

Tribhuvan University
Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences

Resistance to Cultural Encroachment in *Chotti Munda and His Arrow*

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Letter of Approval

This Thesis entitled, “Resistance to Cultural Encroachment in Mahasweta Devi’s *Chotti Munda and His Arrow*” Submitted to the Central Department of English, Tribhuvan University by Kamala Aryal has been approved by the undersigned members of the Research Committee.

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Abstract

This research work explores the encroachment of the mainstream culture on the tribal culture and the resistance of such encroachment by the tribe called Munda, in *Chotti Munda and His Arrow*. Munda people have their own culture which they believe make their identity. So they don't want to lose it. Chotti Munda is the protagonist and the representative of Munda people. He struggles hard to protect his tribe's archery culture which is about to extinct. It is their inherited culture which they believe helps them to bring unity and harmony among all kind of people within the tribe. They see their prospect in the protection of culture and continue the struggle against the mainstream colonizer's culture for their existence or identity.

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I. Existence of Tribal Culture in *Chotti Munda and His Arrow*

This research deals with Mahasweta Devi's *Chotti Munda and His Arrow*. It examines how the mainstream culture encroaches upon the tribal culture. It also focuses how the tribes, especially Munda, resist such encroachment. It focuses on the issue of cultural identity of Munda tribe, that collectively resists the mainstream culture for the sake of its own existence. It deals with the cultural subjugation, upon tribal cultural existence, particularly Munda culture. Mundas do not accept the encroachment of other culture though it has positive influence upon them. Munda tribe has its cultural history, own language, religion, society and rituals. The separate existence of their culture gives the sense of cultural existence to them. The principal character, Chotti Munda, represents their cultural existence. He unites all people from their culture and resists against other cultural influences. Munda people have been physically and mentally threatened from government that represents mainstream culture but Mundas symbolically show their resistance by performing cultural game archery (shooting).

The text has been specified with Indian tribal cultural crisis after colonialism. Especially, when India got independence, the tribal cultures like Kunda, Rebis, Munda and so many others were threatened. Then almost all tribal cultures fought for survival. All tribes have their own cultural traces and they have their particularly long history which helps them to be identified as those who belong to separate cultural group. When they find their culture to be attacked then they resist against it for their cultural existence. It is the dominant culture that encroaches upon minor culture. On its encroachment, minor culture resists against mainstream culture in order to save their own culture. Any group of community protects own culture when they find their culture in crisis and then they resist against such forces.

Writer Mahasweta Devi has firsthand experience about tribal culture because she had gone to such places and learnt their cultures. She found they would love their own way of life. They have little concern with mainstream culture or government and they wish to live within their traditional pattern of life. She is influenced by their love and devotion to their own culture and their preparedness to collective resistance against mainstream encroachment.

The colonial and patriarchal discourses that are largely premised upon a series of binary oppositions, such as colonizer/colonized, imperialism/nationalism, man/woman, public/private, centre/periphery, etc produce a violent hierarchy. In this hierarchy, the colonized, the marginalized culture, the women are branded as a deviant/disruptive group both socially and culturally. In such binarism, one term forcefully governs the other. Mahasweta's fiction aims at inverting such hegemonic, over-privileged, ever-signifying system of relationships and attempts to bring low what was high through the strategies of subversion and reversal. Her stories come across as the post-colonial, subaltern, gendered responses that serve to topsy-turvy such hierarchical structures, generating aesthetics of opposition in the process.

Mahasweta Devi's creative works reflect several textual features that define a radical engagement with post colonial in creative literature. Postcolonial condition (of disadvantage) entails a special responsibility on the Third World writers. In its attempt to reinstate local culture and engender self-esteem to Third World nationalism, as Franz Fanon, the famous Algerian revolutionary suggests, postcolonial literature must evolve towards a phase of combat from the complicities phase of assimilation. To play the role of positive interventionist, literature must break free from the high classicist notions of linguistic sophistication and formal-structural obligations. The imperial/capitalistic agenda of teaching 'culture' to the savage East

through the so-called classical literature has only make us distance from our own indigenous 'raw' 'aesthetics' and 'boisterous' local cultures.

In past independence period, India faced different social and cultural conflicts which tribal cultures in particular experienced set back in its history. As a result, tribal groups are found to struggle against mainstream or dominant culture that encroaches upon their cultures. This is a fight for continuing their cultural identity. Regarding cultural identity, Stuart Hall, says:

Cultural identity' in terms of one, shared culture, a sort of collective 'one true self', hiding inside the many other, more superficial or artificially imposed 'selves', which people with a shared history and ancestry hold in common. Within the terms of this definition, our cultural identities reflect the common historical experiences and shared cultural codes which provide us, as 'one people', with stable, unchanging and continuous frames of reference and meaning, beneath the shifting divisions and vicissitudes of our actual history. This 'oneness', underlying all the other, more superficial differences, is the truth. It is this identity which a Caribbean or black diaspora must discover, excavate, bring to light and express through cinematic representation. (1)

As Hall views that culture and society are basic ways of life. All group, society and any community love their own culture and are proud of it.

Chotti Munda and His Arrow by Mahasweta Devi and later translated by Gayatri Chakravarty Spivak, presents the story of marginalized group, which has been culturally threatened from mainstream cultures. Chotti Munda, is the central of this novel. The story revolves around Chotti Munda and their community culture. The

magic arrow stands for the pride, wisdom and culture of society. He tries to save his culture but it has been invaded from mainstream culture.

The novel has presented particular cultural group of people in India, who are culturally marginalized. After colonial period, national development rapidly takes place. They adopt western way of living. English people leave their culture in India and Indian people imitate their culture. As a result, the tribal cultures are overshadowed by the colonizer's culture. After decolonization these tribal cultures decline coming in contact with western culture as well as Indian mainstream culture.

Chotti represents particular marginalized tribal culture. Archery is their own culture, and he loves it and wants to continue it. But such tribal cultures are influenced from master culture, and it is neglected but Chotti Munda wants to preserve it for his cultural identity in society. Which was existed long before as a distinct culture from other but has been endangered. Munda is determined to take pains to preserve his own culture. So, he adventures for sake of his own identity and cultural existence. The competition of archery is their cultural tradition that has been existed long before. He struggles and come across with any kind of suffering for the preservation of own culture. Spivak who is the translator of this novel, *Chotti Munda and His Arrow*, argues in favor of Munda that:

... raises questions about the place of the tribal on the map of national identity, land rights and human rights, the 'museumization' of 'ethnic' cultures, and the justifications of violent resistance as the last resort of a desperate people, represents enlightening reading for students and scholars of postcolonial literature and postcolonial studies. (9)

The novel tells about the adventures of *Chotti Munda and His Arrow*. It asks urgent questions about the right of the tribes to live with dignity in modern India. John Wiley gives real picture of Munda's real situation as follows:

The more things change, the more they remain the same for this marginalized community. While at one level the novel tells of the adventures of Chotti Munda and his magic arrow, it is also the story of a forest, a people, and a whole world that is being inevitably destroyed. While the novel asks urgent questions about the right of the tribal to live with dignity in modern India, it is also the tale of all dispossessed people, everywhere. This becomes poignantly clear especially in Chotti's final, emblematic desperation: "Then he waits, unarmed. As he waits, he mingles with all time and becomes river, folklore, and eternal. What only the human can be".(5)

He highlights on the tribal existence as well the struggle of the tribe. He shows the marginalized group's pain and suffering for existence. They keep on struggling but in the course of their attempt, they undergo many inhuman treatments. Similarly, Naazia Bunu has analyzed this novel from realistic perspective. He claims, "Exposing exploitation and domination in the postcolonial state. Devi's writings are different from the literature of diasporic nostalgia for the place left behind"(4).

