise Data showing different categories of Land in Hectares and number of Cultivating Households	119

CONTENTS

	<u>Page No.</u>
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	i
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	ii
LIST OF TABLES	iii
<u>CHAPTER 1</u>	
Towards a Framework for Analysis	1
(i) Subject and Object of Research	1
(ii) Existing Research on Indian Tribes	9
(iii) Theoretical Frame of Reference	19
(iv) Questions and Methods	33
<u>CHAPTER II</u>	
Social History of Highland Orissa	40
(i) Old Dichotomies and New Continuums	41
(ii) Early State Formation in Eastern India	46
(iii) From Warriors to Hill Cultivators	55
(iv) Colonialism and Consequences	64
(v) First Surveyor in Bonda Highlands	70
(vi) Tribal Movement in the Highlands	79
<u>CHAPTER III</u>	
Subsistence Production and Domestic Reproduction in Bonda Society	90
(i) Material and Technical Basis of Bonda Society	92
(ii) Non-Agricultural Subsistence Production	95
(iii) Subsistence Agriculture	100
(iv) Axe-Cultivation	103
(v) Plough Cultivation	110
(vi) Emerging Division of Labour in Agriculture	123
(vii) Economic Rationality of Subsistence Society	129
(viii) Social Organisation of Non-Agricultural Subsistence Production	137

(ix) From Adhesion to Filiation	140
(x) Bonda Social Organisation and Subsistence Agriculture	146
(xi) Social Groups and Exploitation	150
(xii) Subordination of Women	151
(xiv) Exploitation of Juniors	156

CHAPTER IV

Seeds of Change in the Highlands	160
(i) Forms of Labour Force	171
(ii) <u>Goti</u> System	178
(iii) <u>Manti</u> System	181
(iv) <u>Buti</u> System	183
(v) Bonda Development Agency	190
(vi) Towards Commoditization	205

CHAPTER V

Changing Attitudes of Bonda Producers	218
(i) Transition or Transformation?	219
(ii) Theory of Time in Anthropology	222
(iii) Time as Subject	231
(iv) Time as Object	239
(v) From Leisure to Labour	243

CHAPTER VI

Ideology and Practice of Development	250
(i) Roots of Corruption	266
(ii) Schooling of Bonda Children	282
(iii) Medical Practice and Development	286

CONCLUSION	292
------------	-----

BIBLIOGRAPHY	306
--------------	-----

CHAPTER I

Towards a Framework for Analysis

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

Lucien Goldmann

(i) Subject and Object of Research

The empirical gaps in ethnography and ethnology on Indian tribes have drawn the attention of some scholars who are busy covering the total map of nearly 40 million tribal population. Indeed, the Indian Census, state sponsored Tribal Research Bureaus and other research institutions have certainly accumulated very rich data. The detailed ethnographic material on the various tribes is quite considerable. There is no denying the fact that micro as well as macro studies of a wide range of tribes already exist. Furthermore, the number of scholars, missionaries, travellers, colonial administrators, novelists and specialists from universities, who have expressed their passionate concern with the tribes is considerable.

Despite such enormous empirical material, however, an adequate explanation of the present state of tribal societies is yet to emerge. The character of the social form of production and reproduction, the contradictions

located in the realm of social production itself, the corresponding forms of exploitation, the developing forces of differentiation in the social organisation of the tribes and the mechanism of their subjugation to the larger socio-economic formation, barely touched upon, have not been adequately grasped or rigorously investigated.

The approach to Indian tribes, presented by Vidyarthi (1972) attempts to identify empirical gaps and advocates ethnographic studies. Whereas Vidyarthi highlights the gaps in the ethnography of tribes (such as the North-Western Himalayan tribes), he expels the possibility of any serious theoretical rethinking about tribal formations in Indian social anthropology. The theoretical and empirical state and status of tribe, de-tribalisation, tribe-caste continuum, etc., so often used in anthropology need not be taken for granted. Further, the transition from the earlier mode of tribal organisation to a market based economy, reducing the distinction between the "tribals" and "non-tribals" has diminished the importance of "tribal" studies. This process of change, however, remains unexplained in the blanket category of "peasantisation" and the related cultural category of "hinduisation". These categories need to be adequately explained and investigated.

In the remote hills of southern Orissa, the Bonda highlanders, classified as a "backward tribe" by the state government, provide the anthropologist with the possibility of such an investigation. The Bonda highlanders inhabit a narrow belt of eastern mountain range of India, rising through difficult terrains roughly 3000 to 4000

feet above sea-level. Unlike the widely studied and better known tribal areas of India, which are easily accessible to anthropologists, this difficult mountainous area accounts for a certain paucity of anthropological study on the society and culture of the highlanders.

Between latitudes 18° and $18^{\circ}15'$ North, and longitudes $82^{\circ}15'$ and $82^{\circ}30'$ East, this area is nearly 100 square miles in extent. It is administered by the Block Development Office of Khairput with its district headquarters at Koraput. The district of Koraput itself is administered by the state government whose headquarters are located at Bhubaneswar, the state capital, nearly 550 kilometres away. From the country's capital, New Delhi, it is nearly 3000 kilometres journey by train to reach the district, which may take several days. The most difficult stretch of the journey in reaching the Bonda highlands is the climb through tropical rain forests on hilly footpaths where the gradient of land is far too steep. The government has recently constructed a fair weather road, about thirteen kilometres long, which joins the first village, Mudulipada, in the hills and Khairput (B.D.O.). The jeeps of the government and local contractors ply on this road during the summer months. During other seasons the rains wash away the sand and reduce it to a footpath winding up the hill terrains.

The windswept mountain edges of the Bonda hills overlook the rain forests. The beds of laterite, red and porous rocks contrast with the luxuriant green valleys below. The average annual rainfall of the area remains

2096mm (84") with nearly 90 rainy days a year. The monsoon months last from June to September and account for most of the rainfall. There is very little rain during winter. Despite much official concern over the depletion of forest growth, the area is interspersed with patches of thick tropical forest. There are a good number of wild boars, spotted deer and bears who often damage the standing crops and horticultural produce of the highlands. Only occasionally leopards may be spotted in the area. Packs of wild dogs threaten the livestock of the highlanders. Wild birds, peacocks and wild fowls inhabit the highlands as well.

There are 23 villages with a population of 4012, which are exclusively inhabited by the Bonda highlanders. Another 24 villages in the plains have a mixed population of Bonda as well as caste Hindus. These villages in the plains account for a Bonda population of 2565. These villagers in the plains have long been integrated into the market economy-at-large and have also assimilated the related cultural traits of the local Hindu population. They have remained in close interaction with various social groups and castes. Such interactions with other groups have provided sets of meanings and understandings about themselves and their "modern society". But the highlanders have until very recently practiced their own traditional methods of subsistence production and remained to a large extent removed from the "modern society" of the plains.

The present study is confined solely to Bonda highlanders

who are as yet involved in several branches of production for their subsistence. The highlanders practice two main types of cultivation, and agriculture is their main source of subsistence. First, by a developed method of wet-land cultivation with the plough the highlanders grow rice. Second, the cultivation of hill slopes by traditional methods using an axe, the highlanders grow cereals, maize, millet, grain and oil seed. The highlands have a natural system of perennially irrigated land in the valleys which provide suitable rice cultivation.

Apart from agriculture, the highlanders practice hunting, animal husbandry, handicrafts, fishing and forest collection. Hunting is organised on specific "auspicious" days of the year as a collective expedition. It is more often than not a collective practice for a village which may participate in a rather ceremonial way.

Domestic animals are a form of wealth for the highlanders. They use animals for trading purposes, for sacrifice and for ploughing. Two or three persons are engaged daily on a rotation basis by the village households who share the responsibility of the cattle herd as a whole. Irrespective of status and wealth, everyone volunteers to attend the grazing of cattle. Usually the cattle graze on fallow communal land nearby the village where cultivation is forbidden. Milking a cow is considered sacriligious. Goats' milk is used for ritual purposes only.

The production of handicrafts takes place according

to individual needs. Simple techniques are used. Women mostly weave the clothes in leisure times of the year when there is less pressure of work on them. It is a traditional practice for Bonda women to wear handwoven clothes that they weave for themselves, although cheaper clothes are available in plenty at local markets.

The highlanders have an annual cycle of collection of useful forest products. A wide array of products are collected. Children collect ripened berries of wild date-palm. House building materials including thatching grass locally known as piri are collected from the forest. But these activities are regulated by agricultural work. There is no clear-cut division of labour so far as forest collection goes. Both men and women collect in the forests. Children above the ages of ten to twelve years may be seen to accompany adults. Sometimes the more arduous part of the collection is performed by women. Men usually carry housebuilding materials home.

Fishing is left to the women of the village. Women in groups go to fish in the streams, or to wet-rice fields for crabs, fresh water shrimps and several kinds of small fish. They catch fish by hand or with the aid of a basket trap called Jira made of bamboo. Selling fish is considered taboo. During rituals, only crabs are offered to deities.

Such a self-sufficient society in the highlands evolved historically, but remained protected to a large extent because of its geographical location. On the southern edge of this territory, the river Machkund which

flows in a south-easterly direction into the Bay of Bengal, marks a natural boundary between the states of Orissa and Andhrapradesh. The politico-administrative border drawn by the central government for purposes of administrative reference is, however, of little significance to the highlanders. It is the river Machkund to the south and the outstretching hill ranges to the north that provide natural barricades between the "primitive" subsistence society of the highlanders and the vast agricultural coastal plains of eastern India.

As a mountainous enclave the area provided the Bonda highlanders a natural seclusion. The persistence of traditional methods of shifting cultivation and cultural practices had attracted the attention of colonial officers by the middle of the nineteenth century. Some decades ago a well-known anthropologist described the culture of the highlanders as

representing no doubt one of the last remnants of the Austro-Asiatic civilization which in neolithic times extended from Further India deep into the Indian Peninsular.

(Furer-Haimendorf, 1944)

Today, however, the story of the Bonda highlanders is the story of a subsistence society in transition. In these remote hills of southern Orissa, the highlanders are on their way towards an agricultural society, no more governed by the customary tribal practices of subsistence economy but based on wage labour and the attendant rules of a market economy. As a community caught in the moment

of transition, the Bonda social structure as a whole is undergoing a process of change.

Thus there is a decline of the traditions of reciprocities and obligations within the community, which rested upon the earlier mode of subsistence production. Often enough, harvesting rice, cutting down the forest or shrub, building up a house, required a large number of workers and needed to be finished rapidly. In the past, individual households were almost always helped by fellow villagers, and in their turn provided help in the fields to those who had helped them.

The emerging system is however that of hired labour. Individual households hire labour paying a certain wage. This is the form of labour most frequently used now and applies to the broadest range of activities. Hired labourers may be used for all agricultural work plus such activities as building houses, except tending cattle. Hired labourers are paid in cash, kind or both. For most work the payment is made directly after the work is completed or even before - that is, wage extended as consumption loan - so that the worker can buy enough food to sustain himself. Although the Bonda agriculture as of now seems to be still "household" based, the emerging systems of hired labour suggests an important form of change.

The relations of power and domination that follow such labour practices are qualitatively different from the earlier traditional social relations. This process is related to a shift from reproduction for use to production

for exchange. Although it is ostensibly an economic process yet this change entails a total qualitative change and impinges on the meanings and symbolic contexts which assign different values to different kinds of work and products of work.

The present thesis is an account of this process of change. It attempts to disclose both the external factors and stimulus provided by the economy-at-large as well as the internal forces and contradictions within the Bonda society. It is intended to be an holistic study. Such a study must include the understanding of the material conditions of production and reproduction as well as the concomitant symbols and meanings available to the highlanders themselves. Thus the present study believes that neither the external market forces and ideologies nor the internal social structure of the highlanders alone can explain the nature of changes in Bonda society.

(ii) Existing Research on Indian Tribes

Such a study must critically assess the available theories. The existing studies on Indian tribes can be conveniently divided into three different historical phases. In the formative period (1774-1919) the anthropological orientation of tribal inventories by British administrators (Risley, 1891; Crooks, 1907; Hutton, 1918) crystallised within the framework of individual, isolated and segmentary pictures of the life and cultures of the various tribes. This phase of rudimentary social anthropology,

in the form of ethnography, projected the All India picture of the tribal formation as a mere aggregation of "republics" or "communities" or "sub-nations". This orientation, conditioned by the colonial policies, coincided with colonial expansion and the disintegration of the native regimes - the break up of the traditional feudal estates. Such an orientation was determined by the colonial interests and further determined the tribal and other social policies of the colonial administration.

The studies from 1920-1949 (Bose N.K., 1928; Majumdar, 1937; Ghurye, (1943) 1959) are strikingly different from the colonial phase. In this phase the attempts, mostly by Indian scholars, represented the studies of integration of tribes to the rising nationalistic mainstream. This orientation later culminated in the negation of the "fragmentary" and "compartmentalized" categories for analysing tribal formation. These categories were substituted by interactional categories like "de-tribalization", "sanskritization", "hinduization", tribe-caste continuum, etc.

This perspective ignored other aspects of contemporary reality. The brilliance of their grasp of the essential problem of tribes arose from the fact that they focused their attention on the integration of tribes to the larger Hindu society. But then precisely for that reason, the weakness - the analysis of internal structures - tended to escape their attention. An analysis of the emerging forces of differentiation, internal stratification, occupational polarization; and the emergence of the educated

tribal elite within single tribes was never considered important. They did not realise that even within the framework of their approach they could have analysed far more scientifically the internal tribal structure and the conflicts as well as contradictions bound up in that structure. This remained the major weakness of the integrationalist perspective in the nationalist phase.

Since the 1950's onwards, studies on the tribes have been more problem-oriented - on power structure and leadership, on the effect of emerging "economic frontier" on tribes, on tribal development, community development, studies on "progress", etc. These studies, of course, reflect the post-independence difficulties of tribal integration and development.

These recent studies, however, are concerned with the process of change in the tribes. The concern for change marks the rationale of this last period in the history of tribal studies. Any systematic categorisation of the wide array of studies in this phase to distinctive anthropological perspectives must identify the modes of their enquiry into the process of change.

In viewing change, the studies fall into two types of paradigms, such as - structural-functional and cultural analysis of change. The structural-functional approach is used by Naik (1956), Arora (1974), Bailey (1960) et.al. A representative study of this approach is Bailey's analysis of social change in central Orissa. Bailey (1960) focuses

attention on the participation of the Kond tribe in the three socio-political arenas: the way they carry on some of the features of the tribe, their participation in Oriya caste society, and lastly the beginning of their endeavours to enter the larger democratic polity. He describes different rules appropriate to each arena and discovers situations through his case study technique, where Konds find themselves troubled and unclear as to which mode of behaviour is appropriate.

Bailey emphasises the functional differences between tribal and Oriya caste societies in their socio-political structures. According to him, tribal land tends to be vested in clans: the kinsmen together share a productive territory. This land-clan nexus is singled out as the main differing feature between tribe and caste. The Konds have localised clans.

Membership of the clan is, under this system a condition of holding and exploiting land in the clan territory. A right to land is not achieved by subordination to anyone else, but by equality as a kinsman.

(Bailey, 1960 : 11)

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

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

Thus, the changes in the tribal organisation anticipated by the impact of Oriya caste society are from a "segmentary" to an "organic" social organisation. Tribal societies are more segmentary. Tribesmen treat component groups of their society as autonomous, viewing each group as similar in function and status to any other segment of the tribal society. Caste societies tend to be more "organic" where each caste is part of an organic whole: its members provide necessary, specialised functions for the whole. Each unit is not taken to be autonomous or necessarily equal to any other. The changes from a "segmentary" to an "organic" social organisation occur in the Kond tribe in a dual process. Firstly, the shift to the traditional caste standards and secondly the adding changes towards modern, especially political, organisation like the larger state administration.

The cultural approach, represented by Orans (1965), Sinha (1957), Vidyarthi (1972) and others, emphasises the cultural spheres of distinction between tribe and

caste, thereby focusing on the changes in the tribal culture. The changes Orans (1965) notes, particularly among Santhal industrial workers in Jamshedpur, is fundamentally an increased emphasis on work, study and rank attainment coupled with a concomitant discouragement of "pleasure". According to Orans, the Santhals are taking on the attitudes and values of contemporary urban civilisation even as they are vigorously rejecting the traditional symbols of Hinduism.

Surjit Sinha (1957) describes how most of the Bhumij have gone towards becoming Kshatriya and have convinced themselves that they are Kashtriya. Although the Bhumij want to be classified as a tribe, they do not want to revert to a previous state of tribal isolation and cultural separation. They push zealously ahead toward secular gain and wider social advancement. These goals were introduced through the Bhumij Rajas and were later reinforced by sectarian religious leaders. The holy men, who thought they were lifting the immortal souls of their followers, also sharpened their material ambitions by opening a wider world for them. These ambitions were further heightened among those who received some modern education, who were urging the tactical shift to tribal classification within the same strategy of cultural mobility.

Thus cultural approach in its scope has a relatively narrow focus. It deals with selective cultural categories and the processes of change in those cultural spheres. It emphasises the primacy of cultural forms and their impact on the other dependent social imperatives.

The culturalists have been concerned with what may be termed as a "tribal character", the values, and attitude patterns. Then emphasising aspects of tribal culture, they have attempted to build typological constructs such as "tribe", "jati" and "interactions" between the two. This reduces different types of societies at various levels of development to common denominators. The culturalists treat these societies as if they all had the same structural dynamics and potentiality for internal change.

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

The culturalists' emphasis on fusion of the traits of a caste with that of tribal culture explains causation through external contacts which lead to the diffusion of new roles and values in the tribes. Change here implies heterogenetic change. The contribution of intra-cultural elements to change remains outside their theoretical optics. Even the tribal societies have been influencing

each other for hundreds of years. Out of such interactions any possibility of conflict or contradiction leading to change is virtually treated as non-existent by the cultural anthropologists on Indian tribes.

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

Such studies on tribes have expelled history a priori, and the justification offered is that the only alternative to culturalists is inductive, functionalist studies. Bailey uses a conflict model in his treatise of socio-political change among the Kond tribals of Orissa. Here conflict is taken as a normal process of society. Politics becomes the competition for command over resources. The primary focus of analysis lies on conflict and not on the processes of historical change.

According to Bailey, many conflicts are "sealed off" though few might develop into contradictions. But Bailey's position is clear cut: "A Structure as I am using the word cannot be self-destroying" (1960 : 152). So structure is defined to exclude contradictions. Like the culturalists' definition of tribal culture, the functionalists' "structure" does not contain germs of orthogenic

change. Hence, both have limited theoretical power to explain change.

Functionalist analysis emphasises coherence and continuity. The relationship between the different elements are part of one structure only in so far as they either reinforce one another, or at least do not in the end contradict one another. Such a "structure" contains rules for the resolution of conflict. Conflict then plays an important and crucial part in maintaining the structure. Bailey cites the example of caste and tribal councils or associations which meet to settle conflicts between lineages. So conflict in one group may bring into force the maintenance of stability in a larger group.

Even so, Bailey's unit of analysis is the actor. Society then is an "arena"; a mere aggregation of individual actors. These actors are power seeking members, who constantly try to acquire command over resources and other members. Thus conflicts, disputes and competitions follow. Bailey gives us ample examples of conflicts among Kond clans, between Kond tribals and caste Hindus, and between individual lineages. But the functional approach does not allow Bailey to undertake an historical analysis of these conflictual situations.

In both, the functionalists (Bailey, et al.) as well as the culturalists (Orans, et al.), the idea that structures or cultures may be capable of internal transformations is unthinkable. That changes are induced by a compulsion located in their own realm, or that the study

of transition from one structure to another might be a legitimate theoretical pursuit is thus unthinkable from such theorisations. Yet, the structural/cultural syndrome of analysing change however remains deeply rooted in the perception of social anthropologists in India.

The functionalist approach may be seen in the context of the overall impact of British functionalist anthropology on Indian scholars. The cultural approach, however, may be viewed as the influence of the tradition of American cultural anthropology on the Indian tribal studies, which are yet to escape the dominant Anglo-American anthropological theorisations and turn towards other traditions of anthropological thinking.

In the last few years, theoretical developments in historical materialism have begun to inform anthropology (Nanda, 1977). That the fundamental concepts of historical materialism may themselves be transformed in such a way as to produce empirical studies in a specific field - that of tribal formations - is now attracting attention.

Indian social anthropologists have often enough idealised the "tribes", turning to other social realities only lately. One may also add that marxists have equally, or even more, idealised the modern working class, neglecting the so-called tribals and their potential significance. The collapse of the earlier mode of tribal organisation resulting from the deep penetrating frontier of capitalism which blurs and obliterates the difference between the traditional notion of tribes and castes is now accepted.

Yet in what specific way is this change taking place? What are the distinct economic rhythms and movements by which the subordination of these tribes, to the capitalist production, is taking place? What is the historical and political significance of this social process? These are the questions that need to be posed.

(iii) Theoretical Frame of Reference

To my mind there is one important reason why social anthropologists in India have remained unconvinced by historical materialism as a theoretical frame of reference. In contradistinction to class, caste in the context of Indian society has often been seen to falsify the thesis of historical materialism. The issue of caste has been viewed as an instance of the owners of means of production, the Kshatriya (warriors), giving way to the Brahmin (priests) in the super-structural hierarchy of Indian society. Thus many writers have dispensed with materialist interpretation because they cannot see the reflection of infra-structure in the super-structure (Dumont, 1970).

Such a view is widespread and often dogmatically argued; but it is a view that is based on a curiously static concept of "infra-structure" and "super-structure". Even so, historically India was rarely unified under one centralised state. While locally dominant groups arose and fell, the need to declare domination rightful was more intense and functional than in many societies. Often enough the religious mystification of social roles

and services, the deification of domination and the presentation of services instituted by God have played a significant part in exercising social hegemony. This explains the pan-Indian Brahminic culture which received promotion and sanction by the ruling kings and local Kshatriya caste. The Brahmins often received land donations from the kings and were exempted from tribute. Even the Mughals were generous to the Brahmins and treated them on par with the Maulvi and Fakir. Thus the role of caste hierarchy and religion thereof must be understood in the broader historical context of India. In my second chapter I hope to clarify some of the related issues by drawing upon the social history of the highlands of Orissa.

The lack of an historical materialist analysis in Indian social anthropology is also related to the overall state and status of theory in anthropology itself. Just as according to Marx, political economy existed as a subject before it became a science, so social anthropology has suffered from the arrested development caused by its confusion of a handbook of practice - functionalist fieldwork - with theory (Banaji, 1970). Frankenberg (1977) suggests that this is to be understood in the context of the dominance of Fabianism, the liberalism of late imperialism, on British social anthropology. Thus it is not entirely surprising that anthropologists have engaged in endless discussions over methods and techniques of fieldwork, while at the same time they have, more often than not, neglected theoretical debates.

The present study, however, draws upon the use

of historical materialism by French anthropologists (Godelier, 1972 and 1978; Meillassoux, 1972 and 1981; Terray, 1972) and the use of dialectical method by British social historians (Eric Hobsbawm, 1959; E.P. Thompson, 1978). It will be clear, I hope, during the course of this research that the above studies are not complete in explanatory power. These works, nevertheless, provide for the present research a useful exploratory frame of reference.

The present work is both a continuation of, and a break with, the earlier traditions of tribal studies in India. The analysis of conflicts in society and the cultural traits according to which social changes have been analysed can remain common to the existing tribal studies and the present research. But unlike Bailey's political determinism and Martin Orans' cultural determinism, there is a need to focus attention and theoretical interest primarily on the relations of social production and reproduction. The negligence of the analysis of production relations, which is often left out, reinforces the need to penetrate beneath the surface appearance of things and lay bare for analysis the hidden structure. It is in this respect that a useful contribution to the studies of tribal societies may be made.

The reconstruction of the relations of social production and reproduction need not remain external to the sociology of the people themselves and concepts available to social groups participating in these social processes. The ways and means by which the people and social groups thereof apprehend reality must remain an integral part

of such an analysis. An independent analysis of the terms and rationale of the process of production and reproduction, that is external to the actor's own concepts and social experiences, remains totally irrelevant to the process of history. In order that the anthropologist's reconstruction of the social reality may be meaningful to the actors themselves, the people must be able to understand the anthropologist's analysis in terms and languages available to them (Bloch, Maurice. 1977).

Such a perspective cannot tacitly accept the structuralist distinction between conscious and unconscious models. Available forms of actors' consciousness cannot be taken as false. A critique of social conditions can emerge within the society divided in class ways. According to Thompson (1978a : 200), the production and reproduction of knowledge and counter-knowledge is going on within the society itself independent of academic historiography. The actor's own knowledge of his material conditions may not be always rigorous or as articulate as the academic analysis of these societies; yet men and women have cultivated the fields, constructed houses, supported elaborate social structures and organisations, on occasions effectively challenged the conclusion of academic thought with the help of this knowledge. Thus, far from being unimportant to the construction of relations of social production, the actor's own concepts and social categories remain an integral part of it.

In the highlands of Orissa, the analysis of Bonda social formation poses problems, in that there is no

obvious accelerating rate of change. In Bonda society, the customary tribal practices, social expectation to "domestic" and "public" roles and traditional ways of determining "work" and "leisure" play an important part. Bonda men and women cultivate paddy, choose their marriage partner, build their houses, celebrate festivals, worship their dead and bring up their children. The life in the hills is dominated by the pursuance of these everyday "private" goals. The majority of the people spend a major part of their time and energy in the pursuance of these goals.

If an overwhelmingly major part of the lives of men and women is spent in pursuing "domestic" goals, then these goals also have a great deal to do with the way in which existing social relations, the attendant power relations as well as the underlying ideology of that power, are sustained. Furthermore, the "private" protests and popular "gossips" may not be politically expressed, yet the language and forms of such ways remain a private "questioning" of dominant power.

At the same time, however, the anthropologist may not accept a priori qualitative distinctions between types of activities, such as "private" and "public" spheres. Such a distinction is often unsatisfactory and may lead to value-judgements about what is important and what is less important to the analysis of social structure. The confinement of anthropological analysis to public arenas, such as the market relations or governmental institutions, etc., has come under criticism from feminist

scholars. According to them the public domain in societies, set in gender and class relations, is dominated by male activity. Since the public sphere is where history is supposedly made, the women remain hidden from "history" (Rowbotham, 1973).

Historically, there is no evidence to prove that such a distinction in the actors' own consciousness is a natural one. Available anthropological material suggests that in societies such as the hunting and gathering societies of Africa, men and women are equally "public", mobile and visible. Although men and women in these societies engage in different activities, social division of labour is not based on gender or seniority. Inside "Kung" tribe there is greater sexual egalitarianism, higher autonomy of females and increased immunity of females to subordination by males in the foraging context than among the "Kung" men and women practicing settled agriculture and animal husbandry (Draper, 1975). This suggests that the division between gender roles and the attendant distinction between "public" and "private" domains is a socio-economic one and needs greater investigation in various social contexts.

While it is true that the African hunting and gathering societies account for greater sexual egalitarianism, among Australian aborigines under similar material-technical conditions however there is not a similar equality in male and female statuses. A similar difference exists between the religious structure of the Australian hunting tribes on the one hand and those of Africa on the other. This has drawn the attention of many anthropologists.

There have been attempts to explain the existence of differing social structures among hunters and gatherers using historical materialism (Bloch, Maurice. 1977).

Bonda men and women reflect on their circumstances too. Their understanding of the past and present is more often than not based on their everyday experiences. The language, the categories, the classifications, the symbols, the metaphors and the political gestures they use are drawn from their own experience in their social circumstances. But to deploy the concept of experience in the study of Bonda social structure is not to deny the importance of the objective circumscriptions in which these experiences are conditioned.

The understandings and the actor's own system of classifications may not be entirely the product of the objective co-ordinates he or she lives in. An analysis of the material forces of productions, the relationships of production, the population and climate have often been, in varying degrees, the traditional concern of a materialist interpretation of history and society. On the other hand, however, the independent study of culture, the values, the ideas, the symbolisms and the meaning, have been the sole pre-occupation of idealist interpretation of society and culture. In either case, the origins of new societies, counter-cultures, critical understandings, mutually antagonistic interpretations and protests have often remained external to the analysis.

To undertake a study of the critical consciousness

among actors is to prepare for excursions into the case histories, individual episodes and concrete social situations and the symbolic meanings attached to these situations. These may come to include important rituals in the life of a society and may involve as much of the "public" as "private" lives of men and women. These excursions into social situations are not a withdrawal from the historical-materialist analysis of society, they are a necessary step to arrive there safely.

Following an historical materialist tradition, it is possible to argue that gender and class are mutually dependent social relations. In his attempt to uncover the social basis of the subjugation of women, Engels pointed to the origins of "private property" (1973). Ever since Engels a great deal of new evidence has come in. On the basis of this evidence, anthropologists have further developed Engels' original statements of the basis of gender. Meillassoux argues that although the advent of "private property" intensifies and brings significant changes in gender relations, the social causes of gender are "more intimate and have more distant origins" (1981 : 78).

The social nature of production and reproduction have been analysed to understand the subordination of social groups including women and the corresponding relations of domination. The concept of reproduction, however, has been the cause of some confusion among anthropologists. Some feminists have argued that biological reproduction

has been over-emphasised in the explanation of the social division of labour between the sexes. It is important that the scope of reproduction as a concept must be broadened in its meaning and implications. While procreation and prolonged child care are almost always the responsibilities of women, yet the whole process of socialisation and bringing up of the young till the productive age are important roles women perform in most societies.

At the same time the production of subsistence and the propensity of women to work the land remains an important aspect of reproductive labour. Thus a necessary precondition for all production remains the social reproduction of labour and labour power. This reproduction is not only biological but also social in character. It refers to the process by which human beings are biologically and socially reproduced.

It is important to mention that this fundamental process of all societies has its attendant ideological expressions too. Hence the reconstruction of the process of reproduction may often be camouflaged by the ideological representations it creates. Kinship-systems which have remained the principal preoccupations of anthropologists, are one of such ideological representations of this essentially social, as well as biological, reproduction. Thus a study of reproduction cannot entirely be reduced to the study of kinship terminologies and changes therein. The ethnographic material on which Engels based his analysis is admittedly the kinship-systems of what he called the "mother right" societies (Aaby, 1977 : 25). Yet Engels'

premise of historical and material causes of the subordination of women remains an important point of departure.

In contrast to gathering and hunting, agricultural labour process according to Meillassoux, sets into motion certain essential imperatives that influence the social organisation including the position of women in it. Unlike gathering-hunting, agriculture is based on an indirect appropriation of nature. In agriculture, production, distribution and consumption are not daily or weekly events. A whole agricultural cycle intervenes between successive harvests. This necessitates a certain initial investment of grain as well as human labour. The nature of an agricultural labour force is more stable, more organised and more labour intensive than either gathering or hunting. Thus the coherence and continuity of the agricultural cycle cannot be sustained unless the labour force is organised on a regular and cooperative basis. This makes the reproduction of labour power a critical element, and at the same time it creates the foundations of control over the reproductive potential of women and subsistence.

The initial distinction between land as subject of labour and land as object of labour is emphasised by Meillassoux to explain the difference between voluntary and unstable hunting bands on the one hand and agricultural communities on the other. With the development of agriculture, land becomes more and more an object of labour. This labour process reaches its fullest development with cereal cultivation that inevitably leads to a storable social product "the harvest". Such a produce remains vulnerable

to social control.

Those who tend to control the produce, also control the lives of the rest of the community. The harvest is never consumed immediately because of the vital problem of feeding the cultivators during the non-productive period of labour, between cultivating fields and the harvest time. Enough of the previous crop is made available for this purpose. While feeding its own producers, the harvest provides for the young (pre-productive labour) as well as the old (post-productive labour).

In these early agricultural communities there is no obligation to hand over a portion of their produce to an exploiting class. The agricultural produce is not sold on the market. Whatever relationships and exchanges are carried on with other similar communities or with other social formations, the connections remain superficial and are not likely to change such communities qualitatively. The effects of trade are, often enough, neutralised and do not reach the critical point beyond which it causes irreversable changes in the relations of production. These types of agricultural communities, Meillassoux prefers to call the domestic community.

It is worth noting here that for our present analysis in the context of Bonda society, the model of domestic community provides a useful starting point. One advantage with this model is that it overcomes any simple dichotomy of communal or private ownership of property. The existence of private property in land is not a necessary precondition

for its use as an object of labour. The different degrees and mixtures of communal and private ownership over land is a matter of individual and specific cases under consideration. It is useful to view private and communal ownerships as continuous variables, with few systems approaching the extremes of the scale. In most subsistence societies, both individual and communal rights on land may be recognised. It is interesting to note that even in contemporary capitalism, pure private ownership may not exist and the state may usually retain its superior right to land.

The domestic community may be seen to precede class societies and the related emergence of private property. Based on Meillassoux's construction of domestic community, Peter Aaby (1977) following that established tradition within marxism of standing things on their heads, argues that the subordination of social groups such as women and the juniors is a necessary prerequisite to the origin of private property. As a corollary to Aaby's hypothesis we may add, however, that the abolition of private property and class exploitation does not necessarily bring about an end to all exploitation and subjugation.

Aaby's reversing of the commonly held view that private property leads to the subordination of women is based on Engels' original statement of the complementarity of roles between men and women in non-class societies. According to this rule of the complementarity of sex roles, both men and women perform different but mutually dependent tasks in the community. But no dominant or subordinate values are attached to the role of individual

or groups or sex. Although in these early societies, based on mother-right, only the tie between mother and child is recognised, yet there was no other social power based on sex. The shift from an initial relationship of complementarity based on the biological and natural differences to that of social and sexual subordination is marked by certain modes of subsistence production. The labour process of these non-class gender-based societies is grain agriculture. The subjugation of social groups including women, therefore, does not arise as a consequence of the emergence of class and state societies, but is a necessary pre-condition for their emergence.

The reference to agriculture, however, as a decisive labour process has come under criticism within marxist anthropology. Godelier protests that,

The most common error, among marxists, is to confuse the study of the production process in a society with that of labour process, and to invent as many modes of production as there are labour processes. For this reason one cannot speak of agricultural, pastoral, cynegetic or other "modes of production".

(Godelier, 1978 : 24)

This, however, does not in any way undermine the significance of agriculture and its decisive impact on the social organisation of reproduction. The emphasis placed on marriage, matrimonial and para-matrimonial institutions, filiation, fertility cults, representations associated with maternity, the change in a woman's position according to her place in the fertility cycle, anxieties regarding adultery and illegitimacy and sexual prohibitions, all indicate that reproduction is a central concern in

societies where agricultural labour processes prevail vis-a-vis hunting and gathering.

Certain important aspects and influences of modern industrial societies may rule out the above-mentioned emphasis on reproduction. Indeed, as Kathleen Gough (1975) has aptly pointed out, both social and biological reproduction ceases to be a basis for female subordination when artificial birth control, spaced births, small families, patent feeding, and communal nurseries allow it to be shared by both sexes. Modern technology and cybernation remove most of the pressure on reproduction. She explains that the technological and scientific basis for the equal status of the sexes have been created by modern capitalism.

Yet it is important to note that independent of scientific and technological structures, the capitalist mode of production may still to a greater extent depend on the domestic mode of reproduction for the supply of cheap and ready labour power, as well as economic expansion. Meillassoux's argument is germane in this respect. According to him, the domestic relations of reproduction are not only relics of ancient modes but also an organic part of the development of subsequent modes of production and indeed capitalism itself. Crushed, oppressed, divided, counted, taxed, recruited; the domestic agricultural communities totter but still have not disappeared completely. They still support millions of productive units integrated to a greater or lesser extent into the capitalist economy-at-large. Even in some advanced capitalist countries of the world, the domestic relations and concomitant

representations still structure the narrow but vital foundations for the reproduction of life and labour power.

Under capitalism, the exploitation of the domestic community can be seen to provide a mode of reproduction of cheap labour not only for the national but also for the international markets. Thus, it is not the unequal exchange in trade but the exploitation of labour that gains significance in the study of underdevelopment.

It is an error to claim that under the influence of capitalism all productive and reproductive relations become capitalist. Modern capitalism is capable of sustaining diverse forms and exploiting them for its own profit. While the subjugation of women may not be a function of capital and labour relationship, the effective control over women and gender relations may be functional to capitalism. Thus, the study of the relationship between gender and class necessitates not just the study of the destruction of one mode of production by another, but also the contradictory organisation and legitimisation of social relations between the capitalist and the subsistence sectors of society.

(iv) Questions and Methods

The story of the Bonda highlanders is here offered in this spirit of an historical materialist analysis. An important aspect of this analysis is the primacy of

the social aspects of production and reproduction over the cultural and ideological elements in society. This does not deny the significance of the values and cognitive systems of Bonda men and women. These values and attitudes in their turn influence the conditions of life. So it is not possible to undertake a total understanding of the system of production and reproduction by a mere economic analysis.

It is important to remember that within the marxist tradition, there have remained two inseparable and inter-dependent components: critique of political economy and historical materialism. These two central components must find a coherent junction and shared sociological analysis. Marx's own works provide a precondition for developing both these components. These attempts by Marx help overcome any anti-historical and idealist appropriations of social reality.

In the marxist tradition most categories of political economy are not outside historical analysis. There is a need to return to the social and historical contexts of categories of political economy. Some of these categories may well be within the people's own cognition.

We may, however, understand the traditional extrapolations in a different sense. An abstraction from years of experience and hundreds of farmers, the cultural rules of thumb state "the labour time socially necessary" for production. The peasants may lack a turn of the century Taylor to analyse their work procedures with the aim of making their efforts more efficient, but this has not impeded

them from formulating cultural norms about their labour. Socially necessary labour time is not an abstraction of the outsider, it is a folk generalisation.

(Gudeman, 1978 : 77)

The scientism of economic analysis is based on the silences of historical materialism. The impulse to explain everything within economic coordinates rests on economistic notions of social relationships and moral values thereof. The present study attempts to overcome economic reductionism. It emphasises both the social and economic aspects of production, just as it concerns itself with the biological and social nature of reproduction.

At the same time, the availability of field material from different societies and cultures has, in recent years, forced many sociologists to rethink the category of "economics" itself. This has questioned the state and status of the category of "economics" and the related economic notion of class. There are many societies and cultures where "economics", in the modern sense, is a notion for which there is no corresponding concept or exact category. The anthropological evidence from such cultures has reinforced that economic rationality and the related postulate of "homo-economicus" is not a universal human need.

Historians remind us that the term "economics" itself is of comparatively recent evolution. In the actor's own consciousness corresponding notions, if any, may mean different social activities from only material

and financial affairs. Thus the categories of economics which may be adequate for analysing aspects of capitalist societies, are often inadequate to understand the inner mechanisms of non-capitalist societies. The economic relations remain inextricably intermeshed with social and moral imperatives. The motivations and morality of these societies cannot be understood in economic terms. Hence, the "economic" aspects of origins of class and gender cannot be given theoretical priority over the "cultural" forms.

In the light of such a theoretical perspective, the present research is an attempt at an holistic study of the process of change in Bonda society. The present study includes the study of both the material conditions of production and reproduction as well as that of the concomitant symbols, languages and knowledge available to the Bonda themselves to take cognition of their situation and its consequences.

To indicate briefly, and entirely by way of hypothesis, the following empirical questions are posed in the case of Bonda highlanders:

- i What do the Bonda produce?
- ii Who produces what?
- iii Who works with whom and for whom?
- iv How is work organised and by whom?
- v What is the purpose of production?
- vi Where does the produce go?
- vii Who controls the product and means of subsistence?

viii What happens to surplus?

ix What alternative uses can be made of surplus?

Within an historical analysis these questions constitute the empirical field of investigation.

There is no doubt, however, that neither the economic analysis of the material conditions of production and reproduction, nor the social history of highland Orissa alone can provide the key to the process of transition and its emerging consequences. The Bonda perception of their own past and present is a necessary imperative in their meaningful participation in the process of change.

Such a theoretical premise generates the following hypotheses:

i) It may, however, be true to say that as of now there is a process of decline in the customary communal practices and tribal folk meaning systems that are incongruent with the new conditions of life in the Bonda hills.

ii) There is a certain plurality of alternative perceptions, symbolisms and knowledge available to the Bonda or groups of Bonda, among which the dominant ideology may buttress the emerging market economy-at-large.

iii) The Bonda in general, or a specific group of Bonda in particular, may or may not form over time a social class capable of a fresh look at their social situation and posing a critical alternative to the dominant ideology.

The above questions and related hypotheses require both quantitative and qualitative data. So the field work in the Bonda highlands of Orissa was undertaken which provided an opportunity to collect such data through direct observation. The investigation into the oral traditions, unspoken norms, customary expectations of domestic and social roles as well as customary "wants" and "needs" in Bonda society during field work provided supplementary data to the survey of economic conditions.

The careful examination of situations and "untypical" episodes provided a valuable window onto the study of conflict in, and plurality of, ideologies and symbolisms in Bonda society. The local market, known as haut provided a neutral place to renew contacts with villagers and generate new contacts for gathering information. The market was studied as both an "economic" as well as a "cultural" nexus which provided very valuable grounds to observe the interaction between Bonda highlanders themselves, as well as between the highlanders and the broader society-at-large.

During the fieldwork, I learnt to speak and understand Remo, the dialect of the highlanders. Although most of the Bonda spoke and understood Oriya, my native language, access to Bonda dialect proved more useful than was immediately apparent. On many occasions I used interpreters. The use of audio-tape allowed scope for re-translation of tribal songs and rituals. Access to the official reports on the highlands in the offices of state governments and the Tribal Research Bureau set up by the government,

helped me to prepare for fieldwork in advance.

The relevant historical material on the highlands of Orissa was somewhat sparse and widely scattered throughout the official archives, the administrative publications and the private papers of colonial administrators available in Britain as well as India. Fieldwork in the highlands supplemented the available historical material. This made it possible to undertake a useful reconstruction of the social history of highland Orissa. The following chapter attempts to present the broad historical picture that emerged from the research and to link the historical trends of the past with the social processes of the contemporary present.

CHAPTER II

Social History of Highland Orissa

The social forces responsible for the present state and status of Bonda social formation, as noted in the previous Chapter, are rooted in the past. The origins of these social forces, when historically traced in time, can put into proper perspective the directions and tendencies of social change. Thus the existing social relations and consequent transformations in Bonda society which are under way must be analysed in the broader context of highland Orissa.

Despite a wide array of research into tribal societies in India, the socio-economic history of these societies was a no-man's-land until very recently. An obvious reason for this distinct gap in studies on tribes was due to a substantial lack of "written" history available for the reconstruction of the historical picture of such societies. The new methods in history and anthropology, through the use of "unwritten" history have, however, changed this no-man's-land into an interesting area of research, involving past societies and early social movements. In these reconstructions, a major role has been played by recent archaeological evidence, widely scattered archival data at the district and local levels, family histories of people who have participated in social organisations and related social movements, and oral traditions. But the single most significant research technique used to recover the "unwritten" past of such societies is "participant

observation". This particular technique has utilized one tremendous advantage in the structure of Indian societies: the survival within different social layers of many forms that allow the reconstruction of totally diverse earlier stages of social organisations. This technique of participation in the various aspects of tribal life must critically exploit oral traditions, which are fast disappearing, to gain insights into the past (Vansina, 1965). Such an access to the past also requires the use of holistic concepts emphasising the wholeness of social realities. This interrelatedness of the aspects of social formation, ecology, economy, legal and political systems, kinship organisation, religion, etc., has also enabled anthropologists and historians to relate the present with the past (Singh, 1977). The present chapter represents an attempt at such a reconstruction of the past. For this task of historical reconstruction I have drawn upon diverse sources. But before I proceed, it is necessary to get rid of certain stereotypes which I believe are loaded with implicit value judgements.

(1) Old Dichotomies and New Continuums

It has been suggested by scholars (Furer-Haimendorf, 1945; Elwin, 1950) that Bonda belong, not only in dialect but also in culture, to that large group of Austro-Asiatic peoples who, in Neolithic times, developed an advanced and complex culture characterised by rice cultivation on terraced and irrigated fields; the art of weaving; the keeping of cattle for purposes of slaughter or sacrifice;

and the erection of megalithic monuments in the shape of menhirs, stone-circles and dolmens. The presence of similar socio-cultural characteristics among most Indian tribes such as Gadabas, Saoras, Mundas and Khasis has also led to their classification as Austro-Asiatic groups of people with close affinities to the Austronesian civilisations of the Malayan Archipelago. To the extent that such a categorisation of tribal cultures helps us to understand the cultural affinities between a broad spectrum of tribes on the subcontinent, the Austro-Asiatic concept is useful. But the underlying theory of such a classification is not entirely without problems.

