Report of the Study on the Claims of Nayakas/ Naikpodu Community Residing in West Godavari and Krishna Districts of Andhra Pradesh and Khammam District of Telangana state for Continuation of ST Status to them

By

Prof. A.B.S.V. Ranga Rao

Department of Social Work Andhra University, Visakhapatnam

Report Submitted to Tribal Cultural Research & Training Institute (TCR&TI) Department of Tribal Welfare, Government of Andhra Pradesh Report of the Study on the Claims of Nayakas/ Naikpodu Community Residing in West Godavari and Krishna Districts of Andhra Pradesh and Khammam District of Telangana state for Continuation of ST Status to them

By

Prof. A.B.S.V. Ranga Rao

Department of Social Work Andhra University, Visakhapatnam

Research Team

Dr. Mutluri Abraham Ms. Varudu Kamala Mr. Dakarapu Saroja Babu Mr. Lakkoju Simhachalam

Acknowledgements

I place it on record my deep sense of gratitude to the former Director of Tribal Welfare, Government of Andhra Pradesh, Dr. M. Padma I.A.S., for assigning me this project. I am also grateful to the present Director Sri. Gandham Chandrudu I.A.S., for his cooperation. My sincere thanks are to Smt. Mandha Rani, Deputy Director (TCR&TI) who is instrumental in assigning the study to me.

I thank Andhra Pradesh Adivasi Naikpodu Seva Sangham representatvies, Sri. Kasina Lakshmi Narayana, Sri. Appireddi Nagu and Sri. Ravula Satyanarayana for their continuous support to me in the collection of data in West Godavari, Krishna and Khammam Districts of Andhra Pradesh and Telangana. I profusely thank Prof. P.D.Satya Paul Kumar for providing me lot of insights and suggestions which helped me to complete ethnographical study of the Nayak Community. I also thank Prof. G. Subhramanayam for his cooperation and guidance during the course of the study.

I am thankful to Dakarapu Saroja Babu, Allamaraju Sree Rama Chandra Murthy for helping me in the collection of data for this study. I also thank Varudu Kamala and Dr. Mutluri Abraham in organizing the data and preparation of the report for this study. I am also thankful to Dr. Pentakota Kishore Kumar for helping me in all the studies. I undertook. This study would have not been possible without the cooperation and support of Naikpodu community people. I am grateful and thankful to all of them.

Prof. A.B.S.V. RANGA RAO

Department of Social Work Andhra University Visakhapatnam

Contents

Executive summary

Chapter 1	Research Methodology
Chapter 2	Ethnographic Profile of the Nayakas
Chapter 3	Socio-economic profile of the Nayakas
Chapter 4	Findings of the Focus Group Discussions
Chapter 5	Scheduling a Community as a Tribe and the Case of Nayaks West Godavari and Krishna Districts of Andhra Pradesh
Annexure	Marital Relations of Naikpodu Community Photos of Naikpodu Community

Executive Summary of the findings of the study:

First ever notification of the Scheduled Tribes was issued during the year 1950 by the Hon'ble President of India under article 342 (1). In this notification Nayakpodu was listed as serial no: 4 and this was appilicable to the state of Hyderabad. In 1956 Nayaks in the agency tracts was listed in ST list category through amendement to the SCs and STs orders (Amendament) Act, 1956 (25th Sept. 1956) with area restriction. In the same amendement Nayakpodu was included [S.No.3 (3)] in the districts of (Hyderabad, Mahabubnagar, Adilabad, Nijamabad, Medak, Karimnagar, Warangal, Khammam and Nalgonda) along with Gond (including Naikpod and Rajgond) in 29th October 1956 with area restriction.

In 1976 the list of STs was amended through SC, ST (Amendament act 1976) (18th September 1976) and by this amendament area restriction of Andhra and Telangana districts was removed for the Nayakpod communities. Thus Gond, Nayakpod, Rajagond communities were declared as Scheduled Tribes throughout the state of Andhra Pradesh. The Government of Andhra Pradesh in the G.O 245 dated 30th June 1977 issued guidelines and clarifications with regard to the any doubt arising out of confusion in the names of communities which are very similar. In annexure II serial number 19 it has been mentioned that Nayakapodu has synonyms castes like Nayak, Pandava Nayakulu, and Padma Nayakulu. They are one and the same. Based on the G.O 245 Nayaks residing in non-Agency areas have also been getting ST status based on the guidelines mentioned in serial number 19 of the guidelines of the G.O No. 245 and they continued enjoying ST status till 2014. In 2014 Joint Collector Dr. T.Baburaonaidu of West Godavari District sought clarification with regard to the status of Nayakpodu community people living in the agency areas of West Godavari district and the tribal welfare department conducted an ethnographic study on the claims of Nayak community for being considered as ST status. The study found that they do not belong to Nayakpodu tribe but Nayak community and they being the residents of plain areas they are not entitled to get ST community certificates. In pursuance of the study the compitant authorities stopped issuance of ST certificates to the people of Nayakulu or Nayaks claiming as Nayakpodu from Chintalapudi and T.Narsapuram mandal Vissannapeta and Chatarai mandal of Krishna District.

Nayaks/ Naikpodu community of West Godavari and Krishna Districts have submitted a number of representations to the authorities to restore the ST status to them. Against this background the study has been given to Andhra University to conduct an ethnographic study of the Nayakulu or Nayakpodu community living in the West Godavari and Krishna Districts. The study was undertaken in the months of July 2017 and report was submitted to the Tribal Welfare Department in January, 2018 and the Department requested the University to restudy taking into consideration the land records, Birth and death records and school admisions records.

The Documentary evidence like school admission records, Revenue records show that the community is written as "Nayak/Nayakulu" before 1976. After 1976 in the school admission records and revenue records they have been mentioned as Nayak with ST in the brackets and in some records they have been written as Naikpod. As per the SCs and STs (Modification) order 1956 the Nayak tribe was restricted to agency areas only. The community under study being the residents of non-agency area they are not tribes. The findings of ethnographic and socio-economic study (Which have been mentioned in second and third chapter) show that the Nayak community satisfies the criteria specified by the Lokur committee to be eligible for inclusion in ST list.

The study recommends removal of area restriction for Nayak communities as it was done in the case of Gond, Naikpod and Rajgond in 1976 through SCs and STs Amendement Act 1976.

The case of Nayak community living in West Godavari and Krishna Districts for the status of ST was examined based on the ethnographic profile of Nayaks of plain area living adjacent to the agency areas and Nayaks of agency areas and Nayakpod community in Khammam district. All these three communities have similarities in their culture, political organization, Social organization, practice of tribe/caste endogamy and religious practices. The fact that the three communities are similar and synonyms have been endorsed or acknowledged by the guidelines issued in annecure II of the G.O.No:245 of 1977 and in item no. 19 it has been clearly mentioned that Naikpod, Nayak, Pandava Nayakulu and Padma Nayakulu are one and the same. Based on these guidelines the present community is eligible to enjoy the benefits of ST status.

Chapter I

Research Methodology

Context of the study

The present ethnographic study on Nayak/Naikpodu community living in West Godavari, Krishna districts of Andhra Pradesh and Khammam District of Telangana has been undertaken in the background of discontinuance of ST status to the Nayak community.

Available literature on Nayak/Naikpodu in the form of books, research articles, reports and representations have been reviewed. Some of the important references that formed the basis of the study are castes and tribes of southern India by Thurston (1909) and published articles on Nayak/Naikpodu by Dr. K. Mohanrao and Dr. Pratap. These provide insights into the cultural aspects of the community. Representations of Nayaks community resisting the discontinuance of ST status to them have been studied. With this backdrop a holistic ethnographic study has been conducted encompassing the following aspects.

The cultural aspects of Nayaks, the social organization and the social institutions like family, marriage, economic and political organization and religion with an emphasis on non-material aspects of culture such as their myths of origin, social norms, values, life cycle rituals and symbols were studied. The position of Nayakas in multi-caste villages, social hierarchy, and nature of their integration and assessment of socio-economic conditions of the community were analyzed.

Objectives of the study

The following are the objectives of the study:

- To study the ethnographic aspects of Nayak/ Naikpodu community of West Godavari and Krishna Districts and the adjoining district of Khammam in Telangana state
- To analyze present socio-economic situations based on the findings of Focus Group Discussions
- iii) To assess their claims for ST status in terms of Lokur Committee criteria.

Methodology

The study has been conducted in 18 villages of West Godavari, Krishna Districts of Andhra Pradesh and Khammam District of Telangana state. Qualitative methods of data collection like Focus Group Discussions with the community were employed to collect data for the study. The data was collected in the month of July. For conducting Focus Group Discussion a check list has been prepared covering different themes related to culture, socio-economic, political and religious organizations of the community. Conventional anthropological methods like observation were also applied for the collection of data. Interviewing the key informants, Mandal Revenue Officers, Religious leaders and others were contacted to have a holistic picture about the community.

The report

The report is organized into 5parts. The first part gives brief introduction about the background or context of the study, objectives and research methodology. The second part deals with an ethnographic account of the Nayak/ Naikpodu. The third chapter presents the socio-economic profile of the Nayaks. The four chapters presents the findings of the Focus Group Discussions conducted in 18 hamlets of the Naikpodu community. The last chapter presents the evaluation of the claims of Nayaks for ST status or continuance of ST status to them.

Chapter – II

Ethnographic Profile of the Nayakas

Origin myths of Nayak community

According to them Pandavas during Aranyakhanda lived in this part of the country. The generic word Nayak means 'leader' but the suffix is corruption of wad/pod means that person. Some anthropologists believed Naikpodu in the past were resorting to podu cultivation (shifting cultivation) and they were labled as Naikpodu (K. Mohan Rao). The community conducts Budevar Ata in which the community people wear the masks of Pandavas and visits the Naikpodu villages and explains the history/mythology of Pandavas.

Population

Although no official compilation of the total population of the Nayaks is available, discussion with the leaders of the community has revealed that their strength is around 70000.

Language

The Nayakas of West Godavari and Krishna district speak Telugu and they do not have any separate dialect of their own.

Physical appearance

Nayakas appear to belong to Dravidian racial stock and predominantly their skin colour is dark brown. They do not grow moustache and their hair do not become white even after attaining 80 years of age. The features of the community are curly hair (Zirrajuttu) and sizes of noses are big which they call Zirramukku.

Dress and ornaments

Men

The traditional dress of Naikpodu men is Lungi/panche of knee length converted into a Gochi to cover the lower part of the body. Usually the men do not cover their upper part of the body and leave it bare. At present men wear shorts or Nickers and shirts. Men wear kadiyam "kante" made with brass to their neck. Earlier they used to grow long hair and tied it.

Women

The Nayak women wear sarees and blouse called Ravikalu. Kudipayata is very common among Nayak women. At present some villagers reported that girls wear yedama paita and young girls wear Voni parikini. Women wear ornaments called Kammalu, Mukkupudaka (Nose stud) which are made of gold. Married women wear Thali or Pusthelu (double or two in number) made of gold and Toe rings (mettelu) made of silver. Women comb their hair and plait it (Jada). The women of Marumanuvu wear a single Thali.

Food habits

Earlier their food habits were Dumpalu (roots) which they used to collect from forest. Later the Ambali which is made with ragi became the traditional and staple food of Nayaks. The millets like Ragi, Jowar and Korra constitute their staple food. At present they eat rice apart from their traditional food items. Nayakas eat pork and this practice is continuing. During festivals, marriages, during Tatakulapelli (legalizing or according social sanction to the marriage by elopement) they invariably consume pig meat. They also consume seasonally available fruits, roots, tubers and leaves. The Nayaks still collect different fruits, nuts and tubers from the adjoining forest. They collect artichoke (adavi dumpalu) like matika dumpa, yeliveru dumpa, chenna gadda and collect Wild greens (adavi aaku kuralu) like Devadari leafs, Nelli leafs, Nageti salu leafs, Chenchala leafs, kodijitti leafs, Guruggura leafs, Tamarind leaf. They also collect Honey from forest karri tene (karri honey), putta tene, tonnithene, tera, masara tene etc. They collect Fruits that includes Nekari pallu (Nekari fruits), Alli pallu (Alli fruits), Goligi pallu, Dudadutha kayalu, chilaka duddi pallu, pulla chintakayalu (It is different from regular tamarind), Balusu kayalu, and parikkayalu.

Once hunting was their traditional occupation. At present occasionally they participate in small hunting in which they catch hearse, tortoises, lizards, wild boars and sheep. The men drink alcohol beverages like Sara (Arrack) and Kallu (Toddy) and Gudumba. It was also reported that women also take alcohol. Rituals and festivals are the occasions for consumption of alcoholic beverages among them. Naikpodus are Non-vegetarians and they eat all types of meat except beef. They are fond of eating the meat of Monitor Lizard ("Aalaga" or Vudumu).

Housing

The traditional house types of Naikpodu are known as Gudiselu (huts) and Purillu (Thatched houses). The hut type of house is small and untidy and the thatched house is bigger than hut and has mud walls. The houses have one room partitioned into two halves. The interior portion is used for cooking and the other used for storing food grains. There are big and small pots for storing food grains called "Gadhelu". During commencement of construction of housing or after completion of the house no ceremonies are observed by them. Majority of the households have houses constructed under the Government scheme of "Indiramma Illu".

Utensils

In the past Nayaks used earth ware for cooking, eating, storing water, seeds and grains and also for other domestic and farming purposes. Now the usage of earthen

ware is enormously reduced due to availability of metal and allumenium vessels. At present they are using the aluminum, stainless steel, copper and plastic utensils for various purposes. They used to eat in the vessel / plate called "Mukudu".

Nayaks sub-divisions

Nayak or Nayaks is one community which has no sub-groups among them. In the worship of deities there are divisions. The sub groups which worship Chinakorrajulu do not celebrate the festival of Peddammathalli (Wife of Peddakorrajulu). In the observance of passage rites there are also two sub-groups, one sub group is called "Samathana Matham". They don't follow or observe the fasting before offering food (pindam) to the dead. The other group is called "Pitta matham". They don't eat food unless and until the pindam is eaten by crow or pitta (bird).

The community has a common gotra called "Nalyala" gotram. At the time of marriage the Hindu Brahmin priest requests one of the parties to the marriage (either bride or bridegroom) to call themselves belonging to another gotra which is different from Nalyala. He tries to impose a gotra exogamy which caste Hindus follow in marriage. The other gotra which the priest gives to the community is 'Sigapatla' gotram which is called by different names like Vepakaya gotram or Palakaya gotram. They are divided by different surnames. They strictly follow surname exogamy and caste endogamy. Marital relations exist among the Naikpodu community living agency area and Telangana state also. The empirical evidence reveals that certain common surnames are found among the Nayaks of West Godavari and Krishna districts and Khammam district of Telangana state. The genealogical data on Nayakas revealed that, the kin network is extended beyond their district and other districts of the state and neighboring state of Telangana. The Nayak have established symbiotic relations with local caste ethnic communities and are integrated into Hindu caste system while occupying low socio-economic status.