The novel is remarkable for the way in which it touches on vital issues that have grown into matters of urgent social corner. It ranges over decades in the life of Chotti- the central character- in which India moves from colonial rule to independence and then to the unrest of the 1970 . It raises questions about the place of the tribal on the map of national identity, land rights and human rights, the ethnic

cultures, and the justification of violent resistance as the last resort of a desperate people.

Mahasweta Devi writes about social injustice and she sees around her, the cultural crisis of tribes. Rather than being simply didactic or academic, she takes us into the hearts and souls of the men and women who struggle hard against forces for their own existence.

It is the story of revolt of Munda tribe, tracing back from the days of the Ulgulan, young Birsa's legendary up-rising, through the Indian struggle for independence, to the post-Emergency period. For activist-writer Mahasweta Devi, documenting the aspirations and myths of the tribal, has been a life's mission.

In the vast epical sweep of *Chotti Munda*, she has recorded the tribal experience in a clear and unafraid voice. The heart of the venture remains creative: Everything is for storytelling in *Chotti Munda's* life for many reasons. The novel is dense with detail and grandeur, nature and human from the little river Chotti that is the beginning of the great Damodar, to the unforgettable sight of the aged Pahan walking off into the forest leading the few dogs that were left in the village.

In Spivak's translation, the prose retains its vivid musicality and sense of flow. The narration is spirited and imaginative as it moves from story to story in *Chotti's* life. In its humanism and its music, it brings to mind several great novels of struggle.

Between 1976 and 1985, Devi's work focuses on the aboriginal and the post colonial state. Her fictions about Indian aboriginals are remnants of ethnic groups already living in the Indian sub-continent. In 1980, Devi starts the Bengali quarterly *Bortika* as a forum for peasants, agricultural and factory workers, the urban sub proletariat, middle-class activists, and conscientious government workers. It is the first significant alternative publication in Bengali. In 1980 and 1981, she initiates

investigative and interventionist journalism against every social ill in the postcolonial state. In 1981, Devi became involved with bonded labor, rural landowners charging exorbitant interest for small, often imagined, and invariably undocumented. Active in national and state-level human rights, Devi masterminded the first public interest litigation against the state on behalf of the aboriginals in 1998.

She is postcolonial against this new and unacknowledged colonialism. Since the Post colonial concept go against the dominating and interfering behavior of the colonization. Devi approaches administrative machinery at all levels. In her fiction, she presents the aboriginal in her otherness and singularity. In her activism, she is careful that those whose suffering, as she foregrounds, should not suffer because of her intervention. Along with Indian independence, India has retained English culture and their influence. After colonialism India projects such cultural, economical as well social development issues. However, colonizer left India but their affects have been remained and Indian cultures are heavily influenced by colonizer's cultures.

Activism, decried in elite literary debates as mere propaganda on plain polemics becomes almost a pre-qualification, a cultural pre-requisite, a gesture of self-emancipation for the Third World writer. If the writer happens to be a woman, the urgency to write aggressively becomes three-fold. Patriarchy, nation and 'sanskritic' order – the three mutually complementary props of 'civil society' activate her protest at three corresponding levels. Genuine post colonialism or Third Worldism does not valorize grossly essential for male-chauvinistic nationalistic revival, in its moments of self reflexivity, it even doubts the emancipative potential of nationalism.

Mahasweta's texts do not undertake any explicit discussion of colonization or movement for Indian independence. Except for some occasional references, we find neither colonial nor post colonial in her narratives. Her engagement with the

postcolonial exceeds the narrow referential of dates, eras, and epochs. Mahasweta's literature negotiates post colonial by questioning the very textuality of fiction by way of problematizing the traditional textual authority, aesthetic autonomy and a unified, stable interpretation.

Mahasweta ruptures and expands the conventional conceptualization of literature as her activism necessitates an incorporation of diverse textual registers, be it documentary presentation or journalistic reporting or sociological/ anthropological exposition or editorial commenting, within the ambit of her fictional narration. Her texts realize their purpose and significance not in a single, stable interpretation but in dispersal of their messages and meanings. Her texts lend themselves to divergent forms (as these are being read, performed, enacted, filmed) and multiple interpretations (as the messages these attempt to circulate vary due to their heterogloss audience). The exigencies of the politically committed literature make such a transition/diffusion/disintegration of the text's meaning necessary. Aesthetics of literature cannot be unilaterally determined or ordained from above.

Colonial education and language influence the culture and identity of the colonized that have the emergent forms of postcolonial identity after the departure of the colonizers. To what extent has decolonization a reconstruction free from colonial influence been possible? So as after post colonial period, local culture or tribal culture come into contact with other dominant culture. On the one hand, English people have left their culture as legacy for Indian, on the other hand, western culture are getting hold in India. Regarding the cultural status, Pulami Chakraworthy views here;

...binary of the indigenous-cosmopolitan remains important for erstwhile colonized or neo-colonized peoples to maintain in face of increasing globalization and "opening up" of "third world markets.

However, while such a binary provides a conceptual framework to construct anti-colonial nationalisms against outside forces of colonization and imperialisms, it simultaneously constructs a nativism which is blind to the divisions and power structures within the now sovereign nation-state. In such a context, the call to “always indigenize” unavoidably bears an uneasy connotation of uncritical nationalisms, which eclipses the issues of the subaltern *within* the non-settler colony.(19)

Post-colonialism is a type of discourse which resists the imperial power and studies the history of once colonized country and impacts of colonizers on the native culture language and other native domains. The term has been subsequently widely used to signify the political, linguistic and other cultural experiences of societies that were once the former European colonies.

In such a situation, their culture and language become hybrid and hybridity, mimicry, fragmentation and displacement become the thematic aspects of post-colonial writings. However, the literary activities in the colonized countries have attempted to subvert the colonial centrality and to spread the national subjects of language, culture, history and other aspects which are marginalized by the imperial centre. Hans Bertens in *Literary Theory: The Basics* writes:

Post-Colonial Theory emphasizes the tension between the metropolis and the (former) colonies [. . .]. It focuses on the cultural displacement and its consequences for personal and communal identities that inevitably followed colonial conquest and rule and it does so from a non-Eurocentric perspectives. (200)

We use the term 'post-colonial' to cover all the culture affected by the imperial process from the moment of colonization to the present day. The term 'post-colonial' has been used to describe writing and reading practices grounded in some form of colonial experience occurring outside Europe which was a consequence of European expansion and the exploitation of the other parts of the world.