This identification of Indian tribes to a common Austro-Asiatic culture is based on the well-known linguistic classification which groups the dozen or so main languages and some 753 dialects of varying importance used in India into three groups, that is, (1) The Indo-Aryan group in the north and west: Punjabi, Hindi, Bengali, Gujarati, Marathi, Oriya; (2) Dravidian in the south: Telugu, Tamil, Malayalam, Kanarese, Tulu; (3) The Austro-Asiatic group into which most primitive languages of Indian tribes are put: Mundari, Oraon, Sautali, etc. This classification is furthermore based on the assumption that most Indian tribes were pushed into odd corners of the highlands and jungles by Dravidians, whom the Aryans in turn drove southwards.

Such a linguistic categorisation does not pay attention to the influence of the way of livelihood upon language. At the same time, the above classification does not account

for the interaction between the so-called Aryans and non-Aryans which has been the centre of much research into ancient Indian history. Most tribal languages, according to Kosambi (1977 : 41), cannot always be traced back to any single linguistic group. He gives the example of Assam, where every valley has several tribes with different speeches; the number of languages or major dialects add up to over 175, mostly primitive tribal idioms which cannot be related to Mundari or even, indeed, to any one linguistic group. Nor can these tribal formations be regarded as a result of a systematic push by Dravidians. The available evidence does not sustain the theory that Dravidians, the first cattle-breeders and food producers, had any social need to push others into the hills. The fertile belts of northern India, occupied by early food producers and cultivators, were most likely to be covered with dense forests or swamps before the Iron Age. Most primitive food gatherers perhaps lived best in the thinner marginal jungle, not in territory now bearing deeper and cultivated soil. Thus, the best localities for Indian tribes are approximately where they are found today (Kosambi, 1977 : 41). Kosambi also takes issue with the theory of correlating language with race.

The understanding of tribal social formations has, however, been greatly influenced by these simplistic classifications. The widely used dichotomy between caste societies and tribal societies is also a product of this initial classification of Indo-Aryan cultures and non-Aryan cultures (Dravidian and Austro-Asiatic groups whose complexion is considered to be darker and other racial

features different from Indo-Aryans). In the light of evidence now available, such a distinction between Aryan and non-Aryan cultures perhaps only serves an ideological purpose rather than any historical explanation. Like the many hackneyed stereotypes of Indian history, the Indo-Aryan and non-Aryan cultural constructions must be avoided in order to understand the complexities of ancient Indian history. In the following examples, drawn from recent historical studies, there is ample evidence to throw new light on the constant process of cultural growth and continuity in Indian history.

In the recent past, historians have argued (Thapar, 1975) that the often accepted notion of an Aryan race is alien to the complex realities of ancient Indian history. Although there are frequent references in early literature to āryas, either in the sense of the more honoured persons of society, or else as distinct from mlechha and the an-ārya, the criteria of difference primarily referred to the organisation of society on the basis of occupation and status. On the basis of evidence now available, the myth of Aryans as a separate race from the "aborigines" of India is difficult to sustain. At the same time it is perhaps useful to avoid the concept of race in identifying the socio-cultural history of tribal and non-tribal societies in India. Thus, "race is not the criterion and obviously could not be, for the concept of race both in the scientific and the popular sense is a product of modern Europe" (Thapar, 1975 : 7).

Although the Aryan invasion is historic and well

attested, the view that an Aryan invasion brought into the subcontinent a more advanced and technically superior socio-economic organisation is historically less likely. Based on archaeological evidence, historical studies have suggested the existence of tribal and peasant societies before the arrival of the so-called Indo-Aryan speaking peoples in about 1500 B.C. The developed form of plough agriculture can be precisely dated to the pre-Harappan period in the early third millennium B.C. through the excavation of a field with furrow marks dating to this time (Thapar, 1975 : 50). This persuades us to believe that such an agricultural hinterland provided the base for the remarkable growth of Harappan cities. There is no doubt, however, that plough agriculture is a necessary social precondition to the growth of cities, since the surplus food required for cities with their high population density can only be produced through the plough. The available linguistic evidence suggests that early Aryans took to a developed plough agriculture through contact with existing indigenous populations and not the other way round. A number of key words relating to agricultural activities in the Vedic literature appear to be of non-Aryan origin, largely Dravidian and some Austro-Asiatic, for example lāngala and hāla meaning plough, and other words for the hoe (Kuddāla), threshing floor (Khala), the winnowing basket (Sūrpa), the mortar and pestle (Ulūkhala), and even the common use of the word palli for a small village settlement (Thapar, 1975 : 51).

Such a process of cultural assimilation is not only confined to the linguistic sphere. The well-known

erotic sculptures of India, presently found at Khajuraho and Konarak, can be seen to symbolise the fertility cult of the early producers, and not what the Brahminic scholars have tried to interpret as the spiritual union of the atman with the Brahman. It is, however, possible to relate the erotic art expressions to the widespread magico-religious practices, prevalent among tribal and peasant producers who considered fertility to be auspicious. The erotic art and sculpture can thus be seen as the result of the articulation of several tribal practices at many levels of social and religious organisation.

It is not at all surprising that at the heart of many advanced cultural traditions of India, the early tribal practices of so-called Austro-Asiatic culture continue to exist.

(ii) Early State Formation in Eastern India

In its earliest history, Orissa became the centre of great empires under two of the most important rulers of ancient India, that is, under Ashoka (3rd Century B.C.) and Kharavela (1st Century B.C.). These empires, on the one hand, were much more centralised than all other later kingdoms of Orissa. On the other hand, they were, except for their centres, less rooted in, and linked with the respective local power structures. It has been suggested that this was the reason behind the very little archaeological traces left by both these empires outside the central area around Bhubaneswar (Kulke, 1978 : 32). Although political development was initiated by these

two empires, this development gained new and even stronger impulses through the example of the "classical" North Indian Hindu empires of the Guptas in the 4th and 5th centuries A.D. Through the power struggle between the three great kingdoms of the North, East and Central India in the early 7th century A.D., portions of Orissa were conquered and integrated temporarily into the Hindu empires.

The tribal highlands of Orissa had, no doubt, been under the control of semi-independent chief who had only very loose connections with the provincial administration of the central governments. But these chiefs, many of them being of tribal origin, must have been deeply impressed by the efficiency of the new type of centralised administration within the central areas and by the high social status and political power of the central and provincial authorities.

During the following centuries, after the downfall of the Gupta empire and after the vanishing of its provincial outposts in eastern India, the process of State formation shifted from the former provincial centres into their hinterlands (Kulke, 1979 : 223). Former semi-autonomous chiefs declared their independence and tried to establish the new type of government which they had come to know from their masters. State formation in the post-Gupta period, at least in eastern India, to a large extent therefore, had its roots in the outer areas which previously had not been fully under the control of any central authority. The outer areas were the homeland of a new type of authority which had not been part of the political establishment

of the former emperors.

One of the main problems during this early phase of indigenous state formation was the establishment of an hierarchically structured new Hindu government with its dominant position of the hindu raja within formerly egalitarian tribal structures. It is quite evident that under these circumstances the consolidation of Hindu kingship was faced with two different sets of problems. First, the political problem of institutionalising power over the people into authority. The new Hindu rajas, the "nouveaux riches" among the former tribal chiefs, usually followed a long drawn strategy. They sought the tribals' loyalty and therefore patronised their powerful deities as new state deities (rastra-devata), which helped to legitimise their Hindu rule over a tribal or Hindu-tribal frontier. The generous patronage of these deities and their priests thus helped to bridge the gulf between the new rulers and the ruled. Secondly, the economic and administrative problems relating to the newly established kingdoms were resolved by the rajas by inviting systematically new settlers, who were often enough drawn from Brahmin and upper caste, as ritual and administrative specialists.

Although particularly the early copperplates often mention that the lands were donated to the Brahmins for the sake of the royal donor and his parents, the main function of these Brahmins was certainly the propagation of the new ideal of a Hindu Kingship and the hierarchically structured caste society with the new Hindu rulers and priests at its top. In a modern sense they were also responsible for the erection of the whole infra structure of the new Kingdom, particularly its administrator.

(Kulke, 1979 : 224)

These new settlers of caste Hindus were backed up by generous land grants endowed with various immunities and rights. Such regalias and transfer of land to the settlers did not, however, weaken the central royal power. The Hindu rajas had not been able to exercise control over tribal areas for many years, so the renunciation of land and rights were instrumental to the consolidation of political authority. The settlement of Brahmins, and the generous land grants by the small rajas, thus seems to have been a means of establishing royal power and to extend it into the outer areas which had not yet fully come under the control of the central authority. The early land grants to Brahmins and religious institutions, that is temples, monasteries, were therefore part of a systematic royal policy which did not lead to the weakening of the central authority, but, on the contrary, aimed at its systematic strengthening by political, economic and ritual means.

This particular type of social consolidation of the small kingdoms and principalities in the nuclear area of Orissa was, by its very nature, a long and gradual process. The process of state formation was not without difficulties. The main difficulty during this long period was the relationship of the Hindu rajas - often themselves descendants of tribal chiefs - with the tribal people who surrounded the isolated nuclear areas. There was no doubt, however, that the rajas depended on their support for the security of internal communications and borders. At the same time the rajas needed their land for the gradual extension of their peasant agriculture,

which alone was able to yield sufficient surplus crop for the maintenance of increasing court expenses, the members of the ruling family, Brahmins, officials and soldiers. Further tensions with the tribes were certainly due to the added efforts of the local dominant Hindu castes who tried to extend their own economic basis at the cost of their tribal neighbours.

The relationship between Hindu society and its neighbours was never without tension, its generally peaceful character was certainly one of the important aspects of Indian history. Generally speaking, in Orissa, it was more a continuous process of indoctrination and partial integration than a process of sustained displacement (Kulke, 1978 : 32). During this gradual development, the Brahmins played a pre-eminent role in legitimating royalty as well as codifying and ritualising the hierarchy of Hindu caste society. This was, of course, one of the main obligations of the Brahmins, who had settled in the outer parts of the nuclear areas, to propagate this ideal for their own, and their King's, sake.

Thus, in Orissa, regional medieval state formation and consequent political development is characterised by a gradual integration of an ever increasing number of scattered nuclear areas which came under the control of single dynasties, which in turn ruled in Orissa. The subsequent political development under the Sailodbhavas (7th-8th Century A.D.), Bhauma-Karas (8th-10th Century A.D.), Somavamsis (10th-12th Century A.D.) and Suryavamsis (12th-16th Century A.D.) who had successfully ruled over.

an ever increasing area in Orissa and later even beyond the border of Orissa proper for one thousand years, brought about a steady intermingling of the tribal and non-tribal cultures. Thus it is not at all surprising that the Jagannatha cult, which is today the centre of Brahminic rituals and culture, and the regional tradition of Orissa, is indeed tribal in its origin (the word juggernaut originates from Jagannatha's great chariot). This complex intertwining of tribal and caste cultures must be understood in the broader context of state formation and the legitimation of royal authority in medieval India. The most prominent expression of this historical process of legitimation of regality is the Jagannatha cult and its relationship with the Gajapati kingship ideology in Orissa.

Such a complex structure of early state formation in the highlands of Orissa dissolves any simple dichotomy between "pure" Hindu or tribal characters of various social institutions and their concomitant cultural expressions. Many Hindu kingdoms were greatly influenced by the tribes which formed the large part of their population. There had been a continuous interlocking process of hinduization and tribalisation since the first millenium A.D. which radiated from the capitals of the Hindu rajas and their respective tribal hinterlands. This twin process, however, never transgressed the imaginary borderline drawn to safeguard the interest of the kingdoms. Such a policy of slow and protracted consolidation of authority, unique to the Hindu rulers, was changed only under Moghul supremacy (16th-18th Century) and later fully abandoned during British rule (18th-20th Century). The consequences of

rapid political and economic change were deeply felt and resulted in tribal uprisings in various parts of eastern India. The new type of colonial rajas would never have been able to cope with these uprisings without the military help of their British overlords.

In the context of the historical tribe-caste continuum, we can interpret most of the contemporary evidence relating to common practices and cultural beliefs among tribal societies and lower caste village Hindus. The mutual recognition of various deities of tribals and neighbouring Hindus is also a symptom of this unique historical relationship. The country festivals which draw many villages from a wide regional area can often be traced back to a primitive tribal origin, though some of these tribes have either been assimilated or have migrated. Recent evidence suggests the tribal origin of many local village cults. The most obvious evidence of the tribe-caste continuum is perhaps the names of many peasant castes who bear the same names as some of the aboriginal tribes of the regional area. Although these groups may not now intermarry, cultural affinities however are considerable. It has also been suggested that due to the changes in the climatic conditions, differences in food supply and differences in diet, changes in physique and facial index have undergone modifications over subsequent generations (Kosambi, 1977 : 13).

The lowest castes often preserve tribal rites, usages, and myths. A little higher up we see these religious observances and legends in transition, often by assimilation to other parallel traditions.

(Kosambi, 1977 : 15)

Hermann Kulke (1978 : 33), provides the example of Ganga conquests to support the thesis of tribe caste continuum. According to him, when the Gangas conquered the area south of the Mahendragiri mountains shortly before 500 A.D., they acknowledged a deity of the Saora tribe in the highlands under the name of Siva-Gokarnasvamin as the tutelary deity of the family (ista-devata). This relationship between the conquering Hindu kings and the local tribes had been preserved for centuries. The founder of the dynasty, Kamarnava, after his arrival in Kalinga, climbed up the Mahendragiri mountain and worshipped Gokarnasvamin. As an outsider, the founder of the Ganga dynasty of Kalinga thus accepted the dominant deity of the Saoras whose chief he had killed before he began to rule the areas south of Mahendragiri. This former tribal deity remained the tutelary deity of the Hindu rajas until the 12th century A.D., when they moved their capital from Kalinganagar to Cuttack after they had conquered central Orissa. The tradition of Gokarnesvara is still alive today in the ex-feudatory state Mandas, whose rajas still worship the tribal deity, Khila Munda, which originates from the Mahendragiri mountains.

In the north of Mahendragiri the Sailobhava dynasty of Kongoda linked their origin even more directly with the tribes of their mountainous hinterland. Their legendary origin, which seems to go back to the late 4th century A.D., is known from several inscriptions from the 7th and 8th centuries. They relate that Pulindasena, a raja of Kalinga, asked the god Siva to hand over his rule to a younger successor. Siva granted this boon to Pulindasena,

and the name Pulindasena points to the tribal origin of this dynasty. Pulinda is the name of a well-known tribe of central India. Pulindasena might have been a military chief (Sena) of this tribe. His successor, whose name Sailodbhava means "born from the mountain", seems to have been able to leave the mountains and to conquer the nuclear area of Kongoda.

The above examples of tribe and Hindu interaction and cultural expressions provide a way to relate the available evidence and trace the historical origins of tribal communities in the highlands of Orissa. This is particularly useful in the case of the Bonda tribe, whose origins and affiliations have remained until recently quite obscure. Apart from a tentative suggestion of a possible Bonda migration at some remote period to take shelter in the hills of Koraput, there has been no substantive study of the history of the Bonda tribe. Such a suggestion is tentative because it is based on many contradictory legends which are comparatively recent in date (Elwin, 1950 : 3). While this particular suggestion is not untrue, as it will soon be evident, the reconstruction of a comprehensive and authentic historical picture requires greater evidence and substantiation, which of course includes the existing ritual practices and symbols in the highlands. There are many religious festivals Bondas observe, among which I would identify one for closer scrutiny.

(iii) From Warriors to Hill Cultivators

The national festival of the Bonda tribe, Pausa Parab, I would suggest holds the key to the historical origin of the highlanders. All year around Bonda men and women eagerly look forward to this particular religious and social event. This marks an important event on the religious calendar of Bonda highlanders. During this festival, Bondas take a moral holiday, a few days off from all social inhibitions, a relaxation from the tedious round of agricultural operations and a break from the dietic monotony of everyday life. In Pausa Parab the normal restraints that check the relationships of boys and girls in a village are largely forgotten; members of the same clan, relatives in the forbidden degree, find every freedom to flirt, excite themselves with unrestricted interactions and very occasionally young boys and girls even retire together to the woods. In a dance, a girl may steal a youth's cloth and wear it; this gives him the right, later on, to drag her away into the darkness, and she must not object.

Held on the full moon in the month of Paus (January-February), the announcement of the festival is made by the village headman on the Sindibor, the central platform of the village. The festival reaches its most serious and dramatic aspect with the castigation ceremony. The castigation begins with little boys and girls, and later the elderly men participate in it. A few villagers take the Kinding-sagar, the sacred drum, from the village headmans' house and begin to beat it on the Sindibor.

Other drummers join in and all the villagers, including women, assemble at the spot. In this gathering every Bonda male appears as a warrior with his axe on the right shoulder, bow and arrow on the left, a wild boar's tusk on the left side of the waist and a bison's horn on the right side of the waist. Everyone then finds a long Sago palm branch stripped of its leaves - and two by two the boys stand up before the Sindibor and hit each other as hard as they can. It is a proper test of endurance in a conventional duel publicly staged. It is no pretence; soon the backs are covered with wounds and the little boys bite their lips and go at each other with all the strength they have, while the drums chatter and the crowd applauds. When a couple has had enough, they salute each other and embrace, and another pair takes their place. The boys are soon followed by men and the situation gets more serious. When all the males of the village have completed this exercise, the village headman gives them Kirimtor cakes and delivers a ceremonial lecture about the needs of living in peace with each other.

In his analysis of this particular religious festival, Verrier Elwin emphasises the change of diet as an outstanding feature of this occasion in the Bonda calendar, and relates it to the harvesting and threshing of crops in the highlands.

But of course this great festival is something much more than a mere orgy. Held in the month of Paus (January-February) round about the time of the full moon, after the rice and Panicum miliare has been threshed and stored and the Eleusine Corocana crop has been reaped, it regulates a number of important activities: no new grass may be cut before

the celebration, no Kereng branches may be fetched from the forest; yarn should not be spun, though old yarn may be woven.

(Elwin, 1950 : 174)

This interpretation does not provide an explanation of the castigation ceremony and the related display of warrior symbols. Existing anthropological analysis of symbols that come into play during such ritual events, however, emphasises the element of social control. One example of such an interpretation is Maurice Bloch's analysis of circumcision ceremonies of the Merina of Madagascar (1974 : 55). Here Bloch relates the ritual acts of "formalised" behaviour to legitimised traditional authority. But the ritual practice during Pausa Parab among the Bonda does not lend itself to such an interpretation. As I have already mentioned, far from being dominated by formalised acts and interactions, Pausa Parab for the highlanders is an occasion for unrestricted social intercourse. Although the opening of the castigation ceremony, the role of the village headman, and his final public speech are structured and ritualised, the major part of the festival is an informal cluster of activities.

Such a ceremony must be seen to have an historical significance. The ritual castigation, display of warrior costume and highly valued endurance in a public duel, have more to do with the past than with the present. These ritual practices provide us with evidence of the warrior background of the Bonda highlanders. Recent historical and archaeological evidence has furthermore complemented the historical significance of ritualised

activities and symbols. From the evidence now available we shall attempt to reconstruct the past of the Bonda highlanders. The following outline is based on existing local history of highland Orissa.

One recent study suggests that the Bondas are originally from Bastar, a tribal area in the interior of central India (Mishra, 1977 : 21). Bastar is still predominantly populated by tribals and a part of the modern State of Madhya Pradesh of middle India. Towards the end of the first millenium A.D., surrounded by the Gang kingdom to the east and the Kalachuri kingdom to the west, Bastar itself was, like most tribal hinterland of central India, a semi-independent nuclear area (Kulke, 1978). Through a prolonged succession of political rulers, the Chindaknaga tribe came to establish a stable rule at Bastar. Their king, Nrupati Bhushan, became a powerful tribal chief at Bastar. Originally the Chindaknaga tribe came from peninsular India, and their related clans have been located at Sindhubadi, which now lies on the political border of the southern states of Karnakat and Tamil Nadu. The historical links of many present day central Indian tribes have now been traced back to the Chindaknaga tribe from the south. The stone engravings at Erakoti, which date back to 1023 A.D., mention the rule of Nrupati Bhushan.

Situated on the east bank of the river Indrabati, Chitrakote was the political capital of Bastar. The stone engravings recovered in and around Chitrakote reveal the ruling lineage of Bastar kingdom. It is now known from the stone engravings that king Jagadek Bhushan,

popularly known as Dharabarsa, succeeded Nrupati Bhushan and ruled at Chitrakote towards the latter half of the 11th century A.D. It was during his kingship that Chitrakote reached the peak of its glory. The army at Chitrakote consisted of able warrior men from the southern tribes. A large part of the warriors were from the well-known Gadaba tribe who inhabited the banks of the river Godavari. The name Gadaba, therefore, was derived from the river whose banks they inhabited. As a tribal group, Gadabas can now be found scattered in many parts of eastern and central India. Although Gadabas now practice settled agriculture, at the time of Jagadek's rule at Chitrakote they were mainly warriors. With the help of a powerful military strength, Chitrakote had earned the reputation of a well established kingdom.

According to historical sources, king Jagadek had a general, locally known by the name of Madhurantak, who was at the head of the mighty army. Madhurantak, with the help of other generals, had carved out his own spheres of influence at Chitrakote and attempted to overthrow the king. It was in 1060 A.D. that Madhurantak, with the help of the neighbouring Hindu kings who were already envious of Jagadek's rule, organised a coup. In his attempt to capture the kingdom, Madhurantak succeeded in assassinating Jagadek Bhushan. From the stone engravings recovered from a village called Antari it is now clear that Jagadek lost his life.

After the death of king Jagadek, the life of his only son, Someswar, who was then only a minor, was in

real danger. Madhurantak was already known to have planned the assassination of both the widowed wife of Jagadek, Bondi Mahadei, and her son. In order to save the life of her only son, Someswar, the legal heir to Bastar kingdom, Bondi Mahadei, with the help of a section of loyal subjects, escaped to the secluded hills of the eastern mountain range, the present abode of Bonda highlanders. In these hills, the exiled queen and the prince, with their loyal supporters, discovered a suitable shelter. It was in her exile that Bondi Mahadei urged her faithful subjects to reorganise themselves into an army to retaliate and regain the lost kingdom.

The present Bonda tribe gained its name from Bondi Mahadei, who proclaimed in her exile that her son was the legitimate heir to the kingdom of Bastar. It was, however, a formidable task to preserve a sense of loyalty and militancy among the people. The sword of the late king Jagadek became a symbol of Bonda nationalism. The queen used this symbol to evoke the loyalty of every member of her tribe in order to reinstate her son back at Chitrakote. This sword, over the years, gained the status of an important local deity and was subsequently known as Patakhanda Mohaprohu. High in a great banyan at the centre of the grove immediately above Mudulipada this ancient sword is still to be found. Three times in the year - at Dassera, Magha Parab and Pausa Parab, it is ritually brought down and worshipped. This practice of worshipping royal swords is a well-known tradition among Rajputs of central and western India. Next to his sovereign's throne the most powerful oath of the

warriors is always by his arms; similar traditions prevail in Indian antiquity. Referring to the social significance of the sword, Verrier Elwin writes,

for Bonda psychology this sword is of great importance: it has immense snob-value, it fortifies the tribe's self-respect by establishing that fragile link with the Rajput nobility which it is the ambition of every aboriginal to maintain.

(Elwin, 1950 : 145)

The name Sindibor, given to central platforms built in every Bonda village for ceremonial purposes, originated from the name of the village in peninsular India, Sindhivadi, where the Chindaknaga tribe originally came from. Although Sindibor is now used for religious ceremonies and is where village councils regularly meet and discuss all the affairs of the tribe, originally these platforms were used for frequent meetings of the army. Under the able leadership of Bondi Mahadei, Bondas emerged as a strong and organised tribe who perfected skills in warfare and self defence too.

It has been suggested that the army of Bondi Mahadei was divided into four sections (Mishra, 1977 : 75). The front line men were known as Kirsani. Those who were expert in using the sword were known as Muduli, while those who were responsible for collecting vital information about the enemy were known as Chalans. The rest, who were engaged in miscellaneous tasks, were known as Jani. The present Bonda villages of Mudulipada, Kirsanipada and Challanpada are believed to have been allotted initially to the three different generals who were at the head

of the three different sections of the army. It is also significant that Bonda women accounted for a substantial part of military activities. This provides a possible explanation of the practice of head shaving among women. This practice of head shaving among Bonda women has been a matter of speculation among scholars. While various myths surround this strange practice in the highlands, local historical studies persuade me to believe that this was the result of a vow women had undertaken as a symbol of support to their exiled queen (Mishra, 1977 : 77). The ritual planting of sago palm trees presently practiced in the highlands must also date back to this period of preparation of the army. Among the warriors the high consumption of alcoholic drink is well known and is still practiced among the rank and file of modern armed forces in the country. The regular consumption of palm wine among highlanders must have originated at a time when alcohol was considered essential to keep the elan of this warrior tribe high. A certain degree of accepted drunkenness and related perfection in the art of traditional warfare still brings social recognition in the highlands.

It is therefore quite evident that the highlanders once upon a time formed a warrior tribe. At Chitrakote, however, Madhurantak had established his own kingdom. But in his attempts to expand his kingdom he had run into problems with neighbouring kings. The resulting conflicts between Madhurantak and his neighbouring Hindu kingdoms were exploited by Bondi Mahadei. With the able assistance of her own warrior tribe, she had declared

war against Madhurantak.

According to the stone engravings at Kuraspalli, it is known that Someswar was able to recover his father's lost kingdom of Chitrakote in 1074 A.D. and Madhurantak lost his life in the resulting war. Bonda warriors were also able to help Someswar and Bondi Mahadei in re-establishing Chitrakote as a Chindak naga kingdom. This victory of Someswar is still celebrated in the highlands as "Some-Gerilok" during Chiatra Parab. Someswar and Bondi Mahadei later encouraged and returned the Bonda tribe to the Bonda highlands, which had already provided a shelter to them during their exile from Chitrakote. In the highlands the erstwhile warriors lived as cultivators and with the eventual fall of Chindaknaga rule at Chitrakote in 1224 A.D. (death of Someswar), the traditional link of highlanders with the central Indian kingdom at Bastar slowly declined (Mishra, 1977 : 30).

This backdrop provides a useful account of the past which still surfaces in the ritualised practices in the highlands. Many of these ritualised practices are unique to the Bonda tribe and, often enough, neighbouring tribes and caste Hindus do not share these activities with the highlanders. This is because the Bonda do not originally belong to the eastern mountain range of Orissa. Their links are with those of Bastar and the original Chindaknaga tribe of peninsular India. Apart from the ritual activities which are rooted in the past, many social practices are however the product of the subsequent years the highlanders have lived through as a tribe

and shared with the neighbouring tribes. One of the significant watershedsin the history of the remote highlands is the advent of colonialism and its social consequences. In order to understand the subsequent changes, it is important to outline the impact of colonialism.

(iv) Colonialism and Consequences

The broad political configuration of central states, and the tribal hinterlands around them, remained qualitatively unchanged until the beginning of the nineteenth century. By the year 1803 A.D., increasing numbers of highland kingdoms had entered into treaties with the British colonial administration. The annual revenue of Jeypore kingdom, of which the Bonda highlands had become a part, was fixed at twenty five thousand rupees. As a part of its broader political strategy, colonial administration had carved out its own spheres of influence. This resulted in a slow and steady decline of political and economic autonomy previously granted to the nuclear areas under the erstwhile kingdoms. A visible aspect of this change of political atmosphere was the opening up of police stations and revenue offices, which were set up to facilitate the smooth functioning of the new administration. In many remote areas, judiciary courts known as agency courts were also built. For administrative convenience, the highlands were divided into three agencies: Sabar agency, Oriya agency and Rambha agency. The administrative headquarters of the highlands were located at Vizagapatnam. Thus, in the highlands of Orissa, British administration

had already started to exert political influence on local Rajas and the internal affairs of their states.

To understand the political impact of colonialism and its social consequences, there is a need to focus attention on the nature of British colonialism in India. Some scholars have even suggested that Colonialism is a distinct mode of production that cannot be grasped within feudal or capitalist modes of production (Banaji, 1972). An inherent problem with the thesis of colonial mode of production is that it confuses levels of determination of a theoretical concept with those of an existing social formation (Alavi, 1980 : 365). At the same time, the different social relations of pre-colonial societies, many forms of colonial hegemony, subsequent social movements to establish counter hegemony, and resulting national liberation struggles, have given rise to radically different colonial formations in different parts of the world. Moreover, the structure of industrial development in the country which colonises, also determines to a large extent the mode of colonial exploitation. The social complexity of colonialism creates additional problems for identifying the exploited and the exploiting classes, in that the working class of the colonising country does not share the relations of production with the colonised people. It is therefore important to acknowledge the state and status of colonialism as a distinct social formation.

The history of British rule in India resembles neither that of the French in Algeria (Fanon, 1967),

nor that of the Spanish and Portuguese in Latin America (Furtado, 1970). In contradistinction to French and Spanish styles of colonial subjugation, British rule in India very rarely, and then only over small territories, exercised authority by direct and unmediated political and economic force. While it is true that modern administrative and judicial institutions were inaugurated by the Raj, the strongest element in the social control over a vast country like India was the capacity of British colonialism to mobilise all possible local forces to its own economic advantage (Stoke, 1973).

Britain witnessed the first industrial revolution and later it spread to other countries in Europe. Although India was in direct economic link with Britain for two hundred years, there was no industrial revolution in India whatsoever. Paradoxically, whatever industrial growth did take place occurred during times when the link between the two countries was weak, such as during the World Wars and the great depression. During these periods of crisis, ship loads of British manufactured goods failed to reach India. The Indian domestic market was available to indigenous industry during these periods of crisis. Thus, punctuated by stagnation, short-term periodic growth did take place. This experience of colonialism forced India to become a participant in the industrialisation of Britain and to that extent brought it into the process of industrialisation in a manner specific to the colonial situation (Chandra, 1970).

Such a process of development in many third world countries has been called the process of "development

of underdevelopment" (Frank, 1967). Historical studies of social formation in pre-British India (Habib, 1963) has lent support to this particular view that certain potentials of indigenous capitalist development were only arrested due to the invasion of British manufactured goods. At the same time, the colonial expropriation of surplus, through taxes and mobilisation of raw materials from India, affected the base of indigenous industry. Thus, in building a capitalist production system, British rule partially retarded the growth of an indigenous Indian economy. Within a nationalist framework, it was precisely the internalisation of this line of argument which formed the basis of the critique of the Raj by what came to be known as the early Indian school of political economy during the turn of the last century. Indian capitalists, as well as the western educated intelligentsia, developed an economic critique of British rule. These early nationalists pleaded for the protection of nascent Indian industry. Such a view of colonialism remained committed to the philosophy of industrial capitalism. The Indian National Congress, which was later to provide the political leadership to the freedom struggle, in spite of the broad spectrum of political ideologies within its ranks, was simply the political expression of the philosophy of the early nationalists (Chandra, 1966).

This broad process of "development of underdevelopment" must, however, be seen in the context of the overall changes brought about by colonialism. The colonial regime instituted changes that eventually led to the dissolution of the feudal structures, at least in respect of the

separation of the producer from the means of production, by introducing the legal structures of private ownership. But the character of generalised commodity production, which forms the basis of capitalist development, was very different in colonial social formation from that of the structure of metropolitan capitalism.

The feudal mode of production was dissolved and there is no basis on which we can justify designations of relations of production in agriculture, that resulted from the colonial transformation, any more as feudal. The resulting social relations of production in agriculture were founded on a "formal subsumption" under capital although not yet a "real subsumption" under capital.

(Alavi, 1980 : 392)

Such a transformation from the feudal mode of production does not however imply a fundamental modification in the real nature of the labour process, the actual process of production. It was such a process of change at a general level which Marx had termed as the "formal subsumption" under capital (Marx, 1976 : 1021). Colonialism thus subsumed the labour process as it found it, that is to say, it took over an existing labour process, developed by different and more archaic modes of production.

There was also a progressive dissolution of village self-sufficiency. This occurred in two ways. On the one hand village domestic manufactures declined, and peasants devoted themselves exclusively to agriculture which was now drawn more and more into the national, and indeed the international, market. The peasant economy itself was based on self-sufficiency, both with regard to non-agricultural goods as well as agricultural produce

that the peasant needed to support himself and his family.

One by one village "manufacturers" gave way to purchase of factory made goods that were imported into India and later, with the development of indigenous capitalist industrial production, those which were locally produced. To purchase these goods, which the peasant community now no longer made locally, the peasant had to produce agricultural commodities for the colonial market, to raise cash for the purpose; he was subject now to "unequal exchange" (Alavi, 1980 : 392). He produced cash crops - and now not just for payment of land revenue, but also to buy goods. Secondly, there was a concomitant specialisation in the production of agricultural crops. Some regions, which were specially suited for the purpose, turned to an increased proportion of production of non-food cash crops, whereas other regions began to produce increasing amounts of food crops for sale in these other regions and not merely for the peasants' own consumption. Thus, overall, there was a progressive movement towards generalised commodity production in the rural economy.

The growth of commodity production created an uneven development in India. While some regions experienced the growth of cash crops and related changes in the market relations, others were progressively integrated as subsistence producing regions. There were, at the same time, the political and administrative pressures exerted by colonialism. In a later part of my thesis, I will discuss the far reaching consequences of colonialism and the consequent continuity of many colonial administrative imperatives.

on the lives of peasants in general, and the Bonda producers in particular. But now I will return to the available colonial reports that provide a broad picture of the Bonda producers during the second half of the nineteenth century.

(v) First Surveyor in Bonda Highlands

In his fieldnotes of 1871, a surveyor of the colonial administration, engaged in topographical survey of the difficult terrains of Koraput referred to the Bonda as a "primitive tribe" whose marriage ceremony, costume of the women and religious practices were "peculiar" (May, 1873). In the colonial ethnography of the period the word "tribe" referred to

a collection of families or groups of families bearing a common name which as a rule does not denote any specific occupation: generally claiming common descent from a mythical or historical ancestor and occasionally from an animal, but in some parts of the country held together rather by obligations of blood feud than by the tradition of kinship; usually speaking the same language and occupying, professing or claiming to occupy a definite tract of the country.

(Risley, 1915 : 62)

Based on the works of Max Muller, it was widely believed that from the most ancient times, there were more or less two distinct races in the Indian peninsular. They were the Aryan settlers and the aborigines or Nishadas, which was the oldest name given to the aborigines by

the settlers. It was naively accepted that the non-Aryan aborigines who occupied the peninsular before the coming of the Aryans were dispersed by the new settlers into the hill tracts. As I have already suggested, such an assumption was historically incorrect, it being far more complex than the simplistic assumptions of the nineteenth century ethnographers. At least, in the case of the Bonda highlanders the political and historical forces which contributed to their seclusion in the highlands do not confirm the assumptions about Aryan settlers.

From the surveyor's report it is quite evident that the Bonda led an independent existence in the highlands as a single homogeneous community. Thus, no section of Bonda ever claimed, or associated with, any one specific occupation. The socio-economic conditions in the highlands during the early part of the nineteenth century were particularly favourable to the persistence of a subsistence economy. Each narrow valley with terrace cultivation on the adjoining slopes supported a small number of families, depending upon their own labour for all the necessities, and most of the luxuries, of life. There was a certain sense of territoriality among Bonda who occupied distinct tracts exclusively for themselves. Their agricultural produce was limited to certain types of pulses and millets, among which Suan was their staple food. According to the surveyor, rice was grown in the beds of small streams which were terraced. This suggests that the highlanders knew the art of growing rice in wetland which involved complex process of production. These processes included the transplantation of rice seedlings from beds of nurseries

to wetland. This was clearly an improved technique in agriculture. Thus it is misleading to think of the Bonda as a "primitive" tribe.

In the "thinly populated" highlands game was "plentiful" (May, 1873 : 236), so hunting was an important activity. Agricultural production was supplemented by hunting and various other associated activities relating to a forest economy. Their major activity was shifting cultivation on the hill slopes. Harvesting millets and pulses on the hill slopes, through shifting cultivation, continues to this day. For the most part of the nineteenth century, like other tribes of peninsular India, Bonda highlanders lived under conditions that were indeed "ideal" for an "affluent" existence. "Few people in India enjoy a happier life than the residents of some of these valleys" (Crooke, 1857 : 37). From the surveyor's report it is evident that such an economy produced "surplus" products and "time". The practice of an elaborate "fiesta" frequently organised during the course of the agricultural calendar, the various religious ceremonies that consisted of "offerings to nameless deities" and to the "memory of the deceased relations" (May, 1871 : 237), implies the abundance of material wealth far outstripping their needs and desires. The occurrence of these "fiestas" suggests that the community as a whole produced enough "leisure" and "surplus". Thus the days of hunting, gathering and farming were eagerly awaited by feasts and festivals when food and drinks were abundant "till its intoxicating effects thoroughly roused their pugnacity". The surveyor, J.A. May, referred to the grand yearly festival where "the process of cudgelling

one another with the branches of sallop tree" was common without the slightest regard for individual feelings resembling, what he called, "a host of maniacs suddenly set at liberty". On these occasions every kind of communal intercourse flourished, often obliterating the joy of the festival. Interestingly, he notes that "this amusement is continued till bruises, contusions and bleeding heads and backs have reduced them to a comparatively sober state, and I imagine, old scores paid off". Thus, it is not surprising that May considered Bonda highlanders as "peculiar". But, as we have already indicated, these practices in the highlands reflected the warrior past of the highlanders.

There were other aspects in the highlands which were sufficient to raise the curiosity of the alien surveyor. The community festivals were important to the young men and women. From the available descriptions of social intercourse, it is clear that the sexual cycle of the year turned on these community festivals, where young highlanders made their selection "each holding the young lady of his choice by the fore finger". The Bonda women were different from the women of the other tribes due to the scantiness of their attire, which consisted of just a piece of cloth, either made of bark from a tree or handwoven by themselves, sufficient to cover a part of one hip only. Reminiscent of the first European encounter with native aborigines, May describes the stampede of women all hurrying to their dwellings while "endeavouring to shift this rag round to the part most likely to be exposed".

The presence of the surveyor in the hills is in itself indicative of the slow and steady breakdown of the insularity of the highlands in Koraput which followed the process of colonisation. It was an integral part of colonisation to open up new channels of communication. This increased interaction between tribals and non-tribals. The volume of trade increased and the traders profited from their contact with the highlanders. In other parts of Koraput, non-tribal immigration into the interior increased. During the early stage of immigration, the new settlers were traders, who later bought land and thereby gained the stamp of citizenship in the highlands. In the district of Koraput, the Hindu traders, whose means of livelihood was solely dependant on peddling goods, were locally known as Brinjari. The Brinjari brought from the plains various goods that were exchanged with forest products and other kinds of highland produce. Such coastal products as salt, dried fish, coconuts and spices were bartered for large amounts of millet, pulses, oil seeds and other valuable forest products. The poor state of roads made necessary a multitude of local markets known as Hauts at which the exchange of products between the primary producers of the highlands and the middle men Hindus took place. At such hauts, the Brinjari made their bargains and bartered profitably with the tribals. It is through these hauts that the town-based crafts penetrated the highlands.

Thus the advance of the commercial frontier into a relatively simple, self-sufficient tribal economy was inaugurated by British colonialism. The steady decline

of the self-sufficiency of tribal producers increased the dependence of the tribals on the non-tribals. These non-tribal men and women who were peddlers in the highlands considered themselves "higher" in social status than the highland dwellers. This group of "higher" status Hindu men and women found an intermediary place between the production and consumption in the highlands. The production of goods in tribal areas was restricted little by little to one kind of work in which tribals became dependent on selling, on the buyer, the traders, and ultimately produced for and through them. In years of bad harvest and during months of scarcity, the prices of grain were extraordinarily high and the tribals faced hardships in covering their requirements of subsistence. This resulted in widespread tribal indebtedness in the highlands. Thus money lending and extension of consumption loans in grains by traders and Hindu money lenders flourished at exorbitant rates of interest. The following table shows the pattern of price rises in the district of Koraput during 1863-65.

BAZAAR PRICES IN 1863-65

Grain and other produce	No. of Madras Seers (1 seer = 1½ Kg. approx) for one rupee in	
	1863	1865
Chaula (Rice)	36	12
Gahama (Wheat)	30	16
Kulti (Horse grain)	42	16
Beerī (green grain)	42	14
Moong (Bengal grain)	36	16
Mandia (finger millet)	60	20
Sooriseo (Mustard seed)	36	16
Tulla (Cotton)	4	4
Haladi (Turmeric)	16	20
Dhuan (Tobacco)	10	15
Lurua (Salt)	12	10
Ragga (Chillies)	24	32
Mohon (Wax)	3½	4
Jora (Castor oil)	6	8

(Carmichael, District Gazetteer, 1869
Appendix A, B)

It is evident from the pattern of price rise that prices of the food products from the plains increased many fold (such as wheat, rice and grain) compared to that of highland products (such as turmeric, tobacco, wax and castor oil).

Until the middle of the nineteenth century cash transactions were entirely unknown in the highlands of Koraput. The value of all property was estimated in "lives of cattle" or sea shells, locally known as Cowrie. Soon the district gazetteer was to report, "Cowrie shells are going out of use in the country now, though two years ago people would take nothing else" (Carmichael, 1869.: 111). In the highlands, even under these new conditions, colonial administration had introduced the need for cash through the indirect revenue collection. The new administration was known to have interfered with local affairs, even when it exercised its own kind of indirect hegemony. Through the traditional rulers of Jeypore, Hindu chiefs were appointed in the interior areas. In many areas, the chiefs thus appointed were known locally as patro. A cluster of tribal villages were administratively put under a patro. Every tribal household paid the patro a couple of rupees annually and regular amounts of grain.

The occasional visiting officials of the colonial administration stayed at the village of the patro. The absentee administrators, the mediation of Hindu chiefs, and the emergence of the complex grid of revenue collection meant that the highland people, in the mass, did not confront the rulers, nor were the colonial administrators seen in any direct sense as responsible for their conditions

of life. Thus, more often than not, colonial administration was withdrawn from the polarities of social antagonism. When the price of food rose, the tribal rage fell not on the colonial administration but on the Hindu middlemen. Even when the colonial administration made enormous profits from the export trade, and Jeypore was an integral part of the trade nexus in Madras Presidency, colonialism was rarely seen in direct exploitative relation to the highland people. Rather, through the "protective" legislations, and "concern" for the tribal people against the tyranny of the local and traditional chiefs, colonialism preserved its image as an arbitrator, a mediator or even protector of the highland people. The report of a senior administrator at Koraput in 1865 presents a paternalist attitude.

The hill chiefs are quite competent to keep down crime in their own estates if they choose, and to deliver the criminals over to the Magistracy; but besides being open to bribery and other influences, they are very often themselves the offenders, and so great is the prestige of their authority, that they may offend with perfect impunity. Nobody in the hills would venture to lay a complaint against his feudal superior, without the actual location of the police in the neighbourhood. It is this alone, with the repeated tours of the european officers of the district, that leads to the detection of heinous crime, in these wild and distant localities.

(Carmichael, 1869 : 108)

It is not clear from the available reports what the nature, intentions and incidence of these "crimes" in the highlands were: it is, however, important to mention here that the contextual meaning of "crime" as colonial administration viewed it differed from the way

popular culture of the highlands viewed criminality. At the same time the customary corrective prerogatives were different from those of the colonial magistracy. More importantly, there were "good" or "bad" criminals in the highlands from the point of view of the highlanders. As we will soon discover, the rebels in the highlands who openly resisted the colonial administration, and the Hindu chiefs, were also taken prisoner as criminals. In the highlands, those tribes which were to the forefront of tribal movements were referred to, in the administrative reports, as "criminal tribes".

(vi) Tribal Movement in the Highlands

The style of British colonialism, as I have already mentioned, was more subtle than either Spanish or French colonialisms. Such a colonialism was withdrawn from the immediate polarities of social antagonisms. It is perhaps the nature of British rule in India which accounted for the sporadic uprisings which remained isolated and fragmented during the nineteenth century. In this respect, the role of the Indian National Congress in bringing the peasantry under a single banner of anti-colonialism, leading to the freedom movement, must be seen as a major political achievement.

Modern Indian history has, however, magnified this role of the national leadership and National Congress in the struggles against British rule. In recent historical research, a panoramic view of tribal and peasant struggles

is now beginning to emerge (Desai, 1979 : xi). In spite of the low visibility of colonial rule and its image of "protector" of tribal people, many struggles at local level were initiated by tribals "to safeguard their honour, to protect their cherished freedom, and to get redress against the moneylender, the Zamindar, and other parasitic landholders, who tried to deprive them of all they had" (Raghavaiah, 1979 : 12). Although many of these movements are little known and very rarely written about, their significance cannot be exaggerated.

