

Ethics in Studying Children: Fieldwork Experience among the Bhoksa

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Bhoksa is a tribe in the state of Uttaranchal, India. A Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Group (PVTG), Bhoksa live side by side with their non Bhoksa neighbours – the Rai Sikh and the Punjabis. Usurpation of Bhoksa land by the non Bhoksa and the latter's rise to power have rendered the Bhoksa powerless. The Bhoksa stay in awe of the non Bhoksas who call the shots in the area. This state of fear is also found amongst the Bhoksa children. Being a 'tribe' is seen as a stigma which perpetuates the sense of inferiority and diffidence among the Bhoksa children. A large section of the non Bhoksa including the school teachers and the local police look down upon the Bhoksa for being "tribal". The paper explores the role of the ethnographer while doing fieldwork among the Bhoksa. It proposes that a researcher should understand culture specific scenario in order to accordingly mould his/her ways of doing research on children. The paper focuses on research ethics involved in understanding Bhoksa children, their access to education as well as their perception of the tribal and non tribal divide.

[Key Words: *Tribe, Children, Vulnerable, Fieldwork, Ethics.*]

Introduction

Ethics is a word that warrants serious deliberation. While conducting any research, a researcher is expected to abide by certain ethics; a set of dos and don'ts. The issue of research ethics becomes all the more important when humans study humans. Fieldwork, the cornerstone of any study that endeavours to scientifically understand a people, becomes an exercise in the hands of the fieldworker. Ethnographic research, with all its pertinence, has come under scrutiny in the hands of the post modernists who question the authenticity of 'reality' unravelled by the ethnographer. The discourses on modernist versus post modernist approach towards ethnography may continue (Clifford 1983; Rabinow 1986; Taylor 1979). The purpose of this paper is not to address the theoretical debates about the same, rather to spell out the on-the-field perception, action and reaction of the subject and the object, of the observer and the observed – roles that keep getting exchanged quite unknowingly in the journey of fieldwork. What needs to be accepted is that to have an in-depth

understanding of a culture, a people, there is no substitute to fieldwork. It is fieldwork that unearths the undercurrents, the subtle nuances that exist without a concrete appearance and which are crucial to the understanding of social phenomenon. A fieldworker, an ordinary mortal carrying on his shoulders the baggage of his own cultural orientation, is expected to be trained in addressing fieldwork as a scientific inquiry. The quest for empiricism, for reality, guides the fieldworker to undertake fieldwork amongst a population. This challenging exercise is coupled with the necessity of following some ethics in its perusal of the social reality. "An empirical science cannot tell anyone what he should do - but rather what he can do - and under certain circumstances - what he wishes to do." (Weber 1949 [1904]:54, 61)

In this paper I attempt to bring forth the point that apart from certain common set of ethics to be abided by the researcher, for example "acquiring permission to begin the study and how far to dig into personal lives to extract necessary information" (Gary et.al. 1982:35) and what Watkins (2014) enumerates –respect for persons, beneficence (not harming the participant physically, emotionally or psychologically), justice (example, participants have a right to know the purpose of the research) and integrity (of the researcher) which a researcher needs to adhere to on the field, there are ethical considerations which emerge against specific situation, circumstances and historical background . It is the culture specific, people specific reality which comes as a challenge before an ethnographer putting his/her sensitivity and prudence to test.

Bhoksa

I did fieldwork among the Bhoksa. Bhoksa, is 'a little known tribe' (Ghatak 2003) which inhabits the Terai areas of Dehradun, Nainital, Bijnore and Tehri Garhwal districts (Singh 1994). Amir Hasan calls Terai 'a land of malaria and marshes' where no outsider dared to live (1982:38). Bhoksa is a Scheduled Tribe. 'Scheduled Tribe' in the Indian context is an administrative and legal term whose purpose is to label specific groups – based on their socio-economic status , religious and cultural customs- in order to provide them with special attention as mandated by the country's constitution (Dash Sharma 2006:X). It is "used for the purpose of administering' certain specific constitutional privileges, protection and benefits for specific section of peoples historically considered disadvantaged and 'backward' (Burman 2009). *Adivasi* (old or original inhabitants) is a common term used to refer to the tribes in India. As per the Census of India, the total population of the Bhoksa is 46711 and the literacy rate is 49.9 percent. It falls under the category of Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PVTGs, previously known as Primitive Tribal Groups) in the Constitution. These are tribal groups characterized by (a) forest-based livelihoods, (b) pre agriculture level of existence, (c) stagnant or declining population, (d) extremely low literacy, and (e) a subsistence economy (http://nac.nic.in/pdf/executive_summary_pvtg.pdf).

