

# **Ethnography of Agency Goudu Tribe in Andhra Pradesh**

**Sponsored by  
Department of Tribal Welfare  
Government of Andhra Pradesh**

**V.SUBRAMANYAM (Rtd)  
Project Consultant**



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**2020**

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**Research Team  
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## PREFACE

Ethnographic studies gained much importance in the discipline of Anthropology since its origin and growth. The pioneer Anthropologists like Malinowski, RadcliffeBrown, Franz Boas, Varrier Elwin and Haimendorf were practically used and demonstrated applicability of ethnographic method in documentation of human cultures through empirical research with field work, along participant observation. The Colonial Administrators in India during their regime (rule) also felt the need of understanding the ethnographic (cultural) background of different ethnic groups (caste communities) of India, for an effective administration in local people perspective. Edgar Thurston (1909) was appointed by the colonial rulers for this purpose, and who documented the cultures of all caste communities and published it in number of volumes titled “Castes and Tribes in India”. Since then the ethnographic studies has achieved administration significance along with the academic value. In the beginning the Anthropologists started to document the cultures of unknown people of primitive communities, later which become the prime subject matter of social and cultural Anthropology. For planning and development of any human group across globe, it is very essential to understand ethnographic (cultural) background of mankind in both etic and emic perspectives in order to initiate effective action orientation programmes for their upliftment and betterment.

After bifurcation of the combined Andhra Pradesh State into Telangana and Andhra Pradesh, the administrators of Tribal Welfare department in Andhra Pradesh noticed the inadequacy of ethnographic information availability on certain tribal communities. Agency Goudu is one such tribal communities lacking detailed and descriptive ethnographic information. Hence, this ethnographic study on Agency Goudu tribe has achieved significance and came into operation with the financial support of Tribal Welfare Department of Andhra Pradesh, in assistance of Centre for Economics and Social Studies, Hyderabad. It is a project consultancy work assigned to me by the Centre for Economics and Social Studies, Hyderabad, during the financial year 2017-2018.

Agency Goudu is one of the Pastoral tribe of Andhra Pradesh and its population mainly concentrated in the Scheduled areas of Visakhapatnam, Vizianagram and Srikakulam districts. As per people of India project report (2003), there are 635 tribal groups in our country, distributed in almost all the states except Harayana and Punjab. Among the total tribal communities only a few pastoral tribes are found in India. In Andhra Pradesh State

once Lambada / Sugali tribe was considered as pastoral tribe. Now this tribe is primarily depending on Agriculture, most of the families in lambada / sugali tribe owning agricultural lands. A few families have cattle wealth. The habitats of this tribe mostly found in the plain areas. It is treated as one of the plain tribes of Andhra Pradesh. Agency Goudu habitats are found in the hill tracts of north coastal Andhra Pradesh. It is a minor tribal group consists of 7749 people. Many families in this tribe now depend largely on agriculture but almost all the families have cattle in varied number. A considerable number of people in the community engaged as cow herds, which is another source of income to them, apart from agriculture and minor forest produce collection sources of income.

The Agency Goudu or Goudu population also found in the neighbouring state Orissa, mainly concentrated in Koraput district. In Orissa most of the Goudu caste settlements are found in the plain areas and they have established symbiotic relationship with other castes of multi caste villages. Goudu caste in Orissa is a pastoral caste and claiming descent from the god Sri Krishna. The Agency Goudu in Andhra Pradesh state also claiming their descent from the god Sri Krishna. The Agency Goudu people in the study area told that their ancestors were migrated to the Agency areas of Andhra Pradesh from Nandapur, Koraput of Orissa state and settled here. The Agency Goudu people in the study area speak corrupt form of Oriya, along with the regional language Telugu. They claim that their mother tongue is 'Oriya'.

At present their economy is agro-forest based and still largely considered as subsistence economy. Age old customs and traditions still persist in Agency Goudu society even today. The impact of modernization is very limited on this tribe due to geographical isolation. Still many settlements lacking proper infrastructural facilities like road, electricity, clean drinking water and health. Still a section of Agency Goudu is not access to education and health facilities. A considerable number of Goudus are not availing the public and civic amenities. The impact of development programmes on this tribe is very limited and development taking place in a slow pace manner due to lapses at implementation level, geographical and ecological constraints. They are not fully participating in the ongoing development process due to economic deprivation, marginalization and social exclusion. The ethnographic account on this tribe presented in this report shall definitely useful for the tribal administrators for designing and implementation of very meaningful and workable welfare programmes for their progress, upliftment and development in future.

**Prof.V.Subramanyam**  
**Project Consultant**



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**V.SUBRAMANYAM**

## ABBREVIATIONS

ANM	Auxiliary Nurse Midwifery
ASHA	Accredited Social Health Activist
BC	Backward Classes
CC	Crop Calendar
CESS	Centre for Economic and Social Studies
DRDEPOT	Domestic Requirement Depots
DWACRA	Development of Women and Children in Rural Areas
FGDs	Focus Group Discussions
FZD	Father's Sister's Daughter
GCC	Girijan Cooperative Corporation
GDA	Girijan Development Agencies
ICDS	Integrated Child Development Scheme
ITDA	Integrated Tribal Development Agency
MADA	Modified Area Development Approach
MBD	Mother's Brother Daughter
MFP	Minor Forest Produce
MGNREGS	Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme
MLA	Member of the Legislative Assembly
MMCE	Marriage by Mutual Consent and Elopement
MP	Member of Parliament
MPTC	Mandal Parishad Territorial Constituency
NCA	North Costal Andhra Pradesh
NGOs	Non-Government Organizations
NTFP	Non-Timber Forest Produce

PESA	Panchayat Raj Extension to Scheduled Areas
PVTGs	Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups
RCC	Reinforced Cement Concrete
SC	Scheduled Caste
SGHs	Self Help Groups
ST	Scheduled Tribe
TCR&TI	Tribal Cultural Research and Training Institute
TDB	Tribal Development Block
TSPA	Tribal Sub – Plan Area
TV	Television
TWD	Tribal Welfare Development
VTGs	Vulnerable Tribal Groups
ZPTC	Zilla Parishad Territorial Constituency

## CHAPTER-I

### INTRODUCTION

#### **Problem and Tribals Background:**

The Andhra Pradesh state is known for tribal population. Large *chunk* of tribal population in the newly carved Andhra Pradesh state is concentrated in the tribal sub-plan areas of Eastern Ghats ecosystem. Eastern Ghats is considered as abode for tribal population. Tribals are known as forest dwellers. Forests and tribals are inseparable. They are also referred as *Adivasis*(primitives) and *vanavasis* (forest dwellers). They have established symbiotic relationship with forests since age immemorial. Once, they were largely depended on the forest flora and fauna for their sustenance when forests were intact. At present they are facing the problem to eke out their livelihood in the degraded forest environment, due to exploitation of valuable forest resources by the external agencies over a period of time, since colonial rule in India. Still the tribal life in the agency tracts of Eastern Ghats of Andhra Pradesh is largely inter-twined with the forest environment.

The tribals are considered as indigenous people and age old traditions and customs persists among them. It is a felt need to document the ethnography of tribes of Andhra Pradesh state afresh because certain of its cultural traits are perishing due to the impact of modernization, globalization and process of acculturation. During the Colonial (British) Rule in India, Edgar Thurston (1909) recorded the ethnography of tribes and castes in south India. Further, the Government of India has prepared the ethnographic notes (account) on 4635 communities (including tribes) under people of India project, with the help of Anthropological Survey of India, a premier research organization headed by the then Director K.S.Singh. The ethnographic material collected in all the communities of India spread in all the states, by the universities was published in edited volumes in the year 2003, by K.S.Singh as chief editor with the help of the publisher Affiliated East-West Press Pvt Ltd, New Delhi. Apart from these the Tribal Welfare Department of each state has conducted ethnographic studies on the tribes concerned, with the help of Tribal Cultural Research and Training Institute (TCR&TI), Academic departments of social sciences (including Anthropology) situated in universities, Research institutes and Non-Government Organizations in view of extending certain welfare programmes for the development of *Adivasis*. The socially excluded, marginalized and deprived tribal communities are still experiencing the problem of poverty and food insecurity.

In the combined Andhra Pradesh State, similar ethnographic studies on some of the tribes were carried out by the Tribal Welfare Department with the assistance of Tribal Cultural

Research and Training Institute located at Hyderabad. After bifurcation of combined Andhra Pradesh into Telengana and Andhra Pradesh, the Tribal welfare Department of newly carved Andhra Pradesh State was thought of conducting ethnographic studies on certain tribes with the help of Centre for Economic and Social Studies (CESS), Hyderabad, in association with the trained Anthropologists of Andhra University. The ethnographic study on Agency Goudu in Andhra Pradesh is one of the preferential, needed and priorities of the tribal welfare department and urged CESS to conduct it and submit the report in consultation with the Anthropologists. Hence, this study on Agency Goudu Tribe gained significance, importance and taken up and conducted by following Anthropological ethnographic methodological procedure. Agency Goudu is a pastoral tribal community mainly found in Visakhapatnam, Vizianagaram, and Srikakulam, East Godavari and West Godavari. It is a minor tribal group, migrated from the Orissa state and settled here long back. Goudu is a caste community of Orissa state, its habitats are found in the plain areas, where plenty of grazing lands are available to feed the cattle. It is a traditional pastoral community subsisting mainly on diary (cattle keeping). Some of its members emigrated to the Agency areas of Visakhapatnam and Vizianagaram and got the constitutional status of tribe due to their habitation in the scheduled area and established symbiotic relationship with the native tribes of Bagata, Konda dora, Nooka dora, Savara, and Jatapu. In the existing earlier ethnographic literature on the tribes of Andhra Pradesh, very little information is available on this tribe. Hence, this study is undertaken to provide detailed ethnographic information to the AP state Tribal Welfare department for its administrative purpose as well as for academic and research purposes of highest academic and research institutions across the globe. After reviewing the earlier literature on pastoral castes and tribes, it is noted that very little ethnographic information is available on Agency Goudu. This study try to fill the gap and contribute some more literature and add some additional phrases to the existing body of theory in pastoral economy and culture pertaining to the aboriginal pastoral tribes of India and abroad.

The newly carved Andhra Pradesh state represents 34 tribes with the population of 27,39,9199 (5.53%) as per 2011 census. Large majority of the tribal population in the state is concentrated in the tribal sub-plan areas of Srikakulam, Vizianagaram, Visakhapatnam, East Godavari, West Godavari, Prakasam, Kurnool and Guntur districts. Most of the tribal settlements in A.P state are located in the forested zones of Eastern Ghats, which is considered as abode for tribal population. The Yerukula tribe population is distributed in all the thirteen districts of Andhra Pradesh with variation in size, whereas the Yanadai tribe population is mostly concentrated in Nellore district. A special I.T.D.A was established for this tribe at Nellore for its welfare and development. Till 2008, there were 33 tribes in

Scheduled tribes list of combined A.P state, later two more tribes namely Nakkala (kurivikaran) and Dulia (paiko / putiya) were added to the list, and then it became 35 tribes. After bifurcation of the state, the newly carved Andhra Pradesh state consists of 34 tribes. The list of scheduled tribes in Andhra Pradesh state are mentioned below: 1) Andh 2) Bagata 3) Bhil 4) Chenchu 5) Gadaba 6) Gond 7) Goudu (Agency Goudu) 8) Hill Reddy 9) Jatapu 10) Kammara (Konda Kamara), 11) Kattu Nayakan 12) Kolam 13) Konda Dora 14) Konda Kapu 15) Konda Reddy 16) Khond 17) Kotia 18) Koya 19) Kulia 20) Mali 21) Manne dora 22) Mukha dora/Nooka dora 23) Nayak 24) Pardhan 25) Porja 26) Reddi dora 27) Rona/Rena 28) Savara (konda Savara, Kapu Savara) 29) Lambada/Sugali 30) Valmiki 31) Yanadi 32) Yerukula 33)Nakkala and 34) Dhulia.

Based on the ecological and geographical background, the aboriginal groups in A.P state has been broadly classified into 1) Hill tribes and 2) plain tribes. The plain tribes are yanadi, yerukula and lambada, the rest 31 are hill tribes. In general the hill tribes settlements are located in the high altitude forested zone of Eastern Ghats, and live relatively in isolation of hills and forests. The hill tribes are forced to depend on forest eco system of Eastern Ghats to eke out their livelihoods. The plain tribes inhabit along with the caste population in most of the multi-caste villages and they have established symbiotic relationship with other castes since long and exhibits most of the characteristic features of caste ethnicity.

The Agency Goudu is one among the 34 tribes of Andhra Pradesh state. It is the only pastoral tribe found in the scheduled areas of Andhra Pradesh. Goudus depend largely on cattle keeping and grazing their own and others in green pastures (grass lands). In general the pastoral communities exhibit the characteristic feature of '*transhumance*'. The pastorals usually go along with their cattle in search of fodder to feed them. They move from one place to another where grass lands (pastures) are available plenty in different seasons. At present some of the Yadava (*Golla*) caste people in the plain areas are primarily depending on pastoral economy and sustaining on dairy, apart from rearing sheep and goats for meat purpose. The people of this caste is distributed in all the thirteen districts of Andhra Pradesh, their settlements are mostly found in the plain areas, adjacent to the hills, hillocks and forests, where plenty of waste lands with pastures are available. The Agency Goudu tribe in the scheduled areas of Andhra Pradesh also rear the cattle of their own and watch the cattle of other tribes /castes on annual payment in both cash and kind. Apart from their hereditary calling (cattle Keeping) they are also engaged in farming, both settled and shifting cultivation of the other hill tribes of the region. The Agency Goudu people claim that they have descended from the Yadava community in which lord Krishna was born. They do not have

marital relation with the Goudu caste of Orissa state and Golla caste of Andhra Pradesh, but they have marital relations with the Goudu tribe of Koraput district of Orissa state even though they claim their descent from the god Krishna. They consider lord Krishna as their *Kula daivam* and observe Sri Krishna Janmastami festival in every calendar year along with the local tribal festivals. They also worship the cow like that of the Hindu castes of the region. It is clear that Agency Goudu is an ethnic group and homogenous community inhabiting in the Scheduled areas of north coastal districts of Visakhapatnam, Vizianagaram and Srikakulam districts. It is the only pastoral tribe found in newly carved Andhra Pradesh. Due to lack of sufficient ethnographic material and in-depth detailed study in the already available earlier literature, this study gains' significance and importance in both academic and administrative perspectives.

There are several sub-divisions among the Goudus of Orissa and Andhra Pradesh state belong to sallokhondia division, and they are considered as most superior and practise agriculture, rear cattle, sheep and goats. The problem of carrying out this ethnographic study at present is primarily to document the culture of Agency Godu tribe and to trace out the social and cultural changes that have taken place in the community due to both internal and external forces over a period of time. Another problem of this study is that the ethnic groups and castes, which are bearing the synonym name of the tribes in the plain areas also claim tribal status and some individuals in such castes even producing fake certificates and enjoying the education and employment reservation benefits under the scheduled tribes category. Such instances of Agency Goudu tribe certificate obtained by some people of Goudu/Gowdu castes of plain area of Andhra Pradesh is also noted. The article 366(25) of the constitution of India refer for the claim of scheduled tribes as those communities who are scheduled in accordance with the Article 342 of the constitution. This Article says that only those communities who have been declared as such by the president of India through an initial public notification will be considered as scheduled tribes through an Act of parliament. The essential characteristics first laid down by the lokur committee for a community to be identified as scheduled tribe are (a) primitive traits (b) Distinctive culture (c) shyness of contact with the public at large (d) geographical isolation and (e) backwardness-social and economical.

The essential criteria adopted for specifying communities as scheduled tribes are 1) traditional occupation 2) distinctive culture which included whole spectrum of tribal way of life, i.e, language, customs, traditions, religious beliefs, arts and crafts etc, 3) primitive traits depicting occupational pattern, economy etc, and 4) lack of educational and techno-economic development. Initially there was lot of debate on the use of term '*Adivasi*' instead of

scheduled tribe' but it was not accepted. The reason for non acceptance of the term '*Adivasi*' as explained by Dr. B.R.Ambedkar, chairman, Drafting committee of the constitution, is the word '*adibasi*' is really a general term which has no specific legal de jure connotation, whereas the word '*Scheduled tribe*' has a fixed meaning because it enumerates the tribes. In the event of the matter being taken to a court of law, there should be a precise definition as to who these *adivasis* are. It was therefore decided to enumerate the *adivasis* under the term to be called as '*Scheduled Tribe*'.

Verma (2002) explains how the concept of tribe has undergone a change from that of a political unit of olden days to a group of people identified with poverty and backwardness. Historically, they were exploited and oppressed resulting in a complete loss of their nerves. It is difficult to reconcile their glorious past with the present state of misery. However, they are gradually waking up from contraries old slumber. The young generation, particularly the educated class has now come to realize their potentiality and positive aspects and strengths that they have and are equal with other groups. The government of India has classified seventy five tribes as Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PVTGs), considering the characteristic features of pre-agricultural level of technology, stagnant or declining population, extremely low literacy and subsistence level economy. In Andhra Pradesh state the tribes like Chenchu, Gadaba, Kondh, Konda Reddy, Konda Sarava and Porja falls under this category. The habitats of these tribes are mostly found in accessible areas of interior forests, hill tops and slopes, living in most economic backward condition due to scanty of resources to sustain.

The concept of tribe varies from state to state and area to area, depending upon local socio-economic conditions of particular community and the consequent leading to inclusion of particular group in the list of scheduled tribes or scheduled caste in another state. Similarly, a community is notified as scheduled tribe, who are inhabiting in agency areas or scheduled areas of a state, the same community in the plain areas are classified as under backward class or scheduled caste. For instance the 'Kammara' is scheduled tribe within the agency areas of Visakhapatnam, East Godavari and West Godavari districts, whereas the same community in plain areas of these districts are classified under backward class 'B' group. Another example of Valmiki community in the agency areas of Visakhapatnam district is categorized as scheduled tribe, but the same community in plain areas of Andhra Pradesh is considered as scheduled caste, synonym caste Valmiki, Boya included in Backward Class 'A' group category. Another instance is that the Goudu in Agency areas of Andhra Pradesh is



categorized as scheduled tribe, 'Goudo' community in Orissa state considered as 'caste and included in Backward classes category.

Identical nomenclature of certain communities at times based on identical traditional occupations within the state is leading to much confusion and thus facilitating these non-tribal communities (castes) to claim scheduled tribes status. Long habitation of a caste into the scheduled area along with the indigenous people is also another factor for providing constitutional status of scheduled tribe. For example 'Kammara' inhabiting the tribal sub-plan areas of Visakhapatnam, East Godavari, and West Godavari districts was notified under the list of scheduled tribes of Andhra Pradesh. Similarly 'Kummari' caste community also inhabiting in tribal areas is not given scheduled tribe status. Even though, the community made repeated appeals to the A.P state S.T and S.C commission. In another instance the Konda kapu in the agency areas of Visakhapatnam and East Godavari districts have scheduled tribe status, whereas the 'Kapu' caste in the plain areas of the same districts considered as the open category even though which is synonym to 'Konda Kapu'. There is enough evidence to certain extent that fake caste certificates are produced to claim S.T status by so called high castes of plain areas of Andhra Pradesh state. There is mushroom growth of non-tribal's to enjoy the concessions and privileges in the fields of education, employment and development activities. Unless this process of pseudo tribalism is strictly controlled, the genuine tribals cannot be developed as envisaged in the constitution. This ethnographic study on Agency Goudo tribe is definitely useful to the government administrators to avoid the issuance of fake caste certificate as 'Agency Goudo' to the Goudo or Gowda castes in future.

### **The Concept Ethnography:**

Ethnography is 'field work in a particular culture'. It is the detailed and descriptive study of an ethnic group or a cultural group. Ethnography is a research process in which the anthropologist closely observes, records, and engages in the daily life of another culture and experience labeled as the field work method-and then writes accounts of this culture, emphasizing descriptive detail". Ethnography is not a prescribed set of methods it is a methodology that acknowledges the complexity of human experience and the need to research by close and sustained observation of human behaviour. Ethnography essentially involves empirical work especially observation. It involves the ethnographer participating in people's daily lives for an extended period of time, watching what happens, listening to what is said, asking questions-in fact, collecting whatever data are available to throw light on the issues that are the focus of the research. The concept ' ethnography' contains essential features of 1) Interactive- inductive research (that evolves in design through the study)

driving on 2) a family of methods 3) Involving direct and sustained contact with human agents 4) within the context of their daily lives (and cultures), 5) watching what happens, listening to what is said, asking questions and 6) producing a richly written account 7) that respects the irreducibility of human experience 8) that acknowledges the role of theory 9) as well as the researchers own role 10) and that views humans as part object / part subject. Ommen (1997) explained that “Ethnography is a methodology- a theory or set of ideas- about research that rests on a number of fundamental criteria or critical minimum markers. The main method of ethnography is participant observation and considered very distinctive as a method in collection of qualitative information from the subjects in a face-to-face interaction situation by the ethnographer or researcher.

### **Frame Work for Ethnographic Study:**

- i. Name, Identity, Origin and History
- ii. Distribution and population trend
- iii. Physical characteristics
- iv. Dwelling, Dress, Food Ornaments and other Material objects distinctive of the community
- v. Environmental Sanitation, Hygienic habits, Disease, treatment
- vi. Language and Education
- vii. Economic Life
- viii. Life cycle ceremonies (Birth, Initiation, Marriage, Death)
- ix. Religion
- x. Leisure, Recreation and child play
- xi. Relation among different segments of the community
- xii. Inter-community Relationship
- xiii. Structure of Social control, prestige and leadership
- xiv. Social Reform and Welfare

### **Ethnographic Methods:**

Ethnographic methods include observation, rapport building, participant observation, interviewing, genealogies, work with key consultants (informants), life histories and longitudinal research. Ethnographers do not systematically manipulate their subjects or conduct experiments rather they work in actual communities and form personal relationships with local people as they study their lives.

### **Pastoralism:**

It has already been mentioned that ‘Agency Goudu’ is a pastoral tribe of Andhra Pradesh state. In general the pastoralists may be nomadic or transhumants, but they don’t typically live off their herds alone. They either trade or cultivate. The pastoralists usually live in

symbiosis with their herds. Pastoralism exhibits the basic characteristic feature of '*transhumance*' which means part of the group moves with the herds, but most people stay in the home villages. *Transhumance* is one of two variants of pastoralism, part of the population moves seasonally with the herds while the other part remains in home villages.

Agency Goudu in the study area at present is not depending completely on pastoral economy but do cultivation too along with Cattle keeping and grazing. It is the traditional occupation of Agency Goudu. The people of this tribe are living in permanent settlements and leading largely sedentary life. In general they move with their cattle while grazing it in green pastures of forest lands near by their habitats. Not only this tribe, but also the other tribes in the agency areas domesticate the cattle apart from agriculture and Non-Timber Forest Produce (NTFP) collection in the forests of Eastern Ghats ecosystem.

Ethnographic studies have both academic and administrative value. The pioneer Anthropologists focused their attention to know the cultural background of the much unknown ethnic groups and aboriginals all over the globe, it is a well known fact that the ethnographic studies gained much importance in the discipline of Anthropology. The quest for ethnographic profiling of communities / ethnic groups by Anthropologist gives us an understanding on how the primitive communities (tribes) inhabit inaccessible areas and extreme poverty condition. Documentation of ethnography of different ethnic groups and cultures in different periods either synchronic or diachronic is considered as a method of preserving the cultural heritage of human groups all over the world. This kind of studies are useful to the researchers, academicians and administrators to understand cultural evolution process, development and change among the mankind from pre-historic time to the present globalization era. And also which are much helpful to understand different stages of economies among the human groups all over the world and in specific the aboriginal of India and Andhra Pradesh State.

In Andhra Pradesh state there are 34 tribes, distributed in all the 13 district with variation in population size. The tribes in Andhra Pradesh are at different stages of economies, for instance the Chenchu tribe in Nallamalai forest is still referring as foraging community, the Agency Goudus are the pastoralists, the Malis are the horticulturists, Khonds, Konda Reddis, Konda Savaras, Konda doras, Gadabas and Porjas are shifting cultivators, Bagatas and Jatapus are settled cultivators, and Konda Kammaras are artisans (black smiths, and carpenters), Yerukulas are basket makers, Yanadis are rat catchers, Lambada/Sugali are cattle keepers and cultivators. In general, currently large majority of the hill tribes in Andhra Pradesh are depending on agriculture (shifting and settled cultivation and horticulture) and

minor forest produce collection. Almost all the tribes in A.P state rear the cattle invariably and use it in agricultural operations as draft animals. The tribal's do not have the practice of milking (miltching) their cattle, but certain tribes eat its flesh like Khond, Gadaba, Porja and Konda Dora. Once lambadas/ Sugalis were considered as traditional cattle breeders, but now they become as settled cultivators in plain areas and leading sedentary life. Among the hill tribes, Agency Goudu is still considered as traditional pastoral tribe, and depending on pastoral economy to some extent in the agency tracts of Andhra Pradesh State.

This study is focused to document the ethnography of Agency Goudu inhabiting the mountains of Eastern Ghats, as very little ethnographic information is available on it, in collaboration with the Centre for Economic and Social Studies (CESS), sponsored by Tribal Welfare Department of Andhra Pradesh State government. Very brief ethnographic account is available on this tribe from the sources of castes and tribes of southern India, by Edgar Thurston (1909), people of India: Andhra Pradesh by K.S.Singh (2003), social and cultural profile of tribes in Andhra Pradesh, by Tribal Cultural Research and Training Institute, Hyderabad (1993, 2004). There is no comprehensive, in-depth and detailed study on this tribe by either academic or administrative bodies in the state of Andhra Pradesh. The present study is viewed to collect the ethnographic information from the people of Agency Goudu in emic perspective of people as well as etic perspective of the researchers or investigator.

### **Aim and Objectives of the Study:**

**Aim:** The basic aim of this study is to document the ethnography of Agency Goudu in the hill tracts of Eastern Ghats in Andhra Pradesh state in both etic and emic perspectives.

### **Objectives:**

The following are the specific objectives of the study:

- 1) To prepare the ethnographic data base on Agency Goudu tribe.
- 2) To know the living condition and livelihood sources of Agency Goudus
- 3) To understand social, cultural, economic, political and religious aspects of Agency Goudu tribe.
- 4) To examine intra and inter-tribal relations among the Goudus in the study area.
- 5) To trace out the social and cultural changes in the community due to modernization, globalization, technological advancement and intervention of government.
- 6) To know the role of Integrated Tribal-Development Agency and Non- Government Agencies in development and change among Goudus.

**Methodology:**

The study is primarily qualitative and descriptive in nature. However, certain quantitative data on population census of Agency Goudu households is also collected. Primary source data were collected by following ethnographic methodological procedure through field work in the selected Agency Goudu settlements of Visakhapatnam and Vizianagaram districts of Andhra Pradesh state. Purposive and representative sampling procedures were followed in selection of field villages namely Peddaveedhi (Vamugadda) in Chintapalle mandal, Geddamput in Paderu mandal, Panirangini in Arakuvalley mandal of Visakhapatnam district, Lakkaguda in Gummalakshmipuram and Mondemkhallu in Kurupam mandal of Vizianagaram district. The qualitative information was collected from all the head of households in the selected aforementioned five Goudu settlements, by using semi-structured / unstructured schedule with interview method. The same qualitative information was also obtained from the key informants by conducting Focus Group Discussions (FGDs).

Household level census data was collected in the villages of Peddaveedhi (Vamugadda) and Panirangini. Intensive and in-depth micro level study was carried out in peddaveedhi hamlet of Vamugadda village, located in chintapalle mandal. Village profile information of Lakkaguda was collected as case study data. Anthropological holistic, etic and emic approaches were strictly followed and employed for collection of empirical data, in addition to the field work, participant observation, schedule, interview, case study and FGDs.

Secondary source ethnographic information on Agency Goudu was collected from castes and tribes in southern India by Thurston (1909), and people of India; Andhra Pradesh by K.S.Singh (2003). The secondary source population data on this tribe was obtained from 2011 census. The collected primary (empirical) and secondary sources data were classified and analysed through computer based SPSS package. The analysed data was presented in the form of ethnographic report, which comprises of both semantic and scientific explanations.

