

## Re-thinking Heritage through Everyday Life: Exploring the Magic of Ancestral Adivasi Folk Songs

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### Abstract

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Everyday life, which encompasses the quotidian experiences of individuals, plays a crucial role in the dynamic process of heritage creation, evolution, and preservation. In addition to shaping cultural practices, everyday life can also influence the preservation and conservation of heritage, leading to the creation of new forms of heritage such as music genres, fashion styles, or artistic movements that emerge from everyday cultural expressions and over time, become part of a community's cultural heritage. Nidhi Dugar Kundalia's book *White as Milk and Rice: Stories of India's Isolated Tribes* deals with the ethnographic study of the oral narratives and adivasi history of the Halakki Vokkaliga tribe of north Karnataka, India. Nidhi brings the eco-feminist voice of the marginalized adivasi woman, Sukri, to the center stage to challenge the colonial and neo-liberal narrative of 'development' that has always harmed the adivasis - either by robbing them of their indigenous ancestral knowledge or by pushing them out of their lands for development's sake. Instead of treating the Halakkis only as a community or tribe, Nidhi's narrative employs 'focalisation' (theorized by Gérard Genette) to bring out an individual's life journey - from a tribal child Sukki to Padma Shri Sukri Bommagowda. My paper explores how the mundanity of quotidian adivasi life gets a transcendental touch with the inclusion of the ancestral folk songs which complement their everyday life experiences. Nidhi beautifully integrates the heritage of the Halakkis through everyday life experiences, such as, their escapades in the jungle, the role of men and women in their society, their deep bond with nature, problems of patriarchy and alcoholism, and most importantly, the significance of orally transmitted ancestral folk songs in the mundane life of the Halakkis.

**Keywords:** Folk Songs, Heritage, Adivasi, Ancestral, Quotidian, Culture

“What is arresting about Sukri’s usage of the lyrics is that there is no segregation between the everyday and the exotic.”

– Nidhi Dugar Kundalia, *White as Milk and Rice*

### 1. Re-thinking Heritage:

Heritage is a multifaceted construct that is not static, but rather a dynamic process that is continually evolving and changing over time. It is an amalgamation of tangible and intangible elements that are transmitted across generations, including physical artifacts, cultural practices, and beliefs (“Introducing heritage?”). The present discourse aims to elucidate the role of everyday life in shaping cultural heritage. Everyday life, which encompasses the quotidian experiences of individuals, plays a crucial role in the dynamic process of heritage creation, evolution, and preservation. Cultural practices, for instance, are malleable and subject to change over time as individuals adapt to novel circumstances and new influences. In addition to shaping cultural practices, everyday life can also influence the preservation and conservation of heritage, leading to the creation of new forms of heritage such as music genres, fashion styles, or artistic movements that emerge from everyday cultural expressions and over time, become part of a community’s cultural heritage.

The notion of heritage within academic discourse prompts discussions surrounding preservation. The rationale behind the imperative of preservation arises from the observation that certain entities or phenomena demand safeguarding due to their underutilization despite their inherent value. Consequently, they risk falling into neglect. Conversely, our perception of items or concepts that are regularly in *use* tends to be characterized by notions of banality and tedium. This cognitive disposition engenders a self-perpetuating cycle wherein we dismiss the ordinary elements in our surroundings, ceasing our interaction with them. Over time, as these elements approach the brink of extinction, we recognize the need to preserve them.

When it comes to re-thinking heritage, it becomes imperative to dismantle the demarcation between our conceptual understanding of ordinary and heritage. Within the domain of cultural and heritage studies, the ordinary occupies a marginalized position. It is crucial to integrate cultural elements into the fabric of everyday life, embracing their presence within common and ordinary contexts. Furthermore, the celebration of this shared commonality and ordinariness must become paramount. Beyond the mere conservation and safeguarding of historical artifacts, an essential aspect of heritage preservation involves fostering community engagement and instilling a sense of responsibility among the local inhabitants towards the development and safeguarding of their heritage. Initiatives aimed at enriching local heritage possess the potential to revitalize neglected regions and offer opportunities for individuals within the community to reassess, actively participate in, and reinterpret their cultural legacy. Such efforts

contribute to the cultivation of heightened pride and a stronger sense of belonging in the local vicinity, facilitated by increased participation and sheer enjoyment (“What is Heritage?”).

