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**Draft**

## **IMPACT OF GLOBALISATION ON CULTURE OF SACRED GROVES: A REVIVAL OF COMMON, BUT DECAY OF THE TRADITIONAL INSTITUTION**

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### **Abstract**

Globalisation intends to bring homogeneous and uniform environment of management with number of specialised institutions for respective corresponding functions whereas in small-scale societies single cultural institution performs multiple functions in the society. Cultural organisations maintain diversity in belief, function and organisation activities.

Sacred Groves are one such cultural institution that provides many functions to the community, which owns the sacred grove. Sacred Grove is a traditional multipurpose religious commons of the villages; it is a patch of forest, which is considered to be an abode of village deities and ancestor, and is managed by a religious priest. This common is governed and managed by traditional pattern. The significance of common was maintained by regular interaction generated among the community members on the occasion of different seasonal festivals and celebration.

With the adoption of bureaucratic administration system by the country, on the global pattern of rational management, brought a change in scene and created confusion over the ownership, worldview about the common and relevance of the sacred grove institution. Simultaneously, the influence of great tradition culture (GTC) like Christianity and Hinduism created an impact on the traditional institution through their activities. This paper looks into problems of governance of the religious commons faced by the imposition of rational secular structure of governance. It further explores the implication of external phenomena like political, cultural on traditional community and the commons.

The study area is from Jaspur district of Chattishgarh state of central India. The finding shows that ownership of the grove is with the revenue department of the district, though the use right is with the villagers. Generally villagers' carry out the rituals and related management of economic, social and political activities on traditional lines, on the other hand, development work started by the bureaucracy in sacred groves has created a conflicting situation and impinges on the existing faith system. Similarly, the rational education system, categories such practices as superstition and primitive, which resulted in the new generation shying away in practising the ritual and belief.

Secondly, traditional schools (village dormitories) where the knowledge of the village social system was transmitted and embedded in holistic pattern were converted to modern school by the propagator of GTC, which led to decay of traditional knowledge center. Thirdly modern local level political institution (village *panchayat*) is based on rational system of administration and election is held on the principles of universal franchise for the post of *Sarpanch* at an interval of five years. This *Panchayat* is bestowed with the ownership and use right of the village commons. This has created a situation of incompatibility between the decision-makers as they can belong to different belief system. Apart from this no role has been given to the traditional manager of the grove. This has led in decline in his status, which in turn has impacted on the use of the grove.

This paper concludes that the conserved religious commons were effected and depilated between traditional and rational management at micro level should be taken in consideration in the era of sustainable development.

## I

### **Introduction**

Globalisation has influenced the world and its social system in many ways. Globalisation is centred on the integration of international market for goods, services, technology, finance and labour (Roy, 1997:2117). It expands the scope and speed of cultural interactions across societal boundaries; the incidence of migration and emergence of cultural diaspora bring about intense cultural, social and economic interactions (Singh, 2000:15). Its impact has also been felt on natural resources management and on the culture of the community traditionally managing and interacting with these resources. Globalisation of culture, some times labelled as “the worldwide dissemination of certain cultural norms and social institutions because of colonialism, trade, missionary activity, technological change and the incorporation of tribal people into state and large-scale system of exchange” (Eriksen, 1995:278). It intends to bring homogeneous and uniform environment of management with number of specialised institutions for respective corresponding functions whereas in small-scale societies single cultural institution performs multiple functions in the society. Cultural organisations maintain diversity in belief, function and organisation activities. In Durkheim terminology large societies uses mechanical approach to manage its affair, while the local community utilize organic approach to the overall management of the social system.

The advent of capitalist approaches of administration, influenced by rational choice philosophy led to rapid industrialization of the world economy. The management approach adopted by this system is based on rational bureaucracy and specialized organisations, and for each organization a specialised institution of management. Secondly it kept religion dissociated from the management perspective, by decrying it as subjective, irrational approach and against the principle of the rational choice approach. It emphasizes of institutions based on objective principles for the management of natural resources from utilitarian perspective. Similarly based on utilitarian perspective certain resources are managed by means of conservation approach for ecological reason. The institutions for conservation of these resources such as national parks are governed by the similar utilitarian principle, which has a goal to preserve fast diminishing resources.

