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## UNIT 2 DEVELOPMENTAL ANTHROPOLOGY

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### Learning Objectives



This unit will introduce you to:

- the concept of development;
- how anthropologists have studied the notion of development; and
- a comparative study of development in different contexts.

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## 2.1 INTRODUCTION

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**Development anthropology** refers to the application of anthropological perspectives to the multidisciplinary branch of development studies. It takes international development and international aid as primary objects. In this branch of anthropology, the term development refers to the social action made by different agents (institutions, business, enterprise, states, independent volunteers) who are trying to modify the economic, technical, political and social life of a given place in the world, especially in impoverished, formerly colonised regions.

Development anthropologists share a commitment to simultaneously critique and contribute to projects and institutions that create and administer Western projects that seek to improve the economic well-being of the most marginalised, and to eliminate their poverty. While some theorists distinguish between the ‘anthropology of development’ (in which development is the object of study) and development anthropology (as an applied practice), this distinction is increasingly thought of as obsolete. With researches on the field, the anthropologist can describe, analyse and understand the different actions of development that took and take place in a given place. The various impacts on the local population, environment, social and economic life are to be examined.

To understand the concept of development and the factors contributing to it we will focus on the ethnographic works (a) *India’s Changing Villages: Human Factors in Community Development* by S.C. Dube and (b) *Capitalism, Primitive and Modern: Some Aspects of Tolai Economic Growth* by T. Scarlett Epstein for the unit.

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## **2.2 THEORETICAL PART OF WHICH THE ETHNOGRAPHY *India’s Changing Villages: Human Factors in Community Development* IS AN EXAMPLE**

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Indian village was not a stagnant entity as was believed by colonial officers. It was constantly changing, although the pace of change varied from one village to another. Dube’s work is a contribution to the understanding of the processes and products of change in rural India.

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## **2.3 DESCRIPTION OF THE ETHNOGRAPHY**

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This volume as a product of research work owes much to co-workers and associates at the Cornell Field Station, in Western U.P., India. The aim of this study was to examine some of the important human factors involved in externally induced and state directed programmes of economic development and culture change in a technologically under-developed society. The analyses presented here are qualitative rather than quantitative. The universe of the project was a single Community Development Block and there too, attention was focussed mainly on two villages and the author hoped that the problems and conclusions emerging out of the study will have generally speaking some validity for similar projects elsewhere in India.

### **2.3.1 Intellectual Context**

In the second half of the twentieth century, rural India was being exposed to a large number of changes being introduced from outside. The issue was the changes that came in society and their impact on the traditional institutions.

### **2.3.2 Fieldwork**

Fieldwork was conducted using qualitative research methodology. Fieldwork involved the use of the techniques of observation and interview. Case studies were also collected.

### 2.3.3 Analysis of Data

The political division of the country had left numerous tangled questions unsolved, caused considerable bloodshed and rioting and brought into the country a large number of uprooted people. The consolidation of the union of India and the integration of these princely states was one of the major tasks before the country. The antiquated land system, with several intermediary tax collectors between the peasant and the government, was crying for reform. For the last few decades there has been considerable awareness of the importance of planning in India. In 1938 the Indian National Congress appointed a National Planning Committee to examine the resources of the nation and prepare plans for its reconstruction. The National Planning Committee of the Indian National Congress had worked under the Chairmanship of Jawahar Lal Nehru for a number of years. Because of certain political developments and generally unsettled conditions in the country, it did not have an uninterrupted career. Although it could not come out with a comprehensive plan, it did much pioneering work by exploring the fundamental economic problems of the country and by examining the possibility of preparing a co-ordinated plan for national economic regeneration.

#### **A Rural Development Project in Action**

##### **The People**

As a part of the National Community Development Programme the government of Uttar Pradesh selected, among others, a group of villages in one of the western districts of the state for intensive development. The project to be launched in this area was not to be of standard type of community development project, comprising three blocks each consisting of nearly 100 villages, nor was it to be a rural-cum-urban Project: the selected villages were to be constituted into a community development block. At first only 120 villages were selected for inclusion in the block but later on ground of public demand and administrative convenience, 33 more villages were added to the list. Around the middle of the 1953 preparatory work was started and the project itself was inaugurated by the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh on 2<sup>nd</sup> October 1953.