The celebration of the ordinary and commonplace aspects of mundane domestic life holds profound significance within Adivasi communities, revealing a fundamental characteristic of their cultural ethos. It is widely recognized that Adivasi artistic and creative traditions have organically merged with a holistic way of life, which has evolved over generations, rooted in an ecocentric worldview that perceives the interconnectedness of the human realm and the natural world as an inseparable continuum (Banerjee 16). Consequently, the comprehensive study of Adivasi culture assumes paramount importance, serving as a catalyst for reevaluating and reimagining heritage as an integral and intrinsic component of everyday existence.

## **2. Significance of Adivasi Life Experiences:**

The meaning of the word ‘culture’ can be interpreted in several ways. In the early 1950s, Alfred Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn, two American anthropologists, conducted a comprehensive analysis of the term ‘culture’ and its related concept ‘civilization’. Their review encompassed a wide range of literature, resulting in the identification of 164 distinct interpretations of the term ‘culture’ (Inglis 5). If we abide by the common presupposition that everyday life is banal, does it then contribute to the understanding of culture? The answer is an emphatic yes as everyday life contains within it more significance than we might think (Inglis 1-8). The nature of everyday life varies among individuals depending on their social position. To comprehend how particular individuals experience everyday life, it is necessary to understand how society is structured and organized. A comprehensive understanding of everyday life requires a sociological understanding of the social contexts in which people engage in their routine activities. Such an understanding aims to go beyond the perspectives and perceptions of individual persons to uncover the hidden aspects of social structure and organization.

Everyday life experiences are an integral part of culture and are shaped by cultural practices, values, and beliefs. They are also important in shaping culture, as people’s everyday experiences contribute to the shared meanings and practices of a culture. Georg Simmel claims, “even the most banal externalities of life” (413) are expressions of the wider social and cultural order. Everyday life experiences encompass a wide range of activities, such as eating, dressing, communicating, and socializing. These activities are influenced by the cultural norms, values, and expectations of a society. In addition, everyday life experiences are also influenced by the historical and social context in which people live. For example, people’s experiences of work, leisure, and family life are influenced by economic, political, and social factors, such as changes in

technology, globalization, and social inequality. These factors shape the opportunities and constraints that people face in their daily lives.

Understanding the cultural significance of everyday life experiences is important for several reasons. Firstly, it allows us to appreciate the diversity and complexity of human experience across cultures. Secondly, it helps us to understand how different cultures operate and to avoid misunderstandings and stereotypes. Lastly, it enables us to critically examine the cultural practices and values that shape our own lives and to consider alternative ways of living and being.

How can everyday experiences of ordinary Adivasi life help us know about Adivasi culture? G. N. Devy writes:

For several decades following Independence, ‘Adivasi’ was an anthropomorphic ‘type’ cast in sentiment and piety, or else dismissed as historical baggage worth leaving behind in India’s march to modernity and nationhood... Excessive pity and excessive contempt are both equally potent instruments of ‘othering’ people. (Xaxa and Devy xxii)

Thus, it is the need of the hour to see how the Adivasis want to show themselves rather than seeing what we want to see. Adivasi activist Abhay Flavian Xaxa (2011) in his poem “I Am Not Your Data” writes:

... I refuse, reject, resist your labels,  
your judgments, documents, definitions,  
your models, leaders and patrons,  
because they deny me my existence, my vision, my space.  
Your words, maps, figures, indicators,  
they all create illusions, and put you on a pedestal,  
from where you look down upon me.  
So I draw my own picture, and invent my own grammar,  
I make my own tools to fight my own battle,  
For me, my people, my world and my Adivasi self! (Xaxa and Devy vii)

One of the tools of “draw[ing] my own picture” (Xaxa and Devy vii) and “fight[ing] my own battle” (Xaxa and Devy vii) is the culturally rich life experiences of Adivasis.

The everyday experiences of Adivasi life can provide important insights into the culture and social practices of Adivasi communities. Adivasis are indigenous peoples who have historically inhabited various regions of India, and they have developed distinct cultural traditions and practices over time (Jairazbhoy 234). By examining the everyday experiences of Adivasi life, researchers can gain a deeper understanding of these cultural practices and their significance. For instance, the food Adivasis eat, the clothing they wear, the languages they speak, and their social interactions are all influenced by their cultural traditions and beliefs. By studying these everyday experiences, researchers can learn about the rituals, customs, and traditions that shape Adivasi culture.