The third world countries, which had rich ethnic diversity and resources diversity, after attaining independence continued with the legacy left over by the colonizer i.e. bureaucratic management of the country in general and utilitarian uses of resources in particular. In contrary their local communities adopt radically different approach to manage the natural resources in general and commons in particular. There exist substantial autonomy among the principles of social organization, political system governed by an independent secular unit, and the religious traditions and values system controlled by a priest and local communities. The priest enjoys

freedom to pronounce upon matter related to rituals, customary rites and ceremonies. These communities use normative or evaluative principles based on the super-rational values (Singh, 2000:22) in the community management as well as in resources management.

The small-scale societies mostly own and use natural resources collectively. These societies allocate the natural resources within their ecosystem in different spheres of the social system. It divides natural resources into sacred and profane planes (Durkheim, 1965). The sacred resources are allocated to the supernatural power associated with village population in the village ecosystem; sacred grove is one of them. This natural resource allocated as sacred place is commonly owned and used and managed by a village priest. The cause for such allocation is a practice of reciprocation by the community for the benefit the supernatural renders to the village community. Meanwhile the profane natural resources are used for meeting the livelihood and other social requirements of the village community. Its allocation process varies from individual to collective level. The profane resources can be enumerated such as agriculture land, water body, forestland, village grazing land and burial ground etc. These communities exhibit cultural diversity in the pattern of community management and resources management. The diversity ranges from utilizing resources for varied purposes and from different perspectives. A common one can be of single purpose use or multiple purpose use. Generally it has few institutions by which it manages its entire affair within the social system. It makes good use of admixture of religious and secular institutions to meet the objective of sustainable and efficient governance of the resource.

Due to adoption of bureaucracy as an element of management of its affairs, state activities influence the traditional sphere of management, since the mega system i.e. State administration gradually started imposing its order on the micro-system. This paper looks into problems of governance of the religious commons faced by the imposition of rational secular structure of governance. Here an attempt has been made to distinguish the difference in approach of global society and local society in management of commons. It further explores the implications of external phenomena like political, cultural on traditional community and its commons.

The paper is divided into seven sections. The next section describes the common i.e. sacred grove, which is influenced by the problems of globalisation. The section three deals with the traditional institution of management of the sacred grove and the role it plays in the culture of sacred grove. Section four, five and six deal with the changes in the culture of sacred grove due to globalisation and its impact on it and changes in culture of sacred grove. The last section is conclusion and concluding remarks.

## **II**

### **Common In Question: Sacred Grove**

The common in question is a sacred grove found to exist in the village ecosystem of most of the tribal villages in India. Sacred Grove is a patch of forest or natural vegetation protected and managed by the community considering it to be the residence place of the deities or ancestral spirit. This may be a relic forest or a degraded patch of area ranging from 0.2 acres to a few kilometres. The deity may be of male or a female gender, animals, ancestors etc (Patnaik and Pandey, 1998:315).

The UNSECO Ghanaian “Co-operative Integrated Project on Savannas Ecosystems on Ghana” (UNSECO 1996) defined sacred groves as an area of “natural” vegetation preserved through local taboos and sanctions that entail spiritual and ecological values. The ecological values are found in the traditional association of the sacred groves with wildlife and physical landscape such as stream sources of hills. The groves are the focus for common religious and socio-cultural affinity

for a number of surrounding village communities. The respective communities, together with their land, constitute the grove community area.

According to Hughes and Subhaschandran (1998:69) sacred groves are segments of landscape, containing ties and other form of life and geographical features that are delineated and protected by human societies because it is believed that to keep them in a relatively undisturbed state is an expression of important relationship to the divine or to nature. Diverse cultures perceive this relationship in different ways and establish various rules of behaviour in regard to sacred space and its denizen. But whenever they occur, sacred groves are of ecological and cultural interest. Sociologically sacred grove tend to be fragment of the original ecosystem in a given region although in some cases local people plant trees in groves and there where and are consisting entirely of planted trees.

Pandey and Patnaik (1999), defined sacred grove are culturally a living place of the deities and spirits of the village, which protects them from calamities and bring prosperity and ecologically a patch of pristine forest having well conserved biodiversity. In return the villagers regularly propitiate them by means of rituals sacrifice on festivals or seasons designed for the same. These societies assign different degree of strength and attributes to these deities in the groves and the location of these groves within the village is done accordingly.