They feel they are treated very low by the dominant peasant castes. They also follow caste hierarchy.

Totems and taboos

The following table lists out some taboos followed by the Nayakas.

S.No	Taboos		
1	Widow, sneeze		
2	Bath after dinner is prohibited		
3	Bath after haircut and shaving is compulsory. Tuesday shaving is prohibited		
4	Nail removal on Tuesday and at nights is prohibited		
5	Broom stick in front of house to ward off evil spirits.		
6	Cremation not be performed on Sunday, Tuesday and Friday. If it happened they take chick or egg with the dead body.		
7	Vepa manu should not be used for gadapa		
8	Should not sit or sneeze on Gadapa		

Health and hygiene

This community is affected with various kinds of health problems and incidence of malnutrition, morbidity and mortality are relatively high. Poverty and addiction to liquor and tobacco resulted in high mortality rates among males.

Lifecycle Ceremonies

Birth rites

In the case of first delivery the expectant mother is taken to her natal house. After hearing the news of conception the pregnant women is taken to the natal house during third month or in 5th month and for the delivery the women is taken to her natal home in the 7th month. Those who can afford '*Simantham*' organise the *simantham* ceremony. The subsequent deliveries take place in their own home. Certain food taboos are observed during the period of pregnancy. Consumption of Papaya is prohibited. Usually the delivery is done by the "*Mantrasani*" (Dayi) and in case of complications she gives some herbal medicines. After birth of the child both mother and the new born are kept in a separate place and their touch is prohibited and mother and baby are given purification bath on 11th day after delivery. The entire women folk of the village participate in this purification bath by contributing one pot of water and all the water contributed by the village folk is heated with neem leaves and turmeric powder. This ritual is called "*Kundalantinchatam*"). Institutional deliveries are rare.

Naming ceremony of the child

Earlier the naming was done by the Dayi (*mantrasani*), now the Brahmin priest is consulted in selecting the names. Earlier the names of village deities or ancestors were given to the new born. Now naming is based on time of the birth and the star at the time of birth.

Tonsure ceremony

Tonsure ceremony is observed to both male and female children and it is performed on 6th day after completion of 6th month. It is performed in any temple of village deity. Maternal uncle attends the ceremony and in his lap the child is made to sit and the Barber cuts the hair. Same day "*Anna Prasan*" is also performed.

Puberty rites

The rite is observed when the girl attains the first menarche. The attainment of puberty is an occasion for celebration among the Nayaks. She is seated on a mat made with palm leaves and is not allowed to move freely. Others do not touch her, she is given ritual bath on 5th day and a feast is thrown to the community people on the 11th day. Pollution (*maila*) is observed for 5days and all the belongings (Dress, utensils she uses during the pollution period) of the girl at the time of her first monarchy are given to the washer men. The mat is burnt.

Marriage

Marriage by negotiation is dominant form of marriage among Nayaks. They follow caste/ tribe endogamy and surname exogamy; cross-cousin marriages are permitted. Marriage with maternal uncle is also followed. The traditional marriage used to be for 5 days which is called *Hariveni Pelli* or 3 day marriage is known as *Patam Pelli*. Now the marriages are one day affair. The bridegroom's family throws a feast which is known as *"Venkateswara Swamy Banthi"* to the villagers before they go for the bride's house for engagement ceremony. The engagement ceremony is performed in the house of Bride and it is officiated by *Peddakapu*.

The marriage ceremony is officiated by the Brahmin Priest /Ayyagaru or *Pantulugaru*. The marriage rituals include tying of *Thali, Jeelakarra bellam, Talambralu* and *Mettelu*. The indications of married women are Thali and Mettelu. Marriage is performed at the bridegroom's home. In the case of 5 day marriage 12 new pots are tied with turmeric roots which are considered images of their ancestors. The couple who is going to marry worships the pots before they come to the main venue of marriage. The parents of the bride host a feast called "*Yarnallu*

Banthi" in their village before taking the newly married couple to their house from the bridegroom's house. The difference between *Hariveni Pelli* (5day marriage) and *Patam pelli* (3day marriage) is Pots Puja (Worship of pots). In 5 day marriage the newly married couple commutes 5times between their natal house and in-laws house and in the case of 3 day marriage it is 3 times.

Other forms of marriage are also in vogue. Marriage by elopement is the other form of marriage which is practised by the community people. This type of marriage is considered as deviance or Tappu. The marriage by elopement is accepted by imposing a fine of Rs. 7500 on the erring parties and *Tatakula Pelli* is performed for the eloped couple by the *Peddakapu*. This *Thatakula Chappudu Pelli* or *Marumanuvu* is performed to the eloped couple to accord social acceptance to the couple who deviated from the practice of marriage by negotiation. This marriage is performed by Peddakapu. No *Nadaswaram* (This is a south Indian form of the Shehnai, playing of this instrument on auspicious occasion like marriages, naming ceremonies, house warming ceremonies is a norm in South India) is played. Instead of *Nadaswaram* they beat on Plam leaves during marriage, therefore it is called *"Tatakula Pelli"*. After wedding a community feast is arranged with pig meat and alcohol and the cost of the feast is met from the fine imposed on the eloped couple. Other types of marriages are as follows.

- 1. Marriage by service (*Illarikam*)
- 2. Marriage by intrusion
- 3. Marriage by capture

Marriage by service

There is an old saying in this community "*kadupulo unna pillaki illarikam vellatamu*" In Olden days when any woman relative conceives, the boy of same community serves the family of the pregnant women till the date of her delivery. If she gives birth to a female child he has to serve the family till the marriageable age

of the girl and marry her. If the pregnant woman does not give birth to a female child he goes back to his natal house.

Marriage by capture

In olden days marriage by capture was in vogue, now it is a rare phenomenon. In this type of marriage the man who loves a woman intentionally holds her hand in front of the *kulapedda*. *Kulapedda* performs marriage following their own old saying "*kukka tagina palu kukkake*", which means that any person who holds woman's hand has a right over that woman, and that woman belongs to him only.

The practice of bride moving to the grooms' house is called "*Kapuraniki ravatam*" (Patri-local residence). After the entry of the daughter-in-law the elders of the family make them live separately (neo-local residence). The marriageable age for male is 16 to 20 and for female 14 to 18. Child marriages are being practiced. Monogamy is the common form of marriage. Polygamy is also permitted. Cross-cousin marriages are preferred.

Bride Price:

Earlier the bride price was in vogue. The Nayak call it as "*Holy/Oli Sukamanchulu*" which the bridegroom party gives to the bride's party consisting of *Veesedu* (a measurement) Turmeric powder, Kunkuma, Two and half bags of Paddy, Dry chilli, a sweet called Ariselu 12, Make up kit, sesame seeds, oil etc and other pulses (locally available). The makeup kit should invariably contain small amount of hair. Not keeping the hair in the makeup box sometimes resulted in the cancellation of marriage. Now the bride price is giving way to dowry even though it is in a token form.

Re-marriage:

Widow Remarriage is permitted if the widow has no children out of the previous wedlock.

Divorce:

Divorce is permitted in case of wife's infidelity or inability of husband to maintain her. If the women claims divorce she has to return the *Oli* (Bride Price) she received from her husband at the time of marriage.

Death rites:

The general practice among the community people is cremating the dead. The death rites of the father are performed by the eldest son, for mother it is performed by youngest son and incase there is only one son death rites of the both parents are performed by the only son. Only men are allowed to perform death rites. If the dead don't have male child, the sons of the brothers of the diseased perform the death rites. While taking the dead body to burial ground they keep cow dung on the side of the head of the dead. If the dead person got married by elopement he/ she is taken to the burial ground by tying to single wood/stick, for this they have a saying "Maarumanuvodiki Okate Karra". In case of arranged marriage the dead body is to be taken to the burial ground by tying it to two sticks. They keep the dead body on the funeral pyre in a face down position (Borla padukopetti). Earlier they used to do the cremation of the dead in their own podu land but now they are using the community burial ground. If any person dies on Sunday it is considered as inauspicious and they sacrifice chicken by throwing the live chicken in to the funeral pyre to ward-off the negative consequences of the death on an inauspicious day. The unmarried adults and children are buried. After funeral, for first 3 days the family members offer food to the dead at breakfast time by keeping the food in leaves (They called it as "Jee Muddalu") and put it in a top corner of their house which they called as "Soori". In the observance of passage rites there are two subgroups called "Samathana Matham and Pitta Matham". The Nayaks who belong to Samathana matham don't observe fasting before offering food (pindam) to the dead, where as the other group called "Pitta matham" don't eat food unless and until the the pindam is eaten by crow or pitta (bird).Death rites are officiated by local

Jangam man, *Chinna Dhinam* is performed, on 3rd day and *Pedha dinam* is performed on 9th or 11th day. On the day of *Peddha Dhinam* all the relatives of the dead go the burial ground by cooking all the favorite food items of the dead and the "*Jeemuddalu*" (Which they offer the dead in first 3 days of death). They keep *Jeemuddalu* in a small pot; place it at the place of funeral, offered to the dead or diseased ones. After offering the food items to the dead they put some portion of food in the pot, the remaining is shared to all the members who attend to the ceremony and they eat it as *Prasadham* by saying "*Kulaaniki Hariveni Daasunni*". People belong to the same surname follow *Maila* (death pollution) for 11 days and they don't participate in marriage and other ceremonies, do not visit others' houses in their village and also don't leave the village.

Inheritance:

The Nayaks/Naikpodu community being a patrilineal group, the property is inherited by males only. The property belonging to the deceased is partitioned equally among the sons. Some of them reported that eldest son may be given additional or extra amount or land as he has to perform the funeral rites of the father. Women have no right to inherit the property of the parents.

Chapter III

Socio-Economic Profile of the Nayakas

The historical evidence shows that the traditional occupations of the Nayaks are hunting and podu cultivation. The Nayakas who practice podu cultivation got the suffix podu to their names Nayaks and they are called as Naikpodu. The word Nayak or Nayaks means leaders. The field investigation noted that this community is engaged in different kinds of economic activities such as cultivation, agriculture labour, domestic service, selling firewood etc. The primary occupation of the Nayakas is agriculture and agriculture labour. Majority of them have no lands and work as paleru in agrarian caste Hindu families in multi-caste villages. They work as labour in the agricultural land of Kammas and Velamas who are the landlords in west Godavari and Krishna districts. They also keep livestock, rear cows, buffalos, sheep and goat. Nayakas have access to public distribution system; almost all of them in the village have white ration cards. The Nayakas who are residing in multicaste villages establish symbiotic relationships with other castes Most of the families stand at below poverty line and majority of them are illiterates. They are all dependent on NREGS programme. The secondary occupation of the Nayakas is hunting, honey collection and plucking of tamarind fruits.

Hunting:

Majority of the Nayaks depend on hunting of forest animals like hedgehogs (adavi pandi), deer (duppi), rabbit(kundelu), Pingolin (They call it "Aalaga"), forest hog, Monitor Lizard (Vudumu), fishes, elk(kanichi), etc. The following are the methods in which they hunt the animals.

Catching of Monitor Lizard:

They hunt the monitor lizard which usually hides in snake pit. Once they find monitor lizard hide in snake pit they close all the holes of the snake pit except two holes. One hole is used to send smoke which irritates the monitor lizard and second hole is used as a way for the lizard to come out of the pit. This procedure is called *"Boku pettadam"*. They also hunt Adivi pandi (pig), deers and rabbits. They eat Hedgehogs and in all the festivals they invariably eat the meat of Hedgehogs (*Adavi Pandi*).

Agriculture Labour:

Majority of the Nayak/Niakpodu community is involved in casual agricultural labour. Some of them are also working as labour in construction activity, women work as domestic labour

Podu cultivation:

Though, farming was there but it was not much prominent. Their economy was subsistence in nature. They have been given land under the ROFR Act they are now cultivating the forest land. They grow Paddy, Bobbarlu, Maize, Corn and Pulses.

Collection of Forest produces:

Since centuries the Nayaks/Naikpodu have been living in and around the forests, practicing hunting and gathering activities, fishing and shifting cultivation. Traditionally they depend on forest resources for their livelihoods. For these people, forests are an important source of livelihood and means of survival. They collect artichoke (*adavi dumpalu*) like matika dumpa, yeliveru dumpa, chenna gadda and collect Wild greens (*adavi aaku kuralu*) like Devadari leafs, Nelli leafs, Nageti salu leafs, Chenchala leafs, kodijitti leafs, Guruggura leafs, Tamarind leaf. They also collect Honey from forest karri tene (karri honey), putta tene, tonnithene, tera,

masara tene etc. They also collect Fruits which includes Nekari pallu (Nekari fruits), Alli pallu (Alli fruits), Goligi pallu, Dudadutha kayalu, chilaka duddi pallu, pulla chintakayalu, Balusu kayalu, parikkayalu.

Condition of women:

The status of women in Nayakulu/Naikpodu community is very low as this community is Patrilineal, patriarchal and Partilocal. Even though women work as agricultural labour and contribute substantially to the income of the family they are treated very low and given scant respect. They are also involved in collection of forest produce. Women are subjected to abuse by their spouses when the husbands are in ebriated condition and most of the women spend sleepless nights to bring their spouses who fall on the roads in in ebriated condition. The women have no role in the decision making. Widow re-marriages are permitted if the women have no children or no encumbrances. Earlier bride price was there, it is called "*Oli*". Women also consume liquor.

Social organization:

The Social organization of Nayakulu tribe is not characterized by parities. The tribe is divided into number of exogamous *intiperlu* (surnames) basing on which their marital relations are regulated. The girl after marriage loses the surname of her father and acquires the surname of her husband. Each intiperu is unilateral, patronymic kin group. The intiperlu are prefixed to the individual names. The intiperlu of the Nayak/Naikpod communities as furnished by the informants are Chevidi, Sangam, Vanumula, Guruvindu, Vanam, Tellaneelu, Koyyale, Ravula, Appireddi, Kunta, Yerram, Maruthi, Gopina, Boddu, Yelugu, Muthini, Puchcha, Yelagam, Bathini, Resu, Guruvindu, Chitala, Dumpa, Vasam, Chilaka, Siddini, Yatla, Sivudu, Vanam, Pasam, Rasa, Naram, Putta, Dadi, Pothini, Sangam, Tellaneelu, Regula, Vaddiga, Yamavarupu, Gollamandala, Pujala, Yadala, Onumula, Koyyala, Ravula, Maruthi, Telaganeni, Pittla, Pujara, Pandala, Reddi, Bellam, Siddini, Appireddi, Gopina, Jammula, Marthi, Addagarla, Golisetti, Odisela, Jakka, Medi, Kunta, Karibatla, Kusini, Chikkala, Thota, Gujjala, Dhadi, Gampa, Gaddam, Yerram, Mogili, Gouru, Gurindhala, Polam, Regula, Kasina, Biskala, Bogu etc.