This is because there is a continuity of pre-occupations throughout the historical process initiated by European imperial aggression. But the post-colonial writings foreground the imperial power and emphasize the 'differences' from the assumptions of imperial centre. Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin in *The Empire Writes Back* write, "Post-colonial literatures have emerged out of colonization and asserted [. . .] the tension with the imperial power and by emphasizing their differences from the assumptions of imperial centre which makes them post-colonial" (2).

Since culture is linked to the human world, it varies according to the variation in human history that took place with the changing time, different geography, and the transformation in socio-political scenario and lifestyle according. Thus, the cultural field, now covers not merely intellectual and artistic products of a particular group of people, rather it is the common phenomenon to all. It avoids any exclusive all the aspects of life- food, taste, habits, dress up, sports, music and entertainment, religious, rites and rituals, etc.

Culture, thus, is the accumulated knowledge of the social, literary, artistic and collective activity that is passed over from generation to generation. The study of art and literature forms parts of an analysis of cultural production. And the cultural products both in their mode of production as well as in their dissemination, help us to define groups of people, societies or nations.

In ordinary speech a man of culture is a man who is familiar with history, literature, philosophy, fine arts or whose actions and behaviors are controlled and guided by wisdom and judgment. To the anthropologists, however, to be human is to be cultured. There are numerous cultures in the world and the people observing these cultures have their own distinct design for living. Clyde Kluckhohn, in his "Mirror for Man" writes:

A good deal of human behavior can be understood, and indeed predicted, if we know a people's design for living. We cannot explain acts solely in terms of people's biological properties, their individual past experience and the immediate situation. The experience of other men in the form of culture enters into almost every event. Each specific culture constitutes a kind of blueprint for all of life's activities.

(2)

Gradually, the definition of culture went on changing and the different critics began to apply different approaches to make cultural studies. The emergence of post colonial criticism and the post colonial theory made culture a most contested space. After independence in India, cultural identity became dominant among all groups, all groups protest against imposition of other culture. All tribes sought their cultural identity as a result all conscious people started their fighting for cultural existence.

The researcher has raised the issues about existence of tribal culture and their resistance against attack upon their culture. It will be seen through the textual evidence and theoretical concept. The researcher's ideas will be built upon the foundation of aforementioned two things.

II. Cultural Resistance in *Chotti Munda and His Arrow*

The research explores cultural resistance in Mahasweta Devi's *Chotti Munda and His Arrow*. It introduces particular Munda's culture which is Indian racial culture. Indian society is constituted out of many such tribal cultures and those cultures have close attachment with ancient human civilization. They are more related to nature than modern social patterns. This research explores the similar type of cultural tribal group called, Munda, which is outside the Indian mainstream culture. Munda's particular tribal culture is still celebrated even in this modern society. This research seeks to examine the tribal resistance against the Indian mainstream culture.

Post-colonialism explores the political, social, and cultural effects of decolonization, continuing the anti-colonial challenge to Western dominance. This lively and innovative account of both the history and key debates of post colonialism discusses its importance as an historical condition, and as a means of changing the way we think about the world. Post-colonialism is an intellectual direction that exists since around the middle of the 20th century. That refers to the time after colonialism. The post-colonial direction was created as colonial countries became independent. Nowadays, aspects of post-colonialism can be found not only in sciences concerning history, literature and politics, but also in approach to culture and identity of both the countries that were colonized and the former colonial powers.

However, post-colonialism can take the colonial time as well as the time after colonialism into consideration. Post-colonialism also deals with conflicts of identity and cultural belonging. Colonial powers came to foreign states and destroyed the main parts of native tradition and culture; furthermore, they continuously replaced them with their own ones. This often leads to conflicts when countries became

independent and suddenly faced the challenge of developing a new nationwide identity and self-confidence.

As generations had lived under the power of colonial rulers, they had more or less adopted their Western tradition and culture. The challenge for these countries was to find an individual way of proceeding to call their own. They could not get rid of the Western way of life from one day to the other; they could not manage to create a completely new one either. On the other hand, former colonial powers had to change their self-assessment. This paradox identification process seems to be what decolonization is all about, while post-colonialism is the intellectual direction that deals with it and maintains a steady analysis from both points of view.

A decolonized people develops a post-colonial identity from the cultural interactions among the types of identity (cultural, national, ethnic) and the social relations of sex, class, and caste; determined by the gender and the race of the colonized person; and the racism inherent to the structures of a colonial society. In Post-colonial literature, the Anti-conquest narrative analyses the identity politics that are the social and cultural perspectives.

Mahasweta is an experimental writer who has written many books but almost her books are very close to social reality. She has favored subaltern class, race and religion. It is firmly rooted in the ground reality, in the solidity of facts. She is hard-core realist; she believes that fiction must stem from actual, historical facts. This is the first novel in which Mahasweta articulates tribal history. Chotti Munda repeatedly dramatizes subaltern solidarity: Munda, Oraon, and the Hindu outcastes must work together.

Mahasweta's story involves the multilayered tasks of tribal histories, contesting accepted narratives, voicing the experiences of the subaltern. Her fiction

also deconstructs the cultural history of the nation by rewriting the dominant myths and replacing them with the local tribal myths. It attempts to resist the dominant historiography and counters it with an alternative folk historiography drawing from oral histories, folk songs, folk and legends.

Since Mahasweta is a compulsive activist, and writing occurs to her as an instrument in her battle against exploitation, her works take on un conventional configurations. Her architectonics cannot be accounted for in terms of stock categories of evaluation, viz., plot construction, use of mythology, characterization, etc. Activism has its bearings on her style – style which has hitherto been the sole preserve of the ruling elite. If at the level of social consciousness, she is up against the male capitalistic order, at the level of aesthetics, she overturns the established notions of narration.

Her aesthetics is deeply implicated in activism, rather it is her activism that becomes the defining principle of her aesthetics. Mahasweta does not try to camouflage her ideological inclinations. There are frequent authorial interventions, extended prefatory remarks, pithy concluding comments which bring forth her ideological commitments to the fore with a conviction which many art – conscious writers would prefer to underplay. She admits, courageously and candidly, the naxalite movement as a human catastrophe which the so-called nation or civil society must account for. But despite her leftist leanings, Mahasweta, at times, is highly critical of Marxist leadership for its lust for power. She is more a cultural materialist than an orthodox communist. Mahasweta's fiction is neither fantasy, nor it is a pastoral romance. It is firmly rooted in the ground reality, in the solidity of facts. Detailed documentation goes into the making of the narrative. What redeems her ideological biases is this anchoring in facts, empirical and material truths of life. She

does not take a tangential view of reality for as a hard-core realist, she believes fiction must stem from actual, historical facts. Authenticity of fiction is the first condition for its effective application for activist purposes.

Munda culture is tribal culture and it is typical in that. It is close to nature and their every activity is involved within nature. Even Chotti Munda is named after river. They love nature and enjoy at living in it. These beginning lines introduce their relation with nature:

His name is Chotti Munda. Chotti is of course also the name of river.

There is a story behind a river giving him a name. Stories grow around him all the time. It seems that mica or coal came out of the ground wherever his forefather Purti Munda went. As a result stories grew about him as well. Purti brought his wife and kids from Chaibasha to Palamau Cleared the forest and settled a home. This time weapons of stone emerged from under the soil of his fields. (1)

Similarly, not only Chotti Munda but so many names are kept behind the name of the river and the nature itself. It means, they have strong love towards nature. They worship nature and live with nature. Society redefines nature and they have overcome nature, they just follow nature.