The distribution of sacred grove is reported from all over the world (Subhas Chandran and Huges, 1998). In Indian context, the groves are found to exist in the villages of tribal communities as well as peasant and agrarian communities. The control or ownership of the sacred groves ranges from individual families to village. The geographical distribution is reported from Northeast states of the country in the east to Rajasthan state in the west, and from Himachal Pradesh state in north to Kerala in the south. The table (1) below gives a detail distribution of sacred groves reported in India till date.

Table 1. Distribution of Sacred groves in India

State	Local Term of SG	Name of the Deity residing in the grove	Type of Community having the faith
Meghalaya	Law Lyngdhoh	Ubasa	Khasi
West Bengal			Tribal
Bihar	Jhajer, Sarna	Sarna Bhuria,	Lodha, Munda, Oraon
Chattisgarh	Sarna, DevLas, Mandar, BudhaDev	Matabai, Pat devta, Dulhadev, Baradev	Oraon, Korwa, Kariwar, Gond
Madhya pradesh	DevKot, MatiKot, DevSthali, BudhaDev	Deity, ancestor	Maria Gond, Bhil, Gond
Himachal Pradesh	Deo Bhumi	Deity	Hindu community
Uttaranchal	Deobhumi	Deity	Hindu community
Rajasthan	Oraons, Kenkris	Ancestor, Deity	Bisnoi
Maharastra	Devrais	Kal Bhairons, Amba, Mahsoba	Tribes and Hindu community
Karnataka	Devara Kadu	Deity	Tribal, Caste
Tamil Nadu	Kuthuval Kadu	Snake, deity, ancestor	Tribal, caste
Kerala	Kavus	Deity, ancestor, Snake deity	Tribe, caste, family, individual

From the analysis of studies sacred groves, they can be classified under three categories, first can be classified as traditional sacred groves, where it is the place where the village deity resides, who is represented by an elementary symbol, second one the temple grove, where a grove is created

around an temple and conserved, and third one the groves came into existence around the burial or cremation ground. All the above three type of groves can be found to exist in different part of the country.

### III

#### **Research setting and Methods**

Jaspur district is located in the northern corner of the Chatisgarh state of India. The district lies between latitude 22°E 17' north and longitude 80°4' and 84°5' East. The district has 66% present of tribal community living in the district. The forest cover of the area is 35.3 percent of the total geographical area. The ownership of the forest is with the state and managed by the forest department of the state. HG Champion classifies the forest division of the district under “Moist Peninsular High Level” type. Sal (*Shorea robusta*) forest is mostly situated on the slopes or at the base of hills. The Sal forest that occurs in this area is “Sal Savanna forests”.

The traditional communities living in the district are *Oraon*, *Raotia*, *Nagesia*, *Chick*, *Ghasi*, *Dom* and *Hindu* caste based communities who have migrated into the region from the adjoining district of Jharkhand state and Uttar Pradesh. The livelihood of the communities is basically depended agriculture, which is totally rain fed. Rice is the principle crop grown in the district. Besides this a large number of people earn their livelihood from collection of non-timber forest produce (NTFP) and through the employment as agriculture labour and in other non-farm sector.

The communities are patriarchal and patri-local in characteristics. *Oraon* community is divided into number of totemic clans. The religion is nature based in form of worship of sun, ancestor and the deities residing in the sacred groves. The village has traditional headman to settles the dispute and adjudicate on the issues of social system and values system. The villages in this region has a higher level of judicial system called *Parha Panchayat*, which has eight to ten village living in close proximity forming one *Parha*. The members of these villages elect a male *Parha panch* at an interval of five year, to settle the dispute emerging with in these villages. The judgement of this institution is final and binding on the members of the *Parha*, deviation leads to ostracism from the *Parha*.