Moreover, Adivasi communities have a unique relationship with the environment, and their everyday experiences often reflect this relationship. Adivasi cultures have deep ecological knowledge and a strong sense of environmental stewardship (Banerjee 16). By examining the daily practices of Adivasi life, researchers can gain insights into their ecological knowledge and the ways in which they have adapted to their local environments. Overall, studying the everyday experiences of Adivasi life provides researchers with a nuanced and contextualized understanding of Adivasi culture, which can contribute to the preservation and appreciation of this cultural heritage. Additionally, this approach can facilitate cross-cultural understanding and challenge the dominant narratives that marginalize indigenous communities.

### **3. Significance of Adivasi Folk Songs:**

The extensive range of musical traditions in India serves as a direct reflection of the country's diverse and fragmented population, characterized by variations in race, religion, language, and other cultural aspects. While the process of acculturation has gained momentum in modern times, its impact remains relatively limited in some regions across the country. Certain remote enclaves persist where tribal societies continue to maintain their traditional ways of life, largely unaffected by external influences. Although traces of cultural borrowing from more dominant civilizations may be discernible, these communities adeptly incorporate such elements into their own cultural fabric, thereby enriching their distinct identity.

The existing body of mainstream literature has exhibited a notable lack of inclusivity concerning the incorporation of oral traditions that persist within various cultures (Purohit 49). Indigenous communities, in particular, spontaneously generate their literary works in their native languages, which subsequently evolve into enduring traditions passed down intergenerationally. Folk literature, steeped in profound human experiences and emotions, flourishes among indigenous peoples due to their close relationship with the natural environment. Distinct from the progressive paradigm of human advancement, these communities' sustainable ways of life imbue them with perpetual vitality and novelty. However, the orality-bound nature of these cultural artifacts renders them vulnerable to endangerment (Purohit 49-55). These folk songs, created by anonymous and largely illiterate artists and performers, embody the simplicity and sublimity inherent in human consciousness:

[Adivasis] create a considerable variety of music, some of it tonally quite simple and involving only two or three notes, and some using as much as a full octave, usually pentatonic. Most of their music is monophonic, with the exception of the tribes in Manipur, Assam, where a simple form of polyphony is quite common... A variety of instruments is used: some tribes have perhaps no more than a drum, while others have quite a number, including some in each of the four major categories-

chordophones, aerophones, membranophones, and idiophones.  
(Jairazbhoy)

Songs within a tribal society predominantly serve functional purposes and frequently hold the sacred significance akin to ceremonial rites. This is evident, for instance, in the songs that accompany various life-cycle events such as birth, initiation, marriage, and death. Likewise, agricultural songs performed during activities like field burning, land preparation, planting, transplanting, and harvesting possess ritualistic elements. These rituals are conducted with meticulous attention to formalities, as there exists a genuine apprehension that the harvest may not yield favorable results unless due care is devoted to these prescribed practices. Among these tribes, songs are employed as acts of propitiation to their deities, aiming to secure success in their endeavors, as well as expressions of gratitude upon a successful hunt. In times of adversity, such as disease, drought, or food scarcity, tribal shamans are often invoked, utilizing their repertoire of songs to address the challenges at hand (Jairazbhoy 212-242). However, the repertoire of songs within most tribal communities encompasses a range of secular themes, including greeting songs, lullabies, songs of love and courtship, ballads, and humorous compositions. During specific festivals and celebratory events, tribal members engage in dance and song purely for the sake of joyous expression. It is on such occasions that one may encounter songs narrating ancestral lineage and the tribe's origin, highlighting their cultural heritage.