The area covered by this project was wholly rural. In fact with the exception of the town in which the headquarters of the project was located there were no other urban settlements in the area and the headquarters town itself was excluded from project operations. Judged by average Indian standards the 153 villages in the Development Block were quite advanced agriculturally and economically. Besides its tie with the headquarters of the project, an old, semi rural settlement and centre of grain trade, this area has immediate connections with two other cities. One of these is the seat of the district of which the development block is a part and other is the seat of an adjoining district. While the people have administrative connections only with the district headquarters, many villages which were geographically nearer the other district town naturally look to it for its marketing, medical and educational facilities. There was a small government dispensary at the project headquarters and larger and comparatively better equipped hospitals as well as several highly qualified private medical practitioners, in the two district towns.

Two important types of village settlements were found in the area, some 'single settlement' villages others 'nucleated' villages. The society was caste structured

and the economy was mainly agricultural. The Rajputs, Tyagis, Jats and Gujars were the important land owing, agricultural castes of the region. These castes were found among both Hindus and Muslims. The relative position and strength of the castes often determine the character and organisation of a village. The social organisation of the village communities was determined by the interplay of several different kinds of solidarities. Kinship, caste and territorial affinities were the major determinants that shape their structure and the organisation. Caste was perhaps the most important single organising principle in those communities and it governs to a very considerable degree the organisation of kinship and territorial units. In that kind of social division, the different segments were kept apart by complex observances related to the concept of ritual pollution. The caste divisions were regarded as divinely ordained and were hierarchically graded. The differences between various segments were defined by tradition and it was regarded as permanent.

In recent decades a number of forces and factors have influenced the caste system and have brought about significant modifications in its form and functioning. Development of modern means of communication, urban contacts, modern education and movements of social reform (such as the Arya Samaj and the Gandhi's campaigns against untouchability) were important factors affecting caste system. Notwithstanding considerable propaganda in favour of breaking down the barriers of caste it still retains its endogamous character. However rules governing commensality and interpersonal relations between castes have been greatly modified. In regard to these a dual character of behaviour is gradually coming to be recognised. Adherence to traditional forms was considered desirable and necessary in the village but persons going from the villages to urban areas take moderately to city ways. Of course when they return to the village they generally return to the local traditions.

### **Project, Achievements and Its Response**

Although the ideal of the Community Development Project was to work for the many sided development of the entire community, from the work being done in two villages it was clear that the best organised activities were confined to the field of agricultural extension, and consequently, the group of agriculturalists benefitted the most from them. The benefit went to the elite group and to the more affluent and influential agriculturalists. The gains to poorer agriculturalists were considerably smaller. Being suspicious of government officials they did not seek help from the project as often. For the economic development of this group as well as for that of the artisans and agricultural labourers, no programmes were initiated by the project. Some programmes for the welfare of women, younger people and the untouchables were undertaken, but their organisation lacked imagination, and consequently they failed to make the desired impact.

In the sphere of public health and sanitation some significant steps were taken, but they only touched the surface of the problem. They were far below the needs of the community and did not in any appreciable measure change the attitude and outlook of the people towards nutrition, hygiene and health. The social education programme made the least impact. It was treated as a step child and was started more as a formal obligation than for its basic aims of awakening the community to its own needs.

An analysis of the motivation of village people in accepting the project sponsored programmes shows that they offered their co-operation mainly for the following reasons:

- 1) Economic advantage and convenience
- 2) Prestige of the individual, family, kin group, caste and village
- 3) Novelty of innovations
- 4) Compliance to the wishes of government and village leaders

The main obstacles in the way of the greater acceptance of the programme were:-

- 1) The general apathy of a considerable part of the village population.
- 2) Suspicion and distrust of officials and outsiders.
- 3) Failure on the part of the project to evolve effective and adequate media of communication.
- 4) Tradition and cultural factors.

These factors have vitally affected the implementation of the programme.

### **State Officials as agents of Change**

By setting up the orientation and training programmes and by making a conscious effort to evolve a set of operational principles to guide the officials engaged in development activity, the planners have shown both foresight and a genuine interest in equipping the officials to function as agents of change. Through periodical publications and seminars and conferences the government has tried to evaluate the success of its plans and had provided a forum for exchange and communication of ideas. To the credit of the planners it must be said that they have not hesitated to deviate boldly from established practices where the need or wisdom of such departure was indicated. Human factors involved in the change over from the old pattern of organisation and methods of work can now be appraised empirically. This experience should enable the planners and the administrators of the development programme to devise more effective training programmes, and alter the administrative machinery suitably. Planning so far appears to be from the top to down. Because of the undue curbs on project autonomy its officials hesitated to demonstrate much initiative. What was worse they tended on the official level to accept orders from above i.e. from state headquarters, without question or comment and this often despite pronounced private reservations. As an outcome of this trend the officials were oriented less towards the village people and more towards the pleasing of their official superiors. Sympathetic but honest evaluation could wean the official away from the kind of self deception that a quest after impressive records as such sometimes entails. It could help towards a better definition of ends as well as towards a development of suitable means for attaining them. Only through insights provided by such work can we hope to transform 'bureaucrats' into 'agents of change'.