Then Mauritius, what happened after that is unknown. But river names keep inscribing themselves as the names of his descendants.

That is the reason why the two great grandsons of Purti Munda are named after rivers- Chotti Munda, and Koel Munda. Their home is still on the banks of the Chotti. Even today.(2)

It shows close relation of Munda with nature. Whatever they have got it is from nature. Their forefather also learnt everything from nature. They used to live in nature

and learnt different skills from nature. They believe on nature and worship to god, named, Haram. It is interpreted as conservative belief but they have strong faith upon god and they follow rules of nature, which is described in the following lines:

However remote the place he travels to something will come out from under ground, immediately a big settlement will grow there. His Mundari world will shrink. He does not want anything after all. A small village, all the local adivasis, worshipper of god Haram, Follower of a priest the Pahan. (1)

These lines suggest particular Munda's culture. They have unique culture which is different from other cultures. They have not been influenced by other mainstream culture. The mainstream culture is believed to be influenced by western society. English people have come to India with the interest of grasping the strong culture of natives, spreading their own culture and later on Indian people mainly high class people adopt their culture, which develops into mainstream culture.

It ranges over decades in the life of Chotti in which India moves from colonial rule to independence. Chotti Munda, the hero of this epic tale, represents their culture. Culture is inalienable that defines human beings. There are certain symbols, cultural heritage, tale, myth, language, religion etc that represent their own cultural heritage and historical origin. They have own language without any script. They have their unique cultural tradition such as; "The singing and dancing lasted only a very short time. Then starts the archery competition. The different Oaons and Mundas of the different villages and clans keep hitting their ancient drum their nagara-did dim dimdim" (285).

British cultural critic Raymond Williams takes culture as "the whole way of life of a social group or whole society [. . .], it is a signifying system through which

necessarily a social order is communicated, reproduced, experienced and explored" (55). Williams, here, focuses on the need of some kind of common culture as a unifying force in society. In response to Williams, E. P. Thompson defines culture as "the whole way of struggle" (10) in the place of the whole way of life. The following lines from *Chotti Munda and His Arrow* describe the ways of Munda's life:

There are a million lines on his whole face and body. White hair folded back near the nape and held in brass ring. White pith in his pierced ears, short white dhoti around his waist a bow and an arrow his arrow he brings it every year by ritual law at the time of his judging and he continues to play the nagara in deep compassion. In an indivisible mild stern sorrow, Chotti looks at him and turns his head away. (286)

Munda's culture is strange that defines them as a separate race in the society. They have live apart from other social groups, in different way. Mostly they depend on nature. Unlike other cultural groups, they celebrate their own culture. Archery is very famous and unique culture of Munda tribe. It is very old inherited culture in their society. Dhani Munda is hero of their culture, he is remembered time and again because who has contributed a lot to promote their culture.

Archery is Munda culture which is popular among them. Every year there is a fair where they participate in competition and they intend to win the game because defeat is the good symbol. The following lines explain their fair:

Once a year the place named Chotti fills with adivasis. At the Chotti fair on Bijoya, the High Holiday celebrating the Hindu great goddess's triumph. Adivasis from thirty villages nearby come to this fair on that day. They make huge tigers, elephants, horses of paper stuck on bamboo frames. They carry the animals and dance. Women dance too.

They drink moua, the advasis berry liquor. Non-advasi men are forbidden to go near these dancers at the fair. (2)

The lines describe importance of fair where mainly archery is practiced and winner is celebrated. But the game is always won by Chotti Munda. It is specially taught to Chotti Munda by Dhani Munda.

These tribal Munda people have their own language, religion, and culture and they want to retain their own cultural heritage resisting the mainstream culture. Chotti as a representative of the Munda tribal culture experiences many atrocities. He has seen his father suicide after being humiliated by the landlord, imprisonment of his son and his association with struggle.

The tribal people in India have their claims, and cultural memories, belonging to past with insufficient records. In competing for indignity in the national arena, the politics of the tribal peoples get seriously compromised when they are rendered the same as the rest of India. At this point, it is important to gloss that the tribal peoples in India have at best a complicated relation to indignity. G. N. Devy, the editor of *Painted Words: An Anthology of Tribal Literature*, writes about the complexities of tribe.

It is impossible to characterize India's tribal in ethnographic or historical terms. In the Indian context, the term "tribal" is too complex to be synonymous for "indigenous." tribal's are not necessarily racially distinct, nor are they necessarily the original inhabitant of the areas they inhabit. Rough out India's long history, communities have migrated, been forcefully displaced, and rehabilitated themselves. (ix)

Tribal culture affected by other cultural attacks and kept on coming in contact with national or master culture. Although English people left India, Indian people adopted

the way of English people and they had long term hangover of English culture. Therefore these Indians followed the cultural pattern that affected local or tribal culture. So, Indian wanted to rob such marginal culture of the tribe. Such cultural practices, as Tony Bennet opines, "... are examined from the point of view of their iteration with, and within, relation of power"(39). It helps to constitute the structure and shape the history. Cultural study assumes that capitalist industrial societies are societies that operate unequally along, for example, ethnic, gender and class lines. It is argued that culture is one of the principal sites where these divisions are established: culture is a terrain on which there takes place a continual struggle for meaning.

Along with national development many tribal groups are influenced by cultural collapse. Landlords, who encroach their land and try to chase them from their village, they try to resist them. It shows that a kind of conflict is going on there. Dhani Munda always wants to save their culture and inspire his generation to resist those landlords and other superior groups. The narrators let us know how Dhani teaches archery to Munda to resist the master culture:

Dhani had labour greatly in order to complete the task of teaching how to shoot an arrow. In the morning he worked the bit of settled land belonging to Parmi's family. From midday on educating Chotti in the forest. As soon as it was afternoon he had to sit in front of the smity otherwise the police would come to his place to search. (13)

Government also interferes their archery culture, therefore police always haunt them and arrest them. Archery symbolizes their culture as well as it is also the symbol of resistance. Dhani Munda teaches to Chotti that it will work when police come to arrest them. They can use their archery skill to resist the police.

In fact, archery culture is used even for having food. They fall fruits with it in the jungle and sustain their life.

“The most important thing in archery is concentration. Be stable on one sighting, shoot arrow. Look, there a ripe bitter apple hanging. Make it fall. Look a herd of deer. Let’s see ye kill stag. Listen to a hunting tip. When ye kill finish with one arrer. Don make it prey suffer for noting. Why does yer hand shake to pull bowstring? There’s something drives Dhani inside. Some days he beat up Chotti mercilessly. I teach so carefully, he had say and yet forget evening. Drop’ fruit from tree- why did tharrer hit I branch? (12)

It shows that they live in Jungle and archery is their means of living. They fall fruits and live on. But it has double meaning. On one hand, they make target by falling fruits and expertise at archery, on the other hand, it is means of their living. Therefore, it is very important culture.