**Argumentation:**

The ethnographic information on Agency Goudu tribe is organized in nine chapters, including introduction, summary and conclusion, apart from bibliography and photographs. The first chapter 'Introduction' discusses about the problem, significance and importance of the study, review of earlier literature on the problem, aim and objectives of the study, and methodology. The second chapter Agency Goudu people and their habitat explains about Agency Goudu population distribution, general information pertaining to origin, history, migration, natural environment, dwelling, climate, terrain, humidity, forest, rainfall, snowfall,

community identification, drinks, fruits, changes in food habits. It also discusses about the racial and physical characteristic features of Agency Goudu people. Further, it deals with the environmental sanitation, hygienic habits, disease and treatments, language and education, leisure, recreation and child play.

The third chapter 'Social Organization' deals with the social divisions in Agency Goudu, clans, lineages, community self perception, marriage rules, age at marriage, modes of acquiring mates, forms of marriage, symbols of marriage, bride price/dowry, rules of residence, divorce, reasons for divorce, compensation, place of marriage and procedure followed, nuptial ceremony. It also discusses about family types, division of labour, rules of inheritance, residence, succession, avoidance relationship, joking relationship, points of conflicts and confrontation, changes in family system. Further, it elucidates about women's role in family management, status of women, gender discrimination and women empowerment. Further, it describes about the rituals such as birth (childhood, socialization process) adolescence, marriage, death, changes in life cycle rituals, and mechanism of social control. Lastly, it explains about the changes that have taken place in the present system of maintaining clan, kith and kin- liberal in changing religion.

The fourth chapter 'Economic Organization' explains about the economy of Agency Goudu, natural resources, control over resources, land, forest water, occupational background, land ownership, agriculture, (shifting and settled cultivation), crop calendar (sowing, weeding and harvesting) horticulture, technology used in pastoral economy, (pastoralism, transhumance), gathering and hunting, division of labour, forms of link with markets, annual income, expenditure, savings, indebtedness, poverty, economic problems economic development and change. Forest ecology, forest polices and its effect on Agency Goudu.

The fifth chapter 'Political Organization' mechanism of social control, conflicts, disputes and settlements, forms of punishment, crime, offence, rewards, associations, political meetings and gatherings, elections, participation involving, political parties its affiliation, Youth and women organizations, DWACRA, self-help groups, political participation and development, PESA Act and its impact on Agency Goudu, Political empowerment of Agency Goudu, role of local political body in development of Agency Goudu. This chapter primarily deals with the traditional and modern political systems along with the practice of customary laws in maintaining cohesion, integration and leading very harmonious life.

The sixth chapter 'Religious Organization' deals with the belief system of Agency Godu, animism, totemism, religious groups in Agency Goudu, religious institutions, sacred specialists and their roles, festivals and its significance, magic and religion, witchcraft,

sorcery, evil eye, spirits, change in religion, and impact of Christianity on Agency Goudu tribe. It also deals with the changes in religious practices of this tribe and interaction with other religious groups.

The seventh chapter 'Art and material culture' discusses about various art forms, paintings, material culture, oral traditions, music and dance, musical instruments, inter and intra tribal relations and inter community linkages, Agency Goudu's exposure to outside and change.

The eighth chapter 'Development and change' discusses about Agency Gouds understanding and knowledge about development, development programmes and its impact, role of I.T.D.A (Integrated Tribal Development Agency) and Non-Government Organizations (NGO's) in development of Agency Goudu, levels of development and growth among Agency Goudu. Accessibility and availability of development facilities like, education, health and medical care, traditional and modern health care practices, Family Welfare, Nutritional Programmes (ICDS-Anganawadi Scheme), infrastructural facilities like road, electricity, post office, sanitation, drinking water, housing, public distribution, Banking, employment (Government and Private Sectors), MGNREGP, Media and communication, change in living condition, impact of modernization, and globalization, modern amenities possessed by Agency Goudu families, change in food habits, dressing, housing, migration, innovations, diffusion, social and cultural change, occupational mobility and change, problems in development, levels of development among Agency Goudu. It also explains about the social reform and welfare in Agency Goudu tribe.

The ninth chapter 'Summary and Conclusion; gives the gist of each chapter, findings and recent trends in ethnographic studies. It also provides at a glance about ethnographic and cultural background of Agency Goudu, specifically the ecological and cultural features of pastoral communities of Agency Goudu in Eastern Ghats of Andhra Pradesh state. It ultimately depicts about persistence and change in the cultural practices of Agency Goudu due to innovation, diffusion, acculturation, modernization and globalization

## CHAPTER- II

### HABITAT, ECOLOGY AND CULTURAL LIFE

#### **Population and its distribution:**

The habitats of Agency Goudu are mainly found in the tribal area of Visakhapatnam, Vizianagaram, and Srikakulam districts of Andhra Pradesh. *The Agency Goudu population in A.P as per 2011 census is 7749.* Large majority of the Goudu population in A.P is concentrated in Visakhapatnam district, followed by Vizianagaram and Srikakulam districts. Single digit number of persons belonging to this tribe also recorded in East and West Godavari districts as per 2011 census. Almost all the settlements of Agency Goudu are situated in Eastern Ghats forest ecosystem. This tribe lives along with the other hill tribes of north coastal Andhra Pradesh. Agency Goudus are also considered as forest dwellers and inhabits in forest ecology. Earlier forest flora and fauna was the major sources for their livelihood, apart from cattle breeding. The traditional occupation of this tribe is cattle keeping and its economy is pastoral economy. Cattle is their wealth and temple. They worship the cow alike that of the Hindu castes in plain areas. Their habitats are surrounded by the agricultural fields, forest and hillocks. The habitats of Agency Goudu is part of the Eastern Ghats forest environment. This ethnographic study on Agency Goudu tribe was carried out in Peddaveedhi hamlet of Vamugedda village, located in Chaintapalle mandal, Geddamput village of Paderu mandal, Paniragini village of Arakuvalley mandal. All these three villages are situated in Visakhapatnam district. In addition to these villages, Lakkaguda village located in Gummalakshampuram and Mondemkhallu village located in Kurupam mandal of Vizianagaram district were also covered under this study. Totally five Agency Goudu settlements were selected and covered under this study and these field villages fall in the agency areas (tribal areas) of Visakhapatnam and Vizianagaram districts.

#### **Dwellings:**

The tribal settlements are mostly scattered homesteads and small in size. The Goudu settlements are also small in size and belong to the village type of scattered homesteads. Each settlement is surrounded by agricultural fields, hills and forests. The type of houses found in the Agency Goudu settlements are 1) Thatched 2) Tiled 3) Asbestos roofed and 4) R.C.C buildings. The traditional housing is thatched dwelling or hut, with single room along varandh. Now, this has been replaced by tiled, asbestos roofed houses and R.C.C buildings. Not a single households having bath room and toilet facility being in the field. Majority of the houses have very poor ventilation and sanitation.



### **Racial and Physical Characteristic Features:**

Racially, the tribal groups of India do not show any homogeneity. There has been much intermingling among the various tribal groups. In such a situation, any pure racial group is difficult to be found among the tribals. Earlier B.S.Guha and D.N Majumdar worked extensively on tribal races and cultures. K.S.Singh has also tried to find out the racial identity of India tribes. He observes in people of India project that “the tribes in India are derived from all four racial stocks, the Negrito (the Great Andamanese, the Onges and the Jarawas) Proto- Austroloid (the Munda, the Oraon and the Gond) the Mongoloid (the tribes of North-east) and the Cacasoid (the Toda, Rabari, the Gujjar). B.S. Guha identified four types among the aboriginals of India: 1) Short, with a long and moderately high head, often with strongly marked brow ridges, a short and broad face, the mouth slightly inclined forwards and a flat nose with the alae extended, the hair varies from wavy to curly 11) a dark pigmy strains, with spirally curled hair, remnants of which are still found among the Kadars and pullayans of the perembiculam hills (III) the Brachy Cephalic mongoloid type, with a short stature and a short flat nose, mainly inhabit Assam and North Burma, and (IV) a second mongoloid strain characterized by a medium stature, a longish head and a medium sized nose, but also exhibiting the other typical mongoloid facial features. The last type constituted the major strain in the population of the hills, and not in considerably, inhabitants of the Brahmaputra valley. Guha maintains that the first of these types is predominant among the aboriginal populations of central and south India, and has also been identified in the lower strata of India caste groups.

K.S.Singh (1944) has made all efforts to identify the diverse racial identity of the tribal groups, but there has been so much inbreeding between identity of each tribal group, that it is almost impossible to identify the racial identity of each tribal group.

The Agency Goudu people belong to the racial stock of Proto-Austroloid. They are physically medium statured with long and moderately high head, often with strongly marked *brow* ridges, a short and broad face, the mouth slightly inclined forwards and a small flat nose with the alae extended, the hair varies from wavy to curly. The physical features of Agency Goudu people looks almost similar to that of the ‘Goudo caste people of Orissa, and they speak oriya language and corrupt form of Oriya (Adivasi Oriya). A considerable number of Agency Goudu people in Visakhapatnam and Vizianaganaram districts speak the regional language ‘Telugu’. The Agency Goudus are mostly Bi-lingual. Their language belong to Austro-Asiatic linguistic family.

## Flora and Fauna:

The flora in the study area mostly consists of mango, jack, tamarind, amla, adda, nerudu, teak, nallamaddi, (*terminalia tomentosa*), tellamaddi (*terminalia arjuna*) and a variety of other plants. Besides these huge trees, there is a thick growth of scrub jungle and thorny plants. Adda plant products like leaves, seeds, fruits and fibre are important source of forest flora to the tribals who dwell in Eastern Ghats centuries together. The fauna of the forest area contains barking deer, spotted deer, wild pig, sambhar, rabbit, cheetah, bear and tiger. The last two are frequently found in this area. A number of birds including peacocks, jungle fowl are also found. The Agency Goudus have established symbiotic relationship with the forests and they are forced to interact with the forest every day in order to procure fodder for their cattle and to graze their cattle in the pastures of forest lands.

**Table 2.1 District, Mandal and Village wise Number of Agency Goudu households covered in the study**

Sl. No	Name of the District	Name of the Mandal	Name of the Village	No. of Households covered	Sex wise population		Total Males and Females	% to total Population
					Males	Females		
1	Visakhapatnam	Chintapalle	Peddaveedhi (Vamugadda)	70	159	134	293	25.13
		Paderu	Geddamput	20	45	55	100	8.58
		Arakuvalley	Panirangini	47	127	130	257	22.04
2	Vizianagaram	G.L Puram	Lakkaguda	67	151	148	299	25.64
		Kurupam	Mondenkhallu	67	102	115	217	18.61
Total				271	584 (50.09%)	582 (49.91%)	1166	100.00

The table 2.1 shows about district, mandal and village wise number of Agency Goudu households covered in the study. From the table it is noted that totally 271 households with the population of 1166 were covered, all the head of households were interviewed and obtained the required ethnographic data. Out of the total population in the sample households 584 (50.09%) are males and 582(49.91%) are females. The sex wise data clearly indicates that males population is slightly higher than female population. In general, female population is higher than male population in tribal society. The Agency Goudu population at A.P state level as per 2011 census also depicts the same trend. The sex ratio in many tribal communities is very much balanced. Moreover, gender bias and gender discrimination do not exist in almost all the tribes aboriginal groups of India. Egalitarian characteristic feature one can see even now among the foragers and Pastorals who are living in jungles (forests) and mountains of inaccessible areas. They relatively live in geographical isolation and mainly

depend on the physical environment for their subsistence and survival purposes. Even though, the Agency Goudus traditional occupation is cattle keeping, but they are not totally depending on it. Earlier the forest flora and fauna were the major sources for their food material, apart from pastoralism.

### **Climate and Rainfall:**

The average annual temperature varies from 40<sup>o</sup> - 45F<sup>o</sup> in the months of November and December to the maximum of 98<sup>o</sup>-102F<sup>o</sup> in the months of April and May. The pre-monsoon showers are quite common in the months of June, lasts up to September and is followed by the north east monsoon (October to January). The average annual rainfall is 56". Due to these heavy rains, thick foliage develops and the forest tract presents a green landscape of an enchanting and pleasing appearance to the eye. The nights are usually cool all through the year though in the winter months, i.e. from October to February, they are very cold. Both the mornings and evenings of December are unpleasantly chill, this weather prevails in the Eastern Ghats forest environment and which is also considered as conducive for heavy rainfall. The fallen rain water in the hill tracts flows in streams down to the hill and merges in to the rivers and reservoirs. It is the main source of water for irrigation to the tribal and rural peasants, and fulfil the drinking water requirement of the urban dwellers of Visakhapatnam, Vizianagaram and Srikakulam districts of Andhra Pradesh state. Springs and hill streams are the major sources of drinking water to many tribal habitats including the habitats of Agency Goudu.

### **Food Habits:**

Agency Goudu are non-vegetarians and they abstain from eating beef. The staple food of Agency Goudu is *ambali* (gruel) made with *ragi* (chodi) flour. *Chodi* is consumed in the following different forms:

- (a) Chodi topa: the dry chodi flour is boiled in water and stirred thoroughly to form a semi liquid which is locally known as *chodi topa*.
- (b) Chodi Jurang: this is otherwise known as chodi ambali or chodi gruel. The *chodi* (*ragi*) flour is soaked in water a day earlier to the actual preparation of *jurang*. The soaked *chodi* flour is mixed in the boiling water and stirred thoroughly to prepare *jurang*. Other grains like *sama* and rice are consumed by cooking with water. The cooked *sama* is known as *khoda unda* whereas the cooked rice is locally termed as *kuliunda* or *variannam*. Besides they prepare and consume *taku jwary* (*tenka ambali*) with the kernel of mango nuts in June and July. The mango nuts are broken and the

kernel is pounded into small particles. The pounded stuff is collected in a bamboo basket and kept in a running stream to wash off the *bitter ness*. After wards this *takugunda* is mixed in boiling water and stirred thoroughly. Thus, *taku Juarnng* is prepared. The mango fruits in the month of *Raktalengi* (June- July) and jack fruits in the month of *Bandapournimalenji* (July-August) are also consumed.

They consume vegetable like brinjals, pumpkin (*purla*) unripened plantains, *kumada* (cucurbatacea), leafy vegetables like *gummadikura*, *sorakura*, *totakura* (amaranthus blituria) *sarakura* and *konkadi kura* are also consumed.

*Volusulu oil* (Niger seed oil) or ground nut oil is used as cooking medium. They purchase ground nut oil or gingerly oil in the nearby weekly market (shandy). Some of the Goudu families extracting the castor oil as follows: first the castor seed is fried and then pounded. The pounded stuff is boiled in water and stirred thoroughly. The oil that floats on the water is collected in a separate pot and boiled until the water evaporates.

The people of Agency Goudu in visakha agency area are not habituated to milk the cattle, but it does not mean that there is any taboo against the use of milk or milk products. The Goudus in Vizianagaram and Srikakulam districts have the habit of milking the cattle and use it for, both domestic consumption as well as for marketing purpose. In general the tribals take black tea in the morning once in every day. In general the tribals domesticate cattle but they do not milch the cattle and consider the milk of the cow for its calf, but not for their consumption.

The Agency Goudus consume the non-vegetarian items like eggs, fish, dry fish, chicken, meat of goat and sheep. Game meat such as that of wild goat, barking deer, spotted deer, wild pig and rabbits is eaten by them. The common method of preparing a meat dish is to boil the meat, with oil and water, and add salt and chillie powder. Occasionally meat is cooked in castor oil or vegetable oil. They taboo beef eating and avoid of eating carion.

They take food thrice in a day viz, breakfast known as *chalava* lunch and dinner. The breakfast is taken between 8 Am and 9Am, consisting of *chodi gruel* with salt (*horn*) and dried green chillies (mirching). Occasionally thick tamarind juice added with salt and chillies is also taken to enhance the taste. The lunch known as *jurang gohono* is taken between 1Pm and 2 Pm, consisting of *chodi topu* or *gruel* (**ambali**) with *kuchcha* (**curry**) depending on the season, adding salt and tamarind juice. The dinner is known as *jurang gohono* consisting of *chodi gruel* and a little of cooked sama or rice is taken along with some vegetable curry and boil dhal. They take a little quantity of cooked *sama* or rice in lunch and dinner. They

exclusively take *chodi topa* or *chodi gruel* from June to December. At present rice consumption become more when compared to gruel consumption, because they avail the free rice distribution from the local G.C.C DR.depots in every month. Moreover, the production of millets enormously reduced in almost all the tribal habitats including Agency Goudu habitats.

There is seasonal variation in the food materials collected by the Agency Goudus. In the month of December and January Vedula Kommalu locally known as *duraka* or *Kommalakura* are boiled in water as side dish at lunch or dinner. Besides, the leafy vegetables namely *Kumada Kuccha*, *Garisa Kuccha* available from November to December, *totakura* from May to July and *Sarakura* from June to August are boiled in water and added with salt and chillies before they are consumed. Such edible tubers as *pindidumpa*, *tegalu*, *vyamudumpalu*, which are available in plenty from February to May, are consumed after being boiled in water, added with salt and chillies. The Agency Goudu and other tribals in the area consider themselves exceptionally fortunate if they could eat bamboo rice at least once in their life time as the bamboo rice are available only once in sixty years. The mother bamboo plant is said to die immediately after the yield of the rice once in sixty years. Afterwards the bamboo forest begins to grow afresh.

### **Smoking:**

Both men and women irrespective of economic status drink black tea once in every day. They smoke tobacco in the form of cigar of 6' to 8' inches length. The pieces of dried tobacco are wrapped in a tender adda leaf for smoking. Both men and women in all tribes (including Agency Goudu) do not chew tobacco or pan. Men smoke *beedis* occasionally. The purpose of smoking seems to avoid foul odour of the mouth and to stimulate them to work. They even prefer to forego their meals for a day or two but not the smoking. The parents offer smoke even to children of 4 to 6 years of age either to silence a problem child or as a token of affection. Thus, smoking becomes a habit with the young ones too. Likewise the children develop the habit of taking intoxicated liquor too.

### **Drinking:**

The Goudu men is addicted drink, they drink *sara*, sago palm extract (*Jeeluga Kallu*) and *maddi* (rice beer). The women in the community also occasionally drink *jeelugu kallu* and *maddi*. The drink is essentially served on social and religious functions, namely birth of child, marriage, death, worship of deities and on festive days, specifically *etum*(*hunting festival*). The serving of drink marks the happy culmination of any social function. Usually the liquor is sold in the weekly shandies and outskirts of a tribal habitat by the sundi caste persons.

*Maddi* is prepared by each household with the rice and water. The *sara* is manufactured surreptitiously on the inaccessible hill tops by the sundis and transported to the shandy places in big earthen pots. The tribals usually draw the toddy from the sago palm trees, grown by themselves on the bunds of their agricultural fields or naturally grown in the forest. The liquor shops are opened a little away from the shandy place either under a tree or a small shrub or by the side of hill stream, located on the usual way of the tribals to the shandy. The arrack (*Sara*) sellers belongs to sundi caste, offer the drink on credit as they are confident about the tribals honesty in repaying the dues. The transactions are usually carried out in terms of cash. At present a few women belongs to Samantha, Khond, Porja and Konda Dora also sell the Maddi and Jeelugu kallu in weekly shandies for cash.

### **Dress and Ornaments:**

The traditional dress of Agency Goudu male consists of waist string and a small piece of cloth known as *gochi*. He wears the *gochi* in between the two legs in such a way that the ends loosely fall both to the front and to the back, thus covering the nakedness. During the winter and rainy season every one wraps himself in cotton blanket locally known as *gonad*. He also wears *badi* (*banian*), shirt and *doharati*, whenever he visits the relatives house, weekly market (shandy) and on festive occasions. At present the Goudu male youth wear trouser, pant and shirt like that of the civilized plains. In the past Goudu women both young and old were not habituated to wear *choli* (jacket). At present they wear sari and blouse like that of the women in the plain areas. The Goudu women wrap themselves in a '*gonad*' a coarse thick handloom cotton cloth during the winter and raing seasons to protect themselves from cold winter.

The Goudu men do not wear any kind of ornament. But the Goudu women wear silver brass and alumimum ornaments and glass bangles like that of other tribal women in the study area. Though the ornaments are not valuable in terms of money as they are only made of silver, brass and aluminium, those are exquisite in design and shape. Even the poorest girl decorate herself profusely with these ornaments. All the Goudu women wear necklaces of multi-coloured beads. A few of these necklaces are closely tied round the neck and a few of them hang down over the breasts. They wear small brass bells or jinglers on the toes and glass bangles on the wrists. The varied ornaments of the Goudu women are mentioned below:

### **Ornaments of feet and legs;**

*Kadere* are the anklets made of aluminium or German silver. A pair of *Kadere* are worn on each anklet. *Singidi* is an ornamental brass toe ring worn on the third and fourth toe of the feet. *Muddi*, a circular plain brass ring is worn in pairs on the toes. *Mubbas* are also another

peculiar type of toe rings with small brass bells attached to it. Each *muvva* consists of three or four bells, these are worn on the third and fourth toe of the feet. They produce rhythmic musical sounds while walking. The *Jingle* of these bells mark out the Goudu women as they walk.

#### **Ornamnets of hands, fingers and neck:**

*Muddingas* are worn on the fingers of both the hands. These are brass rings fixed to rupee coins. There are various types of rings with or without coin attached, worn on the fingers. All these rings are made mostly made of brass or silver. Some times *maddinga* consists of a mere brass wire wound up three or four times in a circular form. *Pata* are brass bands, worn above the elbows of both the hands. *Paja* are plain wristlets, circular in shape made of aluminium. *Khogudi* is worn on the neck. It is circular in shape and made of aluminium or silver. *Takkayya* is a necklace prepared with rupee coins worn on the neck. It is prepared by the goldsmith of a nearby town. *Derupura* are worn both by men and women tightly round the neck above the throat. These are made of thin slender bamboo pieces with a red glass bead in the centre. Besides, these Goudu women wear a number of necklaces of multi coloured beads.

#### **Ornamnets of ear and nose:**

They have their ears and nostrils pierced with a pointed iron needle at the age of one year or even earlier. This is done by *Gurumai*, the traditional woman priest on an auspicious day which is usually Wednesday. The children are dressed with ornaments even from the childhood. *Murumu* are ring like ornaments made of brass or silver. Three or four are worn in the helix. *Tannetalu* are worn in the lobe of the ears. They are studded with red stones. *Gunusu* are also made of brass or silver. Two to four are worn in the lobe and helix of the ear. *Muthu kammi* is worn at the centre of the nose which hangs over the upper lip. This is also studded with red stone. A few Goudu men wear *gumdujatha* in place of *tammetalu* in the lobe of the ear. The *gumdujatha* is in a circular shape made of either gold or brass.

Besides the above, a few other ornaments are also in use *pagadi* is in the shape of a coiled snake, the hood projecting in the end and the body rolled up passing through the lobe of the ear. It is about half an inch in length and prepared out of brass or silver. *Soki* is another ornament worn on the helix of the ear. It is in the shape of a ring made of either gold or silver studded with a red stone. A few Goudu men wear gold, *sokikammri* is made of gold or silver. This is worn on ear lobe. *Irdalimade* (waist string) is a cotton thread worn on the waist. Both men and women wear this from the age of two years. It is an ornament of waist.

### **Leisure, Recreation and Child Play:**

In the past dormitory system was very much in operation among Agency Goudu tribe. The older people, youth and children used to gather at village dormitory, spent their leisure time in playing music and performing the traditional dance *dimsa*. The old persons used to train the youth and children about their culture. The youth used to sleep in the dormitory in the nights. It functioned as cultural training and orientation centre for the youth and children. At present the dormitory institution is not functioning among Agency Goudu. Now the Agency Goudu males usually assemble at village '*Sador*' during their leisure time and gossip there. It is considered as place for information dissemination in a Goudu habitat. The Goudu men usually spend their leisure time, having liquor. The women do not find much leisure time and they are busy, engaged in domestic and farm work. Now a few Goudu families in the road side settlements have television facility. In such households, the men and women spend their leisure time by watching Television. The Goudu settlements which are located near by the mandal head quarters and towns, spend their leisure time by watching films in the cinema theatres. Some Goudu people listen to radio during leisure time. In general during agricultural lean periods, the Goudu community people in a habitat pay visit to their relative's houses of other villages and spent a day or two days there. During such visits they carry some quantity of uncooked food items like rice, pulses, beans, and pumpkin or hen / cock. It is one kind of maintaining reciprocal relations among the close kindred families.

In a Goudu settlement, both men and women perform *Dimsa* dance at Sador, during their leisure time casually but *Dimsa* dance is a must during festival and ceremonial occasions at the village Sador. *Dimsa* dance is the traditional entertainment programme to all the tribal communities including the Agency Goudu. The important child play in Agency Goudu community are 'hide and seek', '*Dagudumuthalu*' and '*Billa - Kodi*'. The male children in the age group of 5-15 years also participate in small hunting games along with a group of men folk of the community. The girls use to play *Asta-Chemma* and *Kundu Aataa* during leisure time. The girls aged above six years are usually engaged in looking after their younger siblings. At present the children who attain three years of age are admitted to the local 'Anganawadi centre' (pre-school), where they are given supplementary nutritional food and pre school education. There they also play with toys and learn alphabets of the regional language 'Telugu' and English. This facility is availed by almost all the children during the age group of 3 to 5 years. And also this centre provides the supplementary nutritious food to the pregnant and lactating mothers. Generally, the children in the age between 5-15 years help their parents in farm work and grazing the cattle. Whereas the children in the same



group help their mothers in domestic works like sweeping and cleaning the house, fetching the potable water from stream, spring or bore well and Keeping their younger siblings at home when the parents are engaged in farm work and minor forest produce collection. Still child labour practice persists in Agency Goudu community. However, now school age children are enrolling in the local pre and primary schools. At present the Goudu parents realised the importance of education to their children, even now majority of the Goudu parents are consider their children as economic asset and involving them in farm work and watching / their cattle, out of the school working hours and during school holidays. At present majority of the Goudu children are availing the primary and secondary school education facilities, only a few Goudu parents send their children to college education, specifically in the habitats which are located nearer to the mandal head quarters.

### **Sanitation, Hygiene, Disease and Treatment:**

Very poor sanitation conditions observed in the Agency Goudu habitats, because of the presence of cattle sheds beside their houses. The sanitation of the Goudu habitation is unsatisfactory due to rearing of the fowls and cattle and open air-defecating habits of the people, besides the daily rubbish being stored in heaps close to the residential houses on the other. The dwellings and homesteads are daily swept by women and dung water is sprinkled in the homesteads, which give them a neat and clean appearance. Then, the women go to the nearby bore well or hill stream with uncleaned utensils, they also brush their teeth with *kanuga* (*Pongamia glabra*) stick, or any other fresh green wooden stick and attends to personal oblations. The women also clean and polish the ornaments with the sand that is found in the bed of the hill stream. The men brush their teeth while returning from the fields, they wash their faces, hands and feet at home before taking breakfast. Both men and children take hot water bath daily in the evening hours whereas the women take bath near hill streams once in a day before fetching potable water from the springs. Both men and women apply dola oil prepared out of *Jetropha* seed to the body and head after bath. The dola oil is extracted out of ripe *Jetropha* fruits just like castor oil. Thus the Goudu men and women look clean. Generally the dola oil softens the body and protects it against the blisters caused due to chill bite.

The clothes are washed by women once a week by boiling them in water mixed with oven ash and then washed in pure water. At present the clothes are also washed with detergent soaps and powders. They take head bath with seekai or kunkudu kayi (soap nuts) or tadi fibre (used to clean the hair) wherever they feel the itching sensation. Now the youth are using cosmetics like that of the urban and rural dwellers.

**Common ailments:**

The common minor ailments among the Goudus are the inflammation of eyes because their houses are ill ventilated and smoky. They also suffer from malaria, diarrhoea, scabies and body pains. The incidence of malaria is high in the tribal areas of north coastal Andhra Pradesh, moreover in Goudu habitats too. Many Goudu villages are lacking clean and protected drinking water facility, still they are largely depending on hill streams and springs for this purpose. Only a few Goudu settlements having bore well water facility which is not suitable for drinking due to much fluoride content. They attribute any minor illness or sickness due to attack of spirit, sorcery and evil eye. For cure of such diseases they approach the local medicine men *Disari* or *Gurumai* who invokes spirits and a sacrifice is offered to cure any disease. At present the Goudus have access to the public health facility of sub-centre and primary health centre but only a few of them avail such facilities. Majority of them have still very strong belief in witchcraft, sorcery, evil eye and black magic. They have strong belief in tribal medicine instead of modern medicine. Still in remote and interior Goudu settlement, the local dai (*buddi*) attends to the delivery. Almost all the Goudu settlements are now having the Anganawadi centre facility which is running under the I.C.D.S programme of central government. The local Anganawwadi centre also maintains the birth and death register. Each Goudu village has a trained ASHA (Community Health Worker) worker who attends to minor ailments of the local community people. At present the Goudu people are accepting the family planning and following the small family norm due to the intervention of the Health and family welfare Department. Any unusual death that occurs due to wild animal attack or an accident such as a fall from a tree or a murder is immediately reported to the nearest police station. Once, the extremists activities were also very rampant in the interior tribal areas of Visakhapatnam, Vizianagaram and Srikakulam districts. Even now a few cases of naxallites attack on corrupt officials and politicians are taking place in thickly forested zones of north coastal Andhra Pradesh. For instance the recent incidence at Dumbriguda on two local tribal politicians.