Among the various tribal movements, the best known are the Tamar movement in Bihar (1801), Bhil movement in Gujarat (1809), Ganganarian Hangama among the Bhumij (1832), Santal movement in Bihar (1855), Bisra Munda uprising (1895) and the Bastar tribal movement (1911) (Raghavaiah, 1979 : 23 ; Mohapatra, 1973 : 399). To this scenario of tribal movements, the highlands of eastern India added their own share. The evidence now available suggests that many Bonda highlanders participated in a revolt in the 1890's (Mishra, 1977 : 45). This particular revolt came to be known as the Tamman Dora revolt, named after Tamman Dora who provided leadership during the initial phases of this revolt, which later spread far and wide. There are now many Bonda households which carry the title of Dora and who trace their kinship affiliations to neighbouring tribes of eastern India. The following brief outline of the revolt is based on an important local source (Mishra, 1977), one among many pieces of local lore surrounding the revolt.

After an unsuccessful revolt against British troops at Malkangiri in 1880, Chingudu Dora, a trusted general of Tamman Dora, was taken prisoner. On his escape in 1890, he reorganised a powerful tribal army with the help of other dissatisfied local tribal chiefs. The suppressed tribals, who were clamped down by British troops at Malkangiri, were once again reunited. These rebels had no arms with them, so police stations in the local area were obvious targets.

Along with Chinguda Dora, Bala Dora of Legrai Mutha and Muki Dora of Koya Mutha turned against the colonial administration. With the help of local tribal people these chiefs increased rioting around police stations and administrative offices. Due to the lack of proper coordination, the activities of the highlanders remained isolated and unconnected. In different parts of the highlands, the supporters of the administration - the local patro and Zamindars - were physically attacked by the rebel men. The property of their victims was confiscated by the rebel council. These initial guerrilla attacks on institutions and propertied individuals provided material and moral strength to the rebels. This early success encouraged dreams of overthrowing alien settlers in the highlands, among whom the British colonialists were considered as prime targets. Available police evidence suggests that on the 23rd May 1891, Chingudu Dora's rebel men attacked the police station at Khrushna Daru Peta and killed many police constables. A substantial supply of guns and arms were taken by the rebels, and the police station was set on fire. This successful attack on the police

station brought the rebels local popularity.

The crucial moment came later. Early in the same year, in a village named Ghasaba, the headman's pregnant wife, who was later known as Khora Parbati, claimed to have had a vision. Khora Parbati claimed that Krishna, the god of creation, took reincarnation in her newly born son. A section of tribal highlanders had accepted the Vaishyamba religion which grew up in 500 A.D. in India as a process of hinduization. According to a local legend, Krishna had made a journey through the highlands to Bidyapur. During the divine visit, all the local highlanders garlanded Krishna who was overwhelmed by the devotion of the highlanders and accepted them as devotees of Baishyamba Dharma. Some sections of tribal people in eastern India still introduce themselves as Baishyamba. There was a deep felt belief among Baishyamba that when the world faced destruction, Krishna himself took rebirth and saved the world from the evils of destruction. According to the expectant mother of Ghasaba village, the time for Krishna's arrival had come.

This period was significant, for it was one of the difficult periods in highland history. There had been successive bad harvests resulting in increasing prices of food grains. Furthermore, the British administration had come down heavily on what had already led to accusations of subversive activities. Most of the neighbouring kingdoms were already a part of the ever expanding colonial administration. The price of heavy taxation was paid by producers whose conditions of production were deteriorating steadily.

Nothing would have provided a better climate for a spiritual reincarnation of Krishna!

With the birth of the newly-born boy at Ghasaba village, the village turned into a pilgrim centre for highlanders. The couple who proclaimed that their son was Krishna, themselves came to be known in the highlands as the divine couple. Every village in the hills accepted the moral leadership of the divine couple, since the son was too young to communicate verbally. Khora Parbati herself was regarded as the mother earth. Her every wish was taken to be a divine command. The highlanders accepted her religious and political leadership.

Now the declared war against the British administration received a religious sanction. Khora Parbati announced that it was the divine wish of her newly-born son that the British administration should leave the highlands. In order to achieve this, and thereby liberate the highlanders, Khora Parbati urged all men and women to confront the armed policemen. With the blessings of god it was believed that every bamboo pole held in the hand and pointed at British troops would turn into a gun. Such a belief spread far and wide.

These developments caused deep concern among colonial administrators. Under the leadership of Captain C.B.M. Pilley, troops were mobilised to suppress the militant local cult in the highlands. Panchipentha was the headquarters of Captain Pilley and thus became a target for the rebels. After many postponements for various reasons, Khora Parbati

descended from the mountains with her divine son and her husband in the year 1900. Highland men and women flocked to her with the bamboo poles to confront the enemy. A crowd of 20,000 gathered; some to watch, some to support and others to fight the British troops (Mishra, 1977 : 48). It was clear that in the minds of the highland the Republic of God was to be set up with the help of the potential guns in the disguise of bamboo poles. On leaving Ghasaba village, the militia of the holy god confronted a few police constables. These constables were instantly killed and this provided great moral encouragement for the crowd to march towards Panchipentha.

Although Captain Pilley was taken by surprise, he had prepared the troops to face the large crowd. The troops opened fire on the crowd and there were many casualties, including Khora Parbati's husband. The crowd scattered into the nearby forest. Khora Parbati herself managed to escape into the forest with her son and a group of rebels.

From the events that were to follow, it was clear that the rebels had not entirely given up. The following years witnessed determined reorganisation by rebels in the bush. Subsequently British troops were subjected to guerrilla attacks from the rebels. The rebels received renewed assistance from local Hindu kings and tribal chiefs. Bala Dora, one of the well-known guerrilla leaders was taken prisoner and later released in 1914, thanks to influential local supporters. Soon after his release, the rebels once again mounted offensive attacks. Every

suspected supporter of the British administration was slaughtered. In 1915 the guerrillas attacked the local police station at Malkangiri and released two prisoners. The guerrillas derived their social support from the ever-spreading discontent with the British administration. With the death of Khora Parbati and her son in a subsequent confrontation with British troops, and the loss of many guerrillas, the prospects of further reorganisation were ruled out. The religious ferment among the highlanders declined in the coming years.

One obvious question such an event raises is: was it a religious ferment, or a form of social revolutionism? Such a question, in any case, is difficult to answer. In the kind of highland community which produced this millenarian heresy, clear distinctions between religious and secular domains cannot be drawn (Hobsbawm, 1959 : 66). To argue about whether such a movement is religious or social is, in a sense, meaningless, for it will automatically and always be both in some manner. At the same time, however, the role of religion and the complexity of religious overtones in many latterday social movements still continues to puzzle scholars. Recent developments in Poland, China and parts of Latin America clearly suggest the renewed role of religion and institutions, such as the Catholic Church, in the rise and growth of socialist movements. Such a problem is by no means specific to the millenarian movements alone.

It is important to note here that the above movement shares many common elements with the whole array of tribal

movements in India that I have already referred to. In one way, however, this direct confrontation with the British administration was a later development, and early tribal movements as late as the mid-nineteenth century were exclusively anti-landlord in character. Among the Munda and Oran tribes of Chota Nagpur for example, there had been anti-landlord rebellions since the early part of the nineteenth century. In this part of India, christian missions arrived around the mid-nineteenth century, and people flocked to join them in order to gather new strength to offer fresh resistance to the aggressiveness of their alien landlords. Finally, in 1881, they developed an independent millenarian movement, "the Children of Mael", and in 1895 the Bisarite movement which ended in violent clashes with police and government (Worsley, 1968 : 251). This was an illustration of the injection of christian apocalyptic ideas into a region seething with discontent, and the selection of elements most congenial to the people to form new cults.

The central element in these apocalyptic religious beliefs was a messiah who was believed to establish the kingdom of god on earth. The Messiah, however, has not been the only messiah. The millenarian vision of the Melanesian movements included the vision of some culture-hero, or of the Devil, or even of a "multiple" messiah such as the spirits of the dead (Worsley, 1968 : 250).

Hinduism, that major cyclical world religion, according to Worsley, is remarkably free from millenarist sects.

There are nevertheless significant exceptions among tribal people who often interpreted cyclical beliefs in Hinduism

and other religions in millenarian terms.

What are the salient features of these millenarian movements? First, the people who anticipate the coming of the millennium in the near future and set about preparing for this event find support at all levels of their society at one time or another. These people feel themselves to be oppressed and long for deliverance. Thus it is not surprising that such movements are widespread among populations of colonial countries -- especially discontented tribals and peasants (Worsley, 1968 : 240). Secondly, in all such movements the leader evokes implicit faith and obedience from his followers. This is an indispensable condition for organising the people. This absolute obedience and devotion to the cause are demanded because the leader is convinced of either his or her superhuman dignity, or of the divine guidance and inspiration which he or she receives. Opposition to his or her utterances and decisions is consequently regarded as blasphemy (Fuchs, 1979 : 33). Thirdly, such cults occur among people divided into small, separate, narrow and isolated social units: the village, the clan, the tribe, the people of a valley, etc (Worsley, 1968 : 241). According to Worsley, in their expression of reaction against what is felt as a common oppression by another class or nationality through millenarian movements a significant role of integration is performed. It is important to note here that these movements are often the first and significant stirrings of nationalism. As nationalist developments take place, these movements progressively grow out of the aegis of millenarian cults. Thus, such movements form an important

background for historians of modern nationalism and related political movements.

Judged by the slogans, goals and images of these movements, the tribal behaviour in the hinterlands of India may easily seem "tribal-like". No doubt, if we insist upon looking at these tribal uprisings through the lenses of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century urban movements we will see only the immature, the pre-political, the infancy of class struggle (Thompson, 1978b : 148); and from one aspect this is not untrue. The tribal attitudes, the fleeting expression of solidarities, their millenarianism and related messianic cults which characterised these movements never allowed the tribals and peasants to pose a general challenge to colonialism on their own. It is, however, important to understand the complexity and polarity of forces, the context of their social situations and the nature of colonial hegemony before too much historical hindsight distracts us from seeing the tribals and their protests as they were.

The lack of a "written" history has created an atmosphere of timelessness in the social anthropology of tribal societies. It is not surprising that a large portion of existing literature emphasises the unchanging aspects of ritual behaviour within a somewhat static frame of reference. This has given rise to the ahistorical character of tribal studies. Yet another cause of such an ahistorical analysis is the lack of an interdisciplinary approach to the study of tribes. Related disciplines of social sciences must come together in order to provide

an holistic study of tribal social formations. . Such a study of the historical process must extend beyond that of colonialism to the pre-colonial times that account for many existing ritual practices. This requires a critical examination of not only the available oral traditions, but also the existing colonial ethnography. Such an historical reconstruction is significant in two ways. Firstly, it provides a possible dialogue with the past, in that the present and the future of tribal formations can be analysed in an historical perspective. Secondly, the accepted concepts and stereotypes commonly used in tribal studies, such as hinduization, tribalization and tribe-caste dichotomy, can be brought under re-examination. Such a re-examination must take into consideration the social history of not only the tribe, but also the broader society at large, in order to bring into focus the local forces at work.

CHAPTER III

Subsistence Production and Domestic Reproduction

in Bonda Society

Colonialism created uneven processes of development in various parts of India. In certain parts of the country, as I have already mentioned, agricultural production for exchange and cash cropping flourished. At the same time, however, in other areas excluded from major centres of trade and commerce, but articulated within the overall colonial economy, a system of subsistence production continued to exist. In the highlands of Orissa, the historical conditions of small, dispersed tribal populations using simple and traditional techniques, led to a system of production primarily for consumption. This chapter discusses the social organisation of household production for household consumption which characterises the existing subsistence economy of Bonda producers.

Subsistence production in Bonda society depends upon the production of major consumable goods. The qualitative nature of goods produced dominates the minds of the producers. Yet Bonda producers are acutely aware of the quantity of goods produced, so that the agricultural produce is sufficient to sustain the producers until the next harvest. It is the aim of satisfying all the needs rather than increasing the quantity of production which dominates the minds of the Bonda producers.

It is important to note that, although certain goods are sold or bartered at the local market, such exchange is subordinate to production for use. The Bonda producers not only exchange items in the local market, but also exchange products and labour among themselves. But such an exchange of goods and labour does not undermine the important character of their economy - self-sufficiency. Furthermore, production for use does not exclude producing a surplus. The production of a certain amount of surplus, I will later argue, is essential to subsistence production. This surplus produce, however, does not accumulate to increase the productivity of the economy. One "distinctive characteristic of self-sustaining systems is exactly their lack of growth through productive use of the surplus" (Gudeman, 1978a : 367).

The reproduction of the producers, with the exception of certain forms of slavery, is an important requirement of any system. But the strict reproduction of the system itself is the aim of subsistence economies only. The mechanisms by which this is accomplished are complex and articulated at many levels. Meillassoux (1972) demonstrates two levels of "reproduction" - physical reproduction through production of subsistence food and physiological reproduction through the exchange of women. The mechanisms of control over physical and physiological reproduction (subsistence and women) constitutes the central aspect of such a society. Although this does not, by any means, exhaust the complexity of subsistence societies, the way both levels of reproduction are articulated provides a useful understanding of individual social formations

and the inner dynamics of these formations. Before we analyse the levels of social reproduction, it is important to outline the material and technical processes of production and thus distinguish the various elements within these processes.

(i) Material and Technical Basis of Bonda Society

The means and techniques used in the highlands are traditional in that these aspects have remained, by and large, unchanged over many generations. But these processes cannot be viewed as totally static. Existing techniques are the products of experience spread over generations. Related information and skills have been passed on from previous generations and refined to suit the conditions of production. These skills, which are technically simpler than the more advanced technologies used by modern agricultural societies, cannot be seen in purely technical terms. While techniques may be traditional and simple, they may be well adapted to the social conditions of existence in the highlands.

At the same time, the simple techniques used in the process of production must be seen as an open system of production, providing the producers with a certain margin of choice and variety of alternative decisions to individual producers. Thus traditional techniques do not entail a total lack of choice. There are, nevertheless, limits to such individual options. There is therefore a wide variety of alternatives available to producers

to help make selections from within these options. Unlike advanced industrial technology, which is based on ever increasing productivity, the techniques of subsistence production are geared towards the needs of society. In this respect the content of techniques may seem unplanned and haphazard, but there is no denying that there is ample feedback from many years of experience relating to production.

Bonda producers are engaged in a wide array of activities all round the year. With respect to the social organisation which results from and sustains these activities, two different types of subsistence production can be conveniently distinguished in the highlands. Firstly, non-agricultural subsistence activities which include hunting, fishing, gathering useful food and forest products, handicrafts etc. Secondly, agricultural activities which are the major source of production of food grains. The association between non-agricultural and agricultural activities is widespread and varied. But their relative importance is to be judged not so much in terms of time spent, or amounts produced, as by the influence which either activity has on the social structure of the highlanders.

Subsistence activities have been analysed in the Gouro society by Terray (1972) in terms of various modes of cooperation. Terray distinguishes simple from complex modes of cooperation in Gouro economy. Hunting of large animals by traps and nets and cultivation through the division of labour in terms of gender roles are grouped under the heading complex mode of cooperation. These

activities are seen to be the product of complex organisations formed by a collectivity. Activities of simple cooperation, where all participants perform identical labour, is then divided into extended simple cooperation (community work) from restricted simple cooperation (team work). Restricted (team) cooperation which involves the mere multiplication of individual work is attributed to fishing, gathering, and animal husbandry. Extended community cooperation which is different in kind is seen to involve organisations that accomplish intermittent tasks such as preparing land, harvesting and constructing huts. These different forms of cooperation are seen to correspond to different production units. Terray then argues that these production units are "realised" in specific concrete social forms.

A major difficulty with such a theoretical procedure is the priority given to the immediate production process and not to the social process of reproduction (Frankenberg, 1977 : 188). Such a difficulty leads to further confusions at the superstructural level, namely between family and kinship on the one hand, and polity and lineage on the other, in Terray's analysis. Thus there is an inability to identify the key relations of production and reproduction. Thereby Terray "misses the opportunity to analyse, what Engels (and Morgan) might have suggested to him", the dominant relations of production in agriculture (Frankenberg, 1977 : 177).

In a cogent theoretical attempt to overcome earlier difficulties in marxist anthropology, Meillassoux (1981 : 27) argues that social organisations need to be distinguished

according to whether non-agricultural hunting and gathering or agriculture is dominant at the level of the larger associations. Meillassoux demonstrates that households tend to bond through "relations of adhesion" when non-agricultural subsistence production is the structuring factor, and by "relations of kinship" when agriculture dominates. This provides a useful theoretical distinction to relate the production activities in the Bonda highlands to their patrilineal clan structure.

(ii) Non-Agricultural Subsistence Production

Bonda are engaged in different branches of non-agricultural subsistence production, namely hunting, gathering of food and other forest products, fishing, animal husbandry and handicrafts. Among these activities hunting used to be an important source of subsistence. A few generations ago, the Bonda used to be expert hunters in an area where wild animals were plentiful:

Game is plentiful, as must be the case in a country so thinly populated. The bison, sambar, pig, axis or spotted deer, the ravine deer, bears and occasionally the wild buffalo, and tigers, roam at large and fearless of man, with whom they are so little acquainted. Peafowl and other wild fowl are abundant. The otter also is to be found, but only on the banks of the larger streams.

(May, 1873 : 238)

But today hunting is confined to ritual collective expeditions during festivals on specific "auspicious" days of the year. Groups of highlanders, equipped with bows

and arrows, search the forests but only to reinforce the fact that generations ago they were hunters. These expeditions are organised during the month of Chaitarke (March-April). The men of single villages together compose the hunting units. During these expeditions there is no denying that the life of the village revolves around the axis of this activity. There are no clearly defined hunting grounds belonging to individual villages. The village elders decide on the tracts to be covered during these expeditions. The meat from these expeditions is equally distributed among all the households of the village.

Apart from these ritual expeditions, the men spend a good deal of time catching birds, hares and rats. Bird-lime, made of the milky sap of the jackfruit, is used for catching little birds. Individual households prepare many kinds of trap to catch hares and rats. The highlanders do not use nets, and these activities are carried out by individuals when agricultural work does not require their labour. Fishing is restricted to the women and children. There are a few broad streams in the valleys where fish and crab are found. These play an important part in ritual and diet. They are not only eaten eagerly whenever found, but they are offered in the name of the dead at the first reaping of the new rice, on the threshing floor before the winnowed grain is taken to the house. Crabs and fish are also offered to the dead inside a house on most ritual occasions.

There are ceremonial drives for fish and crab during festivals, apart from fishing in which women engage themselves

from time to time throughout the year. Before women start, it is customary to spit on a little ash and throw it away, or to make a ring of date-palm leaves. They put it on the path, place a few thorns inside it and step over it as they go and return. When they catch their first fish, they spit on it and throw it back into the water. Fishing units comprise of the women and children of the village, who cooperate in the use of traps or nets. These traps may be of bamboo (tundor), which are set in a flowing stream, or baskets (gira) which the women use to sweep a pool chasing the fish into it or by a concerted drive across a pool. They may also dam up a stream and bale out the water, trapping the fish in the mud. These traps and nets belong to individual households and are all of a common pattern.

Domestic animals are a form of wealth for the Bonda. Individual households own cattle, goats and pigs for payment of bride-price, consumption at feasts and use in agriculture. Each household takes the responsibility of grazing the cattle of the entire village on communal ground. These fallow grounds are solely restricted to grazing and no crops or plants are grown. The responsibility is shared by all households on a rotation basis and the men from these households attend to the entire cattle herd of the village. Milking a cow is considered a sinful act. Only goats' milk, as I have already noted, is offered on ritual occasions. The highlanders rarely sell their animals except as an occasional contingency when selling an animal at the local market provides cash.

The production of handicrafts is geared to household needs. Simple techniques are used by individual households to produce their own useful necessities of life. The most significant role is played by women who weave their own clothes. It is taboo to wear anything more than the narrow strip of cloth around the groin, though women do use a cloth-sling to carry a baby on the back or hip. The clothes women wear are strictly handwoven and it is forbidden to make any variation on the skirt. These skirts used to be woven of yarn spun from the fibre derived from the stem of the deciduous shrub called Kerang (Elwin, 1950 : 66). Today, however, thread is used which is obtained by bartering grain at the local market. It is taboo to cut the shrub (Kerang) or bring the branches to a village at any time except during Hagharke (January-February) and Baisakhe (April-May). It is equally taboo to weave with new thread except during these times of the year, though old thread may apparently be used at any time.

The Bonda women use a very simple tension loom to weave their clothes and adapt the size of the loom to the modest lengths of cloth which are to be made on it. Such a loom does not require much investment of labour for its construction. Four stakes of specially cut wood, each some 30 inches long are driven into the ground, with the distance between the stakes varying with the size and style of the cloth to be made. This forms the basis for the frame of the loom.

Weaving itself is a very slow and tedious process.

It takes two or three days fairly continuous work to weave one of the coloured skirts, for the thread has to be broken repeatedly to make the changing pattern. The quality and finish of the woven cloth brings honour and recognition to the weaver.

The most important non-agricultural subsistence activity in the highlands involves the collection of food and other useful products from the forest. Throughout the year, men, women and children move in groups in the forests in search of available products. There is no clear division of labour so far as forest collection is concerned. Although men usually carry the heavy house-building materials from the forests, more often than not the arduous part of the collection is performed by women. Individual households carry the responsibility of collecting enough for their own consumption and for the storage of the collected materials.

There is an array of food products available from the tropical rain forest, including fruits, mushrooms, bamboo shoots, tender leaves of creepers and certain types of nuts. In the rainy season an adult can easily collect as many as 150 bamboo shoots, leaving the patches of bamboo forest in the hills to tail off. The ripe mango and jackfruit provide both fruit and the precious kernel. Large numbers of mixed kernels are dried over weeks and stored for the lean season of the year when they are powdered and boiled in water to provide gruel for the household. When cereal and grain are not plentiful,

yam and bamboo shoots supplement the usual diet.

The forest economy of the highlanders provides wood, bark, wild grass, honey, resin, arrowroot, tusser cocoon, lac and local varieties of weaving fibre. The local traders from the plains eagerly accept these valuable products from the highlanders. At the local market broom sticks are exchanged for grain or cereal during lean months. The collection of these products is, however, subordinate to agricultural activities which are demanding in terms of labour input. It will be evident that the agricultural calendar dominates all other activities.

(iii) Subsistence Agriculture

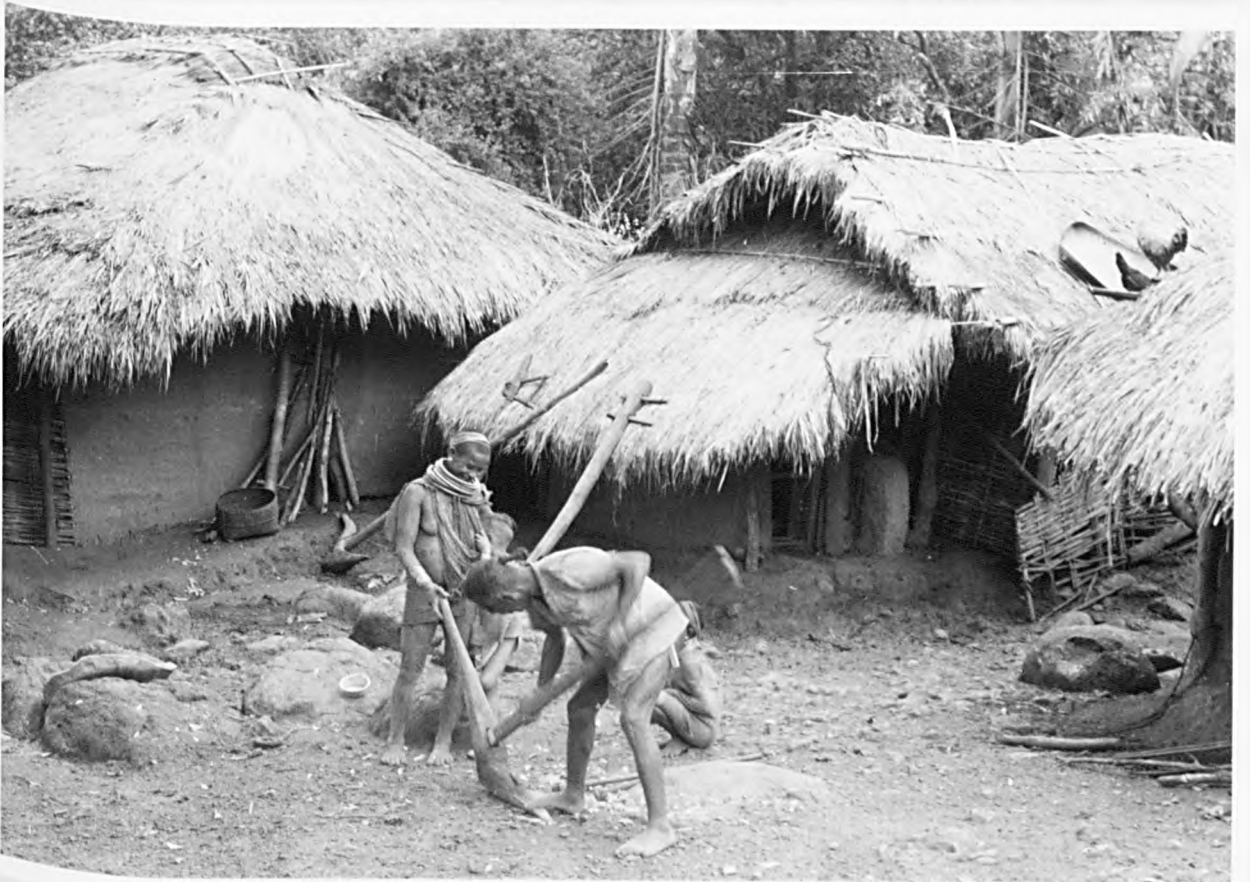
Conditions in the highlands make two major kinds of agriculture possible - axe cultivation on the steep slopes of the hills, and plough cultivation in wet and terraced valleys. The hill slopes where dry crops are grown through axe cultivation are known as Dangar. The terraced fields in the valleys used for wet-rice cultivation with a plough drawn by cattle is known as Bedha. Apart from Dangar and Bedha, however, there is a third type of fairly level ploughed field available on low land which is neither too dry for axe cultivation, nor wet enough for rice, and is referred to as Padu. This type of land involves mixed techniques, which may be seen as an intermediate type of cultivation using techniques of both Dangar and Bedhu cultivation.

The highlanders use mechanically simple and hand-made tools, made from raw materials collected from the forest or steel-tipped instruments bought at the local market. Each individual household makes its own instruments which require very little monetary outlay. The skills required to make these instruments are simple, and the highlanders keep a fair number of spares to hand. The low degree of monetary and labour input required to hand-fashion the tools also characterises the nature of subsistence agriculture.

The improved tools of the towns, which require initial investment and demand specialised skills, do not particularly appeal to the producers of the highlands. An obvious reason for this is the lack of resources available to individual households to invest in such tools of production. Also, and perhaps more importantly, the effectivity of the hand-made tools lies in the fact that the producers can make the tools themselves and replace them without depending on traders or the market to obtain new and worn out tools. The means of production in agriculture thus reflect the self-sufficient bias of the highland producers. Unlike the caste Hindus, there are no specialised castes among the Bonda highlanders. It is therefore not surprising that the village priest can be seen skillfully to carve out his own plough, or design his hatchet. It must be mentioned here that with the free supply of iron tipped and improved tools from the government sponsored development agency, interest and skill in making tools is somewhat dwindling.



(i) Bandiguda Villager carrying Jack-fruits



(ii) Kirsanipada Priest and his Wife making a Plough

(iv) Axe Cultivation

Depending upon the various types of hill slopes under cultivation, the highlanders design various sizes of axe and hoe. Both axe and digging hoe are extensively used to accomplish all the tasks relating to Dangar cultivation. The most common type of axe, tangia, is a flat and sharp steel blade fixed in the same plane to a wooden handle which is never more than two feet in length. The clearing of both dense forest and delicate undergrowth is performed with the tangia. The blade may sometimes be bent to perform other coarse agricultural work and to facilitate the cutting of wood.

The digging hoe is a broader blade fixed at right angles to a relatively longer handle to perform the heavy task of digging dry slopes. This is called a Kunda, and the act of digging is thus called Kunda chas. Along with the tangia and Kunda the highlanders carry with them a tumba - this is a jug to carry water, gruel or palm wine to the fields, made from a gourd that grows locally to a generous size. A round shaped gourd is carefully selected, emptied and then dried to make a tumba. This is also used in barter exchange as a convenient measure for selling wine and beer.

Axe cultivation may be conveniently divided into three successive phases - site selection, cutting and cropping. Site selection requires a system of information. In this form of production the workers constantly change the siting of their effort expenditure; indeed, failure

to do so results in diminished agricultural yields. However, in order that he may move continuously, the labourer must have information about work sites. The incessant movement of the worker in shifting agriculture poses a need to have and store information about the land. This type of agriculture makes information requirements an absolute necessity (Gudeman, 1979 : 229). From the available system of information, special attention is given to surface conditions, direction of wind, rain and sun, and the performance of cultivation on patches of the same hill slope in previous years. Such knowledge and information flows from generation to generation as well as horizontally between neighbouring producers.

Thus the actual site selection may precede the cutting of forest growth by many months, and often past experience decides on the dangar a highlander is likely to undertake for cutting. The official commencement for axe cultivation starts with cutting, which usually begins at the end of Pausa Parab (January-February). The clearance of virgin growth, cutting of wood for constructing fences and dwelling on dangar intensify during the early summer months.

The cut debris is spread to dry and before the coming of rains the dried debris is set on fire. Often fires are set at night, when it is cooler; always a man solicits the help of others. Sometimes the fire is set around the edge of the field in order that it peaks in the centre; at other times a fire is set on the side farthest from the wind, and then reset on the other side

to spread across the field. Since wind conditions, heat, thickness of cut debris, length of drying time and the availability of help all determine when a field is burned, there is often a lag between deciding to burn and burning. So what may sometimes appear as a momentary decision is, in fact, programmed far in advance; only the immediate timing is variable.

The fire is a quick and inexpensive means of removing the forest cover. Burning the fields, however, is not seen by the highlander as an alternative to making a cash outlay, rather, what it saves for them is the physical labour which would be needed to remove the debris. Burning is considered important for other reasons too. A folk belief is that the bigger and stronger the fire, the better the land for raising crops. The resulting fire, according to the highlanders, gives strength to the earth - and the ash is certainly a cheap form of fertiliser - thus, the bigger the fire, the better the land.

A good fire also tends to reduce the quantity of weeds which grow up. The size of the fire itself is a function of the amount of dried wood, which in turn is a consequence of how long the land has rested; and, of course, the longer the rest period, the more fertile the soil. Thus, the folk generalisation that fire gives strength to the land is actually a condensed statement summarising their ideas of fallowing, land fertility, and the amount of labour they anticipate will be needed to clear the weeds in the coming year.



(iii) Mudulipada Sarpanch on his Dangar Land



(iv) Primary Cutting of Forest Growth

Because of the demand for land, the period of fallow has considerably decreased. The years between successive cycles of cultivation when the land lies fallow determine to a large extent the capacity of the yield. This rest cycle depends upon an array of factors, amongst which the density of population per unit of land is an important variable. Although there is no systematic data available to estimate the rate of growth of population over the decades, it is clear that in the last century the usual cycle of rest periods stretched over decades (Elwin, 1950 ; 45). Today the maximum period a dangar is left fallow does not exceed five years, while the patch under cultivation is subsequently used for three continuous harvests. It is worth mentioning here that the resulting consequences of deforestation and erosion were the initiating factors for setting up a development agency in the highlands.

After burning, the field is given a quick cleaning. Stones and unburned logs are thrown to one side, but large stumps are allowed to remain. Unburnt shrubs may need to be cut or weeded. By the middle of July soil preparations are well under way. They often offer fish, crab or rice in the clearings to promote the fecundity of the seed. After preparing the land with a digging hoe, the highlanders broadcast mixed seeds of different types of millet including finger-millet, pearl millet and fox-tail millet. This is a traditional type of composite farming which ensures a certain success and guarantees a minimum yield in case of the failure of a certain variety of crop.

From a basket slung over the left arm, the seeds are scattered with a flick of the right wrist. After this sowing, the producers make up the earth with the hoes, of which there are many different sizes suited for this task. Once the broadcasting of the millet seeds is over, the highlanders proceed to plant cucumbers, gourds and castor plants around the cultivated land by dibbling holes in the ground with a stick and treading down the earth afterwards.

The time immediately following the seeding is the most delicate period, for the rains are unpredictable. Too heavy a rain, or alternatively prolonged dryness, will invariably either wash away or kill the seeds. Birds and wild animals may ravage a field. Not infrequently a person has to replant at least a section of a field; occasionally in low land the years' entire crop is washed out. In order to protect the broadcast seeds the highlanders launch a communal cooperation known as Goitang Odja. All the cattle of the entire village are brought together and the herd is then made to walk over and over the broadcast field. The resulting stamping of the seeds well below into the soil often helps to protect seeds from birds, animals and the heavy rains.

Effective weeding does not take place until the millet sprouts are well developed and clearly distinguishable from the other foliage which also grows. Weeding, it must be mentioned here, is predominantly done by women. Although men do help with the weeding of fields, it is by and large left to the children and women. The task

is backbreaking, for the weeder proceeds through the field, bent at the waist. With a wrist and arm movement she cuts the weeds with small strikes of a short knife. The weeds may be carried home for cattle and pigs, or may be left to dry where they fall. Women are thought to do a better job of what is referred to as "cleaning" the fields.

Directly after the first weeding is completed, or up to a month later, the second weeding is begun. This time the hands move faster, for the field has already been worked and is softer and there are fewer weeds. The field is only rarely given a third cleaning, which if necessary is more quickly achieved.

From the beginning of September, when the first varieties of millet ripen, the highlanders reap a small quantity every day, just enough for the day's food, threshing it with their feet on the floor, husking, cleaning, cooking and eating immediately. After that the main crops slowly mature, and the business of reaping begins.

Millet and rice are harvested by hand or by cutting the stalk with a small knife that is flattened at the base to form a handle. Some Bonda producers earn distinction by making a handle from a wild boar's tusk. This is said to bring a bumper harvest to the owner. No animals or carts are used to transport the crop. The harvest is carried as headloads in small baskets woven from bamboo. With the increasing availability of goods from the plains, hand-made baskets are being replaced by cheap town produced

baskets. So the art of weaving these baskets, and other types of useful products, is on the decline.

(v) Plough Cultivation

The plough is an improved tool and involves a different labour process to that of axe-cultivation, although the broad principles remain the same. Ploughed land, Bedha, is invariably softer and free of any forest growth to be cleared and burnt. In order that the land can be ploughed, it has to be levelled and nearly always cleaned of stones and stumps. The Bonda plough is a simpler version of the plough generally used in the plains in that the use of iron is confined to a narrow tiller at the bottom of the plough. The rest of the plough is skilfully carved out of wood.

The first ploughing begins on the irrigated fields and terraces before the rains. The streams are carefully utilized to irrigate the beds of numerous valleys for wet-rice cultivation. Every corner of the valley is used to create space for rice fields that lead from one into the other with drops of two to five feet. In some parts of the highlands excellent terracing can be seen; the wall of each terraced field is roughly riveted with stone and stands four to five feet high. The elaborate irrigation arrangements are carefully made; streams are taken across and around the fields, and the water may be carried over the drop by a gutter of hollowed bamboo.

The field is first flooded to a few inches and ploughed twice; it is then levelled by driving heavy wooden harrows over it to ensure a perfectly level surface. The highlanders use a wooden leveller worked by hand to remove any inequalities of surface round the edge of the field. They devote special care to the preparation of seed-beds, which they plough over and level several times. Both these tasks - ploughing and levelling - on bedha are done by adult males.

The subsequent tasks are predominantly done by women. The women clean seeds and then damp them with water for nearly a week. Then they are tipped out into a basket and covered with leaves, and from time to time sprinkled with warm water. After three days, the water is let out from the seed-bed and germinated seeds thrown forward into the damp soil. As the seedlings come up, water is gradually released into the seed-beds.

When the seedlings are sufficiently mature, women pull them up and carry them in bundles to the main fields, from which the water has previously been drained. Then the seedlings from the nurseries are transplanted into these fields. Just as weeding on dangar is a female job, transplantation of seedlings in bedha is predominantly done by women. Throughout the rainy season, the women suspend all other activities and preoccupy themselves with transplantation. It is only after transplantation is over that women resume the collection of bamboo shoots and other forest products. But transplantation is a slow and laborious process. As late as August some fields

can still be seen with women in long rows, singing melodiously, transplanting rice seedlings on terraced land.

Water is again let into the fields to a depth of two or three inches and is then adjusted from time to time so that the heads of growing stalks are just above the surface. Transplantation cuts down on labour required for weeding. Where weeding is required, water is first let out through the channels, and then the field is allowed to fill up again after weeding.

The highlanders do not usually cut the stalks low down, as in the case of farmers in the plains who use the valuable straw for fodder and thatching their huts. The rice stalks are usually cut or the ears broken off at the top. This means that the straw is usually left to dry in the fields. The harvesting of rice is timed according to the variety of seed. Help from fellow households is obtained to harvest the matured crop which if neglected soon dries up and loses grain from the stalk left in the fields. At the same time, however, grain that is reaped before full maturity may deteriorate in quality when stored over a long period of time. Thus wet-rice cultivation requires a rather rapid harvest at exactly the right time when the grains mature. Moving through the field, groups of highlanders cut the stalks and gather handfuls of stalk which are kept aside and then bound together in a bundle.

During the winter months, these bundles of harvested rice are transported to the house, left to dry for some

days and then grains are shaken from their stems and shelled. Some households take their harvests in bundles direct to the threshing floors, but they store the unthreshed harvest on raised platforms fenced in with grass walls, for this crop has to be gathered, although not necessarily threshed, before Pausa Parab can begin.

Thus, starting in the summer season, when the land is ploughed and levelled, through the rainy months when transplantation is carried out, until the harvest in winter the highlanders remain busy with cultivation. The related cycle of activities in dangar precedes the cycle of wet-rice cultivation by a month or two. Soon after the millet harvest, the cultivators engage in the rice crop. But the winter season is the busiest of all in that the agricultural yield is harvested, threshed and then stored with proper care. While the summer and rainy months are spent in agricultural as well as forest collection, during harvest and related activities agriculture is hectic and demanding. So during these winter months the highlanders refrain from all non-agricultural subsistence activities. Soon after the harvest, preparations for Pausa Parab are under way. The following chart summarises the Bonda calendar. (see p. 114)

This calendar of agricultural and non-agricultural activities reveals the complementary nature of cultivation and forest collection during the year. Between the subsequent harvests the highlanders devote much of their time to agricultural work, and subsistence during this unproductive period is obtained from forest collection and stored

BONDA CALENDAR

NAME OF SEASON	BONDA MONTH	ENGLISH MONTH	AGRICULTURAL ACTIVITIES		NON-AGRICULTURAL ACTIVITIES
			AXE CULTIVATION	PLOUGH CULTIVATION	
SUMMER	Hagharke Fagunharke Chaitarke	February-March March -April April -May	Site selection, Cutting, clearance of virgin growth Firing, Ash cover	Ploughing and levelling of land	Collection of forest products, fire wood from Dangar, Construction of houses and repair work Ritual Hunting
	Baisaskhe	May -June			
RAINY	Landi	June -July	Soil preparation, Broadcasting, Goitang Ojda Weeding	Preparing nurseries Transplantation	Collection of fruits, Kernels, mushrooms, bamboo shoots, fishing
	Asha Bondapona Osa	July -August August -Sept. Sept. -October			
WINTER	Dassera Diali	October -November November-December	Millet harvest Carrying yield	Rice Harvest Threshing FESTIVAL	No collection activity
	Pond Pausakhe	December-January January -February	PAUSA		

grain and cereal. Since forest collection is not sufficient to live on during this period, storage of food grain is an essential aspect of such an economy.

It is not surprising, therefore, that a large portion of the house is used for storage of grain and other non-perishable food products such as dried fish, kernels, etc. A Bonda house, which does not involve large investment of labour, is made of mud and thatched with grass and is invariable divided into two portions: one for use and the other for storage. In the space immediately below the roof the highlanders build a loft, entered by an aperture in the ceiling of the inner portion where food products are stored. While such reserves of food reflect the needs of a subsistence economy, it is also related to the "honour" of the household to keep enough for the whole year. Such reserves are always used methodically and are much easier to calculate in concrete commodities. The temptation to consume all at once is infinitely less. The stored grain is put in large baskets which are marked at different heights. When the level of the grain falls below a certain height, attention is given to cut down consumption. These calculations are clearly made in relation to the harvest calendar. Reserves of grain are important as they permit the measurement, at any time, of the amount used up and the amount remaining.

Grain is also preserved, along with salted fish and meat, in anticipation of feasts, weddings and other occasions. Such reserves are specially kept for the consumption by those invited, much more than for the

family itself. Thus reserves are also related to cultural requirements. The values of subsistence society are also expressed in these cultural spheres: for the traditional attitude in the highlands includes contempt towards anyone who is left destitute of reserves. Similar attitudes are widely prevalent in other cultural settings. Another good example of the ideology of subsistence society, and the related emphasis on food reserves, are to be found among Kabyle peasants (Bourdieu, 1964 : 69). In such a society, consumption loans are extended by wealthy households at high rates of interest so that grain borrowed any time during the year become twice as much at harvest.

Given the simple techniques of production, land as a means of production gains great significance in the highlands, and various terms are used to describe the different categories of land under cultivation. It must be mentioned here that, in themselves, the terms have no absolute meaning to the highlanders. These descriptive terms, such as dangar, pada and bedha, are meaningful only in relation to one another. Over the years, in fact, the meanings have undergone some changes. In the past, dangar referred to land which had rested ten to fifteen years. With the depletion of forest, however, no land is left to regenerate this long and the term dangar is now applied to fields which have rested but three to four years. The dangar, once cleared, is cultivated for a period of three successive years of use and then abandoned until the forest cover returns sufficiently for it to be regarded as dangar. Similarly, with the promotion of plough agriculture by government sponsored

extension agents, and the development of irrigation facilities on low land, the category pada is slowly giving way to the term bedha. Thus two major types of cultivable land, recognised in terms of axe and plough cultivation are beginning to replace the various categories. Land under axe cultivation is easily distinguished from that under plough cultivation in that the former alternates between periods of cultivation and rest, while the latter is never left fallow.

These two principles correspond to the differences between axe and plough cultivation. The initial investment on land to make it ploughable is very considerable. Reclaiming suitable portions of the valley for plough cultivation also involves the laborious digging of irrigation ditches in the fields, the lifting of water from wells and canals, and the construction as well as repair of terraces and bunds. These tasks are always done by men who cannot easily be persuaded to undertake them if alternative land for axe cultivation is available. This is the main difficulty which extension workers face in the highlands in their task of preserving the forests from the adverse effects of axe cultivation. Thus plough agriculture contrasts with shifting agriculture in that it incorporates larger amounts of accumulated labour. This puts greater stakes at risk, especially when the highlands are susceptible to the vagaries of nature. In the highlands there are few means of defence against total loss. This accounts for the preference for axe cultivation among the highlanders. There are other factors responsible for this widespread practice, which I will discuss later. It is necessary

to estimate here the relative amounts of land under these types of agriculture.