Each *intiperu* is necessarily an exogamous unit. However, enough care is taken while selecting a mate from marriageable intiperu i.e., to avoid confusion, they generally prefer cross cousin marriages. It is informed that each and every *intriperu* possess a family deity. Some of the intiperus and associated deities are as follows:

Malachamma
Chikati Devudu
Veerulu
Dithamma
Muthyalamma
Chinnarayudugeve
Dithamma
Malachamma
Chakri Devudu
Malachamma
Oythamma
Puttadevudu
Peddodu

It is customary that the family deity is propitiated once in a year lest the harm may be inflicted not only to the associated family but also to the entire village. The hair tonsuring ceremonies for both male and female children are necessarily to be celebrated at the family deity. It is also informed that there are no food and other taboos associated with *intiperulu* (surnames)

Political organization:

The Nayak community has its traditional caste council which deals with the family disputes, property disputes, and adultery, divorce and theft cases. The traditional caste council or panchayat is the custodian for safeguarding the interest of the community and to maintain social order, cohesion and also to oversee the continuation of cultural traditions by the members of the community. Functions of the traditional council are mainly to arrange marriages and to deal with various social offences committed by the people of the community. All social, religious and ceremonial issues and disputes are referred to traditional panchayat for decision and judgment passed by the council are irrevocable and are enforced meticulously. The Nayaks are connected with the statutory panchayat and some of them are holding positions of ward members and surpanches in the villages in which they are numerically significant. A few of them are elected as MPTC and ZPTC members. Caste associations are formed at the district and mandal levels.

The caste head is locally known as *Pedakaapu* who is assisted by *Chinnakaapu* and a messenger called *Bantrotu* whose duty is to call all the families to the Panchayat meetings. The offices of *Pedakapu, Chinnakaapu* and *Bantrotu* were hereditary. When the incumbent of the two offices have no children then Pedakapu will be elected by the community as a whole in a particular village. Usually the inter caste marriage issues and issues of violation of social code are settled by the village Panchayat. In the cases of elopement and adultery and cases of theft the culprits are fined up to Rs. 100 to 7000/- depending on the nature of offence and the paying capacity of the culprit. In case the adultery is proved the culprit is instructed to pay *Tappu* (Fine up to Rs. 7000/-). On appeal the *Peddakapu* can permit the culprit to pay the fine in two installments. The panchayat hosts a feast with pork meat to the community and alcohol with the money collected as fine from the erring parties. Marriage of Nayak/Naikpodu people with the Lower community people is viewed seriously and he or she is ex-communicated and they cannot be readmitted into the community. Earlier the common punishment for any mistake particularly in case

adultery was the male culprit is made to walk on the thorns with heavy stone on his head and for the women, her legs are tied to a tree branch and head touching the ground and beneath her head thorns are kept.

The presence of the Head Man (*Peddamanishi*) and Bantrothu is essential during negotiations for marriage, engagement and marriage ceremony. In case of *Marumanuvu* (*Tatakula pelli*) the traditional village panchayat head officiates the marriage. They are paid both in kind and cash for performing their duties in marriage ceremony.

Religious organizations:

Even though the Nayaks claim they belong to Hindu religion they do not follow Hindu festivals. Nayak/Naikpodu communities worship the Goddess *Mutyalamma* and every habitation has a make shift Mutyalamma temple. Mutyalamma deity is carved on a stone measuring two to 4 feet and it is kept under the tree and turmeric powder and Bindi (*Kunkuma*) are applied to it and it is worshiped. During marriage ceremonies a *toranam* is tied to the doorway and another is tied at Mutyalamma deity. The marriage event and other good occasions get started with worship of the Goddess Mutyalamma.

They also worship their ancestors. Once in a year festival is celebrated in honor of their diseased ancestors. Religious rites are attended by the traditional community priest. They do not take the services of Brahmin priest for religious purposes. The Nayaks have strong belief in omens. Seeing cat or empty pot, widow or hearing sneezing when one is about to start is considered to bring ill luck. They do not believe in whichcraft or sorcery but they have belief in benevolent and malevolent spirits. They worship the benevolent spirits by offering coconuts, fruits, flowers and cooked food items and for malevolent spirits they offer animal sacrifice.

The Nayaks/Naikpodu hamlets which celebrate or observe *Korrajula swamy* festival never celebrate *Peddammathalli* festival, the Nayak who celebrate Peddammathalli festival/jatara do not celebrate or organize Korrajula swamy teertham. The following are the main traditional festivals celebrated by the Nayak /Naikpodu community:

- Korrajula thertham(pandavula kolupu)
- Peddamma talli teertham
- Kothala panduga
- Vanadevathalu pandagu (valasalu like picnic in forest)
- Tatamma Tatayyalu panduga
- Muthyalamma panduga

Korrajulu theratham: They celebrate this korrajula swamy jathara once in three years in the month of May (In the month of May they have money). The community collects Rs. 100 to 500 from each household for organizing Korrajulu Jathara which is a five day celebration. The community priest officiates the function. The image of Korrajulu is taken to all the hamlets, colonies or villages of Nayak and Naikpodu and in each village the image of Korraju remains for 5 days and all these five days many events mark the festival. The Korrajula festival season begins with the community priest along with the community members' fetch the image of Lord Korrajulu which was placed in Kanigiri hills near Badhrachalam, in Khammam district which is a thick forest. The priest and villagers wear new white cloths, takes ram with them to offer it as sacrifice to Korrajula Swamy which was placed in a bamboo basket and kept in Kanigiri hills in the preceding year after the conclusion of the festive season. The Korrajula Swamy is an image of 5 umbrellas though which a stick runs through which is placed on a wooden platform and decorated with peacock feathers. They cook there and eat and then bring the image of Korrajulu swamy from the forest. The image is taken to all the Nayaks/ Naikpodu habitations.

Before welcoming the Korrajula swamy the Nayaks offer prayers to the sister of Korrajula Swamy called Goddess Mutyalamma and from there all the people with Nadhaswaram and *GANACHARULU (Poonakam)* welcome the Korrajulu swamy at village border. Ganacharulu are the people who are believed to have been possessed with the spirit of the sisters and brothers of Korrajula Swami called Pothuraju or Poligadu, Maddiramma, Malachamma, Sammakka and Saralamma. When the Korrajula swamy image enters and exits the village border they perform *disti* by sacrificing chicken to ward off ghost/evil spirits. The Nayakas believe that evil spirits will come during that time. Once it reaches the village the celebrations start and the celebrations last for 5 days. The Korrajula Teertham starts in every village on Sunday evening only. The villagers who cannot afford to organize Korrajula Pandaga will offer *BONAM* to the deity by offering rice, coconuts or cooked food called Pulagam.

The Korrajula swamy image is taken in a procession to the *peddamanishi* or *peddakapu* or *kulapedda's* house where he offers prayers to it, then it is taken around the village and the people offer a platform made-up with paddy called "*GADDHE*" for placing the image in front of their houses. After taking around the village in the early hours of the Monday the image is placed in a make-shift temple made with wood collected by the villagers from the forest. The entire village folk is involved in collecting wood or sticks for erecting a make-shift temple for the deity. Those who fail to participate in the collection of wood or sticks are fined (*Thappu kattadam*) by the Panchayat. From Moday to Thursday day the priest and Ganacharulu offer Prasadham and prayers to Lord Korrajulu Swami in the morning and evening.

On 3rd day evening an event called "*kolabiyyam*" (Measurement of rice) takes place at Peddakapu's house. The priest measures rice (5 Sherulu rice) in front of the Peddakapu and villagers, pack it and keep it in a temple. On fourth day the priest weighs the quantity of rice and they believe that the quantity of rice should go or increase which they called *devudu sathyam* (God is Truth). Some portion of rice is cooked and offered as *Prasadham* to the deity, and some portion of the rice is given to the Peddakaapu and the remaining rice is given to the villagers who sprinkle them in the rice storage vessel (*Gaddhe*).

After keeping the rice packet (*Kolabiyyam*) in temple the villagers go to forest for collection of Sandra wood or *saruvu koyyalu* (wood) with roots for the next day events for Korrajula swamy. Before they cut the wood they sacrifice sheep in the forest, cook it and eat there, cut the trees and return back to the village. The first tree is cut by the *Peddagolla*; they believe that it represents the relationship between Lord Krishna and Pandavulu.

On fourth day they offer ritual bath to Korajula swamy. The roof or top of the make-shift temple is removed and priest and other villagers pour water on Korrajula deity which they called as "*MAILA PATNAM*. After *Mailapatnam* the priest make a rangoli with 5 colours, keep lord Korrajulu on rangoli and again offer bath to him which is called "*Chandra Patnam*". All the women and unmarried girls attend and contribute water to the bath. They believe that the unmarried get early marriage and married get children by involving in this event. Before the villagers reach the village, at the border of the village the priest welcomes the villagers for bringing wood by performing disti(by scarifying live chicken) and applies turmeric to the sticks/wood and offer coconuts and takes the wood/sticks around village in a procession and keeps them at the make-shift temple. This process is called "*VEERAGANDHAM*". They believe that the weight of the wood should increase.

On 5th day the Korrajula swamy image is taken around the village in a procession, meanwhile the villagers burn the wood/sticks and prepare two Agnigundam called *"Krrajula/Pothurajula Saruvu/Gundam"* and *"Gollala Gundam"*. Some of the villagers walk on the fire. The priest wears the mask of Pothurajulu and brings the Korrajula Swamy image to the Gundam. The priest walks on the fire; slit opens the stomach of sheep with a knife, pulls out the liver and offers the liver to the sacred fire. They called the sheep as *"BADDE GORRE"*. After this they again place the

image of deity in the make-shift temple. They host a feast in the village which they called as "*GANDHAM PALLU*", after that they cover Lord Korrajulu with new cloth, break open the backside wall of the make shift temple for thoroughfare and through it the deity is taken to another habitation.

Peddammatalli jathara:

The Nayak/Naikpodu who celebrates Korrajula swami festival does not celebrate Peddammatalli festival. Majority of the events and process of celebration of Korrajula Swami Teertham and Peddammathalli festival are similar with minor variations.

Vanadevathala panduga:

They celebrate this Vanadevathala Pandaga/ festival once in three years in the month of May (In the month of May they have money). The community collects Rs. 100 to 500 from each household to celebrate Vanadevathala jathara which is threeday celebration. The sisters of Lord Korrajula Swamy, Muthyalamma, Maddiramma, Mahalachamma, Pothuralu, Maisamma or Maremma Sukala Rangoji etc are worshiped in this pandaga. This pandaga is celebrated at Mutyalamma temple and the priest makes the images of other goddesses with wood. The Nayaks believe that celebration of this Pandaga protects their livestock from diseases.

On Day one the villagers make 4 make shift temples with the wood/sticks and leaves and keeps the images of Muthylamma, Malachamma and Sukalarangoji. The first and second day all the villagers worship the Goddesses with Nadaswaram and Punakalu (Spirits of goddesses occupies human body).

They worship Maremma on 3rd day evening only. The villagers believe that the goddess Maremma is very powerful and appearance of the image is also fearsome. On third day at 10 pm the Kummari community (potterers) people make the image of goddess Maremma and brings the image to the Mutyalamma temple and keeps it

in the make shift temple exclusively made for her. The image of the Maremma will be there for few hours, a ram will be offered as sacrifice to the deity and the image of deity will be taken to the forest in the early hours of following the day. After that the villagers offer rice and other food items to the Sukalarangoji and sacrifice goat to Muthyalamma and Malachamma. They sacrifice male animal to the goddess Maremma and Female animal to other goddesses. After that the images of other goddesses are also taken to the forest in a procession, and later they dine in the forest.

Tatamma Tattaya panduga:

The Nayaks perform Tatamma Tatayyala Panduga to appease the ancestral spirits. They call all their relatives to celebrate this festival. They sacrifice a fowled host a feast to the relatives. The bones of the sacrificed fowl are buried in to their home only.

Kothhalapanduga:

The Nayaks celebrate kothala Panduga before starting of the sowing season, after harvesting the crop in the fields itself, and before bringing the crop to the home. They offer food items made up with the new crops to the ancestral spirits .Without performing the kothala panduga or festival the Nayakulu/Naikpodu do not start consumption of grains and fruits harvested in that year.

Budevara Aata:

It is a five-day programme. People form as groups; each group member wears the mask of Pandavulu like Darmaraju Bhimudu, Arjunudu, Nakuludu and Sahadevudu and holds weapons used by Pandavulu like Gadha, Villu etc. The group visits villages of Naikpodu and explains the history/mythology of Pandavulu. They believe that they are the decedents Pandavulu.

Chapter IV

Findings of the Focus Group Discussions

Introduction

Participatory methods of Data Collection were applied in collecting data. The data was collected through focus group discussions as it provides lot of inputs from different stakeholders which can be synthesized to arrive at conclusion. The method was cost effective and less time consuming and get insights from wide spectrum of thought. The method was used extensively in the study and in 17 villages FGDs were conducted. The research team ensured that each group consists of different occupational groups, ages, male and female, agricultural labour. Separate check list was prepared for discussing various topics relating to their culture, socio-demographic, economic aspects, and the problems faced by the community and other communities were also interviewed to have a holistic view of the Naikpod community.

Sl.No	Village	Mandal	District
1	Gangineedupalem	T.Narsapuram	West Godavari
2	Kollivarigudem	T.Narsapuram	-do-
3	Kandrikagudem	Chintalapudi	-do-
4	Reddiganapavaram	Buttayagudem	-do-
5	Kotanagaram	Buttayagudem	-do-
6	Jaggisettigudem	Buttayagudem	-do-
7	Tatakulagudem	Jeelugumilli	-do-
8	P.Narayanapuram	Jeelugumilli	-do-
9	Korlamanda	Visannapeta	Krishna
10	Ramachandrapuram	Visannapeta	-do-
11	Putrela	Visannapeta	-do-
12	Marribandam	Chatrai	-do-
13	Nayakulagudem	Visannapeta	-do-
14	Kasappagudem	Aswaraopet	Khammam
15	Dammapeta	Dammapeta	-do
16	Suraiah Banjara	Penuballi	-do
17	Siddaram	Sattupalli	-do

Focus group discussions were conducted in the following villages

1. Gangineedupalem

Gangineedupalem is a hamlet of Bandivarigudem Panchayat, T.Narsapuram mandal, West Godavari District of Andhra Pradesh. Total families in this habitation were 102 and all are nuclear families. The surnames of the households in this village are Kusini, Allam, Vanam, Battina, Pandla, Sangham, Gollisetti, Chitka, Bogi, Onumula, Pagi, Edirajula, Alla, Pujula, Naram, Medi, Battula. The present Kula Pedda (Caste elder) in this habitation is Kusine Chittiyya. In this panchayat Sarpanch post is reserved for ST and the Lambada person is elected as Panchayat president. Four ward members are belonging to the Nayaks community. There are Anganwadi centre, Primary school, CC roads and public water supply in this habitation and Indiramma houses were also constructed. Water tank is there but water is not available.