The dominant culture is nationally accepted culture which is taken as a mainstream culture. It doesn’t give recognition to tribal culture, their religion and pattern of life. It is the same to Munda culture. But government forces the tribes to leave their culture. It seeks to educate them but Mundas are not happy with that action because they want to continue their own nature devoted culture. As a result, they are attacked by the police as well as landlords. In such a miserable situation, Dhani Munda says:

... no we got nothing. Someone showed us way. We fought someone might show ye folks way. All reasons remain, Chotti is such a day comes ye too will kill. And yes raise Dhani Munda’s name and kill. I will be at peace then.

Kill humans

If need be.

What is not what is not yet hand. (15)

It clearly explains they get infuriated from other sufferer who time and again use them and always hurt them. Dhani teaches them and kill them if it is needed. A society is threatened with inevitable disintegration as its traditional structures crumbles under the assault of national development. It probes and uncovers the complex web of social and economic exchange based on power relations. It traces the changes, some forced, some welcome, in the daily lives of a marginalized rural community.

They are frequently attacked in the village, however, they cannot bear their suppression. They all untied and try to react with them. These lines explain the situation:

The Munda-Oranons of Chotti village have never seen police enter the village to capture them. They did not understand the situation at all.

This is also true that upstream from the Chotti river there is a tiny waterfall for the river's course descends two hundred feet there before flowing flat again and an Englishman is about to strike camp there to shoot migratory geese white man from Ranchi. Villagers though that the police have come about the encampment. (27)

These lines reflect the state that uses coercive power upon subaltern or marginalized people who keep on forcing Mundas, have miserable life, who do not have enough land, so they cannot grow enough food. Therefore, they have to live in lack. So they depend on fruits in the jungle. Furthermore, they are unhappy because the landlords try to grab their arable and settled rural land.

We won eat mealie, won obey terrorizing moneylender, Diku, Polis,
 will occupy arable and settled rural land,
 will take back right to forest.

Did ye? (15)

Landlords try to seize their land from them and want to drive them away from there and settle there.

Munda tribe seems to be conscious about their cultural identity. They go against mainstream culture for protecting their own culture. Landlords interfere their culture. They encroach upon their land, and village but the tribal people go against all this. Cultural identity matters for them. It is their inherited culture which defines them as different group because of its unique culture. Cultural identity has been the central question for human beings in their effort to make sense of the world. Only after knowing oneself one can think of knowing others. Central providing a meaningful answer to the question of identity is a reference to one's cultural part. Also pivotal is a people's alignment to ancestry and land of the ancestors if ever they are to give meaning to their existence.

Among the various types of identities, the cultural identity is the most crucial one. Every human being has a tendency to associate himself/herself to one or the other ethnic or cultural group. Thus, the identity achieved on the basis of culture or ethnicity is generally known as cultural identity. There are many cultural groups or tribal groups in India who have their own cultures. They do not have any craze for mainstream culture and just want to save their own culture. The following passage explains their interest to save their culture:

Something drawing him somewhere, there is no time. Dhani realizes that the times when he lived a real life are now past. Mundas are

agricultural by blood. Dhani was never that the fight was to wrench a peaceful life for one's kin, but the goal of the battle was not fulfilled. Let's teach chotti. Chotti let me thread ye to the tales and saying of Munda life by teaching ye to pierce the straw man. But what does Chotti say? (15)

The anxiety to protect their own culture for identity is not the new phenomenon from the remote past, human race is divided into a number of identical groups of people. The human communities have been formed differently from each other in different geographical and cultural spaces. Each group of people claims that they have a distinct identity and character because of their distinct cultural heritage. Identity becomes an issue when something previously assumed to be fixed and stable is displaced by the experience of doubt and uncertainty. People express their identity. They question it if they find the difficulty of belonging. They even seek, as Hall says with the lines below, their relation to the source culture, and thereby try to establish their identity: "The inner expropriation of cultural identity cripples and deforms . . . They produce without horizon, colorless, stateless, rootless – a race of angels. Nevertheless, this idea of otherness as an inner compulsion changes our conception of cultural identity" (113).

Hall, after all, comes to conclude the fact that cultural identity is not a fixed essence at all, lying unchanged outside history and culture". He gives emphasis on the cultural identity. His idea that cultural identity is "always constructed through memory, fantasy, narrative and myth"(113) can be taken as his great contribution to the thinking that there is the relation existing between cultural identity and expression. This is the case, by narrating the stories of their self torture and self actualization in

the world of cultural confusion, many post colonial writers have been trying to create themselves to establish their identity through varying ways of expressions.

Mahasweta Devi evokes the voices of tribal group or down trodden people who have been suffering from master cultural imposition. Tribal people, who have been dominated by mainstream cultures, try to save their own culture and save their identity from the attack of other cultures. Munda tribe is such an example which has been dedicated to uplift and save their own cultural heritage over period of time. Munda's identity is based on its own culture, history and religion. History, religion and culture shape our subjectivity and selfhood. So, the identity of human being is socially and culturally constructed.

After 1960 marginalized groups raised their voices for equality, their cultural and racial recognition, and for liberty. Marginalized groups like tribal cultural groups struggle against master culture or mainstream culture to establish their own cultural racial and historical identity in the society. Mahasweta's novel *Chotti Munda and His Arrow* deals with the Munda culture, language, religion and their social norms and value as well as their maternal social structure.

The novel explores the mythical root culture, religion, land and language which altogether constitute the cultural heritage and identity. In other words, Culture, religion, language, etc are the major factors which form the identity of people. Losing them means the loss of identity. Munda people lost their identity in the colonial period.

So, now they try to restore their own identity. What makes Chotti special is the skill with the bow and arrow which he picks up from the great Dhani Munda, one time associated of the great rebel Birsa. While the idea is to win prizes in the archery festivals at annual Chotti fairs, Chotti's skill, motivates and mobilizes the tribal

especially the younger generation in their crusade against injustice and exploitation. The skill engenders a bond among these subaltern classes. The author narrates how this bond evolves into an expansive consciousness, which has the potential to challenge the homogenizing tendency of colonial and postcolonial politics, resulting in ethnic cultures.

The writer, Mahasweta Devi had firsthand experience with Munda and other tribal culture. It is really her idea about herself experience, when she has undergone with tribal culture and finds it really impressive for writing. She tells with translator Gayatri;

I used to visit that region from 63 to 75 continuously. I have seen with my own eyes what the emergency meant, what was done. The criminalization of politics, letting the lumpen loose in the lower caste and tribal belts. Inhuman torture and oppression. I have also seen resistance. That the time when Naxal boys were harbored there, give shelter allowed to escape. What Chotti Munda or my other stories and books depict is continuing struggle. (ix)

Mahasweta Devi has shown her first hand experience because, when India decolonized then national development or mainstream culture influenced other smaller or tribal cultures. She saw that those marginalized groups were unified against mainstream encroachment. She describes tribal suffering here in these lines:

It is still continuing, the tribal are still being evicted from their land. Indeed Birsa Munda comes late. His movement was from 1895 to 1900. Before that there were many tribal rebellions. The first Santal rebellion was Baba Tirka Majhi;s rebellion. I receive letters about this because I wrote a short novel, not so very well written either. (ix)

She describes that scene where not only Munda people but other marginalized group rebelled and they were trying to resist against mainstream culture. All marginalized groups unified and stood against state or master culture. She saw state coercion upon marginalized tribal groups, who were forced to leave place and so many tribal people left place and moved from different place. She further explains about tribal people's desperate:

After each rebellion- always related to land and labor they were evicted from their home places. In the context of tribal of eastern India, which is what I know, they migrated towards Bengal; they were taken to Assam as tea garden laborers, kept in Bental to clear the mangrove forests in the Sunder bans, the indigo planners brought them. (x)

Although, tribal people were driven away from their places, some Munda cultural groups denied to escape from there. Instead of fleeing, they resist their oppression. Mahasweta believes that; “ globalization does not mean that some from America some white man is coming and doing something remains like that if we have know, about tribal we have to go back in tradition , in oral tradition, reread something that is not written or written in human beings generation to generation” (Xiii). It means marginalized group are dominated from other Indian as well as colonized Indians, who want to have English culture even after neocolonialism.