**Background of Lakkaguda (Agency Goudu Settlement):**

As part of Ethnographic study on case study of pastoral village of Agency Goudu tribe in A.P, namely Lakkaguda is recorded and its background material presented below:

Lakkaguda is a settlement of Agency Goudu, situated in Gummalakshmipuram (Bhadragiri) Mandal of Vizianagram district. The village is located at a distance of two kilometres from the Mandal headquarters Bhadragiri, towards western side. This habitat is found on the foothill of a hillock, surrounded by forest and agricultural fields. The village consists of 67 households with a population of 299. All the households in Lakkaguda belongs to Agency

Goudu tribe. Lakkaguda has infrastructure facilities like protected drinking water, road, electricity, primary school and the residents of this village purchase their daily domestic requirements in the urban market of Bhadragiri town.

**Table 2.2 Age and Sex wise Population in Lakkaguda**

Sl. No	Age Group	Males	% to Total Males	Females	% to Total Females	Total Males and Females	% to total population
1	≤ 1 year	5	1.67	4	1.34	9	3.01
2	2-5	14	4.68	9	3.01	23	7.69
3	6-10	17	5.69	17	5.69	34	11.38
4	11-15	21	7.02	18	6.02	39	13.04
5	16-20	15	5.02	22	7.36	37	12.38
6	21-25	12	4.01	9	3.01	21	7.02
7	26-30	13	4.35	14	4.68	27	9.03
8	31-35	14	4.68	12	4.01	26	8.69
9	36-40	13	4.35	14	4.68	27	9.03
10	41-45	8	2.68	4	1.34	12	4.02
11	46-50	3	1.00	4	1.34	7	2.34
12	51-55	4	1.34	5	1.67	9	3.01
13	56-60	4	1.34	7	2.34	11	3.68
14	61-65	5	1.67	4	1.34	9	3.01
15	>66	3	1.00	5	1.67	8	2.67
	<b>Total</b>	<b>151</b>	<b>50.50</b>	<b>148</b>	<b>49.50</b>	<b>299</b>	<b>100.00</b>

Table 2.2 shows Age and Sex wise population in Lakkaguda. From the table it is noticed that male population is slightly higher than that of females. Out of the total population, 151 are males and 148 are females. About 10% of the older people are found in the community. A total of 66 (22.08) children fall in the age group of 1-10 years, 76(25.42%) of them fall in the age group of 11-20 years. About 16.05% of the people fall in the age group of 21-30 years, 17.72% of them fall in the age group of 31-40 years, 9.37% of them fall in the age group of 41-55 years. Life span is also relatively high among Agency Goudu when compared with that of Kotiya, Khond and Chenchu tribes. Numbers of malnutrition cases are very less in the community. Most of the people in the community take milk and milk products. Traditionally this community is cattle breeders. Currently some of the families do farming along with pastoralism. Some of them watch herd of the cattle of other castes in the neighboring villages on Palu (sharing) basis or annual payment. A few of them work as *bugathas* or *paleru* with the large farmers of Gummalakshampuram. The women in the community milch the cattle and sell milk and milk products at the Mandal headquarters of Bhadragiri.

**Table 2.3 Family Size in Goudu Community of Lakkaguda**

Sl.No	Family Size	Number of Families	% to Total
1	2	11	16.4
2	3	6	9.0
3	4	17	25.4
4	5	19	28.4
5	6	7	10.4
6	7	4	6.0
7	8	2	3.0
8	10	1	1.5
<b>Total</b>		<b>67</b>	<b>100.00</b>

Table 2.3 shows family size in Goudu community in Lakkaguda. About 50.7% of the families falls in the family size of 2-4 members, 38.8% of the families' falls in the family size of 5-6 members, 90% of the families ' falls in the family size of 7-8 members and one family have 10 members. Average family size in this community is around 4.5 members. It is noted in the table that the number of large size families are only 20.9% the rest 79.1% of families are small in size, having one to four members, which are nuclear type Gummalakshmipuram otherwise called as Bhadragiri which is once known for naxalism and naxalbari movement in tribal areas of Andhra Pradesh State.

**Table -2.4 Family type in Lakkaguda**

Sl.No	Type of Family	Number of Families	% to Total
1	Nuclear	52	77.6
2	Joint	6	9.0
3	Extended	9	13.4
<b>Total</b>		<b>67</b>	<b>100.00</b>

Table 2.4 shows the family types in Lakkaguda. It is noted from the table that 77.6% of the families are nuclear type, 9.0% of the families are joint type and the rest 13.4% of the families are extended type. Totally about 22.4% of the families are Joint and extended type. In tribal society also more number of nuclear types of families found now. Joint family system still persists in the tribal society. But number of such families are very less, when compared with that of nuclear type of families. In general the young married couple setup a separate family immediately after their marriage and live separately from parents.

**Table 2.5 Educational Status of head of households in Lakkaguda**

<b>S.NO</b>	<b>Level of Education</b>	<b>No.of head of households</b>	<b>%to total</b>
1	Illiterate	50	74.6
2	Primary	7	10.4
3	Secondary	9	13.4
4	Intermediate	1	1.5
<b>Total</b>		<b>67</b>	<b>100.00</b>

Table 2.5 shows that educational status of the head of households in Lakkaguda. It is noted from the table that 74.6% of the head of households are illiterates, 10.4% of them have primary level education, 13.4% of them have secondary level education and a single head of household have intermediate level education. Very low literacy rate found among the Agency Goudu tribe. However, at present some of the Goudu parents are sending their children to the local primary school. The residents of this village have high school and college education facilities at Gummalakshmpuram, within the distance of 2 kilometers. Still a large majority of them are not availing such facilities, due to economic reason and occupational hazard. In general School age children are made to watch and rear their cattle, by the parents in Goudu community. Even today the Goudu parents do not give much preference to their children education and they do not know the value of education, being illiterates.

Primary source of income to the community is dairy and it is substituted by agriculture labour. Cattle's breeding is the traditional occupation to Agency Goudus. In recent times 63.7% of the households got benefited with the agricultural lands under poverty alleviation programme of I.T.D.A, Parvathipuram. About 37.3% of the families are still landless in Lakkaguda.

**Table 2.6 Annual Income of Families in Lakkaguda**

<b>Sl. No</b>	<b>Annual Income amount(in rupees)</b>	<b>No.of households</b>	<b>% to total</b>
1	5,000	6	9.0
2	5,001-10,000	32	47.8
3	10,001-15,000	18	26.9
4	15,001-20,000	8	11.9
5	20,001-25,000	2	3.0
6	25,001 and above	1	1.5
<b>Total</b>		<b>67</b>	<b>100.00</b>

Table 2.6 shows the annual income of the households in Lakkaguda. It is noted from the table that 47.8% of the families falls in the income group of Rs5,001-10,000, 26.9% of the families falls in the income group of Rs. 15,001-20,000, 9% of the families falls in the income group of Rs 5,000, 3% of the families falls in the income group of Rs 20, 001-25,000 and only one

family gets an annual income of Rs 25,001 and above. It is clear that 95.5% of Goudu families gets annual income of Rs,5000to Rs 20,000. More than 60% of Goudu families falls below poverty line. Poverty is the major economic problem to majority of the Goudu families in Lakkaguda.

**Table 2.7 Annual expenditure pattern of the households in Lakkaguda**

S.No	Expenditure Annual (in rupees)	No.of households	% to total
1	≤5,000	6	9.0
2	5,001-10,000	32	47.8
3	10,001-15,000	18	26.9
4	15,001-20,000	8	11.9
5	20,001-25,000	3	4.5
	<b>Total</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>100.00</b>

Table 2.7 shows the annual expenditure pattern of the household in Lakkaguda. It is noted from the table that 47.8% of the families expenditure ranges from Rs.5,001-10,000, 26.9% of the families expenditure ranges from Rs 10,001-15000, 11.9% of the families expenditure ranges from Rs. 15,0001-20,000, 4.5% of the families expenditure ranges from Rs 20, 0011-25,000 and 9% of the families expenditure in annually is Rs 5,000. In most of the families' income amount and expenditure amount are equal and very much balanced. It is interesting to note that about 59.7% of the families have debts. These families savings amount ranges from Rs 500-1,000. About 24 families have debts. These families borrow loans from non-tribal money lenders and traders with high rate of interest. There is a say that 'the tribal is born in debt, live in debt and finally dies in debt'. The debt amount in a tribal family perpetuates generations to gether. In general tribals are exploited by the non- tribal moneylenders and traders in the area of market. The non-tribal money lenders in the area maintain the *nestham* (friendly) relationship with the tribals and they extend credit facility to the poor tribals in the form of crop loan.

Recently the women in the community have developed the concept of saving with the strategy of self-help group. S.H.G concept is providing economic empowerment to the women. This is an empowerment programme, where women form in groups, take financial decision, loans, etc., This give them enough strength and encouragement on par with male counter parts. It is also provides economic security to the women. The government initiated DWACRA scheme, really helping the tribal women to make decision on financial matters at family level and facilitating them to save some amount in every month out of their earnings. The Goudu women in Lakkaguda usually earn the amount and get the income by selling milk

and milk products to the residents of Gummalakshimipuram. They are also earning certain amount through agriculture labour wage employment from the large farmers and landlords of neighbouring villages of Gumma and Bhadragiri. The Goudus of lakkaguda are not depending exclusively on their traditional occupation cattle herding and also they earn from agricultural labour employment, tenant cultivation and share cropping but their primary occupation is pastoralism. Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Gaurantee Scheme (MNREGS) is another sources of wage labour employment to the Goudu families in Lakkaguda and other tribal settlements in the sub-plan area of Parvathipuram I.T.D.A. The village case study of Lakkaguda provides living conditions and life of the Agency Goudu people.

## CHAPTER- III

### SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

#### **Background:**

Agency Goudu is cattle breeding scheduled tribe, living in the tribal areas bordering Andhra Pradesh and Orissa. Locally they are called Goudu, Gouda, Goudulu, but they refer themselves as Goudu. They believe that they descended from the Yadava community in which lord Krishna was born. According to another story, these people were brought by Rani of Paralkimidi to serve as temple servants and cattle breeders to prepare *machaprasada* with milk to lord Gopinath whose temple is located near liviri village in Srikakulam district. Later they spread to the Ganjam district of Orissa and Srikakulam, Visakhapatnam and Vizianagaram districts of Andhra Pradesh. The Agency Goudu population is found in Orissa and Andhra Pradesh states. In Orissa state, Goudu is a pastoral caste its population mainly concentrated in the plain areas. The Agency Goudu population in Orissa state is found exclusively in Koraput district. Majority of the Agency Goudu population in Andhra Pradesh state is found in Visakhapatnam, Vizianagaram and Srikakulam districts.

Agency Goudu is a section of Goudu caste and some of its members long ago migrated to the tribal areas of Orissa and Andhra Pradesh states, there they permanently settled. Because of their habitation in the scheduled areas since very long time they have given scheduled tribe status. It is one of the tribal groups of Andhra Pradesh state and considered as lonely pastoral tribe now. Earlier Lambada/ Sugali was also referred as pastoral tribe in the plain areas (non-scheduled area) of Andhra Pradesh. At present the people of this tribe become as sedentary cultivators. However, even now the Lambadas /Sugalis keep the cattle, apart from settled cultivation of both wet and dry types. In Andhra Pradesh state, Lambada and Sugali are the plain tribes whereas the Agency Goudu is a hill tribe. The habitats of Agency Goudu tribe are mainly found in the forested zone of Eastern Ghats.

#### **Social Divisions:**

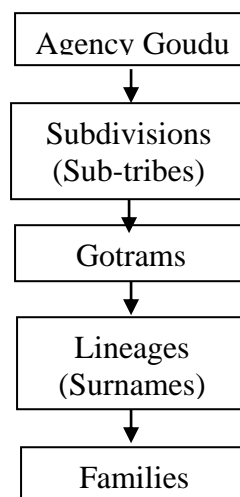
The Goudu community have several endogamous social divisions. Further, each social division is sub divided in to the social units like gotrams and surnames (lineages). Thurston (1909) has indicated that there are about 14 Goudu sub-divisions like Apoto, Behera, Bolodiya, Dongayato, Dumalo, Gopopuriya, Kolata, Komiriya, Kusilya, Ladia, Madhura, Purya, Mogotho, Pattilia and Sollokhond. The sections among the Goudu which are recognized by all communities are sallokhondia, Apoto, Bhatta, Gopopuriya and Madhura puriya seems to be endogamous divisions. The Bhatta Goudu go by the name of Gopopuriya in some places and Madhurapuriya in other areas, both these names are connected with the



legendary history of the origin of the community. The Apoto and Bhatta Goudu are sometimes employed as palanquin- bearers. The Mogotho Goudu who lives on the hills are regarded as an inferior section, because they do not avoid eating the flesh of fowl. The Sollokhondia Goudu are considered as the most superior and agriculturalists, rear cattle and sheep. They have *gotramulu*, the most common being *moiré* (peacock), *Nagasira* (cobra) and *Kochima* (tortoise).

According to Pratap (1975b) there are about 17 endogamous social divisions among the Goudu. They are Gopika Goudu, Apotu Goudu, Chitti Goudu, Mogotho Goudu, Sollokhondia Goudu, Koyia Goudu, Behera Goudu, Goppa Goudu, Bolodiya Goudu, Dongatho Goudu, Damolu Goudu, Lachia Goudu, Konda Goudu, Duddu Konriya Goudu, Barlnika Goudu, Krishna Goudu, and Jariya Goudu. The Gopika Goudu are considered the most superior and claim that they are the descendants of lord Krishna. The Mogotho Goudu have surnames like gasthi, origanti, singluru and perumarthi and have only one gotram namely Nagala. The Dooda Goudu say that they have only one surname namely ‘Goudu’ prefixed before their actual name. They have *gotramulu* like Nageswara (snake), Kurma (tortoise), Bichchiguda (centipede), Puli (tiger) etc. Marriage within gotram is strictly prohibited in this sub-division. Both gotra and lineage are exogamous in nature, the members of the gotra and lineage strictly observe the rule of exogamy at these two levels i.e. taboo for marital relations in between the members of it. The Agency Goudus consider themselves superior to the Jatapu, Kapu Savara, Konda Savara, Konda dora, Nooka dora, Gadaba, Khond, Porja, Mali and Kotiya. The Jatapu, Konda savara, Kapu Savara, Konda dora, Kotiya, Benthoriya, Khond, Porja, Valmiki also consider the Goudu to be superior to them. The Agency Goudus consider the Bagatas and Konda Kapus are superior to them.

The social units of Agency Goudu shown below:



### Family, Clan, Kinship and other Analogous Divisions:

Family is the primary social group or basic social unit in any human society including tribal society. Three types of families are noted in the Agency Goudu, such as 1) Nuclear 2) Joint / extended 3) single member / broken family. Nuclear type of families are predominant in number followed by joint / extended, single member/ broken family. The Nuclear type of family consists of married couple and their unmarried children, whereas joint family consists of parents and married sons and their spouses and children. Extended type of family prevails in Goudu tribe due to the practice of polygynous marriage specifically sororal polygyny. Single member or broken family exists due to widowhood or divorce. Such cases are very less in Agency Goudu tribe. A Goudu family have network of relationship with the families of close kindred, and neighbourhood. Exchange of food material, agricultural implements and labour service in between the neighbourhood families in a Goudu settlement, gift exchange in between close kin families are very common during socio-ceremonial occasions. Dyadic and polyadic relationship are very common in between the members of a family and also in between the members of different families in a Goudu settlement. Eight categories of kin dyadic relationship exists in between the members of a nuclear or elementary family. Those relationships mentioned as below:

- 1) Husband- Wife
- 2) Father- Son
- 3) Father-Daughter
- 4) Mother- Son
- 5) Mother-Daughter
- 6) Brother-Sister
- 7) Brother- Brother
- 8) Sister- Sister

**Table 3.1 Type of Families in the sample households covered in the field villages (study area)**

Sl. No	Type of family	Name of the village		Total Number of Families	% of total
		Vamugadda (Peddaveedhi) Number of Families	Panirangini Number of Families		
1	Nuclear family	46	44	90	76.92
2	Joint family	19	3	22	18.80
3	Extended	5	0	5	4.28
4	Single/ brokenfamily	0	0	0	0.00
	<b>Total</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>117</b>	<b>100.00</b>

The table 3.1 present the data pertaining to the type of families among the sample households of Goudu tribe in the selected villages. Out of the total 117 sample households 90 (76.92%) are Nuclear type, 22(18.80%) are joint type and 5(4.28%) are extended type. There is no single/ broken family found in the sample households. It is noted from the table that the number of nuclear type of families are more is number, followed by joint and extended type of families. In the past joint or extended type of families were more even in the tribal society, but now split is taking place in joint or extended type of family immediately after the marriage of young couple in such kind. The young married couple usually preferring neo-local residence immediately after their marriage and stay away from their parents and unmarried siblings. The main reason for it is lack of sufficient cultivable land to the Agency Goudu families. Another reason for it is housing scheme of the government. Under this scheme, the married youth is also given a separate house with kitchen and toilet facility.

This kind of Kin dyadic relationship mainly found in between the members of a primary kin group either in nuclear type of family or elementary type of family in any human group including Agency Goudu.

The kinship organization among the Agency Goudu is based on Gotra organization alike that of Hindu castes and unlike that of the other tribes in the study area. Both Gotra and clans are exogamous in nature. Each gotra or clan comprises of a number of lineages which usually regulates the marriage in both caste and tribal societies. The sub-divisions and gotrams found in the Agency Goudu mentioned afore. The clan organization in the tribal society mentioned briefly below:

#### **The clan organization:**

A clan is a unilateral descent group whose members trace their origin from a common mythical ancestor who may be human or divine. In a multi tribal village, different tribal communities are divided into a number of exogamous vamsams or clans. Usually each of these clans is named after some of the natural phenomenon like, water, air, sun, plant, animal, bird etc. But totemic worship is completely absent, but forbid eating fruits and flesh of their totemic plant and animals. Similarly they also avoid cutting and killing their totemic plant and animal. It is one of the means to protect the natural forest flora and fauna by the tribals in the study area. One interesting feature of their clan organization is the existence of common clans among many tribes in a multi tribal habitat. The members belonging to a particular clan-*Vamsam* (in different tribal groups) are considered as fictitious parallel cousins. The clan members are tied together by a belief in common descent from the same mythical ancestor.

So the members of a clan are considered as brothers and sisters and as such marriage or sexual relations between the members of the same clan is a taboo. Similar to the existence of clans among tribals, gotrams are prevalent among the non-tribal communities (including Agency Goudu). Each of these clans and Gotrams are sub-divided into a number of *Intipereulu* or surnames. Both clan (Gotram) and surname (lineage) are exogamous in nature. The common gotrams found among Agency Goudu mentioned already. The surnames (lineages) noted in Peddaveedhi village (Agency Goudu) are Korra, Killo, Vanthala and Pangi.

### **Kinship Terms of Agency Goudu:**

The Agency Goudu in the study area speak corrupt form of Oriya, which is considered as their mother tongue. The Goudu people who are now inhabiting in the agency areas of Visakhapatnam, Vizianagaram, and Srikakulam districts, informed that their ancestors were of Orissa origin and migrated from Nandapur (Orissa State) long back in search of livelihood and permanently settled here. The Agency Goudu live separately from other tribes even in a multi tribal village, for instance panirangini village of Arakuvalley mandal. The locality in which this tribe inhabits in a multi tribal village is known as “Goudu veedhi”. The community people usually prefer to live in separate settlements of their own along with their cattle, adjacent to the forests or grass lands (green pastures). The younger generations in the community speak their mother tongue ‘Oriya’ and also the regional language ‘Telugu’.

Large majority of the old people in this tribe speak only Oriya language, especially the women folk.

The following are some of the kinship terms of the Agency Goudu:

	<b>Local term</b>	<b>English equivalent</b>
	<b>Consanguineal Relatives</b>	
1	Aba	Father
2	Ayya	Mother
3	Po	Son
4	Ji	Daughter
5	Anna	Brother
6	Bodo Anna	Elder Brother
7	Sano Anna	Younger Brother
8	Bai	Sister
9	Bodo Bai	Elder Sister
10	Sono Bai	Younger Sister

<b>Local term</b>	<b>English equivalent</b>
<b>Consanguineal Relatives</b>	
11 Anni	Father's Father
12 Dadda	Mother's Father
13 Dokiri Bai	Fathers Mother
14 Bai	Mothers Mother
15 Mama	Mothers Brother
16 Ninna or Sano Abba	Fathers Younger Brother
17 Bodo Abba	Fathers Elder Brother
18 Atta	Fathers Sister
19 Sano Ayya	Mothers Younger Sister
20 Bodo Ayya	Mothers Elder Sister
<b>Affinal Relatives:</b>	
21 Bav/Bo	Elder Brothers Wife
22 Buari	Younger Brothers
23 Buari	Daughter- in -law
24 Atta	Maternal Uncles Wife
25 Mama	Paternal Aunts Husband
26 Satra	Father-in-law
27 Satri	Mother-in-law

A close examination of the aforementioned terms reveals that both descriptive and classificatory terms are used in defining the relationship of the kin. *Bai*, *Burai*, *Atta* and *Mama* are some of the descriptive terms which are applied to indicate more than one relative. *Po*, *Ji*, *Satra* and *Satri* are some examples of the classificatory terms which describe the speaker's exact relation towards him / her.

Family is a primary social group in Agency Goudu, in which close kindred group reside and they maintain very cordial relationship. Intra and inter family relationships are very common at tribe level in a Goudu settlement itself. Whereas intra and inter tribal relations exists in a multi tribal settlement. Similarly intra and inter village relationship also prevails in a region, within the limited boundary or territory of a geographical area.

**Table 3.2 Family size among the Agency Goudu in the field villages (Study area)**

S.No	Family size	Name of the Village		Total Number of families	% to total families
		Vamugadda (Peddaveedhi) Number	Panirangini Number		
1	Two members	8	5	13	11.11
2	Three members	5	4	9	7.69
3	Four members	21	14	35	29.91
4	Five members	19	10	29	24.79
5	Six members	6	9	15	12.82
6	Seven members	5	4	9	7.69
7	Eight members	4	1	5	4.27
8	Ten members	1	0	1	0.86
9	Eleven members	1	0	1	0.86
	<b>Total</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>117</b>	<b>100.00</b>

The table 3.2 presents the data pertaining to the family size among Agency Goudu in the field villages. From the table it is noted that 29.91% of families are having the size of four members, 24.79% of families having five memberseach, 12.82% of families having six members each, 7.69% of families having seven members each, and 4.27% of families having eight members each. It is interesting to note that no single member family was found in Goudu tribe of selected field villages. About 11.11% of families are having the family size of three members. The average family size in Goudu tribe is 4.7 members, (around 5 members). It is clear that the agency Goudu at present is adapting to family planning and following small family norm due to economic reason.

### **Inter-Family Relationship:**

Family is a close kin net group, the members of it have very frequent interaction in everyday life. Usually father and mother constitute the focus of interaction prevailing within the family group. They function as the principal agents in transmitting the traditional knowledge, customs and skills from the older to the younger generation. After birth of child, he or she invariably undergo the process of enculturation or socialization. The parents play key role in cultural learning of a child. From birth to adolescence, the most plastic years of a human being (man or women), are spent in his/her respective family. The family functions as an effective and active institution in moulding the behaviour patterns of the children in accordance with the code of conduct of the society. The mother is considered as a first teacher to a child, who take utmost care for nourishing at both pre and post natal stages. She plays a pivotal role for building the character and personality of a child since childhood to adolescence stage.

In any Agency Goudu habitat, the intra-family relationships are generally intimate and sentimental. Even after establishing a separate household it is the duty of the son to come and help his parents in their agricultural operations and cattle grazing. And also stands by them in times of crisis. A married daughter returns to her parental home during social ceremonies of the family and at the time of village festivals. Parents will be more lenient towards their male children rather than female children. Since her 6<sup>th</sup> year a daughter has to look after her younger sister/ brother, when the parents are engaged in their economic pursuits. She has to help her mother in the domestic chores also. Very frequently she goes to the field or forest to supplement the family income. In contrast, groups of male children are found roaming and playing in the village. In tribal society the women contribute more incomes to their families when compared to their men folk. In the case of male children until their 10<sup>th</sup> year they do not take much interest in the family occupation. Majority of the male children are now attending school. But after the school hours they usually indulge in playing games and hunting small birds in and around the habitat. Occasionally they extend a helping hand to their parents in their agricultural work and grazing the cattle. And also they involve in collection of minor forest produce along with their parents.

It is observed in the field villages that a Goudu boy usually starts to help their parents only after attaining 10<sup>th</sup> year, by under taking lighter works like tending cattle, weeding fields, collecting minor forest produce etc. A Goudu boy generally attends to outdoor work only, whereas a Goudu girl has to do both outdoor and indoor work. Thus relatively speaking a Goudu girl grows up into a hard working and responsible women whereas a boy becomes lazy and pleasure-loving man. But in general parents tend to be indulgent towards their male as well as female children and are lavish in bestowing affection upon them. It is the ardent duty of both father and mother to teach their children about the norms and customs of the community /society so as to mould them in to responsible members of the tribe/society. It is generally the parents that are blamed when the children misbehave and violate the prescribed conduct of the social system.

In a family the relations between the siblings are also cordial and harmonious. Even after marriage the members of siblings families help each other in their economic activities i.e, agricultural operations, cattle grazing, social and religious ceremonies, and in times of crisis they present a solid defence against outside threats. Although, no concrete evidence of conflicts between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law is forth coming, still there exists at least a traditional undercurrent of such conflicts. Whenever such conflicting situations come to surface, it definitely leads to the breaking down of the joint family. But after separation normal relations are restored once again, resulting in mutual help and reciprocal visits. Thus

in the Agency Goudu community the circle of blood and affinal relatives lead a cooperative life and in the opinion of the elder members of the community, even though separation is not considered as an evil, a joint family means progress and prosperity. But in spite of the exalted position of a joint family, the general pattern in the community now is of the nuclear type.

### **Status of Women:**

Gender bias and gender discrimination are not much seen in tribal society unlike that of caste society. The men in Agency Goudu society also generally claim superiority over women, but in actual practice the women enjoys equal status. At the time of marriage the girls consent is regarded as essential. In almost all the tribal communities (including Agency Goudu) women are allowed to dance with men during the social gatherings, marriages and festivals. But with regard to possession of property and succession, she is over looked. Even though, a woman is an economic asset to the family, she is deprived of a legal share in the family property. Thus, the duties of a women outweigh her rights. In certain other matters also she is not given equal status with man. For instance, she cannot partake with men at the chaitra festival in the collection of sacred grain sprinkled by the pujari at the *nishan* god. Neither she is allowed to perform *puja* there nor can she sacrifice a fowl or goat to the *nishan* god in agency Goudu community. The widow is not allowed to sprinkle *Agutha* (rice mixed with turmeric) on the heads of the bride and the bridegroom on marriage occasion. She is not allowed to bless the girl in puberty also. The widow, accepted by another man as his second or subsequent wife is not entitled to perform *Puja* in the house and the first wife alone is allowed to perform all the religious rites. Even though women enjoy equal social status along with men, their ritual status is not on par with the men folk. This is because women are susceptible to menstrual pollution. At present the women in Agency Goudu have the role in the economic matters of family due to the women empowerment strategy programme of government through DWACRA and Micro-finance.