As I shall discuss my experience of doing fieldwork among the Bhoksa, the causes which led the community to become or remain 'vulnerable' shall get unfolded. To say that it is in the history, in the past, that the foundation of the present lies, would be an understatement, amounting to the obvious. Yet if the history has been one intercepted with major episodes of land usurpation, despotism and the rule of 'might is right', a conscious emphasis of such a history, rather than a latent and passing agreement about it is pertinent to address in order to understand the present mindset, aspirations and frustrations of a people and how these are carried forward to the next generation i.e. the children.

My prime focus of study among the Bhoksa was to understand their political and administrative system, and my interaction with the children started quite inadvertently. The present paper deals with my study of Peepalsana, a predominantly Bhoksa village in the state of Uttaranchal/Uttarakhand. Fieldwork was carried out between 1998 and 2008 in different phases. The initial phase of fieldwork was focused on establishing rapport with the Bhoksa. I could easily communicate with the people on the field as we share a common language - Hindi. Difference in accent did not pose a hindrance in communication. Bhoksa speak Hindi mixed with some words of Urdu, a language very familiar to me. I was born and brought up in Lucknow, where Hindi is spoken with a fair sprinkling of Urdu words. The non Bhoksa like the Rai Sikh communicated with me in Hindi with a heavy Punjabi accent. Both of us could understand what the other said. As my fieldwork proceeded, I learnt about the latent tension between the Bhoksa and the non Bhoksa – the Rai Sikh and the Punjabi, the latter living at the outskirts of the Bhoksa populated villages. Although being less in number to the Bhoksa, they are the power players in the area.

At the dawn of independence of India, in order to tackle the problem of settlement of the refugees from Pakistan and to address the food shortage induced due to the Second World War, the Government decided to turn the fertile tracts of the Terai into a commercially viable locale. Saksena points out that 'in view of high productivity of land, various committees made recommendations for its development. As a result the provincial government decided to develop Tarai and attract outsiders to settle here'(1998:105). The Bhoksa were dominated by Rai Sikhs and others 'who now control large chunks of their land, often employing the original masters as labour'(Hasan 1971:103). The Bhoksa could not find protection from the then Government as the latter gave a green signal to the trespass in order to generate more revenue from the fertile Terai land which was lying untapped thanks to the Bhoksa who were content with subsistence farming. The State Government went all the way to appease the trespassers and land grabbers by regularization of their illegal possession (Hasan 1998:47). In 1968 the U.P.Zamindari Abolition and Land Reforms Act, 1950 was amended to impose restrictions on the transfer of land by the Scheduled Tribes but by the time these measures came most of the lands

which could be grabbed or alienated had already changed hands (Saksena 1998: 109). Hence, the present scenario is that the Bhoksa are mostly landless, working as agricultural labourers on the land they once owned. As people to reckon with, the Rai Sikh and the Punjabis wield a strong influence in the area.

Bhoksa versus the Non Bhoksa

Peepalsana, a predominantly Bhoksa village is also inhabited by some non Bhoksa households residing towards the outskirts of the village, away from the centre of habitation. The Bhoksa live in awe of the non Bhoksa. Economic disparity between the two further widens the distance between them. Bhoksas' loss of land, and its gain by the Rai Sikhs and the Punjabis, is the instrumental factor in the making of the non Bhoksa elites (Ranjan 2002). The few land owning Bhoksa also prefer to keep the affluent non Bhoksa in good humour as the latter are well connected with the people wielding important positions and power in the village and at the administrative levels higher to the village i.e. the Block, the District, the State and the Centre. The affluent position of the Rai Sikhs enables them to maintain a nexus of mutual obligation with the people at the helm of administration.

The Bhoksa give voice to their angst towards the Rai Sikh and the Punjabi in hushed tones. Needless to say that in this kind of scenario, I, the researcher had to be on guard. The trickledown effect of this history of communal tension can be seen in the persona and behaviour of the Bhoksa children.