The villagers recently constructed Peddamma thalli temple in the habitation. They regularly visit the weekly market (sandy) near to their habitation. Some of the families have TVs, fans and some families have Jandhan bank accounts. They have relatives at Buttayigudem Mandal, Reddy Ganapavaram, Kotanagavaram, Jaggisettigudem, Lakshmipuram, Dammapeta, Dhinna gollagudem, Pedda gollagudem and they have marital relations with Kamayyapalem, Barrenkalagudem, Routugudem, Tatakulagudem, Narayanapuram, Ankampalem Mulagalampalli of Zeelugumalli Mandal. Education in this village is very poor. Around 10 members studied till 10th class and 3 members completed intermediate education. Majority of the students from this habitation join in the nearby ST hostels in Jeedugumilli, Buttayagudem, Ramannagudem and dropout rate is very high. There is no priority to girl child education and there is no government employee from this habitation. Majority of the households in this habitation are landless people. They practice podu cultivation. The government has jointly given 60 acres of forest land to the community for cultivation. The community people jointly cultivate cotton, paddy and corn and share the crop. The agriculture is purely based on rain fed. Other than

agriculture both men and women go for daily wage in agriculture and allied works such as kobbari peechu work, tobacco processing work etc. and also NREGA work.

The villagers lamented that last year (2016) 10 people have died due to Malaria, Typhoid and Jaundice and they did not receive any support from government. The dominant community in this village is Kamma and most of the land is owned by them. The Nayaks are landless and very few are small or marginal farmers. The Nayaks works in the fields of Kammas and the daily wage paid to man is Rs.200/- and for woman it is Rs.150/-. Child labour is rampant in this hamlet. Most of them are agricultural labour and economically backward. Earlier the Chintalapudi and T. Narasapuram were agency areas. The NTR government has de-notified these areas as plain areas.

Most of the families have gas connections. Majority of the households have job cards and working under MGNREGS. Nayak community has good relations with Lambadies and Koya communities and they have marital relationship with them. They callit as 'kanchampattu and manchampattu' which means they eat at their homes and have marital relations as well.

2. Kollivarigudem:

It is a hamlet of Makkinavarigudem panchayat of Talla Narasapuram Mandal. It is a multi-caste village. The total families in this village are 130 families out of which 80 families belong Naikpodu community and population is 200. All the families are nuclear. It was a forest area, due to deforestation it became a plain area. Major Communities residing in this village are BCs (Yadavas) and OCs (Kammas) and they all live together. Majority of the land is in the hands of Kamma community. Only 40 households of Nayaks community are have 2 to 3 acres of land and they have Podu pattas. The surnames of Nayaks in this habitation are Nallagulla, Gollisetti, Allam, Bhogi, Gollamandula, Reddy, Dabha, Kinnera, Kota, Gopina, Ediraju, Naram, Somina, Rajina, Battina, Kola, Chilaka, Kusene, Vanam, Ravula,

Pujari. The Nayaks in this village have relation with the villagers of Srinivasapurm, Gangireddy palem, Kayannapalem, Gattugudem, Aswaraopeta, Kandrikagudem, Naravarigudem, Vinayakapuram. Due to high consumption of alcohol the life span of the Nayaks community is very low. It is observed the average lifespan is in the range of 45 to 55. Due to high death rate the elderly population in Nayaks community is very low. The number of widows is high in this habitation which results women or female headed families. The villagers have lamented that they received ST certificates from Government till 2015, Later no government institute is recognizing them as ST and not issuing any certificate. Many of the Nayaks community household lost rights on their podu land when Mr. Baburao Naidu worked as Joint collector in this district. Another tribal group appealed and got pattas to the same podu land which had been cultivated by Nayaks.

The present village elder called "peda kapu" is Nallagalla Balaraju and chinna Kapu is Reddi Srinu. Child marriage is being practiced in this habitation both for boys and girls. The average age of marriage for girl is 12 and for boy it is 17. Marriage by elopement is very high in this village which is usually called tatakula pelli (Marumanuvu) among Nayaks. The villagers have revealed that around 25 tatakula marriages happened in this habitation. Child labour is also there in this habitation. The village has approach road, CC roads and protected water supply. The constructed in the village. Very few people have very limited land. Tobacco and varjina is a commercial crops cultivated by the villagers. Agriculture is based on rain fed and one pond is there in the village. Main occupation of the community is agriculture and agriculture labour, collection of NTFP, tamarind, honey, also collect various types Dumpalu, Collection of Vakapallu, Balusupallu, Vusiri, Kunkudu, seethaphalam, chennagaddalu (dumpalu), chillaginjalu to purify water and other edibles from forest.

3. Kandrikagudem:

It is the hamlet of Uta samudram Panchayat, Chintalapudi Mandal of West Godavari district. Total 4 hamlets are there to this panchayat; In one hamlet Malas are the majority caste, another is a Reddy hamlet and the other one is Kummari (BCs). In the exclusive settlement/hamlet of Naikpodu community two families from backward classes and 2 families from OC families are living with them.

The total families in this habitation are 110 out of which 100 families are Nayaks/ Naikpodu. Around 10 to 20 families have 1 to 2 acres of podu land and have RoFR pattas. The Nayaks community received ST certificates from 1935 (Article 245). The villagers said that they have been living in the habitation since many years (50 years). The surnames of the households of Nayaks in this habitation are Dadi, Pandla, Tota, Allam, Vasam, Samala, Kasina, Jammula, Appireddy, Pagi, Kanuboina, Talla, Betam, Chikkala, Pasam, Danapu, Mudda, Bogi, Siddina, Koyyala, Kurram, Gopina, Sangham, Chellam. The Nayaks from this habitation have marital relations with Buttayigudem Village and Jeggisettigudem, Mulakalampalli, P. Narayanapuram in West Godavari and with some habitations in Khammam (Allepalli village) and Warangal districts also. Marriage by elopement (Marumanuvu (tatakula pelli) is being practiced in this habitation.

Both women and men consume alcohol. Women consume less alcohol than men. Both men and women smoke tobacco as chutta, beedi; adda poga (reverse smoking)is practiced by women. Majority of earnings of men has been spent for consumption of alcohol. It was revealed in the FGD that if they get Rs.150 per day as daily wage, they spend Rs.100 for alcohol and personal expenditure and with only Rs. 50 they support their families. The Nayaks in this habitation use herbal medicine (Pasara mandu) for majority of the diseases. The community members usually cook food with firewood. The villagers have lamented that the surpanch belonging to the Nayaks community got the ST certificate from the Government but his/her children are not recognized as STs by the government. Earlier the children from this habitation used to study in the school exclusively for tribal children established at Yerragondapalli village. After the non-recognition of Nayaks as STs by the government the school management is not allowing the children of Nayaks to study in that school.

The total panchayat members in this village panchayat are 12 out of which only 2 are from SC and remaining is from OC. Child marriages is being practiced. The average age of marriage for boys is 15 and for girls it is 12.

There are 3 primary schools in the panchayat and one primary school is there in the Nayaks habitation. Around 10 members completed 10th class, 20 students completed intermediate and 6 students discontinued at degree level. Majority of the families have one acre of forest land and all the land cultivation is rain fed. due to lack of water for cultivation they cultivate Jonna, bobbarlu and they also grow the cashew nuts which needs very less water. Vyshyas and Rajulu are the high castes/communities in the area and the Nayaks serve as a domestic labour and agricultural labour. Almost all the Nayaks in this habitation go to MGNREGA work and all the households have white ration cards. There is protected water supply in this habitation but there are no CC roads.

4. Reddi Ganapavaram:

It is a panchayat of Buttayyagudem mandal and it is in agency area. It is a multicaste village but there is a separate habitation for Nayaks. The other communities live in this village are Kammas, Reddys, Koyas, Madigas, Kapulu, Chakali and Mangali. The total Nayaks families residing in this village are 45 and a total population is 150. Edama paita (saree wearing style) is practiced by women in this habitation. Earlier the men belonging to Nayaks community did not wear any shirts, but the younger generations are wearing shirts and pants. Marriage by elopement (Marumanum/ Tatakulapelli), arranged marriage (Hindu marriage) are practiced in this village and the marriage ceremony is held at the bridegroom's house. Protected water supply is there and some families have TVs.

5. Kotanagaram: (Kotanagaram panchayat)

It is one of the villages in Buttayyagudem mandal. It is an agency area and it is a multi-caste village. The total Nayaks families in this village are 150. The surnames of Nayaks in this habitation are Jammula, Gurivendula, Koyyala, Vanam, Tota, Telaganeni, Gouru, Kolla. The Nayaks in this habitation have marital relationship with Zeelugumalli Mandal villages (Mulagalam Palli, P. Narasapuram and Ramachandrapuram).

The present village president is Mr. Venkateswar Rao, Ex-President was Telaganeni Ramulamma. Earlier they used to eat bobbarlu, jonna and at present they are eating rice along with their old food menu. Both men and women consume alcohol. Intercaste marriage is strictly prohibited in Nayaks community and it is treated as big offence. Marriage by elopement (Tatakula pelli) is practiced in the community. Majority of the families are nuclear families. There is a caste based panchayat system in this village. Peda kapu is a head of the village. Nayaks in this habitation have a separate goddess called Venkaperantalamma. There is protected drinking water supply, Anganwadi in there in this village. Houses were also constructed under Indiramma scheme. Most of the villagers are daily wage labourer and they are participating in MGNEGS. Around 10 members studied up to 10th class and three members completed degree.

6. Jagisettigudem:

It is a hamlet of Reddiganapavaram panchayat, Buttayyagudem mandal. It is an agency area and this is an exclusive settlement of Nayaks/ Naikpodu community. "Vanamula" is the surname of entire village. The total families in this habitation are 60, out of which 50 families depend on Agriculture. The villagers informed for the last 3 generations have been staying in the same habitation. Along with other common festivals of Nayakas they have Pig festival in this habitation. Reverse smoking is practiced especially by women. People from this habitation do not migrate to other places even in any situation. They love CPI-CPM parties in the elections. There is drinking water facility in the village and some of the families have facilities like TVs, fans etc. Self-Employment training on Tailoring is available. Most of them have NREGA cards.

7. Tatakulagudem:

It is one of the habitations/hamlets of Zeelugumalli panchayat and mandal and it is near NH5. Total families in this habitation are 30 and the total population is more than 80. The villagers said that five families came to this village 50 years back from Sangaropet and Makkinavarigudem. The surnames of the Nayaks are Manugonda, Vanama, Kasina, Rajina. They have relatives in Telangana (Naravarigudem), and they have a marital relation with the villages of T.Narsapuram, Sangaripet , Ranguvani Gudem, Dammapeta, Molakalapalli, Mangapeta. Most of the villagers are agriculture labour and go for daily wage works. They work as labour in tobacco processing work. There is a difference in wages between men and women. The man gets Rs.250 and for woman gets Rs.150. Pig meat is very common food of Nayaks in this habitation. Educated members stopped eating pig and they consume only chicken. Usually women wear Yedama *Paita*.

Majority of the land in this village is in the hands of Kapulu and Kamma (OCs) and the Nayaks community work as agriculture labourer in the Choudary community;

They not allow the SC community to work in their fields as they eat beef. There is 2 acres of Grama kantam (devudu bhoomi) in this village. The villagers attend the MGNAREGA during summer. Some of the households join as banded labour (vetti) for Rs. 3000-5000 for a month. Most of the families are women headed families, because of high mortality among men due to their addiction to alcohol.

Village president belongs to the Nayaks community. There is well for drinking water purpose and burial ground is there. The women in the village have Jandhan accounts. Around 10 students completed 10th class but they did not go for higher education due to their family financial problems. Previously they used the local medicine like pasaru, now they are going to the government hospitals.

8. Parimpuram Narayanapuram Village

It is a Hamlet of Ankampalem panchayat, Zeelugumilli mandal and it is an agency area. Total families are 15 and the total population in this village is 100. All of them have small and nuclear families. They celebrate Korrajula Jathara. The common surnames are Budda, Mogili, Tamballa, Onumula, Nallabanda, Vasam, Gurivindala, and Reddy. Primary school is there in the village and all children are going to schools and present there are no school dropouts. Pucca houses were constructed in the 1994 in TDP government. One woman is selected as SGT (Second Grade Teacher) from this village. Agricultaral labour is more in this village and Government has given Banjar lands to this people. They cultivate Bobbarlu crop. Some of this villager youth are selected as VROs and VOs but due to lack of caste certificate they lost the jobs. Earlier they issued ST caste certificate but now they are not giving the certificate because they are living in the plain areas.

9. Korlamanda

It is a village of Vissannapeta mandal of Krishna district. Earlier they used to have 7-9 children but now they have 2-3 children and all are nuclear families. The

surnames are Vasam, Regula, Chilaka, Dumpa, Velugu, Vemavarapu, Resu, Chintala, Yelagam, Yadula, Yelugu. Each surname has its own deity. The family system is patrilineal, patri-local and patriarchal. After marriage of the sons the newly wedded couple starts their own families. Female headed households are more in this village. All of them belongs Hindu religion. They observe "Peddamma Jathara". No inter-caste marriages took place and Nayakas have cordial relations with other communities. They work as agriculture labour in the fields of Khamma community. Some families have TVs and majority of the people have the lpg gass. Korrlamanda is a border village; half of the village is in Telangana. They grow paddy, corn, cotton, lemon and they also work as agriculture labour. They reported that they used to depend on forest with the deforestation they are now working in the fields of other community. In majority of the adults are illiterates, 16 children studied up to 10th class but not completed, 2 completed Intermediate and only 2 completed degree. Earlier they used the local traditional treatment for snake bite, now they are going to hospitals. The villagers go for MGNREGA work. They have marital relations with Telangana People. Women wear Kudi Paita (Saree wearing style).

10. Kalagara

Kalagara is a hamlet of Ramachandrapuram panchayat of Vissannapet mandal, Krishna district. It is a multi-caste village. A separate colony is there for Nayaks. Total families of Nayaks in this village are 80 and total population is around 280. The surnames of Nayaks are Chilaka, Putcha, Gollamandula, Yelagam, Tabella, Chinthala, Siddina, Pasem, Regula, Patte. They celebrate "Peddammathalli jathara". They have marital relationships with people of the same community from Dammapeta, Sattupalli, Emsuru, Aswaraopet of the Telangana State and around 30 married women of this village belong to the above villages from the Telangana state. The Nayaks of this habitation have relatives in Khamma District and they said that their ancestors migrated Khammam to Andhra Pradesh 150 years back. The Velama Community is the dominant land owning caste in this village. The Nayaks works as agriculture labour in the fields of Velama community. They work in lemon orchids of Velama community and woman earn Rs.150 Men earn Rs.250. They also involve in NREGS works. Majority of the adults are illiterates and 15 members studied up to10th class but not completed, 2 members completed intermediate. There is an Anganwadi Centre in the village, protected water supply is there and majority of the individuals have Jan Dhan Bank Accounts.