### **Child Rearing Practices:**

Since birth, the child suckles the mothers breast for about one year or until the mother is pregnant again. Generally the child is weaned away after one year by slowly introducing him / her to cereal diet. If enough breast milk is not available, the child is fed on goats or cow's milk. Till the end of third year, the child sleeps with the mother and from the fourth year onwards the child sleeps with other grown up girls and boys of the family. The children above six years of age are slowly introduced to grazing of cattle, agriculture and collection of minor forest produce. The girls between 5-10 years of age look after the younger siblings. The grown up girls generally carry their younger siblings (sisters / brothers) in a cloth sling



tied across their shoulders, when their parents are engaged in their family occupation. Parental bonding is not available to the young children during the day time. Nor is there any check or supervision over the activities of the older children. This sort of leniency is more pronounced in the case of male children. At present the children aged between 3-6 years are enrolled in local Anganwadi School, where they are provided with nutritional supplementary food along with pre-school education. It is noted in the study area that the children after attaining the age of six years are enrolled in the local primary school. As per the recent Right to Education Act (RTE Act 2009), the children in the age group of 6-14 years are entitled for free and compulsory education. They are providing mid day meal, free text books, note books and uniform. However, still some school aged children in Agency Goudu are not enrolled in the school. A considerable number of Goudu girls are drop out from the school at primary level itself due to social and cultural reasons. Now many Agency Goudu children (both girls and boys) in the age group of 3-14 years are availing the pre-primary and secondary school education because of the implementation of Right to Education Act under Sarvashiksha Abhiyan programme strictly even in the remote tribal areas. Generally, a child undergo socialisation or enculturation process in a family during childhood under parental guidance and under the guidance and supervision of other elder members. It is very essential stage for the children to their personality development and getting cultural orientation at family level. Child rearing practices usually varies from one tribe to other tribe and also from one cultural group to another cultural group.

### **Social Control- Norms, Folk ways and Mores:**

In a tribal settlement, group life leads to certain customs and habits which are traditionally recognized as approved pattern of behaviour, these unfailingly become the folk – ways and mores of a cultural group or society in general. These traditionally established social codes are handed down from generation to generation and the community elders serve as guardians of the code of conduct. The social codes cover all the aspects of social life like birth, puberty, marriage, cohabitation, divorce, upbringing children, inheritance, rule of residence, death and connected rites. It fact, folkways and mores are an effective means of social control, regulating the social relations of all the persons in a given community.

Social stratification and social hierarchy are noted in a multi tribal village Vamugedda, located in Chinthapalle mandal of Visakhapatnam district. Peddaveedhi is one of the Agency Goudu settlements become part of this study. This settlement is one of the hamlets of Vamugedda village. This village consists of the tribes like Bagatha, Goudu, Kondadora and Valmiki. Among these Bagatha claim superior social status and occupying highest social

position in the local social hierarchy. The valmiki stand at the bottom of the ranking order in local tribal hierarchy. The Goudu tribe occupying the second position, the third position is occupied by Konda Dora tribe. The social hierarchy in Vamugadda village clearly indicates the existing social inequality and discrimination in between the different tribes. Tribal hierarchy is observed in the study area alike that of caste hierarchy in plain areas of Andhra Pradesh.

Social stratification such as prestige attached to the Bagathas and the social stigma untouchability associated with the Valmikis has moulded the behaviour of the Vamugadda villagers in respect of these two tribal communities. This forms part of the folk-ways of this village. Polygynous marriages and levirate marriages are another aspect of folkways. The mores of this village are all well appreciated in case when a Bagatha man or a women is barred from selecting a mate outside his/ her own community and violation of this rule generates group indignation towards the offender. The same more applies to Goudu man or a Valmiki man to get a girl from outside his community which is superior to his own, but punitive form to the community is compulsory violation of mores results in the imposition of punitive measures by the community upon the violator. A sumptuous feast with liquor is required for an offence of a serious nature. In vamugadda the age old *muttadar* constitutes the pivot of the informal system of social control at the village level, while the elders of various tribal communities of the social system as a whole. At this village currently both traditional panchayat and modern statutory panchayat are in operation in addition to tribal council at each tribe level. The traditional social control mechanism is still continuing in this village under the local political administration of village council and tribal council. The Goudus social life is the part of the social system of this multi-tribal village, even though they are inhabiting in a separate hamlet 'Peddaveedhi'. It is also under the control of the political administration of the Vamugadda village. The traditional *muttadar* system still persist in this village. The position of *muttadar* is hereditary in nature. The head of the Muttadar system in variably and compulsorily belongs to Bagatha tribe. The other tribes accept the leadership of this community and abide the verdict of him.

### **Ideal Behaviour:**

The ideal behaviour is judged by the degree of respect shown towards the *muttadar* and other elders of the village. People of all the tribal communities pay so much respect to the *muttadar* that they do not even undertake sowing operations until the *muttadar* begins it conformity to this standard behavioural pattern to a large extent is noticed in such activities. Secondly during *chaitra (etum)* or hunting festival, those men who hunt big game are held in high

esteem. This status characteristic inculcates a spirit of competition among other tribal villages to achieve higher status in the tribal society. The other tribes try to adopt certain caste society cultural traits of Bagathas in tribal society as that of sankritization process of the Bagathas influence on other tribes very much prevails especially in practice of certain social customs and rituals.

Generally on marriage day at midnight the Agency Goudu bridal pair is served with a ceremonial food, which should first be tasted by the bride groom, sub-sequently the remaining food should be consumed by the bride. It reflects badly on the character of the bride, if she refuses or even hesitates to do so. Therefore, every Goudu bride would be over anxious to consume the food thus served to show greater conformity to the approved standards of behaviour. This customary practice is almost similar in all the tribes, but Bagatha as reference model to other tribes (including Agency Goudu). In Vamugedda, at a Bagatha marriage feast or Agency Goudu marriage feast, it is customary that the bridal pair should remove the leftover particles of food from the plates of the guests. Thus the bridals pair act in conformity with the prescribed behaviour of the society which reflects their readiness to serve the community and be submissive to it by maintaining the decorum of the society through their ideal behaviour.

During *chaitra* festival like any other festival the women are mainly supposed to take part in the merriment, whereas the men are so reserved that they remain as spectators or silent partners in the show. After propitiating the *Neshan* God, the *Pujari* throws out the sacred grains which are caught by the men folk only. The women are tabooed from collecting the sacred grain and accordingly their behaviour will be in conformity with the set patterns of ideal behaviour of the society. A man in all tribal communities (including Agency Goudu) of Vamugedda feels elated in society by taking the wife of his deceased elder brother in marriage. It is known as senior levirate marriage. He never hesitates to assume the additional responsibility of taking care of his deceased brother's children also. Thus a tribal village society provides protection to the father less children. There are certain situations which provide an opportunity to the individual to show his readiness to act in conformity with the prescribed code of conduct of the society and ensure the smooth functioning of the social system. While infragment is resented, conformity is appreciated by the other members of the community. In the study area of visakha agency it is observed that the influence of dominant tribe 'Bagatha', very much prevails on the Agency Goudu as well as other tribes too.

## **Humour:**

The village society (vamugedda) is not without humour. In fact, the art of humour among the tribal group including Agency Goudu, is more developed when compared to the advanced societies. The element of humour as such is a part of their tradition and this finds expressions on festive occasions when people are full of joy. In Vamugedda, humour is mostly produced by the Bagathas and Valmiki and is shared and enjoyed by all the other tribes with equal zest to pep up the jovial atmosphere.

During the *chaitra* festival, before the men of archery go to woods on the ceremonial hunting expedition, the *Pujari* or an elderly man arranges a mock fight between the in-laws, generally between the sons of sister and brother. Finally one person will be defeated and he falls a victim to the maltreatment of the women (other than his own clan or gotra) of the clan/ gotra from which he had selected his mate. The women folk tease him by pouring dung water on him and the whole scene will be charged with fun and din.

When the Goudus observe Bodo-Karober ceremony (10<sup>th</sup> day of death) they enjoy from when the man belonging to the affinal kin-group of the deceased plays the role of a female and the others being enthusiastic spectators of the humorous spectacle. Humour is also enjoyed by wearing a tiger's skin and making advances at women who are afraid of wild animals and ghosts. Generally the residents of a tribal habitat (village) enjoy human more in social gatherings and on festival occasions rather than in daily life. These humours interlines in the middle of risky (ceremonial hunting) sad (death ceremony) and monotonous proceedings of the festivals and rituals, gives a welcome relief to the participants. This humour acts as a tranquilizing agent and helps the group to forget the stresses and strains of the emotionally disturbing situations.

## **Rituals (life cycle ceremonies):**

Birth, puberty, marriage and death are the important rituals observed by the Agency Goudus, during the life of an individual. During these life cycle ceremonial occasions, an individual confidence is shaken by the stresses and strains of the emotionally disturbed situations (especially during illness). The Goudu man, like his advanced counterparts of the plains areas, tries to restore his lost hope and confidence by certain procedures that are expected to commission the blessings of supernatural powers which he believes to be capable enough to help him in tiding over each crisis. Each tribe (society) has devised and organized certain procedures which are called *Rites de passage* for this specific purpose and they include the various socio-religious ceremonies relating to birth, puberty, marriage, disease and death.

### **Birth:**

Since birth to death and for some time even after the cremation of the body, life for the Goudus habitats (villages) or villagers is a cycle of rituals and ceremonies. Pregnancy of a Goudu woman is considered as an welcoming and auspicious event and utmost pre-postnatal care to be taken by her and her family members. They do not observe *sreemanatham* to the pregnant woman alike that of the castes in plains. Generally the delivery is attended by the traditional dai (*buddi*) or trained dai. The first ceremony that is performed after the birth of a child is called *Gedde Uttaihar* (getting down the hill stream). Until this ceremony is performed, the woman is not allowed to enter the house as she is considered to be unclean and prone to birth pollution. Till then, she stays under the eaves of the hut where the child is delivered. During this period she is not allowed to sleep on a cot. The ceremony takes place on any day after the 5<sup>th</sup> day of delivery. On this day the mother and the child will be given hot water bath. Then, the mother goes to the hill stream accompanied by the *pilasutrani* (indigenous Aya or traditional *dai*) and an elderly woman of the family. The mother takes all the cloths used by her during this period of seclusion. She also carries flowers, eggs, plantains, fruits, turmeric, vermilion, and incense which are kept in separate leaf cups. The *pilasutrani* clears a spot on the banks of the stream and decorates it with *chodi* flour and red ochre soil drawings. She keeps the leaf cups containing the offerings on this design and the mother offers them as oblation to the *Gedda-Demudu* (spirit of hill stream). She invokes the *Gedda Demuduto* to protect her and the new born child from all the evil spirits, that may haunt in time when she comes to fetch water either during day time or night time or at any time of day and be satisfied with the oblation offered. After offering this she washes the clothes in the stream and returns home. The malevolent and benevolent spirits are satisfied and then mother and child are thus believed to have been protected from future illness, spirit haunting and evil eye.

### **Auspicious and Inauspicious stars:**

The Agency Goudus believe that the time of birth is a significant factor in influencing the future fortunes of the child and the family as a whole. This community people consult their own *Guru* or *Disari* who tell about the good or bad time of the birth. Generally immediately after the birth of a child the local *guru* refers the Oriya almanac and calculates the ruling star of the time during whose period of influence the child is considered to have been born. If the child is born during the period of influence of an inauspicious star, namely mula, jyestha, sravana and makha, the *guru* informs the parents accordingly and fixes the day of purification ritual (*shanti*). He also informs them the type, colour and size of the animal or

bird, goat, sheep, chicken etc, to be sacrificed in order to appease the spirits. On the appointed day the *Guru* or *Desari* goes to the confluence of two hill streams with the sacrificial animal or fowl and the elders of the family. Here he cleans a spot and draws chodi flour, lime, turmeric and vermilion powder designs on the cleaned spot and sacrifices the chicken (cock) or goat after invoking the spirits of the nature. The *Guru* gets the head of goat and ten rupees while the remaining meat is served as oblation to the members of the family. Thus the spirits are satisfied, the stars are set right and the child is protected from the malefic influence of the inauspicious star.

### **Name giving Ceremony:**

The Goudus usually do not consider a specific month to be auspicious for the observance of name giving ceremony to the child. The day is fixed by the *Guru* or *Desari* according to the star under the period of influence of which the child is born. On the day fixed, the *Guru* takes head bath and comes to the house of the child. He secures milk, *Girake* (a variety of grass) and a lock of hair from the head of the child and keeps them in a leaf cup. The child is seated in the middle portion of the house and the *Guru* turns the leaf cup containing the milk, *Girake* and locks of hair thrice around the head of the child and throws it in the nearby hill stream. Thus, the child is sufficiently protected from evil spirits. According to the star during the period of influence of which the child is born, the *Guru* names the child and utters it thrice in the ears of the child. Then the child is given head bath. The common names given to the male child are Soma, Mangala, Budha, Chitti Babu, Sattibabu, Tirumala Rao, Jaggarao, Ramu Goudu, Krishna Goudu etc, whereas the female child, named as Radha, Mangli, Sita, Parimala, parvathi, Prema, Bindu, Lakshmi, Rasmi, etc.

In the evening a community feast is hosted to all the elders of the community in which the *Guru* also participates. Then, the child is again seated in the middle portion of the house and a brass plate containing turmeric rice is placed in front of the child. One by one the heads of the respective families of the community come forward and give cash presents to the child. After putting the vermilion powder on the forehead of the child, every elder in turn kisses the child on the cheek, calls him by the name and sprinkles the turmeric rice (*Akshinatalu*) on the head of the child. The *Guru* is then presented with a new *Dhoti* by the family of child. The child is thus, identified in the tribe, with the blessings of all the elders of the Goudu community. The child christening ceremony is common in this tribal group. The Agency Goudu does not observe the initiation ceremony to the male children or boys.

**Puberty:**

When a girl attains first menarche, the parents of the girl observe the rite. The puberty rite is an important occasion in the life of a female. It marks the end of a particular phase of physical development and the beginning of a full fledged womanhood. Both physically and mentally, the girl is considered to have attained maturity and fit for shouldering the responsibility of a complete woman. So this heralds the stage of adulthood and this necessitating protection from malevolent spirits.

When a Agency Goudu girl attains puberty, the community *Guru* or *Deasri* is consulted to find out whether the time of attaining puberty is auspicious or inauspicious. The *Guru* or *Desari* gives a flower of his choice to the father of the girl and asks him to give it to the girl if puberty occurred on an auspicious day. If the *Guru* or *Desari* finds it convenient he may personally hand over the flower to the girl. If the day of first menarche is found to be inauspicious the Guru would take any flower of his choice and gives it daily charmed to the father of the girl and asks him to place it outside the village in a centre where two or three paths join. Thus, she is believed to have been completely protected from all evil spirits throughout her future life and no malevolent spirit would dare to harm her during menstruation or any biological crises.

Immediately after attaining the first menarche the girl is kept secluded in a portion of the house for four days and on the 5<sup>th</sup> day she is given head bath after anointing her body with oil and turmeric paste. All the elderly women of the community gather around her, dress her in new clothes and decorate her with ornaments like a bride. The women assemble there, sing marriage songs and devotional songs in praise of Goddess-Parvathi. At the end a feast is hosted to all the guests present there. On this occasion the *Guru* is not remunerated either in kind or cash, he too participate in the feast arranged by the girl's parents. This magico-religious ceremony is essentially observed by the Agency Goudu, alike that of the Bagatha tribe. The Particularly Vulnerable Tribes (PVTGs) do not perform any puberty rites. But all the tribal communities in the study area, keep the girl secluded, confining her to a particular portion of the house for four days, after which she is given the purificatory bath as she is considered to be polluted during the menstrual flow. It is noted in the study area that none of the tribals practise any corresponding male initiation ceremony alike that of the *dwija* (twice-born) castes of plains.

**Marriage:**

Marriage is the most important stage of turning point in the life of an individual. Through the marriage one can enter into the *Gruhastha Ashrama*, as per Hindu *Varnashrama Dharmas*. It

is the most happy and joyous of all ceremonies connected with the life of a man or woman. The marriage rite not only satisfies their biological urges but also gives them status in society. Unless a man or woman is married, he / she is not considered to be a responsible member of the society. The prestige of an individual is thus intrinsically linked with his / her marital status. This is very much true in the case of Agency Goudu society. A Goudu man would try to acquire mate by the following four socially accepted methods of acquiring a mate, namely

1. Marriage by negotiation
2. Marriage by mutual consent and elopement
3. Marriage by capture and
4. Marriage by service (*illarikam*)

The first and the last methods of acquiring the spouse are socially recognized and practised by the non- tribals too. But the second and third methods of acquiring the spouse are not in practice among the caste communities of plains. The marriage ritual associated with these four methods varies in details from one method to the other.

Marriage by negotiation is the most popular means of marriage and practiced by the both tribal and non-tribal communities. Among the Agency Goudus in the study area, it denotes not a single ceremony in which the man and woman are united together for a life time. It comprises a series of ceremonies covering a period of more than ten days some times.

Usually the negotiation is first initiated by the boy's party. The boy's party takes 20 measures of rice and one goat to the girl's parents. The elders of both the parties enquire about each other's terms and conditions like amount of bride-price (*voli*) to be paid and clothes to be presented at the time of marriage. If they reach to an agreement, the rice and goat are accepted by the girl's parents or else the same are refused. Immediately after the agreement, the boy's party presents a new sari to the girl's mother and the fixed bride- price amount is also given to the girl's parents. The marriage day is also fixed in consultation with the **Guru** (marriage priest). On the day of marriage, the girl's party arrives at the boys place. The party consists of the bride and other relatives of the bride except her parents. The boys party erects a pandal in front of the bride-grooms house and nine earthen pots are tied to the poles on the four corners of the pandal and in the middle eleven such pots are kept. These pots are decorated with turmeric and rice powder before they are tied to the poles. Four small earthen lamps are placed in the four corners while two lamps are placed in the middle of the pandal.

Generally, the marriage celebrations take place in the evening. The community **Guru** officiates the marriage. He makes a ring out of a piece of cloth and keeps it around the necks



of the bride and the bridegroom. Then two sturdy men carry the bride and the bride groom on their shoulders and take them in a procession through the streets of the village in accompaniment of the beating and blowing the drums and the trumpets. After returning home from the procession, the bride and the bride groom are jointly served food in one plate. First the bride feeds the bride-groom and the bridegroom follows suit and feed the bride in return. Then a community feast is arranged by the bride grooms parents which certainly ensures with much merriment and rejoicing. Later the rest of night is spent in group singing and *dimisa* dance. Both men and women participate in *Dimisa* dance. The other tribes too attend the marriage and participate in the marriage celebrations.

The next day, the bride and bride groom are seated under the pandal (wedding booth) and the *Guruvu* or *Desari* performs Puja to the various *gods* and goddesses of the village and propitiates the ancestor spirits also in order to seek their blessings. The newly wedded couple are given bath after which they wear new clothes. Then they are taken to a hill stream where the bridegroom takes water into his mouth and spits it on the face of the bride and in turn the bride also repeats the same process. Repeating the same process, the bride and bride groom start home wards. The bridegroom carries a long pole, to one end of which a jack fruit is loosely fastened with rope. As the bride-groom walks, he lowers down the end of the pole from which the jack fruit is hung, and the jack fruit slips down the pole and falls on the ground. The bride picks it up and keeps the jack fruit in position on the pole. The same process is repeated all the way until they reach home. Finally the bride-groom spits water on the brides face the bride also retaliates. Thus they return to the bride groom's home. The whole process of spitting water on each other's face and the picking up of the jack fruit by the bride symbolises the ceremonial initiation of the bride and the bride groom to face the insults that may fall on them during their married life with patience and the wife is expected to extend her helping hand to her husband whenever he needs it.

At the end of the marriage celebrations are marked by ceremonial exchange of gifts between the brides party and bride grooms party. The close relatives of the brides party present rice, goat and pumpkins, to the bride grooms party and the bride-grooms party in return presents new clothes to those relatives who had given them rice, goats etc. After dinner, the bridegrooms party distributes goats meat to the village people of different tribes who have participated in the marriage celebrations. On the third and final day, all the relatives sit under the pandal and the bride puts turmeric powder on the foreheads of the elders who have attended the function. The bride-groom ties *kankanam* to the right wrists of all the elderly

men and women and they in turn present money to the bride-groom. With this the marriage celebrations come to an end.

The expenditure of the marriage varies from family to family since it is in consonance with the economic status of the bride-grooms parents. No fixed amount is paid as bride-price. It depends up on the terms and conditions negotiated by both parties. Payment of bride price is a customary practice among the Agency Goudu. Earlier dowry system did not prevail in the Goudu society. But now few well-to- do Goudu families are willing to make payment of dowry to the bride-groom's parents. This practice entered into the tribal society due to cultural contact of tribals with the castes of plains. The nuptial ceremony usually held at bride grooms residence on the night of first day of marriage celebration.

### **Marriage by Elopement:**

Marriage by elopement occurs when the boy and the girl love each other against the wishes of their respective parents. Weekly shandies, the surrounding forest and agricultural fields are some of the places where the boy and girl frequently meet and exchange ideas. On a mutually convenient day both the boy and girl escape to a friend's house outside the village. The marriage is performed secretly and ceremony is very much cut short to suit emergency situation. After a few days the parents are informed of the event. Usually such marriages are approved by the parents. It is noted in the study area that even the parents of the boy and girl encourage this kind of marriage due to their poor economic condition and unable to meet the expenditure of marriage. In general this type of marriage also needs the approval of the tribal council or village council. For which the parents of both the boy and girl arrange a communal feast, after this only it is legally accepted and the wedded couple live together. Even in certain extraordinary circumstances married men and women resort to elopement if they are dissatisfied with their spouses. In such a case the new husband has to pay *maganali* to the former husband. *Maganali* is compensation which includes marriage expenses and bride price. Generally the latter husband has to return the marriage expenses and the bride price as decided by the elders of both the parties. This type of marriage is socially approved in almost all the tribal communities in the study area. It is socially tabooed in caste communities of plains.

### **Marriage by Capture:**

Marriage by capture is not in vogue now a days among the Agency Goudus. But in extraordinary circumstances even now this type of marriage is taking place in Goudu society. It is a case of mock capture which is prearranged with the knowledge and consent of both boys and girls parties. The bride comes to the bride-grooms village singing humorous songs

accompanied by some of her near relatives. The bride-groom and his party by some of his near relatives also accompany. The bride-groom and his party also follow them singing appropriate songs in reply to the brides heckling songs. When both the parties approach the village, the bridegrooms party suddenly pounces upon the bride and carries her away to the bride-grooms house. The bride makes mock efforts to free herself from the hands of the bride-grooms party. Finally she is brought to the bride grooms house and marriage is solemnised by the restricted circle of friends and near relatives of both sides. This is generally resorted to by poor Goudu families in order to minimize marriage expenses. This method of marriage one can see only in the tribal communities, but not in castes of plains.

### **Marriage by Service (Illatam):**

This method of acquiring mate is also approved by the Goudu society. In this case, the prospective bridegroom stays in the girls parental home and helps the would be parents-in-law in their family pursuits for a period of 2 or 3 years. At the end of the stipulated period, if the parents of the girl are satisfied with the services of the boy, the usual marriage is performed. Even after marriage the newly-weds sometimes continue to stay with the girls parents. Otherwise a separate house is constructed by the father-in-law and the couple shift into it. If the father –in-law is sufficiently rich, the son-in-law may be given some land, seeds, agricultural implements and household. This method of acquiring mate is resorted to when the parents of the girl are without a male issue or require the services of another man in order to help them in their family occupation. On the other hand, poor man who is not in a position to bear the marriage expenses and pay the bride-price resorts to marking by service. Instead of meeting the marriage expenses he agrees to offer his services to the prospective father-in-law in lieu of his daughter's hand. Thus marriage is celebrated in the girls parental home and all the expenses are met by the girls father.

Cross-cousin marriages of both types MBD (mother brother daughter) FSD (Father sisters daughters) are preferred by the Agency Goudus. But it is not obligatory on the part of the man or woman to marry his / her cross cousin. Uncle- niece marriage is taboo in Agency Goudu. Polyandry is not in practice, but polygyny is acceptable to Agency Goudu. A few instances of sororal polygyny are recorded in the study area. Both sororate and levirate are in vogue among Agency Goudus. Monogamous marriages are much more frequent than the other types of marriages in Agency Goudu tribe. A Goudu man generally acquires a second wife if the first wife is barren or sometimes as a status characteristic, when the man is sufficiently rich. Generally the *Naiko* (Naidu ) who is economically wealthy he prefer to have two or more wives, considering as a matter of prestige. Even though, a woman is an

economic asset, the prohibitive cost of marriage celebration seems to have restricted the number of polygynous marriages to the well-to-do families of the Goudu. The Agency Goudus prefer monogamous marriages instead of polygamous marriages. Out of the total recorded marriages in the study area about 90% of marriages are monogamy type.

### **Widow Remarriage:**

Widow Remarriage is permitted in Agency Goudu tribe. A widow is expected to marry her deceased husband's younger brother (junior levirate). Generally after the death of the husband, the younger brother of the deceased, whether married or unmarried, is asked by the community elders to marry his widowed sister-in-law. If he accepts the proposal she marries him, otherwise the woman is at liberty to marry any other man she likes. But in either case it is the duty of the younger brother to provide food and shelter to his deceased brothers children.

### **Divorce:**

Divorce is socially permitted in Agency Goudu tribe. In general a divorcee is socially looked down in the society. In tradition Divorce is not acceptable in caste society. But in tribal society it is very easy to get divorce. In this tribe if a woman leaves her husband and elopes with another man, the second husband would return the marriage expenses and bride price incurred to the former husband. The children born to her through the former husband are left to the guardianship of their biological father. If the woman is pregnant at the time of separation, the new born child should be restored to her former husband. Even when the woman escapes to her parental home without marrying anybody, the parents should pay back marriage expenses and the bride price to her divorced husband.

The compensation to be paid is fixed by the elders of both the parties. When a woman elopes with another man, the former husband accompanied by his village elders, goes to the latter husband's village and sends words of the purpose of their arrival to her present husband. On receiving the news of their visit, the present husband meets them along with the elders of his village. Much haggling and bargaining transpires between the two parties and finally amount to be paid to the former husband is decided. At the successful end of the deliberations a feast is hosted to the elders present there. Each of the contending men contributes 5 measures of rice and a goat for the feast. After the feast is over both men join hands and proclaim friendship. Thus bitterness is swallowed and friendship fostered. Usually Divorce is approved to a married woman, on the basis of impotency, adultery and chronic illness of her

husband. Similarly divorce is approved to a married man, on the basis of adultery, chronic illness, and frequent quarrels and disputes with his wife.

### **Treatment of Diseases:**

When a person is sick, they generally follow their indigenous methods of treatment. They administer some herbs and some of them resort to magic also. Sometimes sickness is attributed to the wrath of malevolent spirits and angered deities, in such a situation *Goravagadu's* (witch doctor) services are commissioned. The *Goravagadu* (witch doctor) gives them charmed mango leaf or burnt cow dung cake powder or *Tayethu* (talisman) depending upon the seriousness of the disease. If a person is believed to be suffering from spirit possession, the *Goravagadu* (witch doctor) applies black pepper paste to his eyes. This is believed to cause irritation to the eyes of the spirit and it leaves him immediately. The villagers also offer vegetable oblations and chicken sacrifice to the local deity *Nishan Devata*. When a person is sick they offer a chicken sacrifice to the deity and lift a stone lying before the deity. If the stone can be lifted very easily, it is believed that the sick person will survive or else he will die. They give herbal medicine internally and at the same time resort to the magico religions treatment. At recent times the Agency Goudus have access to modern health care, but they largely confine to indigenous method of treatment and use herbal medicine for various diseases. They have a strong belief in witchcraft, sorcery magic and evil eye, if any one affected with these, he or she approach the *Goravagadu* for treatment.

### **Death:**

An elderly Goudu man in Peddaveedhi (Vamugedda village) remarked that if birth creates man, marriage procreates his species and death destroys him. Just as birth and marriage involve many rituals, death is also marked by many ceremonies. So long as he lives, the Goudu man (tribal man) is under the continuous fear of the spirit world. But immediately after his death and till the final phase of the death ceremony is performed, it is his dissembled spirit that becomes the principal sources of anxiety and concern to his kin and other people of the habitat (village). The various rites and rituals customary during this period seem to have for their chief objects, the prevention of harm to the living family members and to the village (habitat) in general through his spirit. Even the offering of food to the spirit of the deceased seems to be prompted primarily from a fear of his spirit rather than by a feeling of affection.

The Goudu people believe that until the death ceremony is completed the spirit of the dead lingers along in an unsettled state in between the world of the living on the one side and the

spirit world on the other. This state of uncertainty is considered dangerous to the entire village community. So they rather hasten to perform the obsequies as early as possible.