This was an anthropological study; it studied the problem from diachronic and synchronic perspective. Ethnographic approach was used for data collection. Fieldwork was conducted for data collection. The data was collected from Jaspur block (a Block is an administrative unit consisting of number of villages under its jurisdiction) of the district. Four villages were selected on the basis of accessibility and number of groves in the village ecosystem. As the studied villages had heterogeneous population ranging from tribal households to Hindu and Christian households stratified sample was used to collect the data from each selected village. The general data of the social system and role of sacred grove was collected at the village level. The data was collected on the ownership, use and management of the sacred groves and problems faced in context of the State management and due external influence of greater tradition culture. The qualitative data was collected from the key person of the village like the priest of the village who managed the sacred grove, village headmen, village medicine man and elders of the village. The key persons from GTC organization like Christian missionaries and Hindu missionaries working in the area for propagation of GTC culture were interviewed to have their version of outlook to ward the sacred grove.

### IV

#### **Traditional Management System**

The villages of the Jaspur region have heterogeneous composition. Tribal community are predominant, among them *Oraon* are in majority. These tribes are sub classified into number of

clans and a totem represents each clan. The social organization of the studied villages is at family-clan and community level. The tribal of villages organize on the above pattern, while the caste-based communities follow family-lineage-community pattern of social organization. Agriculture is mostly family affair. In the case of Hindu household they hire labour for doing agriculture work in their fields.

All the studied villages have sacred groves. Sacred Grove is a traditional religious commons of the villages; it is a patch of forest, referred as “*Sarna*” (Roy, 1928, Sahay, 1976) and is representative of the religion in the local context. The community practices it as a religion. Each studied villages has about three sacred groves named, *Sarhul Sarna*, *Pat Sarna* and *Mahadani Sarna*. From the analysis it is found that a village can have one or more than one groves within the village boundary. It is considered to be the abode of the village deities who either associated with the productive function of the community or protective function. The deity of *Sarhul Sarna* is associated with productive aspects and belongs to female gender, this is symbolizing with the fertility aspect connecting the agriculture productivity with the female productive nature. Whereas the protective deity associated with *Pat Sarna* and *Mahadani Sarna* is of male gender, they are symbolized with the masculine character linking protection aspect with masculine nature. Many taboos and prohibition are associated with the use of these groves, based on age and sex.

The deity of *Sarhul Sarna* is considered to be of benevolent nature. It is used for conduction of *Sarhul* festival, which is held in the month of March-April month. This is very important festival for the community of the area and it must be held in the sacred grove. Apart from this *Sarhul Sarna* is some time used for other social function of the village. It does not have any taboos associated with it. All the members of the community have right to collect the NTFP and fallen dry wood from the grove. While the other two groves i.e. *Pat Sarna* and *Mahadani Sarna* are associated with deities of malevolent nature. It has number of taboos associated with it. Children and women are prohibited from entering it and there is restriction on extraction of material from it. It is some times used for conducting *Parha Panchayat* or village *panchayat*, where the judgment is to be delivered. It is believed that the judgement delivered here will be impartial and if the judge is biased then the deity of grove punishes him with the loss of family members or agricultural crop etc.

*Baiga* or priest of the village manages the sacred groves of the village. He is bestowed with the responsibilities to conduct the rituals associated with the groves and its management. He acts as a mediator between the villagers and the deity residing in the village. The process of randomisation is adapted to select *Baiga*, where every individual in the village has a chance to be selected for the post. After getting selected as *Baiga*, the post is held hereditarily, so long as his family members continue to provide the service to the village community. A mode of payment is designed to meet the livelihood of the family of *Baiga* i.e. a fixed amount of agriculture produce is given by each household in the village to the family of *Baiga*. Apart from this he has the right to take the offerings made in the rituals. Some villages have an assistant called *Panbhar* to assist *Baiga* at the time of ritual and also act as a messenger for the village. His selection follows the same process as that of *Baiga* of the village.