11. Putrella, Krishna District

The total Nayak / Nayakpod families in this habitation are 90 and total population is 400. The surnames of Nayaks are Chintala, Chilaka, Regula, Boddu, Putcha, Rayina, Pasam, Rasula, Battina. They have marital relations with Pedda golla gudem, Damma peta, Ravula, Erraguntaballi, Bainagudem villages. The average marital age for boy is 17 and for girl 16. The dominant caste communities in this village are Velama, Reddy and Vyshyas. Nayaks don't have land and they work in the fields of Velama and Reddy's as agriculture labour and also go to construction work. Some of the households have the gas connections, TVs and fans. Anganwadi centre is there and there is a common burial ground. Around 10 students studied up to 10th class but not completed.

Some of the villagers Swamidasu, Nallagatla Sudharani told that they were getting certificates till 2014 and after that the government stopped issuing ST certificates to them. As a result many of the children are not continuing their studies, as they cannot afford the private education. All of them are born and brought up in the same village only. The celebrate korrajula panduga. Earlier the villagers used to perform jammichetti puja. They do not go to court for solving the family disputes or divorce, the elders settle the issues among the family members. Earlier they used to eat pork, the consumption of pork is coming down. The erring person fined up to Rs.1000/-. They observe all the rituals of Naikpodu s from birth to death. About 20 members from this village have married the women of Naikpodu community from Khammam District.

12. Maribandam

It is a hamlet of Chatrai Mandal of Krishna District. It is in Plain area. The surnames of the villagers are Gollamandula, Regula, Chilaka, Vanama, Vaddiga, Betina, Battini, Vasam, Yatla, Pujula. The total families in the village are 70 and total population is approximately 200. The Nayaks who have land do cultivation and others work as agriculture labour. Majority of the people have no land. Some of them work as Paleru/Vetti (bonded labour) at Kamma community houses. Earlier they used to be paid in kind (paddy), now they are paid in cash or wages. They regularly go for agriculture works in Cheepurugudem village where many landlords are there. The daily wage for Male is Rs.250 and to female is Rs.200. The Nayaks have good social relationship with other communities. They make broomsticks, boskets (buttalu) and other medara works. As most of them are daily wage labour, due to substance economy they always face financial problems. There is no bus facility to the village. There is no school in the village, so children are facing problem attend to the school. Very few families have LPG gas for cooking and most of the people use the firewood for cooking. They also celebrate the Korrajula festival talli panduga. There is no Government employee among the Naikpodu community.

13. Kesappagudem

It is a hamlet of Vootlapalli Panchayat of Khammam District. Total Naikpodu families are 10 and the total population is around 50. Surnames of this Naikpodu community are Maruthi and Siddina. The people with the surname of Siddina have some properties which they got from their ancestors. The Naikpodu community of this village has marital relations with Nayaks or Naikpodus of Jammugudem, Jaggisettigudem in West Godavari. The dominant castes in this hamlet are Kamma and Kapu, they are the landlords and the Nayaks work as agriculture labour in the fields of Kamma and Kapu. The Nayaks also work in MGNREGS. Most of them have bank accounts. They worship and celebrate Korrajulu theerdam in this habitation. Earlier they used to take medicine like Pasaru mandu for various diseases but now along with the traditional medication they are visiting nearby hospitals. The Peda kapu of this village belongs to Koya Community there are 10 families only living in this village along with Koya community. Daily wage for the agricultural work for the male is Rs.200 and they are no employees in this village. Earlier they used to consume pork now the consumption of pork is coming down and they are eating chicken and mutton.

14. Dammapeta

It is a hamlet of Dammapeta Mandal of Khammam district of Telangana state. Total families are 70. The Surnames are Pandla, Koyyala, Rice, Kinnera, Jakku, Vuyala, Ganta, Rajenni, Chalama and Bogi. The main occupation is agriculture and main crop they cultivate is paddy. Vyshya and Rajulu / Kshtriya communities are the dominant communities in this hamlet. Major occupation is Agriculture and cultivation of Paddy. Majority of the families have the bank accounts and ration cards. They have relatives Kandrikagudem, Kolluvarigudem, Buttaigudem Villages. They worship/ celebrate Peddammatalli Jatara for every three years.

The average marriage age of the boys is 20 and girls 18 years. After marriage of the children, they are allowed to have own families (neo-local residence). Earlier there was bride price and now dowry is in vogue. They follow surname exogamy. They allow widow marriage of both men and women if they do not have any children from the previous marriage. Widow Remarriage is decided by the caste panchayat. They follow the community cultural practices and rituals relating to birth to death. They eat rice and other millets which are available at their villages. They celebrate all Hindu festivals like sankranthi and dasara. They organize Mutyalamma tirunalla for every three years.

Marriage is officiated by Ayyagaru (Brahmin Priest). The naming of the new born is based on the birth star of the baby.

15. Surayya banjara Gramam:

It is a hamlet of Penuballi Mandal of Khammam District. There are 22 Nayak families in this village and almost all families are nuclear families. The common surnames of the Naikpodu community of this village are Ramineni, Regula, Vaddera, Putcha, and Ganapa. They organize peddamma talli festival for every three year at the time of Shivaratri. They have relatives in Chintalapudi, Sadapalli of Andhra Pradesh and they have marital relations with Maribandam and Chatrai, Badrachalam and Gundala villages. Naikpodu s do not have land and their main occupation is agricultural labour and other allied works. Kamma is the dominant community in this village, most of the land is owned by them and Nayaks works in the fields of Kamma Community. Earlier they used to be paid in kind (paddy), now they are paid in Cash. The wages for the men and women are Rs.300 and Rs. 200 respectively. They also work under MGNREGS. The other community living in this village is Chakali (washer man community).

Most of them have LPG gas, getting PDS, have job cards and some families have TVs and fans. There is no priority for girl child education, the students who completed 10th and intermediate did not get any jobs which discouraged them from educating their children. They stated that they belong to Nayakpod community and others call them as Nayaks. They have given their daughters to the Nayaks of Marribandam and Chatrai. All of them belong to Nalyala gotram. Man belonging to Jangam community will perform/officiate the last rites of the discussed.

They all observe the cultural practices of the community from birth to death. Nuclear families are more in this village. Earlier they used to eat pork, now the practice of eating pork is reducing. Engagement ceremony is performed in brides home and bride price was there earlier. Marriages are officiated by Brhmin Preist. Earlier practices of traditional treatment methods are giving way to modern medicine. Earlier the Paleru system was there and the Paleru is to be paid Rs.30,000/- per year. Some of them are educated but they did not get the jobs. The landlords call them as Nayaks. They have good relationships with other communities.

16. Siddharam

It is a hamlet of Sattupalli Mandal of Telangana state. Total population in this village is 160. The Surnames of Naikpodu community are Totakura, Vasam, Boddu, Regula, Velagam and Gurivindula (Gurivindula surname families migrated from Jangareddy Gudem). They have marital relations with the villages of Ramachandrapuram, Kalakara. Chintalapudi and Venkatadrigudem, Boddivarigudem of West Godavari District. They have relatives in Krishna District. The dominant community in this village is Kamma, majority of the land owned by them, and the Nayaks works as daily wage labour in their fields. The Nayaks also works under MGNREGA. The Nayaks in this habitation worship the goddess Peddhammathalli. Most of the adults are illiterates, only 10 students completed intermediate and 5 studied till post-graduation but not completed. Most of the houses are Pucca houses and were constructed by the Telugudesam Government. They observe Peddamma Talli jatara for 5 days. This is the major festival for them, and they invite relatives during this festival season.

Major findings

- The primary occupation of the majority of the respondents is causal and daily wage labour in Agriculture and non-agriculture sector, collection of forest products and MGNREGA work. Very few are involved in Podu cultivation.
- Nayakulu are lagging behind in education as the majority of the Nayakulu under the present study are illiterates. Even among the literates majority of them discontinued their studies at primary or secondary level due to financial problems. The poverty and subsistence economy of the community dragging the children away from education.
- It is found that the Nayakas are missing many educational opportunities like admission in the government schools and hostels, government scholarships and jobs allotted for STs etc.
- There is no priority for girl child education in Nayakas. Majority of the women are illiterates in the study area, very few studied up to primary level, one girl got employed as SGT (Second Grade Teacher).
- Women also work as agriculture labour and they contribute substantially to the family income yet their status in the family is very low. There is no decision making power to women. It is a 100 percent male dominated society.
- The women of Nayakas work as domestic workers in the houses of the dominant communities of the respective habitations.
- Regarding the relationship between occupation and literacy it is generally expected that those who attained higher education do not take up agriculture and allied activities but seek non-agriculture jobs. It is revealed that there is no employment in public/government except one or two cases. In the recent

recruitment of VROs and VRAs many youth got selected for the posts under ST reservation lost their jobs due to non-recognition of them as STs.

- With regard to the land holding, most of the Nayakulu households do not have any land. Nayakulu are landless and small or marginal farmers. The land owned by Nayakulu is the in range of between 1 - 3 acres. Most of the lands were rain fed, and the main crops they cultivate are Bobbarlu, Corn, and Paddy etc which do not provide substantial incomes.
- It is observed that the Kamma, Velamas, Reddys and Kapus are the dominant and dominant communities in the study area. Most of the land is owned by them and Nayakas work in their fields and they are also involved in rearing the cattle of the dominant castes. It has been found that the bonded labour system was there.
- One of the main occupations of Nayakas is collection of minor forest products. It is revealed that they spend more time in forest during rainy season than other seasons, because the availability of forest products like dumpalu, leafy vegetables, honey, kunkudu, chillaginjalu, various edible fruits, animals like vudumu, rabbits, rats etc is high in rainy season.
- They are fond of eating the meat of Vudumu (monitor lizard). They have expertise in catching the Vudumu. The art of catching Vudumu is known as *"Boku pettadam"*.
- It is found that there are no sub-groups among Nayakas/ Naikpodu except in observance of Korrajula Theeradam and Peddamm talli Jatara. The Nayaks hamlets which celebrate Korrajula swamy festival never celebrate Peddammathalli festival, likewise the Nayakulu who celebrate Peddammathalli do not celebrate Korrajula swamy festival. They all worship Goddess Mutyalamma. All Nayaks/ Naikpodu hamlets have makeshift temples of

Mutyalamma. The other difference is in the observance of death rites. The followers of Pitta Matham never eat food before offering food to the dead, whereas the Samathana Matham can have food before offering food to the dead on 11th day following death of their loved ones.

- It is evident that Kula Panchayat is very strong in Nayakulu /Nayakas community. In the structure of Kula panchayat Pedakapu (*Kula pedda*) occupies the first place, the second is Chinna Kapu and Bantrotu occupies the third place. They never visit police stations and majority of the issues are settled within their village. There are certain rules and regulations in the community and all community members should follow it. People who violate the rules and regulations are fined (*"Thappu"*) by the Panchayat. The range of fine amount is between Rs.1000 to Rs.7000 and the fine amount is used for community meat and alcohol or community feast (pork meet and liquor). The meat and liquor purchased with the fined amount should be equally shared to all the households of the community and it is the responsibility of the Bantrotu. If the Bantrotu fails to fulfill/done his duty perfectly is fined by the traditional panchat. The main issues found to be fined in the observation is marriage by elopement, theft cases, not attending to the panchayat or festival without notifying the panchayat, illegal relationships, misbehavior etc.
- The study found that there is no migration of Nayakulu/Nayakas for livelihoods. The respondents said that they don't want to leave their villages in any situation.
- Consumption of alcohol and pig meat is very common in Nayakas. Both men and women consume alcohol but women consume little lesser than men. They make the traditional liquor like Sara and Gudumba and also consume the available/readymade liquor like Brandy etc. Around 80 percent of earnings of the men are spent on liquor and the remaining for family maintenance. Both men and women smoke and women have the habit of reverse smoking.

- Marriage by elopement is very common in Nayakas and most of the marriages are of this type only. The eloped couple is fined by the Panchayat with Rs. 7500 to re-join them in the community. Inter-caste marriages are not accepted in this community. Nayakulu have relations with some other communities with whom they can share food and have marital relationships which they call as "*Kancham potthu Mancham potthu*". People who violate the rules and regulations of the community are excluded or excommunicated from the community.
- It is observed that they are very poor in personal hygiene. Usually women take bath once in two or three days and men take bath once in four or five days. Due to unhygienic habits and high consumption of liquor and smoking tobacco the life span of men in Nayakulu community is very low and it is in the range of 35 to 50 years. Due to high mortality among men the number of widows is very high in Nayak habitations.
- Most of the families are Nuclear and there are many female headed households. This is due to high mortality among males who succumb to death due to their addiction to alcohol.
- Even though they follow patri-local residence, the head of the household encourages the newly wedded couple to have their own families (Neo local residence).
- All the Nayaks or Naikpodu belong to same gotra called "*Nalyala*" they do not follow gotra exogamy. The Brahmin priest who officiate the marriages of Nayaka / Naikpodus make them follow gotra exogamy by suggesting another gotra to one of the parties to the marriage. The gotram they follow in marriage or the one suggested by the Brahmin Priest is called "*Sigapatla gotram*"
- Majority of the people of Nayak hamlets have marital relationships with Khammam district people. The women of the Naikpodu community in Khammam, Telangana State have been given to the men of west Godavari and Krishna Districts in the marriage (the list of people who got married to the Naikpodu community in Khammam district is enclosed as annexure).

Chapter V

Scheduling a Community as a Tribe and the Case of Nayaks West Godavari and Krishna Districts of Andhra Pradesh

The term "tribes" were first included in the Government of India Act 1935. The term "Scheduled Castes" was used in this Act to define, "such castes, races or tribes or parts of groups within castes, races or tribes, which appear to his Majesty in Council to correspond to the classes of persons formerly known as the 'Depressed Classes', as His Majesty in Council may prefer." After Independence, the Constituent Assembly of India reserved the prevailing definition of Scheduled Castes and Tribes and conferred the responsibility of compiling a full listing of castes and tribes and also the power to edit this later, on the President of India and the Governors of states.

The Constitution of India does not define Scheduled Tribes as such. Article 366(25) refers to scheduled tribes as those communities who are scheduled in accordance with Article 342 of the Constitution. According to Article 342 of the Constitution, the Scheduled Tribes are the tribes or tribal communities or part of or groups within these tribes and tribal communities which have been declared as such by the President through a public notification. The Indian Constitution only states that STs are specified by the President after consultation with the Governor; it does not specify specific criteria. The general standards were established following the definitions of the 1931 Census, the reports of the First Backward Classes Commission 1955, Kalelkar Advisory Committee, and Revision of SC/ST lists by the Lokur Committee. Many Anthropologists defined tribe differently taking into the changes the tribes undergo in terms of their culture and their coming into contact with larger society. The word 'tribe' is used for a "socially cohesive unit,

associated with a territory, the members of which regard themselves as politically autonomous" (Mitchell 1979).Singh explains the isolation of tribal society has been relative and never absolute. Due to rapid development of communication facilities the physical isolation of the tribes was eliminated gradually resulting in tribes getting influenced by caste Hindus those (N.K.Bose et.al. 1980; Mohapatra, 1990; Pathi, p, 1984; Pasayat, 1983).

The Lokur Committee identified the following criteria for declaring any community as scheduled tribe.