### **Problems of Communication**

The process of communication has been identified in one sentence as 'who says what to whom, how, with what effect'. Between the originators of ideas, innovations and programmes and the audience to whom they are addressed they are significant factors of content, method and mechanism. The methods of communicating the programme to the villager, recommended in the development

literature and emphasised in the training of the officials can be classified under three main categories:

- 1) Contact
- 2) Demonstration
- 3) People's Participation

Several methods were adopted to communicate the programme to the people. Important among them were slogans, pictures and posters, pamphlets and publication, movies, tournament and competitions, exhibitions and conferences, propaganda meetings, fraternization, visits by dignitaries, meetings and speeches, social education classes and community centres, group discussions and individual contacts, camps and sightseeing tours and work with local agents of communication. The ultimate outcome of the process- what effect?-is determined as much by certain cultural factors as by intermediate factors of communication. In the context of the societies like the one to which this study refers the factors as well as the process and results of communication are governed and influenced by the cultural predisposition, cultural screens and processes of cultural adaptation in the community to which the message is addressed. An understanding of these factors is of vital significance for the successful implementation of the development programme.

### **Cultural Factors in Community Development**

There has been a growing realisation among the rural extension experts and technical assistance workers that even some of the less involved technological or economic innovations have latent cultural and social dimensions that need careful consideration if the success of these programmes is to be assured. From this study a number of points emerged that illustrate the range and effectiveness of cultural factors influencing such programmes.

- **Habits and Taste:** The habits and taste of the people have determined the initial response of the community to a large number of innovations and programmes promoted by the community development project. The improved varieties of wheat seed promoted by the project were in the beginning not very enthusiastically received by the community because of their flat taste and also largely because of the difficulties women folk experienced in using flour from them to make the conventional type of unleavened bread.
- **Social Practices and Traditions:** When it comes down to established social practices neither appeals on scientific grounds nor logic can easily persuade the village people to give up their traditional life ways. As a part of the programme the village level workers got compost pits dug outside the settlements in a number of villages. The local village councils passed resolutions making it obligatory for the villagers to use these pits. However, most of these pits remains unused. Cultural factors explain the failure on the part of the people to use them. Traditionally it was the work of the women to clean the house and the cattle shed and deposit refuse and dung in one corner of the courtyard or in an open space near the house. While women of even the highest castes can do this kind of work at their homes, those belonging to the highest castes are not expected to be seen carrying

loads from their houses all the way to compost pits on the outskirts of the village. Men could not do so because culturally such a task is defined as women's work. As very few families could afford to engage servants to do this work the traditional practice was never seriously threatened and continues.

- **The Area of Belief:** The state has been actively promoting programmes to introduce better methods of cattle breeding, but without much success. The agriculturalists recognise the importance of good draft cattle, and indeed invest large sums of money in buying animals of good breed. But locally they cannot do much to change the methods of cattle breeding, because of the presence in the villages of a large number of scrub bulls. The government has distributed free or at subsidized rates a large number of pedigree bulls in the area, but they are not much help because no effective ways can be devised to dispose of the scrub bulls. Being the mount of Lord Shiva, a bull is regarded as sacred. Traditional practices rooted in beliefs offer obstacles to the acceptance of a wide range of programmes in the fields of rural health and hygiene, and of practices connected with maternity and child care.
- **Social Structure:** The interplay of factors affecting programmes of directed change in the general area of the social structure is extremely complex. In this sphere it is necessary to take account of social segmentation and stratification, role differentiation in terms of age, sex, and types and levels of leaderships and vital factors of group dynamics and factionalism within the community. Welfare measures among untouchables were adversely criticised by the upper castes as politically motivated steps for vote getting that developed disturbing notions among the untouchables. The presence of women from the untouchable caste in the adult education classes started by the project in an important village of the development block resulted in the boycott of the class by the women of the upper castes. Age and experience are considered as desirable, often a necessary, attribute of positions of leadership and influence. As a consequence of this norm measures initiated by the project always need the blessings and support of the more tradition bound elders. Projects initiated and run by the younger age groups are viewed as temporary developments of minor significance and are rarely taken seriously by the community. This has to be considered in the selection of the local agents of change and the initiation of projects with long range effects.
- **Attitudes and Values:** In respect to attitudes, it is necessary to consider the village people's view of change. Does the village people consider it necessary and desirable? Then it is useful to find out their attitude towards the promoters of change. Do the people trust them? Or do they have any misgivings about their motivations? Finally it is necessary to determine the attitude of the people to the actual action program and to the methods adopted for implementing it. Indicative of this divergence are the two extremes of thought; one hoping that a free Indian government will undo the evil influence of an alien government and will re-establish the society on its traditional foundations by recognising and enforcing the relative statuses of different castes and another reflected in the thinking of the politically conscious leaders of the lower castes that the government will take active steps to eradicate the barriers separating the high castes from the low castes and the rich from the poor.