According to her, resistance means solidarity of tribal groups. State forces them to leave from their place like jungle and remote place. State also implies such policy that disfavours their existence. But all tribal groups and marginalized groups unite and resist against such power. Mahasweta believes that; “Solidarity is resistance” (xiii) Munda people try to restore their way of life, as regards this , Mahasweta says here, “you have seen the Sabars, cultivating their field, just this

triumph, they have dug a well and water is coming up, they have never done agriculture but they are doing it. This changefulness is resistance against globalization” (xiii). She means to say that they want to restore their traditional occupation and deny new circumstance of change.

Regarding, cultural resistance, the novel has raised historical facts rather than only fictitious story. It covers the period after de-colonialism in India. Munda’s people have undergone intolerable suffering, and feudal power has oppressed them but they do not accept totally whereas they even resist their own culture. There is the self-consciousness in Chotti Munda that “Munda customs will become things that are only done on festival days that in today’s India we have to be together. This togetherness of the rural” (xiii).

Chotti Munda has such cultural awareness that means he wants to save his own cultural heritage. It has been inherited from long before in their tradition. They remember Birsa uprising cultural heritage that is aura of their culture. They have own magic arrow which is symbol of their tribe. It is said; “magic arrow not magic in the narrow sense, but an arrow that Dhani Munda wants to hand over. This arrow is symbol for the person who will carry on that continuity. Chotti is an emblem of that” (x). So it is cultural symbol of Munda, which stands for their cultural pride and traditional heritage. It carries their long tradition. Mahasweta has ever visited such remote place where tribal groups had been living. She describes it in the following lines:

One day I was traveling by bus some tribal stopped the bus because they wanted to go somewhere, there as a mela a fair not a big thing, but there will be an arrow commotion. I was entranced. They climbed on to the top of the bus. Archery was very much in their blood. And in

Hesalong market I saw this fantastic archery competition, for which an old Munda was brought as judge. He sat on the platform. It was a time honored tradition that at the end. Being the best archer of the area, he would shoot last and hit the target. All these things get stored in the brain somewhere. (xi)

Mahasweta Devi explains and promotes their culture by describing their activities. Archery is one of the symbolical and long inherited cultures of Munda, they don't lose it, and it always unifies them. It is their blood that keeps on flowing in their race and tribe. They assemble in fair and celebrate their archery culture. It has been kept from long time before and Chotti Munda is committed to this culture. Chotti's life which is like Birsa life, is struggling for the historical continuity.

Their archery is discouraged. But they have protected their archery and they practice in the fair. Marginalized group of people like Munda and others kept on influencing from other culture because of encroaching culture. Writer shows historical fact that clarifies the cultural resistance occurs there. She explains;

During emergency, nothing happened that did not happen before, although the lumpenization in the lower echelons of politics was perhaps made more systematic. But during emergency everything came out, in the newspapers at that time. Since the time of Independence we have had a free press, but at the same time of Emergency for the first time rural reporting got some coverage, for the first time investigative reporting came about. Because emergency was also the time when part of the middle class, part of the student population, were touched, like the Naxalites. Their homes were invaded; middle class smugness was broken to pieces. And yet the

breakup of the emergency was not because of such measures. It was precisely because tightening of centralization was interfering with the operation of the power lines in country towns and villages backed up by the lumpen element that the emergency was not allowed to continue. (xii-xiii)

This passage reveals during emergency period they were threatened. State has encroached their place and jungle where they have lived for years. These people make efforts to be united for their existence. Mahasweta Devi in her interview with the Spivak presents the unity of the Munda tribes in the following lines:

They were one in everything. The Munda is considered the first comer in Indian tribal society. Other kinds of tribal building a hut or doing something new would have to invite a Munda boy who would come and consecrate it. He had to be brought offered sweets, given a gift. And I was exhilarated to see all those so called lower castes, the Dusads, Ganjus, Chamars, doing the same thing, inviting the Munda boy. Festivals thus became joint festivals. They joined the railway porters when any puja was there, and the porters in turn went happily to join their Sohrai, Karam, Holi. (xiii)

Here, it shows that all marginalized people join together for resistance of their cultural invasion. They try to exist in the society by forming a bond with people from other marginalized groups. This kind of effort to form relationship with other cultural groups suggests their efforts for resistance against the encroachment of their culture. They don't want to lose their own language, culture, religion, song and other cultural legacy which have constructed their identity.

Munda has the habit of expressing their emotion of despair and delight related with the particular incidents, by tying up in story and song, because of the lack of writable script of their Mundari language. The following lines in the form of songs, reflects the resistance of Chotti Munda against the landlord's abuse to Munda tribe.

Tirathnath said all Mundas are sonsabitches

Chotti said, take back that word

Otherwise I'll burn your field with my arrer

I'll light the light of colourfeast in your barn

Lala said I take it back

Take loan take paddy

Take loan of Maize

Never will such a word come to me mouth

Hearn' all Chotti called his arrer back

The arrer were dancin', nearly ran forrad. (195)

Such songs of Mundas have cultural values which have carried the myth of their long memories. It relives their cultural memories which make them strong to resist. They want to have their old memories. The song carries a kind of relation with old past that creates feeling of oneness with their ancestor. So, they want to sing their own song. The songs embolden and prepare them to go ahead with strong feeling of resistance. The resistance, as Morris thinks, "is a continuous process that goes on for year and years" (168). The resistance helps them to retain their cultural identity. Hall in the following passage describes that identity is never complete and always in the process.

It is not as transparent or unproblematic as we think, perhaps instead of thinking of identity as an already accomplished fact, which the cultural

practices then represent, we should think identity as a ‘production’ which is never complete, always in process, and always constituted within, not outside representation. This view problematizes the very authority and authenticity to which the terms.’ Cultural identity lays claims. (72)

Hall focuses on how culture defines the identity of individual, society and human being as a whole. Culture always remains intact with human being. We remain within culture and it always defines to us. In fact, it is the culture that identifies Munda as one of the tribes which has saved their tribal existence. Munda’s magic arrow symbolizes their cultural pride and gives them collective image of their society which unifies them. They want to live away from the mainstream culture and of society. They have strong passion for their culture that ties them together.