Villages, Households and Population

<u>Name of Village</u>	<u>No. of Households</u>	<u>Population</u>
1. Mudulipada	137	565
2. Dantipada	36	142
3. Sileiguda	21	81
4. Badapada	55	219
5. Tuseipada	19	78
6. Kirsanipada	55	218
7. Gokhorpada	20	74
8. Challanpada	17	65
9. Bandiguda	34	136
10. Baunspada	20	79
11. Pindajangar	51	201
12. Boraguda	25	98
13. Kichapada	33	128
14. Tulaguram	23	88
15. Goiguda	20	77
16. Bondapada	42	164
17. Ramliguda	30	118
18. Andrahal	142	540
19. Bodbel	65	242
20. Patraput	32	129
21. Sindhiguda	43	171
22. Dumuripada	64	245
23. Kattamguda	43	154

TOTAL:

1,027

4,012

Village-wise data showing different
categories of land in Hectares and number of cultivating Households

Sl. No.	Name of Village	Landowning Households	Wetland Bedha		Dryland Dangar + Pada		Homestead Land	
			Total	Average	Total	Average	Total	Average
1.	Mudulipada	131	16.899	0.129	25.807	0.197	2.358	0.018
2.	Badapada	52	6.916	0.133	9.568	0.184	0.832	0.016
3.	Kirsanipada	50	6.950	0.139	8.450	0.169	1.050	0.021
4.	Challanpada	16	1.568	0.098	4.368	0.273	0.240	0.015
5.	Bandiguda	32	4.416	0.138	6.816	0.213	0.768	0.024
6.	Kichapada	29	3.016	0.104	8.062	0.278	0.464	0.016
7.	Goiguda	18	2.232	0.124	3.402	0.189	0.414	0.023
8.	Bondapada	38	3.838	0.101	10.982	0.289	0.722	0.019
9.	Bodabel	61	7.747	0.127	10.492	0.172	1.342	0.022
10.	Sindhiguda	41	4.387	0.107	12.095	0.295	0.779	0.019

(Data collected during fieldwork with assistance from
Bonda Development Agency)

The second table shows the pattern of distribution of wet land in relation to dry land, which includes both dangar and pada. In this table, the data is presented according to the total land belonging to individual villages and then the average is worked out by dividing the total land by the number of land-owning households. The reason for this manner of working out the average is the difficulty of collecting the quantities of land ownership under individual households. Most anthropological fieldworkers have discovered how difficult it becomes to ask questions pertaining to landholdings wherever colonial administration imposed revenue collections. Even when such information is collected through questionnaires, the data puts accuracy at a total discount.

So in the highlands I decided to restrict myself to the calculation of tracts of land belonging to households in individual villages. This was easier to identify, as villagers cooperated with the staff of the Bonda Development Agency in measuring and identifying large tracts of land. Without their assistance such data would not be available. The available data (see both tables) suggests that 93% of the total households in a village are cultivating households. This leaves 7% of village households who depend on hired labour or non-agricultural subsistence. Out of the total cultivating households 43.55% depend exclusively on shifting cultivation, while the rest (56.45%) depend on both settled and shifting cultivation. Now the tables reveal that, on average, individual households possess 0.364 hectares of land including homestead land, out of which 0.120 hectares is wet land, 0.225 hectares

is dry land and 0.019 hectares is homestead land. In other words, the average amount of dry land under axe cultivation is twice that of the wet land on which the highlanders practise exclusive plough cultivation.

The tables also reveal the pattern of distribution. The villages with a relatively large amount of wet land cultivation tend to account for smaller than average quantity of land under axe cultivation. This is due to the fact that undertaking plough cultivation in the valley does not allow the simultaneous possibility of carrying out axe cultivation on the slopes, since labour and other input resources remain constant. This also reflects the fact that surplus from plough cultivation is not usually reinvested in cultivation at all. Villages with ploughed land, in fact, reduce their total of dry land. The reverse trend is also seen among villages with more than average dry land, who do not seem to possess the average amount of wet land. Thus, these villages with more than average dry land, invariably possess below than average wet land. These two trends, which are mutually complementary, suggest that there is a certain constant level of agricultural land holding and that there is no large variation in this subsistence level.

There is no doubt, however, that axe cultivation and plough cultivation demand different techniques and corresponding labour processes. These processes include the division of labour based on sex which corresponds to the individual types of cultivation. Since plough cultivation receives relatively greater patronage from



(v) Local Weekly Market at Mundiguda



(vi) Widows at Bandiguda

the extension agency, it is important to identify elements which undergo changes as households may shift from axe to plough cultivation.

(vi) Emerging Division of Labour in Agriculture

By its very nature, axe cultivation involves the cultivation of small pieces of land for a few years only, until the natural fertility of the soil diminishes. When crop yields decline, the field is abandoned and another plot is cleared for cultivation. In this type of agriculture it is necessary to prepare some new plots every one or two years for cultivation by felling trees and removing the undergrowth. This task of clearing the forest, which includes the arduous task of felling trees, is traditionally done by men. But most of the subsequent operations fall to the women: the removal and burning of felled trees; the sowing or planting under the ashes; the weeding of the crop; and the substantial part of harvesting and carrying in the crop for storing or immediate consumption. This traditional division of labour between the sexes is by no means static and undergoes considerable changes with changing conditions of forest cover, techniques of production and the increasing shift towards plough cultivation.

It is evident that, as the pressure on land increases and increasing density of population leads to intensive cultivation of land, the period of the rest cycle declines. In the highlands, as I have already suggested, the rest cycle, when land lies fallow, has fallen quite low.

Since land is now left fallow for three to four years only, as against the ten to fifteen years of rest period of the past, one significant consequence of this process is the slow and gradual disappearance of tree cover. This results in changing conditions of the forest economy and related social processes. The changing division of labour resulting from the disappearance of tree cover is an important aspect. With the gradual process of deforestation, the men's tasks of felling must decline, as must the opportunities for hunting - another decidedly male form of work.

At the same time, as new forest areas become scarce, the fertility of old ones diminish, so the soil needs more careful preparation before it is planted. This requires men's help in hoeing, or even to take over this operation completely from the women. Thus certain female tasks become the responsibility of both sexes who share more equally the burden of field work.

The increasing plough cultivation involves the distribution of agricultural work in a very different way. The major means of production, in this case the plough, is used only by men helped by draught animals. Although among the Saora tribe in Orissa women use ploughs, this is a rare exception and almost as a general rule in India ploughing is male work. The Bonda highlanders are no exception to this general rule. The land is prepared for sowing by men using draught animals, and this thorough land preparation leaves little need for weeding the crop, which is traditionally the women's task. Therefore,

women contribute mainly to transplantation and harvest work.

In the plains where all agriculture is based on plough cultivation, village women work less in agriculture, and where hired labourers are used for transplantation the women are completely exempted from work in the fields. In these regions of plough cultivation, women may be completely withdrawn from the field and remain confined to the domestic sphere. Although domestic work and care of domestic animals is in no way less demanding, women live in seclusion within their own private spheres. Such a condition of agricultural production accounts for the appearance of the women in the village street only under the protection of the veil; a phenomenon associated with plough culture, and seemingly unknown in regions of shifting cultivation where women do most of the agricultural toil (Boserup, 1970 : 26).

In the highlands, however, axe cultivation continues to remain an important activity and still accounts for the larger part of agriculture. The trend and corresponding shift towards a male agriculture underlies the changing conditions in the highlands, which I will discuss in greater detail in my next chapter. But here it is important to mention the successive theoretical systems which Boserup (1970) builds with regard to agriculture. Based on the sexual division of labour in subsistence agriculture, she suggests three main systems which undergo mutual alterations: (a) exclusively by women; (b) predominantly by women; (c) predominantly by men. According to Boserup,

extension workers in developing countries often turn a blind eye to the traditional systems of agriculture and complain that agricultural change is being held back because men - or women - refuse to do more work than is customary, or to do work which according to prevailing customs should be done by persons of the other sex (1970 : 35). This intensive cultivation of irrigated land, which is the present policy of development agencies, puts pressure on both men and women to work hard in agriculture, while plough agriculture is encouraged and women withdrawn from public to private domestic spheres.

Moreover, there are biases involved in the understanding of sex roles which spring from an inability to relate the division of labour to the relations and conditions of production. One example of this bias is the attitude of the colonial administration as well as post-independent extension workers towards men in areas of female farming. It is quite clear that in areas of female farming, the chief occupations of men were felling, hunting and warfare. Gradually, as felling and hunting became less important and inter-tribal warfare was prevented by national governments, men were left with very few customary tasks. The West Europeans, accustomed to the male farming systems of their home countries, looked with little sympathy on this unfamiliar distribution of the work load between the sexes and, understandably, the concept of the "lazy African men" was firmly fixed in the minds of settlers and administrators (Boserup, 1970 : 19).

This imputed "laziness" was by no means the monopoly

of African men! "The turbulent and often lazy life of Bondo (sic) men is in sharp contrast to the pacific industrious existence of the women" (Elwin, 1950 : 60). This is how Elwin remembered watching the varied activities of the sexes in 1943 in his camp at Kattamguda. It is not unusual to see women busy all day weeding in the field, preparing their yarn from barn fibre, weaving, stitching leaves into cups and platters, fetching water, making brooms, while men may lay asleep a little way off or be engaged in gossip or smoking. If women often play a major role in domestic as well as agricultural work while men fill in their spare time drinking, it is to do with the conditions of subsistence agriculture and the historical process rather than with any psychological traits of inferiority or industry.

It is well known that in many colonies, European extension agents tried to induce the under-employed male villagers to cultivate commercial crops for export to Europe, and the system of colonial taxation by poll tax on the households was used as a means to force the households to produce cash crops. These were at least partly cultivated by men, and the sex distribution of agricultural work was thus, to some extent, modified on the lines encouraged by the Europeans.

In many other cases, however, colonial penetration in Africa and Asia resulted in women enlarging their part in agricultural work in the villages, because both colonial officers and white settlers recruited males for work, voluntary or forced, in road and railway building

or other heavy constructional work in mines and on plantations.

In the highlands, unmarried Bonda men were recruited to Assam tea plantations. In his survey of 150 households Elwin counted 27 male members who had made this trip to the plantations. Today there are no such recruitments, the odd recruitment by private contractors is wholly illegal. But the total number of recruitments, including emigrants from the provinces of Bihar and Orissa, during the year 1919 was 178,918 compared with 12,462 in 1917/18. This enormous increase was ascribed to the failure of the crops and to the prevailing high prices, and possibly also in a very minor degree to the cessation of recruitment for the military labour corps by the colonial administration (Dain, 1923 : Report of 9th November). Available reports pertaining to the Feudatory States suggest rigorous recruitment of tribal men in the subsequent years of colonial rule. These recruitments were as much a function of the colonial policies as the changing conditions of agricultural production and subsistence economy in the highlands.

Thus, it is an error to assume that subsistence production and the related division of labour between the sexes are necessarily passed on from one generation to the next without undergoing changes. These changes are, as I have already discussed, related to the complexity of material and social conditions of production. These conditions include the colonial takeover, subsequent perceptions and policies pursued by the administration. The present policies and extension work by development agencies do not constitute a total break with the overall

processes of change in the highlands.

(vii) Economic "Rationality" of Subsistence Society

Up to this point I have only described the traditional economy of the highlands which is characterised by subsistence production through simple techniques and traditional labour processes. But, what is the inner rationality of such a society? What contributes to the continuation of such a system? What logic holds the various elements of social organisation in the Bonda society together? In what way does this logic correspond to the production and reproduction of subsistence and surplus? These questions are directly related to the approaches of different writers within the traditions of marxist anthropology. Therefore, it seems appropriate to take a short break from the "facts" of the Bonda highlands.

Within the broad tradition of marxist anthropology, Maurice Godelier (1972) suggests an integrated paradigm. Around the themes of "rationality" and "irrationality" of economic systems, he attempts to integrate the various theories of functionalism (Radcliffe-Brown et al.), structuralism (Lévi-Strauss et al.), and marxism (Marx et al.). According to Godelier, these three theoretical frameworks converge in the following ways,

There is first the methodological principle that social relations must be analysed as forming "systems". Then there is the principle that inner logic of these systems must be analysed before their origin is analysed.

(Godelier, 1972 : xxi)

As systems are not directly visible or observable and extend beyond the visible relations between producers, Godelier opts for the following analytical steps:

- (i) What the elements of the system are
- (ii) What the relationships between the elements are at present (synchronic)
- (iii) How the relationships formed and evolved in the past (diachronic)

Such an analysis of the system backwards in historical time is seen by Godelier to incorporate the largest number of living "rationalities". These "rationalities" for Godelier include the pre-capitalist, capitalist and post-capitalist socio-economic formations. In order to provide an overall definition of economic system, Godelier synthesises both "formalists" (Burling, Le Clair, et al.), who see economics as that aspect of activities which relates to the allocation of scarce means to alternative ends and substantivists (Polanyi, Dalton, et al.), who see economics as concrete activities, not explicable in terms of the principles of a market society. Godelier thus synthesises:

The economic forms both a domain of activities of a particular sort (production, distribution, consumption of material goods) and a particular aspect of all human activities that don't strictly belong to this domain, but the functions of which involve the exchange and use of material means.

(Godelier, 1972 : 318)

The rationality and irrationality in such a structure, according to him, cannot be tackled from an a priori idea about rationality. Neither can a speculative definition

of what is rational explain the economic structure. He treats the appearance and disappearance of social and economic systems in history as being governed by a necessity "wholly internal to the concrete structure of social life". Furthermore, there is no rationality "in itself" nor any absolute rationality. The rational of today is irrational tomorrow. The rational in one society is irrational in another. He distinguishes between the rationality of the economic behaviour of individuals and rationality of the behaviour of the system as a whole. The rationality of individuals' economic behaviour does not necessarily lead to a rationality of the totality of the system; rather, individual rationality might heighten the irrationality of the societal totality.

At the same time, he distinguishes between the intentional/unintentional rationality of individual behaviour as well as the functioning of the total system. A conscious rational economic behaviour might heighten an irrationality unconsciously even at the individual level. In other words, intentional rationality may not always lead to a rationality in economic behaviour. This Godelier draws from structuralism which distinguishes the conscious/unconscious levels of human "rationality". Reflecting upon the relevance of marxist political economy, Godelier distinguishes the rationality of a given system and its historical irrationality in comparison to a system based upon a higher mode of production. Capitalism, which is rational in comparison to the preceding feudal mode of production turns out to be irrational with reference to the socialist mode of production. Finally, there is

no exclusive rationality. In his attempt to understand economic rationality, Godelier clearly relativises the notion of rationality at various levels: individual/societal, intentional/unintentional and contemporary/historical rationality.

Godelier's analysis poses important problems. First, his synthetic definition of what is economic is based upon an integration of the formalist and substantivist definition of what is economic. This theoretically constituted definition may not be relevant to the study of subsistence societies. In subsistence societies, the production of material means of subsistence are as important as the reproduction of human beings.

On the one hand, the production of the means of subsistence, of food, clothing and shelter and the tools requisite thereof: on the other hand, the production of human beings themselves, the propagation of the species.... The less the development of labour, and more limited its volume of production and, therefore, the wealth of society, the more preponderatingly does the social order appear to be dominated by ties of sex.

(Marx and Engels, 1973 : 191)

Taking this approach as a point of departure, Claude Meillassoux observes the logic of "reproduction of life as a pre-condition to production" (1972 : 101). In contradistinction to such an historical materialist approach, Godelier's definition of economic structure seems to be itself a product of history. This definition is clearly compatible to the formations mostly dominated by material production for an external market or primarily for exchange

where "a particular aspect of all human activities ... the function of which involves the exchange and use of material means". (Godelier). But this does not explain the "agricultural self-sustaining formations" (Meillassoux).

Moreover, Godelier's integration of theoretical frameworks at a level of abstract society in general creates problems. This society in general in his framework, incorporates the totality of pre-capitalist, capitalist and post-capitalist structures to which he applies his synthetic definition of economic structure. Godelier poses the question; "... how are we to conceive the relations between the determining structure (economic) and the dominant one (kinship, religion, etc.), and what determining power in economic relations is it that dictates that there shall be dominance by kinship-relations or by politico-religious relations?" (1972 : ix). Thus he gives a priori importance to the "determining power of economic" (as he defines it) to all epochs of history. Since his definition is within the problematic of substantivists/formalists, his economic structure does not incorporate the structures of social reproduction. Not only does his object of analysis become the analysis of an abstraction of society in general, but also the notions of historical time become an abstract generalised time. Marxists have criticised this "generalising framework", whose basis of everything remains "the immortal discovery that in all conditions men must eat, drink, etc." (Colletti, 1972 : 25). Societies do not exist in general but only in the particular socio-economic formations whose inner laws of motion can be revealed. Since Godelier's object of analysis becomes

society in general, it is not surprising that his analysis of rationality gets relativised and thus turns into a somewhat Weberian definition of "substantive rationality" which can only be grasped relative to an autonomous system of cultural values (Asad, 1974 : 211).

This leads us to the problem of understanding subsistence societies by juxtaposing them to capitalism - a system of production which may ultimately subsume it. Some writers in the field (Godelier, 1972; Gudeman, 1978) have attempted to analyse the differences between subsistence economies and the higher systems of production such as capitalism and feudalism. Very few attempts have been to distinguish "subsistence" from other forms of social production that are presumed to be anterior or inferior to it. Therefore it is not surprising that the concept "subsistence" occupies an equally ambiguous position, without much theoretical status. A subsistence level then becomes that vague entity defined as a standard of living above the bare minimum but "controlled by economic-socio-cultural factors" (Wharton, 1971 : 161).

In contradistinction to anthropologists who have set out to interpret history backwards it is necessary to discover the real movement in history (Meillassoux, 1981 : 19). The role of reproduction of human life remains important in the analysis of such subsistence activities as hunting, fishing and pastoral activities. It has already been discussed that these activities are each multiform in character to which no simple determinism can be applied in that each involves numerous labour processes (Terray, 1972), some collective, others individual,

and yet others requiring team labour. The relations which unite producers depend not only on the means they employ, the labour processes and the nature of the product and its use, but also on the social relations of reproduction. The analysis of such a process must start from the relations that develop between the producers and their means of production and the social relations which are necessary for setting these means of production to work.

Anthropologists have taken for granted a conjunction of functions among kinship groups, the household and relations of subsistence production (Gudeman, 1978 : 34). Subsistence units are taken to be dependent upon and reproduced through ties of kinship while at the same time domestic relationships of kinship are taken to be production relations. While this may be true of subsistence agriculture, the non-agricultural subsistence activities are based on relationships that are not always kinship oriented.

It will be clear in the following discussion that relationships based on filiation are the development of a much later stage and should not be confused with all forms of subsistence activities. Meillassoux complains that kinship studies have so permeated the minds of anthropologists that social relations are first of all seen through kinship categories (1981 : 18).

Based on an initial distinction between hunting and gathering activities on the one hand and agriculture on the other he distinguishes two very distinct kinds

of relations which are manifestly being confused: adhesion and kinship. He argues that in hunting bands an individual's position depends on voluntary, unstable and reversible relationships, whereas kinship relationships are imposed by birth; they are lifelong, juridical and intangible. In the former case, society is constantly being constructed around the free movement of individuals between the different bands; in the latter, individuals and households are subject to established norms of social reproduction within the limits of the lineage into which they are born. In the hunting bands, social membership is an individual affair, in the self-sustaining agricultural set-up the membership is transmitted from one generation to the next. Thus Meillassoux writes:

By forcing band societies into the kinship models anthropologists have inverted the historical logic of semantic transformations of attributing to peoples who had not developed the notion of kinship a vocabulary borrowed from other societies who had already progressed in this direction.

(Meillassoux, 1981 : 19)

An analysis of the processes of subsistence production in Bonda society therefore involves an understanding of the movement from hunting and gathering to agricultural production. The non-agricultural subsistence activities such as hunting, gathering, fishing, etc., as I have already described, still survive and continue to exist in the highlands. In these activities, land, the primary means of production, is used as a subject of labour, in that land is exploited directly without human energy being invested previously in it. In this system of activity, products are taken from land which it has produced on

its own, with no further alternations of environment by man.

Compared with agriculture, which requires an investment of labour in the land, and a delayed return on this investment, the non-agricultural activities give instant returns: production provides fruits at once. The various forest products are available for use immediately after hunting and gathering trips. Although some energy is used for producing hunting weapons and fishing traps, the amount of labour spent in the preparation of means of production is less than in agricultural production. It is nevertheless important to investigate the social organisation that results from non-agricultural subsistence activities.

(viii) Social Organisation of Non-Agricultural Subsistence Production

Most of the non-agricultural subsistence activities, where the collective enterprise only requires individual investment of labour, undertaken by producers with their own tools or no tools at all, the distribution of produce between the participants concludes the enterprise. Once the total produce is consumed the producers then start the cycle afresh. But the second cycle does not demand the participation of the same producers to work together. Other relationships formed during the process of hunting or gathering independent of the actual productive activities may encourage the same group to re-form.

The conditions of production, however, do not require the earlier participants to regroup. It will soon be evident that such a production system is very different from that of agriculture where participants are obliged to stay together due to long term investment of labour in land. So the following social characteristics can be identified for non-agricultural subsistence production.

(a) Social activities are organised by a number of groups known as bands which recruit members on a voluntary basis at the start of the enterprise.

(b) If such an enterprise requires the investment of collective labour and making collective means of production the group members are obliged to remain together during the process of using the collective means.

(c) With the sharing of products between producers, the band becomes an open collective. Producers who leave the band do not break any productive cycle as in agriculture where the product of one season and concomitant labour investment is essential to carry out the work of the next. So the member of a band is a free-floating producer without being tied to any single collective.

(d) Subsistence foods from hunting and gathering do not keep well and hence are consumed shortly after the enterprise is over. This gives rise to frequent hunting and gathering trips. These are almost daily activities and there are no dead seasons during which no productive activities take place.

According to Meillassoux (1981 : 16) such a system

of production gives rise to relations of adhesion. Relations of adhesion support the free and peaceful movement of active males and females, either because of disagreements or because another group is more appealing, or to get a sexual partner. The social relations of production resulting from these short-term production cycles are themselves "precarious" and this is furthermore coupled with the fact that unions between men and women are also fragile.

After weaning, and sometimes before, children are adopted by members of the band as a whole and do not necessarily follow their genitors' movements. As relations of adhesion do not lead to virilocality (when the couple live in the husband's home) or to uxorilocality (when the couple live in the wife's home), the key to reproduction remains the "free and voluntary movement between bands of adults of both sexes" (Meillassoux, 1981 : 16).

Because of the instability of its constituent cell, and its mode of social reproduction, social relations within the band are initially defined in terms of its present membership. Membership is expressed by participation in the common activities of production and consumption. Members of the band do not place themselves in reference to a common ancestor, nor do they classify themselves according to a formal genealogy. Whether some or all the members are biologically related is a matter of secondary importance: such ties in themselves create no permanent reciprocal obligations, nor do they define the status or even the rank of individuals.

Such a system of production therefore undermines the generic terms used by the members of such a group to refer to each other. These terms used, such as "brothers", "sisters", "fathers" etc., do not represent real ties of consanguinity. These generic terms used are more likely to refer to the demarcation of age, sex and functional categories connected with participation in productive activities (non-productive children, adults and old people), and to sexual unions. In this way all nubile women in the group may be "sisters" without reference to filiation; "brothers" are those who belong to the same generation of active men; "fathers" may refer to the old men who no longer take part in collective hunts or beating.

(ix) From Adhesion to Filiation

Individual mobility is the rule and contributes in all systems of social reproduction. But its form and scope vary from one system to the other. In bands, relations of adhesion predominate. The random flux of adults of both sexes helps reproduction. In contradistinction to the band agriculture encourages mobility but only of one sex or the other, with the purpose of bringing together, for procreative reasons, pubescent adults whose offspring from birth are located within relations of filiation. But how does this shift from adhesion to filiation take place? Does this shift create uneven sex roles?

is brought about by the growth of horticulture and reaches its advanced stage with grain cultivation. The systems of production and social reproduction involved in agriculture which account for this shift hold the key to the origin of gender and related structures of exploitation. This includes the exploitation of juniors.

Agriculture creates the formation of permanent and renewed social ties. But the first stage of development from hunting and gathering is marked by horticulture or planting agriculture. Planting agriculture is practised either by replanting part of a tuber (yam, for example) or a shoot (banana, for example). This form of agriculture does not provide a balanced diet and therefore necessarily coexists with other production activities such as hunting and gathering.

Planting agriculture involves the constitution of productive cells adapted to a process of delayed production requiring investment of energy in the land; it requires continuity between subsequent tasks over several months, and a waiting period while the produce ripens. The slow rhythm of production keeps the producers together throughout the agricultural cycle and beyond it.

With this kind of repetitive and cyclical activity, comprehensiveness and cohesion of the constitutive cells develop along with an organisation for reproduction and production, so that, in contrast to the band, the household (genitors, spouses plus the latter's immediate progeny) within which relations are both associated with agricultural activity as well as reproduction, acquires social and

functional existence. It represents the constitutive cell of a larger gathering. Relations between households, as I have already mentioned, differ according to whether hunting or agriculture is dominant at the level of the larger association: households tend to bond through relations of adhesion when hunting is the structuring factor, and by matrimonial relations when agriculture dominates.

In the former situation, which has been called by anthropologists a proto-agricultural society, households associated with agricultural activities remain small. They gather, in varying numbers, through the mediation of the hunters from each household who collaborate over hunting, fishing and gathering activities. This kind of association is unstable for the same reasons as among individual members of a band, but here the instability is between households and not between individuals.

The political organisation of such proto-agricultural societies dominated by hunting activities does not find the bases of a strong cohesiveness either in agriculture or in collective activities. None of the productive activities seem capable of materially supporting a continuous and coercive authority likely to extend beyond or to influence the household. Since a civil, conciliating power does not develop within this form of social organisation, based on groups in precarious association which can only support temporary alliances, matrimonial problems tend to be regulated through procedures which involve minimum contestation. The solution which is simplest and most compatible with this situation is to allow each household

to retain the progeny of its own women.

Reproduction is thus based upon the immediate reproductive capacities of each cell. Meillassoux calls this system Gynecostatic, which seeks to keep women and their children in their original household. Gynecostatism thus represents a peaceful solution to matrimonial circulation within such a society when political power is too weak to withstand the tensions and conflicts that reciprocal exchange of women would entail.

Such a gynecostatic system is potentially a victim of the irregularities connected with the biological reproduction of its women (premature deaths, infant mortality, barrenness). The necessity to correct these aspects gives rise to attempts to procure women from other groups. As all groups are based on the same principle of matrilocality, conflict becomes ubiquitous.

As a result of this development, women become reified because they are conquered and protected, which at the same time makes men into reifiers because they conquer and protect. In this account, the reification of women is conditioned by their social vulnerability in the process of social reproduction of horticulture. This is, according to Meillassoux, the initial condition of the subjugation of women which is more often than not hidden by the so-called natural division of labour, allegedly based on differential physical strength, which is advanced as the rationalisation of the inferior status of women.

Based on this initial condition, Meillassoux's explanation proceeds to explain the warrior culture of at least some of the South American lowland Indians. In his interpretation the system tends to be self-perpetuating. Endemic warfare impedes the peaceful circulation of women and the development of a political authority which could secure an expanded social reproduction.

Although the material on which Meillassoux bases his analysis mainly comes from the Mbuti pygmies, the South American lowland Indians, and African tribal societies, yet such an analysis provides a broad ground of wider application to tribal formations elsewhere. The distinction Meillassoux draws between the band on the one hand and agriculture on the other, with the unstable intermediate state of gynecostatic societies based on horticulture is a useful distinction to isolate and analyse problems faced in the anthropology of tribal societies.

One important implication of this distinction is the explanation of the subordination of women in tribal and non-tribal societies. This incorporates an explanation of the historical and material basis of gender. By isolating the elements of gynecostatic societies, Meillassoux is able to locate the historical and material forces responsible for the transformation of sex to gender. The turning point is located on the development of horticulture and the related gynecostatic social organisation; this social organisation, which is reflected in uxorlocality is intrinsically unstable.

The validity and completeness of the data and models of the band, gynecostatic and gynecomobile societies Meillassoux constructs, have come under closer scrutiny. It has been suggested (Aaby, 1977 : 43) that there are hunting and gathering societies with kinship relations while at the same time agricultural societies exist with relations of adhesion; for example, Australian hunters and gatherers/horticulture and agriculture of Iroquois respectively. There is, however, a need for detailed empirical material on the social, ecological and geographical factors influencing these communities before any inferences can be drawn. Among the Australian hunters and gatherers a high rate of infant mortality exerts pressure on the reproduction process and may therefore be taken into consideration while explanations for kinship are provided (Rose, 1968 : 203).

These considerations do not, however, undermine the ability of Meillassoux's mode of analysis to provide an integrated exposition of the process of production and reproduction. This makes it potentially possible to discern "types of societies", which is an analytical pre-condition for the development of theory. Meillassoux's models are "materialist" in the sense that they are based on the real interplay between production and social reproduction. They avoid the common tendency to use more or less "materialist" features of the forces or relations of production as static signs of identification of certain "types" of societies. Such a tendency is widespread among marxist anthropologists (Terray, 1969). This creates the related confusion between the material technical forces of production

and the mode of production. Frankenberg reiterates that

A mode of production is a three part system combining economic base with juridico-political and ideological superstructure. The economic base of a mode of production combines a system of productive forces, and a system of relations of production. These together are to be evaluated according to their effectiveness in producing and ... reproducing : Material object and social relations.

(Frankenberg, 1977 : 173)

The distinctiveness in Meillassoux's approach is that his models are based on "social" process, that is the process through which society is maintained and/or changed. Aaby suggests that by over-emphasising qualities like "subject of labour" and "instrument of labour", he mistakes a logical (abstracted) model of mode of (re)production for a materialist history. But Aaby himself attempts to isolate Meillassoux's "types of societies" from any simplistic evolutionary time scale and provide them with a much broader theoretical application.

(x) Bonda Social Organisation and Subsistence Agriculture

As I have already described, the subsistence economy of the highlanders is dominated by agriculture. This dominance is reflected in the social organisation in the highlands. Bonda society is divided and controlled by two different exogamous affiliations such as the village community (Gaun), and the exogamous patrilineal clans (Kuda). These exogamous units are different from the band in that there is no free and voluntary movement

of adults. Furthermore, the relationships within these units are based on kinship and, unlike within the band, relationships of adhesion are subordinated to these kinship relations. At the same time the Gaun and Kuda are not gynecostatic units in that the women of the village and the clan do not remain with their husbands in the village and clan of their origin after marriage.

Therefore in contradistinction to the band and gynecostatic societies, the Bonda society is characterised by gynecomobility. It is evident that such a social organisation reflects the social processes of (re)production in cereal and grain agriculture. As agriculture involves a steady supply of labour force, the membership of such a labour force cannot be entirely voluntary and free. The investment of labour activities in the previous years play a part in the agricultural production of subsistence food. Such a steady and undisturbed labour force necessitates the regulation of marriage relations and the concomitant social control to enforce and sustain such regulations.

In the highlands this is provided by the village community - an almost sacred entity. Its members are bound to each other by special ties; its boundaries are protected by magic rites; at certain times no stranger may enter, no householder may leave; to visit an alien village is always risky; only at home is there security and peace. A fellow village is a soru-bhai, a brother, or a soru-bhauni, a sister, who has eaten the same sacrificial food, a privilege that is rigidly restricted to members of the same village. "Soru is obviously the sanskrit

caru, which is defined as an oblation of rice, barley and pulse boiled with butter and milk and offered in sacrifice to the gods and ancestors" (Elwin, 1950 : 24).

This sacramental fellowship of the village community, reinforced by the power of the village elders, is of utmost moral and religious importance. As the village is strictly an exogamous unit, it exercises a profound influence on the men and women who compose it. "The women of our own village are our mothers and sisters" - and this belief is taken very seriously indeed. Men do not make indecent jokes in the presence of their own women, though they are ready enough to do so elsewhere. There are no flirtations between neighbours and only rarely is there a breach of the rules that may lead to marriage.

In the highlands it is really important that marriages should be concluded between people who are attached to different sindibor, the central platform of the village, who are strictly separated from one another during the rituals and great festivals and who partake of a different soru food. The institution of the girls' dormitory, with its open invitation to youths of other villages and the taboo on the local boys, impresses this on every child; marriage with someone in the same village is regarded almost as seriously as the crime of incest. The only official exception to this rule is where families have migrated from one place to another; when they do this it is some time before they are permitted to share the soru of their new home and during this interval marriages

with their neighbours are not forbidden. According to the norms, a woman enters her husband's soru village and if she is widowed she can remarry someone from her original village.

The exogamous patrilineal clans which derive their names from those of village functionaries, such as the Bodnaik, Challan, Kirsani, Muduli and Sisa, are in fact coterminous with territorial systems. This overlapping of territorial and clan systems has given the clan rules considerable authority which are less frequently broken than the others. In some villages, members of different Kuda live in separate quarters. At ritual ceremonies and the major sacrifices, a representative of each of the Kuda in a village is chosen to assist the headman and sometimes each representative has to make a levy of grain from the members of his own clan.

This patrilineal system of gynecomobility has already been analysed in relation to the (re)production processes of grain agriculture. The following elements of such a social organisation can be identified.

(a) Such a social organisation reflects the increasing use of land as an object of labour in that the delayed production is an end result of a series of earlier investments of energy.

(b) The total produce provides a certain surplus for the sustenance of the village community and the related juridico-religious structure of the community.

(c) As agriculture does not encourage the free movement of adults, social relationships in this society

are strong and based on kinship.

In order to distinguish such a social organisation based on agriculture from other types of class societies, such as the serf, slave and other advanced modes of production, Meillassoux terms it the domestic community. In this domestic mode of reproduction there is no obligation to hand over a portion of their product to an exploiting class. There is no systematic selling of the surplus agricultural produce on the market nor is there any buying of subsistence from the market. This self-sustenance does not, however, imply that there are no relations outside the community, nor trade. But such trade and exchange are subordinated to the production of useful goods.

An important aspect of the domestic community, according to Meillassoux (1981 : 48-49) is that reproduction is a central concern to these societies. This is clearly reflected through the emphasis placed on marriage, matrimonial and para-matrimonial institutions, fertility cults and other related social and cultural imperatives. In contradistinction to the band, offsprings are socially located within relations of filiation from birth.

(xi) Social Groups and Exploitation

The domestic community precedes class societies and there are no clear social classes to be found in this kind of social production. But this does not mean,

however, that there is no exploitation. It has been quite clear that relationships of domination and subordination based on sex and the related ideology of gender are rooted in the early horticultural labour processes of gynecostatic societies. With the growth of grain agriculture, where the product is storable for a period much longer than the agricultural cycle, control by the elders becomes important and related ideology of anteriority develop along with gender relations. Thus, both sex and age remain the basis of relationships of domination and subordination.

(xii) Subordination of Women

In this patrilineal and patrilocal system of the domestic community, the subordination of women's reproductive capacities to men, the fact that they are disposed of their children to the benefit of men, their inability to create decent relations, go along with women's inability to acquire a status based on the relations of production. In fact, despite the dominant place which Bonda women occupy in agriculture as well as domestic labour, they are not granted the status of producers. What they produce enters the domestic sphere through the mediation of men.

Such a status can be juxtaposed to the hunting band women. In the band, problems of membership and mating predominate and long term reproduction is of little concern. Women may be sought after as companions rather than as reproducers. The available ethnography on hunters

and gatherers suggests that women play in the band an influential role whenever the mode of existence is not altered by the influence of agricultural neighbours (Draper, 1975 : 77). It is therefore possible to think in the marxian lines that women probably constitute the first exploited "class". And this is the pre-condition for the subsequent development of class exploitation (Aaby, 1977).

In the domestic community, this subordination of women explains the origin and growth of gender relations. Therefore, it is possible to say that gender precedes class relations. This is perhaps the reason why gender relations and the subjugation of women do not disappear with the progress of "socialist" societies towards "classless" relations (Rowbotham, 1973 : 54).

In the domestic community, the economic activities of the household are however, founded on a sexual division of labour which is itself internal to kinship relations. It is already evident that kinship, residence and production are indissolubly linked at the level of the domestic household. By contrast to the "horizontal integration" of the male, which is linked to his productive role, the woman's activities are diffused by her role in the "vertical" integration or reproduction through the central, unbreakable tie she forms with her children (Gudeman, 1978 : 36).

The respective juridico-ideological representation is expressed through kinship. As authority increases

it resorts more and more to ideology as a means of coercion. At the ideological level, kinship encourages the vertical filiation from father to son although in practice it is the woman who plays the significant practical role in bringing up children.

This power in this society rests on the control over the means of human reproduction - subsistence goods and wives - and not over the means of material production. According to Meillassoux, the relics of social control through the means of human reproduction survives in all societies where anthropologists have observed the predominance of "status" over "contract".

This raises further problems relating to the origin of family and private property (Engels, 1972). Engels attempted to explain the subordination of women by relating it to the origin of private property which in his framework referred to a specific social institution and had a special meaning. The institution of private property was different from personal belongings in that, although belongings were private, they were not property in the sense that Engels meant the word (Sacks, 1975 : 234).

The property rights and ownership relating to land, where widespread sharing of produce is the rule, are more complex than many anthropologists are prepared to admit. Referring to the western observers who assumed that tribal societies were "communistic" because individual rights in land did not exist, as was the case in the western

capitalist countries, Gluckman writes:

There is implicit in this judgement a false antithesis between "communistic" and "individualistic" arising from the way in which we say that a person or a group "owns" a piece of land or some item of property. We are speaking loosely when we use this sort of phrasing: what is owned in fact is a claim to have power to do certain things with the land, or property, to possess immunities against the encroachment of others on one's rights in them, and to exercise certain privileges in respect to them.

(Gluckman, 1965 : 36)

While the origin of private property and indeed its definition itself has posed problems for anthropologists, there is enough evidence to suggest that women are not complete equals of men in societies that lack the fully fledged institution of private property. At the same time, it is worth noting that there are many societies where women do own and inherit property.

On the basis of the contemporary anthropological material it has been denied that male supremacy is based on male property ownership (Sacks, 1975 : 237). Sacks argues that, firstly not all males own productive property and, secondly, in many class societies - even those with a strong pattern of male dominance - women as well as men own productive property, and a wife's ownership of property does give her a substantial amount of domestic power vis-a-vis her husband. But class societies make a sharp dichotomy between the domestic and public spheres of life, and this domestic power is not transferable into social power or position in the public spheres of life. Moreover, in class societies the economic and

political autonomy of a household is quite restricted.

The differential roles based on sex have therefore to be traced to its roots in the domestic community. These differences rooted in the domestic community further intensify and, under class domination, takes various forms. Class societies tend to socialise the work of men and domesticate that of women. Ruling classes tend to select men as social labourers, partly because they are more mobile, but probably more significantly because they can be more intensely exploited than women, not having to nurse and rear children.

It has been argued (Clark, 1968) that women and children are, more often than not, deliberately excluded from wage work by employers, who feel an obligation to, but could not or would not, bear the burden of supporting non-productive dependents. In human terms, the results are the abandonment of women and their early death, and in organisational terms a largely male public labour force.

Karen Sacks relates this isolation and exclusion of women from the public sector to the conservative role which women may play, unconsciously upholding the status quo in their commitment to the values surrounding maintenance of home, family and children. The family becomes the sole institution with responsibility for consumption and for the maintenance of its members and rearing of its children, the future generation of exchange workers. According to Sacks, what is now private family work must become public work for women to become fully social adults.

This completes the full circle. The band, where no private and public spheres are drawn and where children are the responsibility of the band or village community as a whole, regains its analytical and social significance.

(xiii) Exploitation of Juniors

In contradistinction to the band, which maintains life, the domestic community is constituted to reproduce it. The dual end of this system of production is the survival of the members beyond the productive age and the increase in the number of producers.

The internal character of such a society embodies power in the elder men. In such a society, the vital problem of feeding the cultivator during the non-productive period of labour, between clearing the ground and harvest time, cannot be solved unless enough of the previous crop is available for this purpose. This leads to the linkage of agricultural parties, consequently, to one another. The working party which produced the crop in the previous cycle is given an important place in the society. This accounts for the essential significance of time and continuity in the economic and social organisation. The old and new generations thus remain independent. The temporal basis of such a society rests on the role of the eldest; one who is not indebted to anyone who is living. This implies that everyone living is indebted to one man. The relationship between the produce of successive cycles are translated to priority of relationships

between people.

This is the basis of the Bonda notions of seniority and of anteriority, and the related respect for age and the cult of ancestors. The Bonda society is thus structured according to those who came "before" and those who come "after", the seniors and juniors. The eldest, then, is he who owes nothing to any living individual. In such a social organisation, the elders possess power and control subsistence distribution. Thus, concern for reproduction becomes paramount - not only reproduction of subsistence but also reproduction of the productive unit itself, allowing the producers to benefit in the future from their past labour.

The power of the seniors over the juniors may be based on their knowledge of social realities and experience. But, more often than not, the time of apprenticeship in the techniques of survival is relatively short. The junior imitate their seniors and soon come to learn the art and skill of subsistence production. This does not, however, alter the subordinate status of juniors. The power of the adults, then, is achieved through ideology, it is based not on the transmission of practical knowledge but of artificial, esoteric, irrational knowledge (such as magic and oracle) which, having no empirical or rational foundation, can never be rediscovered (Meillassoux, 1981: 22).

These relationships between individuals are replaced by relationships between social classes as radical trans-

formations take place. In class societies, social classes take the place of "seniors" in relation to other classes which are considered as "juniors". All the social prerogatives of the elder are transferred to the dominant social class. The prestations due to the elders may become tributes due to the dominant social class, who gain control over means of production.

To sum up, the dominance of subsistence agriculture over non-subsistence production in the highlands helps to determine the specific character of Bonda social organisation: the village community and the exogamous patrilineal clan structure. The social character of agricultural production and related processes of reproduction account for the state and status of sex and age in the highlands. The resulting division of labour is not a static but a dynamic process. This is clear from the relative differences between axe-cultivation and plough-cultivation, which attend to the changing roles of men and women. These traditional roles of men and women develop according to the attendant labour requirements and societal responses to changing conditions of production such as deforestation, promotion of plough culture, etc.

Agriculture in general, including both axe and plough cultivation, embodies within its production process elements of a society that produces a surplus and supports control. The delayed agricultural produce after initial labour investments yields a storable "harvest" that is vulnerable to control by elder men. Such a process, which begins with plant agriculture, reaches its advanced

state in grain cultivation.

For analytical purposes, however, the study of subsistence production helps us to clarify problems relating to the early development of social groups and corresponding social relations of domination and subordination. Far from being egalitarian in character, the inner dynamics of agricultural subsistence production contains the key to the origin and growth of relations of exploitation.

CHAPTER IV

Seeds of Change in the Highlands

In the preceding chapter I discussed the character of subsistence production and domestic reproduction in the Bonda society. The social (re)production was seen in the context of the domestic community. The primacy of reproduction of the productive unit - domestic household - remained the salient feature of the domestic community. The Bonda village, with its coterminous patrilineal clan corresponded to this overall system of (re)production. But subsistence (re)production is not a static phenomenon. In the Bonda highlands it is undergoing significant changes.

It is with the various aspects of this change that I am concerned. The changing means of material production and social reproduction are accompanied by changes in the attitudes of the highland producers. The complexity of this process of change in the highlands requires that these two levels be analytically distinguished and treated separately. Thus the present chapter deals with the former aspect - material and social aspects of change. The corresponding cultural aspects, relating to the modes of perception, are dealt with in the subsequent chapter.

In order to understand the changing relations of (re)production it is necessary to assess the state and status of the domestic community. In the periodization of the different modes of production, and related modes

of exploitation, where can the domestic community be located? Furthermore - what are the types and characters of social exploitation to which the domestic community remains vulnerable? These questions will help the understanding of the theoretical location of domestic community, as well as explain the empirical processes in the changing structures of subsistence production in the highlands.

In his study of the African social formations, Bernstein (1979 : 421) starts his analysis from an historical base-line, that he calls "natural economies". By the category of "natural economy", he means social formations in which the production of use-values is dominant. At the same time, however, Bernstein acknowledges the widespread existence of exchange relations in pre-colonial Africa, whether simple exchanges between producers at an elementary level of the social division of labour - exchange of grain, cattle, implements, salt, etc. - or more specialised longer-distance trade in gold and other metals. He does not deny the existence of different modes of production in pre-colonial Africa, including those in which determinate class relations had developed, involving the appropriation of surplus labour whether in the form of tribute, of the exaction of labour-service for agricultural or mining production or military duties, or through various forms of domestic slavery. He insists:

By using the term natural economy we are simply drawing an historical base-line, as it were, between the period of penetration of modern capital and the social conditions prevailing before that process of penetration.

(Bernstein, 1979 : 423)

This historical base-line, according to Bernstein, coincides with the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The destruction of natural economy had begun in many areas before that period through the methods characteristic of the global epoch of "primitive accumulation" of capital (sixteenth to nineteenth centuries), such as the slave trade, the collection of natural products by coerced labour, and other forms of plunder. Bernstein explains the destruction of the natural economy by an analysis of the penetration of commodity relations in a more or less systematic fashion - the process of "commoditization". The qualitative historical "leap" is marked by the imposition of colonial rule. Under these conditions, capital confronted the question of organisation of exploitation of land and labour. This necessitated breaking the reproduction cycle of the various systems of natural economy.