In recent times, there has been a notable trend of extracting Adivasi songs from their indigenous context under the pretext of preserving them as cultural heritage. Unfortunately, this has resulted in significant harm to both the performers and the essence of the performances themselves, primarily due to misguided attempts to experiment with Adivasi music. Complicating matters further is the urban audience feeling reluctant to engage with aesthetic expressions that deviate from their accustomed norms. Consequently, Adivasi musical traditions often fail to be appreciated on their own terms; they are either forced to mimic popular film music or are preserved as mere relics of a bygone era, devoid of their original significance. Jayasri Banerjee opines:

The political exigencies of nineteenth century India needed the investiture of our raga sangeet with the epithet 'classical', which insulated it against mindless intervention. But 'marginal music' of people such as the Adivasis of Jungle Mahal, has not enjoyed the same status. So, this music is victim of the 'dominant' culture, including the state, which seeks to 'civilise' by imposing 'regimented change' on these traditions. (Banerjee 16)

The concept of "regimented change" (Banerjee 16) in music refers to a contrived form of alteration imposed from above, disregarding the inherent logic of a musical tradition, solely to cater to the tastes and market demands of the urban

middle class. Romanticizing the Adivasis' authentic, holistic, and eco-centric way of life inevitably perpetuates the risk of reducing their entire culture to mere artifacts preserved in a museum-like state. In order to genuinely conserve Adivasi music and dance traditions as vibrant and evolving expressions, it is imperative to refrain from treating them as detached and context-free art forms. It will be possible, then, that "the Adivasi musical tradition, like 'classical' music today, will be able to save itself by setting its own terms and dictating its own aesthetic norms" (Banerjee 17).

#### **4. Halakki Vokkaliga - the "Singing Tribe of India":**

Nidhi Dugar Kundalia's book, *White as Milk and Rice: Stories of India's Isolated Tribes*, presents an ethnographic study of the Halakki Vokkaliga tribe in north Karnataka, India. The book focuses on the oral narratives and adivasi history of the tribe, and highlights the voice of a marginalized adivasi woman, Sukri, from an eco-feminist perspective. The question of self-representation is mitigated by Nidhi's awareness of her non-tribal background which endows her a position of allyship. It makes her a "good listener" (Kundalia xiv) of not only their "feelings" (Kundalia xiv) but also their "silences" (Kundalia xiv) as G. N. Devy claims: "... the silence of Adivasis is not the absence of voice but rather a powerful statement which we have not yet begun grasping" (Xaxa and Devy xxiv).

The Halakki Vokkaliga tribe is an ethnic group residing in the Uttara Kannada district of Karnataka, India. They are primarily an agrarian community, with their traditional occupation being farming and hunting (Kundalia 20). They have a rich cultural heritage, with a vibrant tradition of folk music and dance. They are called the "singing tribe of India" (Prabha 269) for their unique singing style called "Halakki Haadu" (Prabha 269), which is characterized by high pitch, fast pace, complex rhythms, and intricate melodies. They have their own distinct cultural practices, which are an integral part of their identity.

Ancestral songs hold a prominent role within the Halakki tribe, serving as integral components of their cultural existence. These songs are intricately associated with diverse occasions, and the intergenerational transmission of this oral heritage represents a significant aspect of their enduring traditions, persisting across centuries and multiple generations. Whether in the context of daily labour, festive observances, propitious events, cultural festivities, or communal gatherings aimed at emotional expression, the Halakki tribe possesses a rich repertoire of songs tailored to suit each occasion, and conversely, each occasion is accompanied by an appropriate song (Kundalia 207).

Over the years, there have been efforts to preserve and promote the cultural heritage of the Halakki Vokkaligas. Various organizations have been set up to promote Halakki Haadu and other aspects of the community's culture particularly in the face of modernization and urbanization (Nandimath & Hiremath). In recent times [especially after Sukri Bommagowda was awarded Padma Shri], there has been increased interest in the Halakki Vokkaliga community's culture, and

several festivals and cultural events have been organized to showcase their unique traditions and practices. These events have played a crucial role in raising awareness about the Halakki Vokkaligas and their cultural heritage.

Sukri Bommagowda is a folk singer from the Halakki tribe. She is known as the “nightingale of the Halakki tribe” (Hebbar & Singh) for her beautiful voice and talent in singing traditional folk songs of the region. Sukri’s music is said to reflect the culture and traditions of the Halakki tribe, which has a unique language and way of life. She is known for preserving and promoting the Halakki culture through her music, which has gained recognition both within and outside her tribe. She has performed at various cultural events and festivals, including the Hampi Utsav and the Dasara Festival. Sukri’s melodious voice has rendered her the recipient of several awards. In 1988, she received an award from the Karnataka government for preserving the culture of the Aboriginal Tribes. She won the Janapada Shri Award in 1999 and the Naduja Award in 2006. She also won the Sandesha Arts Award, the Alva Nudisiri Award in 2009 (“Unsung Hero”). Her work gained national recognition in 2017 as soon as she was awarded the Padma Shri, one of India’s highest civilian honours, for her contributions to the expansion and preservation of Halakki heritage.