When death occurs in Goudu family all the people condole the bereaved family members, but the dead body is carried only by its clan or lineage members. It is laid on a specially prepared wooden structure and carried to the cremation ground. Other people of the village, irrespective of tribe would also follow the corpse but nobody is allowed to touch the bier except the close kin members of the deceased person. The nearest relative of the dead either the eldest son or brother would carry the fire in a new pot, burning incense, when the corpse is taken to the cremation ground all the people would arrange a funeral pyre with firewood of miscellaneous species. The dead body is placed on the pyre in a lying posture, with its legs stretched to the east and head to the west and hands lying by the sides. The nearest relative would set fire at the head without looking at the face of the dead body. When they feel that it would burn itself, all the people return to their respective houses and take a head bath. In case of the death, a married man, an old woman or a widow would break the bangles and the beads of the dead man's wife. Usually this takes place outside the village at a distance of about one furlong in the same direction in which the corpse was taken and on the same day. Generally the dead body of the male or female is cremated, whereas the corpse of a child is buried.

**Oldi-Pitha-Sibar (3<sup>rd</sup> day ceremony):**

On the third day all the community people gather at the house of the deceased. They may bring food stuffs such as a measure of rice, pumpkin etc, according to their capacity for the family of the deceased. All the male members of the clan (gotra or lineage) would necessarily shave their heads, smear turmeric paste and anoint their bodies with Kanugu oil. Later, they take bath and serve the food. If the family is rich, food will be served to all. Otherwise the feast is restricted to the nearest relatives. They do not kill any fowl or goat on this day.

**Bodo Korabar (10<sup>th</sup> day Ceremony):**

This ceremony is rather important and the expenditure to be met with is considerably more than that of the earlier one i.e. 3<sup>rd</sup> day ceremony. Generally this is celebrated on the 10<sup>th</sup> day provided they could make all the necessary arrangements. But if the family is poor this may be observed at any time before the year expires. On this day all the nearest relatives of the dead irrespective of clan (gotra or lineage) will be present. A black fowl is sacrificed at the cremation ground. They purchase a new earthen pot and cook the meat sacrificed fowl in it. Some rice is also separately cooked in another new pot. The cooked rice and fowl curry will be placed on the path (outside the village) leading to the cremation ground. The food thus offered is believed to be consumed by the soul of the dead which comes in the form of a crow

or a dog. After placing the food the man never looks back at the food and straight away goes home and takes a head bath, as they believed that the spirit of the departed may follow him if he looks at it.

The chief attraction of this ceremony is the costly dinner arranged at the cost of the bereaved family. Serving of liquor (*Sara*), *Maddi* (rice beer) and sago palm extract (*Jeelugukallu*) is compulsory during this dinner. After dinner, youth perform *dimisa* dance and make a sort of merriment. An affinal male relative of the dead man wears a saree and imitates like a woman thus generating rib-breaking laughter. Perhaps these paradoxical situations are intended to relieve the monotony of the sad proceedings as humour is the best medicine for relieving from the sadness of the kin members of the deceased person. Thus normalcy is restored as the spirit of the departed is incorporated in the community of the ancestral spirits and the death taboos on the survivors are removed. The residents of the habitat once again resume their normal duties.

The Goudu people believe in transmigration of soul after death and rebirth. A pious man is believed to be reborn as a human being, whereas a sinner or cruel man becomes an inferior animal in his next birth after suffering many ordeals in the upper world. They have belief in soul and spirits, and worship their dead ancestors once in an year, specifically at the time of *PeddalaPanduga* (*sankranti*) or *etum* (hunting festival) occasion.

Social stratification and social hierarchy are noted in the tribal society through this ethnographic study. Social divisions also found in Agency Goudu tribe, and the social organization in this tribe is based on the clan (*gotra*) organization and kinship organization. A Goudu family has kin networks, neighbourhood relations, service exchange relationship and ceremonial gift exchange relationship with other families of the same tribe and other tribes in a habitat. Inter-family, intra-family, inter tribal, intra tribal, inter village and intra village. relations very commonly exists within a Goudu habitat. Social gathering and ceremonial gathering during rituals and occasions are very natural in a Goudu settlement. The social structure of the Goudu tribal society clearly indicates the existing network of social relations in between the individuals, groups of individuals, and groups and families.

## CHAPTER-IV

### ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

The traditional occupation of Agency Goudu is cattle rearing and keeping. It is one of the pastoral communities or tribes in India. In principle the economy of Agency Goudu is “pastoral economy”. Earlier the people of Agency Goudu were exclusively depended on pastoralism. But now in the study area Goudu population is subsisting on agriculture (both shifting and settled cultivation) along with cattle breeding and rearing. The Goudus in Visakhapatnam district do not milk their cattle, whereas the Goudus in Vizianagaram and Srikakulam districts milch their cattle and sell the milk and milk products in the nearby villages and mandal head quarters. In general the tribal economy is agro- forest based and largely considered as subsistence economy. The Agency Goudu tribe economy is for all practical purpose now considered as agro-forest based alike that of the other tribes in the study area. The major economic sources for the Agency Goudu families in the field villages are land, forest, livestock and grazing of cattle of their own and other tribes on annual payment basis. They are locally called as ‘*Pasuvula Kapari*’ (cattle watchers). Only Goudu men are engaged in this activity. Each and every Agency Goudu family is forced to involve in the economic production activities of both agriculture and pastoralism. Division of labour at family level is based on age and sex. In general the men do the farm work apart from grazing the cattle. The women do attend both domestic chores and farm works. Even the children aged above 6 years also help their parents in watching their cattle and looking after their younger siblings. The old aged persons in a family do not contribute their labour in any kind of economic activity of their respective family, but they are looked after by their sons and daughter-in-laws very well until their survival. The old age people have social security, unlike the so called civilized caste society currently. Apart from these economic activities, both men and women including the children in a Goudu family participate in collection of seasonal minor forest produce items or Non-Timber Forest Produce (NTFP) items.

#### **Economic Resources:**

The economic life of the Agency Goudu is linked with the cattle keeping, farming (both shifting (podu) and settled cultivation) and Minor Forest Produce collection (MFP), they exploit the natural resources like land, water and forest. Traditionally cattle is their wealth, earlier they mainly depended on live stock resource, but now their major livelihood source is agriculture and considering it as their primary occupation. Rearing of cattle at present is treated as their secondary occupation. The principle means of livelihood for this tribe are cultivation of flat lands and hill slopes besides rearing cattle, collection of edible tubers,



roots, fruits, seeds and the collection and sale of minor forest produce items. Each and every Agency Goudu settlement is surrounded by agricultural fields, hills and forest. Each village has got its age old customary natural boundaries, which are usually marked with hill ridges, hill streams and prominent trees. The natural water sources available to the Agency Goudu habitat are springs and streams. These two water sources are once used for both drinking and irrigation purposes. At present the Goudu settlements (villages) are provided with bore well or piped water for drinking and other domestic usage purposes by the I.T.D.A., however still they make use of the hill stream water for washing clothes, bathing and washing utensils. Moreover, it is the major source of drinking water for their cattle. Still a considerable number of Goudu families in the study area are using the check dam water facility for raising the wet crops in the agricultural fields. Usually the check dam is constructed in the still stream of down the hills to store rainfall water and divert it through the culverts.

### **Land Utilization:**

The types of land owned by the Agency Goudu are 1) wet 2) Dry 3) Podu 4) Terrace. Earlier the ownership of land was traditional and recognized by the village community. At present each land owning family obtained *patta* and got land owning rights. At present the forest department imposed stringent policy measures on the tribals not to prepare new *podu* plots in the reserved forests as per 1988 new forest policy. Due to livelihood problem, certain Goudu families were forced to depend on *Podu* (shifting) cultivation. This kind of crude method of cultivation prevails in the tribal areas due to non availability of sufficient plain lands in the hill tracts of Eastern Ghats, where majority of the tribal habitats are located. If a new family immigrates, the consent of the village *Naiko* (Naidu) is sought before settling in the village and taking up *podu* or Terrace cultivation on the hill slopes of forest land for its subsistence purpose. The extent of land holding among the Goudus or other tribal's is traditionally termed as *erubhumi* which means the land which can be ploughed by a person with single plough. Mixed cropping (millets, pulses and oil seeds) is the dominant feature of dry and *podu* cultivation. Usually the Agency Goudu peasants raise the rain fed crops in both dry and *podu* fields during the monsoon period. Only a few Goudu families own wet lands and in which paddy crop is grown with the stream and spring water irrigation facility. The terrace cultivation is seen mostly in the terrain of hill slopes of in between two hillocks where perennial spring water flows during the rainy season and winter months. In this type of cultivation the Goudu peasants grow paddy crop only. The cultivable land is broadly classified as *Punja* (wet) *garuvu lands* (flat lands available for cultivation at the foot hills) *Konda Podu* and terrace (available in hill slopes). Other than these four types of land, the

remaining land is covered with expensive dense forest, which is hard to reclaim for agriculture. Besides agriculture, the other source of income is selling of minor forest produce items like adda leaf, myrobalam, honey, tamarind and firewood. The G.C.C has monopoly right to purchase minor forest produce items and surplus agricultural produce of tribals including the Agency Goudus. The main objective of establishing G.C.C in tribal areas is to rescue tribals from exploitation by the non-tribal moneylenders and traders in the area of market.

### **Livestock:**

It is another economic resource to the Agency Goudu. The Agency Goudus are considered as traditional Cattle breeders and pastoral tribe. They rear cows, goats, sheep and fowls. The cattle wealth of this tribe consists of milch cattle, bullocks, sheep and goats. In the study area, it is noted that almost all the Agency Goudu families rear the fowls mainly for sacrificial purpose. They offer the sacrificial blood of fowls, goats and sheep to the malevolent spirits to appease them. They sell the eggs, hens and cocks in the nearby weekly market (shandy) for meeting their domestic expenditure. Some of the medium and large farmers in the community usually sell their surplus agricultural produce to the non-tribal money lenders and traders with whom they have long standing creditor and debtor relationship. The cows and oxen are used as draft animals by the Agency Goudu. It is observed in the study area that the Goudus in Visakhapatnam district do not *miltch* their cattle but the Goudus of Vizianagaram, and Srikakulam district *miltch* their cattle and sell the milk and milk products in the mandal headquarters and neighbouring villages.

### **Factors Influencing on the Economic life of Agency Goudu:**

The Agency Goudus are not aware of the land reform and land improvement measures which have been introduced by the State Government in the Goudu habitats as the majority of the Goudu households do not own lands under any statutory law. In fact, they are continuing their traditional crude method of cultivation while recognizing the revenue authority (Village Revenue Officers) in regard to the legal right of land and collection of land revenue. Even the Act that is directly connected with them, namely, the agency tracts interest and Land Transfer Act 1917(Madras Act No 1 of 1917), sees to hold no interest for them and they are mostly guided by instinct and impulse. Earlier the cases of land alienation were more in the tribal areas of Gumma lakshmipuram and Bhadrageri. But with the introduction of Land Transfer Act 1/70, in tribal areas, such cases are totally eradicated. There are no cottage industries in the Goudu Villages of study area. Almost all the required domestic articles like wooden cots, wooden handles, ploughs and other agricultural implements are manufactured by each

household. However the iron implements are supplied to them by the local *Mettukamsali* (blacksmith) belonging to Konda Kammara tribe on payment in both cash and Kind. They also purchase agricultural tools and household utensils in the nearby weekly market (shandy), they come into contact with the plains people only in the weekly shandies. The Goudus do not frequent the towns as most of their necessities are drawn from their local surroundings.

### **Transport Communication:**

Still the interior Agency Goudu settlements are lacking proper transportation facilities. The indifferent foot path across the mountains is the major means of communication connecting many Goudu settlements. A few Goudu settlements which are located nearer to the mandal head quarters have proper road transportation communication. The people in such settlements avail the bus facility to travel faraway places of weekly shandies, urban markets, mandal head quarters and district head quarters. In general, they very frequently visit the nearby weekly market (shandy) compulsorily mainly to buy the required domestic consumerable items. Every now and then they visit to the concerned mandal head quarters to meet the government officials and also to avail health facility of the primary health centre. Only a few key leaders of the community visit the district head quarters occasionally to meet R.D.O and collector to represent the problems of the community to them and seek their help to solve it. At present the Agency Goudus are availing the trucks, Jeeps and antorikshaws for their mobility from one place to another. The Agency Goudu who are residing nearer to Araku and Parvathipuram have railway transportation facility. But majority of them in such areas do not avail it. Once package animals was used for transportation purpose by the tribals (including Goudus) who lived in the hill slopes and tops. But still the interior Goudus live relatively in geographical isolation and not much exposed to outside world. The Agency Goudus inhabiting on hill tops and inaccessible area forcefully make use of *Doli* for transporting the sick serious persons to the nearby hospital or dispensary.

### **Marketing Facilities:**

The weekly market (shandy) is the main market facility to the Agency Goudu tribe inhabiting in the hill tracts of Eastern Ghats. In general the tribals in the Agency Areas sell their surplus agricultural produce and minor forest produce. The Agency Goudu of Panirangi village usually makes use of the weekly shandy of Araku as well as the urban daily market of Araku. The weekly shandy at Araku is the biggest market which not only attracts a large number of tribals from 30kms to 40 kms but also from the neighbouring Orissa state. The agricultural produce is mainly transported to the weekly shandies on trucks or vans while minor forest

produce like adda leaf, tamarind and myrobalams are carried by men and women on their heads. The transactions are mainly carried on in terms of cash payment. They purchase the domestic requirements like kerosene, salt, tobacco, chili powder, dry fish, clothes and ready made dress on festive occasions from these shandies with the sale proceeds. The tribals (including Agency Goudus) are stimulated to trade their articles for money, unlike in olden days, due to the ever growing contacts with the plains merchants in the weekly shandies. However, barter system is still prevailing in the villages in some extent of purchasing axe-iron arrow types, bamboo baskets etc, locally by offering millet or corn in exchange. The farmers pay an agreed quantity of corn annually to the blacksmith (*Mettu Kamsali*) for the supply of agricultural implements.

The Agency Goudus are exploited by the non-tribal money lenders and traders in the area of market. Having been acquainted with them for generations, the plains merchants are making huge profits as the Goudus alike other tribes are very simple, innocent and ignorant about the existing market prices for various commodities which they buy. The plains merchants being not contented with this, exploit the Goudus (tribes) further not only by undervaluing the produce but also by duping them with false weights and measures. The plains merchants advance small sums of money as bait to the tribals (including Goudus) whenever needed to win their confidence. Besides the Sowcar offers the tribals five or ten rupees for tea or tobacco in order to win the good will of the latter when the latter reach the market with heavy weight, covering long distances. During the slack season, the sowcars visit the Goudu settlement (village) to advance loans on a promise from the latter to sell the entire produce and thus bring into their fold these people whom they exploit ruthlessly. Even today the non-tribal moneylender and traders are the main source of credit facility to the large majority of the Goudu families in the study area. They advance the crop loan to the tribals (Goudus) with high rate of interest. Generally the interest amount of the loan borrowed by tribal debtor repaid at the time of harvesting of the crops. It is observed in the study area that the non-tribal moneylenders and traders maintains *nestham*(friendly) relationship with the poor tribals including the Goudus. This kind of relationship continues generations together with these non-institutional financial agencies.

### **Girijan Cooperative Corporation:**

After a careful study of several aspects of tribal life, the Government of Andhra Pradesh has established Girijan Cooperative Corporation for providing financial support and marketing facility to the tribals. The main objective of G.C.C is to promote economic development among the tribals by providing required domestic requirements through D.R.Depots and to

purchase minor forest produce items and surplus agricultural produce items with reasonable prices; with this view the government of Andhra Pradesh established Girijan Cooperative Corporation unit in Visakhapatnam in the year 1956, for the economic development of scheduled tribes covering the agency areas of Srikakulam, Visakhapatnam, Vizianagaram, East and West Godavari districts. This corporation as a first measure to protect the tribals against their traditional exploitation by the plains merchants and money lenders, has obtained the monopoly right to purchase the minor forest produce items from the tribals. In addition to this the corporation also buys the surplus agricultural produce from tribal peasants and advance crop loans to them with low rate of interest. However, still some of the tribals (including Agency Goudu) are selling minor forest produce items and surplus agricultural produce to the non-tribal moneylenders and traders due to their long standing relationship with them. The corporation could not create sufficient confidence among tribals in spite of their best efforts. The corporation can advance loans in time with sufficient flexibility and recover them by adopting unlawful methods, whereas the private merchants adopt such means. Unless the Corporation advances money to every tribal whenever need arises on the spot and adopts the methods and tactics of the plains merchants and moneylenders, not with a view to exploit but win the confidence of the tribal, it is very difficult to adjust its working so as to prevent the age old menace of the *sowcar* on these poor tribals. It is observed in the study area that the tribals (including Agency Goudus) are availing the public distribution system of G.C.C D.R Depots established within the reachable distance. These depots are very effectively functioning in the tribal areas under the Management of Girijan Corporative Corporation. The Corporation is also putting lot of effort to promote the value added products of minor forest produce items as well as agricultural produce items prepared by the tribals in providing good market facility with existing market price.

### **Sources of Finance:**

As the Agency Goudus live at marginal level of subsistence, they go in for loan, preferably in kind during the slack seasons to the local village *Naiko* (Naidu) or any other land lord or rich person in the neighbouring villages. They usually borrow loan for celebrating marriage and performing obsequies and special events like elopement or paying *maganalii*. The loan is usually borrowed from the moneylender or trader from the plains with high rate of interest. Sometimes he offers a second loan even when the first one is not repaid.

In addition to this he neither insists on security nor fixes any definite time for repayment. They also take seed on loan for broad casting on the fields either from the relatives or neighbours as well as from the neighbouring villagers.

### Occupational Background of the Respondents:

The traditional occupation of Agency Goudu tribe is cattle keeping. It is one of the pastoral tribes of India, found in the Scheduled areas of Andhra Pradesh and Orissa. At present this tribe is not depending primarily on its hereditary calling 'Pastoralism'. Large majority of the Goudu families are currently mainly depending on agriculture, besides cattle keeping. The other tribes in the study area also rear the cattle like that of Agency Goudu, livestock is one of the sources of income to almost all the tribes in the study area. But the Goudu people graze their own cattle as well as watch the cattle of others on payment of both cash and kind annually. Majority of the tribal groups, (including Agency Goudu) following multiple occupations, such as agricultural labour, minor forest produce collection, and rearing cattle, due to non-availability of sufficient agricultural land for cultivation. The ecological and geographical conditions in which the *Adivasis* inhabit, are not conducive for settled cultivation alone, but they are still largely depending on *Podu* (shifting cultivation), terrace cultivation and dry cultivation of *Garuvu* lands. The wet cultivation seems to be in very limited extent and found in the valleys, nearby hill streams. The habitats of Agency Goudu are located in the forest, surrounded by hills and hillocks; hence they are forced to participate in minor forest produce collection alike that of other tribes. At present the primary occupation of Agency Goudu households is agriculture, whereas the cattle keeping (rearing) and minor forest produce collection now have become subsidiary occupations to large majority of the households. A few government salaried employees are also found in the study area. Occupational mobility among the Agency Goudu is noted in the field area. Large majority of the households in this tribe now have taken up agriculture and not primarily depending on the traditional occupation of cattle keeping.

### Size of land holdings of Sample Households:

About 83.76% of sample households own the cultivable lands and the rest 16.24 of sample households are landless.

**Table 4.1 Size of Land holding among Agency Goudu families in the field villages (study area)**

Sl. No	size of landholdings (in Acres)	Name of the Village		Total Number of families	% to total families
		Vamugadda (Peddaveedhi) Number	Panirangini Number		
1	Land less	7	12	19	16.24
2	Below 1Acre	7	14	21	17.95
3	1-2 Acres	12	8	20	17.09
4	2.1 -5 Acre s	42	13	55	47.01
5	5.1+ above Acres	2	0	2	1.71
	<b>Total</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>117</b>	<b>100.00</b>

The table 4.1 shows about the size of landholding among Agency Goudu families in the field villages. From the table it is noted that out of total 117 families, 19(16.24%) families are landless, 21(17.95%) families owning the land size of below 1 Acre, 20(17.09%) families owning the land size of 1-2 Acres, 55(47.01%) families owning the land size of 2.1-5 Acres and 2(1.7%) families owning the land size of 5.1 and above acres. It is clear that large number of families falls in the categories of small and marginal and only a few families fall in the category of medium land holding size. No single family found in large size landholding category in Agency Goudu tribe. It is observed in the study area that very limited extent of cultivable land is available to them due to hill tracts and forests.

#### **Economic status of sample households:**

The following table indicates about the economic status of sample households of Agency Goudu.

**Table 4.2 Annual Income of Agency Goudu households in the field villages (study area)**

S.No	Annual Income amount (in Rupees)	Name of the Villages		Total Number of families	% to total families
		Vamugadda (Peddaveedhi) Number .of households	Panirangini Number. of households		
1	Below 10000	2	4	6	5.13
2	10001- 15000	9	3	12	10.26
3	15001-20000	9	10	19	16.24
4	20001 -25000	3	3	6	5.13
5	25001-30000	16	7	23	19.66
6	30001-35000	2	0	2	1.71
7	35001-40000	14	5	19	16.24
8	40001-45000	3	0	3	2.56
9	45001-50000	10	7	17	14.53
10	50001-60000	1	1	2	1.71
11	61000-75000	0	1	1	0.85
12	75001-80000	0	2	2	1.71
13	80001-90000	1	0	1	0.85
14	100001+above	0	4	4	3.42
	<b>Total</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>117</b>	<b>100.00</b>

The table 4.2 presents the data pertaining to annual income of Agency Goudu households in the field villages. From the table it is noted that out of 117 households 23 (19.66%) families falls in the annual income range of Rs 2500- 30,000, 19(16.24%) families falls in the annual income range of 15001-20000, and another 19(16.24%) families falls in the annual income range of (Rs 35001-40,000, 17914.53%) families falls in the annual income range of Rs 45001-50000, 12(10.26%) families falls in the annual income range of Rs 10001-15000, 6(5.13%) families falls in the annual income range of below Rs 10,000/-, another 6(5.13%) families falls in the annual income range of Rs 20001-25000, 4(3.42%) families falls in the annual income range of one crore and above, 3 (2.56%) families falls in the annual income range of Rs 40001-45000. The data clearly indicates that large majority of the Goudu families in the field villages gets annual income range of 1000-50,000, and very less number of Goudu families gets annual income of above 50,000 rupees. In such families monthly salaried employees are found, in addition to this, it earns additionally from the sources of agriculture, livestock (cattle) and minor forest produce collection (MFP). Around 60% of Agency Goudu families stand at below poverty line, and almost all the Goudu families in the field villages possess white ration cards and availing public distribution system.

**Table 4.3 Annual family Expenditure of Agency Goudu households in the field villages (Study area)**

Sl.No	Annual Expenditure amount (in Rupees)	Name of the Villages		Total Number of families	% to total families
		Vamugadda (Peddaveedhi) Number of families	Panirangini Number of families		
1	Below 5000	2	2	4	3.42
2	5001-7000	1	0	1	0.85
3	7001-10000	16	8	24	20.51
4	10001-15000	19	13	32	27.35
5	15001-20000	12	6	18	15.39
6	20001-25000	5	3	8	6.84
7	25001-30000	5	3	8	6.84
8	30001-35000	4	2	6	5.13
9	35001-40000	3	3	6	5.13
10	40001-45000	2	1	3	2.56
11	45001-50000	1	5	6	5.13
12	50000+above	0	1	1	0.85
<b>Total</b>		<b>70</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>117</b>	<b>100.00</b>



The table 4.3 shows about Annual family expenditure of Agency Goudu households in the field villages. From the table it is noted that out of total 117 households, 29(24.79%) families annual expenditure range is Rs 5000-10,000, 32(27.35%) families falls in the annual expenditure range of Rs 10001-15000, 18(15.39%) families falls in the annual expenditure range of Rs 15001-20000, 8(6.84%) families falls in the annual expenditure range of Rs 2001-25000, and another 8(6.84%) families falls in the annual expenditure range of Rs 25001-30,000 6(5.13%) families falls in the annual expenditure range of Rs 30001-35000, and another 6(5.13%) families falls in the annual expenditure range of Rs 35001-40000, again another 6(5.13%) families falls in the annual expenditure range of Rs 45001-5000, 3 (2.56%) families fall in the annual expenditure range of Rs 40000-50000 and 1 (0.85%) families annual expenditure is above Rs 50000. The data clearly indicates that large majority of the Goudu families usually spend on an average of Rs 1000/- per month, only a few families spend on an average of Rs 3000/- per month. In generally the Goudu families spend most of its income towards social, ceremonial and religious purposes. Large majority of the salaried employees in Goudu community is spending huge money towards their children education and celebrating the marriage of their sons and daughters. In most of the Goudu families the annual income and expenditure are very much balanced.

**Table 4.4 Annual Savings of Agency Goudu families in the field villages (study area)**

Sl. No	Annual Savings amount (in Rupees)	Name of the Villages		Total Number of Families	% to total families
		Vamugadda (Peddaveedhi) Number of families	Panirangini Number of families		
1	No Saving	7	19	26	22.22
2	Below 2000	6	0	6	5.13
3	2001-3000	1	0	1	0.86
4	4001-5500	28	15	43	36.75
5	7001-8000	1	0	1	0.86
6	8001-10000	18	5	23	19.66
7	10001-13000	1	0	1	0.86
8	13001-15000	1	0	1	0.86
9	15001-20000	5	2	7	5.98
10	20001-25000	1	0	1	0.86
11	25001-30000	0	3	3	2.56
12	35001-50000	1	2	3	2.56
13	50000+above	0	1	1	0.86
	<b>Total</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>117</b>	<b>100.00</b>

The table 4.5 shows about the annual savings of Agency Goudu families in the field villages. From the table it is noted that, out of the total households 26(22.22%) families do not have savings. The remaining 91(77.78%) families have savings, the amount ranging from Rs below 2000 to Rs 50000 and above. Out of the total families which have savings, 67 (57.27%) families fall in the annual saving amount range of Rs 4001-10000, 16(13.68%) families falls in the annual saving amount range of Rs 1001-50000, only a single family falls in the annual saving amount range of above 50000 rupees. In general the Goudu women in every month save some amount under DWACRA scheme (self-help Groups) and they use it for their family expenditure.

**Table 4.5 Incidence of indebtedness among Agency Goudu families in the field villages (Study area)**

Sl. No	Annual Debt amount (in Rupees)	Name of the Villages		Total households	% to total households
		Vamugadda (Peddaveedhi) Number of households	Panirangini Number of households		
1	No Debt	28	12	40	34.19
2	Below 3000	1	0	1	0.85
3	3001-5000	8	1	9	7.69
4	5001-10000	15	12	27	23.08
5	15001-20000	14	14	28	23.93
6	20001-25000	2	5	7	5.98
7	25001-30000	2	1	3	2.56
8	30001-50000	0	1	1	0.86
9	50001-100000	0	1	1	0.86
	<b>Total</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>117</b>	<b>100.00</b>

The table 4.5 presents the data pertaining to the indebtedness among the Agency Goudu families in the field villages. From the table it is noted that out of total 117 households, 40(34.19%) families do not have debts, the rest 77(65.81%) families have the debts, amount ranging from below Rs 3000 to Rs 100000/- in which about 55(47.00%) families fall in the annual debt amount range of Rs 5001-20000, 12(10.26%) families fall in the annual debt amount range of Rs 20001-100,000. In general the Agency Goudus borrow loan from the non-tribal money lenders and traders with high rate of interest. Still large majority of the Agency Goudus are not having access to Banking facility. Majority of them are not availing it due to illiteracy and ignorance. They are exploited by the non-tribal money lenders and traders in the area of market and financing. Indebtedness, food insecurity and poverty are the major economic problems to the Agency Goudu alike that of other tribal communities in the

study area. They are also experiencing the problems of social exclusion, marginalization and economic deprivation. In regard to the problem of tribals' indebtedness, there is a saying that "a tribal is born in debt, lives in debt and finally dies in debt". It means that debt in a tribal family perpetuates generations together. The main objective of establishment of Girijan Cooperative Society in the tribal areas is to protect the tribals from exploitation in the area of market and to extend loan facility to them with low rate of interest. The G.C.C has the monopoly right to procure/ purchase minor forest produce from the tribals as well as agriculture produce from tribal peasants. It is observed in the study area that still some of the tribals (including agency Goudus) have *nestham* (friendly) relationship with the non-tribal moneylenders and traders, and preferring to sell their produce to them in satellite markets or in weekly *shandies*. Large majority of the Agency Goudus have access to weekly shandy market and availing it fully even today.