### 2.3.4 Conclusion

In conclusion it may be said that in devising action programmes of community development, especially in their educational aspects it is necessary to keep in mind the cultural factors that vitally influence their acceptance or rejections by the people. Many programmes are rejected not because the people are traditional, conservative or 'primitive' but because the innovations, in all their ramifications, do not fit into the total cultural setting of the community. A balanced and critical evaluation of the motivations and mechanism of change in these societies, together with the analysis of the cultural determinants of acceptance and rejection, can provide fruitful insights towards better planning and execution of development programmes.

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## 2.4 HOW DOES THE ETHNOGRAPHY ADVANCE OUR UNDERSTANDING

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The ethnography abundantly tells us that cultural factors are extremely important in affecting the programmes of development. The planners and development specialists should keep in mind those factors.

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## 2.5 THEORETICAL PART OF WHICH THE ETHNOGRAPHY *Capitalism, Primitive and Modern: Some Aspects of Tolai Economic Growth* IS AN EXAMPLE

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This work is an example of the studies of change. One of the major criticisms of the functional approach was that it was unable to account for change, and this led to a particular concept about communities that they were changeless. In reality, it was not so. The focus thus shifted from the study of society as an ordered whole to how it was changing over time.

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## 2.6 DESCRIPTION OF THE ETHNOGRAPHY

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This book is about the Tolai, a Melanesian people living on the Gazelle Peninsula of New Britain, to the north east of the mainland of New Guinea. The Tolai are reported to have been cannibals until about the end of the last century, yet nowadays they are regarded as one of the most sophisticated and advanced people of the whole of the territory of Papua and New Guinea.

This study revealed many interesting aspects in the economic life and development of these people, some of which have an interest and significance which goes far beyond the affairs of the Tolai people and those immediately concerned with them. The purpose of this book is to describe and discuss these aspects of Tolai economic development and to analyse the general theoretical implications which emerge.

At the end of the nineteenth century the Tolai were technologically still extremely primitive, they uses sharp pieces of bamboo, stone axes and pointed sticks as their main tools. Yet only fifty years later they already owned a large number of motor vehicles, as well as costly copra driers and cocoa fermentaries. In terms of per capita cash income, however the Tolai are still underdeveloped and poor.

### 2.6.1 Intellectual Context

In this book the author has examined the forces which facilitated this comparatively rapid economic progress of the Tolai and the obstacles which have prevented an even greater expansion as well as those which are likely to impede the path to future continuous economic growth. An attempt has been made to analyse the impact of economic change on the traditional Tolai social system: which aspects persisted and which aspects changed. The flexible social system operating with the monetised economy provided a fertile ground for economic development. In fact it can be regarded as having been a system of primitive capitalism with great emphasis on thriftiness and accumulation of wealth rather than primitive communism without any concept of private property.

### 2.6.2 Fieldwork

This work was done by combining the typical anthropological fieldwork methods with the historical method. Anthropological fieldwork involved the use of the techniques of observation and interview. The impact of Europeans on the lives of people was studied using archival method.

### 2.6.3 Analysis of Data

The data was analysed using the methods of qualitative research.