This analysis of the African formations is useful for our discussion. The domestic community, as has been discussed, can be understood to be a similar base-line. The global epoch of primitive accumulation can be seen as a real process of capitalist growth and expansion which is achieved through the continuous and ongoing incorporation of new lands and, still more, of new peoples under the influence of colonialism and imperialism. The transfer of values of pre-capitalist societies to capitalist and imperialist powers is a permanent, and until now an accelerating, phenomenon which has continued to feed the capitalist economy from its outset (Meillassoux, 1981 : 104). Thus far from being a transitory and initiatory phenomenon, primitive accumulation can be seen as an

inherent process underlying the changing domestic community and the related development of the capitalist mode of production.

The process of "commoditization" of the domestic community marks a shift from use-value production to that of exchange of labour power and product of labour. But the path of commoditization does not follow a straight line. The route of change resembles more a labyrinth because specific situations may allow the possibility of various modes of organising units of production and labour force.

The domestic community, it is already clear, creates the basis of social relations on grounds of age, seniority, and of sex and gender. It is historically preceded by the band that entails neither gender nor seniority. As relations of filiation replace band relations based on adhesion, the social character of (re)production undergoes a qualitative historical "shift". But it is important to mention here the fact that neither the band, nor the domestic community, entail any social obligations to hand over a portion of the produce to another social group or social class. Although the production of surplus food is an important prerequisite to the survival of such societies through the unproductive period, there is no appropriation of surplus by any particular group. In such a society, the production and distribution of the social product can be represented by the following equation (Meillassoux, 1979 : 8):

$$DB = XLA + \frac{1}{X} LC + LB$$

Where D = annual production of an active person

L = annual consumption of an individual

A = duration of the pre-productive period of the young

B = duration of the active life of a producer

C = duration of the post-productive period

X = number of children a producer must feed during his active period

$\frac{1}{X}$ = the part kept for the old by each producer

The underlying assumptions must be made explicit. First, the young do not participate in production until a certain age, A (pre-productive period). Secondly, all the producers equally share the upkeep of the old. Thus the amount of contribution towards the upkeep of the old can be represented by $\frac{1}{X} LC$. The total product DB is distributed to feed the children (LAX), feed the producer himself/herself (LB) and feed the old ($\frac{1}{X} LC$).

In such a society, social exploitation cannot exist unless some producers are forbidden from having children and the product required for their upbringing (LAX) is diverted to a third party. The producers who are thus deprived of their reproductive means, the celibates, are exploited beings, but the exploited products cannot be put to any other use except feeding one's direct dependents.

This does not happen in the domestic community because, by its very character, it is based upon relationships of filiation. The resulting kinship is tied up with the right to obtain a certain portion of the total produce,

and the right to marry and reproduce. As a result, the failure to meet these obligations amounts to denying the kinship of an individual. An individual deprived of the means of his/her social reproduction (a wife/husband) would no longer be treated as actual kin.

In addition to this social denial - the refusal to allow a kin access to a wife/husband - is also an interference with the social cycle of (re)production of the domestic community which will be weakened as a result of one of its members being denied the right to reproduce. Altogether such an exploitation brings no positive social advantage. Such an "exploitation may occur erratically but not systematically" (Meillassoux, 1979 : 9).

An intervention in the cycle of social (re)production is, however, possible if the same process of exploitation (denying kinship) is applied to a foreigner. There is a two-fold exploitation inherent in subjecting a foreigner. If the foreigner is introduced at the age of production, the social product which was necessary to make him a producer LK, K being his age, is introduced at the same time into the system. Furthermore, if this foreigner is not accepted as kin, and does not receive the means (sexual partner and subsistence) for social reproduction, the product, otherwise devoted to the feeding of the progeny, will be recouped by the master. Altogether the appropriated surplus will be a double factor (LK + XLA).

This, according to Meillassoux, is the profit from

slave labour. The status of the slaves is different from the other members of the community in that they are deprived of their offspring. Their status as foreigners is permanent. This mode of surplus appropriation intervenes at the level of reproduction by denying the labour force the status of reproducers and surplus thereof.

The introduction of slaves from another society saves the slave owners the initial investment of subsistence required for the upbringing of these slaves to a productive age. As the slaves are denied the right to produce children, slave owners face the problem of replacing worn-out slaves. Thus there is a constant need in each generation to provide a means of recruiting new slaves (Bank, 1946 : 40). This accounts for the constant use of force and the frequent wars in such societies.

An obvious way of overcoming this chronic problem of recruitment of new slaves is the settlement of slaves. With the settlement of slaves, the problem of forceful recruitment of slaves is overcome. The future generation of slaves are then reproduced within the system. This marks the shift from slave forms to feudal forms.

A serf, then, can be seen as a settled slave. Serfs are allotted a piece of land, a companion and allowed the possibility to reproduce offspring - the future generation of serfs. The mode of exploitation undergoes a significant metamorphosis. The serf receives a certain portion of the produce for the upkeep of the offspring. Under serfdom, the serf is born, lives, breeds and dies on the master's

land; reproduction takes place within the system. This is a higher form in that it is stabler than slavery, where reproduction occurs outside and not inside the system. But direct control, through the use of force where necessary, still exists to ensure the appropriation of surplus products. The physical control over subsistence products gives the master his ultimate control over the number of offspring and their survival.

Keeping units of (re)production the same as in the equation in order for the master to extract a certain surplus, the number of offspring (n) which a serf may have should remain less than in the domestic community, X . In this way the minimum profit of the lord is $(X-n)LA + \frac{1}{(X-n)} LC$. Thus, in a feudal mode of production the surplus is extracted by direct physical control and the concomitant control over the growth of the productive domestic cell.

In such a society the lord remains powerful by tapping a fixed quantity of the social product from the production of the serf and denies any possibility of allowing the serfs to constitute reserves for themselves over the long period. Thus, the lord places the serf in a precarious situation which assures his dependence with respect to the withholder of reserves for assuring the survival for the serf's domestic cell.

During periods of crisis, the lord extends consumption loans to the serf's family because the future generation

of serfs must survive. In serfdom, exploitation occurs through the division of the serf's produce between the household reproduction and the domestic produce appropriated by the lord. The emergence of rent, either in kind or in labour, is in fact, as Marx remarked, the primitive form of surplus value.

In contradistinction to slavery and serfdom, wage labour entails a different form of exploitation in that there is no direct political control of the employer over the subsistence and consequent reproduction of the labourers. In this type of labour, labour power is exchanged for wage. An imaginary line divides the working day into two halves. First, the time necessary to reproduce the labourer as a producer of labour power. Second, an extra time, which is the surplus time. The value produced during surplus time is the surplus value which the employer appropriates. The line that divides these two times is a function of a complex set of factors, such as the level of development of productive forces, socio-economic conditions in which production takes place, cultural and political factors which fix the wage of the labourer and above all the stage of class-struggle in the society.

Two important aspects must be mentioned. Firstly, the wage is the value required for the reproduction of the labourer and no more. Wages may often be fixed on the assumption that the wage earner is celibate, without a partner and without children. He/she labours without

interruption due to illness or other reasons, and dies at the age of retirement. The French "Smicard" is the classic case of such an assumption (Meillassoux, 1979 : 14).

Secondly, the payment of a wage often enough assumes the value of domestic labour (Molyneux, 1979). The domestic labour of women is an integral part of the total labour required for the upkeep of the labourer as a producer of labour power. Thus, the appropriation of surplus value incorporates an invisible amount of domestic labour which is withdrawn from the public sphere and hence does not "surface" as useful labour.

How does the labourer's domestic cell survive? The answer depends upon the degree to which capitalism is implanted, on the degree of the division of labour, and on the degree of the destruction of the subsistence sector.

When wage labour is totally dispossessed of all the means of subsistence production, if the labouring class is not to disappear, the wage must be completed by indirect wage. This indirect wage is not calculated on the basis of labour time, but on the needs of reproduction. According to Meillassoux, this takes the form of social security, welfare benefits and other state sponsored and subsidised programmes in advanced capitalist sectors. These may also include pension, family allowance, unemployment benefit, sickness benefit, medical care and so on.

Where the "developed" organised capitalist sectors have not penetrated the wage economy, capital recruits labourers who are susceptible to not being immediately dependent on capital. If individuals are "overexploited", then it is obvious that they must look elsewhere for their means of reproduction. This incorporates subsistence production and domestic reproduction within capitalism (Gudeman, 1978 ; 100).

It is here that labour patterns represent the blending of different modes of exploitation within a given socio-economic formation. Thus, capitalist mode of production does not turn all relations of production into capitalist; modern capitalism and imperialism sustains and perpetuates diverse modes of exploitation for its own profit.

I will therefore be exploring the contradictory organisation of the labour force in the Bonda hills. Although wage labour is now emerging as the dominant form of labour, as against labour aids etc., the reproduction of the labourer does not take place within the capitalist system but it occurs in the subsistence production. This takes us to the problem of production and reproduction. Does capitalist production necessarily mean that the mode of reproduction too is capitalistic? This question leads us to the examination of various forms of labour force and the nature of underlying exploitation.

(i) Forms of Labour Force

In the Bonda highlands the determining factor of production is the amount of labour invested. In subsistence agriculture, a household, the unit of production, usually supplies and receives labour help from other such groups in the community. The volume and duration as well as the reward paid for labour aid vary, but the ways of mobilising and organising a work force are given by custom, by tradition.

In recent years, however, there has been an emergence of wage labour in the highlands. This form of labour is not guided by custom. It is regulated by the economy-at-large in that the amount of wage paid for a labour day is not guided by customary communal needs. While the domestic community participates in the broader economy, it remains vulnerable to the various forms of exploitative labour. I have already considered theoretically the three different modes that correspond to slave, serf and wage labour forms of exploitative labour. The domestic community remains the base-line for these exploitative forms.

Corresponding to these three variations, in the highlands there are three different exploitative labour relations. First, the one that relates to the interruption of the cycle of reproduction by introducing an "outsider" who is denied kinship. This is locally termed as goti. There are many variations that exist within the goti

system. This can be seen as a system of bonded labour, and this system of bonded labour is widely prevalent in many parts of India, attracting a great deal of attention from scholars and government agencies alike. Second, the manti system, where the producer is expected to pay a certain amount of grain to the household or clan that owns the tract of land. This amount of grain is comparable to ground rent and the underlying exploitation of serfs thereof. The third, and the predominant form of labour, is wage labour which is locally termed as buti and corresponds to the exchange of labour power for a wage either in kind, cash, or both.

These different forms of labour force should not be seen as identical to slave, serf and wage labour. In that case the importance of domestic community and the communal cooperative labour aid will be greatly undermined. At the same time, this intermingling of various forms of exploitative labour must not be confused with modes of production. There is, however, one important consideration the labour forms in the highlands force upon us: the changes in labour forms are not wholly a succession of modes of labour force totally exclusive from each other. It is not only that each of the forms of labour force contains germs of future relations, or the relics of ancient ones, it is that, for an indefinite future, the domestic relations of production have been organically integrated into the development of each and all of the subsequent relations of production and reproduction.

day agricultural odja, involving the clearing of forest or harvesting, a definite work debt is incurred. The work debt is not strictly counted in the case of smaller jobs performed.

Cooperative help without any expectations of work debt are readily extended when a man is quite sick, or has been thrown in jail, and his crops need immediate care. In this case, the owner household may not take the initiative, rather neighbours, kin and friends offer aid on their own, some of whom may bring their own food and drinks.

The practice of lending cattle for an agricultural task in return for a similar debt is also widespread. Every cultivator needs the entire cattle herd of the village for a day or two during the sowing season. This cooperative task of mobilising the entire herd of a village is known as joitang odja. According to the villagers, this is called an odja because the immediate transaction is unequal, the cooperative unit is organised on the basis of individual households. The labour or cattled debts are returned in due course, even though after long intervals in some cases.

From the worker's point of view the incentives to participate in an odja are slightly different from those he experiences in the other forms of labour. In addition to its economic utility, an odja has an element of celebration. Nearly everyone volunteers to participate in such cooperative labour organisations. On many occasions

such cooperative labour is anticipated with pleasure.

The festive character of the odja derives from the fact that drink and food are served, a convivial group is brought together, and the participants do not have to complete an assigned unit of labour. There are no specified hours of work, though most do come early and stay until the job is finished, and the owner may provide only general instructions for his labourers, who themselves make many of the technical decisions in the course of the day. In addition, the men and women customarily sing as they harvest crop or weed through the field. Sometimes, individuals or groups compete with one another to complete a set amount of work first; celebrations may be held at the end of the work.

The owner of the odja must possess organisational skills. The size of the odja is dependent on the amount of land under cultivation which, in its turn, is a reflection of the capabilities of individual cultivators. Since the land is held during a certain period, the size of an individual's plot is, in part, a reflection of his planning and working abilities. Holding the odja - securing the right quantity of food and making certain that it is prepared in advance - also requires organisational capacities.

As a system of relationships, the odja is based on male seniority, the basis of which lies within the domestic community. The related principles of seniority and gender are reflected in these cooperative organisations.



(vii) Cattle of the Village Level a Plot of Dry-land



(viii) Preparation for Digging

Women do not usually participate in odja cooperations, except sharing the domestic part of preparing food and drinks. During harvest and weeding, however, women do join in the labour organisation and participate in the singing that accompanies these tasks:

Let's all cut the grass,
 Together we will go to the market,
 By the morning we will collect mangoes,
 melons and tamarind;
 Don't slow down,
 Let's all cut the grass.

The senior male member always plays a major role in mobilising acquaintances for the odja and the power of big men depends on their capacity to bring the workers together on their land. But these owners always work alongside the workers and debts of labour are never forgotten. The owner-worker bond, however, is long lasting since this involves the offering of labour for food and drink in exchange for the same.

The odja, as a form of labour organisation, involves a delayed reciprocity which may itself have an economic advantage of accumulating labour debts over time. At the same time, in one agricultural year, a certain limited amount of such cooperative labour groups may be called in. The food and drink, besides their immediate value of stimulating the workers and enhancing the festivities, constitute a down payment for the labour and a promise that a final labour payment will be made on demand. This type of labour organisation binds the households and strengthens the bond between individual households. This works counter to the centrifugal force that may

contribute to the drifting apart of the households. Due to the traditional nature of this form of labour relation, the community as a whole participates in the accounting of debts and credits. Where individual memories fail and labour debts are denied, the village seniors arbitrate and resolve mutual conflicts.

(ii) Goti System

In the highlands, the term goti refers to types of bonded labourers. These bonded labourers are attached to individual households who exercise direct control over the labour of the goti. The eldest male member of the owner household is known as Sahukar. But there is a broad connotation attached to this term. It is often used to refer to a well-to-do household, or a local money lender. Among the poor villagers it is sometimes used to derogate a greedy and acquisitive man. When a well-to-do widow employs a goti, she is known as a Sahukarni. Although the head of the owner household may be a male or a female, the goti is always a male adult, who is more often than not unmarried.

This preference for unmarried males accounts for the character of this type of labour and the related mode of exploitation. It is well worth recollecting the surplus factor involved in forms of slave labour, where the surplus labour is appropriated by interrupting the cycle of reproduction; denying the goti the reproduction of his own offspring.

In the hills there are two different types of bondedness, although these two distinct types are referred to by the same term - goti. The first type of goti is a lifelong bondedness, where the goti is attached to the household for his whole lifetime. In some cases he may be settled in the Sahukar's own household as a member of the household, but he is denied the means of acquiring a wife. Where the Sahukar does pay a bride price for the goti, the wife and subsequently the children may remain bonded to the owner's household. The indebtedness only multiplies, and bondedness is carried over to the children. The goti is provided subsistence diet and is never allowed to have his own resources of grain. Only on a festive occasion the Sahukar may decide to pay a small amount of cash to the goti, as a token of his concern for the goti.

During the fieldwork, I was able to interview five bonded labourers who lived in the Sahukar's houses. In one case the goti had inherited the bondedness from his late parents, who had served the same Sahukar. The debt had multiplied to a certain number of heads of cattle and a large amount of cash. The goti had also borrowed on his own account for the payment of bride price. After his wife expired, his two children were taken by a Sahukar of another village as goti in exchange for two hundred rupees towards the settling of debts incurred during the wedding.

The relationship between a goti and his Sahukar is a complex one and in practice it is quite flexible.

At an ideological level, it appears a very symbiotic relationship in that the Sahukar provides food and drinks for the goti who works for the debt he has incurred. But underneath this ideology of a symbiotic relationship there is a mode of exploitative labour which is qualitatively different from the odja system of labour aid.

The second type of goti, in practice, is a partial bondedness. In this case, the goti does not stay or live with the Sahukar as in the first case. Here the goti labours on the Sahukar's land to repay a certain debt he incurs and subsequently fails to repay in kind or in cash. Interests on these loans are estimated on a yearly basis, from one harvest to the next. Repayments through labour days are mutually agreed by the goti and the Sahukar. In contrast to the first type, the goti in this case is not always an unmarried male. The goti does not work on the land of the Sahukar every day of the year. But the goti is expected to be available to work at short notice whenever the owner needs his labour. The rest of the time, the goti is free to work on his own land, or on other people's land, as long as he provides the Sahukar his required labour days. When a goti assists the Sahukar in the clearing and the subsequent cultivation of dangar land, it is the usual practice that the Sahukar should give a certain amount of grain at harvest time to the goti. The amount of grain is totally left to the goodwill of the Sahukar. There are no fixed norms. The goti may earn this goodwill from the Sahukar by his own loyalty and obedience.

(iii) Manti System

Another type of service and related labour is known as manti. Unlike goti, it does not involve any bondedness. It involves an agreement between two households. The "owner" household agrees to let another household, the lessee, have the use of its plot of dry or wet land on a lease of one or two years. In return for the lease, the "owner" expects a payment in labour, grain, or both. The labour thus performed towards the payment for the lease is known as manti. The "owner" may sometimes be referred to as the Sahukar, and the cultivator is expected to labour on the land of the Sahukar. Unlike the goti system, which involves a relationship of control over many years or generations, manti is always a mutual agreement that stretches but one to two years.

By the customary "ownership" of land, the "Sahukar" demands a rent in the form of labour or grain. Manti labour may involve arduous tasks, both agricultural or non-agricultural, without any provision of food or drinks on the working day. Compared to goti, it is a more "utilitarian" system of labour. It is an exchange of labour for obtaining the ownership right over a certain plot of land that has already been worked. The quantity of grain and number of labour days to be paid are subject to negotiations and, subsequently, ritual commitments. But these negotiations are guided by the accepted norms that fix the rents of different hill tracts on the basis of the "quality" of land and expected yield. In the past dangar land was not leased out for manti labour,

but with the extension of usufruct rights to the forest tracts by the government, the individual owners are now exchanging their ownership rights for manti.

This system resembles the well-known system of share cropping prevalent in the coastal plains of eastern India. But there is one important difference between the two: share cropping involves the payment of ground rent at harvest, which is usually calculated on the basis of a previously agreed principle. Where harvest yields are uncertain, due to local conditions, landlords fix the amount of grain to be paid by the tenant farmer irrespective of the total yield. Whereas in other regions the landlords settle the rent in terms of percentage of yield in order to augment rent during bumper years. In the highlands, however, manti is invariably paid either in labour days or in grain before the land is prepared for cultivation. After manti is paid, the tenant cultivator is allowed to step into the land. At harvest, the total yield belongs to the tenant cultivator.

The land that is leased out on manti is either dry land (pada) or hill slope (dangar) that may have been terraced into a pada. The customary tribal opinion confers ownership rights on the Kuda - the patrilineal clan whose members clear the forest and subsequently cultivate it over a long period stretching over generations. Individual households, by virtue of their membership of the clan, gain ownership over plots of cleared forest. It is the senior male member of the household who ultimately decides if a portion of the land is to be leased out

to a fellow tribesman. Wet land (bedha) is too precious to be leased out to others. Such land under plough cultivation is always retained by the "owner", who may hire labour by payment of wage to meet labour requirements.

Wet land cultivation, with higher labour investment, supports a substantial portion of wage earners in the highlands. This form of wage labour is generally termed buti. The villagers who do not have the means of producing subsistence needs to support their households through the agricultural year resort to buti. Wage labour does not involve any investment of grain or cash. Those villagers who do not have the means to undertake manti and obtain a suitable patch of land for subsistence production invariably slide down to the category of wage labourers. This type of labour, of course, provides ready cash and does not involve risks of uncertain crops and crop failures.

(iv) Buti System

Wage labour is widely prevalent in the hills and over the years it has, to a large extent, replaced the preceding forms. It is employed not only in agricultural work, but also in a broad range of activities. The "surfacing" of this type of labour marks a shift from the exchange of labour to an exchange of labour power. This hiring of labour power for cash was unknown in the highlands until a few years ago. But now all activities on wet land, including harvesting, housebuilding, transporting the produce to market and other types of labour activities

undertaken by the extension agency are performed by wage labour. Here it must be mentioned that the government is the employer of a large portion of wage labour for the construction of government houses, roads, reclamation of land for government farms, and other associated activities.

Thus the development agency in the highlands employs wage labour round the year, including the lean months of the year when work is sought after by the villagers who are ready to perform arduous tasks in return for a wage. Apart from the government, local contractors also recruit labourers for a fixed wage. These contractors are engaged in construction work and other welfare activities such as building local schools, digging wells, etc. Their profits are attractive and mainly due to the locally available cheap tribal labour.

Hired labourers are paid in cash, kind, or both. In cash the daily wage of an adult male is five rupees (34 pence). The payment is made at the end of the working day which may easily stretch beyond eight hours. The wage may be advanced even before the work - the classical wage advance, so that the worker can buy enough food to sustain himself.

When the hired labourer works on the land of a fellow villager, he may expect to be paid in kind. But the "owner" who hires such labour must promptly pay the labourer. The payment of wage in kind is preferred by the labourers for reasons that will be mentioned in the subsequent chapter. Here it is essential to mention

that when the "owner" is a local contractor, or a government official who handles only cash, the labourers are left with no choice but to accept cash wages. At the same time, however, receiving payment in kind is a sign that the labourer himself is in need of food, an additional embarrassment since it reveals that he/she is destitute.

One obvious advantage of this form of labour is that it requires immediate payment, usually cash. Instant cash remuneration frees the owner from further obligations towards his workers. From the standpoint of the workers, this type of labour involves no social obligations of working for a particular Sahukar. It severs the oppressive link tied around the goti and releases him from commitments.

Bonda "owners" usually work in the fields with their hired labourers and are able to exercise greater control over them than is possible with labour aids (odja). Hired workers are required to arrive at a specific time; a late arrival may lead to the loss of the job. The owner describes the day's work to be done or divides it into tasks. As the day progresses, the owner may offer a few suggestions about the work, although he must be careful, for a slighted labourer may quit. Usually, an owner will bear with a poor worker, but then not hire him again; indeed, most people know about the work habits of their fellow villagers. Unlike in the odja, where the individual's total work ability and total person is engaged, the buti represents the hiring of labour power; an alienation of labour from man.

In the government farms an intermediary (dehuri) is employed, or hired, to oversee work. After receiving general instructions from the project leader (the head of the development agency), the dehuri hires the workers and performs all the duties of the project leader, such as dividing up the work. The dehuri, the foreman, acting on behalf of another, seemingly can order the buti even more directly than the leader himself. He is paid slightly more than the rest of the workers and does not undertake actual physical labour. At the end of the day, however, the leader may visit the fields, view the work and pay the workers.

The size of a hired labour force varies. Although seldom is a man able to recruit more than a dozen workers for a single day, at the government farm twenty to thirty labourers may be engaged every day during the peak season. Groups of four or five seem to be the usual work force, and if an owner has much work to complete he may employ the men for several days in succession.

Although under greater control of the owner, the workers do have certain freedoms. They may demand to be paid in cash or kind, and they can bargain with the owner about the amount of work to be done and whether it is to be measured by the day or by the job. With task work, the labourers themselves decide who undertakes which job, and sometimes a man inquires in advance about who else will be working to know if the load will be shared equitably.

Although the hired labourers are employed in task work, by and large buti is time-oriented labour. This type of labour marks a decisive shift towards time-orientation - a problem to which I will return later. It is important to mention here that odja is, more often than not, task-oriented labour. The new type of labour is compatible to the market economy-at-large. In substance it may run contrary to the domestic community based on subsistence (re)production.

It has been argued that, within the domestic mode of production (Sahlins, 1978 : 97-98), labour exchange - in whatever form - provides one counter balance to the "centrifugal" tendency of a household economy. But such a view does not explain the causes of change and, furthermore, cannot grasp the far-reaching consequences of this process of change. The producers themselves mistake results for cause and complain that lesser incomes and failing cooperation force them to undertake wage labour. Thus, the views of the workers are not compatible to the realities in the highlands and remain ideological expressions of alienated human labour.

Causes of the change in the patterns of labour, however, can be sorted roughly into those emanating from within subsistence and those deriving from the market, although the two facets are not independent. The decline of the thick forests and dangar cultivation at short intervals had several impacts. There is less need to recruit help at the various stages of the agricultural cycle, such as clearing the forest. At the same time,

Although the hired labourers are employed in task work, by and large buti is time-oriented labour. This type of labour marks a decisive shift towards time-orientation - a problem to which I will return later. It is important to mention here that odja is, more often than not, task-oriented labour. The new type of labour is compatible to the market economy-at-large. In substance it may run contrary to the domestic community based on subsistence (re)production.

It has been argued that, within the domestic mode of production (Sahlins, 1978 : 97-98), labour exchange - in whatever form - provides one counter balance to the "centrifugal" tendency of a household economy. But such a view does not explain the causes of change and, furthermore, cannot grasp the far-reaching consequences of this process of change. The producers themselves mistake results for cause and complain that lesser incomes and failing cooperation force them to undertake wage labour. Thus, the views of the workers are not compatible to the realities in the highlands and remain ideological expressions of alienated human labour.

Causes of the change in the patterns of labour, however, can be sorted roughly into those emanating from within subsistence and those deriving from the market, although the two facets are not independent. The decline of the thick forests and dangar cultivation at short intervals had several impacts. There is less need to recruit help at the various stages of the agricultural cycle, such as clearing the forest. At the same time,

people have less surfeit goods to provide for the food and drinks of the cooperative labour aids. During the unproductive season such food items may have to be purchased from the market. In addition, the pressures on subsistence production have made it more difficult to arrange labour exchange on a large scale. Now, more than before, there is an unevenness in sizes of individual holdings under subsistence agriculture, so that it has become difficult to find others with equivalent labour needs. With the harvests diminishing on dangar due to the shortened rest period, no one wants to be the last aided in a labour group, nor to host a festive group that may be careless or not finish the appointed job.

On the other hand, however, the market forces converge in undermining the subsistence production in the hills. This has two important and related dimensions. One concerns the overall process of withdrawal of labour from direct subsistence production, whether in agriculture, hunting, fishing, forest collection, craft activities, making tools and other artifacts. The withdrawal of labour from direct use-value production undermines the material reproduction of a subsistence economy. At the same time, the monetization of some of the material elements of reproduction forces the rural producers into wage economy, either through the production of exchangeable commodities, or through the exchange of their labour power as a commodity.

Therefore, the destruction of the forest and the decline in productivity due to the disappearance of thick cover creates the social conditions of wage labour.

In the past, colonial administration had recruited wage labourers for the tea plantations in Assam from the Bonda highlands. With the ban on such labour recruitments after independence, wage labour was limited to a few families only who could not survive the bad harvests. But now wage labour remains a major source of livelihood.

Colonial administration had already initiated this process indirectly by the imposition of taxes in the highlands, thereby necessitating sources of cash income, through the use of labour in plantations and construction of roads and railways, and the recruitment into the military and para-military services. This process, however, comes to mean the destruction of the subsistence economy.

Under these circumstances, Bernstein (1979 : 424) argues, the producers' simple reproduction comes to include the consumption of commodities to meet needs previously satisfied by the production (and simple exchange) of use-value. New needs also develop simultaneously with the erosion of an entire culture of production based in the previous system of subsistence production. Many traditional production skills, particularly in non-agricultural activities, become lost over time in the face of the pressures exerted by the process of commoditization.

Thus it is not possible to understand the decline of the traditional labour patterns and the concomitant rise of a wage labour system by any simplistic theory of social change, such as the modernisation of a traditional economy (Singh, 1973 : 48). Neither the superior "flexibility"

which cash affords over a use-value, nor the lifting of "traditional ascriptions" can explain the process of change. To see this process as an evolutionary process of change, geared by the superiority of an higher economy over a traditional system, is to confound description with cause. The clash of subsistence production and capitalism has had its inevitable impact on the forms of labour organisation. The commoditization of labour power is its most important expression.

In the meeting of the two different social systems - the subsistence system of traditional Bonda society and the wage economy of society-at-large, the mediating role has been played by the government sponsored development agency. While the tribal system of the aborigines is based on traditional customary norms, the development agency works by the modern politico-administrative system. This inevitably raises problems. But the development agency remains an important agency, employing the major portion of wage labourers, thereby playing a significant role in the commoditization of the highlands.

(v) Bonda Development Agency

Feasability studies for development programmes in the highlands were begun in 1970, but the actual work did not commence until the summer of 1977. In its final report, the Bonda Development Agency (B.D.A.) emphasised the need for "improving the socio-economic condition of the area" and ostensibly committed itself to the "uplifting

of the living conditions of the highlanders". The network of the B.D.A. was located at Mudulipada - the most accessible village in the highlands. But it is the state capital, Bhubaneswar, which remained the centre of all important decisions. Through the official grids of bureaucracy the decisions and initiatives were radiated to the highlands.

For setting up the offices in the highlands, and to initiate the agricultural development, the government acquired land from the highlanders. And the villagers were paid handsome cash compensation for the acquired land. This task of acquiring land from a tribe with strong tribal norms attached to ownership rights demanded generous compensation but, even so, the setting up of the B.D.A. farm was not without difficulties. These difficulties were overcome by long and skilful negotiations by officers, aided by brokers.

Over the last three decades there has been investment of "national" and "foreign" capital in the form of rural "development" programmes. Such capital investments have promoted the extension and intensification of commodity relations both in its own interests, deepening the material basis of appropriation and potential accumulation, and in conditions where it might not be immediately profitable for private capital to invest. In this regard, the shortage of investment funds and technical know-how partly explains the major role of foreign aid (bilateral and multilateral, as in the case of the World Bank and F.A.O.) in the promotion of such programmes which provide the further development

of commodity relations. These schemes have incorporated the direct planning and financing of production schemes incorporating agricultural input, irrigation equipment, improved seeds, fertilizers, insecticides, pesticides - and certain types of intermediate technology at great cost.

In the highlands there was a total financial outlay of 12.5 million rupees, which incorporated within its scope a wide array of the above-mentioned "developmental" activities, including the setting up of a Large-Scale Agricultural Multipurpose Cooperative Society (L.A.M.P.S.). The activities of L.A.M.P.S. centred around the buying and selling of consumer and non-consumer goods. Under the auspices of L.A.M.P.S., a shop was soon set up to undertake the selling of cheap and controlled consumer items, such as rice, wheat, cooking oil, paraffin oil, cloth, sugar and other town-produced items. The system of barter exchange was not entirely discouraged to procure the forest products (hill brooms, honey, resins, etc.) and highland agricultural produce.

Among the activities undertaken by L.A.M.P.S., the most significant and important one is the loan scheme in operation, designed to help the "last man in the village". Under this scheme, the highlanders are extended loans for agricultural purposes as well as long term loans to set up craft workshops, or other types of related investments. The scheme does not exclude consumption loans to needy households on a one year or six months basis. Depending on the nature of the loan, the interest

rates are calculated but these rates never exceed 12% per annum. This is intended to help the release of bonded labourers too who may escape the traditional indebtedness by borrowing cash at low rates of interest from the cooperative. This programme is geared to the amelioration of life for the poorer sections.

This raises broader problems concerning the strategy for development. In the past, strategies of rural development promoted by the state and by agencies such as the World Bank have tended to emphasise the production of cash crops for the market and have usually incorporated "progressive farmer" incentives which contributed to the eventual differentiation of the countryside. But another preoccupation has emerged, which is not in contradiction with the above, namely the concern to encourage food production for national self-sufficiency and to provide the "poorer sections" with production inputs and credits.

The reason for this new emphasis, as Bernstein (1979 : 434) explains, is fairly obvious - the chronic state of food production in many Third World countries, particularly the commodity production of food staples; the political instability associated with food shortages and inflationary food prices in the market; and the cost in foreign exchange of food imports to make up for shortages in domestic production. Food production in many parts of Third World countries seems to be stagnant, or even declining, in relation to population.

These strategies must be seen in the overall context

of an alliance between the state which organises the political, ideological and administrative conditions of this form of penetration of capital into the subsistence sector, including the extension of the state apparatuses, and the provision of the technical and financial means of this penetration either by private capital or the particular forms of finance capital represented by aid agencies.

Programmes in some areas have amounted to a quasi-dispossession of the producers and the conversion of land and other means of production into state property. At the same time, differentiation may be encouraged with incentives to "progressive farmers" which consolidates and develops further private property in land and other means of production. Alternatively, the effect may be to reproduce a relatively stable middle peasantry engaged in specialised forms of commodity production, in particular relations with productive capital. There are different possible paths of development within the overall context of the demise of the subsistence economy.

It is too early for any facile generalisation about the performance of the B.D.A. in the highlands. The programme has been in operation for five years only. Nevertheless, certain aspects of the programme need to be mentioned. Among these aspects, the government farm needs special mention. It is on this farm that highlanders are employed on the basis of daily wage labour to grow high yielding, and selected varieties, of paddy and millet for "demonstration" purposes. Improved techniques of

agriculture and use of fertiliser for purposes of productivity are greatly emphasised.

Along with the emphasis on high yielding varieties of crops, the B.D.A. has undertaken horticulture on vast tracts of hill slopes for selected varieties of jack-fruit, tamarind, pineapple, banana, popaya, mangoes, etc. Individual workers have been supplied with improved steel implements, such as crowbars, spades, forks and ploughs, to work on these sites. To increase productivity in the highlands, the distribution of selected seeds, fertiliser and pesticides to "progressive farmers" is organised by the B.D.A. Interested individuals are taken on day trips to agricultural, poultry and dairy farms in the state, with a view to impress the villagers with modern techniques.

The B.D.A. activities have centred around land reclamation, construction of minor irrigation projects including dug wells and bunds, drinking water wells, and building roads into the interior. These activities are aimed at bringing about a quick change in the methods and techniques of agriculture. In their efforts to protect the forests from shifting cultivation, the officials have converged their interests on wet land cultivation. Thus the B.D.A. provides direct help for the development of terraced fields and reclamation of land in the valleys. This has resulted in the promotion of plough agriculture in the highlands. It is well worth remembering here the differences in the social effects of plough vis-a-vis axe cultivation, which we have already discussed

in an earlier chapter. In these wet valleys the B.D.A. has concentrated its efforts in popularising the cultivation of high yielding varieties of paddy and other selected crops. With a view to keeping the highlanders busy throughout the year on wet-land, a mid-season harvest crop (Rabi) has been encouraged and so the highlanders now have to cope with a summer harvest in between the two subsequent traditional harvests of Kharif crops.

In their attempt to protect the forests from axe cultivation through the promotion of plough cultivation on wet-land, the B.D.A. has run into difficulties too. For a start, wet land is limited and not every household has access to this land in spite of a few hectares of reclaimed terraces and new irrigation facilities. Only a few beneficiaries of the B.D.A. have taken up the high yielding varieties of crops for cultivation. Even so, the "progressive farmers" who have taken the initiative have run into initial difficulties. The following example serves to highlight the issues involved.

In the winter of 1980, the B.D.A. attempted the first organised effort to introduce, on a substantial scale, the high yielding paddy, an imported variety known as taichung. According to the extension officers, the wet land in the valley, with its perennial flow of streams, provided suitable land for taichung. The "progressive farmers" were persuaded to undertake this new crop.

In Orissa, the story of high yielding paddy goes back to the late 1960's. It was during the early 1960's

that, as a result of scientific experiments carried out at the International Rice Research Institute of Los Banas in the Philippines, a certain hybridized variety of dwarf plant, taichung, proved three times more productive than most indigenous varieties of paddy. With the help of American aid programmes, a campaign was mounted by the All India Co-ordinated Rice Improvement Project to popularise this new crop. It was then that taichung came to be a household word in the coastal plains of Orissa. Another attractive feature of this new crop was the short period of gestation which was two months shorter than those of the indigenous varieties.

During the initial stages there was resistance from farmers on some accounts. For a start, the vegetative growth of the crop was poor and this meant that the farmers did not obtain their much-needed straw. This discouraged the farmers, but the promise of harvesting an exceptionally high yield remained a major incentive. Throughout the late 1960's, the popularity of the crop spread far and wide. During the rabi season the coastal plains harvested taichung which supplemented Kharif harvests. So many farmers in the coastal plains celebrated two harvests instead of one. But the prospects were short lived. The disadvantages of taichung were many and the extension agencies often preferred to ignore the drawbacks of the high yielding paddy.

In the highlands, the B.D.A. remained convinced about the possible success of high yielding paddy. Soma Kirsani of Mudulipada village was approached by a B.D.A.

extension officer and asked to cultivate taichung. On the temptation of both financial and technical assistance, Soma agreed to plunge into this venture. The seeds supplied by the government were raised in impressive nurseries. He then transplanted the seedlings to his best plots of wet-land in rows which were supervised by the officers at distances neatly maintained. Instead of attending to his millet crop on the hill slopes, Soma's family concentrated all their efforts on the new paddy crop.

Initial growth was boosted by the government-supplied fertiliser which was provided free of charge. The use of fertiliser was unknown in the highlands until the B.D.A. introduced it on its own farm. The thick and dense growth of plants on the field encouraged the household. The emerald patches in the valley raised high hopes of a bumper harvest and Soma contemplated on the storage facilities. In the highlands this appeared to be a breakthrough. It was clearly an unexpected gift from the world of officials, of whom the highlanders had remained sceptical for so long.

The initial growth proved only an illusion. Meanwhile pests were multiplying at the base of the plants. Unlike the indigenous varieties of paddy, the new crop was extremely vulnerable to pests. By the time official machinery mobilised the spraying of pesticides it was too late and the plants could not recover. The frantic spraying of pungent chemicals, which was an entirely new sight for the highlanders, was undertaken by the government workers. The spraying exercise was in vain, and Soma

remained unconvinced by the officer's decision to spray "medicines" at the ostensibly healthy plants. The highlanders are not familiar with virulent diseases, and even so the traditional ritual offerings for good harvest do not approve of modern methods of treatment.

The officials could not convince Soma about the benefits of spraying pesticides. Soma drew his own conclusions from the failure of the crop that winter. Soma insisted that it was the so-called "medicine" of the officials which burnt up the plants. The other highlanders who suffered a similar fate approached, and got together with Soma. Some of them threatened the local officials of the B.D.A. One B.D.A. worker employed to spray pesticides was later physically assaulted by the villagers. It was felt by the villagers that the government officials were too educated to be trusted. Soma recalled the episode every time B.D.A. officials approached him.

The officials, for their part, learnt lessons too. There were already many problems the government had faced in the highlands. This had posed yet another problem by way of gaining acceptance. This time the crop is being proved at the B.D.A. farm under close watch. It will be some years of hard extension work before the villagers are convinced.

This is only one of the many instances which brings to the surface the problems that face the B.D.A. officials. The villagers have their own objections to the ways of the officials. But these reactions to officials are

always intertwined with social relationships and attitudes. Owing to his education, and his non-traditional way of looking at things, the educated official almost invariably antagonises the villagers when he works according to his own value system, which of course undermines the basis of traditional ways and notions. In such a case, there is always some danger that the village antagonism toward the officer will be extended to his work, thus turning the highlander against the new technique, making participation in, and understanding of it, minimal. It is therefore not at all surprising that non-participation and faulty understanding often lead to a lapse into old ways as soon as the agency of change is removed (Myrdal, 1968 : 1293)..

When the benefit to the villagers is immediate and apparent, they may be able to overlook or adjust to the extension officials and his "evil" ways. The innovation may then have a much greater likelihood of being participated in and understood by the villagers, and would stand a chance of being incorporated into the village system. If, on the other hand, the benefit is less obvious and more long term, the villagers are liable to be influenced in their reactions to the innovation by their attitudes toward the extension official.

The free distribution of agricultural inputs has created unintentional results too. This has led to the assumption by the villagers that "progress" may only be brought about by the activities of a benevolent government which provides facilities. Although, ostensibly, the

national government emphasises public responsibility, initiative and grass-roots democracy, these have remained pious platitudes. To the sociologist, who concerns himself with the effects of imposed change upon social systems, the attitude of looking up to the government is somewhat frightening. If villagers are ready to welcome "progress", why is it then so difficult to bring about technical and social change? One clue lies in the fact, as cited above, that the villagers are waiting for government, or some other outside agency, to bring about this imperfectly understood "progress". They thus do nothing to advance progress themselves; instead, they passively accept innovation, and, once the development programme is removed, they lapse as often as not into the old way of doing things.

The B.D.A. has emphasised rural education as a key factor in rural development. From the experience of other areas, it must be mentioned that education has served only to cut off the brightest and most able of the young from their villages. Yet the B.D.A. may be correct in saying this if rural education plays its full role by taking cognizance of the conditions in the highlands and the social need thereof. This is a complex task and I will return to this aspect in my next chapter.

Here, it is worth making one comment about the changing of attitudes. As far as the villagers are concerned, the problems faced in the highlands are usually the same as those faced and solved in the past. When they arise anew - whether in agriculture, child-rearing, marriage, relationships with constituted authority, or interpersonal

relations - the villager has very little real deciding to do. The decision, unless it is wished to risk censure, must follow traditional patterns. Few villagers dare to depart from these except in insignificant situations.

Where villagers do depart from traditional ways, they may encounter problems that are hard to overcome within the available means. In their use of the government sponsored L.A.M.P.S., the villagers expressed their own objections. Most villagers were happy about the setting up of a shop which provided the possibility of buying goods. But the idea of obtaining a loan from the cooperative did not appeal to them. Many of them have tried it, and have little inclination of doing so again. The local Sahukar, who was ready to extend loans at any time of the day, was easier to deal with than the L.A.M.P.S. manager who was a "difficult" man. He was available at "odd" hours of the day and asked too many "questions". Although he gave the loan at a low enough rate of interest, he demanded that it be paid back on a certain date, which might not be at all convenient if one had to pay other debts after harvest. What was most unreasonable was that the manager demanded that the seed should be grown and returned pure, not mixed with the millet, oil seeds, etc. - grain that guaranteed against crop failure in a year of bad harvest. There was no doubt in their minds that the local Sahukar was a more compassionate individual who put no deadlines on transactions of a certain date of the year, and so demanded few stringent rules to be followed.



(ix) Watch Tower for Protecting Crops from Wild Animals



(x) Taking High Yielding Rice Seedlings from Government Nursery

Although "progress" has been slow, the development programme continues to provide essential provisions for increasing production, such as supplies of fertiliser, pesticides, improved seeds and improved implements, and liberal credit and extension services. This continued interest in food production generates from the warnings of a "food crisis". There is also the realisation that a strong basis in food production is a condition of successful development of commodity relations in other branches of production. In the highlands, this is reflected by the tension between the traditional production of subsistence food for use within the household and the adoption of new crops and associated techniques. The intrinsic resistance to "progress" may then be seen as a resulting tension between subsistence agriculture and the process of commoditization. These tensions impose limits upon the exploitation of household labour by capital.

Generally speaking, the mode of exploitation has been effected through wage labour and an intensification of labour without any significant development of the productive forces in agriculture. Such intensification may result in the exhaustion of both the producers, relying on instruments of production fuelled mainly by human energy, and of the soil, cultivated with uneven improvements. A given technical improvement may not be remunerative without other improvements and changes in the subsistence structure and the attitudes fostered within that structure. Sometimes this may demand a tremendous effort of changing agrarian structure and the related social relations to inspire effective long range programmes. But as of now,

it is a gradual advance towards a process of commoditization.

(vi) Towards Commoditization

The development of exchange and rise of the market economy turn products for use into commodities for exchange. The exchange of these commodities is not mediated by kinship relations. It is the market and retail price shop of the government which mediate the transaction of the commodities. The local contractors and traders, who are interested in large profit margins, furthermore turn these commodities into merchandise.