### **Agriculture and Agricultural Practices:**

All the cultivable lands are traditionally owned by this tribe and the cultivation of lands is taken up by each household itself. Most of these lands are rain fed. It is very difficult to provide any irrigation facilities (except rainfall water of streams and springs) in this hilly terrain and as such the Goudu peasants mainly adjust the agricultural activities depending on the monsoon rains. The agricultural practices of Goudu peasants are primitive and indigenous. Not to speak of the improved methods of agriculture, they have not yet seen the improved implements. The topography and landscape as well as the rocky soils are not suitable for utilization of mechanized tractor technology, that is why the tribal peasants are still confined to traditional plough cultivation. The hill slopes suitable for cultivation are brought under the axe with the assistance of family labour. Every tribal peasant is free to select the hill slopes of his choice for extensive cultivation of *Konda Podu* and dry cultivation. The settled wet land cultivation is also taken up wherever the irrigation facilities are available and paddy is usually raised in the area in small plots on either side of the hill stream.

Generally the lands are ploughed three or four times before the first monsoon showers in the month of *Baisaka* (April- May). The hill slopes cultivation is usually done with *perinagali* (big sized plough) wherever the hill slopes permit the cattle to plough the land. Otherwise both men and women turn the earth with the spade locally known as *Guddali*. Afterwards cattle dung, the principal organic manure is spread over the lands and again ploughed before the seed is actually broadcast. The nursery beds are prepared in the month of *Baisake* (April-May). Very little quantity of paddy seedlings are transplanted in the month of *landi jetti*

(May-June). All the dry crops are raised by broad casting. The Goudu peasants are not habituated to conduct inter-crops operations namely removing the weeds and loosening of soil. The rainfed crops millets like chodi (ragi) peddasama, Korra, Ganti, (bajra), jowar (*jonna*) the pulses like redgram, black gram, greegram, **bobbarlu** (long beans), horse grams (*ulavalu*) and the oil seeds like niger (volusulu) and castor are usually raised on hill slopes and on *garuvu* lands (dry lands). The paddy seedlings are transplanted in the wet and terrace land. The transplanted paddy is harvested in the month of *Diwali* (October-November) or *Palakam* (November- December) months. The mixed crops (millets, Pulses and Oil seeds) seeds are broad casted in the month of *Jettam* or *landijetti* (May-June) and Ashadha (June-July) soon after the first fall of the rain.

Mixed cropping is the unique feature of *Podu* (shifting) and dry cultivation in the agency tracts of Eastern Ghats forest environment of Andhra Pradesh state. Generally the harvest of crops starts in the month of September and ends in the month of March. The *chodi* (ragi) is harvested in the months of *Dasara* (September – October) or *Diwali* (October-November) *peddasama* and *korra* in the month of *Diwali* (October-November), *bajra* and *Jowar* in the month of December, black gram, green gram and long beans in the month of *palakam* (November-December) and red gram in the month of *pogunu* (January- February). The tribal peasants get very low yields from the crops which they raise, because of soil erosion, and insufficient rainfall. A part of the yields of their crops are eaten by birds, monkeys and bears.

### **Rotation of Crops:**

Rotation of crops is another feature of dry and *podu* cultivation. Some of the tribal peasants, broad cast the sama seeds in separate fields in the month of *chaitra* (March-April and harvest in the month of Ashadha (June- July) or Banda Pournima (July- August). Soon after the harvest of Sama, the land is ploughed twice or thrice and the Niger seed (commercial crop) is broadcasted in the month of *Ossa* (August- September). Either in the month of Palakam (November- December) or Sankuramanam (December- January) the Niger seed crop is harvested. The harvest of Niger crops is followed by a mixed crop of chodi, peddasama, Korra, Ganti, blackgram, green gram, bobbarlu (long beans) and red gram. In the fields where the mixed crop is harvested, sama, bajra, and niger are successively harvested. The duration of most of the crops which they raise is three or four months. Likewise the rotation of crops are raised following the above crop pattern for a minimum period of three or four years and then left fallow as the land become infertile due to heavy erosion of soil on these hill slopes caused by highest rainfall. Hence, the Goudu peasants clear a new patch of land in continuation to the existing **konda podu** and thereby continue to work for a further period of

three years. This kind of crude method of shifting cultivation has normally denuded many surrounding mountain peaks of dense forest, resulting in soil erosion. This needs the vital attention of the forest department who should take up afforestation measures. In recent times a few Goudu peasants are raising the commercial crops like maize, turmeric and ginger in the red loam soils, exists either by the side of hill streams or in the valleys.

### Crop Calendar:

The crop pattern as practised by the Goudu peasants in the study area is given below. It perhaps holds good even in the entire agency areas of Andhra Pradesh state, where the peasants of other tribes used to follow similarly, as the living conditions are almost same.

**Table 4.6 Crop Calendar**

Sl. No	Name of the Crop	Sowing Period		Harvesting Period
		Transplantation	Broad casting	
1	Paddy	April-May	May-June	January- February
2	Chodi (ragi)		June-July	September- October
3	Pedda Sama		June	October-November
4	Korra		June-July	October-November
5	Ganti (Bajra)		June-July	October-November
6	Blackgram		June-July	November-December
7	Greengram		June-July	November-December
8	Bobbarlu (long beans)		June-July	November-December
9	Red gram		June-July	January-February
10	Niger (volusulu)		August-September	November-December
11	Castor		June-July	December-January
12	Sama		April-May	June-July
13	Maize		May-June	September-October
14	Turmeric /Ginger		June-July	April-May

### Agricultural Implements:

The traditional and indigenious agricultural implements are *nagali* (wooden plough), *Guddali* (spade), *Goddali* (axe) *kusi* (crow bar) and *Katti* (knife). Every household make the required agricultural implements at home excepting the axe head, spade, plough share and *kusi*, which are either purchased in the weekly shandy or prepared by the *Mettu kamasali* (blacksmith) with or without the supply of raw material for the payment of both cash and kind.

The ploughs used by the tribal peasants (including Goudus) are of two types namely, *perinagali* and *buttinagali*. The *perinagali* (big plough) is used to plough hill slopes whereas the bulti nagali (small plough) is commonly used to plough flat lands and wet lands. The plough usually consists of *medi*, *nagali dukka*, *nakku*, *vetakarra* and *pundi*. A sharp pointed

iron piece of 6'' to 8'' in length locally known as *nakku* (plough share), is fixed to *nagalidukka*, allowing 2'' to project outside, *nagalidukka* is a separate piece of wood to which all other parts are fixed. The *medi* and *nagalidukka* are connected by *vetakarra*. Then the *pundi* is tied to *vetakarra* with *mokutradu* prepared with buffalo skin. The *medi*, which is used as handle by the peasant, while ploughing and *mokutradu*. Generally the tribals prepare the *mokutradu* or any kind of *tradu* with the adda fibre, drawn from the adda plant, which are also used for tethering cattle and in house construction, also are tied with a *kontitradu* (rope) so as to keep *medi* intact. Afterwards the bullocks are tied on either side of *pundi*. Thus the nagali of any type is made ready for the work. The only difference among two types of ploughs is the size of *nagalidukka*. The nagali is usually prepared with tada or chandra wood as it will be durable.

The spade is locally called as *guddali* which is used to turn the soil on steep hill slopes and to construct earthen bunds in the field. An iron blade with a broad face is fixed to a handle of 2 ½ 'to 3' in length. The handle is prepared with tada wood by each household. The iron blade is purchased for Rs 30 or Rs 40 from the weekly shandy. *Kusi* (crow bar) is an iron rod of 4'-6' or 5' in length with a pointed end. It is used for digging pits and lifting stones. The axe locally known as *goddali* is nothing a blunt piece of iron of 8'' and 10'' in length. One end of this axe head is made sharp to cut trees and plants. This is also provided with a handle of 2'-6'' or 3'.

Every tribal peasant uses *tutaribaddiga* to drive the bullocks by poking while ploughing the land. It is hard bamboo stick of 5' in length which is nailed at one end of it.

### **Mutual Assistance and exchange of labour in farming:**

The exchange of labour from one family to another family is a common feature in tribal society, especially in peak agricultural seasons like sowing and harvesting. The Goudu peasants mutually help each other in ploughing the land, lending seed and cattle and in sowing and harvesting operations. Both men and women among the Goudus equally participate in agricultural work. Except in ploughing, the women work hand in hand with the men in all other agricultural operations. The *Mettu kamasali* (blacksmith) supplies agricultural implements and also attends to repairs. He is customarily paid an agreed quantity of corn annually during harvesting season depending on the volume of work as represented by the implements that each household has got prepared by him. The *Mettu Kamasali* receives 50 kunchams of chodi, 41 kunchams of sama and 39 kunchams of paddy from the Goudu peasants. Some of the Goudu peasant households pay the remuneration of *Mettu Kamasali* in both cash and kind, depending the nature of work. Recently most of the Goudu

households buy the required agricultural implements and domestic utensils in the weekly market (shandy) in payment of cash only. Irrespective of tribe, both men and women very rarely work as casual labourers for either cash or kind. Exchange of tools, goods and food material from neighbourhood kindred families is very common in almost all the tribes in the study area. Earlier service exchange relationship prevailed between the Goudu tribe and konda kammara (blacksmith) and Konda kummari (potter) in the study area on the basis of annual payment. At present such relationships do not exist, except in some cases. Ceremonial gift exchange exists in between the neighbourhood and close kindred families. The feature of reciprocity is still in practice between the families of Agency Goudu tribe, similarly in other tribes too. The common property resources in a habitat is equally shared by all the families, such yields of fruit bearing trees, toddy of sago palm trees and firewood. The public lands and grazing lands available in and around a habitat is commonly used by all the residents of a habitat.

The major economic problems faced by the Agency Goudu are poverty, food insecurity, unemployment, indebtedness, and lack of sufficient cultivable land for livelihood. Economic deprivation, marginalization and social exclusion are the major problems experiencing by Agency Goudu due to geographical isolation, geographical and ecological constraints. The traditional pastoral economy is not meeting the subsistence requirement of Agency Goudus. Hence, they are forcefully taking up agriculture and participating in NTFP, collection.

## CHAPTER-V

### POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

#### **Structure of social control, prestige and leadership:**

The Agency Goudu tribes have very intimate connection with the political bodies of Tribal head or Tribal council, village council and statutory panchyat. However, they are also having very limited interaction with the political bodies of Mandal, Zillaparishad, District state and Nation. Both the traditional and modern political bodies are operating in the Agency Goudu habitats. The traditional tribal council is headed by Naiko (Naidu) and his position is hereditary in nature. He is assisted by *Barika* (messenger) *Pujari* and two elders of the community. This political body usually settles the disputes among the community people. It deals with the cases like family disputes, property disputes, theft, adultery and divorce. In addition to this, each Goudu settlement has village council. If any dispute has not been settled by the tribal council, it is referred to the village council.

The village council consisting of the village *Munsiff* (Naidu), *Pettandar*, Barika and a few tribal elders of the village who settles the disputes relating to land, suicide, murder, theft, elopement and adultery, divorce, *maganali* and other marriage disputes, breach of tribal customs and norms and others, and imposes fine, locally known as *sunkum* on the wrong doers (offenders). Both the tribal council and village council try to maintain social order and cohesion among the members of the community. Generally the tribal council (panchayat) settles all the disputes arising within the fold of the tribe and also imposes fine on the accused. A little portion of the fine, thus realised is appropriated for the use of the tribal elders. The elders congregate at the house of *Pettandar* to settle the *Maganali* dispute and the women do not participate in the deliberations. A case study of a dispute decided by the tribal council (panchayat) is mentioned below:

Sri Korra Budhu of Peddaveedhi eloped with a girl from Vamugedda village. The village elders together with the parents of the girl met the *Pettandar* of Peddaveedhi for settlement. In turn he invited the five elders of the community to settle the dispute. After hearing the complaints made by both the parties, they awarded a judgment to the effect that the accused should pay ten kunchams of paddy, a goat, a cow, Rs 1000 to the aggrieved party. The economic status of the accused is also taken into consideration by the tribal council members before announcing the judgment which should to be complied with by the accused. As per the custom, the tribal elders are paid Rs 50/- and one *buddi* (bottle) of *sara* (intoxicating liquor) for settling the dispute by the accused. In case disputes can not be settled



at the tribal panchayat level, they are brought before the village council, and the decision is unquestionable and should be complied with. The cases decided by the village council have never been challenged. The murder cases are invariably reported to the nearest police station usually located at mandal head quarters. It is observed in the study area that almost all the intra tribal disputes are settled by the tribal council/ tribal head, whereas the inter-tribal conflicts are referred to the village council. The cases of intra and inter tribal conflicts are invariably under the judgment of the traditional panchayat even today. Otherwise, which are under the political control of the traditional political body of either tribal council or village council. Earlier the *muthadari* system was in operation in the Bagatha dominated tribal villages of the study area. Even today certain unsettled cases of tribal council or village council can be referred to the *muthadari*. The position of the *muthadari* is hereditary in nature, and held by a land lord Bagatha man.

### **Traditional Political System:**

The traditional political system even today is much in operation at tribe, village and regional levels in the scheduled areas of Visakhapatnam, Vizianagaram districts of Andhra Pradesh state. In Visakhapatnam area especially the Bagatha dominated settlements as well as in other tribal settlements the *Muthadari* system of traditional political body is in operation to certain extent. After introduction of Panchyat Raj democratic political system of local government, both the traditional and modern political bodies are in operation and functioning in almost all the tribal settlements including Agency Goudu settlements. Statutory panchayat is an elected political body whereas the tribal head, tribal council, village council or traditional panchayat are usually nominated or hereditary in nature. Literally, panchayat means five members body, but the number may vary from one village to another depending upon the size of the habitat or village. The traditional political bodies at tribe and village levels are considered as custodian to protect and safeguard the norms, traditions, customs and mores and try to maintain social order, cohesion and integrity among the tribals within its jurisdiction and regime. The traditional political system in tribal society even to day follow its customary laws to preserve cultural heritage, social, cultural practices and ordeals and also resolving disputes and conflicts amicably by imposing penalty on the offenders. The traditional political bodies even to day play a pivotal role in organizing festivals, fairs and communal gatherings during socio-ceremonial and religious festivals occasions. The tribal head and village head positions are hereditary in nature and they are honoured by others during socio-ceremonial occasions. The traditional political body in Agency Goudu try to protect the interest of the community people in maintaining clan, kith and kin relations at each and every

family level. It is very particular to command and order the community people to follow religious norms and customs as followed by the ancestors in respect to animism, totemism, taboos, avoidances and also age old Hindu religious practices. It do not allow the community people to change their religion to Christianity, even through Christianity impact prevails on PVTGs and some other tribes. The Agency Goudu people pray the Hindu gods and goddesses along with the tribal deities like Modukondamma, Nishani and Sanku Demudu. They consider God Srikrishna as their Kuladaivam.

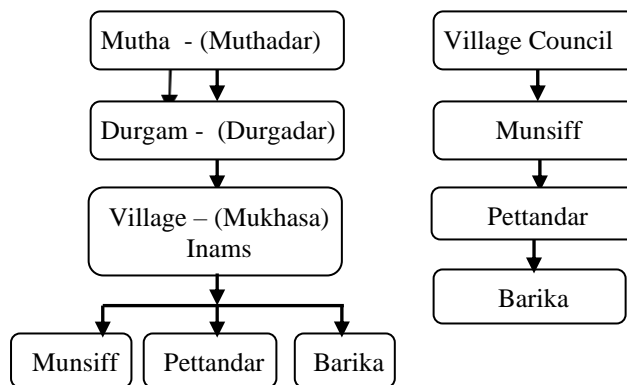
### **Muthadari System:**

According to the Agency Goudu informants, prior to the abolition of the Golconda Eastate to which the Peddaveedhi hamlet of vamugedda village belonged, the system of local administration that then prevailed was called *Muthadari* system. Under this system the estate consisted of several muthas. Each mutha consisted of a few *durgams* and each *durgam* consisted in turn of a few villages. Under each *muthadar* there were a few *Durgadars* and a few Munsiffs under each *Durgadar*. Some villages consisted of a few hamlets also. Each village had a village munsiff as also a *pettandar* and Barika. The *pettandar* acquainted the visiting officials through the village Munsiff with the local conditions and developments and looked after their conveniences. The *Barika* (village servant) was an active member of the village organization in conducting festivals and fairs and assisted the munsiff in all his duties. He also acts as a traditional messenger and carry the messages pertaining to the traditional *Muthadar* or village council and communicate it to all the members within the jurisdiction of *Mutha*.

The land revenue was being paid to *Durgadar* who passed it on to the *Muthadar*. The *Muthadar*, village Munsiff, *pettandar* and *Barika* were granted lands free of tax for their services to the Estate. The tribal peasants used to offer some grain locally known as *poloi* annually during the harvest season to the *Barika*. Some villages or groups of villages were known as *Mukhasas*. These are a kind of *inams* granted to some individuals in recognition of their services to the Zamindars and Rajas. When the government took over these prior to their abolition in 1956, the Mokhasadars had to pay some 'quit rent'. Due to the implemenetation of the Andhra Inams (Abolition and Conversion to Ryotwari) Act 1956 and the Abolition of *Inams* (Amendment) Act 1956 the mukhasas have been taken over by the government and are administered even today through the *muthadari* system. The Agency Goudu respondents of Peddaveedhi of Vamugedda village, Chintapalle mandal. explained a case of muthadari system operation in lothugedda.

Inorder to present a comprehensive picture about this *muthadari* system the sanad granted by the agent to the Governor. Visakhapatnam district to Sri Taggi valasaih dora, son of the Valasayya dora, the *muthadar* of lothugedda, with certain clauses and conditions. The *sanad* has a clause which says no hereditary right to the office of the *muttadar* is hereby recognized. The office of village munsiff, pettandar and Barika are hereditary by practice but no hereditary rights as such are recognized.

Political organization of Mutha (**muthadar**) presented below



### **Sador (Public Meeting Place):**

Each Goudu settlement invariably consist of *Sador* (public meeting place), where the village council meetings is held. Usually it is located in the centre of the village or nearer (beside) to the Naiko (Naidu) household. During socio-ceremonial and religious occasions the traditional tribal *dimisa* is performed here, in which both men and women actively participate. The Goudu people generally gather at this place during their leisure time and gossip on various matters pertaining to the community and outside the community. A *sador* is also treated as a gossiping centre and information disseminating centre in a Goudu settlement. The political meetings is organized at this place under the leadership or headship of the Naiko (Naidu). The message pertaining to any political meeting or community meeting is usually informed by all the residents of a habitat, where intra and inter-tribal conflicts are amicably settled. The *Sador* in any tribal settlement is considered as a place of social gathering. In addition to this now each Goudu settlement is provided with a community hall by the I.T.D.A, where now and then community people use to gather and discuss on various matters concerning the community and village. This community hall is also used for the public purpose and certain social functions are held there. Whenever the Government officials visit the Goudu settlement on their official purpose, they conduct the meetings here with the residents and deliver their services to the community people. The Goudu youth very oftenly assemble there and spend their leisure time and gossip. The community hall is also used as rest house for the

guests who visit the village. The village statutory panchayat meetings are also held there now and then under the leadership of the sarpanch and ward members. Both the Sador and community hall in a Goudu settlement are used for the purpose of social gatherings and public gatherings. These two public places are commonly used for conduction of political meetings also in a Goudu settlement.

### **Modern Political System:**

After introduction of Panchayat Raj System in the rural and tribal areas the Agency Goudu people are also included in it. A few Goudu community persons are also holding ward members and sarpanch positions through the elections. Panchayat Raj Extension to tribal areas act (PESA) is also in operation in Agency Goudu settlements. The ITDA also take the consent of the Grama Sabha before initiation of any welfare and development activity in the habitats of Agency Goudu. Both modern and traditional political bodies are in operation in the study villages of Agency Goudu.

### **Democratic Decentralization:**

With the introduction of democratic decentralization, the statutory panchayat system came into operation in almost all the Goudu settlements. The executive body in the statutory panchayat is an elected body of five years period, which consists of Sarpanch, Upa Sarpanch and ward members. The statutory panchayat is incharge for providing basic infrastructural facilities like road, drinking water, sanitation, primary education, street lights and housing. The panchayat Administration, mainly focus on the development of all the wards (hamlets) of its Jurisdiction. It is observed in the study area that the sarpanch position in most of the statutory panchayat villages is held by the dominant tribe Bagatha in Visakhapatnam district, Jatapu tribe in Vizianagaram and Srikakulam districts. However, certain land lords and rich Goudu leaders are also holding sarpanch position in the tribal villages of Visakhapatnam, Vizianagaram and Srikakulam districts. If any dispute or conflict is not settled by the tribal council or village council, then it referred to the statutory panchayat. It is noted that certain tribal heads or village heads got elected as Sarpanches through the voting or by nomination in some tribal villages. The traditional tribal heads are also holding the sarpanch position with highest political power in local government. Land is the main source for wealth and power in the rural/ tribal villages. With the introduction of PESA Act in tribal pockets of India, the tribal people got political empowerment which paved way for their inclusive growth and development.

In general, the traditional village council plays an important part in regulating the social, economic and religious life of the people insipite of the creation of statutory panchayat. Even

the panchayat members have to act as per the advice given by the village munsiff or other tribal elders. Thus, the age old traditional institutions still maintains its hold on the Goudu population (or tribal population) though it is not supported by any statutory law. Needless to say, the traditional village council is itself the determining factor for the successful administration of the statutory panchayat. It is noted in the study area that the Agency Goudu people very actively participate in the election campaign and voting in the local government (statutory panchayat) elections instead of Assembly and parliament elections. They have access to the services of the sarpanch and ward members instead of the services of ZPTC, MPTC, MLA, MP and Ministers. They are availing the welfare facilities of the local government at a maximum extent.

The reciprocity of service exchange relationship in between different groups (*Jajmani relationship*) once prevailed in the tribal society. But at present the Goudu peasants receive the service of the blacksmith (kammara) by paying both cash and kind annually, usually at the time of harvesting the crop. Service exchange relationships exist between the neighbourhood families in a Goudu settlement without any kind of payment. The reciprocal obligations in economic and ceremonial affairs among the Goudus have not been influenced much by the modern changes. There is no specific local term which goes to convey this kind of customary inter-relationship of families in the Goudu village community. However, some features of the *Jajmani relations* may be perceived. The Goudus have got their respective religious priest *Poojari* or *Desari* or *Gurumai* who attend to all their religious and social functions. The relationship between them is as usual, a traditional obligation. Shaving is done by themselves and there is no professional barber. The local Blacksmith (konda Kammara) usually attends to their annual requirements customarily and he is inturn paid annually depending on the volume of work. In the study area, it is noted that some Goudu men watch and Graze the cattle of others on payment basis. Generally the cowherd is given food twice in a day, besides an agreed quantity of corn paid annually per each head of the cattle during the harvest season. The Goudu peasants pay ten kunchams of corn per year per *eru* (i.e, two bullocks) or 5 Kunchams of corn per year per each adult cattle.

The Goudu women do not have any role in the political matters of tribe and village. But the adult women who attained the age of 18 years also participate in voting of local government, Assembly and parliament. A few Goudu women are also holding the position of ward member in the statutory panchayat (local government). The Goudu women got economic empowerment through DWACRA programme of self help groups and micro finance. In general the headship position even at the family level in Goudu society invariably hold by the

eldest male member only. In extraordinary circumstance a widow attains family head position in the absence of male children in the family. The Agency Goudus are following the patriarchal system in observance of rules of descent and residence. In general the Agency Goudu women are given equal opportunity to participate in social, economic and religious spheres along with their men except in the political sphere. They simply participate in voting of local government, Assembly and parliament, and do not allowed to contest in election. However, the constitution provided political reservation for women giving an opportunity to the Goudu women to contest in local government election but political decision making power lies with their men folk only.

In the study area it is noted that the Agency Goudus have inter-tribal and inter-village relationship especially in economic sphere. The Goudus of Peddaveedhi hamlet of Vamugedda village have economic relationship with konda kammara, Bagatha and konda dora tribes of the main village. Generally, the residents of this settlement help one another in times of need and work hand in hand in all the agricultural operations without any distinction. They take the service of the blacksmith in getting the required agricultural implements for cultivation purpose. Exchange of agricultural labour in between the different tribes in peak agricultural seasons like sowing and harvesting is very common. Among themselves they lend bullocks, agricultural implements and seeds. The inter-tribal and inter-village relations are healthy and cordial. In a statutory panchayat village area, different tribes and hamlets are politically inter connected with one another. The tribal people in a statutory panchayat village usually maintain the social order and cohesion with the intervention of the executive body of it. In sum both the traditional and statutory panchayat at a village level try to maintain the social control and social order among its members belonging to different tribal communities. In the tribal society both religion and polity play key role in maintenance of social order among the members. The political system of the Agency Goudu is considered as one of the means of social control mechanism which try to safeguard the interest of all the members of the community. The traditional political system in Goudu society is fully functioning even today, even though the democratic panchayat raj system has been introduced in the Scheduled areas.

## CHAPTER-VI

### RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATION

#### **Religion:**

Religion is the part of life of the Agency Goudu tribe. It plays a major role in social control apart from customary laws and modern constitutional law. Religion is belief in god or supernatural power, which is part of any human group including Agency Goudu. In the study area the Agency Goudus profess their own tribal religion along with Hinduism. They claim their descent from the Hindu god 'Sri Krishna' and consider it as their *kula daivam*. The Goudus in visakha agency area consider '*Modukondamma*' as tribal deity, the shrine of it is located at Paderu, where the I.T.D.A (Integrated Tribal Development Agency) is situated. A fair is usually organized in the month of May every year. The tribal people including Agency Goudus compulsorily attend this religious fair. This fair serves the purposes of worship of the deity, marketing, entertainment, and social gathering. It is also considered as centre for information dissemination. The Government officials also make visit to this fair in order to disseminate the information pertaining to their activities.

#### **Religious Beliefs and Practices:**

The Agency Goudu people have belief in witchcraft, sorcery, evil eye, and spirits. They have very strong belief in animism and practice totemism. Agency Goudus have immense belief in their village deities and the ancestors whom they worship, as they believe that these would protect them against wild animals and evil spirits. They have strong belief in both malevolent and benevolent spirits. As per the informants, the benevolent spirits do good to them whereas the malevolent spirits do harm to them. In order to appease malevolent spirits they offer sacrificial animal blood. In general they worship the benevolent spirits in all auspicious occasions and make vows on it. The tribals in the agency areas of Eastern Ghats invariably worship the nature, natural objects and products. They consider forest as mother goddess and referred it *Adivithalli*, hill or hillock referred as '*Konda devata*'. The Agency Goudu people usually consider land as *Bhudevata*, water source as '*gangamma*' forest source as *Adavidevata*, their livelihood is primarily intertwined with these natural resources. They have established symbiotic relationship with the forests since age immemorial, once they largely depended on forest flora and fauna for their subsistence. Even now, they graze their cattle in the forest and waste lands available nearby their habitats.

In tradition the Goudu people consider cattle as their prime source of income, wealth and temple. They worship the 'cow' alike that of Hindu castes. And also worship their dead ancestors and have strong belief that dead becomes a spirit and again takes rebirth in the

same family. The ancestors are popularly known as 'dumbas'. The traditional priest, *Desari* is consulted to fix up an auspicious day to negotiate the marital alliance, to perform the marriage, to start house construction and to perform tonsure ceremony. The sight of a fox, cat, snake, and a person carrying empty pots and death procession at the time of commencing a journey is considered to be inauspicious. The cry of a wild goat, a rabbit and a dog barking and a man sneezing are also unlucky for under taking the journey by the Agency Goudus.

One of the informants in Peddaveedhi village said about his belief in the effects of evil eye though it is not a common belief in the tribal communities of Visakha Agency area. He narrated that *Jeediginjalu* (raw cashew nuts) are kept in a glass and taken round person thrice and then thrown in the fire in order to protect him against the evil eye. The months Sankaramanam, Sivaratri and Diwali are considered to be lucky and favourable either for the celebration of marriage or for the birth of a child. Getting hair and nailcut on Wednesday, Monday and Sunday is considered lucky by the Agency Goudu.