#### **The Impact of Europeans on the Tolai Economic Life**

The impact of European contact on Tolai economic life meant a widening of the market-foreign traders were keen to acquire coconuts and labour-and the innovation of the new capitals, as well as consumer goods. By 1960 the Tolai had passed through **four distinct phases** in their economic progress. In the **'transition period'** they got the first glimpse of the new tools and the goods made available by the traders either in exchange for Tolai coconuts or labour or both. During the second phase the **'agricultural investment period'** they rapidly extended their coconut plantings. They also increased their production of food crops to supply foreign settlers as well as the growing non-Tolai native labour force on the expatriate plantations in the area. This increase in production resulted in a considerable addition to Tolai income. However, since their consumption did not increase in proportion to their income, they began to look around for profitable investment opportunities for their accumulated cash resources. Consequently they entered their **'investment trial period'** during which they experimented with enterprises in the sphere of agricultural processing, such as copra driers, and servicing industries, such as transport and retail trade. As a result of their inexperience of organising and operating enterprises, a high proportion of their initial ventures failed. However they learnt by their experience and after World War II passed into the fourth phase of economic progress the **'tertiary investment period'** during which the number of Tolai who owned vehicles and retail stores grew considerably and the proportion of business failures was greatly reduced. However even at this stage agriculture still provided the basis to the economy.

#### **Economic Change**

In order to examine the economic change in a small scale society the author has taken a big Tolai group Rapitok, a frontier settlement and discusses in detail the mutual interaction between traditional social organisation and the new forces of change. The Rapitak population interacted with the wider economy; administrative

policy played an important part in shaping their economic progress, in that they followed the advice from the administration given since the last war and planted cocoa extensively, the development and profitability of transport and retail enterprises. Economic differentiation in Rapitok was expressed in terms of productive rather than non-productive assets and the customary social differentiation between elders, middle farmers and single men households re-asserted itself under the new conditions. By examining Rapitok's cash balance of payments we see that its link with the wider economy is based largely on the export of cash crops; copra and cocoa. However, cash cropping did not make great demands on Rapitok's economic resources: ample highly fertile land was available and subsistence as well as new cash crops needed little labour.

New economic opportunities did not therefore provide an alternative to customary behaviour rather the inhabitants could superimpose their new cash earning activities on to their traditional life. This in turn enabled their traditional social system to survive practically unimpaired by the new forces of change. However, the increasing rate of cash crop expansion coupled with a rapidly growing population produced a scarcity of land, more so each year. This began to undermine the traditional social organisation. The existence of large capital assets, such as trucks and copra driers, as well as large areas under perennial cash crops, affected in particular the customary system of matrilineal inheritance. Conversely matrilineal inheritance affected economic growth.

### **Tolai Cocoa Project**

The new councils which were empowered to levy rates and taxes were keen to sponsor local economic development so as to help provide increasing prosperity. At that time it was already clear that centrally controlled fermentaries were needed to make the cocoa enterprise a success. These two factors combined brought about the union between the new cocoa industry and the new councils in the form of the Tolai cocoa project, which developed in three phases.

First phase: In 1951, after the series of meetings between the councils, leading growers and officers of the departments of Agriculture and Native Affairs, it was decided that initially each council would appropriate funds from its revenue to construct fermentary units at strategic places in their areas and would further provide recoverable advances to enable each fermentary to start operating.

Second Phase: Cocoa production increased rapidly in the early 1950's and more fermenting facilities were urgently required. Considerable capital investment, beyond the revenue resources of the councils, was needed. Accordingly the councils concerned applied to the administration for financial assistance.

Third Phase: Even the expanded fermenting capacity proved unable to cope with the rapidly growing production. Consequently in 1955 officers of the department of Native Affairs and Agriculture set about carefully examining the whole cocoa industry, including the count of all native cocoa trees and an estimate of future wet bean production.

### **The Drift away from the Project**

In spite of its obvious usefulness, the project has had to face serious competition from European and Chinese traders ever since its inception. In order to protect their enterprise the local government councils ruled that it was illegal for any

Tolai to sell cocoa outside the project. A number of Tolai were actually fined for offences under this rule. At the 29<sup>th</sup> meeting of the board a motion was proposed by a leading Tolai and passed by a large majority that the Minister be requested to bring the legislation to compel all Tolai people within council areas to take their wet beans to council fermentaries. However the administration, in accordance with the policy of encouraging competitive enterprise in the territory, has not thought such protective legislation desirable or justifiable. The drift away from the project has taken on considerable proportions.

A number of reasons are frequently advanced to account for the project's decreasing popularity. Some hold that Chinese traders nowadays offer illicit methylated spirit to Tolai who are attracted by this and consequently take their wet beans to traders rather than the project. Though this may be so in a number of cases it cannot possibly account for the whole of the cocoa sales to independent traders nor there can be regular theft of such large quantities that stolen cocoa can provide a major source of cocoa sold outside the project.