- a. Primitive traits
- b. Distinctive culture
- c. Shyness of contract with the public at large
- d. Geographical isolation
- e. Backwardness

Para No. 10 of the guidelines of GO 245 the Government of Andhra Pradesh mentioned "if any community which is not declared as Scheduled Tribe bears similar community name of any of the scheduled tribes, and claims as scheduled tribe, the ethnic and cultural similarities have to be established in order to establish whether the particular community is a scheduled tribe or not. The similarities in the social structure, marriage patterns, martial relations, traditional customs, place of habitation, linguistic affinity, food habits, and livelihood patterns of the two communities have to analyzed in order to determine whether the community under question comes under scheduled tribe or not".

In this backdrop any investigation to assess the status of the community to be considered for enlisting as scheduled tribe must look into the changes in the material and non metrical culture of the community. This study evaluated the claims of Nayak/Naikpodu community for ST status or continuance of ST status to the Nayak/Naikpodu community from the perspective of Lokur committee criteria and guidelines mentioned in the Para No. 10 of G.O 245 (1977).

The Case of Nayaks and Naikpodu Community living in the West Godavari and Krishna District for considering their claims for ST status.

The First notification of scheduled tribes was issued in 1950 by the honorable president of India under article 342 (1) Naikpodu was listed (S.No.4) in ST category in Hyderabad state in 1950. In 1956, Nayaks (in the agency tracts) was listed (S.No. 2) in ST category in Andhra State with the amendment to the Scheduled Caste and Tribes list modifications of 25th September 1956.

The government modified the list through the SCs and STs modification orders 1956 (29th October 1956). In this order Naikpodu was included [S.No.3 (3)] in the districts of (Hyderabad, Mahabubnagar, Adilabad, Nijamabad, Medak, Karimnagar, Warangal, Khammam and Nalgonda) along with Gond (including Naikpod and Rajagond).

In 1976 the Naikpodu was included separately along with Gond and Rajagond as serial number 6 without any area restriction and Nayaks with the area restriction of agency in serial number 23.

Nayaks and Naikpodu have been enjoying the status of ST since 1977 to 2014. From 2014 onwards they have not been getting ST status. The Director of Tribal Welfare conducted ethnographic study on the claims of Nayak/Naikpodu community living in these districts and the study found that they do not belong to the ST community. The Director of Tribal Welfare issued Orders to the competent authorities not to issue the ST caste certificates to the people claiming Nayak/Naikpodu from Chintalapudi and T.Narsapuram Mandal of West Godavari District and Vissannapet and Chatrai Mandal of Krishna District of Andhra Pradesh as they do not belong to Naikpodu tribe but Nayak community only and they being the residents of the plain areas (not agency areas) they are not entitled to get ST Community certificate.

Nayaks/ Naikpodu community of West Godavari and Krishna Districts have been agitating and submitted a number of representations to the authorities to restore the ST status to them. Aginst this background this study has been conducted.

Although no official compilation of the total population of the Nayakas is available, discussion with the leaders of the community has revealed that their strength is around 70000.

The Documentary evidence like school admission records, Revenue records show that the community is written as "Nayak/Nayakulu" before 1976. After 1976 in the school admission records and revenue records they have been mentioned as Nayak with ST in the brackets and in some records they have been written as Naikpod. As per the SCs and STs (Modification) order 1956 the Nayak tribe was restricted to agency areas only. The present community under study being the residents of nonagency area they are not tribes.

The annexure II of the GO No. 245, S.No.19 (Naikpodu) clearly stated that Nayak, Pandava Nayakulu, Padma Nayakulu, are synonymous to Naikpodu community. K. Mohan Rao in his article reported that the Naikpodu living in tribal areas of Adilabad, Karimnagar, Warangal, Khammam, and Nayaks of East Godavari and west Godavari are one and the same.

The earlier ethnographic records depict that the Nayaka community is called by different names such as Nayakulu, Naikpodu, Nayakapollu, Pandava Nayakulu. These terms mentioned above are synonymous and they denote one and the same community (Pratap).

The study evaluated the claims of Nayak/ Naikpodu community for the ST status from the point of view of the criteria laid down by the Lokur Committee. The committee identified the following criteria

- a. Primitive traits
- a. Distinctive culture
- b. Shyness of contract with the public at large
- c. Geographical isolation
- d. Backwardness

a). Primitive traits

Nayaks/ Naikpodu appear to belong to Dravidian racial stock and predominantly their skin colour is dark brown. They do not grow moustache and their hair do not become white even after attaining 80 years of age. The features of the community are curling hair (*Zirrajuttu*) and large noses which they call '*Zirramukku*'. Women wear '*yedama paita*'. They are involved in podu cultivation, and their economic activity is linked to forest. They still retain their habits of hunting and collecting forest products despite being fully involved in agriculture operations or sector. They eat vudumulu (monitor lizard)

b). Distinctive culture

The distinctive aspects of culture have been observed in the prevalence of bride price (Oli). The ritual traditions they observe in Korrajula Teerdam, Peddamma talli jatara and other rituals like Kolabiyyam and Saruvukarra have been exclusive to the Nayakas only. Taboos are more popular in tribal societies. Important taboos are connected with puberty, and childbirth. Their ritual traditions of *Vanabojanalu* and other rituals have been exclusive to the Nayakas only.

c). Shyness of contract with the public at large

The aspect of shyness of contact cannot be attributed to a majority of the groups in the scheduled tribes.

d). Geographical isolation

With regard to the geographical isolation, majority of the hamlets were exclusive hamlets of Nayaks/ Naikpodu. With the arrival of non tribes their exclusiveness or their isolation is getting receded. Even now the Nayaks have exclusive habitations, their settlements are away from the village and they share settlements with Koyas.

They cannot always be viewed as people living apart as the degree of isolation of various Adivasi communities of the State is varied depending on the localities in which they inhabit. As the societies are not static but dynamic and tribes have also undergone various changes. Groups corresponding to the anthropological conception of the tribe lived in India in varying degrees of association with other communities. According to Singh (1985) the isolation of tribal society has been relative and never absolute and with rapid development of communication facilities the physical isolation of tribes was eliminated (N.K.Bose, Behura and Mohanthy, 1980; Mohapatra, 1990; Pasayat, 1991, 1993; Pathy, P 1984).

e). Backwardness

Majority of the Nayaka community people are backward economically and socially and their dependent on subsistence economy and majority of them have no lands and or engaged as agriculture labour. Majority of the people among the Nayak community is poor and major reason for high rates of poverty is their over dependence on natural resources/ agriculture causing increasing child labour among the tribes. Poverty is a significant deterrent to tribal children as they often dropout of school for helping their family in occupation and their families cannot afford the cost of education as they are deprived of economic resources. Education is a major non-income factor determining the development of any economy or society (UNDP, 2000). The community struggles with high levels of illiteracy, unemployment and high levels of mortality.

Comparison of Nayak Community of plain areas with Nayak Community of Agency area and Naikpodu of Khammam District

Claimants as Naikpodu from West Godavari and Krishna Districts	Nayak/Naikpodu of Agency area	Naikpodu of Khammam District
Nomenclature;		
They call themselves as Naikpodu /Naikpodulu, others call them as Nayaks. The Nayakulu/ Naikpodu are synonyms. G.O NO. 245 clearly states that Nayaks, Naikpodu, Pandavanayakas are synonyms. The studies of Mohanrao and Dr. Pratap reported that the fact that they are synonyms.	They call themselves as Naikpodu /Naikpollu, others call them as Naikpodu.	They call themselves as Naikpodu /Naikpollu, others call them as Naikpodu.
Distribution:		
They are distributed in West Godavari and Krishna Districts. Studies have also reported that Naikpodu community is sparsely scattered in outside the scheduled area.	They are distributed in Agency areas of West Godavari.	They are distributed in Khammam District.
Traditional Occupation:		
The main traditional	The main traditional	The main traditional

occupation is hunting, now majority of them, are agricultural labour	occupation is hunting, now majority of them, are agricultural labour	occupation is hunting, now majority of them, are agricultural labour
Kin Network: The Kin relatives are found in the agency areas and the adjoining districts of Telangana state.	The Kin relatives are found in the agency areas and the adjoin districts of Telangana state and plain areas of West Godavari and Krishna Districts	found in the agency areas of Andhra Pradesh and the adjoining
Geographical Isolation: Once the area was forest area and they were in geographical isolation now they are in multi- caste villages	One or two settlements are exclusive settlements	No excusive settlements, no geographical isolation.
Social Organization: The community is divided into various exogamous patronymic called intiperlu (surnames). They follow tribe endogamy and it is an	divided into various exogamous patronymic called intiperlu (surnames).	divided into various exogamous patronymic called intiperlu (surnames).
endogamous group Gotra exogamy is not followed. They have only one Gotram called Nalyala Gotram.	endogamous group	endogamous group Gotra exogamy is not followed. They have only one Gotram called Nalyala Gotram.
Political organization: The Kulapanchayat is	The Kulapanchayat is	The Kulapanchayat is

headed by Peddakapu and assisted by Chinnakaapu and Bantrotu.	headed by Peddakapu and assisted by Chinnakaapu and Bantrotu.	headed by Peddakapu and assisted by Chinnakaapu and Bantrotu.
Religious festivals Korrajula Pandaga and Peddammatalli Jathara are the main traditional festivals of the community. Those who celebrate Korrajula Pandaga do not celebrate Peddammathalli Pangada.	Korrajula Pandaga and Peddammatalli Jathara are the main traditional festivals of the community. Those who celebrate Korrajula Pandaga do not celebrate Peddammathalli Pangada.	Korrajula Pandaga and Peddammatalli Jathara are the main traditional festivals of the community. Those who celebrate Korrajula Pandaga do not celebrate Peddammathalli Pangada.
They also observe Kothala Pandaga, Tatamma Tatayyala Pandaga.	TheyalsoobserveKothalaPandaga,TatammaTatayyalaPandaga.	They also observe Kothala Pandaga, Tatamma Tatayyala Pandaga.
The images of Korrajulu and Peddammathalli are taken to the villages of Naikpodu /Nayakulu.	The images of Korrajulu and Peddammathalli are taken to the villages of Naikpodu /Nayakulu.	The images of Korrajulu and Peddammathalli are taken to the villages of Naikpodu /Nayakulu.
Marriage: Marriage by negotiation and marriage by elopement are the two dominant forms of Marriage. Marriage by elopement is accepted by performing 'Tatakula pelli or marumanuvu'. 'Tatakula pelli' is officiated by pedda kapu. The eloped parties are fined with Rs.7500. The fined money is used for community feast	and marriage by elopement are the two dominant forms of Marriage. Marriage by elopement is accepted by performing 'Tatakula pelli or marumanuvu'. 'Tatakula pelli' is officiated by pedda kapu. The eloped parties are fined with Rs.7500.	elopement are the two dominant forms of Marriage. Marriage by elopement is accepted by performing 'Tatakula pelli or marumanuvu'. 'Tatakula pelli' is officiated by pedda kapu. The eloped parties

with pig meat. <i>Single</i> <i>mangal Sutra</i> is bought with the amount of fine and the woman has to wear only single sutra. In the case of death of either of the eloped couple the corpse is tied to a single stick and taken to the burial ground.	with pig meat. <i>Single</i> <i>mangal Sutra</i> is bought with the amount of fine and the woman has to wear only single sutra. In the case of death of either of the eloped couple the corpse is tied to a single stick and taken to the burial ground.	with pig meat. <i>Single</i> <i>mangal Sutra</i> is bought with the amount of fine and the woman has to wear only single sutra. In the case of death of either of the eloped couple the corpse is tied to a single stick and taken to the burial ground.
No surrogate or Levirate marriages	No sorrorate or Levirate marriages.	No sorrorate or Levirate marriages.
The marriage by negotiation is officiated by Brahmin priest.	The marriage by negotiation is officiated by Brahmin priest.	The marriage by negotiation is officiated by Brahmin priest.
Language:	Language:	Language:
They have no separate language, they speak Telugu only	They have no separate language, they speak Telugu only	They have no separate language, they speak Telugu only
Birth rites:	Birth rites:	Birth rites:
In purification bath the entire community participates by contributing water which is known as <i>"Kundalantinchadam"</i> .	•	In purification bath the entire community participates by contributing water which is known as <i>"Kundalantinchadam"</i> .
Food habits		
They are fond of eating meat of the Monitor Lizard (Vudumu). They catch Monitor Lizard and the method of catching Monitor lizard is called	meat of the Monitor Lizard (Vudumu). They catch Monitor Lizard and the method of	They are fond of eating meat of the Monitor Lizard (Vudumu). They catch Monitor Lizard and the method of catching Monitor lizard is called

<i>"Bokupettadam"</i> . They love to eat pork meet.	"Bokupettadam". They love to eat pork meet.	"Bokupettadam". They love to eat pork meet.
	1	1
Religion;		
They believe in animism and although they profess Hinduism and they do not follow Hindu Festivals.	They believe in animism and although they profess Hinduism and they do not follow Hindu Festivals.	They believe in animism and although they profess Hinduism and they do not follow Hindu Festivals.
The festivals that are exclusively celebrated by this community are Korrajula Panduga/ Peddamma Jatara/ Tatamma and Tataiah Panduga, Kottalla Panduga and Vanadevatala Panduga.	The festivals that are exclusively celebrated by this community are Korrajula Panduga/ Peddamma Jatara/ Tatammaand Tataiah Panduga, Kottalla Panduga and Vanadevatala Panduga.	The festivals that are exclusively celebrated by this community are Korrajula Panduga/ Peddamma Jatara/ Tatammaand Tataiah Panduga, Kottalla Panduga and Vanadevatala Panduga.
They practice rituals like split opening the stomach of ram, and pulling out liver of the ram during the last day of Korrajula Panduga	They practice rituals like split opening the stomach of ram, and pulling out liver of the ram during the last day of Korrajula Panduga	They practice rituals like split opening the stomach of ram, and pulling out liver of the ram during the last day of Korrajula Panduga
Present status: They do not enjoy ST status	They have ST status	They have ST Status

Comparing the Nayaks or Naikpodu community, with the Naikpodu of the Adilabad there are number of similarities which have been mentioned by the earlier study and the difference is with regard to the name/nomenclature of the head of the Kula Panchayati. In the case of Adilabad Naikpodu he is called as Peddamanishi who is assisted by the Pathani or Kotwal or Manegadu (Messenger) and in Nayak / Naikpodu community of Krishna and West Godavari and Khammam, the head of the Kula Panchayiti is called by *Peda Kapu* and assisted by China Kapu and Bantrotu. It is observed that there is minor variation in the nomeniclature of the

functionaries of the Kula Panchayats. The minor variation may be due to the influence of Nizam / Urdu language or Islam. And there is no variation in the functions and functionaries of the Panchayat. The institution of religious head is also there in these two communities, in the case of Adilabad he is called *Kolakadu* and in Nayak community a separate name is not there but he officiates the religious festivals of Nayak and Naikpodu community like Korrajulu theerdam and Peddamma talli Jatara. Bheemanna and Lakshmi Devara Pooja are important festivals in Adilabad and they perform dances wearing various masks of Pandavulu etc. In West Godavari and Krishna districts Peddamma Talli Jatara and Korrajula Theerdam are important festivals and they also perform traditional dances wearing the masks of Pandavas in Bhudevara Aata.