The mode of production system of the region is linked with the *Sarna* culture. The agriculture activities are initiated only after celebration of *Sarhul* festival in the *Sarhul Sarna*. In this particular festival the deities of the grove who is a female is worshipped to bring prosperous yield in the coming season. The whole village participates in the *Sarhul* festival. The festival has two components one of enjoyment and other of collective decision-making. The first is worship or thanks giving ceremony for the passed year to be secure and yield to be bountiful, carried out by collective celebration of the festival, where the villagers dance and feast for a day or two. The

second component consists of taking vital decision relating to agriculture management is taken on the collective basis. In this festival the priest based on his experiment done while conducting the ritual, makes prediction of rainfall in the coming month, deriving conclusion from it he advises the villagers, who collectively decide and takes appropriate measure related to forth-coming agriculture activities. The deity of this grove is worshipped regularly at different stages of agriculture cycle. It start with *Sarhul*, followed by ploughing, sowing, weeding and ends with offering of the first produce to the deity of the grove for providing a bounty full yield. The other two groves mostly located on the boundary of the village it provides protection to the village human, livestock and production system and is worshipped for in retrospect at the time of *Sarhul* festival and later on the basis of occurrence of the incident, where the community seeks the help of the deity for protection. The identification of problem as well as the healing system of the village and its population was oriented to the sacred grove deity.

Therefore the whole social system and economic system of the villages in the region is governed by the sacred grove culture. It plays multiple roles in the social system of the village in organizing and managing the economic and political organization of the village. This institution assists in managing all other traditional institutions and organizations of the village by regularly indicating and forecasting the outcome and also precaution to betaken.

The socialization of the subsequent generation about the culture of the traditional system was through the dormitory, which existed in the village. The dormitory was similar to modern school of present times, but with a difference i.e. it had its own mode of teaching and mechanism of governance. Here the norms and values of the society were taught to the new comers of the community. The collective principle of society was taught. Secondly they acted as a bank of labour sources for the village at the time of communal function and economic activities. This gave continuity and sustainability to the traditional culture. Thus the total system was oriented to the culture of sacred grove. The causes and effects for all the problem was linked and solution were sought from the deities of the groves. This generally made the village depended on the *Sarna*. The belief and dependency on the grove resulted in prescribing and proscribing taboos with respect to interaction with the grove. This generated principle of conservation of the grove. The *Baiga* made norms for use of the certain products of the groves depending on the necessity of the community.

#### **IV**

##### **Changes Due to Globalisation**

Apffel-Merglin and Parajuli (2000: 291) states

“The network of groves that covered the subcontinent so impressed Sir Dietrich Brandis, the first inspector general of forest reserves and preserves modelled upon it. In the 1880s Brandis was already lamenting the destruction, under the British system of forest management -of what he, along with others, called “sacred groves”- a destruction that has continued unabated and perhaps even accelerated since independence.”

The globalisation brought changes in administration pattern through centralized control over the general management. Along with it cultural expansions of the greater tradition like Christian and Hindu missionaries and spread of modernization and urbanisation brought in flow of cultural assault on the culture of local system. During British expansion phase in India, the British altered the land management system, for its agenda of commercial expansion. It introduced land settlement Act 1869 in the Chota Nagpur area. In the process of land settlement, sacred groves were recorded in land settlement records as temple land but considered as common land for all practical purposes by the government. But the management of these groves remained with the

village communities. After attainment of freedom from the colonial ruler the state took total control of all the resources apart from privately owned ones.

During the Pre-independence phase the Christian missionaries entered the Jaspur area to spread the religion of Christianity. They started with the conversion of tribal into Christianity folds. They made use of joint assault on the traditional system, one by converting them into Christian, second one acculturation of the converted population about the norms and values of the new system by disparaging their traditional practices. In this process they came into direct confrontation with the traditional religion of *Sarna* (Sahay, 1976), which was a collective phenomena and generic in nature, which governed the social system till external interventions. In the process of expansion of the Christian religion, the British missionaries made use of institution of education based on the scientific methods, which disseminated the knowledge different from the local system and that justified the religion of Christianity and its principles of modernity.

Subsequently after independence the Hindu missionaries entered the region with an aim to reconvert the tribal back into Hindu fold. In this process they also established educational institute to impart education, this led to another assault on the culture of sacred grove in the region. This organisation also started educational institution to acculturate the tribal population of its principle and philosophy of religion. This organisation attempted to justify the culture of sacred grove and tried to link it with Hindu religion. For example deity like *Mahadani* where interpreted as *Mahadev* a Hindu deity famous for his malevolent nature and anger.

Thirdly the state government took over general administration under its control undermining the importance of the autonomy of local systems. The state also established school based on the modern scientific methods of education in order to disseminate secular education. Fourthly the development of communication system and modernisation generated cross-cultural interaction among the local system and mainstream system i.e. little tradition and great tradition culture.