The traditional labour aids are now replaced by wage labour which results in the selling of labour power as a commodity. In this type of labour, the labourer receives in exchange for his labour power a wage - value in cash which is fixed by the larger economic forces. The labour and its product are not "advanced", they are alienated (Meillassoux, 1980 : 167). While the product, in the domestic community, is not an object of appropriation, it becomes property once it is traded. The useful products of the domestic community, which may not have had an exchange value in the highlands, gain exchange-value once they are confronted for exchange alongside other merchandise. The most significant of the commodities exchanged is labour power.

When the prices of commodities are fixed by the traders in the market, these are soon conveyed to the

agents of production. The producers themselves remain aware of it, and so the production of these commodities are affected by the market independent of the actual producers. Through the purchase of the commodities, the labour of the producer itself is bought.

The relationship between the domestic community and the capitalist economy-at-large which develops at this stage has been seen as simple commodity production (Bernstein, 1979 : 425). According to Bernstein, these simple commodity producers are "deposited" historically by the destruction of the self-sufficient natural economy. By this he means that the destruction of the reproduction cycle of the earlier economy gives way to a different process of social reproduction, in which relations of commodity production and exchange come to dominate. The individual households in the community drift apart from one another as kinship, the main expression of domestic organisation, loses its actuality. The market forces mediate between individual households. So the state and status of individual households are increasingly determined by its relationship to the market relations of commodity production and exchange.

As a form of production that can exist in different historical periods, and in variant relations with other forms of production, this process incorporates within its fold the existing local conditions. The production of local subsistence products in the highlands can be seen in relation to the penetration of the relations of commodity production. Here it is necessary to recapitulate

the nature of exploitation the domestic community suffers under capitalism and the resulting system of wage economy. I have already mentioned that domestic community provides the means of subsistence for its producers, non-producers (young children, the very old, those who are sick) and the household as a unit of production which is constantly reproduced.

Under the wage labour system, the labourer earns enough for the reproduction of his/her own labour power only. Unlike the domestic community, the wage labour economy does not fulfil all the other needs of the labourer's household. Through low wages and precarious employment, the labourer is compelled to produce the subsistence for the total household, which includes the means of subsistence for non-productive members of the household ($XLA + \frac{1}{x} LC$). This explains the persistence of subsistence agriculture even when capitalism employs wage labour on a substantial scale. But the conditions of such an employment do not expel the existence of the subsistence sector which accounts for the simple reproduction of the unit of production (household). For these labourers the maintenance of an economy providing collective security is an absolute necessity. The encroaching wage economy does not provide the means to fulfil such needs. This accounts for the perpetuation of the traditional domestic economy through obsolete methods of production.

This integration is thus a prolonged and painful process for the reason that wage economy does not provide

the necessary surplus for feeding the household. Labourers fall back on obsolete subsistence production to meet these needs. On the other hand, these obsolete organisations are maintained as long as possible by capitalism as a means of cheap reproduction of the labour force. In spite of the activities of the rural development programme (B.D.A.), the degree of productivity in agriculture in the highlands had not increased to any noticeable degree. The general condition of agricultural production in Indian capitalism is related to the fact that development in agriculture has remained subordinated to accumulation of capital in the manufacturing and urban industrial sector. Therefore the relations of production within agriculture often reflect the overall relation of agriculture to industry.

The reproduction of the domestic community undergoes a change too. The needs of simple reproduction are satisfied, at least in part, through commodity relations: on one side, the production of commodities as means of exchange to acquire elements of necessary consumption; on the other, the incorporation of commodities in the cycle of reproduction as times of productive consumption (for example, tools, seeds, fertiliser) and individual consumption (for example, food, clothing, etc.). This cycle of simple commodity production and reproduction is conveniently referred to as C - M - C (commodity-money-commodity). These commodity relations often extend to traditional spheres of gift exchange, where payment in cash replaces the payment in kind. Bernstein gives the classic example of the monetization of bride-price to illustrate this

process. Gluckman refers to the substitution of cattle for hoes in marriage payments because cattle were a quasi-money commodity (1941 : 21).

In the highlands, the Bonda labourers however cannot be seen as proletarian, for obvious reasons. Firstly, these labourers are only periodically employed in wage labour. In my own investigation, only 7% of the total number of wage labourers were fully dependent on wage and did not possess any other means of livelihood except their labour power. Some of them were regularly employed by the B.D.A. Therefore, a major portion of the workers still retain control over their means of subsistence reproduction. This is due to the very nature of the penetration of wage economy into the domestic community of the highlanders. Secondly, subsistence production which persists in the highlands is still based on household production. The "logic" of such a production does not allow the creation of a proletariat as a member of a social class. The spatial concentration of these wage earners/subsistence producers is qualitatively different from the social concentration of workers in capitalist production (Bernstein, 1979 : 425).

Over the years, the flow of cash has increased in the highlands. With the setting up of the cooperative by the government, the volume of exchange has substantially increased. Cash has become an integral part of everyday life in the highlands. Although goods can still be bartered at the local market, and there is an initial preference for goods that have a certain tangibility, cash needs

have increased substantially. In spite of the difficulties which face the Bonda producers, commodity relations are now taking root and social reproduction cannot take place outside of these relations. The production of commodities for the market and the sale of labour power as a commodity is now an economic necessity for Bonda households. There are very few ways to earn cash other than to sell goods at the market, or earn a wage. This does not, however, mean that Bonda households do not produce for direct consumption. But the organisation of labour, and the distribution of use-values and income from the sale of commodities, within the household is now undergoing a change.

This process is best described as a tendency, and cannot be quantified in terms of statistical measure. The quantities which may show the amounts of labour time spent in commodity production and direct subsistence production are often misleading. Where labour power itself is a commodity, it is not useful to draw a line between the production of commodity and subsistence. Thus, the complexity of commoditization cannot be reduced to simple quantitative measures.

In the long history of the highlands, the process of commoditization is, as of now, in its initial stage. During the British rule, the highlanders had thrown up their own resistance to the colonial administration which had initiated changes in the conditions of production. Now the Bonda producers and their attitudes do not always conform to the ever increasing process of commoditization.

The various aspects of this are discussed in the next chapter. Here it is necessary to mention the material and social results of this process, although it is too early to draw conclusions about a process that has only just begun.

One important consequence of this process of commoditization is the well-known "differentiation". Bonda households are not yet sharply differentiated in terms of social relations of production. In a descriptive sense, however, differentiation in the relative wealth or poverty of households can be empirically observed. But these differences in the accumulation and consumption of use-values cannot in themselves indicate socially significant differences at the level of production.

This brings us to the problem of class. Sociologists have often seen class in terms of the individual and of consumptions. Such a view blurred Gluckman's understanding of Borotse social formation, where he limited class to what an individual can do to raise his own consumption given a low absolute surplus (Frankenberg, 1979 : 192). Sociologists have, often enough, stratified households in a village according to whether or not they possess a means of consumption. Alternatively, when differences in means of consumption are not obviously observed, class relations are denied. These indices cannot grasp class relations and the broader implications. Further, these differences may, or may not arise from relations of production. So the differences that can be observed in the highlands may contribute to future class differentiation, but it

is by no means a necessary development of class.

In the highlands, wet-land (bedha), which has been seen as an important property of individual owner households, sometimes appears on the market as a commodity. Although on a very limited scale, there is buying and selling of bedha. In our understanding of the impact of commoditization, the transfer of land may not be an important consideration. The movement of land may not always follow a consistent pattern and, even so, does not always reveal the inner dynamics of commoditization. So any simple conclusions from the pattern of land transfer may be misleading.

Bailey (1959) represents an example of the risks involved in drawing conclusions from the transfer patterns of land. In his study he considers the social significance of factors that bring land into the market. The break-off of the joint families of the land-owning caste (warriors) is followed by the breakdown of individual holdings. According to Bailey, the small land holdings do not survive the contingencies and expenditures on the customary obligations which are allowed to remain the same as in the past. Thus land is sold to realise cash needs.

Bailey's material suggests that transfer of land in central Orissa is a reciprocatory process, that is, land moves to and fro without drifting into the hands of a few big landowners. From the available data Bailey deduces a higher generalisation:

This extreme impermanence of wealth (he primarily

refers to land) has had important effects in helping to prevent the formation of economic classes.

(Bailey, 1959 : 86)

This needs some explanation. The reciprocal transfer of land may take place, not in spite of, but because of the process of commoditization. The earnings from wage and the market economy as a source of cash may often help small cultivators to earn cash for social contingencies without selling land to realise it. This prevents the cultivators from selling valuable means of production. Therefore, the process of commoditization need not always result in the "poor" and "rich" farmers. Alternatively, it may actually slow down the transfer of land in the market.

Based on a re-study of Bailey, and field work in central Orissa, I have argued elsewhere (Nanda, 1978) that land transactions concealed the formation of classes. Although the socio-economic changes in the village cannot be understood without the dense determinations of the "domestic life" of the small cultivators (inheritance practices, land transfer, customary obligations, etc.), I argued, the concentration of neither wealth nor power can be discussed within the borders of the village or land transfers thereof. The process of commoditization does not create big landowners within the community. The overall process necessitates the need to look at the process of change from a wider perspective, both in time and in space.

This broader perspective must come to include the

state. The role of the state is a complex issue. First, the economic role of the state has to be located in relation to the possibilities and contradictions of accumulation by the ruling classes which have formed since independence; whether they are reproduced and seek to accumulate on the basis of individual or state property or some combination of both. This does not exclude the various alliances of the state with international capital. One point needs to be mentioned here. In India there is no direct involvement in agricultural production of large scale productive capital, such as international agribusiness companies as in parts of south east Asia and Latin America.

This is related to the reproduction of social classes and their ability to appropriate surplus labour. The establishment of accumulation is dependent on the development of commodity production within the society-at-large. In this sense, the state has a direct interest in the development of commodity relations within any given society. This puts into perspective the rural development projects, like the B.D.A., which provide a further and major stimulus to the development of commodity relations. Thus the operation of state capital in the form of "development" programmes accompanies the extension of commodity relations associated with the process of change.

The operation of a law of value which accompanies commodity relations poses its own problems. The domestic use-value production based on family labour for the reproduction of the producers, "resists" the operation of

a law of value. This explains the "cheapness" of labour in the highlands. In the highlands, the exchange value of commodities is lowered to the extent to which the reproduction of the producers is "subsidised" through use-value production drawing on the labour of the household.

This "cheapness" is also related to the producers' own attitudes to work and labour. The highland producers do not count a large part of their productive work as labour. The intermingling of labour and leisure tends to undermine the producers' own calculations of amounts of labour spent in the production of goods and commodities. This accounts for the lowering of the exchange value of commodities produced by them. In the next chapter I will return to this problem of value in terms of the socially necessary labour time and its relationship to the cultural values attached to the notions of work and labour.

The competition of commodities produced by the highlanders with those produced under capitalist conditions with a higher productivity of labour, results in the "devalorization" of household labour time and hence of the value of the commodities produced (Bernstein, 1979 : 436). With the penetration of the market into the countryside, the value of a given commodity is established by the conditions of its production in branches with the highest productivity of labour.

At the same time the commodities of the capitalist market which penetrate the highlands and are consumed

by the producers helps to reduce the labour time necessary for the reproduction of the producers. State sponsored development activities in the highlands focus attention on the development of productive forces in agriculture and subsistence production to help reduce the value of subsistence commodities. Thus, the wage economy in the highlands not only exploits the workers through the appropriation of absolute surplus-value, such as the lengthening of the working day and the exploitation of household labour, but the commodity relations create the conditions for the extraction of relative surplus-value in an indirect way.

In conclusion, the domestic community undergoes change towards a wage economy. But this is not a linear change and is wrapped up, as I have already discussed, with various other forms of labour. The subsistence production continues to be on a household basis. Thus the wage labourers are not entirely divorced from the means of production and so are not reduced to a dispossessed class of proletarians. This process of change is mediated by the government sponsored development programme. The developmental activities encourage the producers to switch production for use to production for exchange in the market. Despite the extension work in the highlands to improve agriculture, the developmental efforts do not necessarily alleviate the conditions of life of highland producers. The attitudes of producers also play a part in the changing pattern of life. But this process cannot be understood through psychological, demographic or cultural factors. The factors may often be used to rationalise

the "development" activities of the state. The key to the emerging problems, however, must be sought in the relations of production which "underlie" the appearance and provide an understanding of change in society.

CHAPTER VChanging Attitudes of Bonda Producers

The present chapter deals with the changing notions of time and work in Bonda society. To the extent that values and ideas are a part of the superstructure we are, in this discussion, concerned with super-structural elements of Bonda social formation. It will, however, be evident from the discussion how closely the values and ideas coincide with the socio-economic pattern of production and its perpetuation. These values and ideas must be seen in relation to the social relations of production.

Now the language of totality has become common, and it is indeed in many ways more acceptable than the notion of base and superstructure. But with one very important reservation. It is very easy for the notion of totality to empty of its essential content the original Marxist proposition.

(Williams, 1980 : 35-36)

I will return to the problem of base and superstructure in the concluding remarks of this chapter. But at the beginning of this chapter I will discuss available anthropological work relating to the idea of time and to the theoretical model of time. I shall then seek to analyse the changing notion of time and work among Bonda producers, as I promised in my last chapter, using this anthropological model.

Social anthropologists have viewed indigenous cognitive

systems and classifications as an important variable in anthropological theory (Evans-Pritchard, 1940). Some structuralist approaches have gone so far as to imply that cognitive systems have primacy over socio-economic patterns of production. On the other hand, Marxist anthropology has remained preoccupied with material relations of production to such an extent that its analysis of structure/superstructure has seemed almost independent of the indigenous cognitive systems (Godelier, 1977).

The present discussion may be seen as an attempt to understand the co-existence and changing nature of cognitive systems through an understanding of changing conditions of production and reproduction. This will, it is hoped, also clarify the confusions surrounding notions of social time.

(i) Transition or Transformation?

The transition from a subsistence society to a market economy entails a change in the modes of apprehension of social reality. In the analysis of the process of change in Bonda society in the previous chapter, the term transition, however, is misleading. Although transition of historical modes of production provides a useful theoretical framework to the present analysis, yet Bonda society, like most pre-capitalist social formations (Bernstein, 1979 : 437) and peasant societies (Shanin, 1974 : 187) which follow diverse and heterogenous processes of change, is better understood as changing towards a future which is not

yet uni-directional. The future is not given, and is still in the making.

It is also that there has never been any single type of "the transition". The stress of transition falls upon the whole culture: resistance to change and assent to change arise from the whole culture. And this culture includes the systems of power, property relations, religious institutions, etc., inattention to which merely flattens phenomena and trivializes analysis.

(Thompson, 1967 : 80)

Such a change carries no a priori assumption of change towards a known historical and future social formation. And I shall suggest the term transformation to indicate that the changes I discuss, although socially determined, are not in any sense pre-given. Furthermore, such a process of change is unfolding, not only in the specific and unique socio-economic context, but it also produces its corresponding changes in the means of cognitive mapping of the producers (Gudeman, 1979). These are as much a product of material conditions as they are of the subjective policies and processes of the state and society-at-large.

In the Bonda highlands, traditional cognitive systems are no longer compatible with the emerging material conditions of life. Although Bonda producers resort to magic and mythical constructs, there is evidence of new values and ideas which buttress the market economy of society-at-large. The highland producer is thus caught, at this moment of transformation, between two different value systems. The present chapter deals with the changing values and ideas of Bonda producers. Such a discussion

of changing modalities in consciousness is a rather complex task, which requires the treatment of cognitive systems separately from social relations of production. But it is worth reminding ourselves that while such changes in cognitive systems take place, the terms and patterns of social relations themselves undergo transformation. While it is insufficient to suggest that changes in cognition are results of material changes, yet cognitive changes do not occur merely out of people's desires to change, or to satisfy urges of "the human mind". Neither a materialist analysis of human cognition, nor a structuralist view of universals of human mind can alone explain such a process of transformation.

Unlike subsistence agriculture based on traditional shifting cultivation, emerging commodity production in Bonda society introduces the buying and selling of labour power, something completely new to the highlanders. For a day's labour a Bonda man or woman is paid in cash, the wage. As a matter of fact, the government sponsored Bonda Development Agency (B.D.A.) is the major employer of wage labour in the highlands. In the summer of 1980 the B.D.A. revised the wage to five rupees per day (earlier it had been four rupees), equalised the wages of men and women, and fixed the working hours at eight. Thus, the terms of wage labour are indeed defined and re-defined by this government initiated organisation. This does not mean, however, that wage labour is created solely by the B.D.A. The selling of labour power for a fixed amount of cash is, of course, the product of social transfor-

mation of production from production for use to production for exchange, a social process that is itself the object of my broader research. Here I am only concerned with an aspect of it: how and in what way does the commoditization of labour power impinge upon the minds of tribal men and women?

The single most significant impact of wage labour on the minds of the Bonda, I would argue, is their present awareness of time and the new meaning given to it. In order to understand this meaning of time and concomitant experiences of duration in Bonda society, we need to turn to anthropology in that this discipline from its inception has concerned itself with the cognitive systems of pre-capitalist social formations and related processes of individual cognition.

(ii) Theory of Time in Anthropology

The treatment of the topic by anthropologists, however, is not without the ideological wrappings which have so often blurred the scientific edges of explanations in social science. In the study of cognitive systems of different cultures and societies, anthropologists, contrary to the usual criticisms of being ethnocentric, have paradoxically remained vulnerable to an ethnocentrism inherent in anti-ethnocentrism. In contradistinction to sociologists, who have sought to explain the unintended consequences and latent processes through "society's reason" (Merton, 1963 : 64), anthropologists have looked

for answers in terms precisely of actors' reasons (Evans-Pritchard, 1939 : 189). But in trying not to impute western meanings into the cognitive systems of other cultures, anthropologists have looked toward the exotic components of pre-capitalist cultures. And in so doing, they have paid greater attention to the world as seen through religious discourse, neglecting other conceptualisations of the world which may lie hidden beneath the religious cognitive system of their actors (Bloch, 1977 : 290). But Bloch's own position creates problems to which consequently we shall return.

I have tried to subject the underlying theoretical notion of time to the same methodological analysis as I will apply to Bonda notions of time, since, like the cognitive structure of Bonda highlanders, the present theoretical framework carries its own specific notion of time. This inherent notion of time has to be made explicit, since its application to Bonda perception of time is not innocent.

There are three different, yet methodologically similar, approaches to notions of time which blur the emerging scientific treatment of social time in recent literature. Firstly, those of cultural relativists; social scientists as varied as Durkheim (1912), Boas (1966), Evans-Pritchard (1939) et al., have, in their own different ways, treated concepts of time like other categories of nature as products of culture and social structure. Thus notions of time, in the theoretical optics of these diverse writers, vary from society to

society (Bloch, 1977 : 282). Such an approach treats time, like all cultural categories, as relative. Secondly, the more sophisticated but equally relativistic notion of time is contained in structuralism, primarily in the works of Lévi-Strauss (1966). Structuralism posits a series of dichotomous contrasts between anthropology and history, synchronic and diachronic, reversible and irreversible, cyclical and non-cyclical time, as pairs of opposites. In so doing, structuralism also relativises not only time, but also its nomenclature and related processes of temporality (Barnes, 1968 : 22). The third, and more philosophical, treatment of social time is presented in Georges Gurvitch's theory of multiple "temporalities", reducing social time to pluralistic time: "slow-moving time of long duration, illusory time or 'surprise' time, time with irregular pulse, cyclical time or time that dances on the spot, time that falls behind itself, time that alternates between falling behind and going ahead, time that goes ahead of itself and explosive time" (Braudel's summary of Gurvitch in Braudel, 1972 : 37).

Maurice Bloch (1977) suggests that the relativist approach is based on a Durkheimian sociology of knowledge - that society is not only an homogeneous, organised and self-reproducing entity, but more importantly that categories of understanding and systems of classifications are social in origin. Unlike Marx's distinction between ideology and knowledge, Durkheim's view of social cognition reduces all cognition to an homogeneous social consciousness. Thus it remains difficult to see why some actors at a certain point in the social process cannot say: "This

social system is no good at all, let us take a fresh look at the situation and build up a new system" (Bloch, 1977 : 281). In the Durkheimian paradigm of cognition, all concepts and categories are determined by the social system, a fresh look from within society is impossible, since all cognition is already moulded to fit what is to be criticised. In order to overcome the problem of social determination of cognition, Bloch makes a distinction between ritual and normal communication. He then draws upon Marx to suggest that such a distinction between the ritual and non-ritual cognitive systems are equivalent to the distinction between ideology and knowledge. At a later stage we will return to this suggestion by Bloch, especially to the consequences of such a suggestion of the cognition of social time.

The structuralist dichotomous contrasts, Barnes (1968) suggests, only add colour to the analysis, but no additional dimension to the already existing nomenclatures and different kinds of temporal processes in human society. In contradistinction to the multi-state and infinite state models of Newtonian mechanics, where the models remain unaltered if the time dimension is reversed, as in a pendulum, similar models of social events and cultural signs cannot be constructed in reversible time. Barnes thus perceives the theoretical significance of a single contrast derived from various structuralist time dimensions, such as reversible, irreversible, straight, circular, progressive, empty, non-cumulative, statistical, psychological, visceral, micro and macro time, to that of a contrast between cyclical and non-cyclical model, all in irreversible

social time. The cyclical and non-cyclical models of time thus remain embedded within an irreversible time context and cannot be identified with static/dynamic or synchronic/diachronic divisions which have so prominently featured in both structuralism and functionalism alike. There is a general tendency to view non-cyclical time as dynamic and cyclical time as a static notion of reality. Neither the cyclic nor the synchronic models of social reality are independent of time. The cyclical notion of time involves continuity over time, in that "the stable surreptitiously incorporates an element of time" (Giddens, 1979 ; 198). While, from an ontological premise, it is possible to argue that 'static' social models are no less dynamic than 'dynamic' social reconstructions (Gellner, 1958 : 192), yet explanations through time may violate the principle of temporalities by implying that time alone explains and explains sufficiently. Thus contrasts of cyclical/non-cyclical time may be seen within irreversible time (Barnes) and static/dynamic division understood in the context of change over time (Giddens); while at the same time the dimension of time remains inextricably interlinked to 'static' or 'dynamic' models in social anthropology (Gellner).

As against contrasts, opposites and dichotomies, it is theoretically useful to view time as a continuum (Braudel, 1972) so that the range of colours of time merge into a single band of white light. The instants, happenings or social situations with which social historians and anthropologists have concerned themselves, may acquire a series of references and associations (Thompson, 1977)

and remain on one pole of the time continuum. On the other pole of this continuum may lie long term time of historical events (Braudel, 1972). Social situations with short term time thus link up to historical events with long term time references. The study of social structure is as much a function of short term as long term time. While social scientists use different methods to analyse various degrees of periodicity, time must be seen as continuous and not a discontinuous reality. In recent years social anthropologists have used historical time to understand social situations just as historians have treated anthropology as yet another "historie", to borrow Braudel's term. Thus time remains an important frame of reference to theories of social sciences. Braudel suggests that realities which lie outside the poles of time continuum, and thus may distort the effect of time, are not always the subject matter of social sciences.

While Lévi-Strauss considers the phenomena as outside time, because they move slowly, Jean-Paul Sartre reduces historical time to a multitude of biographical instances, in the name of multifarious reality (Braudel, 1972). Both, Braudel points out, are at some distance from Marx's historical materialism. The theory of historical materialism concerns social models starting out from the long term, but it incorporates within it varying durations and time periods. Marx's view of historical time is more complex than many marxists are ready to admit. A structuralist interpretation of historical materialism (Godelier, 1972), emphasises the logic of relationships between elements of the system at a time 't' (synchronic) over how these

relationships are formed and evolved through a time series, $t_1, t_2, t_3, \dots, t_n$ (diachronic). But in his analysis of capitalism, Marx does not differentiate between the logic of capitalism (synchronic) and its evolution (diachronic) as two different things (Asad, 1974). Capitalism, like other modes of production, grows out of and feeds upon other historical structures. Thus, individual elements of capitalism possess multiplicity of time, durations, and are not permanently fixed to any single time period applicable in all places to all periods. They cannot get away from time. It is theoretically possible to arrest the movement of time in order to present the relationships of elements of the whole, but the theoretically constituted time continuum which we have discussed above does not lend itself readily to the dazzling double game of synchrony and diachrony, and the other opposing binary contrasts of the structuralists. The present analysis of Bonda cognitions of time is presented against the backdrop of such a theoretical framework.

The suggestion that the notion of time can be experienced in other cultures in totally different ways, not as linear but perhaps as static or as cyclic, received its first systematic statement in Evans-Pritchard's analysis of the time sense of the Nuer. Nuer time reckoning has had far-reaching effects on anthropological studies on the concept of time in pre-capitalist social formations.

Though I have spoken of time and units of time it must be pointed out that, strictly speaking, the Nuer have no concept of time and consequently, no developed abstract system of time-reckoning....

To bring out the absence of such a concept among the Nuer I need only remark that there is no equivalent expression in the Nuer language for our word "time", and that they cannot, therefore, as we can, speak of time as though it were something actual, which passes, which can be wasted, can be saved, and so forth.

(Evans-Pritchard, 1939 : 208)

This implies that Nuer time-reckoning and the European system of ideas relating to time are fundamentally different. But the analysis and understanding of Nuer concept of time by Evans-Pritchard, itself bears witness to the fact that, after all, it is possible to communicate and comprehend the varying meanings of time and related ideas, however different the cultures may be. There is thus a certain underlying and shared meaning between the anthropologist and the tribes they study, which makes such a communication and anthropology itself possible. It is this universal and shared system of time notion which does not receive attention from Evans-Pritchard and anthropologists who are influenced by the 'static' notion of time.

Now Evans-Pritchard admits that there are two distinguishable concepts of time among the Nuer. One reflects their relationship to the environment which in a broad sense he calls "oecological time", and the other reflects their relationships to one another in the social structure which may be described as "structural time". Evans-Pritchard's data on the Nuer does not provide enough evidence about relationships between these two concepts of time and their origins in Nuer society. Do the Nuer evoke different

notions of time in different contexts? If so, what is it that determines whether "oecological" or "structural" time is to be evoked at a given point in the process of Nuer social organisation? What constraints are imposed by Nuers' relation to the natural world, which may not allow the perception of time in a linearity?

In his re-interpretation of Balinese notions of time from Geertz's material, Bloch (1977) suggests that Balinese use a 'static' notion of time in ritual contexts, while in more mundane contexts time categories and classifications are based on a time linearity, which is in no way fundamentally different from the linear time which European anthropologists themselves adhere to. It is in contexts where people are in direct contact with nature that we find the "oecological time" (Evans-Pritchard) or notions of time based on "cognitive universals" (Maurice Bloch). Following Marx, it is possible to see an inter-connection between people's relationship to nature and social relationships of people to people. "The production of life, both of one's own in labour and of fresh life in procreation, now appears as a double relationship: on the one hand as a natural, or the other as a social relationship" (Marx, 1976 : 50). Thus, how the natural world is exploited in the process of production determines and constrains the cognitive categories. This includes the notion of time.

Thus Marx's initial distinction between land as subject of labour and land as object of labour assumes significance once again. A static notion of time may usefully be

seen, not as the product of a certain culture, but as a concomitant cognitive category of a certain labour process where land is subject of labour and exploited directly, without human labour being accumulated and invested previously in it. Hunting, gathering and subsistence activities are representative of this mode of exploiting land. The subsistence economy and production in Nuer society, as described by Evans-Pritchard, tends to fit into this process of exploiting land. On the other hand, use of land as an object of labour, and when labour itself becomes an object for exchange, brings about a change in the cognitive categories of time. The concepts of time in Bonda society provide a useful instance to substantiate this connection between production relations and cognitive categories and the related processes of change in the value systems in society.

(iii) Time as Subject

In the traditional subsistence economy of the Bonda highlanders, where land is used as a subject of labour; time is not experienced independent of the work done. Among my informants the older men and women could not agree to meet me at particular hours of the day. I would arrange to call on them when the "sun reached that position in the sky". There was simply no idea of hours and minutes among the older tribal folk. References, such as "the time it took to plough that patch of land", "time needed to reach that village", or time needed to accomplish a certain task, provided a way of comprehending time.

Another evidence of unawareness of the modern notion of 'time', as in the case of the Nuer, is the absence of an equivalent expression in Bonda dialect. To the best of my knowledge there is no verbal way of describing time in hourly denominations in Bonda dialect, or even an appropriate word for describing time. This is not, however, to say that Bondas have no way of measuring time. No social production supporting a complex social structure can function without a certain degree of immediacy or exactitude. But such an immediacy and time-sense, in the case of traditional Bonda society, is based on the ritual and non-ritual rhythm of subsistence agriculture. It is difficult to understand the cultural categories in traditional Bonda society, without taking into consideration the social production of subsistence. Traditional shifting agriculture involves work-oriented time. This mode of exploiting land is labour intensive and the producers constantly change the siting of their labour expenditure. Indeed, failure to do so results in diminished agricultural yields. All information relating to this shifting of sites involve the distance, location and information about the land (Gudeman, 1979 : 229). It is thus the agricultural task that renders meaning and substance to duration and any related notions of time. The present change in this task-oriented notion of time may well be viewed as a reversing of the relationship between work and time. Thus, instead of work defining time, now it is time that defines work. We will argue, therefore, that the shift from use of land as subject of labour to its use as object of labour, which objectifies work

and labour itself, brings about a new cognitive category of time and gives rise to the "discovery of time as something that can be wasted" (Bourdieu, 1973 : 83).

The transformation of task-oriented subsistence agriculture, and its cultural expression in the changing cognitive category of time, is best understood by juxtaposing the old and the new notions. Several characteristics underlie the traditional notion of task-oriented time. First, it can be seen as a cyclic concept of time. Like the daily solar movement which Bondas refer to as a convenient natural system, the agricultural and related calendar is observably cyclic. A year's agricultural activity is punctuated by harvest festivals. Although Bonda villagers live from one harvest to the next, and look forward to the communal hunting following harvest, yet it is not unreasonable that life in this agricultural society must appear repetitive. A day once again is a repetition of dawn (first crow of the cock), noon (overhead sun) and dusk (dust raised by the return of cattle after grazing).

Although in describing various parts of the day, the sun remains an important reference, the Bonda do not usually refer to the various divisions of the agricultural year, to the climatic changes brought about by nature; sun, wind and rain. It is, rather, the social activities which describe the seasons of the agricultural year. There is greater flexibility and less rigidity than most Bondas are prepared to admit. With loose ends, that may stretch into terminal months, the Bonda divide the year into three seasons incorporating soil preparation

and season for cutting branches and undergrowth, gathering and collecting forest produce, harvest festival and marriage season followed by ritual hunting.

In Chapter III I have already presented the agricultural calendar. It is clear from the Bonda calendar that site selection for shifting agriculture begins during Hagharke and digging for the broadcasting of millet seeds continues until the end of Bondapona. From Bondapona until the middle of Diali are the lean months of the year when Bonda men and women attend to cultivated plots and spend most of the time during the day collecting forest products. The winter months starting from Dassera to Pausake are harvest months when millet, as well as rice, is harvested.

Subsequent to harvest, the Bonda celebrate the important festivals; Pausa Parab (February), Magha Parab (March) and Chaitra Parab (April). It is during Chaitra Parab that the ritual hunting trips are made to the forest. This season starts from the middle of Hagharke and may continue till Baiskhe. Bonda households perform weddings and may lavishly spend the harvested yield on communal feasts. The celebrations follow the harvest. The Bonda months may be seen to be divided into three distinct seasons, each season stretching over four months of the calendar. Where the terminal months are concerned there is a significant lack of uniformity among the Bonda.

In explaining such a lack of uniformity in the seasonal calendar of the Nuer, Evans-Pritchard attributes this to "the slight climatic variations between eastern

and western Nuerland" (Evans-Pritchard, 1939 : 191). In the case of the Bonda highlanders, there is no significant climatic variation as villages more or less share the same geographical and ecological conditions. The reason why one producer may place one terminal month in one season and another producer in another can be attributed entirely to the less precise times in which social activities are performed by villages (festivals) and households (marriages). Although harvests and agricultural activities follow a uniform pattern, there is wide variation in the dates when rituals related to such activity are performed. At the same time, the economic position of a Bonda household may affect the ability or inability to perform certain social obligations, such as marriage feasts etc., at a specific time of the year. So within the broad division between the seasons, an array of social activities are arranged and these divisions are derived from the occurrence of social activities themselves.

This does not, however, mean that physical conditions and natural climatic variations, which determine the activities, receive negligible importance in the Bonda cognitive system. On the contrary, the traditional notion of time is influenced by the sun and its position as an important reference, and may well be called a solar-concept of time. On several occasions my informants' only frame of reference was the sun, whose disappearance during full solar eclipse evoked religious explanations of a mythical demon who attacked the sun, and exerted lasting influence on the memories of Bonda villagers. Anthropologists have seen ritualization and symbolization

of time and other aspects of culture primarily as modes of legitimation and instruments of social control (Bloch, 1977). It is useful to view ritual communication as an ideology which legitimates power and control by hiding reality. Yet the episode of solar eclipse when a "spell of night arrived during day", is best viewed as a supernatural myth derived from an inability to solve a puzzle when available forms of knowledge fail to explain. While the mythic existence of a demon can legitimate the social control of Dissari (magico-religious practitioner) over villagers, the profane and sacred symbols may derive from constraints imposed by available cognitive systems, the puzzle-solving devices (Kuhn, 1970) available to actors. This would also explain the existence of similar, although different, religious "explanations", not only among Bonda, but also among the more educated and scientific officers of B.D.A. who are ostensibly engaged in the modernisation of the tribe. Thus the state and status of elements of nature has as much to do with the primeval dependence on nature and its elements as with the corresponding cognitive systems available to the actors.

Just as there is a certain lack of uniformity in the Bonda calendar, the calendar year itself, which is marked by two subsequent harvests, characteristically lacks precision. One good example of this lack of precision is the flexible credit system of the Bonda where borrowers usually agree to repay at harvest. Unlike the government sponsored cooperative, which extends loans and compounds interest on exact amounts over calculated periods, the Bonda do not calculate the agricultural year precisely

but stretch it according to the social relationships involved. In a number of cases, the repayment of loans often stretched to months after harvest and rational accounting, in the Weberian sense of the term, was entirely unknown in their credit system. A total lack of precision and accounting involving money and time has surprised western observers (Hobson, 1978 : 41). But this has little to do with incapacibilities of precise calculation. It involves certain attitudes to time and money, which in pre-capitalist social formation remain tied to social relationships and activities, in that the lack of precision is a function of the flexibility and elasticity of social relationships themselves.

The self-sufficient economy of the Bonda, as it were, sustains a certain intermingling of work and leisure. Every week (duration between two subsequent markets), Bonda villagers visit the weekly market without any obvious utilitarian motives. Their habitual rounds of the forests and weekly markets are never considered a waste of time and energy. Although a round of the Mundiguda weekly market fifteen miles away may not always start with any specific task in mind, such frequent visits are of social significance. From the villagers' point of view the market is both an economic and a social event. For the widely scattered villages of the highlands it provides a place for barter exchange as well as a convenient and regular place for meeting others, a neutral spot to obtain information, to renew friendships and contacts, to settle accounts with officials and to gossip or to relax. The songs of courtship at the girls' dormitories sing the

much-awaited pleasure of visits to the weekly markets in the plains. There is thus no doubt in my mind that distinguishing work and leisure in the subsistence economy of the Bonda is not at all easy. It will be evident that such a sense of time, and attendant attitude to life, may not be wholly consistent with the time-oriented wage labour economy. Thus, the traditional ethos of life, and related attitude to time, is under stress. The emerging wage economy renders a sense of time, work, and work discipline indispensable. A society that produces for exchange creates an utilitarian distinction between work and leisure, structures labour vis-a-vis leisure and counts upon time as a potential earner of money (Thompson, 1967 : 93).

The emerging wage economy does not entirely do away with the task-oriented life of subsistence farmers we have described above and hence the emergence of time-orientation does not replace all spheres of social activity. Furthermore, task-orientation and an imperfect sense of time is not always the product of subsistence social formations. Even in advanced industrial capitalism, women's work at home has not altogether moved out of the conventions of "pre-capitalist" labour processes and thus, despite school times and television times, rhythms of domestic labour are not wholly attuned to the measurement of the clock. Although changes in the role of working class families have taken place, yet domestic labour continues to resemble the arduous and prolonged task-oriented life of a labourer's wife in the rural economy of 17th century Britain (Thompson,

1967 : 79). Feminists have consistently argued that the structure of domestic labour within the context of a patriarchal family is not merely a 'hangover' from a pre-capitalist stage of capitalism or from pre-capitalist society, but such task-oriented labour is of fundamental economic, political and ideological importance to capitalist modes of production (Beechey, 1977 : 47; Hunt, 1980 : 113-114).

(iv) Time as Object

Commodity production, coupled with the use of land as an object of labour, imposes and sustains an entirely new notion of time. In contradistinction to the cyclic and solar concept of Bonda subsistence production, the new notion gives a linear meaning to time. If a day's labour earns five rupees, then a day's leisure implies a loss of those five rupees too. This brings the traditional intertwining of work and leisure to stress. A day can now be 'wasted'. Given the earnings from the B.D.A. from such activities as construction of roads, carrying goods for the government shop or delivering the daily mail bag at the local post office, needy villagers look upon the visits to the forests and the rounds of weekly markets as "killing time". At least this is how their new officials want them to view the time at their disposal. Except on Biru days, when ritual abstinence from work is compulsory, most needy villagers tend to think of wage labour as a necessity to supplement the agricultural produce. Thus subsistence production and wage labour co-exist in the Bonda highlands. It is worth noting

here that wages at the agricultural and pre-capitalist periphery of capitalist production may remain well below the value of labour power (Mandel, 1975 : Ch. 3), since part of the costs of reproduction are met within the subsistence economy. Thus, when Bonda men seek work in the plains as semi-proletarianised workers, the old parents, wives and children are engaged in subsistence production through which the domestic community (Meillassoux, 1981 : 118) contributes to the reproduction of old parents, women, children and the men when they are unemployed. This occurs in most Indian tribes, the male semi-proletarianised worker being drawn either into wage labour in the metropolitan society as a migrant worker, or into the wage labour market in their own local community. As far back as the early part of this century, Bonda highlanders worked as migrant labourers in the tea gardens of Assam. While the tea gardens of Assam may have provided a way of earning money to pay a bride-price, or to escape from embarrassing domestic or economic complications, or to find an arena for adventure, leading to culture-change (Elwin, 1950 : 23), the practice of semi-proletarianised labour migrations provide a cheap source of labour. There are no recent instances of Bonda highlanders leaving for the tea gardens of Assam, since now the frontiers of wage economy have penetrated the boundaries of their own tribe.

Similar examples of black workers on the South African Bantustans (Wolpe, 1976) and tribal workers in other parts of Africa (Meillassoux, 1981) exist, where increasing cash needs may force male workers to enter the labour market, leaving the women behind in the production

of subsistence. This has provided substantial labour reserves in developing countries, so that the state may make it a matter of "policy whenever practicable to leave the care of the destitutes and the disabled in the hands of the tribal clan and family organisation which have traditionally accepted this responsibility" (Meillassoux, 1981 : 118).

Thus wages remain much below the value of labour power. Such a labour market is dependent on the subsistence production and it therefore over-exploits labour. As subsistence production is an integral part of such a system, wage earning is seasonal or may remain fragmented. It is not surprising that Bonda labourers view every available day, except during the busy agricultural seasons such as sowing and harvest time, as a potential wage earning day, since cash earnings are never quite high enough for their needs. This further reinforces the eagerness of the villagers not to 'waste' time when work may be available.

Such a view of work and life draws upon a linear notion of time, a notion which the planners "behind the walls of the yellow buildings" carry. The long term planning and development in the highlands is time-oriented. There is a certain stipulated period in which roads must be constructed and wells dug. This task of construction cannot wait for festivities, religious celebrations and rituals. Every government programme has its own self-determined time-period. Thus there is, as ever, a certain built-in pressure to emphasise the element of time.

While this weighs on the officials and the contractors and others who are directly employed by them, it is as a matter of fact the tribal community as a whole that remains at the receiving end of it all. It is this urgency which the officials are at pains to put across to the tribals. Clearly this is in conflict with the traditional notions of work and leisure. The extra incentives and attractions remain important to stop labour days being made idle by the observance of the ritual and festival calendar. The ensuing conflict is perhaps better understood as a conflict of the underlying notions of work and life which includes the concept of time. Just as subsistence agriculture is associated with tribal myths, the development programme too is connected with modern myths. But if time may run "backwards" in tribal myths, the modern myth of "development" is based on linear time - the child of the cumulative tradition of classical western thought. "Maybe there is a major difference between the myths of tribal peoples and those of our own day" (Barnes, 1969 : 37). Thus the myths of development may not make immediate sense to tribal people (Bailey, 1976 : 315).

Those who make five year plans are thinking of time as an arrow. The work has a beginning and end: there is a target to be reached....But those who think in terms of the round of time see such changes as coming from mystical forces like fate, or luck or witchcraft or acts of God, and to plan for such events makes nonsense."

(emphasis mine)

Coupled with this linear notion of time, work is now measured in terms of the time it takes to accomplish it. Although the position of the sun is still a convenient

point of reference, watches and reference to time in hours and minutes are beginning to appear. But the normal economic need of a watch is often overshadowed by the social prestige a Bonda enjoys while the watch adorns his wrist. Even a cheap watch is beyond the means of an ordinary villager. But there is no denying that, given the possibility, few Bondas can resist the temptation of possessing this new and efficient symbol of modernisation in the highlands. There are now watches in the richer Bonda households, to the envy of others who cannot afford the costs. Yet time-sense will perhaps take over and domesticate the leisurely life of the tribe before the instrument itself becomes an essential need of the highlanders!

(v) From Leisure to Labour

Such a time-orientation is compatible with the emergence of wage economy in the highlands. As the context of social labour changes, the psychological attitudes to work and leisure also undergo recognisable change. With the advance of the cause of "development", the tribal intermingling of work and social intercourse is undergoing considerable stress. The changing attitudes towards the market is one of the examples of this shift. Bonda villagers may now refrain from attending the weekly markets. Paradoxically, although the weekly market is growing in its economic transactions, yet the social significance attached to it is on the decline. The shift from markets to market has begun (Polanyi, 1968 : 380). The creation of the Large Scale Agricultural Multipurpose Co-Operative

Society (L.A.M.P.S.) by the government has brought the tribe to the broader market economy and it has, to some extent, reduced the earlier dependence on barter exchange at the traditional local market. The villagers who buy essential consumer goods from the L.A.M.P.S. shop at Mudulipada now engage in a different system of exchange to the traditional barter exchange at the market.

The creation of L.A.M.P.S. is only one aspect of the larger process by which the isolated and subsistence economy of the Bonda is decisively brought into contact with the larger economic system which now encompasses it. The resulting exploitation of local economies has been analysed through the perspective of "centre-periphery" (Frank, 1967). Often attention has been paid to unequal exchange attended by low remuneration for labour (Amin, 1976). Such approaches have taken on many hues, leaving behind the conditions which make the reproduction of cheap labour possible. These social conditions of reproduction of human labour and subsistence have received special attention in recent years (Meillassoux, 1981). Yet other anthropologists have seen exploitation of producers as an insufficient explanation (Gudeman, 1978a : 367), in that it does not account for all instances of surplus production nor for all the culturally different ways in which the net product may be used. According to this neo-Ricardian approach, the exploitation concept cannot be used to explain how and why the actual producer divides his own return between that required to sustain him during production, and that needed to maintain him while participating in religious celebrations or earning cash outside his

"native" system. But this perspective has viewed the alternative uses of net product as a "question of distribution". I would argue, in the instance of Bonda producers, that the question is that of "value" too. Not only that the transformation of subsistence creates problems of production and distribution, but also that of "values" attached to work and time, which in turn effect the measure of "value" (in the Marxian sense of socially necessary labour time) of what work produces. What was never considered "work" under subsistence production may now be considered "labour" seriously undermining subsistence production.

In Bonda dialect, the word Paiti refers to 'work'. When you ask a Bonda what he did the day before, he may reply that he went to 'work' in his field up in the mountain. Bonda use Buti to refer to wage labour and to labour exchange with friends or kin. But neither Paiti nor Buti include the domestic activities of processing food grains, looking after cattle, building houses and other related subsistence activities of walking to the far off fields to attend to farming, walking to the weekly market to sell food or cash crops. Thus there is no mention of the efforts to reproduce labour power, made by Bonda producers. If a woman wants to tell you that she spent the day cooking, she will use words which describe the food rather than the act of preparation. A farmer may also use a very specific word to describe some farming activities such as Tarig (weeding), Oeker (harvesting rice), Samesisi (harvesting millet), Sumu (sowing seeds), Sese (ploughing), without telling you that he 'worked'.