Bhoksa Children

During my fieldwork, I interacted with Bhoksa children on different occasions. The initial hiccups during the early days of fieldwork were eased out in my interaction with children. As I would walk through the village, I would find children in the age-group of 9 years to 14-15 years, playing marbles or chewing sugarcane – a leisurely demeanor. Daily exchange of smiles was the initial thawing of the ice between the stranger in me and the strangers of my study. The children were excited to have the daily presence of an outsider who appeared to have all the time in the world and seemed in no hurry. Talking to children was easier than talking to the adults whose countenance conveyed restraint and some doubt. For the children I came to be acknowledged as '*didi*' (elder sister) or madam, one, who was reading in a 'higher standard' (*badi kaksha*). In ones and twos they would happily join me in my lone walks. They would be with me for some time, and in other times, hover somewhere in visible sight. Sometimes the children would accompany me to a respondent's house where I was treated as a 'guest', but not the children accompanying me. For the host, they were family and the formalities of host and guest were absent between the two. I also got a chance to talk to the children of the respondents as I sat in their houses waiting for the latter to return from the field.

In an air of uneasiness between the Bhoksa and the non Bhoksa, I was cautious of what I said and did. My training in Anthropology came as a handy regulator in my interactions with the Bhoksa children. Rather than paying heed

to what I ought to be doing, I was more careful about what I should not be doing or saying. Our talks revolved around their school, games, television and films. I did not discuss and probe about anything related to Bhoksa and non Bhoksa divide. In our conversations I was more of a listener.

I endeavoured to keep my vision uncoloured and neutral. I freely interacted with the non Bhoksa too - the Rai Sikhs and the Punjabis living in the village. My study on the politics of the area, the transformation in political structure from traditional to modern, was an area of research that raised quite a few eye brows. Transparency in the functioning of the political bodies, perception about administrative corruption, channelizing of developmental funds et.al - were issues which I was exploring. I was perceived differently by different people. For some Bhoksa I was looked up as a sort of a saviour, who would champion their cause to *higher (bade)* people, while many had doubts about trusting me with the information they would divulge. For a few, I was taken as an ally of some political faction and yet again, there were some who while basking in the sun were happy to have me around just as a good listener. Some political leaders in the village were skeptical about my presence. When I would explain that I am a researcher, they would ask me the discipline (*vishaya*) I was studying. My mentioning of Anthropology or *Manavvigyan* (Hindi term for Anthropology, meaning , Science of Man), a discipline still struggling to find a place in many universities and colleges in India, only added more fuel to the flame of suspicion about me. I had to fall back on Sociology to sound credulous. I would be asked to come with some books the next day to prove my point. After the initial days of rapport establishment which witnessed many obstacles, I started feeling that I was more or less accepted as a harmless researcher, since I was neither a Bhoksa nor a Rai Sikh. Mostly accompanied by the children, I had, quite inadvertently, donned the garb of protection - as their company added to the reinstatement of the harmless and innocuous nature of my study.

I was quite at ease in the company of the Bhoksa children. They would bring me some citreous fruit of the lemon family, something I had never even seen before and which was very sour in taste. Seeing their enthusiasm in climbing the trees and fetching the fruit for me, I could not bring myself to decline their gift, although I have a sensitive throat. When it became a regular practice, I explained to them about my health issue. They understood. In the following days the fruit was replaced by jaggery and raw sugarcane. I learnt to be a symbolic eater. In the months when I would be away from the field, I would receive by post, letters written by children from the field, the contents ranging from informing me about their marks in exams, to asking about my well being and that when I would be back in the village. While on the field, in my random talks and walks with them, I learnt that the Bhoksa children were well informed about their environment- the flora and fauna. They could explain some aspects of the indigenous knowledge system very well. They also told me about their favorite film actors and songs. Television was their window to the *outside*

world. Many had never gone to the nearest town of Kashipur. Some children were school dropouts and others attended school of and on. I would see children in school uniforms but playing truant, loitering barefoot in the fields or playing marbles, but away from the school during school time. Village Peepalsana has one Primary School (up to fifth standard) as well as one Secondary School (up to eighth standard). Children from the neighbouring villages of Lalitpur and Lalpuri also come to attend school here as there are no schools in those villages.