Lastly the establishment of rational democratic system of administration in form of *Panchayati Raj* institution, where by a village is managed by an elected representative for a period of five years. This system undermined the traditional management system that was governed by persons who hereditarily transferred right of the post to the subsequent generation of the different institution.

## V

### **Impact on Common**

The impact of globalisation on the common showed various patterns of ownership, control, use and misuse. The common was subjected to degradation as well as conservation in process of centralized management. After independence, the administration of natural resources came into the hands of respective specialized department for example Forest department and Revenue department. All the land apart from private land was regarded state property and controlled by the state. In this process these sacred groves were generally seen as common land owned by the state. By this they overlooked the specific and psychological orientation given to the sacred groves by the local system. They generalised it with other commons that existed in the village ecosystem. Therefore the general trend was that for any development work of infrastructure construction, the state chose these groves as a place to initiate a development project like construction of village school, *Anganwari* Centre (Women and Child care centre) or Primary Health Centre etc. Because of this few Biodiversity rich groves in the deep forest area were converted into forest area.

The centralized control was put into use subjectively on the basis of utilitarian requirement, or else the local system continued with its traditional practice and culture. This occasional interaction



between the different administrative set up led to confrontation that who controlled the common and this occasional confrontation upset the believer's faith toward the sacred groves. For example A *Sarna* of Baghima village was put to use by the state for construction of fish breeding centre. This led the case to court for settlement of the case over ownership of the common. The court adjudicated in favour of the local system. The affect of the conversion of tribal to other religious fold impacted on the status as well as the use pattern of the common. Prior to conversion the community person followed the prohibitive rules strictly. After the conversion it reduced the fear for the wrath of the sacred grove deity and resulted in surreptitious extraction of produce and trees from commons leading to degradation.

In 1994, the member of parliament (MP) of the region with a view to protect the cultural relics of the region initiated identification and conservation work for the sacred groves in the Jaspur region. In this process 275 groves were identified and conservations work like digging of Cattle proof Trench were carried out (Patnaik and Pandey 1998:320). The department also constructed a platform for conducting rituals in the groves. This process resulted in revival of conservation and protection of the sacred groves in the region. But still due to lack of understanding of the concept of the sacred groves the forest department has missed number of the groves in their attempt of conservation. The cause for this was either due to highly depleted status of sacred grove or lack of knowledge of the diversity of groves existing in the village.

Nevertheless the attempt of conservation has bore results as it led to clear identification and demarcation of the groves, which protected it from the problem of encroachment. Secondly the plantation work and other regeneration programme to rehabilitate the degraded groves were carried out. Net result was that increase in awareness about the significance of environment has resulted in conservation of sacred groves of the region. This action had diffused effect and the other areas of sacred groves are also been put under conservation.

## VI

### **Impact on Culture of Sacred Grove**

The impact of globalisation in the region resulted in cracks in local system, which later on led to revitalization cultural movement in the region. The conversion of tribal to folds of Christianity forced them to forgo the traditional culture and its impacted on the conservation and outlook toward the sacred groves and its linkage to the social system. The Christianity looked down upon the culture of sacred groves as superstitious and primitive belief. It gave emphasis to worship in church and delinked economic activities with the religious activities. The process was not smooth and it had showed many currents of absorption, acculturation and assimilation into the folds of Christianity (Sahay, 1976, Patnaik and Pandey, 1998). Therefore those converted to Christianity fold lost respect for *Sarna* and fear of his power of the deity of *Sarna*, which can cause harm to them if they deviate from the prescribed norms. The net result was increase in abuse of sacred groves and its produces resulting in degradation of the groves. Secondly a conflict generated between the traditional community and the convert over the ownership of the grove as who owns it since previously the whole villages collectively owned it.

The Christian missionaries understood the local culture and factors for its sustainability and impacted on it root i.e. the institution which was central in perpetuation of the sacred grove as well as traditional culture. This was the dormitory system called as *Dumkariya*, where the young children after attaining certain were initiated into the dormitory where they orally learned the rules of the community. The British forcefully converted the existing dormitory into modern Christian school or church, this delinked the traditional socialisation process leading to gradual decay in the faith of the *Sarna* culture.