The Agency Goudu in tribal areas of Visakhapatnam, and Vizianagaram districts profess both tribal and Hindu religions. They worship the local village deities, regional tribal deities and also Hindu gods and goddesses. *Modukondamma* is the regional tribal deity; the original shrine of it is located in Paderu mandal headquarters of Visakhapatnam district. Almost all the tribes inhabiting in eleven tribal mandals of visakha agency area visit this temple at least once in a year, mostly at the time of *Modukondamma* fair which is usually held in the first week of May. This fair is attended by large number of tribal people mainly for worship of this deity. Some of the tribal people (including Agency Goudus) make vows on this goddess whenever, they became sick and face difficulties to eke out their livelihood and experience the threat from natural calamities and epidemics. Each Agency Goudu settlement has the shrines of *Sankudemudu*, *Gangadevata*, *Nishani Devata*, *Peddademudu* and *Jakara Devata*. The Goudu people have strong belief in animism, witchcraft, sorcery, magic and evil eye. They worship both benevolent and malevolent spirits, and also worship the nature and natural products. They worship the cow and consider cattle as their wealth and temple. They consider lord Krishna as their community god and observe the religious festival *Janmastami*.

Some of the rituals of worship such as breaking of coconut, burning incense and the celebrations of such Hindu festivals as vinayaka chaviti, Sivaratri, Deepavali, Sankranti, Janmastami along with their own festivals like, korrakotha, Kandi Kotha, Mamidikotha etc, and *Etum* (hunting festival). The Goudus make vows on the village deities and offer offerings to them in order to rescue from all kinds of difficulties and problems. All the village deities of Goudu tribe are worshipped by the *Pujari*, the traditional priest of the community. The



priest hood of *Pujari* and *Desari* in this tribe is traditional and considered them as religious heads. The *Pujari* who act as temple priest and *Desari* who act as *Muharthagadu* and officiates various rituals among the Goudus. *desari* who is also a tribal medicineman, and shaman, the Agency Goudu people usually seek traditional health service from him.

Worship of village deities is traditional in almost all the Agency Goudu habitats (settlements). Each village deity is symbolized in a conical shaped stone except, *Jakara devatha* (deity). And all deities are usually located in the west of a Goudu village. Every Goudu village has got its own deities who are traditionally worshipped in the belief that it would result in good harvest and in protection against diseases and misfortunes. During harvest season every household cooks the new corn, which it offers to the ancestors locally known as *KottaKalavadam* as a token of gratitude before it is consumed. Such of these festivals are known as *korra kotha*, *Samakotha*, *Mamidikotha*, *Kandikotha*, *Panasakotha* *Gummadi kotha* etc. Though the origin of these deities is not known to them, the Goudus are fully convinced for their powers. Each festival in this tribe is associated with the worship of deity. The animal sacrifice is most common to propitiate the village deities. All the Goudu households in a village participate in the worship of *Gangademudu*, *Nandidemudu*, *Sankudemudu*, *Pedda demudu* and *Jakara devata*. In general there are no temples for these deities and situated under different pious trees. Every year *Pedda Demudu* is worshiped by all the Goudu families of a respective village. *The sankranti* other wise locally known as *Sankuramanam*, *Deepavali* and *Sivaratri* are also celebrated by this tribe. During the field work the investigators observed the celebration of *Vinayaka Chaviti* in *Peddaveedhi* (vamugedda) in large scale by raising contribution from all families. The ‘*Nimmajanam*’ (inimerson of the idol of *Vinayaka* in stream, pond or tank) procession is in-variably accompanied by music and *Dimsa* dance. The significance of these festivals is unknown to Goudus and the celebration of the festivals differs in all the tribes in the region. The Goudus have the household deity of lord Krishna, from whom they claim their descent. They never visit either a shrine or any pilgrimage centre outside the agency area.

#### **Sanku demudu:**

The Goudu peasants do not broadcast the seeds unless the vetting festival connected with the worship of *sankudemudu* is performed either on Sunday or Monday in the month of April. The deity is located under a tree in the west of any Goudu village and is symbolized by a conical shaped stone. The *Pujari* cleans the premises of this deity and decorates it with turmeric powder and *chodi* (ragi) flour. The *Pujari* cooks the rice contributed by each household and this cooked rice is locally known as *bhuvanam*. The *bhuvanam* and the seeds

of different corn namely *chodi* (ragi), Paddy, *Ganti*, (bajra) *Jowar* (jonna), Korra and Sama (small millet) are kept before the deity. The pujari worships this deity and burns incense. In this connection a fowl and a pig are offered as a sacrifice to this deity. After wards the mixed seeds of different corn are thrown in all the four directions and upwards. The Goudu peasants collect the seeds thrown upwards in a cloth spread. The seeds are added with the seeds of different corn and broad cast in their respective fields in the month of May or June, soon after the first fall of the rain. It is a popular belief that they yield good crops without being affected by pest or eaten away by animals and birds.

### **Gangademudu:**

This deity is worshipped on any Thursday or Friday in the month of *sankuramanam* (January), this deity is also situated on the western side of a Goudu settlement and symbolized by a stone which is fenced all round with a stone wall of three feet height. The *pujari* cleans the premises of this deity and decorates it with *chodi* (ragi) flour, turmeric powder and vermilion. On that day the women smears the entire house with dung and mud and decorates it with red earth and black earth. All the men folk go in procession to worship this deity, accompanied by *baja*, the local musical instruments. The *Pujari* worships this deity and sacrifices a fowl. After wards the proposed goat is cleaned with water and applied with turmeric and vermilion, the legs and forehead. Any person among the congregation decapitates the goat and the meat is equally distributed among the families of the village. During the Maharajas time (prior to abolition of the Zamindari), the Raja of Jeypore used to grant some amount annually and the village *Naiko* (Naidu) was anotherized to spend it for this occasion. At present the expenditure for this festival is equally shared by all the families in a village. It is a belief that the worship of this deity brings in rains and affords them protection against wild animals.

### **Nandidemudu:**

This deity is worshipped on any Friday in the month of Sivaratri (February- March). The festival of this deity is otherwise locally called as '*Sivaratri*'. On this festive day, every household worships the mother earth in their respective fields for good harvest. The milk of goat, cow or she buffaloe is offered to this deity. On this occasion, the *Pujari* worships the mother earth on behalf of the village and offers jaggery and coconut and burns incense. A goat is then sacrificed to propitiate this deity. The head of this sacrificed animal is enjoyed by the village *Naiko*(Naidu), while the remaining meat is equally distributed among all the families in a Goudu settlement (village). The cost of the animal is met by all the families raising contributions.

**Peddademudu:**

Like any other local deity, *peddademudu* is also symbolised in a conical shaped stone and is usually situated in the North West corner of the village (settlement). This deity is worshipped on any Sunday in the month of May with the belief that it protects them against wild animals and epidemics. In the early hours of the festive day the women bedaub the whole house with dung and earth and *rangavalli* (decorative) lines are drawn with *Chodi* (Ragi) flour, turmeric and vermilion powder. The men take bath in the nearby hill stream. After cleaning the premises of the deity, the pujari cooks the rice contributed by each household and this cooked rice is known as *bhuvanam*. Then, he sacrifices a fowl or a chicken whose blood along with a little of *bhuvanam* is offered to this deity. On this occasion a goat is also sacrificed to the deity. The remaining *bhuvanam*, and the meat of the sacrificed animal are distributed among the Goudu people by one of the elderly person in the village.

**Jakara demudu:**

Unlike the other deities, *Jakara demudu* is the village deity symbolized in a small iron piece. The *pujari* worships this deity on any Monday or Thursday in the month of *Banda Pournima* (July-August). The belief that men and cattle would be protected against wild animals and they may indiscriminately move in the forest. The iron piece, which signifies the Jakara deity is placed in a pot and covered with another pot. Then, the pot containing the deity is placed over a flat stone under a mango tree. On this festive day every house is smeared with dung and mud and decorated with *rangavalli*. The pujari takes bath in the early hours of the day and cleans the premises of this deity. He burns incense in the course of worship and sacrifices a fowl, afterwards a goat is sacrificed and the meat of it is distributed among all Goudu families of the village. The significance of the sacrifice of goat to this deity and other deities is not known to many Goudus. But a few Goudus told that it is a strong belief that offering of animal sacrificial blood to their deities considered as one way to appease the deities or gods. After celebrating this festival only, the *gummadi* (pumpkin) leaves are consumed by the Goudu people, for the first time during the year, lest some unwanted events may fall in the habitat.

**Chaitra or Vitting (*etum*) Festival:**

In the tribal areas of North-Costal Andhra Pradesh, especially in the districts of Visakhapatnam and Srikakulam almost all the tribes observe this festival very enthusiastically. In the agency areas, the Chaitra month (march-April) is full of merry-making and the tribal's (including Goudus) irrespective of sex enjoy excessive liquor, as the Chairtra festival otherwise known as vitting (*etum*) festival is celebrated either in the month of March

or April. The duration of this festival is eight days. During this festive period all men go to the forest for a traditional hunting game with bow and arrow. A few Goudu men also use guns to hunt animals. The peculiar feature of this festival is that women take a lead role in a village while men go to the forest for hunting. They go in groups (teams) to forest and the man along with his team is honoured suitably if he returned with a successful game. If no animal is killed, the women of the village dishonour the men folk by sprinkling dung water and also mock at their valour. If any male person of any other village passes through the village during this festive period, the women demand money as a fine, locally known as *sunkam* for violating the social custom.

### **Modukondamma Temple and Fair:**

Modukondamma padalu (feet) shrine is located at minimuluru just before reaching to Paderu, mandal head quarter as well as the head quarters of I.T.D.A, sub-plan area of Visakhapatnam. It is a pilgrimage place for the tribals and non-tribals of Andhra Pradesh. Permanent temple structure was built for this deity in the midst of Paderu town. Once it was considered as little tradition and at present it became great tradition of tribal and Hindu religions. This deity is daily worshipped by the local tribals including Agency Goudus, occasionally animal sacrifices is also done in the premises of this temple to appease this deity.

A fair is also organized in every calendar year in the first week of May month; it is usually attended by the tribals and non-tribals of entire agency area and also some plain caste people. Now Modukondamma is considered as goddess for not only to tribals but also to the non-tribals (caste people) too.

The famous tribal *dimsa* dance is a predominant feature of these festive days, in which all the men and women used to participate actively. This dance is usually performed at the place of *Sador* in each Goudu settlement. It is an entertainment and recreation programme to all the tribes in the agency areas. The festivals which the Goudu tribe observes are having social, economic and religious significance and becomes part of their life. It is noted in the field area that in recent times the impact of Christianity is also seen and large majority of tribal people belonging to the tribes like Valmiki, Khond, Porja, Mali, Konda dora, Gadaba, Kotiya Nooka dora, Konda kammara and Dulia/ Mulia are attracted towards it, but the Goudus, Bagatas, and Konda Kapus are not yet converted into the Christianity. During the last two decades in the agency areas of Visakhapatnam district, many Christian religious structures and educational institutions came in to existence due to intensive operation of Christian missionaries. Because of Christian religious communication, and welfare, in the area many poor tribals are attracted towards Christianity and converted in to it. However, almost all the

tribals in the study area have strong faith in their own (tribal) religion apart from Hinduism and Christianity. In general, the religion is considered as social control mechanism in any human society including the tribal society and applicable to Agency Goudu tribe too.

## CHAPTER-VII

### ART AND MATERIAL CULTURE

The Agency Goudu tribe has no specific art form as such. But the Goudu people have their own skill to construct the traditional house with the locally available material of mud, wood (timber) and bamboo wood. The mud walls of a house is smeared with red coloured clay with coloured designs of plants, animals and flowers and those related to their economic activity of cattle keeping and hunting. In the tribal areas of North-Coastal Andhra Pradesh, the Savara tribe has its own art which exhibits about their cultural activities. It is popularly known as 'Savara tribal art'. The Goudu tribe also plays certain musical instruments alike that of other tribes in the area especially while performing *Dimsa* dance during socio-ceremonial and religious festival occasions. The details of musical instruments of this tribe are given at the end of this chapter.

#### **Procedure and Material used in House Construction:**

In the past, in construction of thatched house (*purillu*), a Goudu family would first select the house site with the consultation of the village *Naiko* (Naidu). Then consult the local *Deasari* for fixing an auspicious day to take up foundation activity for the house construction. Afterwards, the house builder cleans and smears the central portion of the proposed site with cow dung. Facing east, the house builder prepares *Koti*, by keeping two unbroken rice grains side by side on which another unbroken rice grain is also kept. Three such *kotis* are kept little away from each other and are covered with an earthen lid locally known as *Pamika*. It is secured firmly to the ground by pasting mud round it. Then, again three *kotis* are kept over this *panika*. This is done in the evening hours of the day. After arranging the *kotis* the house builder prays the Gods and the ancestors to protect the *koti* from the evil spirits till the following morning and invokes their blessings. If the *koti* remains intact, the house builder sticks to the site. Otherwise, the test will be conducted at a different place within the village site till he comes up on a site which stands the *Koti* test. Likewise the selection of house site is made by the Goudu tribe, similar to that of other tribes in the study area.

Then, an auspicious day is fixed in consultation with the local *Desari* for fixing up the central pole, preferably of *neredi* wood, at the place where the test for the selection of site was actually conducted. The construction work is thereafter taken up with the assistance of family labour and community labour. The owner provide vegetarian food every day to those who helped him in the construction of the house, irrespective of tribe, till its completion.

Before the actual construction of the house, the required quality of the wood, roofing, grass, adda fibre etc, are procured without any restriction from the nearby forest. Any type of thin

long wooden poles, except those of mango, myrobalam, sampenga, and Chandra or chendur wood are used as beams for the construction of the roof, besides bamboos. Forked posts of *neredi* (*Eugenia Jambolane*), *maddi* (*terminalia alata*) and *Jalli* wood are also utilized. The roof is covered either with *etha* (date palm tree) thatch or *gopiri* or *relli gaddi* (a wild jungle grass). The thin flexible beams locally known as *rivva* are used in the construction of wattled walls. Mud walls are also constructed by those who can afford it. Earlier there were two types of houses constructed by the Goudus, such as *purillu* and *middillu*. In recent times tiled and asbestos roofed houses are also constructed under housing scheme along with R.C.C buildings. Now four types of houses are seen in the Goudu settlements, namely thatched, tiled, Asbestos roofed and R.C.C buildings. Only a few traditional thatched type of houses are seen among the Goudus in the studied field villages.

Prior to the construction of house, the local *Deasri* (*muhurthagadu*) looks at the stars in the night, on the day he is consulted, to fix up the *muhartham* (auspicious day) for starting the house construction work. The months sankuratri (January) and sivaratri (February) are preferred as the Goudus, uninterrupted by rains and agricultural operations, can complete the house construction at one stretch thereafter. In the case of construction of traditional house of thatched type, it is built with mud walls locally known as *madhura goda*. A foundation of two feet depth is dug for construction of mud walls. In certain house construction, the people of this tribe, long thin flexible beams locally called *rivva* are interlaced to form a strong fence and then plastered on either side with a mixture of dung and mud. The thickness of wattled wall is always maintained in between 6' and 8' whereas thickness of mud walls ranges from one foot to one and half a feet. The height of the walls in both the types is 6' feet all round the house. Over these walls four or five beams are kept to support the loft which is constructed over cross beams with wooden rafters and bamboos. An area of about 4" x 4" either in the centre or in the corner of the loft is left to gain access with the help of a ladder, locally known as *dapa*. The loft is the safest place for storing the grain in adda leaf baskets or bamboo baskets, for keeping washed clothes in bamboo box and also keeping implements and domestic utensils which are not required for daily use.

In general the roof is supported by forked posts, one central pole of about 10"- 6" from the ground level and other posts of 5 feet height from the ground opposite to the central pole on which rest wooden beams. The roof is covered either with date palm leaves or *gopuri* grass which slopes down on all the four sides as each house is independent and rectangular in design. As one enters the house, the height of the roof is 4' or 4' -6' from the ground, 7' feet at the main gate and 10' - 6' at the centre of the house. The roof is thus sloping so that it may

not be blown off due to heavy gales and it also facilitates convenient draining of rain water. Both wooden and bamboo doors are provided in the houses. Majority of the traditional houses were provided with wooden doors, which were locally prepared by each household with mango, Jack and Sampenga (*Michelia Champaca*) wood. No ventilators are provided to the houses.

### **Utilization of House:**

The living portion of the house is mainly divided into two parts locally known as *inillu* and *gondillu* with a mud partition wall of 5''x 6''. The oven is invariably constructed in *inillu* over which a bamboo mat of 3''-6''x 3''-6'' locally known as *Joli* is hung to dry the corn and other seeds. Adjoining the oven, an earthen platform of 1'x1 ½' x 3' locally known as *Kuduru* is used to keep provisions, and a few important domestic utensils. Besides, the ancestors are also worshipped in *gondillu* on *Sankuramanam* festival day. The *inillu* is also used for sleeping purposes. Without exception the *gondillu* is the darkest room in every house and cooking is done in *inillu* with the light of the burning fuel even in day time. It is observed in the field villages that some of the Goudu families used to cook the food in the corner of *varandah* with firewood as fuel.

The main gate of the majority of the houses faces either east or west but in respect of few houses, it faces north also, though no house face south. It is a belief that some untoward events will happen if the main gate of the house faces south. The measurements of the dwellings of Goudu and other tribes do not vary. Generally the height and breadth of the house among all the tribes in the study area must be equal in respect to traditional type of house. But in certain cases, both the measurements vary depending on the availability of the site and as such there are no fixed measurements for the house.

House warming ceremony is compulsorily observed by this tribe. On completion of the construction of the house, an auspicious day is fixed in consultation with *Desari* (*muharthagadu*) to enter into the new house. The house warming ceremony is simple and informal. On this day the owner of the house, the builder, offers a non-vegetarian community feast, depending on his economic position. Otherwise the community people are served with cooked *sama* or rice. On this occasion, the Goudus usually keep flowers and a new pot full of hill stream water in *gondillu*. A few Goudu families perform puja to *peddademudu* in *gondillu* and offers coconuts and plantain fruits. In this connection a community feast is also arranged to all the local Goudu families, and also other tribal families of respective habitat, almost all the tribes accept cooked food from Goudus. In general most of their houses are two rooms with *varandah*. Majority of the Goudu households have kitchen garden at the



backyard, where vegetables and fruits are grown. Most part of such produce is mainly used for consumption of the family members. However, if any family gets surplus produce, out of it, then it is sold in the near by weekly market (shandy). The Goudu also rear the fowls and pigs in the backyard of their respective houses. These are all the additional sources of income to each Goudu family in addition to agriculture and minor forest produce collection.

In most of the Goudu houses, very poor sanitation condition was observed. In general the Goudu women sweep their houses every day along with cleaning of the cattle shed. Most of the Goudu families keep the cattle beside the houses. Usually the houses are smeared with a mixture of cow dung and mud either on Monday or Thursday once in a week. The walls including the floor are plastered with dung and mud and decorated by smearing red or black earth on all the festive occasions. Besides, the house is swept twice in a day by housewife or any other woman member. The roof is usually repaired once in three years by replacing rotted bamboos, thin beams and the roofing in regard to traditional thatched type of house. The repairs are usually attended to by his own kin men or community people, and the owner in return offers food to the participants in this work. The cost of thatched house construction is very low ranging from Rs 1500 to Rs 2000, contains only the labour cost of the local konda kammari (Blacksmith). The required wood material and mud, they procure from the near by forest and fields. At present the traditional thatched type of housing is replaced by the tiled and R.C.C buildings. These types of houses are constructed under government housing scheme which are also provided with toilet facility. But many Goudus are not yet accustomed to make use of toilet facility and confine to age old practice of open defecation.

### **Households Utensils and Domestic goods:**

In the past, Goudus used earthen ware only for various domestic purposes including cooking. These were bought from Konda Kammari community. Subsequently they started to make use of Aluminium utensils along with the earthen pots. In recent times, they are also using stainless steel utensils for cooking and eating purposes. A few well to do Goudu families now use modern appliances for domestic purpose. Earlier the numerous earthen pots and few aluminium utensils were just enough to meet the requirements of the household, forming the substantial part of the household goods among the Goudu families. The utility of the article is taken into consideration rather than its decorative value. The articles are mostly simple and durable.

The earthen pots of different sizes depending on the size and the needs of the family are purchased from the nearby weekly shandies. The pot is a multi purpose utensil, used for

cooking rice, chodi gruel, curry, and **Jodu** (sambar). It is also used for fetching and storing water. The word *kelu* in tribal dialect means earthen pot. The pot used for cooking rice or sama is known as *javarnikelu* while the pot used for cooking *chodi* gruel is called *kullerukelu*. The pot with broad mouth, known as *kurvani kelu* is used for cooking the curry. *Torra Kadi Kelu* is used for preparing sambar. The tamarind water mixed with salt and chillies is boiled and thus the *rasam* is prepared. The cost of the pots generally varies from Rs5/- to Rs 20 depending upon the size of the utensil.

Ladle locally known as **chattuva** or **Kura teddu** is prepared by every household with *gummadi* wood. It is used for serving curry and sambar or rasam. *Prasu* or *doki* is prepared out of ripened water gourd which is dried and made hollow by removing the inner pulp through an opening made into it. Every household use it to fetch and serve water. *Killerudippa* an improvised vessel is used to carrying chodi gruel to the work spot. This is prepared out of large sized ripened water gourd. An opening is made at the top, the pulp is removed and then dried up before it is used. These water gourd plants are therefore specially grown by every Goudu family. Large size earthen pots are used for storing the grains for future use.

The food at home is usually served in aluminium or stainless steel plates. It is locally called *Kurka* and the cost of one such article varies from Rs 20 to Rs 50, small adda leaf baskets, locally known as *Kala* or *modu* are used for carrying food to distant work spot or to the forest. In the study area it is observed that usage of earthen ware has been enormously reduced and switched to the using of Aluminium and stainless steel utensils by almost all the Goudu families due to its long durability.

### **Other Domestic Goods:**

Every Goudu household usually owns a few storing utensils, besides the grinding stone *chakkie* winning fan and wooden cot. They usually store food grains i.e, paddy or any corn in *Kolikibutti* or *Ponaka butti* prepared out of thin bamboo ribs or in large size earthen pots **Kagu**. These are usually purchased in the nearby weekly market (shandy). The capacity of each *koliki butti* or *ponaka butti* varies from 3 puttis or 60 kunchams or 5 puttis or 100 kunchams. The basket is plastered on either side with a mixture of dung and mud. Before filling up the basket with any corn, the bottom is covered by spreading the paddy straw or sama straw. Likewise the upper portion is also covered with straw after filling it up with the corn and then plastered. Similarly, the earthen pots and the adda leaf baskets locally known as **Vetu pothelu** are also used for storing small quantities of corn and seed. *Samajatha* is an

indigenous grinder made of sampenga or thande wood. It consists of *basavika* and *tirupa*. ***Tirupa*** is the one which rotates over *basavika*. This is exclusively used to dehusk corn. *Deera Jatha*, is another type of grinding stone, made of granite stone, which is used for preparing flour of any grain. The local konda kammara (*mettu kamsali*) prepares this on payment of both cash and kind. *Somiki* is a small mortar in *inillu* which is used for dehusking corn with a pestle known as ***kolukolu*** or pestle is usually prepared by every Goudu household with any type of hard wood, and the length usually varies from three feet to four feet. An iron ring known as *bondu* is fixed to one end of this *kolu* by the local konda kammara (*Mettu kamasali*) of blacksmith. The *kolu* is used for pounding corn for dehusking purpose. In order to clean the corn, the winnowing fans are used, which are purchased in the nearby shandy. Small bamboo baskets are also used for carrying the corn. The minor repairs are attended to by the women themselves in a Goudu household.

At present a considerable number of Goudu households are using cots for sleeping purpose along with the bamboo mats. The bamboo mat, bed sheets (***pachadam***), mirrors, ***bhoshanam***, ***gadamanchi*** and wooden boxes, trunks are some of the articles used by the Goudu households in the study area. A few Goudu families are now using brass utensils for fetching and storing drinking water. A few tumblers (glasses) are also owned by them. Almost all the Goudu households in the field villages are now possessing earthen, aluminium, stainless steel and brass utensils. Earlier, the Goudu families used oil lamps, kerosene lights and hurricane lanterns for lightening purpose. But now some of the Goudu settlements have electricity facility and using it for lightening purpose as well as ironing, and Television (T.V) operation purposes. A few Goudu families are using mosquito nets in the nights which are supplied by the I.T.D.A and Malaria (health) department. The incidence of Malaria fever cases is very high in almost all the Goudu settlements. At present many Goudu households are using toilet and washing soaps. The Goudu women wash their clothes once in a week by boiling them in water mixed with oven ash, near a hill stream or wash their soiled clothes with detergent soap and powder on the bund of the hill stream. Hill streams and springs are the main sources of water for domestic and irrigation purposes to the Goudu in the field villages. In addition to these, a few Goudu settlements now have bore wells, piped water facility, which are used for both drinking and cleaning of utensils as well as bathing purpose.

#### **Agricultural Implements:**

The age old agricultural implements of Goudu peasants are *Nagali* (Plough), ***Guddali*** (Spade), ***goddali*** (axe) ***Kusi*** (crow bar) and ***Katti*** (knife). Every Goudu peasant family prepares the required agricultural implement at home, excepting the axe head, spade, plough

share and *kusi* which are either purchased at the weekly shandy or prepared by the local Mettu kamsali (blacksmith), with or without the supply of raw material.

The ploughs used by the Goudu farmers are of two types namely, *perinagali* and *buttinagali*. The *perinagali* (big plough) is used to plough hill slopes whereas the *buttinagli* (small plough) is commonly used to plough flat lands and wet lands. In addition to these two, *valuva* is used for disturbing the soil in the podu fields. The plough usually consists of *medi*, *nagalidukka*, *nakku*, *veta karra* and *pundi*. A sharp pointed iron piece of 6" to 8" in length locally known as *nakku* (ploughsdhane) is fixed to *nagalidukka*, allowing 2" to project outside. *Nagalidukka* is a separate piece of wood to which all other parts are fixed. The *medi* and *nagali dukka* are connected by *vetakarra*. Then the *pundi* is tied to *vetakarra* with *mokutradu* prepared with buffalo skin. The *medi*, which is used as handle by the peasant while ploughing and *mokutradu* are tied with a *kontitradu* (rope) so as to keep *medi* intact. After wards the bullocks are tied on either side of the *pundi*. The *nagali* of any type is made ready for the work. The only difference among these two types of ploughs is the size of *nagalidukka*. The *nagali* is usually prepared with *tada* wood for its durability. The *mokutradu* is prepared with *adda* fibre, which is also used for tethering their cattle.

Mechanized technology is not in operation even today in the farming of Goudu tribe. Still age old technology is being used by the Goudu farmers. They plough their lands with traditional wooden plough and draft animals.

The spade is locally called as *guddali* which is used to turn the earth on steep hill slopes and to construct earthen bunds in the fields. An iron blade with a broad face is fixed to a handle of 2½" to 3" in length. The handle is prepared with *tada* wood by each Goudu household. The iron blade is purchased for Rs 20 or 30 from the nearest shandy or from the local Mettu kamsali (Blacksmith).

*Kusi* (crowbar) is an iron rod of 4" – 6" or 5" in length with a pointed end. It is used for digging pits and lifting stones. The axe locally called as *goddali* is nothing but a *blunt* piece of iron of 8" and 10" in length one end of this axe head is made sharp to cut trees and plants. This is also provided with a handle of 2"-6" or 3". Every Goudu farmer uses *tutari buddiga* to drive bullocks by poking while ploughing the land. It is a hard bamboo stick of 5" in length which is nailed at one end of it. *Borigi* is usually used for disturbing the soil in crop fields and also using for weeding purpose. All these agricultural implements are still in use among the Goudu peasants in the study area.

### **Musical Instruments:**

The old *tabala* and brass *talalu* (cymbels) are played by the Goudu themselves to provide music for the drama. Similarly the local musical instruments namely *tudumu*, *dappu* and *kiridi* are played by any Goudu man. The flute locally known as *pirodi* is played to produce the rhythm of the dance, while the other musical instruments are also played rhythmically with the sound of *pirodi*. Unless the musical instruments are played the participants in dance cannot present the performance. This kind of music is also the life of the traditional *dimsa* dance. The musical instruments are purchased from the nearest shandy.

### **Tudumu:**

The shell of this instrument is made of pottery and it is covered with the skin of cow or bullock. Required musical sounds are produced by beating this with *samting*.

*Dappu* is circular shape made of *gummadi* wood. It is covered with the skin of the goat. The required rhythmical sounds produced by using thin hard bamboo sticks locally known as *baddiga*.

*Kiridi* is also made of pottery and is in the shape of a pot with broad face. It is covered with cow skin and *baddiga* are used to produce sound.