##### **5. Everyday Life of Sukri & the Magic of Music:**

Sukri’s life story narrated by Nidhi in *White as Milk and Rice* challenges the colonial and neo-liberal narrative of development, which has historically harmed the adivasis by depriving them of their ancestral knowledge and pushing them out of their lands for development purposes. Rather than treating the Halakkis as a community or tribe, Nidhi employs focalization to bring out an individual’s life journey, from a tribal child Sukri to Padma Shri Sukri Bommagowda. The chapter “The Halakkis of Ankola” integrates various aspects of the Halakkis’ life, including their origin story, dialects, jungle escapades, gender roles, bond with nature, problems of patriarchy and alcoholism, and the importance of orally transmitted ancestral tribal songs in their everyday life experiences. Now, I am going to discuss how the inclusion of ancestral adivasi songs complements the Halakkis’ everyday life experiences, adding a transcendental touch to their otherwise mundane quotidian existence.

In the Halakki tribe, the daily routine of women commences with the collection of forest resources in the morning, followed by agricultural activities during the afternoon and the subsequent vending of their produce at local markets in the evening. When their exhausting day comes to an end, they engage in culinary preparations, domestic chores, and the care of the cattle and their children (Kundalia 9). Throughout their work, it is common for individuals to spontaneously initiate a melodious hum, often stemming from habit. As the resonance fills the air, others join in harmonious unison, creating a collective hum that accompanies their mundane labour:

They sing so often that they don't realize they are doing it. They sing when they are content, when they are anxious, when they are sad; many songs in the same tune, with no formal knowledge of music. (Kundalia 6)

Never were the Halakki's *janapada* or folk songs accompanied by instruments: "They were always sung by women in groups of three or four, Sukri sensed early on" (Kundalia 9).

The *janapadas* possessed their unique interpretations of the epics: the *Mahabharata* was referred to as *Pandavakami*, and the *Ramayana* was known as *Seethakami*. According to the songs sung by Sukri, these folk renditions diverge from the mainstream narrative. In this alternative version, "it was not Ram but Lakshman who won Seetha. Lakshman did not break any magical bow to win Seetha; he killed a crow that interrupted her father King Janak's meditation" (Kundalia 10). During the Suggi festival, Sukri occasionally dedicates entire nights to singing these songs. She acknowledges that, in contrast to other versions, the Halakkis attribute a central role to Seetha, transforming the epic into her tale of love and struggle. These songs eloquently express Seetha's profound affinity for trees, animals, and forests, employing oracular language to depict a sequence of arduous and painful circumstances throughout her life. As Sukri performs these songs, sometimes becoming emotionally overwhelmed by potent imagery, she momentarily loses sight of the fact that these songs narrate Seetha's experiences, not her own (Kundalia 10). These observations highlight the perspective of the Adivasis, for whom the characters of the epics are not distant and extraordinary deities, but rather relatable individuals who exhibit human-like qualities. These characters face personal challenges, grapple with difficulties, and demonstrate heroism through their unwavering determination.

As previously discussed, the Adivasi songs find their origins in the ordinary and mundane aspects of their daily existence. Nevertheless, through the manner in which they are sung and commemorated within the Adivasi community these songs acquire captivating transcendence. Nidhi's "The Halakkis of Ankola", provides plentiful illustrations of such songs, showcasing their remarkable ability to evoke a sense of enchantment and wonder. One such example is "*Channa edige mette chenche tumbe*" (Kundalia 6). The song illustrates the story of a group of women who are sailing on a boat and the sun is above it. Nidhi writes:

... these women of the Konkan coast, who always carry *chenche* - a bag that holds their favourite pastime of betel leaves and areca nuts, chewed between those hours of work. The bag is also used to hide money or precious objects like a small piece of gold. The women continue singing about the valuable *chenche* bag, which suddenly slips into the water. The disheartened women of the song beg the boatman to dive in and find it. This bag is so precious that, in return, a woman promises him a *kalungra*, her silver toe ring, her sign of marriage. (Kundalia 7)