The study found that the Nayaks of West Godavari and Krishna District have marital relationships with Nayaks of agency tracts of West Godavari and Naikpodu of Khammam Districts. This is the testimony of the fact that they are all one and the same and all belong to one tribe considering the fact they all follow strict tribe endogamy. The study also found that the social structure, marriage patterns, food habits, livelihood patterns on Naikpodu community living in Khammam District and Nayaks of West Godavari and Krishna Districts of Andhra Pradesh are similar and there are no variations and differences between these two communities in all aspects. The primary school registers in the districts of West Godavari and Krishna for the last 20 years show their social status is mentioned as Nayaks/ Naikpod or ST. In some school registers the name of the tribe was not mentioned and in majority of the cases ST was written agonist the names of the School Children. In the view of the above mentioned aspects the study recommends the continuation of ST status to Nayaks/ Naikpodu of West Godavari, Krishna Districts of Andhra Pradesh and Khammam District of Telangana State as their claims for ST status are genuine and Nayaks and Naikpodu are synonyms.

Annexure - I

Marital relations of Nayakpodu

Total Families in Kandrikagudem Village of Chintalapudi Mandal is 85, Out Of 85 Families 56 Families have marital relations With Nayakpodus of Telangana state. Following are the details.

- Appireddy Durgarao S/O Venkanna who belongs to Nayak Community of Kandrikagudem habitation is married Sanga Nagarthnam D/O Ramulu of Naikpod Community of Naramvarigudem Village Aswaraopeta Mandal, Khammam Dist.
- Appireddy Ramu S/O Durgaro of Nayak Community of Kandrikagudem is married to Dabba Sabitha D/O Venkanna of Naikpod Community from Garla village and Mandal of Khammam Dist.
- Muddina Durgayya S/O Rosayya from Kandrikagudem is married to Gaddam Buchamma D/O Venkatramma from Nallabadu Village Aswaraopet Mandal of Khammam Dist.
- Pandla Mutyalu S/O Durgayya Belongs Naikpod Community from Kandrikagudem is married to Puchi Nagamani D/O Venkulu belongs to Naikpod Community from Mondivarre Village of Dammapeta Mandal, Khammam Dist.
- Pandla Nageswaramma D/O Darmarao belongs to Naikpod Community of Kandrikagudem is married to Puchi Sridhar S/O Mangulu belongs to Naikpod Community from Mondivarre Village, Dammapet Mandal, Khammam Dist.
- Betham Ramadevi D/O Hanumantharao belongs to Naikpod Community of Kandrikagudem is married to Gopina Baburao S/O Narayana belongs Naikpod Community from Kotha Naramvarigudem Village of Aswaraopet Mandal, Khammam Dist.
- Siddina Muthamma D/O Muthyalu belongs to Naikpod Community from Kandrikagudem is married to Kunta Rambabu S/O Narashima belongs Naikpod Community from Rudrakshapalli Village of Sathupalli Mandal, Khammam Dist.
- Muddina Venkataramana D/O Durgayya belongs to Naikpod Community from Kandrikagudem is married to Naram Rambabu S/O Gopiyya belongs Naikpod Community from Naramvarigudem Village of Aswaraopet Mandal, Khammam Dist.

- Muddina Pottemma D/O Rosayya belongs to Naikpod Community from Kandrikagudem is married to Ravula Durgayya S/O Ramulu belongs Naikpod Community from Peddagollagudem Village of Dammapet Mandal, Khammam Dist.
- 10. Jammula Raghupathi S/O Jangam belongs to Naikpod Community from Kandrikagudem is married to Koyyala Ramulu D/O Veeramallu belongs Naikpod Community from Mondevarre Village of Dammapet Mandal, Khammam Dist.

Total Families in Putrela Village in Vissannapet Mandal is 70, Out Of 70 Families 62 Families Having Marital Relation with Telangana Region. Example

- Boddu Pullayya S/O Narayana belongs to Naikpod Community from Putrela married to Kola Sushela D/O Chitteyya Naikpod Community from Yerraguntapadu Village, Vemsoor Mandal of Khammam Dist.
- Boddu Mareswarao S/O Pullayya belongs to Naikpod Community from Putrela married to Dadi Sujatha D/O Ramulu belong Naikpod Community From Vedanthapuram Village Aswaraopet Mandal Khammam Dist.
- Regula Nagaraju S/O Anjaneyulu Belongs Naikpod Community from Putrela married to Boddu Jyothi D/O Chitteyya belongs to Naikpod Community From Siddaram Village, Sathupalli Mandal of Khammam Dist.
- Boddu Suresh S/O Tirapathayya Belongs Naikpod Community from Putrela married to Patte Aswini D/O Venkateswarao belongs to Naikpod Community From Tummuru Village of Sathupalli Mandal, Khammam Dist.
- Regula Gopalrao S/O Anjaneyulu belongs to Naikpod Community from Putrela married to Rauvla Baby D/O Chitteyya belongs to Naikpod Community From Peddagollagudem Village of Dammapet Mandal, Khammam Dist.
- Boddu Mallayya S/O Mangayya belongs to Naikpod Community from Putrela married to Regula Padma D/O Venkateswarao belongs Naikpod Community From Ammapalem Village of Vemsoor Mandal, Khammam Dist.
- Boddu Muralikrishna S/O Pullayya belongs Naikpod Community from Putrela married to Kunta Krishnaveni D/O Srinivasarao belongs Naikpod Community From Rudrakshapalli Village of Sathupalli Mandal, Khammam Dist.
- Boddu Venkateswarao S/O Pullayya belongs Naikpod Community from Putrela married to Kusini Sarojini D/O Venkateswarao belongs Naikpod Community From Gudipadu Village, Sathupalli Mandal of Khammam Dist.

- Chintal Srinu S/O Yeraaiah belongs Naikpod Community from Putrela married to Chilaka Mariamma D/O Venkatanarasiah belongs to Naikpod Community From Banjara Village, Vemsoor Mandal of Khammam Dist.
- Boddu Pullaiah S/O Mangiah belongs to Naikpod Community from Putrela married to Kola.Venkatearavamma S/O Chitteyya belongs toNaikpod Community From Yerraguntapadu Village, Vemsoor Mandal of Khammam Dist.
- Puccha Nagaraj S/O Sriramulu belongs Naikpod Community from Putrela married to Chilaka Jyothi D/O. Venkateswararo belongs to Naikpod Community From Beerapali Village, Vemsoor Mandal of Khammam Dist.
- 12. Regula Baby D/O Seetharamulu belongs to Naikpod Community from Putrela married to Ganti Bujjayya S/O Rajayya belongs to Naikpod Community From Sathupalli Village, Sathupalli Mandal of Khammam Dist.
- 13. Chintal Somiya S/O Pireaiah belongs to Naikpod Community from Putrela married to Machha Lkshmi D/O Ramulu belongs to Naikpod Community From China Gowlagudim Village, Dampeta Mandal of Khammam Dist.
- 14. Passam Chanti S/O Pullaiah belongs to Naikpod Community from Putrela married to Regula Venkatalakshmi D/O Venkateswararo belongs to Naikpod Community From Sathupalli Village of Sathupalli Mandal, Khammam Dist.
- 15. Yamavarapu Ramesh S/O Gajanadim Belongs Naikpod Community from Kowralamanda married to Pujila Damayanti D/O Ragavulu belongs to Naikpod Community from Kakarla Village of Sathupalli Mandal, Khammam Dist.

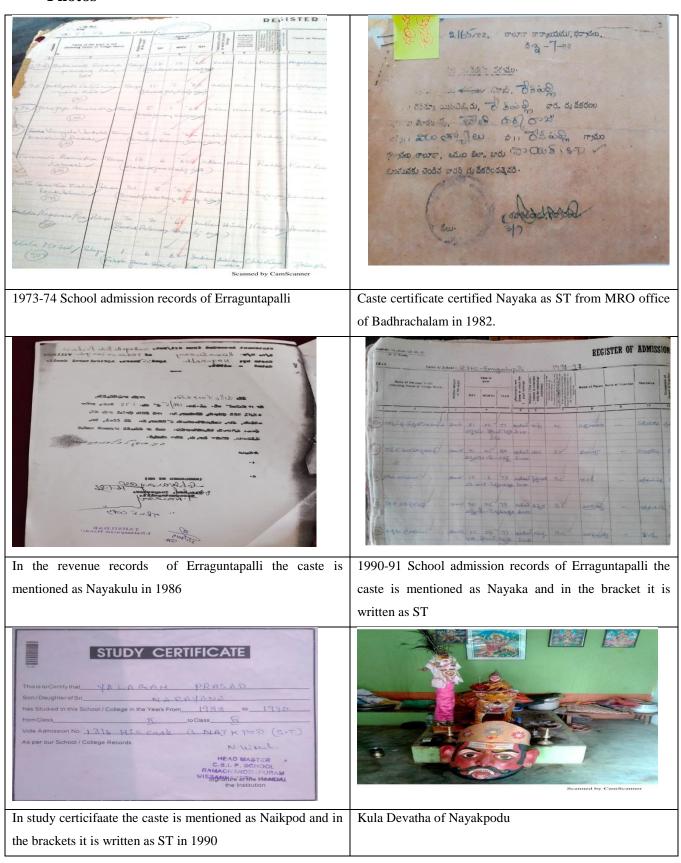
Total Families in Kollivarigudem Village of T.Narsapuram Mandal is 75, Out Of 75 Families 65 Families are having Marital Relation with Telangana Region. Example:

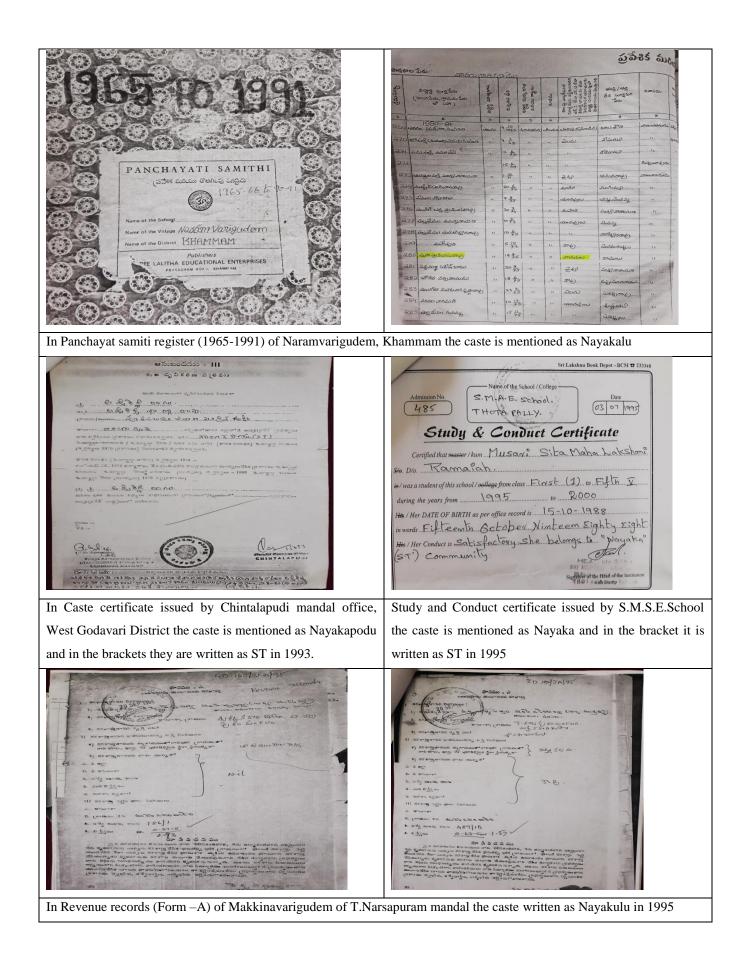
- Naram Rambabu S/O Satyanarayana belongs to Naikpod Community from Kollivarigudem married to Puchi Radha D/O Narasihma belongs to Naikpod Community From Ayyagaripet Village of Sathupalli Mandal, Khammam Dist.
- Kota Devi D/O Srinu belongs to Naikpod Community from Kollivarigudem married to Thota Mangaraju S/O Arjun belongs to Naikpod Community from Achuthapuram Village of Dammapet Mandal, Khammam Dist.
- Kota Devi D/O Srinu belongs to Naikpod Community from Kollivarigudem married to Thota Mangaraju S/O Arjun belongs to Naikpod Community From Achuthapuram Village of Dammapet Mandal, Khammam Dist.

- Kinnera Jogayya S/O Somayya belongs to Naikpod Community from Kollivarigudem married to Golisetti Laxmi D/O Mutyalu belongs to Naikpod Community from Gopalapuram Village of Dammapet Mandal, Khammam Dist.
- Nallagulla Laxmi D/O Sathibabu belongs to Naikpod Community from Kollivarigudem married to Muddina Nagu S/O Venkateswarao belongs to Naikpod Community From Achuthapuram Village of Dammapet Mandal, Khammam Dist.
- Somina Buchiraju S/O Venkateswarao belongs to Naikpod Community from Kollivarigudem married to Sangam Rani D/O Buchiraju belongs to Naikpod Community from Kothanaramvarigudem Village of Aswaraopet Mandal, Khammam Dist.
- Daba Sathyam S/O Nagulu belongs to Naikpod Community from Kollivarigudem married to Ravula Ademma D/O Verayya belongs to Naikpod Community from Vinayakapuram Village of Aswaraopet Mandal, Khammam Dist.
- Yadiraju Aruna D/O Venkateswarao belongs to Naikpod Community from Kollivarigudem married to Marthi Ramakrishna S/O Pulleshu belongs to Naikpod Community from Achuthapuram Village of Dammapet Mandal, Khammam Dist.
- Naram Mallika D/O Sathyanarayana belongs to Naikpod Community from Kollivarigudem married to Ganta Nagu S/O Perumallu belongs to Naikpod Community from Vinayakapuram Village of Aswarao Pet Mandal, Khammam Dist.
- 10. Rajina Laxminarayana S/O Rajarao belongs to Naikpod Community from Kollivarigudem married to Ganta Ramalaxmi D/O Jagannatham belongs to Naikpod Community from Gudipadu Village of Sathupalli Mandal, Khammam Dist.
- 11. Kinnera Venkateshu S/O Ramaswamy belongs to Naikpod Community from Kollivarigudem married to Reddy Mayuri D/O Venkateswarao belongs to Naikpod Community from Marigudem Village of Dammapet Mandal, Khammam Dist.
- 12. Rajini Kumari D/O Babu belongs to Naikpod Community from Kollivarigudem married to Naram Vikas S/O Pakiru belongs to Naikpod Community from Naram Varigudem Village of Aswaraopet Mandal, Khammam Dist.