It is important to note here that he can describe all such activities either specifically or with the category Paiti, whereas he will never use that category to describe marketing, looking after cattle, any related subsistence activity or domestic activity.

Another important qualification to the use of the word Buti, which relates to the social context in which work is performed, must be mentioned. The word is appropriately used when the Bonda expect payment in kind, cash, or both, in return for their labour. If it is an arranged labour exchange with friends or kin, then repayment by way of labour is expected in return. Buti is not used to describe the effort involved in discharging social or communal obligations. Some aspects of agriculture are seen as communal activities and every household of the village is expected to contribute its own share of the labour and cattle-power to perform these tasks. One interesting example of communal cooperation is the system of levelling hill slopes with the help of cattle. When a household prepares the land and arranges to broadcast the seeds, all the cattle of the village are brought together and the entire herd is made to walk several times over the patch of land. This practice of levelling land and letting seeds into the sub-soil to protect it from birds and rain water (which may wash it away) is known in Bonda dialect as Goitang Odja. Every household is expected to contribute to the Goitang Odja which is considered as a communal obligation in the highlands. All the children of the village help the individual household to perform this particular farming activity, which is

never accounted as Buti or Paiti.

Thus, in the subsistence agriculture of Bonda highlanders, several activities are left out and remain unaccounted in the calculation of the labour spent in production of subsistence. This system of the cultural valuation of labour leads to inaccuracies of labour estimates leading to an under-evaluation of labour requirements of commodity production in pre-capitalist social formations (Ortiz, 1979 : 225). In these social formations, where many activities are excluded from final accounting, the peasants err in under-valuing their effort in production. A commodity embodies labour, but the labour it embodies is not the labour described by the peasant as the socially necessary labour, just as the price of the commodity does not represent the labour embodied in it. Ortiz suggests that by assuming that the two are identical we are colluding with the peasant in obscuring the extent of his exploitation, an exploitation for which he himself is initially responsible. With the emergence of wage-labour, activities which were not accounted earlier now gain significance. The possibility of buying and selling at the local government cooperative makes the Bonda aware of the effort of going to far off places for traditional barter exchange. In the time that is thus "wasted", a Bonda can expect to earn Buti. In many instances, wage earners do not hesitate to ask for Buti and repayment for carrying goods of fellow householders for marketing. Yet the coexistence of wage-labour and subsistence production does not allow for a full awareness of the extent to which producers are exploited and, in turn, exploit their dependents. At the same

time, the category of Buti, which assumes a repayment in cash (as payment of cash is the growing trend), undermines the social relations involved in traditional subsistence production and the related communal obligations of traditional Bonda economy. Thus Bonda producers are caught between illusory categories of Buti and Paiti which do not reveal the realities of production in the highlands.

This changing cognitive system of Bonda producers brings us to the problem of ideology and knowledge. As we have already suggested, Bloch attempts to tie up ideology with ritual discourse, and knowledge with non-ritual normal discourse (Bloch, 1977). According to Bloch, the static notion of time is the product of ritual activities whereas the linear notion of time is the concomitant result of normal production activities all within the same social conditions of production and reproduction of Balinese society. Since ritual discourse, more often than not, hides and fetishises non-ritual production activities, Bloch derives that a static notion of time necessarily hides the linear notion of time. Other social anthropologists have accepted Bloch's distinction between ritual and non-ritual activities as two social sources of cognitive systems relating to notions of time, work, women, kinship, etc., (Austin, 1978 : 497).

However, this manner of distinguishing ritual and normal activity as two sources of cognitive systems can create a problem. These anthropologists agree that ritual activities reflect the social relations of production in a given society. If rituals, as components of super-

structure, further give rise to cognitive systems then these cognitive systems will be something of a super-super-structure. As it is, the structure/super-structure metaphor has created enough problems to add yet another tier to it. Is there, then, a material and social basis for a "cyclic" notion of time? Here is where a ritual accounting of the notion of time falters to provide a dialectical explanation. In Bonda society, the "cyclic" notion of time and related value of "work" are products of the socio-economic pattern of subsistence production. The linearity of time emerges as we have argued with the emergence of a new socio-economic condition of life. If these two notions of time seem to co-exist uncomfortably, it is because a social formation may combine the elements of an outgoing mode of production with that of the new mode of production. This, if one wishes, provides a dialectical way of reckoning with notions of time as well as related cognitive systems.

CHAPTER VI

Ideology and Practice of Development

In the previous chapter I did not discuss the influence of developmental apparatus and its ideological impact on the cognitive system of Bonda producers. The present chapter pays special attention to the practice and related ideology of development as well as the social consequences. I will attempt to answer the following questions: How ideological is the development apparatus sponsored by the state? What direct or indirect impact does this ideology exert on the cognitive system of the highlanders? Alternatively, do the cultural values of the highlanders impede the process of development? Which historical forces perpetuate traditional practices that impede development? In posing these questions, I am aware that cross-cultural comparisons are necessary if satisfactory answers are to emerge. In such cross-cultural references, I will, once again, have to return to the problem of indigenous notions. These notions will come to include notions of time and space.

In the past, related discussion (Singh, 1973) has focused attention on the advantages and disadvantages of state sponsored development agencies. But more often than not such discussion has remained somewhat confined to the economic sphere of "development" in the tribal formations. It is amply evident from my own discussion in Chapter IV that the B.D.A. plays an ostensibly economic role in the

highlands. But this economic role creates unintentional and simultaneous cultural pressures on the highland producers. Thus the B.D.A., like most development agencies, is more than a mere economic package deal. In the discussion that follows, I hope to uncover the unintended cultural consequences of what may appear to be a mere economic transformation. Such a cultural component, in my view, has more far-reaching implications than is immediately apparent.

This cultural component can be seen, in Althusser's terms, as an ideological state apparatus (1977 : 121). Thus it can be analysed in the light of the ideological reproduction of relations of commodity production. To the broader theoretical framework of integration of pre-capitalist formations to the mainstream economy at large such cultural conditions remain significant, in that the representations and ideas the culture provides can influence the ways by which actors may themselves relate to new conditions of production. Thus, the developmental activities of governments which are not directly aimed at the values and ideas of the tribal producers, influence their attitudes. Although it is difficult to specify the extent to which the government is consciously responsible for the emerging values and ideology in the highlands, certain instances point to the role of officials and B.D.A. authorities in changing of attitudes.

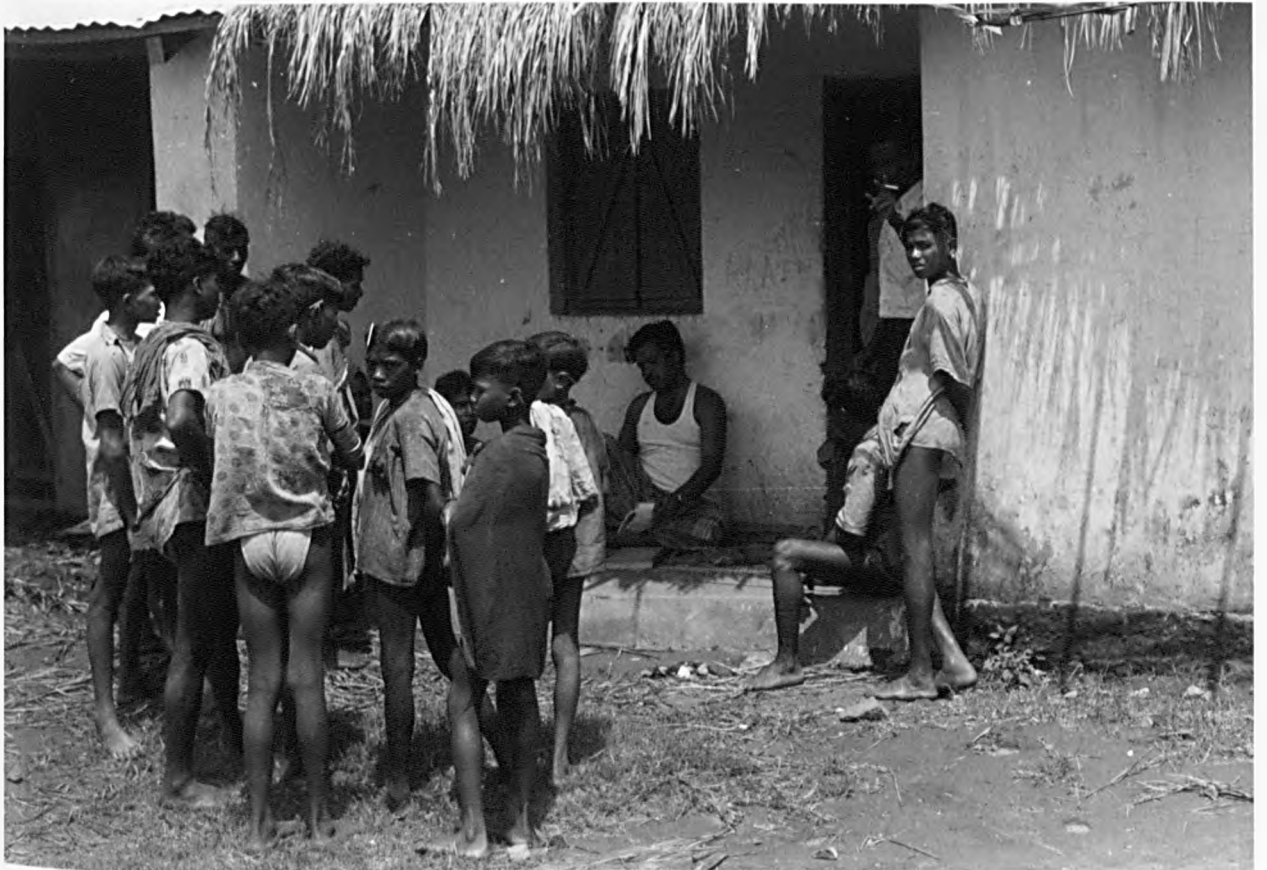
To the state officials, the Bonda hills have remained a stubborn self-contained tribal society awaiting integration into the "national mainstream". In the past, the colonial administration and district officials had singled out a

few tribes. Some of them were known as 'criminal' tribes. The administration often enough emphasised the 'homicidal' tendency among these communities. This was ideological. The colonial administrative attitude ought to be viewed in its own context. And this context, in the case of Koraput district, includes the wide array of local resistance the highlands threw up during British rule, which I discussed in Chapter II. Here, however, I am more concerned with attitudes in independent India. Several changes have come since independence, but where some of these 'criminal' tribes are concerned, they are only 'ex-criminal' tribes. Thus there is an ideological continuity where these communities are involved. As a matter of fact, one of the professed ideals of the B.D.A. is to develop the Bonda tribe, "one of the most primitive tribes". Many government officials at Khairput Block Development office, who are connected with the 'developmental' tasks, despise these 'savages' of the hills. To these plainsmen, the pork and beef eating tribals symbolise an inferior culture of the 'past'. Such officials, often enough, do not hesitate to point out the 'evils' of Bonda culture: consumption of alcohol and, above all, the 'leisurely' attitude of the people towards life. To the time-oriented officials, who sneer at the ways of the highlanders, life in the highlands is both puzzling and unproductive. This has, perhaps, more to do with the implicit and underlying notions of work and life, than the actual fact of social realities in the highlands. During a regular visit to a village, the leader of the B.D.A. pointed out to the villagers:

"It is better to be a dissatisfied pig
than to be a satisfied human"!



(xi) Distribution of Government Medicines



(xii) Distribution of Loans to Villagers by an Official of the Cooperative (L.A.M.P.S.)

Clearly, the highlanders are too satisfied with their routine subsistence activities to lend themselves to the new techniques and changes of 'development'.

The officials, who are concerned with the acceptance and rejection of new techniques and changes, view the problem as an economic matter relating to the existence of markets, manpower, resources, etc. The concerned officials, with their obvious emphasis on economic development, often naively assume that new techniques of production, if made to appear useful, may be accepted by tribal producers, while old techniques, if apparently useless, would be consequently rejected. Such a perspective on development and related technical changes gives rise to a series of economic problems that have long ago become classic. But where pre-capitalist social formations are concerned, we have been persuaded by scholars that matters are not quite so simple or so rational (Bloch, Marc. 1967 : 124). In the case of peasant societies, Bloch argues that the routine mindedness and attachment to tradition may be explained through the particular social structure of such economies. It is suggested that an important factor in pre-capitalist economies contributing to the persistence of tradition may be the fact that young men and women (parents) spend most of their time in the fields, leaving the upbringing of the children to the older men and women. In these economies, the youngest generation of adults, being the most active and consequently the most adaptable - the generation that would perhaps be the first to begin to adapt itself to change - is not directly responsible for the education of the rising generation. Such social

imperatives and non-economic factors may be the cause of the remarkable persistence of tradition in pre-capitalist communities.

In the Bonda community, however, the relatively richer Bondas and the beneficiaries of the state developmental activities, who now have 'leisure' to supervise their young children, epitomize the emerging ideology. Buda, a well-off Padeiguda villager seemed typical of the new men who looked down upon their own lot and played up to the cause of modernisation of the hills. Buda remained reluctant to pursue the activities of traditional agriculture and related rituals. He was equally reluctant to identify himself at the market-place with fellow Bondas, who practiced traditional rituals. On subsequent markets, and at other public places, he was never happier than when seen with the important government officials in their jeeps. Always seen in his white bush shirt and khaki shorts, he did not hesitate to snigger at the 'backward' and ill-clad fellow highlanders. In every conversation with me, he never forgot to remind me of his abstinence from beef-eating and drinking of the 'notorious' palm wine. This emerging moral stance, referred to as Sanskritization by anthropologists (Srinivas : 1962), has its own dilemmas, which are the dilemmas of the emerging ideology itself. As the villagers are not particularly fond of the members of their own community who connect too easily with outsiders, Buda occasionally ran into difficulty with his villagers for accompanying the police or the officials on their dreaded visits. Buda, however, was aware of the dilemmas and what he called the 'dir' of his village, and there

was no doubt in his mind that he could not escape the problems facing him. He was more concerned about his son, Dhoblu, and was determined to send his son to Bhubaneswar to be educated so that his son did not feel compelled to inhabit the highlands.

There are other aspects of change too. Buda's use of an umbrella, instead of the commonly used traditional hat of Siali leaves, is perhaps more typical. In the highlands, an umbrella is a symbol. Although to a lesser extent than a wrist watch, the umbrella confers prestige upon its owners and the highlanders are willing to stretch their resources to buy this new consumer item from the L.A.M.P.S. shop at Mudulipada. It is after all a less expensive stamp of modernisation than a wrist watch. So several villagers have readily opted for it, in spite of the inconvenience it causes during its use in agricultural work. The bright coloured plastic handles of the umbrellas often evoke much admiration and envy from villagers. At the market place, however, the limited highland umbrellas intermingle with those of the plainsmen. On a rainy day there is an outstanding display of umbrellas!

Ironically, the use of an umbrella involves a certain political stance too. An Oriya tea-shop owner at Khairput summarised the coming trend. Over a long conversation, I happened to ask him which political party he supported. The answer was metaphorical:

Rain determines which direction,
Umbrella must point.

It was rewarding to support whichever party remained in power. The principles were irrelevant. Clearly, he knew the stakes involved in the new 'business' of politics. Thus, it may not be important to know which political parties the emerging and vocal group of highlanders support. The fact of the matter is the highlanders are learning to "point their umbrellas". This is clearly a change of the nature of the political culture. Up in the highlands, traditional politics are partisan and guided by a certain straightforward appraisal of 'friends' and 'enemies'. The highlanders will now learn to participate in a different political set-up, a set-up where open and consistent partisan support may look naive. Moreover, in this new atmosphere of politics, personal benefits and conformity over-ride any communal solidarity. This is not to say that benefits and interests never mattered to the highlanders. In an agricultural society, where unequal possession of land and wealth have existed long since and private ownership is not entirely absent, such an utopian political culture is indeed inconceivable. Yet, what is important here is the fact that the present comprehension and calculation of benefits and interests tend to be more 'individually' based than the traditional tribal solidarity and related collective interests.

Such an individual orientation is compatible with the production of exchange value. A tribal who is producing primarily for exchange in the market is a producer, but an individual producer. This production system creates conditions which fragment the communal and social character of production for use. Among the tribal producers, the

motives for production and organisation of life are now guided more by the market 'needs' than by traditional 'wants'. It is this emerging individualisation which contradicts the communal imperatives in Bonda society. But the society-at-large, to which the tribe now becomes an integral part, attends to such an individualisation. The state government accepts the rights and responsibilities of individual producers. What used to be communal possession and ownership, is now drifting into individual and private ownerships. Under the various schemes the B.D.A. intends to introduce, rights of trees and ownership rights of hill slopes will be issued to individual farmers. A highland producer is now increasingly compelled to look at himself as an 'individual' producer. Furthermore, the state's property relations sustain, acknowledge and defend private property. The ideology beneath this is clearly non-communal in substance.

Everybody's reponsibility,
Nobody's responsibility.

(an official of the B.D.A.)

It is this maxim which obliquely points to the governmental approach in the tribal highlands. The shift is towards an individualistic style of relating to rights and responsibilities. Individual wage earning, which emphasises the individual labour power, is of course the basis of this shift towards individualisation.

Here we are faced with the more general theoretical problem of social change. The consequences of developmental ideology may be seen to create tensions between various sets of "dependent variables" (Smelser and Lipset, 1966

: 12). In a general way, the developmental activities have been seen to set up tensions between ascription and achievement, between undifferentiated and differentiated structures, between egalitarian and hierarchical principles, and between local and central power structures. First, as economic and social development activities proceed, various criteria of achievement - attainment of wealth, attainment of political power, etc. - begin to intrude on ascribed memberships, as bases for assigning persons to roles. Although traditional groupings do not necessarily decline in importance, diffuse loyalties and interests have been seen saliently to increase. As the basis for ranking however, ascriptive standards which create tension between ascriptive and achievement standards for organising roles have been considered as giving way to economic, political and other standards. Secondly, the tensions between undifferentiated structures and differentiated structures can be viewed in the context of social mobility. Increased individual mobility is seen as a universal consequence of development, giving rise to differentiated structures of stratification. Thirdly, development is seen as a factor creating tension between egalitarian and hierarchical principles of social organisation. Fourthly, societies which have strong local traditions of tribalism and community life are seen as running into conflict with the emerging centralised economic and social structures.

These sets of tensions remain useful to the analyst at an abstract theoretical level of transformation in the cognitive systems, but the factors responsible for the transformation itself cannot entirely be attributed

to exogenous variables of development. Underlying such a model of transformation, there is the more problematic distinction between exogenous and endogenous variables. The factors responsible for the transformation of Bonda social structure and cognitive system cannot be understood within a simple model of endogenous/exogenous variables. Such models of social change do not satisfactorily explain the nature of transformation and the role of capital in pre-capitalist social formations, in that there is an implicit confusion between the emergence of capital and the emergence of capitalist social structures (Frankenberg, 1967 : 79). Furthermore, the emergence of wage labour and related changes in the economic activities of a society, far from undermining the economic structure of any society, may even strengthen certain traditional patterns of social relations (Epstein, T.S. 1962 : 318). To take but one example of this strengthening of traditional social relations, we will discuss the problem of traditional gift exchange which has continued to exist and sustain a corrupt bureaucracy in pre-capitalist societies. For the moment, however, we must return to the emerging importance of cash.

Although wages are increasingly paid in cash in Bonda society, payment in cash is not entirely new to the highlanders. It is, however, important to note that money played a subordinate role and only a limited amount of cash was exchanged in the highlands. During various rituals, the actual number of coins used may be limited to only a few rupees, and thus limited to a symbolic use of cash. When a religious ceremony is performed by the Pujari, he is paid only as many coins as there

are numbers of offerings to the various gods and goddesses. Coins worth only a few rupees are put on the pyre during a funeral. Only one rupee and twenty five paise is paid, along with the traditional pair of cattle and other goods in kind, as bride-price by the bridegroom. All ritual gifts and exchanges exclude cash transactions as such. Cattle, grain and pottery remain the medium of customary exchange. Thus ritual and ceremonial exchanges testify the negligible use of cash in traditional subsistence agriculture of the highlanders.

With wage labour, the increase in the flow of cash, the flow of 'luxuries' to be purchased, and above all the ever increasing aspirations of the highlanders, a different condition of life is emerging. For one thing, the number of transactions in which cash, as well as goods, changes hands is increasing. Although some producers still prefer to receive their wage in kind, for the most part wages are paid and received in cash. There is, however, a disadvantage in cash wages. Like the rest of the country, these remote highlands suffer fluctuating prices over the agricultural calendar, in that the price of grain rises, often two-fold, during the lean months of the year. Such fluctuating prices mean that wages can buy less subsistence during these months, reducing the real wage of labourers. This partly explains the labourers' preference for grain. But for the same reasons in reverse, the employers may not always be prepared to part with grain, since grain may be worth twice as much to them as well during the lean months.

By storage of grain, employers can also multiply their profit by extending grain loans at high rates of interest. Those who extend these loans to labourers are often the employers who realise, in extra profit, their advantage in paying cash wages.

In his analysis of the transformation of the subsistence economy of Siane, wrought by steel, Salisbury takes notice of a similar increase in the cash nexus.

The greatest change has been the introduction of money, first as a substitute for valuables and for luxuries, and later as a medium of exchange for obtaining goods from trade stores. As a medium of exchange it has effected a further breaking down of the rigidity of the native standards for classifying objects, which started during the period of indirect (European) contact.

(Salisbury, 1962 : 135)

Salisbury's functionalist conclusions, however, do not allow him to relate the transformation to the emerging cash nexus, recognition of value in terms of time (Frankenberg, 1967 : 74). Frankenberg attempts to re-analyse Salisbury's conclusions to reach a more dynamic model of transformation, where conversion of goods into commodities produced for exchange into money, with a price linked by supply and demand but based on the socially necessary labour time, will soon force Siane to "know the price of everything and the value of nothing".

The transformation of Bonda subsistence demonstrates the significance not only of commoditization of goods, but also commoditization of human labour into wage labour.

The emergence of labour power which follows the use of land as an object of labour, as we have attempted to show in the Bonda community, impinges on the cognitive systems of producers. Neither Salisbury, nor the indentured Siane labourers, pay importance to this particular factor of labour and its value in terms of time. The reason for this lies as much in theoretical functionalism and its underdevelopment as in the early stages of the overall integration of pre-capitalist social formations into the broader economy-at-large. The shift from kind to cash in Bonda society is, of course, the product of this overall process of integration and extension of economic frontiers, after the significant three decades of political independence.

In the case of Bonda villagers, the cash need is not only a consequence of economic integration of the tribe with the market, but also with the larger politico-judicial system of society at large. This implies that disputes and conflicts that cannot be resolved through the village council, or settled by a non-partisan arbitrator acceptable to both parties, can now be taken to the law courts in the plains at the instigation of the middlemen and brokers who take advantage of such situations. Such litigation, which is on the increase, involves large expenditure both in themselves and because of the travel etc., involved. The highlanders now have to pay cash where they traditionally paid in kind, or perhaps never really had to pay. Although it is the policy of the government to keep the requirements of cash for tribal villagers to the lowest possible, yet judicial, medical

and other services of the state do involve costs. The traditional tribal gift exchange is often extended to the local constables or medical staff and these gifts, as we shall see later, may involve payment of cash too. Thus, directly or indirectly, every dreaded visit of local officials involves money transactions which cost the local villagers money. While police interrogation continues, few eyebrows are raised at 'corrupt' practices and illegal transactions behind the official walls. In one instance I sat through a police trial to discover that it was a hoax, staged to extract goats from both the 'culprit' and the 'victim', turning them into common victims of the uniformed men of law. Unlike goats and chickens, money is certainly a more convenient and invisible medium of this unaccounted, as well as illegal, transaction on the ridge. When it is a question of extracting bribes, money is preferred to goats. Among the 'guardians' of law and order, these extra-official incomes are ironically referred to as 'vitamin M'. Money, unlike goods, can of course take various forms. Where Bondas are concerned, the unhealthiest form of it all is, I think, 'vitamin M'.

In the district of Koraput, the salaried officials of the government enjoy a doubtful reputation, as far as clean and efficient administration is concerned. For recruitment in this tribal district, the government draws upon the more 'developed' coastal districts of the state. And these men from the plains tend to gather around them their own circle of fellow officials. This makes up clusters of patron-client circles within the

bureaucracy. At the same time, the lack of political and social awareness among the local people of the remote highlands keeps the path of the corrupt unabated. Yet the local tribal villagers, for their part, often despise these official plainmen. Although the word 'kataki' literally means 'a man from Cuttack', yet it is a generic local term for an amoral person, whom the tribals identify as an 'outsider' and a man of double-dealing. During the initial phase of my field-work, I avoided making my own identity of belonging to Cuttack district obvious to the villagers, lest I became identified with the tarnished bureaucracy of the state. On several occasions I hesitated to go about with officials. There were however new and unfamiliar officials in the highlands, some of whom described the insidiously inevitable nature of 'vitamin M' to me. There is no doubt that in the bureaucracy, which is ostensibly organised along the principles of western rationality, personal equations and patronage remain intense and one's 'performance' in government service may depend on the acceptance of the strange ways of officialdom. Junior officials only emulate the ones at the top. Those insiders, who may not conform to such a style of functioning of bureaucracy, and who tend to abide by so-called western rational principles, may put others in awkward positions by exposing them. One such reluctant Oriya official asked: "How can I drive on the right when it's left hand drive?".

At the same time, however, the anthropologist does not escape the awkward situations relating to corruption and its possible exposure. During the course of my field

work, I too faced a moral dilemma, perhaps like the more conscientious officials of the state bureaucracy. At the start of the field work, I had to negotiate with the tribesmen as well as the bureaucrats, even to secure a roof, and throughout the period in the field I constantly had to persuade the bureaucrats to devote time to talk to me and to tolerate my enquiries into their developmental activities. Where the bureaucrats of the state were concerned it was extremely difficult to convey the academic objectives of my enquiry, at least its theoretical implications, not to speak of conveying these objectives to the Bonda producers. Similar circumstances have been seen by anthropologists (Barnes, 1977 : 10) as incurring a heavy responsibility on the ethnographer for protecting the interests of the groups, even in their absence. The problem becomes further complicated when groups have opposing interests. Furthermore, pre-capitalist social formations involve primordial loyalties, which may lead to actions that are meritorious or obligatory through the actors eyes, but may be illegal from the vantage point of bureaucratic and political principles to which the modern nation state aspires. Hence, in reporting and discussing the role of illegal and corrupt activities, I will remain at a broad level of analysis, without the detailed cases involving individuals and groups whose confidence I enjoyed.

(i) Roots of Corruption

In order to avoid confusion of definition the

following discussion draws upon Myrdal's definition of corruption as an "improper or selfish exercise of power and influence attached to a public office or to the special position one occupies in public life and also the activity of bribers" (Myrdal, 1968 : 937). Myrdal rightly observes the curious fact that corruption permeates the social life of most communities in the Third World, yet there is a deep-seated reluctance among social scientists to tackle the problem of corruption and related issues. An obvious reason is the sensitive nature of this problem. Newly independent governments are not very favourably disposed towards research into this particular problem. Even so, collection of data and detailed case histories, I must also add, is not an easy task to accomplish without running into difficulties with the public officials involved, with whom one has to bargain for permission to conduct field work itself. Furthermore, corruption, by its very nature, is extra-legal and hence socially invisible, in that when it does reveal itself deliberate attempts are made to conceal it by those who are involved, creating formidable problems to research and investigation. Myrdal notes that anti-corruption campaigns undertaken by the Indian state after independence have also played their part in concealing the nature and extent of corruption. There is, as it were, a shared feeling among anti-corruption officials, as well as political leaders, that anti-corruption campaigns may exaggerate the impression of the prevalence of corruption. Even Nehru himself is often held responsible for resisting demands for bolder and more systematic efforts to cleanse his government and administration of corruption, in that he too feared bolstering the impression

of corruption by anti-corruption campaigns. Thus it is not entirely surprising as to why the proposal of academic interest into corruption is not always very favourably received or encouraged.

It is this attitude, and the related support structure and practices of peasant societies that may remain a significant imperative in the study of corruption and attitudes towards it. Gunnar Myrdal (1978 : 953) draws a circular causation between anti-corruption campaigns and the "folklore" of corruption. "Folklore" of corruption, according to Myrdal, is the peoples' ideas and beliefs about corruption and the emotions, as well as aspirations, attached to those beliefs, as expressed in private gossip or public debate. The "folklore" of corruption and anti-corruption campaigns are both reactions to corruption and often hold the key to an analysis of it. But the attitudes and beliefs about corruption cannot entirely be treated independently of the historical background in which pre-capitalist social formations have evolved.

For an historical understanding of causes and effects of corruption, Chinese bureaucracy offers an apt illustration. In traditional China, a certain form of widespread corruption by the bureaucracy received institutionalised acceptance from the state, which could not afford the salary of its overblown bureaucracy. The institutionalisation of modes of appropriation of surplus, either as grain or as cash, has always posed problems for rulers of pre-industrial societies. In different countries, at different times, ruling classes have resolved this difficulty in

different ways.

The French solution was the sale of offices, the Russian one, suitable to Russia's huge expanse of territory, was the granting of estates with serfs in return for services in Tsarist officialdom. The Chinese solution was to permit more or less open corruption.

(Moore, 1979 : 172)

Thus corruption in traditional China was an integral part of the ancient practice of tax collection by the provincial officials who were not paid a living wage from the feudal state. It was recognised by the peasants that a customary share of rice grain or silk, from the total collection of tax in kind, was appropriated by the officials on the way. In essence, corruption was a way by which officials appropriated extra-legal incomes. Such a form of corruption has been described as "Nosphomeric".

It was his rake-off, and everything went well as long as people did not take more than their proper rake-off and did not upset the system by trying to be "honest" and refusing these things. It was part of the way society worked.

(Needham, 1969 : 37)

While the feudal state did not entirely legitimise the misappropriation of tax by the intermediaries and bureaucrats, for it would no longer be corruption, the peasants for their part did not resist for centuries the corrupt practices. The perpetuation of such a bureaucracy, with its "legitimised" corrupt practices, ought to be viewed, in the context of the "homeostatic" (Needham, 1968 : 127) nature of traditional Chinese society at large. Although, in its culture and civilisation, traditional Chinese society remained closer to Judaeo-Christian rather

than Indo-Hellenic cosmology, it did not indigenously develop modern "rationality" as did western Europe. For there were, according to Needham, certain socio-economic tendencies and social inertia in Chinese society which continually tended to restore it to its original character, that of bureaucratic feudalism. Such a social inertia continued in spite of the prominent inventions and discoveries in traditional China. It is useful to note here Needham's refutation of any simplistic view that the non-emergence of modern "rationality" is the result of the Chinese attitude towards work or time. Chinese attitudes to time, as in modern capitalist countries, contained significant elements of linearity. As a matter of fact, the "historical mindedness" (Needham) of the Chinese cannot be explained without taking account of the predominant place of related linear notions of both time and space in their culture. It is the socio-economic conditions and structures, but not the "staticity" (this is a typical western misconception), of Chinese culture, Needham insists, which may bear the burden of explanation of its "homeostatic" character. Thus the conditions for the perpetuation of corrupt practices, and the lack of emergence of a rational bureaucracy in China, may remain much deeper than mere attitudes or cultural imperatives. I would like to stress the Chinese example, because this has considerable significance for the explanation of corruption and its perpetuation in communities in India too.

Here it is important to mention the relevant cross-cultural reference. In related literature on notions of time in Indian thoughts and languages, vis-a-vis that

of the Chinese and Japanese (Nakamura, 1968 : 77), the relatively predominant position of the static and cyclic notions of time that permeate Indian culture have been emphasised. Both linguistic and philosophical meanings may be selectively drawn to demonstrate that infinitely repeated and limitless time has played a significant role in Indian culture. This may bear the explanation of peoples' apprehension of social order as eternal and existing in limitless time but, as the Chinese experience amply proves, this cannot be taken as a sufficient condition for the existence of certain socio-economic structures and practices. So, corrupt practices and the perpetuation of corruption in Indian society cannot be explained adequately by merely identifying cultural and meaning systems and elements, such as notions of time and space.

It is also important to note here the widespread existence of appropriation of surplus labour, whether in the form of tribute, of the extraction of labour-service for agricultural or non-agricultural duties, or through various forms of social and customary obligations in pre-capitalist natural economies (Bernstein, 1979 : 423). Although theoretically such social formations are based on the production and consumption of use-values, yet exchanges of grain, cattle, implements and labour services of various kinds exist without bringing about qualitative changes in the production of use-value and persist before and after the period of development of commodity production. Thus, theoretically, subsistence economies remain vulnerable to widespread appropriation of tribute, of which corruption may be seen as an important form. It is the pre-capitalist

exaction of surplus and paying tribute that may often account for the legitimisation of corrupt practices when such societies come into contact with the bureaucratic apparatus of developing countries.

At the same time, however, the co-existence and inter-penetration of commodity exchange (Marx) and gift exchange (Mauss) in primitive economies poses difficult problems for anthropological analysis of reciprocities and exchange of tribute and gifts. Modern economic considerations of pure contract, and mainly secular considerations of carefully calculated self-interests, cannot account for reciprocities and exchanges in such communities. It is possible to analyse the market exchange of simple commodity producers by trying to understand the substance and magnitude of value (abstract human and social labour), as Marx analysed in the first chapter of Capital, in the things exchanged, but exchange of gifts necessitates a certain understanding of the persons and parties as well as their relationship to things. Following Mauss, Sahlins persuades us to understand primitive exchange as it is historically evolved, not as a natural category explicable by a certain material disposition as in modern economies where economic relations may be differentiated from social (kinship) relations (Sahlins, 1978 : 181). Anthropological literature has grappled with the dialectical relationship between voluntary social appearance and the obligatory social reality of gifts. Such an approach to exchange relations reveals the extra-material significance of gift exchanges, as in moka transactions of New Guinea,

where the giver of the extra items may receive a return for his apparent generosity, placing the recipient in his debt, coupled with a certain tendency to maximise political, if not economic, "capital" (Strathern, 1971 : 217). Consequently, such forms of ritual and non-ritual exchange may combine with elements of market-based cash economy while such economies participate in a broader economy-at-large and can survive pressures of contractual relations, without debasing practices of prestation. The "nosphomeric" character of tribute and gifts in traditional Chinese society, however, remains an important aspect of the widespread peasant attitudes towards corruption. At the same time, such an extraction of the produce of peasants remains an important aspect of the state and its control to ensure the reproduction of the conditions of exploitation in pre-capitalist social formations. In his re-interpretation of Gluckman's material, Frankenberg demonstrates that in the Barotse kingdom, tribute and gifts to the king, which passed through the councillors, were legally taken by these councillors on the way and this "nosphomeric" practice may well be seen in the changing context of economic, political and ideological domination of the Barotse state (Frankenberg, 1979 : 167).

The "nosphomeric" character of traditional Chinese and Barotse states may be viewed as one pole of a theoretically constituted continuum. The rational bureaucracy of developed industrial capitalism, as Max Weber described in his ideal type construction, may be seen as the other end of this continuum. The prevalence of corruption may

be viewed as increasing in degree as we approach the "nosphomeric" end of this broad continuum. Most societies in the Third World, and here I will include India, remain closer to the nosphomeric end than the rational bureaucracy of developed capitalism. Every social formation, as Moore describes, evolves its own specific ways of getting round the problem of social appropriation through the bureaucratic grid, and its own attitudes to corruption. In spite of the specificities of individual social formations and the various degrees of prevalence of corruption, such a conceptualisation of a continuum would help an understanding of the evolution of corruption. In a different sense, however, such a continuum of corruption, I will later argue, exists within the minds of the Bonda producers and thus remains a fundamental aspect of the "folklore" of corruption itself.

In keeping with the colonial interest of pumping out a vast amount of revenue from India, British rule was forced willy-nilly both to preserve the structure of tax collection in pre-British India yielding huge sums in cash and kind, and also to undertake direct collection through an official bureaucracy, whose subordinate rungs and administrative practice were taken over from the pre-British rulers. While British rule retained, to a great extent, the traditional styles of political and administrative rule, yet at the same time it raised up other clients and allies as counterweights to the political influence of traditional rulers (Stokes, 1973 : 103). Thus, Indian bureaucracy was the product of such an historical conjuncture. Far from a rational legal bureaucracy, built on the model

of its western counterpart, it was, more often than not, the same traditional chain of hereditary office-holders and petty revenue collectors (Frynkenberg, 1965 : 67) to which the peasantry was subjected during British rule. Some historians have even seen the 'respectable' British district officer as a "prisoner if not a puppet of local social forces" (Stokes, 1973 : 147). Thus such a bureaucracy, the foundations of which continue to exist, and the basic structure of which still remains fundamentally unaltered, may be viewed as a middle range example of the "nosphomeric" and "rational" bureaucratic continuum we have reconstructed above.

It is, however, not at all surprising that several years after independence the extra-legal incomes of public officials in the highlands of Orissa, compares with the regular salary they receive from the State government. Although these illegal incomes are a function of the nature of the public office the individual holds, the police and other related branches of law and order departments, often enough, raised every official's hopes of earning quick and easy fortunes. The major run of public officials, especially the development and welfare department, complained without any reservations that their regular salaries were not adequate to support their family and occasional contingencies at rising prices. Such a situation clearly lends itself to the "nosphomeric" relics in the Chinese society, and sustains recognised and widespread corruption.

The legitimisation of corruption, which originates in the historical and material forces of bureaucratic

machinery of the state eventually becomes a part and parcel of people's "folklore" of corruption. Without a certain degree of consensus from the public, no widespread corruption can continue to perpetuate itself. Hence the very term "corruption" has already, by definition, been broadened and extended to include not only the improper or selfish exercise of power and influence of people who occupy positions in public life, but also the intentions, aspirations and activities of bribers, because corruption is also in the 'interest' of the bribers. Yet such a definition is vulnerable to excessive rationality, and the likelihood of imposing a rationality upon a practice that is irrational. Some western scholars have lent their analysis to precisely such a rationality (Wertheim, 1956 : 86). These scholars have tended to view corruption as entirely the act of the bribers. Such a view sees corruption as simply a way that citizens have found of building rewards into the administrative structure in the absence of any other appropriate incentive system. This view, Myrdal (1978 : 953) rightly argues, is palpably wrong.

A cogent analysis of corruption also requires a certain understanding of pre-capitalist and traditional nature of peasant societies, where markets, exchange of services and goods, are not fully developed. In these social formations "economic" behaviour is not entirely governed by rational costs and benefits. As we have already discussed, Bonda producers do not entirely account for time, work and labour in their subsistence economy,

unlike their development officers who are now engaged in the transformation of subsistence production. The ensuing gaps in the coming together of subsistence economy and market economy may be filled up by non-rational and often traditional "connections". These "connections" may run through the dependence of the labourer on his landlord as through the government sponsored development officer and his tribal beneficiary. In such a system of exchange of services and goods, bribes to an official may not be distinguished from gifts, tributes and other burdens sanctioned in traditional tribal obligations attached to a favour given at a particular social or economic level. What is important to note here is that, in such societies, the public officials usually receive a certain degree of sanction from producers for their corrupt practices, since these obligations and tribute in themselves do not evoke any obvious bad connotation to the producers.

As a matter of fact, there is a paradoxical way by which the producer himself may view an act of bribery as exploiting the public official or police constable. In a tribal community, brokers are often found who mediate the relationship between a tribal producer and an official clerk. Although the local Dom men perform this role as hereditary brokers for the Bonda producers, in the specific cases of bribery I investigated, Bonda clearly showed preference and trust for the village sarpanch, or the traditional Naik as mediators between villagers and the officials. The role of the broker is to soften the hard edge of official dealings, which both villagers

and officials consider unpleasant or embarrassing. It is through the brokers that the Bonda seek to establish connections with the society at large, the inner workings of which may remain hidden from the highlanders. The widening economic and political frontiers thus put great demands and responsibility on the brokers, who are considered indispensable to the local community. When the first contacts with the Bonda tribe were initiated by the B.D.A., it was through these brokers that access to the tribal territory was obtained. When Bonda producers, on their part, seek to approach development officials, it is often the brokers who they seek to contact. One of the reasons for this, as we have already pointed out, is the nature of the moral community of the tribe vis-a-vis the society at large. Another obvious reason, however, is the fact that the highlanders are not always fluent in Oriya, the language of the officials. Furthermore, a Bonda also faces the added difficulty of being able to hold his own with police officers, who often tend to despise the 'savages' they come to 'interrogate'. The important aspect of seeking to relate through a mediated 'connection' with the society at large, it has been suggested (Bailey, 1971 : 304), is the very nature of multiplex relationships in peasant and tribal societies. In these pre-industrial societies, relationships are different in that there are no specialised 'single' activities undertaken. Hence there is a tendency among the producers to build a moral relationship out of specialised connections with outsiders, or more importantly a desire to make the single interest relationships with officials more or less diffuse.

When a producer bribes an official, whether the initiative comes from the briber or the official, the tribal producer is inclined to see it as coercing the official by including him in his own moral community of reciprocities. Unless the concerned official is brought within the moral community, no reciprocities and obligations can gain meaning. It is only within, and not outside, the moral community that services and obligations can be exchanged. Just as the development officers address Bondas as "brothers and sisters" when they seek cooperation from them, similarly the villagers use the moral relationship to reinforce their expectations. But beneath the facade of morality and ties of ritual kinship, both the officials and the villagers may occasionally seek to ponder about hidden interests and ultimate benefits.

Thus, in the Bonda moral community, bribes and nepotism intermingle with other forms of social reciprocities and, often enough, extra-legal transactions are legitimised by moral idioms of traditional kinship and affinity. It is precisely for this reason that Bondas may not always perceive the extra-legal transactions as corruption. Bonda producers have their own specific 'folklore' of corruption, which is now beginning to emerge with the integration of the tribe to the larger society which sets aside corruption as an extra-legal activity. In this emerging "folklore", the most significant agent and external agency is the 'Sirkar'. Although the term 'Sirkar' literally means government, to the villagers it is a term that may be used to address any outsider,

whose behaviour they identify with those of officials, politicians and revenue officials. Like most indigenous terms, as Bailey has rightly suggested, the word 'Sirkar' may carry various connotations, while at the same time the term may be used for an array of external agencies (Bailey, 1971 : 301), like other terms such as 'Marwari' (a trader), 'Katki' (a man from the coastal plains) and so forth. The most important feature of the image of Sirkar in the minds of Bonda producers is the ubiquity of this agency. Traditionally the term was used to address the visiting officials of the feudal state (Raja) to evoke obligations. With the permanent presence of development officials in the highlands the term has gained a different meaning and materiality. The flow of officials and Sirkari jeeps have brought the images closer to the originals. A Sirkar's most arrogant and demanding expression is the police. When police officials make their visits to Bonda villages, the cost of entertaining them and their needs of 'vitamin M' proves, as we have already mentioned, the most demanding. Thus, in their intake of 'vitamin M', their use of "third language" (abusive and vulgar Oriya used by police officials), and their despising ways, the police may be seen as one pole of the continuum. At the other pole, the Bonda Development Agency willy-nilly represents a more sympathetic agency of Sirkar on the ridge. Through the flow of "cargo" and related images attached to the introduction of high yielding crops and new consumer goods, the B.D.A. has ostensibly remained a welcome force. The highlanders tend to view all other external agencies as points on a continuum between the police and the developmental agency

This continuum includes the social reality of local schools, both formal and non-formal education sponsored by the government, visiting politicians and their bouts of political campaigning, the occasional revenue inspectors, the medical establishment and other elements of society at large of which the Bonda highlands are now an integral part. The developmental agency, and the related machinery of the government, has been geared up on its part by an ostensible concern for the practice of shifting cultivation and its adverse impact on the valued forests of the nation as much as by a concern for the development of the "backward" tribe. The state machinery, which performs the ideological functions (Althusser, 1977 : 121), undermines the cognitive systems of natural economies (Bernstein, 1979 : 424). In real terms, such a process accelerates the commoditization of some of the subsistence products. At the same time it generates values which legitimate commodity exchange and exchange of labour power. Therefore this is a significant aspect of the destruction of the conditions of subsistence production simultaneously creating some of the social conditions of commodity production characteristic of the economy-at-large.