When I asked the children about their being away from school, they said that they did not like going to school. The attitude of the teachers and the non Bhoksa students was the main deterrent. 'Attitude', 'opinion', 'impression' are words where the main problem lies. After India gained independence from the British rule in 1947, the newly elected Government of India made a conscientious move to initiate programmes and plans for tribal protection and development. There is no dearth of developmental programmes for the Bhoksa, but the hurdle in their being a success lies at a much deeper level; it lies in the attitude, the perception, of the personnel who channelize and monitor these developmental measures. People in these positions of authority are the people from the so-called mainstream, the non tribes. Whether these include the Rai Sikhs and the Punjabis, the teachers, the police, the doctors and nurses in the Primary Health Centre or the officials from the Block office (a group of villages fall under the administrative unit known as the Block). Bhoksa is a tribe. The terms, 'tribe', '*adivasi*' and *anusuchit janjati* (Scheduled Tribe), itself are understood and internalized as value loaded terms, by the non tribals and consequently even by the Bhoksa. Considered as backward by the non tribes (Baviskar2005, Roy Burman 2009), the tribes are victims of ethnocentric bias. The term *Adivasi* smacks of exclusion of the tribes (Kumar2001) and their subaltern status (Ekka 2000). The Bhoksa are struggling, from within and without, for being a tribe, an *anusuchit janjati*, an *adivasi*, terms coterminous with stigma. "Backwardness" is more general attribute -- the failure to conform to the "civilized" standards set by non-*adivasis* in matters of dress and deportment, lifestyle and aspirations. (Baviskar 2005). Economic and political subordination is buttressed by the ideology of caste pollution and purity. Unconverted *adivasis* face the social stigma of being considered "savage" and "backward" by dominant groups such as caste Hindus as well as by Muslims and Christians. This stigma facilitates the brutal, often sadistic, treatment meted out to *adivasis* by dominant groups (Baviskar 2003). The internalization of being a stigma has made the Bhoksa more vulnerable, and the development of such a self has a bearing on the children of the two communities. C. H. Cooley has well encapsulated the psyche of an individual in his conceptualization of the looking glass self which he articulates in the phrase, "I am not what I think I am and I am not what you think I am; I am what I think you think I am" (1902).

According to the Bhoksa children, the teachers in the school are partial towards the Rai Sikh and Punjabi children who are seldom scolded, unlike the

Bhoksa children, the latter being frequently subjected to corporal punishment for the same mistakes which the non Bhoksa children commit. They are reprimanded for being dirty, for coming without shoes, for not preparing their lessons and for frequent absenteeism. Initially the children shared less about their school life and I did not probe either. As days went by and as they found an empathetic listener in me, they opened up further. The parents of the Bhoksa children (most of the latter being the first generation learners) look at education as a luxury rather than as a necessity. Requiring more hands to work on the fields takes precedence over education. Government initiatives such as Anganwadi centres cater to informal preschool training of children and in increasing awareness about health. In my visits to the *Anganwadi* I observed that it was conspicuous with the absence of children. The lady who was the in-charge of the *Anganwadi*, informed that Bhoksa parents are not keen to send their children to the *Anganwadi* as they do not understand their importance in the grooming of a child. She said, "*Inme koi salika nahin hai. Ye gawaar aur beehad hain. Sarkar inke vikaas par paisa waste kar rahi hai. Inhe normal insaan banne mein hi sau saal lag jayenge*" (They [the Bhoksa] are without refinement, are rough and rude (beehad). Government is wasting its money in their uplift. It will take another hundred years for them to become normal human beings"). I could see the unbridled spite of the Anganwadi in-charge as she would talk about the Bhoksa, each time I met her. The parents of some children informed me that they do not like to send their children to Anganwadi as the children are not taught anything there and are rather made to sweep and mop the floor, wash utensils and run other errands for the in-charge.

I witnessed similar attitude in my interaction with other non Bhoksa, like the teachers and the local police. As I was finding my way to the local police check post at village Perumadara, two teen-aged Bhoksa boys volunteered to accompany me. In the course of explaining about the different cases that were booked under the Indian Penal Code, the police inspector, a Jat (a community predominantly from Punjab) gave vent to his disdain for the Bhoksa much to the embarrassment of the boys accompanying me who flashed sheepish grin. He said, "*Yeh log jungle hain. Daaru peekar padey rehte hain, phir kehte hain mera yeh chori ho gaya, meri ladki ko tang kiya....*" (These people are savages. They drink and keep lying idle. Then they say, my this thing got stolen, my daughter was harassed....) As he went on with his tirade, I hastily cut him short and changed the topic. As we were returning back to the village I determined that I would avoid the company of children when I would go to talk to the people related to my area of inquiry. I wanted to protect the children from any callous hate talk directed towards their community. Ethnographic research is a training and learning ground for the ethnographer. Writing ethnography seizes to be a concern of mind alone, but of heart or soul as well (Sahay 2010). The researchers need to 'uphold their social and ethical obligations by protecting children in the eventuality of physical, psychological or emotional threat' (Birbeck 2007:27).