Again it was sometimes argued that the Tolai like to take their wet beans to Rabual whenever they want to make a purchase in order to have ready cash available on the spot. Saturday is the day on which most people make their way to Rabual to visit the market. Yet none of the project fermentaries accepts wet beans at the weekend. In order to overcome this disadvantage the project started a buying station at Rabual market. It operated for three months but was then discontinued because it was found uneconomic.

What then may be deciding factor for so much cocoa being sold outside the project? This question has puzzled many of the people concerned. Some regard cocoa sales to Chinese traders as a sign of plain irrationality; others attribute it to sheer contrariness. The most outspoken critics of 'irresponsible' attitudes are some leading Tolai themselves. One of the most respected elders in the area encouraged his audience of cocoa growers to beat up anyone they found taking wet beans to traders rather than to the project. This might be taken to indicate that there was political opposition between supporters of the project and those who sell outside it: that the drift away from the fermentaries represented a breakaway political movement. However, while the project supporters' openly declared their loyalty to council fermentaries, those who sold their cocoa to traders almost always did so secretly: they collected their wet beans early in the morning and then took them to traders under shelter of darkness. There has, as yet not been any overt movement of Tolai declaring openly that they wished to sell their cocoa outside their project.

### **Matrilineal Inheritance and Cocoa Sales**

A considerable number of Rapitok men, who have had their own matrilineage lands planted with cocoa by their sons, wish to conceal this fact from their fellow parishioners. The Rapitok data clearly show that the complex pattern of landholding and inheritance constitutes the crux of the drift away from the project. There were no doubt a number of other contributory factors. Yet none of these individual factors could possibly account for the increasing proportion of the cocoa sales to independent traders. The increasing drift away from the project was in fact largely a result of the difficulties arising from the introduction of perennial cash crops into a society with a traditional social system according to which inheritance followed the matrilineal line of descent, whereas residence

was patri-virilocal. The rapid growth of population accompanied by extensive cash cropping accounted for the increasing demand and competition for land. Sons could no longer be accommodated in their fathers' parish according to the customary system of landholding, unless they had claims to land there on the basis of their own descent groups.

#### 2.6.4 Conclusion

The Tolai case study illustrates the crucial part- foreign contact- in particular a foreign administration- plays in the sphere of economic development of small scale societies. Even with such favourable pre-conditions of growth as were found among the Tolai, their economy remained stagnant until its growth potential was fertilised by the European contact. Though the people were quick to respond to new economic opportunities they did not have the inventiveness to start new enterprises of their own accord. The shape and form of their development is entirely due to stimulus originating from outside rather than to spontaneous indigenous ventures. At first the German and subsequently the Australian administration encouraged coconut planting. This ultimately resulted into an extensive copra production. The Japanese ordered rice cultivation, therefore rice was grown then immediately after World War II the armies offered vehicles cheaply and the Tolai bought them. Since the last war the Australian authorities in the area have sponsored the production of cocoa. Again people followed the lead. The administration thus directly affects the pattern of indigenous economic growth apart from affecting it indirectly by providing education and other facilities. It is therefore the responsibility of the administration in underdeveloped societies to direct development in a way most beneficial to indigenous population. In doing this officials may be well advised to bear certain considerations in mind.

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### 2.7 HOW DOES THE ETHNOGRAPHY ADVANCE OUR UNDERSTANDING

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Change occurs when a community comes in contact with outside world. This ethnography advances our understanding of the situations of contact. Like in the Tolai case, the foreign administration played an important role in economic development. Till the time the external intervention was not there, the community was static. Contact with the outside world brings about transformative changes.

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### 2.8 SUMMARY

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Both the ethnographies discussed in this unit show that people are not passive; they are also not tradition-bound. They have a critical look at the development measures and how they would benefit them.

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### **Suggested Reading**

Dube, S.C. 1958. *India's Changing Villages: Human factors in Community Development*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd.

Epstein, T. Scarlett. 1968. *Capitalism, Primitive and Modern: Some Aspects of Tolai Economic Growth*. Michigan: Michigan State University Press.

### **Sample Questions**

- 1) What do you mean by development anthropology? Illustrate with examples from S.C. Dube's *India's Changing Villages*.
- 2) Write an essay on the cultural factors contributing to community development program in India.
- 3) Write in short the impacts of Europeans on Tolai economic system.
- 4) Briefly describe the Community Development Project achievements and the responses of the Tolai villagers to the program.