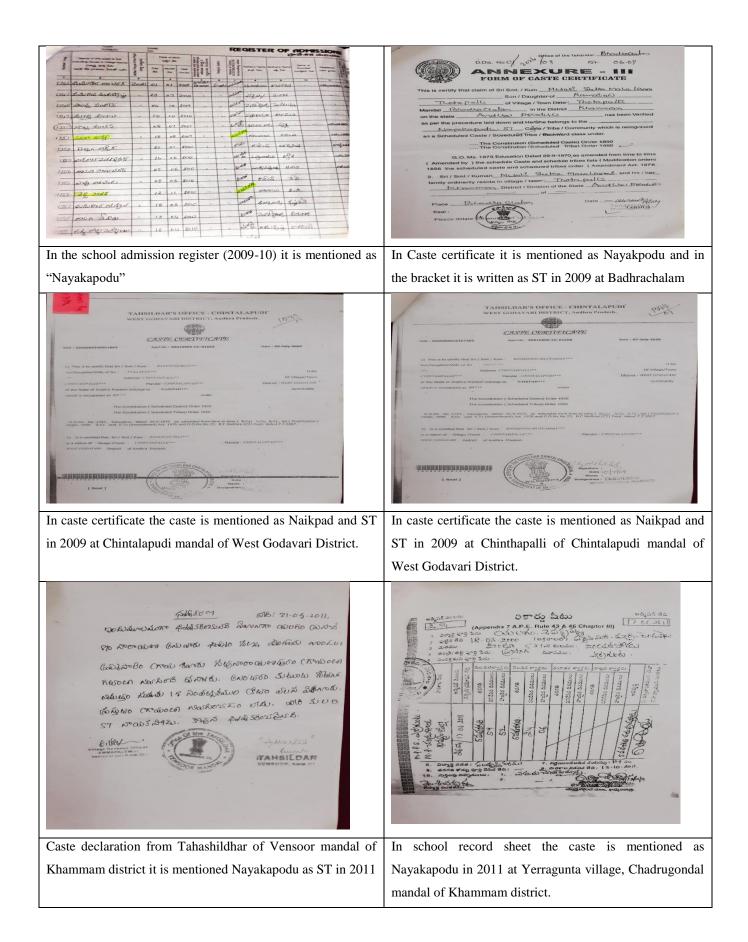
Annexure - II

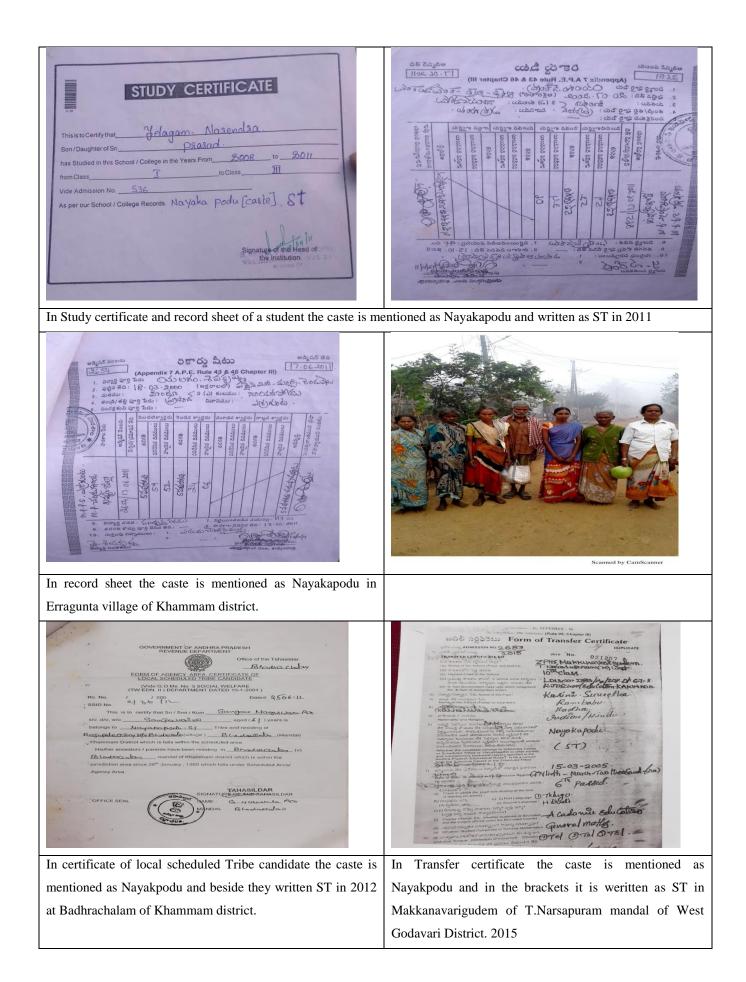


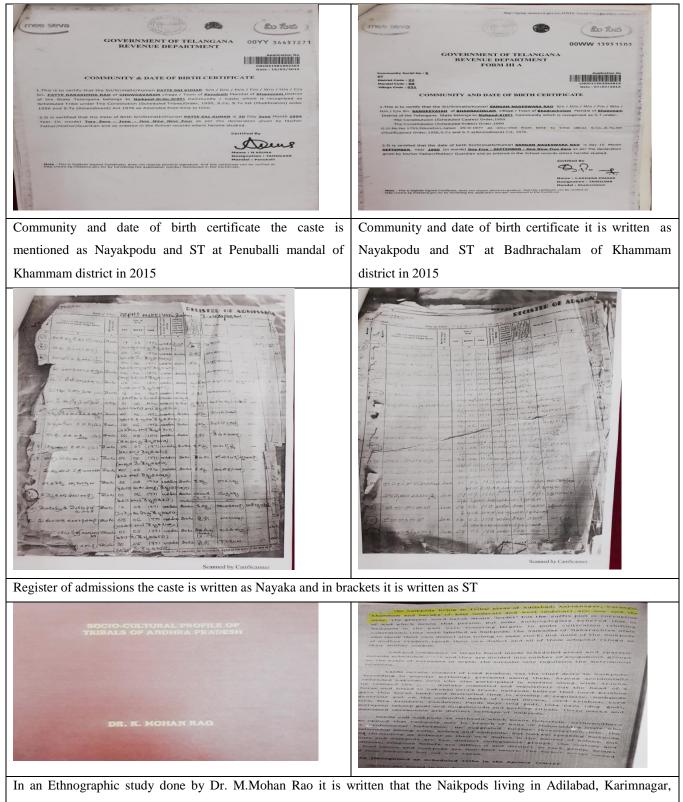




726 1'98 0060 NEDO, NEW AND DATE OF B SUDO, NSSOO 205371250 000 Contraction of planting Yel Ver re. agam:) ఉత్తమన్న ఉత్తమన్న తెగల కారితా (మార్ర తెగల (సవతల) చట్ట r (మార్పిడి) ఉత్తరువు గా) చట్టం. న విధంగా, 23-9-19 Run Yelagam: Venkata kom soor avera: 30500 dates 2023 (23 apuran vilagar. Venkataza khamman war and a stand argama, was was a standard a a a a anti a sent Kun Yelagami Um 1985 Minter Esighty Cir Community, Nativity and date of birth certificate it was Community and date of birth certificate it was mentioned mentioned that the caste Nayakapollu is written as ST at Nayakpodu as ST at Penuballi madal of Khammam Satyanarayanapuram, Vensoor mandal, of Khammam District district in 2001. in 1998. (A. E. Rules) ANDAL REVENUE OFFICE - SATHUPALLY RHAMMAM DISTRICT, A.F - 507 303 19 (Rule 183, Chap. III REGISTI 2003 - 2004 Sat 100 1001 1000 1000 1000 1001 Z.P.H. School NAME OF SCI BIRTH CERT MMUNITY, NATIVITA AND DATE OF ertify that Sri/Smt/Kum-Yalagam Krishna of Sri -Yalagam Venkatesveru**** He. 2-204)***** Mandal - BATH AM**** The densitiution (foreduied coetes) order 1850 Me. 1993, Education (foreduied coetes) order 1950 20 3.C.s. 3.Ts (list (Modification) order, 1956 3.C mc) Act, 1975 4 Egg & Artors 08 のから man alex Districtor) it is certified that -Yalagam Krishnalah***** Day -2**** 1903*** 284 ceas 1997 Atomatures Binon Q Dates (9-06-200 game: CC-(ER-06) R (10 copital toctors) Bug 8 2020 2520 35 AMAINGAI REVENUE OUI 8238 28338 5230 Community, Nativity and date of birth certificate it was In admission register of ZPHS, Makkinavarigudem (2003mentioned Naikpod as ST at Siddaram , Sattupally mandal of 04) the caste is mentioned as Nayakapodu Khammam District in 2002. AHSILDAR'S OFFICE - BUTTAYAGUDE 0 ASTE CERTIFICATE CASTE CERTIFICATE DADI tele Caste certificate issued by Tahashildhar of Chintalapudi In caste certificate the caste is mentioned as Naikpad and mandal of West Godavari disrict mentioned as Naikpod and and ST in 2008 at Surapavarigudem of Buttayyagudem ST in 2005. mandal of West Godavari District.

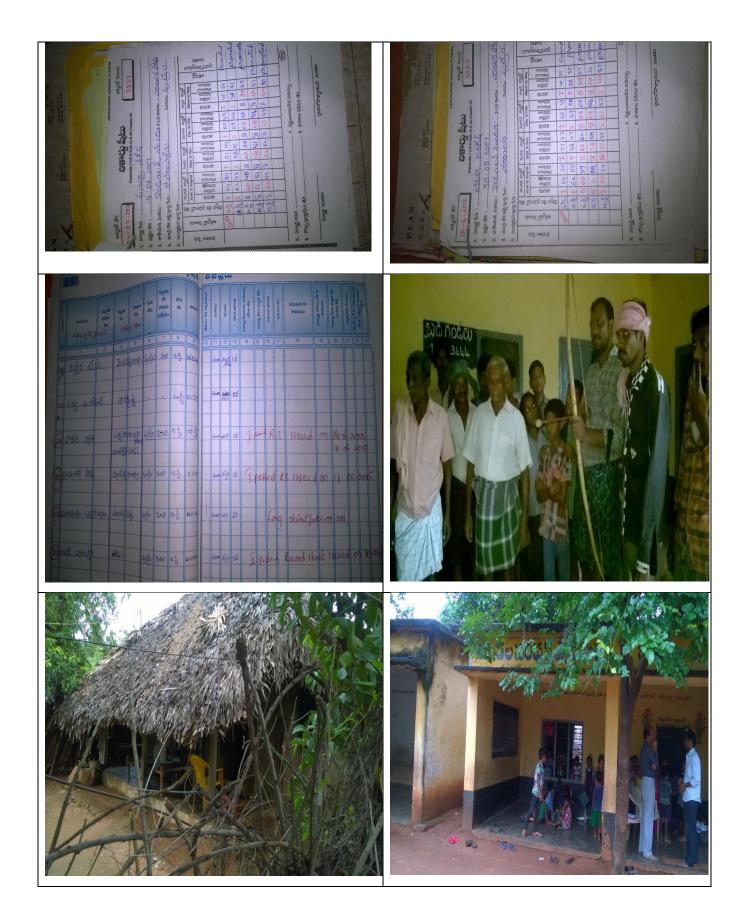






Warangal, Khammam and Nayaks of East Godavari and West Godavari are one and same.

100 8000 (T.T N. Mohana Rao Matty aut HM M.P.U.P. School Allopallo TSGGCC GOVERNMENT OF TELANGENING HILL HEREIN REVENUE DEPARTMENT FORM IN A and and and ABSV Rangeviao Professor Deputrient of Social are Andrea University, Visakhapatrian. chintalapado (Md) vest Giodavasio I A CHARMEN AND A DECK NT District Code - 3.2 Handal Code - 05. west Bass adasau. నారిచుకపోడును 5 7 గా గిమిందడం గాలు 1 P U P సంకర్ణల లిడిగరల్లి సందు 1000 సంజ. జైపన్ రాజ్యర్ చుడ్డు సందు రిడ్రువన్ జిష్మర్ సందు నారిచుకునేడు కులంను 57 గాం సిమాడు చేయింటి దుప్పడులి తమతు (20) CHAP) The Head Master of M.P.U.P.School, Allipalli village, In Community and date of birth certificates issued by Chitalapudu mandal of West Godavari District said that Tahasildhar Aswaraopeta mandal, Badhradri they have been mentioning Nayakpodu as ST and the Kothagudem district the caste mentioned as Naikpod admission records of the school from 1983 show the and recognized as ST in 2018. same. (80 % (Traff TSGGBB OVERNMENT OF TELANGANA REVENUE DEPARTMENT FORM III A Handal Code | 12 Mandal Code : 08 Village Code : 010 COMMUNITY AND DATE OF BIRTH CERTIFICATE COMMUNITY AND DATE OF BIRTH CERTIFICATE 2.11 is certified that the date of birth Srt/Srimathi/Kumari PUCHLSWA 1998 (In words) Zero Siz - JUNE - One Pine Pine Fight as per Pather/Mether/ Guardian and as entored in the School records where I (235 1. auchera Name - H BRADRAKALI Designation - TANDILDAR In Community and date of birth certificates issued by Tahasildhar Aswaraopeta mandal, Badhradri Kothagudem district the caste is mentioned as Naikpod and ST in 2018. عين عن في معرفي المحمد الم المحمد courses sociality ස. යු. සං සං ක් ඒ කිස්සා පොළු. සු - ක්ෂය කියාස්ය කරිදී. ප්රසාන මංතුති ారం చెరివిగా నుండలం దెనికి గుంటర్లు వైదిం బిల్లా పండుల్ ఉద్దుడపాడనాలు 1967 వేరంగారి బి-రంభంచు బనినిల (పారంభంచిన సంగారు సంక్ ఈ మెదార్థులు ఉద్దు నారు క్రిపి రెండు చెని అద్దుల్లి ఆ బ్రాలు నిరిపి రెండు చెన్న తి తిలికు ప్రైవే స్టునతి. SEMACE PEN SCHOOLST The Head Master of Erraguntapalli school said that the school statted in 1967 since then community children Nayaka have been studying in that school.





REGISTER OF ADMISSION AND WITHDRAWALS	n'né esté esté ne l'anti- anti- <u>a such indicater de la such</u> esté anti- n'né esté esté a de la such <u>a such indicater de la such</u> esté a such de la such
	Image: State State Image: State State Image: State State State Image: State State State Image: State State State Image: State State State Image: State State State Image: State State State Image: State State State Image: State State State Image: State State State Image: State State Image: State State State Image: State State State Image: State State State Image: State State Image: State State State Image: State State State Image: State State State Image: State State Image: State State State Image: State State Image: State State Image: State State Image: State State Image: State State Image: State State Image: State State Image: State State Image: State State Image: State State Image: State State Image: State State Image: State State Image: State State Image: State State Image: State State Image: State State Image: State State Image: State State Image: State State Image: State State Image: State State Image: State State Image: State State Image: State State Image: State State Image: State State Image: State State Image: State State Image: State State Image: State State Image: State State Image: State State Image: Sta