In my interaction with teachers who were Sikh and Pahari (hailing from the hills) women, I was told by one, “*Yeh Bhoksa padna hi nahi chahatey. Yeh adivasi hain aur vahi rahenge. School mein inki attendance bahut kharab hai. Class mein jo padaya jaata hai, woh doosri jatiyon ke bacche aaram se samajh lete hain, par inhe kuch samajh nahi aata, aise hi baithe rehte hain. Sarkaar inhe suvidhayein de rahi hai par kya fayada?*” (*The Bhoksa just don't want to study. They are adivasis and will always remain one. They have poor attendance at school and cannot understand anything that is being taught, unlike children from other communities. Government gives them privileges but what's the use?*). “*Yeh bahut pichde hain, inke ajeeb riti rivaaz hain jo inke liye padaai se zyada zaroori hain*”. “*They are really backward, have strange customs and rituals which have a priority in their lives, but not education*”, said another. I observed that the label of a 'tribe' seemed to close all the doors for the Bhoksa to aspire and hope of a better future. '*Adivasis are associated with a certain stigma and behavior, which can be partially tackled through a change in mindset among non-tribals*' (Bagai and Nandi 2009:10)

I also interacted with the Rai Sikh and Punjabi families living in Peepalsana. While the Bhoksa spoke of their victimization, the Rai Sikh spoke of their hard work and their rationale behind the history of tension between the two communities. They said that the whole saga can be understood through one logic - whoever is more capable, hard working, shall stand to benefit. According to them, they had the permission of the Government to bring the fertile land of the Terai under the plough, a land which had not been put to best use by the Bhoksa. Given such a situation, their forefathers merely followed the Government orders. The non Bhoksa informed that they are legal citizens of the area. Their names are in the electoral/ voters list and they are ration card holders.

As I went deeper, I could see the shades of grey beyond the bipolar picture of black and white. As a researcher, a human being, I was enveloped by a plethora of emotions, which only brought more clarity to me regarding the actions I should take. Anthropology as a way of life and as an academic discipline has helped me to appreciate a broad humanistic perspective on cultures. ‘The anthropologist as witness is accountable for what she sees and for what she fails to see, how he acts and how he fails to act, in critical situations’ (Scheper-Hughes 2005). During fieldwork among the Bhoksa, I found their worldview to be dominated by a life encapsulated in survival rather than in 'surplus'. Having lived in almost isolation till the fourth decade of the twentieth century, the Bhoksa are still warming up to the idea of having the non Bhoksa as their neighbours and to the modern system of education and administrative machinery. For them, the transition from having lived in a state of partial isolation, to becoming a mainstream culture has been a gradual one. Further, their exposure to the non Bhoksa world was anything but a smooth and friendly process. Rather, it was shrouded with loss, fear and frustration.

As I proceeded with fieldwork, I felt a growing need of *standing up* for what I deemed to be human. I struggled to be able to succeed in coming across as a person who was doing research which propelled the need for *looking within* – a need for introspection and retrospection. My challenge was to have a dialogue based on my training in Anthropology that has taught me the respect for plurality of culture. Everything about my demeanor had to be subtle or else I could easily fall in the category of one taking sides or ‘championing’ a cause. The activist in me needed to be more wise than vociferous. I relied on dialogue as a way of sensitizing people. Rather than sounding didactic by telling the teachers, the police, and the officials from the Block office, “You should not demean the Bhoksa” or “it’s not proper to use abusive words for the tribals”, I chose to be less juvenile and more prudent in my discussions. The purpose was to make them see reason. I tried to connect with the teachers as one from their fraternity and draw home to them the need to be more patient and appreciative of the Bhoksa students. ‘To give encouragement is to impart assurance, hope and courage’ (Ikeda 2014) and ‘people tend to make even greater efforts when they are praised and encouraged (ibid :)