Such a process cannot entirely be explained by the ideological activities of the colonial and post-colonial states. An appraisal of the sanctions and legitimations of Bonda producers is more important. It is here that the pre-capitalist reciprocities which sustain corruption of a modern administration and the new attitudes to time, work and leisure in Bonda society gain importance. Neither

the material superiority of production processes, nor the ideological domination of commodity production over subsistence production can explain why the pre-capitalist society of Bonda producers must give way to the forces of transformation. Even though the pressures "from above" may put immense pressure on the traditional society of the Bonda, the changing attitudes and legitimations "from below" remain as important for transformation as the pressures themselves.

(ii) Schooling Bonda Children

So far we have not mentioned the social impediments and contradictions which are faced by the apparatuses of the modern state in the pre-capitalist social setting of the Bonda tribe. The modern state, with its rational and simplex social interests may often remain ill-equipped to cope with the moral and multiplex social character of a tribe (Bailey, 1968). To trace but one example of the contradictions faced by the state apparatus, the local school at Mudulipada has remained far below the expected intake of Bonda children. Most Bonda households are reluctant to send children to school. In an economy based on subsistence production, with an intensive expenditure of household family labour, children play a significant part from an early age by looking after young babies, attending to agricultural work and taking care of cattle while the elders are away in the fields. The following is a typical case of the reluctance of Bonda producers to send children to school.

Had1 Challan of Bandhaguda village called on the

headmaster of the local school to withdraw his son, Mangala, who was in the midst of his lessons. It was July, and at this time of the year Hadi needed his son to assist the household.

I want my son back for three months, till millet harvest as there is no-one to look after the baby while my wife and I dig land for sowing. My sister has married off and there is no-one else to assist. Mangala can return to school after the harvest is over.

Clearly this was not acceptable to the headmaster, who was more concerned with the education of his pupil and the regular lessons of the year which could be interrupted by Mangala's withdrawal. "Lessons cannot wait till harvest" (headmaster). It was clear that an argument between two different sets of interest ensued. The headmaster offered to look after Mangala and take care of the burdens of his livelihood and expenses, but this offered no solution to the needs of Hadi. Hadi Challen was insistent. He did not, as he correctly answered, derive any benefit from the education of his child. He felt that Mangala's education was at the cost of his agricultural and domestic work and that, if anything, it was the staff of the school who derived the benefits of teaching the children by receiving their salary from the Sirkar. Mangala, moreover, was too young (I estimate about five years) to assert his own views.

Education in the highlands creates cultural aspirations and values that are ultimately compatible with the emerging money economy. Many of my informants were apprehensive

about having children attend school. There was, according to the villagers, a noticeable change of attitude to work among these children. The local school was seen to induce "laziness" and reluctance to extend help to parents through domestic and agricultural activities among its pupils.

This image of the local school also derived from the cultural atmosphere inside its walls, which was in contrast to social life outside the school. With the educated school teachers, who speak a language that is so alien to the local dialects, the text books written in classic Oriya, and aspirations that undermine the traditional world of subsistence economy, school remains an institution outside the social structure of the Bonda highlanders. It is based on an hierarchy whose basis may remain in contradistinction to that of the traditional authority of the elders in the tribe, in that a young graduate headmaster may command respect from elderly assistant teachers. The school-going boys and girls (the number of girls is very low) may learn to under value traditional social structures. Above all, the academic year at school overlaps with the agricultural activities of the Bonda calendar.

On one occasion I observed differential attitudes among a group of boys (mixed group of school attenders and others who have never been to a local school) who climbed the thirteen kilometre hill tract with me from Khairput to Mudulipada. Apart from two boys, the rest of them were pupils of the Ashram (residential school)

of Mudulipada. During the journey through the forest, while we gossiped to kill the boredom and monotony of climbing the rocks, I was able to notice the apparent distinction in the preoccupations of the tribal boys vis-a-vis their fellow pupils of the school. Those who preferred to remain indifferent to the bamboo shoots and siali leaves that attracted others on the way all happened to be school attenders. The school attenders did not envy the substantial collection of subsistence forest products fellow boys had picked up on the way and carried as an head-load up the hill to Mudulipada. It was evident that the pupils of the school expressed interest in issues that were of no interest to the other boys.

It is, however, difficult to stress this point any further, because to insist on the differential behaviour patterns and attitudes between those Bonda children who attend school, and those who do not, would be to exaggerate the impact and success of a mainly unsuccessful educational scheme in the highlands. Education in general has not made any significant inroads into the tribal organisation of the Bonda. It is however important to mention that modern education may often blur the awareness of traditional tribal ways of life and impart values and ideas that may be incompatible to the conditions of livelihood in a pre-capitalist subsistence society. Tribal households and elders may find this particularly unwelcome to their own interests.

(iii) Medical Practice and Development

Another example of the consequences of the modern apparatus of the state in the heartland of Bonda society is the presence of medical practice and related activities of welfare health ideology in India. The locally resident Ayurvedic doctor at Mudulipada, with his traditional Ayurvedic and indigenous medicine, and the western-style primary health centre at Khairput with its professional staff of allopathic medical practice and establishment, must be seen in the broader context of the development of medical ideology and the articulation of local level social customs and practices to it (Frankenberg, 1979a). It has already been argued and demonstrated that the allopathic medical profession gains ideological significance in legitimating Indian capitalism, while medical pluralism - which clearly is the B.D.A. philosophy behind the Bonda health welfare scheme - reflects the different meanings of medical systems for different status groups and social classes, further reinforcing ideology and class in a stratified society (Frankenberg, 1978). Although indigenous medicine and folk practices have an edge over western medicine, in that it is cheaply available and readily understood by villagers (Djurfeldt and Lindberg, 1979), yet folk medicine practiced within the family is not capable of turning the available knowledge into political economy of health because of the limits of the stratified social nexus in which they are deeply embedded (Frankenberg, 1978 : 30).

The recent family planning campaign initiated by the state reflects the most coercive aspect of such an over-arching medical ideology of the state. The drive for population control and family planning in India in recent years, notwithstanding the political consequences during the past few years, has brought to the surface the persuasive as well as coercive nature of a system that is, at its best, an ideologically alien force thrusting upon villagers the physical consequences of an exploitative system. The family planning campaign at Khairput is a case in point.

The Primary Health and Family Planning Centre at Khairput has remained an essential agency for the campaign, so I made several visits to this particular institution. In my presence, on an August afternoon, a group of local tribal men presented themselves for voluntary vasectomy and happily accepted the operation in return for the eighty rupees reward for each operation. In recent years, the government has put forward this scheme of cash rewards as an incentive to potential adult male and female citizens. Although local family-planning workers were busy motivating parents and prospective households, these tribal men (there were no women) had come entirely of their own accord. But it was rare for local tribals, who had difficulty holding their own with outsiders, not to mention medical officers and their battery of questions pertaining to delicate matters of domestic history, to make it to the hospital. So a broker had accompanied them, as is usual with all visits to Sirkari establishments. This time the broker had charged each of the visiting men five

rupees because of the delicate nature of the transaction involved. It must be mentioned here that these tribal men were from the plains. Although they were Bonda in origin, they had moved to the plains years ago and ever since had remained in close contact with a large number of low-caste Hindus and social workers of the state, slowly giving up the "distinctive" life style of the highlands. Nearly thirty years ago, referring to the work of social workers among these tribal people, Verrier Elwin had this to say:

In what way these remarkable results achieved at such great pains by ardent but unintelligent social workers, are expected to benefit the people, it is hard to say. Drunkenness is even more endemic than in the hills; murders are frequent; and the simple truthfulness characteristic of real hillmen is rapidly disappearing. Such is the inevitable result of 'uplift' divorced from brains.

(Elwin, 1950 : 7)

The highlands are now part of the process that gripped the plains of the Bonda villages several years ago. But what motivated the tribal men to undergo vasectomy "voluntarily"?

Some officials, who received incentives for successful campaigns, boasted of their role in the increasing number of family-planning operations. But what apparently seemed to be a success story for the family planning officials and their statistics, in reality was independent of the induced motivations. All the men, after initial reluctance to confess and with a sense of guilt, revealed the immense need for money they faced during the lean months of the

year when seventy five rupees was a substantial earning even at the cost of insertions on their own bodies and a few days of abstention from wage labour for the healing wound. The next day much of the money was spent in buying rations for the family, testifying to the fact that they were all from the lowest echelons of tribal society turning to desperate ways of making money when the lean months and bad harvests faced them. At the same time, the records of the health centre also substantiated this by the particular concentration of vasectomy during the lean months of the year (July and August). It is clearly difficult to draw a line as to where persuasion ends and coercion begins when thrusting medical practice on local communities.

Where the local tribal producers were concerned, it was clearly the pressure of poverty that had driven them to the family planning measures, notwithstanding the fact that fertility in a pre-capitalist social formation means survival not just of people, but of land, cattle and plants. In an economy vulnerable to drought, monsoon, disease, death and famine, where there is an overriding necessity for children, family planning as a programme may not seem meaningful to villagers. Few villagers are aware of the fact that, contrary to their own experiences, the national death rate is falling, the birth rate is rising, or that within twenty years the population will double making cities overburdened. Least of all few villagers are prepared to risk their own families because of some government programme to promote family planning. But unlike women in rural societies who suffer the usual

pressures of fertility (Hobson, 1978 : 171), men in these societies may remain vulnerable to the incentives of the family planning programme. However, the pressures of intense poverty may grip the villagers, reducing their vision and thrusting blindness upon them as they accept short term survival at the risk of long term existence.

Here the actions of producers run contrary to their maxim "Both hands earn more than a stomach consumes". In the subsistence agricultural economy, children are seen as assisting and working hands. The capacity of human labour to produce is recognised equivocally. But family planning actions may invert the social experience of tribal producers. In a pre-capitalist society, where labour power and its reproduction remain essential components of the economy and its survival (Meillassoux, 1972), it is difficult to see how household and domestic economies can immediately benefit from family planning and reducing chances of child birth. This does not, however, mean that villagers are incapable of comprehending the long term and broader perspectives as do their health officers. What I am stressing here is the fact that social conditions of production and reproduction do not allow the villager to comprehend the reality of family planning programmes. Yet, at the same time, they remain victims of such state sponsored programmes.

Thus the whole range of multiple consequences of transformation of subsistence economy exert contradictory pressures on Bonda producers. I have, in this chapter, dealt with varied forms of the process of change towards

a market economy, and emphasised the plurality of structures as different as state bureaucracy and medical practice, because these aspects are not seen in relation to the ever expanding "economic" frontier of market economy. It would be evident, from the above discussion, that the "economic" frontier is accompanied by an array of support structures which ideologically reflect the broader society at large. These are not isolated processes but the practices of related support structures which play their complex role in the penetration of the frontiers of market economy. The plurality of support structures, in their ideologies and practices, are closely tied to each other and augment the commoditization of subsistence and labour power, a process which sociologists of development may call economic "development".

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, I must first draw attention to the role of the state. The state plays an important role in creating the society in the highlands. It is clearly evident, I hope, from the discussion in the last chapter, that the state sponsored development agency is designed specifically for the purpose of bringing about economic and social "development". In the highlands, as I have already observed, the B.D.A. is committed to "appropriate" all "untapped" resources.

According to the officials, these resources, which include unutilised fallow (communal) land, forests and wildlife, are valuable national wealth. Such wealth must augment more wealth. But the "appropriation" by the B.D.A. of such resources deprives the highlanders of traditionally established access to such lands, forests and hills.

The problem of the state, and the society at large it represents, brings me to one realisation of the present study. During the course of my research I realised, time and again, how inextricably the present state and status of the Bonda highlanders is linked up with the society at large. The state planning machinery is involved in bringing changes to the highlands. That these changes will also effect a string of other changes not perceived by the planners is perhaps the disturbing factor. Without

changing the system, as a whole, of which we ourselves are a part , there can be no real changes in the highlands.

The present study started by looking at the gaps in the social anthropology of Indian tribes. I emphasised the ahistorical character of earlier studies and attempted to explore the social history of highland Orissa. But this study also grew from a deeply felt need - the need to overcome the colonial residue in Indian social anthropology. For too long Indian anthropologists have emphasised the ancient and archaic components of tribal social formations. In doing so they have reported about a "foreign" world to the west and to the westernised elite of independent India.

The ritual and "exotic" elements of Indian tribes, of course, need as much scientific analysis as the "non-exotic", familiar aspects of society. An undue preoccupation of anthropologists with unchanging ritual behaviour of tribes can be overcome by an historical analysis of social transformations. It is in this spirit of an historical analysis that I have presented, in Chapter II, the possibility of looking at ritual in an historical setting.

In relating the story of change in Bonda society, I have drawn upon both history and anthropology. But the haunting theme of change led me to the far more perplexing historical totality of state, power, values, etc. The way by which Bonda producers participate in this totality forced me to overcome my early concern with abstract divisions between various disciplines: "economics", "politics,

"sociology", "anthropology" and "history".

Anthropologists who typically focus attention on segments of societies - tribes, single villages, limited spheres of village life or certain aspects of urban societies - cannot escape structural and cultural principles. The empirical research of microscopic units of study must not be an excuse for ignoring broader social forces. The smaller unit of study, by definition, must be perceived in relation to the larger entity of which it is a part.

Therefore, the analytical isolation of social units and the limiting of these units is a relative problem. The choice of a microscopic analysis is not the prerogative of anthropologists alone. Many historians have shared this prerogative with anthropologists as well as other social scientists.

So long as we accept that we are studying the same cosmos, the choice between microcosm and macrocosm is a matter of selecting the appropriate technique.
(Hobsbawm, 1980 : 7)

In the context of the Third World, this cosmos has been termed as the "development of underdevelopment" (Frank, 1967). A great deal of attention has been given to this theme by an array of scholars. Recent studies on social change in Indian rural society (Djurfeldt and Lindberg, 1976a; 1976b) have taken this theme for granted. Some studies emphasise the role of the "external" capitalist market and attendant exogenous social factors, as the cause of social change (Amin, 1974, 1976 ; Jalee, 1969). This approach has tended to exaggerate the role of production

on the market for profit. Since the market remains the key to capitalist development, the origin of capitalism in the rural areas is reduced to the origin of market exchange and the "free" labour market.

The internal social structure of rural societies then remain subordinated to the exogenous social factor in the explanation for social change. Such an approach posits that the producers' relationship to the market determines the operation and development of capitalist relations of production and, ultimately, their relation to one another - rather than vice versa. Correlatively, it locates the systems' potential for development in the capacities of its component individual units, rather than in the system as a whole (Brenner, 1977).

One important conceptualisation that attempts to overcome the inherent weaknesses of the above approach is the theory of "peripheral capitalism" (Alavi, 1981). "Peripheral capitalism" is seen in contrast to capitalism at two levels of structural differences: (a) generalised commodity production; (b) extended reproduction of capital. In the Third World countries, colonialism is seen to have created the conditions for a "disarticulated" form of generalised commodity production, as contrasted with the integrated process of production of capital goods as well as consumers' goods in metropolitan capitalism. As the surplus value generated in the Third World countries is appropriated by metropolitan capitalism, the growth of productive forces and extended reproduction of capital is seen to take place in Third World countries "in a

manner that is specific to peripheral capitalism".

Alavi suggests two paths through which "peripheral capitalism" has come to develop in Third World countries.

One is the case where the pre-capitalist society in question is a highly stratified "feudal" society such as that of medieval India or Latifundia in Latin America, with large landowning magnates.... The other type of case is that of subsumption under capital of pre-capitalist societies of small peasants, that pre-dominates in many African countries but are not absent in India or Latin America, by any means.

(Alavi, 1981 : 17 - emphasis mine)

The present story of transformation in Bonda society may be seen as an example of the second type of change, initiated by colonialism, but still at work under the politico-ideological structure of independent India. In this respect the present study of the Bonda highlands can be seen in the context of the study of similar situations in other parts of the Third World societies in Africa (Meillassoux, 1981; Bernstein, 1979) as well as in Latin America (Gudeman, 1978). Thus suitable cross-national examples can be provided from African situations, of "the destruction of the natural economy" (Bernstein) and the exploitation of the "domestic community" (Meillassoux, as well as the "demise of the rural economy" (Gudeman) from Latin America.

This path of transformation is therefore structurally different from the destruction of the feudal hierarchy of Zamindars in the medieval set-up of the Mogul Empire, where land

became the property of the Zamindar, dispossessing the cultivators. The latter who were landlords became the new landowners. "The basis of the relationship between Zamindar and cultivator was fundamentally altered" (Alavi, 1981 : 17).

In the highlands of Orissa, the Zamindar factor was absent and therefore the colonial state did not create big landowners. Instead, as we have already discussed in Chapters II and IV, the subsumption under capital takes a variety of specific forms and creates its own contradictions. Many of these social forms are inherited from the traditional tribal structure of the past, and capitalism does not automatically dissolve these forms and replace them with capitalist institutions. While labour is reduced to a commodity for sale - labour power - the mechanisms of the social reproduction of that labour power are still embedded in the exogamous patrilineal clan structure based on gender and seniority. The historical evolution of this patrilineal structure and the related exploitation based on sex and age is, however, located in the transition from hunting/gathering to settled agriculture.

In Chapter III, I suggested that the emerging social groups may take, for all its members, the quality of "seniors" in relation to other groups considered collectively as "juniors". The related economic and social prerogatives of the "elders" may be transferred to the emerging dominant group. But the clear cut emergence of a class of labourers, and the disappearance of traditional social organisation, poses problems. I have explained, in Chapter IV, the

conditions that account for the perpetuation of subsistence agriculture,, even when the process of commoditization continues to increase the labour market and the flow of cash. The reasons for this lie in the nature of the economic frontier which engulfs the highlands and the inner structure of highland society. Any "voluntarist" conception of the intentions and purposes of capitalism" fails to provide a satisfactory explanation of this process (Alavi, 1981 : 27).

In order to provide an explanation for the perpetuation of the peasantry in peripheral capitalism, Alavi draws our attention to two major differences between urban petty commodity producers and the peasant. It is not entirely out of place to mention them here. The crucial difference, according to Alavi, is the way by which the basic minimum of subsistence is secured by each group. While the petty producer in the urban setting must sell his goods to buy subsistence for the household, the peasant producer secures, up to a certain point, his shelter and food without having to valorize his production through the market. The other social factor is the "resilience" of the peasant to survive through his subsistence agriculture supplemented by possible earnings outside agriculture.

The peasant by contrast is able to survive a little longer because of his own economic situation. But this is not because capital "wills" it so. On the contrary, the forces of capitalism tend towards his pauperisation. The peasant may not disappear overnight. But the conditions of his existence are being progressively undermined. That is an aspect of the dynamics of peripheral

capitalism.

(Alavi, 1981 : 24)

We cannot escape the important question concerning class, class interests and class struggles. It is necessary to take note of some recent developments in theory and practice.

In his The Making of the English Working Class, Thompson (1979) demonstrates that the working class makes itself, as much as it is made. He analyses how class experience may be handled by people in cultural terms. These experiences may eventually be embodied in traditions, rituals, ceremonies, symbolisms and institutional forms. While the classes are never independent of the production relations into which men and women are born or enter involuntarily (Anderson, 1980 : 43), yet class consciousness is defined by people who live through the class experiences. The concept of class is inextricably linked with the process of class struggle. Thompson confesses,

As it happens, Althusser and I appear to share one common proposition: class struggle is the prior concept to class, class does not precede but arises out of class-struggle.

(Thompson, 1978a : 298)

Both Thompson and Althusser must be seen in the broad tradition of marxism. At the beginning, I referred to that tradition of marxism and suggested that it provide a viable theoretical frame of reference to relate the process of social transformation. In suggesting that marxism is a science, and thereby drawing upon its theory, I

have entirely left out the other aspect. The scientific aspect is only one side of marxism (Colletti, 1972b). There is, nevertheless, the more challenging task of not only studying the possibility of class and class struggle, but also of making it.

In a dialogue with situations obtained in 18th century English society, Thompson (1978b) views class-struggle within a societal "field-of-force". While he views the plebians as crowding at one pole and the gentry at another, the merchant and professional groups hide their faces from magnetic dependency on rulers. The riots, situations and episodes, when interrogated within this societal "field-of-force", reveal new significance. The social categories gain ambivalent meaning depending on which side we are on. The ensuing dialogue, with certain recorded circumstances of "theft", "crime" or "riot" reveals them as evidence of protracted attempts by villagers to defend ancient common-right usages, or by labourers to defend customary perquisites. Few situations escape this "field-of-force".

Such concepts as "liberty" and "charity", when decoded, seem to be calculated acts of class appeasement at times of dearth and calculated exhortations (under threat of riot) by the crowd. The view from one side does not correspond to, and contradicts that of the other. Thompson remarks that, while class formation does not occur in ways prescribed as theoretically proper, yet class-struggle imposes "specific tonalities" of its own over social life.

It is interesting to note here that recent interrogation of available field-material on Indian society has revealed similar conflicting views "from below" and "from above". The available empirical material on "castes" suggests that the lower castes and their view "from below" may tend to laugh at the much emphasised caste-system. Some well known village studies have been subjected to criticism for imposing the caste-grid from outside on situations, even when they are not necessarily pitched in caste terms. In the Indian context, a certain co-existence of the functionalist approach and the social view "from above" has already been commented on:

Here it must be said that since structural-functionalist ethnography emphasises harmony, integration and equilibrium, it is particularly well suited by providing a view of the community from the top, i.e. from the vantage point of power-holders. There is usually a neat and apparently close fit between the methodological assumptions about order in society and the activities of the powerful which enforce that order.

(Jain, 1978 : 50)

Such theories of social organisation are increasingly being viewed as an ideology which legitimises the social relationships by imputing ritual meanings that are compatible with the interests of the ideologists themselves. But the changes in society, and the ensuing contradictions in Indian villages, cannot be grasped merely by studying the contradictory views. Even so, the dominance of the functionalist approach has prevented a full consideration of the above-mentioned conflicts.

While Jain identifies the functionalist approach with the view "from above", Srinivas points to the populism of the view "from below". According to Srinivas, an empathetic anthropologist ought to,

... see the view point of the oppressor, as well as the oppressed whereas, according to populist rhetoric, a profounder view of the system is obtained only when you see the system from "the bottom up".

(Srinivas, 1978 : 141)

There are, of course, inherent problems of analysing social view points devoid of any objective anchorage to the determinant material production relations. While discussing the view-points of social situations, there have been too frequently attempts at trying to locate groups, and then attributing their own view-points to the definition of these groups. As a result of this descriptive approach, we encounter a multitude of people with different sets of view points, that of the "landless labourer and landowner, Harijan and Brahmin or Kshatriya, mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, etc." (Srinivas). There is no doubt, however, that it is not the individual viewpoint which will identify, as it were, the emerging social classes, the oppressors and the oppressed. It is nevertheless the friction between the social viewpoints and interests in relation to the material production system of the society that may provide a viable window onto the fundamental class antagonisms. Neither the quantitative counting of men and women on this side or that side of production relations, nor the questionnaires asking which class or groups they think they belong to, will reveal social classes.

The process of transformation in Bonda society may not, therefore, be evaluated wholly on the basis of what Bonda men and women think of the changes and transformation in their society. It is worth reminding ourselves here that indigenous viewpoints may remain, necessarily, ideological, representing the social groups and emerging interests.

The conflicting indigenous viewpoints and resulting interpretations cannot be explained independently of the conflicts within the material conditions of production. The conflicts in the social relationships of production influence the determinant ways by which people look at these relationships.

In order that social relationships continue to exist, certain views "from above" may seem to have an ideological existence within a social formation. But neither can the view "from below" be taken as an assessment of the social transformation. Marx confirms this materialist approach to indigenous social consciousness in the following statement:

Just as our opinion of an individual is not based on what he thinks of himself, so can we not judge of such a period of transformation by its own consciousness; on the contrary this consciousness must be explained rather from the contradictions of material life, from the existing conflict between the social productive forces and the relations of production.

(Marx, 1974 : 329)

It is within this materialist analysis of society

that Marx acknowledges the reality of social categories and antagonistic social perceptions. While most social anthropologists have accepted the relativity of social categories, and have at times stretched it to include natural symbols and cosmologies, notions of time, space, causation and so on, yet often enough the analysis has remained devoid of any material and historical basis. In the context of the indigenous perceptions of notions of time in the highlands, I have attempted, in Chapter V, to overcome ahistorical and cultural relativism. In this analysis I hope that I have taken a break from relativism of perceptions and consciousness which is either explained, via Boas, by culturalists that every people have their own proper view of the world, or, via Durkheim, by the sociologism of *L'Année Sociologique* that social cognition develops autonomously according to its own rules.

At the outset I asked, in the hypothesis, whether Bonda men and women will take a fresh look at their social situation and pose a critical alternative to the dominant ideology. Such a perception of their situation does not occur autonomously. It is evident from the discussion in Chapter V that the elements of perception, notions of time, work, life, leisure and "outsider", are bound up with social relations of production and ideologies thereof. The linearity of time, as I have already explained, is a product of this transformation.

But an agricultural society that gambles on monsoons

and the vagaries of nature does not permit this linearity to be a real possibility. The conception of future is intercepted by the bad harvests and uncertainties. As of now there are no means of overcoming this materiality. It is only the metaphorical realm of the non-material and mythical that fills up the gaps and the unknowns.

Thus conceptions and conditions are never quite independent of the changing conditions of life. Yet such conditions of life cannot emerge without the corresponding attitudes compatible to it. The questions remain open. Will the highlanders take an objective view of their situations and sufferings? Will the highlanders take a look at their own attitudes, and comprehend that these attitudes are products of their material circumstances? Because time must be overcome to realise leisure. Individualism must be overcome to return to their collective project of changing their inhuman conditions. Private property must be overcome in order to take control over their means. Money must be overcome to realise goods, and return to a life that was perhaps not so degrading a few decades ago.

-+-+-+-----

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- AABY, Peter. 1977. "Engels and Women", Critique of Anthropology, Vol. 3, Nos. 9 & 10
- ALAVI, Hamza. 1980. "India: Transition from Feudalism to Colonial Capitalism", Journal of Contemporary Asia, Vol. 10, No. 4.
- ALAVI, Hamza. 1981. "Structure of Peripheral Capitalism", in Teodor Shanin and Hamza Alavi (eds.) Introduction to Sociology of "Developing Societies" (forthcoming).
- ALTHUSSER, Louis. 1977. Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays, London: New Left Books.
- AMIN, S. 1974. Accumulation on a World Scale, 2 Vols., New York: Monthly Review.
- AMIN, S. 1976. Unequal Development, London: Harvester.
- ANDERSON, Perry. 1980. Arguments Within English Marxism, London: NLB and Verso,
- ARORA, G.S. 1974. Tribe, Caste and Class Encounter, Hydrabad: Administrative Staff College.
- ASAD, Talal. 1974. "The Concept of Rationality in Economic Anthropology", Economy and Society, London, Vol. 3.
- AUSTIN, Diane J. 1978. "History and Sumbols in Ideology : A Jamaican Example", Man, Vol. 14.
- BAILEY, F.G. 1959. Caste and Economic Frontier : Village in Highland Orissa, Manchester University Press.
- BAILEY, F.G. 1960. Tribe, Caste and Nation, Manchester University Press.
- BAILEY, F.G. 1963. Politics and Social Change, Oxford University Press.
- BAILEY, F.G. 1976. "The Peasant View of Bad Life" in T. Shanin (ed.) Peasants and Peasant Societies, Harmondsworth : Penguin.
- BANAJI, Jairus. 1970. "The Crisis in British Anthropology", New Left Review, No. 64.
- BANAJI, Jairus. 1972. "For a Theory of Colonial Mode of Production", Economic and Political Weekly, Dec. 23, VII (52).
- BANAJI, Jairus. 1977. "Modes of Production in a Materialist Conception of History", Capital and Class, No. 3.
- BARNES, J.A. 1971. "Time Flies Like an Arrow", Man, Vol. 6.
- BARNES, J.A. 1977. The Ethics of Inquiry in Social Science, Delhi: Oxford University Press.

- BEECHEY, Veronics. 1977. "Some Notes on Female Wage Labour in Capitalist Production", Capital and Class, No. 3.
- BELL, R.C.S. 1945. Koraput District Gazetteer, Cuttack: Government Publishing House.
- BERNSTEIN, Henry. 1979. "African Peasantries : a Theoretical Framework", Journal of Peasant Studies, London, Vol. 6, No. 4 (July).
- BLOCH, Marc. 1967. Land and Work in Mediaeval Europe, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- BLOCH, Maurice. 1974. "Symbols, Song, Dance and Features of Articulation : Is religion an extreme form of traditional authority?", European Journal of Sociology, Vol. XV.
- BLOCH, Maurice. 1977. "The Past and the Present in the Present", Man, Vol. 12.
- BOAS, F. 1966. Introduction, in P. Holder (ed.) Handbook of American Indians, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- BOSE, N.K. 19 . "Marriage and Kinship Among the Juangs", Man in India, Vol. VIII., No. 4.
- BOSERUP, Ester. 1970. Woman's Role in Economic Development, New York: St. Martin's.
- BOURDIEU, P. 1964. "The Attitude of the Algerian Peasant toward Time", in Julian Pitt-Rivers (ed.), Peasants in the Mediterranean, The Hague: Mouton.
- BOURDIEU, P. 1973. "The Algerian Subproletariat", in William Zartman (ed.), Man, State and Society in the Contemporary Maghrib, London: Pall Mall Press.
- BRAUDEL, Fernand. 1972. "History and the Social Sciences", in Peter Burke (ed.), Economy and Society in Early Modern Europe: Essays from Annales, New York: Harper Torchbooks.
- BRENNER, R. 1977. "The Origins of Capitalist Development : A Critique of Neo-Smithian Marxism", New Left Review, No. 104.
- CARMICHAEL, D.F. 1869, Manual of the Vizagapatnam District, Vizagapatnam: Government Publications.
- CHANDRA, Bipan. 1966. The Rise and Growth of Economic Nationalism In India, New Delhi: Peoples' Publishing House.
- CHANDRA, Bipan. 1970. Presidential Address ; Modern Indian History section, in Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, Jabalpur.
- CLARK, Alice. 1968. Working Life of Women in the Seventeenth Century, London: Frank Cass & Co.

- COLLETTI, Lucio. 1972a. From Rousseau to Lenin, London: New Left Books.
- COLLETTI, Lucio. 1972b. "Marxism : Science or Revolution?", in Robin Blackburn (ed.), Ideology in Social Science : Readings in Critical Social Theory, Bungay: Fontana.
- CROOKE, W. 1857. The Native Races of British Empire : Northern India, Delhi: Oriental Books Reprint (1968).
- CROOKS, William. 1907. Natives of Northern India, London: Longmans Green & Co.
- DAIN, J.R. 1923. Resolution, Patna: Government of Bihar and Orissa: Revenue Department Papers.
- DESAI. A.R. (ed.) 1979. Peasant Struggles in India, New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- DJURFELDT, Goran and LINDBERG, Staffan. 1976a. Pills Against Poverty : A Study of the Introduction of Western Medicine in a Tamil Village, New Delhi: Oxford and I.B.H. Publishing Co.
- DJURFELDT, Goran and LINDBERG, Staffan. 1976b. Behin Poverty : the Social Formation of a Tamil Village, New Delhi: Oxford and I.B.H. Publishing Co.
- DRAPER, Patricia. 1975. "I Kung Women : Contrasts in Sexual Egalitarianism in Foraging and Sedantry Contexts" in Rayna Reiter (ed.), Toward an Anthropology of Women, New York: Monthly Review Press.
- DUMONT, Louis. 1970. Homo Hierarchicus, London: Paladin.
- DURKHEIM, Emile. 1912. Elementary Forms of Religious Life (translated by J.W. Swain), London: Allen & Unwin (1915).
- ELWIN, Verrier. 1950. Bondo Highlander, Oxford University Press.
- ENGELS, Frederick. 1972. The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State, Eleanor Leacock (ed.), New York: International Publishers.
- EPSTEIN, T. Scarlett. 1962. Economic Development and Social Change In South India, Manchester University Press.
- EVANS-PRITCHARD, E.E. 1939. "Nuer Time-Reckoning, Africa, International African Institute , Vol. XII, No. 2, (April).
- EVANS-PRITCHARD. E.E. 1940. The Nuer, Clarendon Press, Oxford.

- FANON, Franz. 1967. The Wretched of the Earth, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- FRANK, Andre Gunder. 1967. Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America, New York: Monthly Review Press.
- FRANKENBERG, Ronald. 1967. "Economic Anthropology : One Anthropologist's View", in R. Firth (ed.) Themes in Economic Anthropology, London: Tavistock.
- FRANKENBERG, Ronald. 1977. Marxism and Anthropology, (unpublished manuscript).
- FRANKENBERG, Ronald. 1978. "Allopathic Medicine, Profession and Capitalist Ideology in India", unpublished paper prepared for the Ninth World Congress of Sociology at Uppsala, August 14th-19th.
- FRANKENBERG, Ronald. 1979. "Economic Anthropology or Political Economy : The Borotse Social Formation : A Case Study", in John Clammer (ed.) The New Economic Anthropology, London: Macmillan.
- FRANKENBERG, Ronald. 1979a. "Medical Anthropology and Development : A Theoretical Perspective", unpublished paper.
- FRYKENBERG, Eric Robert. 1965. Guntur District 1788-1848 : A History of Local Influence and Central Authority in South India, London: Clarendon Press.
- FUCHS, Fr. Stephen. 1979. "Messianic Movements", in Desai, A.R. (ed.), Peasant Struggles in India, New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- FURER-HAIMENDORF, Christoph von. 1944. "Avenues of Marriage Among the Bondos of Orissa", Man in India, Vol. XXIII, No. 1.
- FURER-HAIMENDORF, Christoph von. 1945. "The Problem of Megalithic Cultures in Middle India", Man in India, Vol. XXV, No. 2.
- FURTADO, Celso. 1970. Economic Development of Latin America : A Survey from Colonial Times to the Cuban Revolution, Cambridge University Press.
- GELLNER, Ernest. 1958. "Time and Theory in Social Anthropology", Mind, No. 67.
- GHURYE, G.S. 1959. The Scheluled Tribes, Bombay: Popular Book Depot.
- GIDDENS, Anthony. 1979. Central Problems in Social Theory : Action, Structure and Contradiction in Social Analysis, London: Macmillan.
- GLUCKMAN, Max. 1941. Economy of the Central Barotse Plain, Rhodes Livingstone Papers, No. 7, Lusaka and Manchester (reprinted 1968).

- GLUCKMAN, Max. 1965. Politics, Law and Ritual in Tribal Society, Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- GODELIER, Maurice. 1972. Rationality and Irrationality in Economics, London: New Left Books.
- GOEDLIER, Maurice. 1978. Perspectives in Marxist Anthropology, Cambridge University Press.
- GOUGH, Kathleen. 1975. "The Origin of the Family", in Rayna R. Reiter (ed.), Toward and Anthropology of Women, New York: Monthly Review Press.
- GUDEMAN, Stephen. 1978. The Demise of a Rural Economy : From Subsistence to Capitalism in a Latin American Village, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- GUDEMAN, Stephen. 1978a. "Anthropological Economics : the question of distribution", Annual Review of Anthropology, Vol. 7, Annual Review Press.
- GUDEMAN, Stephen. 1979. "Mapping Means", Sandra Wallman (ed.), Social Anthropology of Work, A.S.A. Monograph 19, London: Academic Press.
- HABIB, Irfan. 1963. Agrarian System of Mughal India, 1556-1707, Bombay: Asia Publishing House.
- HOBSBAWM, E.J. 1959. Primitive Rebels : Studies in Archaic Forms of Social Movement in the 19th and 20th Centuries, Manchester University Press.
- HOBSBAWM, Eric. 1980. "The Revival of the Narrative : Some Comments", Past and Present, No. 86.
- HOBSON, Sarah. 1978. Family Web : a Story of India, London: John Murray.
- HUNT, Pauline. 1980. Gender and Class Consciousness, London: Macmillan.
- HUTTON, J.H. 1918. "The Connection of Difficult Nagas and other Tribes in Assam", Census of India, Vol. 3.
- JAIN, R.K. 1978. "Lotus in the Mud Pond?", Contributions to Indian Sociology, Vol. 12, No. 1.
- JALEE, Pierre. 1969. The Third World in World Economy, New York: Monthly Review Press.

- KOSAMBI, D.D. 1977. The Culture and Civilization of Ancient India in Historical Outline, New Delhi: Vikas.
- KUHN, T.S. 1970. The Structure of Scientific Revolution, University of Chicago Press.
- KULKE, Hermann von. 1978. "Early State Formation and Royal Legitimation in the Hindu Tribal Border Area of Orissa", in Moser, R. and Tautam, M.K. (eds.) Aspects of Tribal Life in South Asia I : Strategy and Survival, University of Berne.
- KULKE, Hermann von. 1979. Jagannā tha - Kult Und Tajapati-Konigtum, Weisbaden: Franzsteiner Verlagmbh.
- LEVI-STRAUSS, Claude. 1966. The Savage Mind, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.
- LYNCH, Kevin. 1972. What Time is This Place?, Cambridge: The M.I.T. Press.
- MAJUMDAR, D.N. 1937. A Tribe in Transition : A Study in Culture Pattern, London: Longman Green & Co.
- MANDEL, Ernest. 1975. Marxist Economic Theory, New York: Monthly Review Press.
- MARX, Karl and ENGELS, Frederick. (1884) 1973. Selected Works, Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House.
- MARX, Karl and ENGELS, Fredrick. 1974. The German Ideology, London: Lawrence and Wishart.
- MARX, Karl. 1976. Capital Vol. I, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- MAY, J.A. 1873. "Notes on Bhondas of Jaypur", The Indian Antiquary, Vol. II.
- MEILLASSOUX, Claude. 1972. "From Reproduction to Production", Economy and Society, Vol. I.
- MEILLASSOUX, Claude. 1979. "Historical Modalities of the Exploitation and Over-Exploitation of Labour", Critique of Anthropology, Vol. 4, Nos. 13 & 14.
- MEILLASSOUX, Claude. 1980. "The Social Organization of the Peasantry : The Economic Basis of Kinship", in David Seddon (ed.) Ralations of Production : Marxist Approaches to Economic Anthropology, Totowa: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd.
- MEILLASSOUX, Claude. 1981. Maidens, Meal and Money : Capitalism and the Domestic Community, Cambridge University Press.

- MERTON, R.K. 1963. Social Theory and Social Structure, Chicago: Free Press.
- MISHRA, Kashinatha. 1977. Etihasar Adivasi Mahila, Koraput: J.E.L. Church Press.
- MOHAPATRA, L.K. 1973. "Social Movements in Tribes in India", in Singh, K.S. (ed.), Tribal Situation in India, Simla: Institute of Advanced Study.
- MOORE, Barrington. 1979. Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy : Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- MARDAL, Gunnar. 1968. Asian Drama : An enquiry into the poverty of nations, Vol. II, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- NAIK, T.B. 1956. The Bhil, a Study, Delhi: Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh.
- NAKAMURA, Hajime. 1968. "Time in Indian and Japanese Thought", in J.T. Fraser (ed.), The Voices of Time : A Survey of Man's Views of Time as Understood and Described by the Sciences and the Humanities, London: Allen Lane.
- NANDA, Bikram. 1977. The Studies on Indian Tribes, M.Phil Dissertation, new Delhi: Jawaharlal Nehru University.
- NANDA, Bikram. 1978. "Bisipara Village : Bailey Revisited", Paper presented at the Xth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, New Delhi.
- NEEDHAM, Joseph. 1969. Within the Four Seas : the dialogue of East and West, London: George Allen & Unwin.
- NEEDHAM, Joseph. 1968. "Time and Knowledge in China and the West", in J.T. Fraser (ed.), The Voices of Time : A Survey of Man's Views of Time as Understood and Described by the Sciences and the Humanities, London: Allen Lane.
- ORANS, Martin. 1965. A Tribe in Search of a Great Tradition, Detroit: Wayne State University Press.
- ORTIZ, Sutti. 1979. "Estimation of Work : labour and value among Paez farmers", in Sandra Wallman (ed.), Social Anthropology of Work, A.S.A. Monograph 19, London: Academic Press.

- POLANYI, K. 1968. Primitive, Archaic and Modern Economics, G. Dalton (ed.), New York: Doubleday.
- RAGHAVIAH, V.R. 1979. "Background of Tribal Struggles in India", in Desai, A.R. (ed.), Peasant Struggles in India, New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- REX, John (ed.). 1974. Approaches to Sociology : An Introduction to Major Trends in British Sociology, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- RISLEY, H.H. 1891. The Tribes or Castes in Bengal, Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Press.
- RISLEY, Herbert. 1915. The People of India, Delhi: Oriental Books Reprint (1969).
- ROSE, F. 1968. "Australian Marriage, Land-Ownning Groups, and Initiations", in Lee and De Vore (eds.), Man the Hunter, Chicago: Aldine.
- ROWBOTHAM, S. 1973. Women's Consciousness, Man's World, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- ROXBOROUGH, Ian. 1979. Theories of Underdevelopment, London: Macmillan.
- SCAKS, Karen. 1975. "Engels Revisites : Women, the Organization of Production, and Private Property", in Rayna Reiter (ed.), Toward an Anthropology of Women, New York: Monthly Review Press.
- SAHLINS, Marshall. 1978. Stone Age Economics, London: Tavistock Publications.
- SALISBURY, R.F. 1962. From Stone to Steel, Milbourne University Press.
- SALISBURY, R.F. 1970. Vunamami Economic Transformation in a Traditional Society, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- SCHUTZ, Alfred. 1970. Reflections on the Problem of Relevance, New Haven: Yale University Press.
- SHANIN, Teodor. 1974. "The Nature and Logic of the Peasant Economy", The Journal of Peasant Studies, London, Vol. I, No. 1 (January).
- SINGH, K.S. (ed.). 1973. Tribal Stituation in India, Simla: Institute of Advanced Study.
- SINGH, K.S. 1977. "Colonial Transformation of the Tribal Society in Middle India", Presidential Address, Indian History Congress, Bhubaneswar.

- SINHA, Surjit. 1957. "The Media and Nature of Hindu Bhumi-j Interaction", Journal of the Asiatic Society, Vol. XXIII, No. 1.
- SMELSER, Neil J. and LIPSET, Seymour Martin. (eds.) 1966. Social Structure and Mobility in Economic Development, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- SRINIVAS, M.N. 1962. Caste in Modern India and Other Essays, Bombay: Asia Publishing House.
- SRINIVAS, M.N. 1978. "The Remembered Village : Reply to Criticisms", Contributions to Indian Sociology, Vol. 12, No. 1.
- STOKES, Eric. 1970. "Traditional Resistance Movements and Afro-Asian Nationalism : The Context of the 1857 Mutiny Rebellion in India", Past and Present, No. 48.
- STOKES, Eric. 1973. "The First Century of British Colonial Rule in India : Social Revolution or Social Stagnation?", Past and Present, No. 58.
- STRATHERN, Andrew. 1971. The Rope of Moka : Big-Men and Ceremonial Exchange in Mount Hagen, New Guinea, Cambridge University Press.
- TERRAY, E. 1972. Marxism and Primitive Societies, New York: Monthly Review Press.
- THAPAR, Romila. 1975. The Past and Prejudice, New Delhi: National Book Trust.
- THOMPSON, E.P. 1967. "Time, Work-discipline and Industrial Capitalism", Past and Present, a journal of historical studies, No. 38.
- THOMPSON, E.P. 1978. "Folklore, Anthropology and Social History", Indian Historical Review, Vol. 3, No. 2 (January).
- THOMPSON, E.P. 1978a. The Poverty of Theory and Other Essays, London: Merlin Press.
- THOMPSON, E.P. 1978b (May). "Eighteenth-Century English Society : Class Struggle without Class?", Social History, Vol. 3, No. 2.
- THOMPSON, E.P. 1979 (1963). The Making of the English Working Class, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- VANSINA, Jan. 1965. Oral Tradition : A Study in Historical Methodology, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- VIDYARTHI, L.P. 1972. "Tribal Ethnography in India", in A Survey of Research in Sociology and Social Anthropology, Vol. III, I.C.S.S.R., Bombay : Popular Prakashan.

- WERTHEIM, W.F. 1956. Indonesian Society in Transition, The Hague:
W. van Hoeve Ltd.
- WHARTON, Clifton R. 1971. "Risk, Uncertainty and the Subsistence
Farmer", in G. Dalton(ed.), Studies in Economic Anthropology,
Washington: American Anthropological Association.
- WILLIAMS, Raymond. 1980. Problems in Materialism and Culture, London:
Verso.
- WOLPE, Harold. 1972. "Capitalism and Cheap Labour Power : From
Segregation to Apartheid", Economy and Society, No. 14.
- WORSLEY, Peter. 1968. The Trumpet Shall Sound, London: Macgibbon
& Kee.