Munda tribes live in the forest, their home is forest, and whatever they learn, is from the forest, so they take forest as their culture and tribal society. Dhani describes about forest culture because they live in the forest and archery become their culture. Chotti wants to learn such practices from own culture and he asks Dhani to teach him to shoot an arrow.

Dhani teaches their cultural practice which means to educate their culture so that they save own culture. Dhani is always conscious of it and tells their myth, origin and past story. In a question, Chotti asks about the past story Dhani replies: “It is a long story. I want to tell tale, but there is no one to listen. And Munda folk here are broken backed, living on kindness of Diku- Hindus. They want let me stay in Chaibash, there are still people to hear me there. They won’t let me stop there” (8).

It is a story about their ancestor who had gone so many sufferings in past. Dhani retells that story. It reinforces their cultural ties into coming generation. In fact,

it is the way of resisting other culture. Dhani wants that coming generation can save their long remained unique practice which gives them tribal identity. The conversation between Dhani and Chotti shows that;

Chotti won?

Gormen

Why

That is tale, ye are a Munda. A man came to this world for all ye.

Father Earth. Lord Birsa.

But I know of him.

Ye know? Who told ye? Me mother's pa. (8)

The conversation highlights the idea of past history, where their ancestor had protected own practices and Dhani thinks that it is his own duty to educate the upcoming generation about their tribal life or cultural pattern. He teaches all for continuity of cultural practices.

The novel ranges over decades in the life of Chotti the central character in which India moves from colonial rule to independence and then to the unrest of the 1970s. It probes and uncovers the complex social and economic exchange based on power relations. It traces the changes, some forced, some welcome, in the daily lives of a marginalized rural community. Not only Munda tribal culture, there were so many cultural group and they could influence after independence. By many ways, they were threatened by other cultural influences and it was the period for them to save their own existence. During that period all marginalized such cultural group tried to unify together for resistance.

Dhani is conscious member of Munda tribe who represents a generation so he wants to hand over his responsibility to coming generation. It is his duty to educate

them culturally. He thinks and makes practice to Chotti, who is going to be representative of Munda community. At the beginning; “Dhani felt driven somehow. He took Chotti to the jungle. He called the jungle our Mother, Dhanisai. Let me learn yet jungle. With jungle learning ye won die starving what is not there in Jungle”? (11)

Dhani takes him to jungle and teaches about some pattern of life. Who have born in jungle so jungle is Mother for them where they were born and grew up. It is cultural transmission from one generation to other. He is telling why own culture is more important than other culture. It is a kind of cultural orientation or training to familiarize with own culture. Dhani thinks that it is necessary to let such cultural practices continue then only our historical identity can be saved in coming days. Then Chotti realizes that: “It is a precious experience to live with Dhani. It is then that Chotti learn to know the sweet-rooted, creepers to learn the springs full of fishes to learn to trap deer. When to pick droppedfeathers for the market from the special place where peacocks dance” (11).

These are some typical practices and they are different from other tribal race. Cultural critic suggests that it is possible to reconstitute the patterned behavior and constellations of ideas shared by the men and women who produce and consume practices of that society. As regards, this cultural practice, Williams says:

First there is the 'ideal' in which culture is a state or process of human perfection, in terms of certain absolute or universal values. Second, there is the documentary record; the recorded texts and practices of culture, third, there is the social definition of culture, in which culture is a description of a particular way of life, which expresses certain meanings and values not only in art and learning but also in institutions and ordinary behaviour. (58)

Human activities are the reflection of their culture. Our past and present culture runs through our flesh and blood. Our expression is always connected to and conditioned by context. Thus, meaning turns out to be a social production, a practice.

Dhani feels a kind of cultural sensation to Chotti and he becomes strong. He makes life's dream to be a skillful archer. Dhani conveys all information about their tribe to Chotti. He conveys about so many revolt and attack on them in the past. Here the narrator describes the revolts in different times which Dhani himself witnessed:

Dhani was always crazy; at the time of the Santal Hul, Dhani was a lad of twenty. The Khewar revolt, the Mulkoji revolt of the Sardars, and then Birsa's revolt, Armed Struggle is also an addiction. He went to all the revolts in the hope that Mundas would establish village in forest and arable land and far rightfully and in peace, and that other adivasi groups would do the same. But looking at the peaceful farming Mundas he understood that he had not wanted this peace. It is not know if peace was to be ad in an area free of money lending. Gormen and Diku for adivasis don't live that way anywhere in India. He felt very much alone. Yet the police will immediately be alert if they see a bow in the hands of eighty one year old Dhani Munda. (11-12)

Many adivasi or tribal groups have been affected by attack of police Dhani is always found making his people aware of impending danger. He is not happy with the other tribal groups who have left the place. Dhani wants that they should face such challenges and keep intact their long carried culture and practices. Thus, the totality of culture as a frame of reference shapes and controls human idea about world in surrounding. An individual loses significant aspects of his/her culture or his/her world of experience by the time when estrangement occurs or when there is a cultural

displacement. Otherwise, anarchy and savagery become natural phenomenon. If an individual is thrust upon in an alien world where culture practices including customs, rituals, and beliefs are quite different, s/he would certainly meet some crisis there. In this regard, Saraswati also says that “When someone is brought up in one culture and placed in another culture, s/he may face frustration, fear, curiosity, fascination, repulsion, hatred or confusion” (223).

Archery is representative culture of Munda, the novel story revolves around archery competition and fair. The archery symbolically represents resistance of Munda, so Dhani warns Chotti that this is an error to keep close Chotti, don't shoot unless there's great need. No one can ever beat you if ye keep this by. But keep up practice.” (16) Dhani means to say that even they can use the archery for resisting he suggests Chotti that it can be used when time comes so keep on doing your practice.

High class people or landlord have very cruel eye upon Munda, and they go on exploiting them. Munda are forced to work in landlord land but Chotti denies their forceful action. This following conversation explains Munda's resistance:

Now one must talk to folks and start work. The talk should be between him and his field hands. Chotti Munda has not worked Tirath's fields for a long time. He is no longer young. he is a respectable man. He should not be brought into these talks.

Chahagan says, I will let you know later.

Tell's now Chhagan.

Sir, no one will give bonded work. Give us a day's pay some tiffin food then you may get work. (276)

These tribe have own world and own way of life. They have a very narrow world and they live almost time in jungle. Almost all the time, they do training or other

practices. Such training and practice reflects their warm up for cultural resistance when they find themselves in crisis. Time and again they are threatened by police.

The line given below explains the arrest of Dhani Munda:

It's clear that Jejur police station is nearest to his destination. In the month of June, as Birsa's death day approaches, many Dhani Mundas are captured ones is the sought after Dhani Mundas are captured. Many of them are called Dhani. Unfortunately none of the captured ones is the sought after Dhani. Over-enthusiastic police beat the markets and capturing scores of Dhani Mundas, they exhaust the station officer.

Gradually it seems that the entire affair might be a sheer invention.

(17)

Mundas are frequently threatened and arrested. Government or superior group attacks them. State has policy to collapse jungle for urban settlement but it is their permanent home. Munda people struggle for protecting their place where lies their identity. We come to realize that identity should be designated precisely a 'cultural' or that culture should be designated as the most general element in which we identify 'identity.'