The Hindu missionaries came into the region to counter the spread of Christianity. In their attempt of re-conversion of converted into the fold of Hindu resulted in another impact on the culture of sacred groves. Hindu culture interpreted the sacred grove and the traditional culture from the glasses of their own culture. By this they enlarged their horizon to include the traditional population into the fold of Hinduism. Here they conducted masses initiation ceremony practiced among the Hindu called thread ceremony or twice born. For the perpetuation and sustainability of the principle of Hindu mode of life they adopted the same mode of operation as done by the Christian missionaries i.e. started education institutions for grooming the young into the culture of sacred groves influenced by Hinduism philosophy. But it was totally different from what traditional community and practiced. But there was a difference in the two missionary approaches, while the Christian despised belief and association with the sacred groves, in contrary Hindu initiated in revitalisation of *Sarna* religion, which was anyhow connected with the grove and its culture. For example an all India association of *Sarna* was formed where the traditional community people participated actively. At present the *Sarhul* is celebrated at district level where the villagers from all over the district assemble in Jaspur town and celebrate *Sarhul* festival in the *Sarhul Sarna* of the Jaspur town.

Another causes decay of sacred grove culture is implementation of *Panchayati Raj* (PRI) form of administration, which resulted in undermining the traditional system of management. In the PRI system of administration management has utilitarian and secular view toward the natural resources and community management. It segregated the different unit of resources and looks for the rational approach of management. In contrary the traditional management had an organic view and strongly embedded in the religious domain for the management of its natural resources. For the post of *Sarpanch* and its members in this modern local level political institution (village *panchayat*) election is held on the principles of universal franchise at an interval of five years. This *Panchayat* is bestowed with the ownership and use right of the village commons. This has created a situation of incompatibility between the decision-makers as they can belong to different belief system. . Next is the issue of leadership and autonomy, the traditional leadership was based on ascribed values and selection was based on randomisation process, apart from this local system had full autonomy with regard to the decision taken at the village level or *Parha* level. The modern leaders of PRI are based on democratic norms and achieved values but are under the control of district administration and their decisions are liable to be changed by the higher unit of administration. Secondly no role has been given to the traditional manager of the grove. This has led in decline in his status, which in turn has impacted on faith of the community and respect for him, leading the abuse of the grove.

## VII

### Conclusion

Globalisation creates an impact on the local cultural domain and this interaction is an ongoing process. Different cultural unit feels the effect of globalisation differently. The larger cultural units imbibe it, while the small scale cultural unit confronts it, though gradually most of the time scum to its pressures. In case of management of natural common, globalisation affects local cultural units managing it into many ways. This is because of the process of management of commons in small scale societies vary in degree and kind. It has variety in management practice for example commons for livelihood issues are managed differently and commons for religious purposes (which has psychological attachment, and belief system) is managed differently. The religious common plays a vital role in local culture and are conserved and managed for psychological strength it give to the village social system.

Most of the common resources in the small-scale societies have multifunctional. It has a manifest function as well as a latent function in common management. Sacred grove is one of them. The

manifest function with respect to sacred grove is that it is a place assigned to the village deity and is linked with the production and protection function of the village system. The latent function is linked with the uncertainty of the nature and element of predictability of problem, sacred groves is used as a via media to overcome this factor at village level.

The difference in the approach of the two systems is that one is influenced by the values system of globalisation based on utilitarian perspective toward the resources management; other influenced by the traditional values embedded in local cultural system toward resources management. The study of Jaspur reveals that globalisation effects the management of common in many ways. It leads from changes in belief system to depletion of conserved common. The institutions that give the perpetuity to the values systems of local culture are target to meet the goal of globalisation. As in the case of Jaspur area the Dormitory of local culture were converted into modern schools. But no standardised pattern can be established. The trend reveal that some time the local system confirms with it and some time confronts it, this is totally governed by the impact it create on the values system.

The effect of globalisation on culture should be seen in long run and in multiple patterns, ranging from impact on values system to economic and management system of the local culture. The changes are visible in management pattern of common from decentralised and diversified to centralised and utilitarian. It should also be assessed from the point of low input strategies of local culture against high cost management approach of global culture.

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