In my conversations with the non Bhoksa and by virtue of just being on the field, I understood that the Rai Sikhs and the Punjabis were always part of the mainstream. They are settled in the Terai, but are also comfortably linked to the mainland and frequently go to Delhi and Punjab where they have their kin and property. Being a part of sub stream (Bhoksa) and of mainstream (Rai Sikh, Punjabi and Pahari) has a strong bearing on the worldview of a people. Lack of this understanding propels ethnocentrism, intolerance and conceit. Against the backdrop of a history of large scale land alienation and lack of political will to educate the Bhoksa on alternate means of livelihood, the inner motivation of struggling for an education takes a back seat. The daily struggle to keep the body and the soul together takes priority over school. Despite free education, the environment in the village school lacks positive ambience and attitude. Being spanked in front of the Rai Sikh children is a perpetuation of humiliation and a reinforcement of the internalized identity of being a Bhoksa. The teachers informed me that they hail from the nearby towns of Ramnagar and Kashipur, which are approximately 20 kilometers away from Peepsalsana. In the rainy season, travel to this rural area becomes all the more difficult. They complained about the meager salary that they get and blamed the Government for ‘pampering’ the tribes by reserving seats for them in the fields of education and employment. I could sense that their angst for the system was getting manifested in their behaviour towards the Bhoksa children. I realized that the Government has tried to encourage the tribal children towards education but precious little has been done to educate the teachers and trainers belonging to other cultures in the culture and history of the tribes they deal with, in this case, the Bhoksa.

I wanted to protect the children and had to be very careful when cross checking information. England rightly mentions, “...fieldwork might actually

expose the researched to greater risk and might be more intrusive and potentially more exploitative than more traditional methods" (1994). In my conversations with the teachers and other school authorities I refrained from taking the names of the children and was careful of not giving the impression that the children had shared anything with me. In time spent with the Bhoksa children, I observed that they lived in their own world of affinity and distance - affinity with their games, with television, with home, with each other; and distance from school and from non Bhoksa children. In the journey of "opening up" I discovered that they are very talented. I could see a lot of talent in them. They shared their likes of music and dance with me and some of them could sing the folk songs as well as the latest Bollywood (as the Hindi film industry is popularly called) numbers with equal aplomb. They spoke about their favourite film stars, the game of cricket and I was pleasantly surprised to learn about their analytical and critical skills and how well they articulated those in their expression. They intently listened to me when I praised them uninhibitedly and encouraged them to polish their natural intelligence and potential through education. I realized that there was a dearth of morale boosting voices and felt that it is my 'duty' to be one of those. Dialogue is a potent medium to stir the still waters of fixed impressions. I made a conscious effort to increase my interaction with the non Bhoksa particularly the teachers. And I approached them with utmost humility. In a situation where all tensions and conflicts were attributed to the chasm between two sides - the Bhoksa and the non Bhoksa, I needed to come across as one who was talking for a cause rather than for a community, and the cause was the development of a more humanistic perspective and of appreciation for the relativity of cultures.

It would be naïve to conclude that all remains lost. In my talks with some Bhoksa youth I learnt of their aspirations to achieve higher education and take up Government jobs with the help of the incentives given by the Government. A sense of awakening, realization and mature understanding of their history came as a pleasant revelation to me. Although very few in number, they had reached the undergraduate level of education and would go to college at Kashipur (nearest town, about 20 kilometers from Peepalsana) (Ranjan 2008).

Conclusion

I had never planned to don the hats of a counselor, a friend and a confidante. As a young researcher, I had gone to the field to collect 'data' with no idea that I would go through a catharsis. I was clear that I need to understand the ground reality as objectively as possible with a mature insight of searching for the other shades and not get snared in the trappings of 'black' and 'white'. Yet fieldwork turns up as anything but as simplistic as above. The best of planning, clear cut agenda, time frame and hypotheses may go for a toss as one goes farther and deeper in the field. How an 'outsider' in us becomes an 'insider' to 'their' aspirations, frustrations or, in other words to their world view and how the struggle to maintain detached attachment continues – this becomes a case specific experience and it would be erroneous to generalize. What is

pertinent to highlight here is that a researcher studying a people needs to garner more sensitivity and prudence to empathize with a people at a human plane , much beyond the parochial understanding of the subject , the object, and data. The journey of fieldwork is all about recognizing and applying ethical considerations.

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