With this very sentiment, Etienne Balibar writes in his article "Culture and Identity":

Cultural identity is described as being what expresses the singularity of groups, people or societies, what forbids conflating them in a uniformity of thought and practice or purely and simply erasing the borders that separate them and that translate at least the tendential correlation between linguistic facts, religious facts, facts of kinship aesthetic facts in the broad sense (for there are styles of life just as there are musical or literary style) and political facts. (15)

So many tribes have long history and their cultures have existed without national influence. It means they do not have any intrinsic relation with national culture. Such culture grows in their own way, but was when India got independence then more or less they can't remain apart from national influence. Police force forcefully tries to move them from there but still they react with force. When Dhani Munda is about to taken into jail, he doesn't accept; "thus, dangerous Dhani Munda dies as a result of ignoring his expulsion order and the Mundas, without a written language mingle Dhani tale with the tale of Birsa and make Dhani eternal" (18).

They want to celebrate own culture freely but the nation doesn't let them be free. No matters how much nation uses force but they react and protest against collectively. It becomes the vital issues in subsequent decades and a matter of urgent social concern. It raises questions about the place of the tribal on the map of national identity, land rights and human rights. The ethnic cultures and the justification of violent resistance is the last resort of a desperate people, amongst others.

The archery competition is held every year and it becomes their prestige. Who will win the competition would be great thing for them. It is because it is always linked with their identity, not only individual identity but also communal identity. In such competition, they participate and follow their cultural rules. These lines given below shows how Munda participate archery competition with curiosity and carefulness:

Chotti didn't ruin the village name. He was wearing a yello dhoti. He had stained it with the yellow dye of the kusum flower. In his hari a wooden comp. putting Dhani's arrow to the bow he memorized Dhani in his mind. Dhani's words, he must forget all. Ye are there, and there's a bull's eye. (20)

A magic arrow stands for the pride, the wisdom, the culture of their society. Their society is threatened by disintegration as its traditional structures crumbles under the assault of 'national development'. They have been practicing such competition over the period of time which makes their separate identity

After 1960s, the theme of search for identity, especially cultural identity is rapidly rising among people. Since the values, norms, institutions, customs, structures and modes of thinking provides a space to people, and then people create culture. Mikkon Lehtonen, regarding human beings as cultural beings asserts that “Cultural symbols are omnipresent precisely for the reason that they are essential for our survival. Culture is the ‘survival keen’ of humankind” (5).

These tribal cultures are influenced not only by national culture but also by English culture. So, many white people come into contact with Munda society and learn their Mundari language. They intend to know about cultural values closely. A white man goes there and asks with Chotti Munda about their culture and background;

What is yer name?

ChottiMunda

Named after the river?

After river. Why?

What day of the week were ye born?

Monday

Then why aren't ye called Somra, Somai, Somma, as Monday is

Sombar.(34)

The questions he asked is unnecessary for him. He intends to interfere their culture by knowing them. White man comes and talks with Chotti Munda and Dhani Munda.

White man asks all about their cultural secrecy. He wants to influence Munda people.

But Munda women hate the way he eats and dress up. One woman comments his behaviours;

Gormen has come to our place

Gormen has made pichers

Gormen hasn't brought a gun

Hasn't killed us folks

Gormen has eaten holy food. (35)

She comments the white man who ruins their culture. They do not like to have white culture and way of living life. White man comes there to influence Munda culture and speak own language but they are unable to influence their language. Therefore, white man says about Dhani Munda that; "he is supposed to have been a great rebel. His name is Dhani Munda." (36). When white man draws picture of Munda people, Dhani Munda doesn't like it.

Munda people hate other people's entrance into their village, they are afraid of them because other people can attack them. A kind of sense of fear they hold when provincial government attacks their land and jungle; therefore when white people come there they are alert against the dangers. These lines from the white man shows the image the Mundas have made of themselves: "do you know that twenty-two years ago, sitting in this clubroom, we English trembled for fear of Birsa Munda? Of course we were able to defeat him later, but don't call them peaceful. Playing the tuila, dancing in the group and then shooting arrows. A most complicated people. (43) They remember the past days when white people all feared from their leader Birsha Munda. He was very bold and courageous people. So now even these Mundas remember him.

Lastly, when all people, including CDO, police and other public assemble at fair where all adivasis come to celebrate the festival but governments people try to

capture those Mundas and adivasis. This time Chotti warns them with these words: “I am that Chotti Munda. And if you raise terror for this then Lala an Chadha in Chotti village, and you at the office, none of you will stay alive polis if warup’sgrou shots arrers after dark and picklesyu blood with poison of kuchila berry, who I you save no terror” (287).

The story of Chotti Munda represents long history of Munda culture. It uses narrative to relive that old story of their cultural heritage. Chotti, the great Munda of the village, leader of the village is indeed like the river after which he is named. He has one magical arrow, the symbol of their culture, which has carried the history of their culture. The novel has shown the history of the tribal movement against the feudal land system, of tribal agitation against bonded labor, of tribal helplessness against imposition of mainstream culture as well as administration. Furthermore, it brings the tribal suffering and reality, which is formed by legends, myths and memories or rumors.

III.Struggle for Survival in *Chotti Munda and His Arrow*

The entire novel revolves around tribal culture specially the Munda tribe which has long historical existence in India. It refers some name of ancestor which claims that they have long existential facts before to till now. It brings the great upheaval after 1960. Many such tribal groups attacked by cultural invasion and shifted into different place. As other tribes, Mundas also remain affected from state policy or other mainstream cultural attack. The novel has used more factual and less factious ideas and presents through novel. Writer has claimed that it was her hand experience and she has ever seen situation of Munda from very close point of view.

It raises Munda's cultural existence that is in crisis when national development process directly affects them. Munda tribe used to live in the jungle or very remote and uncomfortable places, however, they were challenged. Their land, language and religion mixed up with other culture. At that time, they have their feelings for cultural protection because this culture has been snatched by so called advanced group.

Archery, fair, song and other particular cultural images encourage them to unify as tribal groups. It generates realization of oneness among all Munda's people. Traditional rites, rituals and myth link them and make feel of collective identity. So, they frequently take name of ancestor who had great contribution for reserving their cultural ties. Chotti Munda is very brave and dauntless character who always stand as representative of Munda culture. Every year he takes part in archery competition and wins it. All Munda tribal take it as their pride, cultural legacy of their community.

Having such cultural ties they protest against cultural attack in their community. Many NGO and INGO come into contact with them but they collectively deny them. They want to continue their cultural rites and ritual. National government

encroaches over their land and their jungle but they protest against such work. Even other tribal group also resists unifying with Munda group of people.

Munda has unique culture which has been attacked from various ways. As far as possible they resist from their part. They want to protect their language, song, myth, tale and archery because it is their tradition which their ancestor had preserved and handed over them. Dhani frequently raise his previous ancestor and retain their cultural heritage. He teaches Chotti the same thing to let it continue even into next generation. By this cultural heritage, all people solidified together and fight against national encroachment. Resistance is their existence so they let it continue forward though they have to face many difficulties in the society.

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