Upon Sukri's return to her home following her marriage, a gathering of women from the neighborhood encircled her, initiating a repertoire of ceremonial farewell songs. Over time, these songs took on a playful tone, transitioning into mischievous jingles that humorously ridiculed an eager husband anxiously awaiting his wife's arrival on their first night together. Subsequently, the lyrics playfully shifted focus, directing satirical commentary towards the in-laws, notably the mother-in-law. The song "*Neerige chepuna chepana...*" (Kundalia 9), literally translated as "We went to the in-laws' place... and they did not offer us any jaggery" (Kundalia 9). Nidhi explains:

Halakkis usually drink water with a small piece of jaggery to quench their thirst; this drink is offered to guests too. Special occasions call for a concoction of powdered ragi, lentils and sesame served with jaggery. (9)

This song exemplifies how a ceremonial adivasi song can reveal so much about their everyday life, food habits, traditions and so on.

These adivasi songs serve a dual purpose, not only as a cultural expression but also as a means of resistance against systemic oppression. The Halakki community faced a significant challenge when hunting for sustenance was prohibited due to the implementation of the Indian Wildlife Act of 1972, resulting in the loss of two vital livelihoods: hunting and slash-and-burn agriculture. Consequently, they resorted to engaging in daily wage labour for landlords and individuals of higher caste status (Kundalia 17-18). During panchayat meetings, Halakki farmers voiced their concerns regarding diminished crop yields resulting from the utilization of old seeds, further lamenting their limited share in the produce they cultivated. Following such meetings, Sukri would often find solace under a tree, initiating a soft humming of a song. Gradually, other women would join in, creating a collective expression of shared hardship and resilience:

*Odadeeru bandare koduvare toongula.*

*Odedeeru alla badavaru.*

*Bandare biduvaru maneya herikunni.*

(When the landlord comes, they give him toongula, or paan.

But the landlords are not poor.

When the poor come, they chase them away with dogs. (Kundalia 21)

Early morning forest escapades to collect the firewood, wild crop manure and cane are an everyday ritual for Halakki women. During one of such forest escapades, Sita, an adolescent Halakki girl, begins to sing "*Chanda da matgai...*" (Kundalia 13) which "speak[s] of the abundant sahyadri forest, tying the firewood obtained from it and taking it back home" (Kundalia 13). Listening to this song, Sukri smiles in her mind wondering: "When did this song, which her mother composed when they went to the forest, pass on? How did it last so far from the place of her mother's birth?" (Kundalia 13). Sukri's mother, Devi, did not want the songs to reach non-Halakkis, "keeping her ancestral songs locked inside her ribcage. She'd rather let them die than have them parodied" (Kundalia

15). Remembering all these Sukri wonders “Why did they all know the chorus to these songs?” (Kundalia 16) and how did they inherit “these songs orally, rather than in written form?” (Kundalia 16). Nidhi comments:

Often, the meaning of the colloquial, ancient word escapes them, but they sing it for the sorority – songs that bind them together through their hardships, but songs Sukri associates only with happiness, with festivals, forests, family, weddings, weeding, working on paddy fields. (16)

## 6. Conclusion:

With the help of H.C. Boralingaiah, a folk expert and former vice chancellor of Kannada University at Hampi, Sukri and her ancestral folk songs got public recognition as she recorded songs at Dharwad radio station Akashvani Kendra (Kundalia 26-27). She sang:

... endangered indigenous songs that narrate life, songs that talk of sexual relationships... fantasies of men stroking their wives with flowers that grow in a lake near Tirupati, sexual imagery of the woman... and then their natural surroundings, the water they drink, forests, fields, rocks and the animals they have as playmates. (Kundalia 27)

The Halakki community displays a remarkable openness in expressing their sexual desires, treating topics such as breasts and homes with a similar fervour as they would address complex emotions. This uninhibited approach contrasts with the Western inclination towards meticulousness or reserved vigilance, reflecting the Halakkis’ unrestrained enthusiasm and uninhibited manner of communication.

The story of Sukri Bommagowda is particularly interesting and exemplary in the context of re-thinking heritage because of two reasons: firstly, she keeps the tradition of ancestral songs alive through performances; secondly, she challenges the concept of “regimented change” (Banerjee 16) by not catering to the taste of so called sophisticated urban middle class.

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