*Pirodi* is the flute made of brass, which is used to produce the rhythmical tunes for the dance. It is also made with hollow bamboo keeping five or six holes on the upper side narrow hollow along a not at the end. It is very difficult to present a typical *dimsa* dance without a *pirodi*. All the afore mentioned four different type of musical instruments are used while performing *dimsa* dance in various socio-ceremonial, ritual and religious occasions. In a Goudu settlement, *Dimsa* dance is usually performed at sador on festive occasions. It is the main entrainment to the residents of Goudu settlement.

***Rangavalli*** and ***tattooing*** are considering as art forms of Goudu s, alike that of other tribes in the agency areas of north-coastal Andhra Pradesh ie, Visakhapatnam, Vizianagaram and Srikakulam district. Every Goudu women have skill in drawing ***rangavalli*** with chodi flour or white clay powder.

The tattooing locally known as *goddili* found among the old Goudu women is done only for decorative purposes. The elderly women attends to tattooing the children before they complete eight years age. The castor oil is applied on the place where the tattooing is to be done. *Dabbanam* (a bunch of three or four needles) is poked on the body where the castor oil is applied. The tattooing is not at all being taken up by the younger generation, now as it has no

special significance for them. The Goudu women are habituated of neither wearing vermilion on their foreheads nor using any type of cosmetics. But now majority of the Goudu households possess the cheap mirror for dressing or combing hair. In the so called advanced societies now the youth are showing much enthusiasm for tattooing their hands and other parts of upper body. The tattooing is now a days very popular in many advanced societies of the world, once it prevailed only in the primitive tribal societies and certain caste communities of plain areas.

## **CHAPTER - VIII**

### **DEVELOPMENT AND CHANGE**

#### **Tribal Situation and Development Policies, Programmes:**

In general tribals are considered to be backward and who lives in most vulnerable condition. The socio-economic condition of tribes varies from one state to another. The geographical distribution of the Indian tribes can be demarcated in to those living in the northern states where they constitute the majority and those living in other states where they are in minority. Accordingly, their status, identity and problems differ in the social, political and economic arenas. Geographical isolation, subsistence economies, ignorance and illiteracy are some of the distinctive features of these autochthonous groups, especially among those living outside the north eastern states.

The tribes in habiting the north-eastern states had a distinct advantage historically in view of their majority status and also due to their early exposure to christianity that has helped in improving their quality of life especially in the fields of education and health. Importantly they are spared from the exploitation from outside non-tribal elements that has been the bane of the tribes living in other parts of the country. Independence along with democracy, decentralization of power, and improvement in communications and infrastructure facilities has resulted in greater culture contact and the concomitant problems of exploitation for tribes living in other parts of the country. Large scale land alienation, indebtedness, loss of identity and self-esteem, and ignorance are some of the major problems afflicting these tribal populations. Their quality of life is not so enviable with low literacy levels, malnutrition and continuing poverty. It is imminent in any democratic set up to protect them from exploitation and pave way for their around development.

Equity and equality were the guiding principles in framing the Indian constitution. The members of the constituent assembly were great men with vision and a liberal outlook. They strived to take care of the interests of all sections of the pluralistic Indian society marked with inequalities. The plight of the tribal populations received due attention, while framing the constitution. A policy of 'positive discrimination' in pursuance of the constitutional obligations, for the development of scheduled tribes certain policies and programmes have been under taken in the last seventy three years since India's independence.

From time to time, a number of commissions and committees were appointed to look into the problems of development in the tribal areas of our country. These have recommended several

measures to remove the socio-economic imbalances and also to break down the age old psychological barriers of the tribal communities hindering their progress.

The inputs from the recommendations of these committees have formed the basis for periodical review in formulating and reformulating tribal development policy and programmes. For example, the Dhebar commission (1961) recommended an integrated approach based on the minimum essential needs such as food, housing, drinking water, education, employment, health and village roads. The task force in development of tribal areas (1972) suggested that ecological, occupational and social parameters of the tribal population should be properly assessed for formulation of the policy and its implementation, so that a steady flow of benefits could be assured. The Dube committee (1978) tried to define a new strategy for tribal development and suggested that the problem of tribal development should be defined at the national level and national efforts required for tackling it. It also suggested an integrated area development approach in consonance with the genius and aspirations of the tribal people.

As a result, strategies and approaches such as Multipurpose Tribal Development Blocks, Modified Area Development Approach (MADA), Tribal Development Block, Girijan Development Agencies and Tribal Sub-Plan Approach with a focus on Integrated Area Development have been adopted. Under tribal sub-plan approach, a number of integrated tribal development agencies were established in the scheduled areas of our country, especially for the development of *Adivasis* who are still living in most economic backward condition and experiencing with the problems of geographical isolation, economic deprivation, marginalization and social exclusion.

The problem of tribal development is difficult exercise in view of the paradoxical situation of an attempt to preserve the tradition, while modernizing it- an effort for continuity and change. The government of India has initiated several initiatives and measures for tribal development under the programme of planned change since independence. Certain amount has been allocated exclusively for tribal development in each five year plan period since 1951 till date. But the development among the *Adivasis* is taking place in a slow pace manner, due to lapses at implementation level, poor monitoring system, pilferage and corruption. The Vth five year plan period is considered as a landmark in the history of tribal development in India. Huge budget allocation was made for tribal development during this period. The Integrated Tribal Sub-Plan strategy was adopted during the Vth five year plan period for the overall development of tribes across the country. The salient features of this strategy include an area and group specific approach in a balanced and integrated manner, in cohesive operational



area taking cognizance of the resources and needs of the local populations. Both the tribal concentrated and dispersed areas are covered under the new strategy, unlike in the past. The vertical and horizontal integration of the administrative structure was aimed at autonomy facilitating a smooth functioning of the integrated tribal development agencies. The revised policy formulations and approach towards tribal development that mark the Vth plan, in a way, set the pace for the subsequent plans viz, VIth to XIIth plans, though with redrawing priorities from time to time based on experience and needs.

### **Development and change in specific to Agency Goudu Tribe:**

It has been already mentioned that the Agency Goudu tribe population is mainly concentrated in Visakhapatnam, Vizianagram and Srikakulam districts. Pastoral economy is the traditional economy of the Agency Goudu and it is replaced by the peasant economy. Now the Agency Goudu is mostly depending on agriculture, apart from cattle keeping and minor forest produce collection. The earlier chapters provide the social, cultural, economic, political, religious, art and material cultural aspects of Agency Goudu tribe. The explanations given in the preceding pages clearly reveals about the living conditions of Agency Goudu people and their problems to persist their livelihood in the degraded forest environment of eastern ghats with scanty of resources. However, the I.T.D.As of Paderu (Visakhapatnam), Parvathipuram (Vizianagram) and Seethampeta (Srikakulam) are extending certain welfare schemes and providing infrastructural facilities to the habitats of Agency Goudus along with the other tribes. Some attention was paid by the I.T.D.As of the aforesaid, to alleviate poverty among Agency Goudus by extending economic incentive programmes in providing subsidy loan, labour employment in MNREGP, and Forest department. The ITDAs of north coastal districts of A.P initiated the programmes like education, agriculture, and animal husbandry, economic betterment schemes, medical and health facilities, housing and self-employment. Apart from these the concerned ITDAs has made special efforts on land development, supply of agricultural inputs, irrigation, horticulture, sericulture, distribution of lands, and issue of pattas to the land holders of podu and dry lands among the Agency Goudus. Occupational mobility and change in this tribe noted that considerable number of Agency Goudu families in the study area have taken up agriculture apart from the traditional occupation 'cattle breeding'. Pastoral economy is replaced by peasant economy in Agency Goudu society.

### **Health status and Health seeking Behaviour of Agency Goudu:**

The health status of Agency Goudu tribe in general is very poor. The incidence of malnutrition, morbidity and mortality is very high in this tribe as well as other Particularly Vulnerable Tribes like Kondh, Chenchu, Porja, Konda Reddy, and Konda Savara tribes in

Andhra Pradesh. The health status of any community (including Agency Goudu tribe) is influenced by the interplay of health consciousness of the people, socio-cultural, demographic economic, educational and political factors. The common beliefs, traditional customs, myths, practices related to health and disease in turn influence the health seeking behaviour of tribal people (including Agency Goudu). In general the health status of tribal populations is very poor and more so of the Particularly Vulnerable Tribes. The same trend is also noticed among Agency Goudu because of geographical isolation, segregation, remoteness and being largely unaffected by the development process of government and non-government agencies. Tribal communities in general and Agency Goudu tribe in particular are highly exploited. They are most exploited, neglected, highly vulnerable to disease with high incidence of malnutrition, morbidity and mortality. High maternal mortality, infant and child mortality rates are also found among the Agency Goudu in the study area due to poor nutritional status, low haemoglobin (anemia), unhygienic and age old cultural practices added with their dietary habits of food taboos and avoidances. Some of the preventable diseases such as tuberculosis, malaria, gastroenteritis, filariasis, measles, tetanus, whooping cough, skin diseases (scabies) etc are also high among the Agency Goudu population. Certain genetical disorders like sickle cell anemia, Glucose 6-phosphate dehydrogenase (G6PD) deficiency, alpha and beta thalassemia are also noted among the Agency Goudu. Night blindness, sexually transmitted diseases are well known public health problems among them. They are very frequently affected with malaria, Diarrhoea and Amoebiasis. They have superstitious beliefs about their illness and diseases and approach the local *Guruvu*, *Goravagadu* or *Disari*, *Yejjodu* or *Yejjuralu* for treatment and cure of such diseases. Still they have beliefs in their own indigenous medical system. *Disari Vaidyam* use the medicinal herbs for curing certain of the diseases. Their health seeking behaviour is very closely associated with the magico-religious practices. And also they worship both the malevolent and benevolent spirits in order to get relief from their sickness or illness and diseases.

#### **Role of I.T.D.A and Non-Government Agencies:**

Integrated Tribal Development Agency has initiated certain economic, education facilities, infrastructural facilities, housing and health programmes in the habitats of Agency Goudus. The NGOs role in the Development of Agency Goudu tribe is very minimal. The role of ITDA in different fields are as follows:

#### **Infrastructural Facilities and Development:**

The availability of infrastructural facilities to a habitat is one of the indicators to assess the levels of development in the community which inhabits within the Jurisdiction of it. In

general poverty is about access and consumption of government provided commodities which is referred as 'Social wages'. The poor Agency Goudu people are in need of the key services such as roads, transportation, water, electricity, housing, health care and market places. Goudu community poverty is related to infrastructure and service provision. Usually the poorest Goudu people are identified as those most isolated and located farthest from roads and from other key infrastructure. Even today the interior Agency Goudu settlements are lack of proper road transportation, protected drinking water, electricity and health facilities. In general the weekly markets (shandies) in the tribal areas are held at the mandal head quarters. The Agency Goudus who live in the interior villages do not have market facility within their settlements. Weekly shandy is the only well equipped market facility available to them. That is why all the members of a Goudu family visit the weekly shandy by foot for the purposes of marketing and to meet their close kith and kin who also attend this market. The government has established Girijan Cooperative Domestic Requirement Depots (DR Depots) even in the remote Goudu settlements, but those units are not functioning properly due to lack of commitment from the concerned personnel.

Considerable numbers of single teacher schools were established in almost all the interior Goudu settlements. But these schools are also not functioning properly due to lack of proper infrastructural facilities and supervision, and there is also appointment of unqualified tribal teachers in such schools. Students and teachers absenteeism in such schools are very common due to lapses at monitoring system. The Agency Goudu parents are also do not show much interest to send their children to the school regularly due to economic reasons. Most of the children in Goudu tribe also contribute to their family incomes. Their parents consider them as economic asset. Poverty is the major cause for poor enrolment and high dropout rate in many tribal schools in the study area.

Poor transportation infrastructure also compounds problems with obtaining services such as health care and education. In general the poor Goudu families in remote areas go to health care facilities only when in extreme need. The Goudu children in most of the interior villages often do not attend the high schools, because such schools are located beyond walking distance and also teachers avoid working regularly in the most isolated tribal areas.

Access to water is important for bathing and drinking as well as for agricultural production. Large majority of the interior Goudu settlements are lacking protected drinking water facility, stream and spring are the main water resources available to them. They drink the polluted stream and spring water; in turn they are affected with water borne diseases. Irrigation channels are not developed in the interior Goudu settlements due to the topography of hill

terrains. A considerable number of checkdams were constructed by the concerned I.T.D.As and S.M.I division in the tribal areas over a period of time, but most of them washed away due to defective construction and heavy rainfall during monsoon period. The Goudu peasants also make use of only freely available surface water rather than ground water. They have not yet developed water conservation attitude.

Housing is a success programme of ITDA. All most all the Goudu families availed this scheme and benefited much by it. All the Agency Goudu settlements in the study area have tiled or Asbestos roofed houses and RCC buildings instead of age old traditional thatched houses and huts. The local NGOs are also involved in extending *Pucca* housing facility to the tribals including Agency Goudu.

In the interior tribal areas a few Goudu settlements have been provided with electricity. But large majority of the Goudu families in interior villages do not make use of it either for domestic or agriculture purposes. Even though, two big hydro power generating projects are situated in the agency areas, still large majority of the Goudu families are not availing this infrastructural facility.

Even in the era of globalization, most of the Agency Goudu people are not exposed to outside and they are not availing the modern media facilities due to poverty. Television media facility is not yet reached to the interior Goudu settlements. Such kind of facility is limited to mandal head quarters and to certain developed panchayat villages located nearer to the urban centre. For instance Panirangini village located nearest to the Arakuvalley mandal have better infrastructural facilities including T.V media, where Goudus also inhabits along with other tribals. The Agency Goudu settlements located road side and nearer to Mandal head quarters have better infrastructural facilities, in which the community people have access to health, education, electricity, protected drinking water, market, transportation communication and modern media. In the study area almost all the Agency Goudu people are benefited with the labour employment of MGNREGP, public distribution system and Anganawadi scheme of I.C.D.S. They have also access to the health services of ASHA Worker and A.N.M. Majority of them avail the health and family welfare programmes from the respective primary health centres. A considerable number of Goudu children are now availing the school facility and mid day meal scheme. At present some educated youth and few government salaried employees are also found in Agency Goudu tribe.

### **Education and Development:**

Education and literacy are the indicators of development, which are useful to assess the levels of development in any human group or community. The problem of illiteracy is one

of the constraints for the development of Agency Goudu. The quantitative data pertaining to two Agency Goudu settlements in Visakhapatnam districts reveals that still 43.87% of people are illiterates and they have lack of awareness about the development programmes and not exposed to outside world due to inaccessible to printing media.

**Table 8.1 Educational background of Agency Goudu in the field villages (study area)**

S.No	Level of education	Name of the Village		Total Number of people	% to total population
		Vamugadda (Peddaveedhi) Number	Panirangini Number		
1	Literate(Read and Write)	10	3	13	2.36
2	Illiterate	146	92	238	43.27
3	Pre-School	27	23	50	9.09
4	Primary school level	44	17	61	11.09
5	High School level	62	29	91	16.55
6	Intermediate	30	11	41	7.45
7	Degree	10	18	28	5.09
8	DEd (DIET)	5	10	15	2.73
9	ITI	0	7	7	1.27
10	B Tech	0	1	1	0.18
11	MA / B.Ed	1	1	2	0.36
12	MBA	0	1	1	0.18
13	Nursing	0	2	2	0.36
	<b>Total</b>	<b>335</b>	<b>215</b>	<b>550</b>	<b>100.00</b>

The table 8.1 shows about the educational background of Agency Goudu people in the field villages (Study Area). The data presented in the table clearly indicates that out of the total people, 43.27% are illiterates and the rest 57.73% of them are literates. Among the literates, 13 persons know to read and write only, 91 persons have high school level of education, 61 have primary school level of education, 41 persons have Intermediate level of education, 28 persons have degree level of education, 15 persons have D.Ed qualifications, 2 women have Nursing Qualification, one person have M.B.A education qualification, 2 persons have M.A with B.Ed qualification, and one person have B.Tech education Qualifications. Among the literates, majority of them are males, only a few women are literates. In general the literacy rate among the tribal women (including the Goudu women) is very low. In majority of the tribes girls education is not encouraged moreover majority of them study up to primary level. The data clearly indicates that the agency Goudu people have access to education and availing education facilities in some extent, but not fully. It is noted in the field area a few educated unemployed youth in the Agency Goudu Tribe.

### **Social and Cultural Changes:**

Certain social and cultural changes are noted among the Agency Goudu people in the study area. Some of the cultural elements of castes of plains are found among the Agency Goudus due to acculturation process, especially in dressing pattern and food habits. Dowry system is also found in the Goudu society in recent times, apart from the traditional practice of bride price. Almost all the Goudu people now speak the regional language telugu due to their frequent contact with the Bagatha, Konda Kammara and Konda Kapu tribes and non-tribal moneylenders, traders and government officials. Changes also have been noted among the Agency Goudus in family system, marriage system, economy, religion and polity. At present more number of nuclear families are found in the community. Polygynous marriages are also reduced in number and monogamy is in practice now. Age at marriage for girls now is above 18 years and for boys above 21 years. Earlier child marriages were in practice but child marriages are not found now in the community and adult marriages only are preferred. Now marriage by negotiation is in practice, instead of marriage by elopement and capture. The marriage expenditure is also increased among the Agency Goudus now.

The traditional Thatched housing is replaced by R.C.C buildings and tiled houses. Earlier tribal society was egalitarian in nature but now the elements of social stratification and hierarchy is found in the tribal society and Agency Goudu society too. In the past the traditional occupation of Agency Goudu was cattle keeping and most of the men in the community acted as cowherds. At present the economy of Agency Goudu is Agro-forest based, that of the other tribes in the agency areas of Andhra Pradesh. Earlier their economy is subsistence economy but now cash economy is in practice. The Agency Goudu peasants are now raising the commercial crops along with the cereal crops. The Agency Goudu people now observing the Hindu caste festivals like Vinayakachavithi, Deepavali, Nagulachavithi and Sankranthi, along with their own festivals like etum, Korra kotha, kandikotha, mamidikotha, panasakotha etc. They are also making pilgrimage to simhachalam, Srikurmam, Srimukalingam and Arasavalli and making vows on Hindu gods and goddesses. The impact of Christianity also noticed in the Scheduled areas of North Coastal Andhra Pradesh, but the Agency Goudu people are not attracted towards it. They have also become part of the democratic political system and actively participating in the elections of local political bodies, Assembly and Parliament. Still the traditional political system is intact in the Goudu society. They have access to modern mass media facilities and exposed to outside world due to transportation. The impact of modernization, urbanization and globalization is also observed among the Agency Goudus, who are inhabiting in the road side villages and well connected with the mandal head quarters and district head quarters. Certain of the age

old customs and traditions still persist among the Agency Goudu which are clearly explained in the preceding chapters. Change in the usage of material culture also noted in the Agency Goudu, specifically the earthenware is replaced by Aluminium and stainless steel utensils. The wealthy and elite employees families in the community possess the modern amenities like Television, furniture, cooker, fridge, microwave oven, etc. (electrical and electronic gadgets). The life styles of Agency Goudu people in the study area has been changed over a period of time due to the process of acculturation (culture contact), modern education, employment, modernization, industrialization, urbanization and globalization. Majority of the Agency Goudu people now have intergrated into the mainstream population, only a few of them live relatively in geographical isolation of hills and forests, specifically in interior remote villages lacking proper transportation facilities. Now the roadside Goudu settlements have proper infrastructural facilities. For example Panirangini which is located very nearer to Araku, tourist place of Visakhapatnam. In general development among the Agency Goudu tribe is taking place in a slow pace due to illiteracy, innocence and ignorance. The impact and effect of development programmes on the life of Agency Goudu people are very limited and minimal due to lapses at implementation level and also in policy planning and monitoring.

#### **Social Reforms and Welfare:**

In the study area any kind of social reforms movement has not taken place except the impact of westernization during colonial rule in India. In recent times the impact of christianity is seen in the agency areas of Andhra Pradesh state. Large majority of the tribes in Andhra Pradesh are now professing Christianity, along with the tribal religion and Hindusim. Almost all the tribes in the study area are now observing the Hindu festivals along with tribal festivals. The Agency Goudu old people in the study villages are aware of the freedom movement led of Alluri Seetha Rama Raju with the help of the tribal leaders like Gantam dora. The Goudu people living in Gumma lakshmipuram area are aware of the Naxalbari movement led by satyam master. The Goudu people are now availing the tribal welfare programmes like housing, public distribution system of G.C.C, D.R.Depot, marketing facility of G.C.C, agriculture, health, education, I.C.D.S (Anganawadi scheme, DWACRA, MNREGP, etc. Some NGOs are also working in the area for the development of tribal including Agency Goudu. Due to Government initiated social welfare measures and intervention, living condition of the Agency Goudu have improved especially in the road side settlements. The Goudus inhabiting in the interior villages are not developed much due to geographical isolation and ecological constraints.

## CHAPTER- IX

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The problem of this study is to document ethnography (cultural background) of Anegy Goudu tribe in Andhra Pradesh state. Anthropological ethnographic methodological procedure was strictly followed in collection of empirical data among the respondents of Agency Goudu tribe inhabiting in Peddaveedhi (Vamugedda), Panirangini and Lakkaguda. It is a field work based study accompanied with participant observation. Anthropological holistic, etic and emic approaches were strictly followed in conduction of this study.

Agency Goudu is one of the tribal groups of Andhra Pradesh state. It is a minor tribe, consisting of 7749 people as per 2011 census. The Agency Goudu population is mainly concentrated in the scheduled areas of Visakhapatnam, Vizianagaram and Srikakulam districts. The Agency Goudu population is also found in the scheduled area of Koraput district of Orissa state. Actually Goudu or Gaudu is the great pastoral caste of the Ganjam Oriyas of Orissa state. The habitats of this caste are mostly located in the plains of Orissa. The members of Goudu or Gaudu caste claim their descent from lord Srikrishna, who is considered as deity of cowherd classes or Yadava caste. The members of Agency Goudu tribe also claim their descent from lord Srikrishna. It is one of the pastoral tribes of India. It is a cattle breeding scheduled tribes, living in the tribal areas bordering Andhra Pradesh and Orissa. The ancestors of this tribe originally belongs to Gaudu caste of Orissa state and they have migrated to the Agency areas of Visakhapatnam, Vizianagaram and Srikakulam districts long back and permanently settled there. Due to their stay in the scheduled area quite a long time they got scheduled tribe status. The Agency Goudu people have established symbiotic relationship with other tribes of the area and assimilated into the tribal society. Locally they are called Goudu, Gouda, Goudolu or Gaudu, but they refer to themselves as Goudu. They are also referered as 'Sadde Goudu' by the other tribes of the region.

In regard to the origin history of Agency Goudu, the elders of this tribe in the study area told that they descended from the Yadava community in which lord Krishna was born. According to another story as per informants that they were brought by Rani of Parlakimedi to serve as temple servants and cattle breeders to prepare *Mahaprasada* with milk to lord Gopinath, whose temple is located near Liviri village in Srikakulam district. Later they spread to the Ganjam, district of Orissa, and Srikakulam, Visakhapatnam and Vizianagaram districts of Andhra Pradesh state. The Agency Goudus living in the scheduled areas of Andhra Pradesh speak corrupt form of Oriya language and they consider Oriya as their mother tongue. However, they also speak the regional language 'Telugu' with others and use the same script.



Generally they converse in Oriya with their own community people. The habitats of Agency Goudus are located in the forested zone of Eastern Ghats. They have established symbiotic relationship with forest since age immemorial.

Social divisions are noted at Agency Goudu tribe level, such as sub-tribe, gotra, lineage and family. Family is the basic and primary social group in Goudu society alike that of caste society in plains. Thurston (1909) recorded about 14 Goudu sub-divisions like Apoto, Behera, Bolodiya, Dongayato, Bumalo, Gopopuriya, Kolata, Komiriya, Kusilya, Ladia, Madhurapurya, Mogotho, Pattilia, and Sollokhondia. Among these Mogotho Goudu who live on the hills are regarded as an inferior section, because they do not avoid eating the meat of fowl. The Sollokhondia Goudu are considered the most superior and are agriculturists, rear cattle and sheep. According to Pratap (1975) there are about 17 endogamous social divisions among the Goudus. They are Gopika Goudu, Apotu Goudu, Chitti Goudu, Mogotho Goudu, Sollokhondia Goudu, Kosiya Goudu, Behera Goudu, Goppa Goudu, Bolodiya Goudu, Dongatho Goudu, Batiluika Goudu, Krishna Goudu, and Jariya Goudu. Among these, the Gopika Goudu are considered the most superior and claim that they are the descendants of Lord Krishna. In the study area the investigators noted the existence of the sub-divisions of Agency Goudu, like Sollokhondia, Mogotho, Krishna, Gopika and Chitti Goudu. The common *gotrams* found among different sub-divisions of Agency Goudu are Nageswara (Snake), Kurma (Tortoise), Bichchiguda (Centipede), Puli (Tiger) and Korra (Sun). Except Bagata tribe, all the other tribes in the study area consider Agency Goudu as superior, and accept kachcha and Pakka food items from it. Whereas the Goudus accept cooked food items from Bagata, Konda Kapu, Jatapu, Konda Kammara, and Kotiya tribes. In the tribal hierarchy, the Agency Goudu occupy the third position, next to konda kapu tribe. In the tribal hierarchy of visakha Agency area, the Bagata tribe stand at top most position whereas the valmiki tribe stand at bottom, even though it is educationally and economically well developed, this is due to untouchability stigma is attached to Valmiki tribe.

Marriage by negotiation, exchange, elopement and service are some of the modes of acquiring mates in this tribe. Monogamy is the norm, though polygyny is socially accepted. A married woman usually wear *bondulu* (toe rings), black-bead, neeklace and sindur on the forehead, but not a *Thali*. In the past, a married man used to wear a golden bead called *rosiniya* (a paddy grain) in the centre along with Oscimum (*Tulasi*) wood beads in a necklace. Bride price (Konyo-Mullo) is practised among the Goudu in both cash and kind. At present dowry system is also in practice along with the traditional 'bride price' payment. Divorce is acceptable with the consent of traditional panchayat. If a woman initiates divorce,

then she repays the expenditure incurred by her husband at the time of marriage, it is locally called as *maganali*. But if a man initiates it, he is made to sit in a fishing basket and covered with the lid. His spouse is made to sit on top and take a bath, after which she goes away to her parents house and the divorce procedure is completed. A man usually does not appeal for divorce as it entails such a punishment. However, this practice is slowly vanishing. After divorce the young children are usually allowed to stay with the father. If a divorced woman wishes to remarry, she will leave the children with the first husband. Junior sororate and senior levirate marriages are acceptable in this tribe.

The rule of descent and residence is male side only. The Goudu women do not inherit the property of their parents. They are considered an economic asset as they go for agricultural labour work, collect fire wood, rear cattle, sell milk, etc (in Vizianagaram and Srikakulam districts), in addition to their daily domestic chores. They participate equally in social, ritual, and religious activities along with their men folk. They are given an equal status with their men folk. They are given equal status with their men folk unlike that in castes of plains. Widow and divorce remarriages are allowed in Agency Goudu tribe.

In Agency Goudu community, the first and second deliveries take place at the woman's natal home aided by a midwife *sutranidakari*. After delivery the mother is fed with cooked rice, chicken and some alcoholic drink as diet. On the fifth or ninth day all the women in the village give the mother and child a purificatory bath after which the *sutranidakari* takes the child in her lap and calls the child with different names. If the child responds by crying when a particular name is called, the same name is given to the child. This is followed by a feast to their close relatives and friends. They observe the birth pollution for a period of five or nine days. During the period both the mother and child are kept in seclusion.

When an Agency Goudu girl attains menarche, she is secluded for five or seven days and made to sit on a separate mat under which some quantity of paddy is kept. A purificatory bath follows. The paddy that is kept beneath the mat is given to the *Pujari* or *Desari* who fixes the muhurtham for the purificatory ceremony of puberty rite. A non-vegetarian feast follows.

In the past it was a customary practice among the Agency Goudu tribe that all the unmarried young girls assemble in a hut (*dangidi base*) or girls dormitory, after completion of their agricultural work. Here, they use to dance and sing chorus songs, accompanied sometimes by young men. This served as a meeting ground for a prospective mate. Earlier the dormitory system existed in the community. At present the institution of youth dormitory has totally

disappeared in the Agency Goudu society. But during the leisure time the youth (both boys and girls) usually gather at village *Sador* and they sing songs and perform *dimsa* dance. Each and every Goudu habitat invariably have *sador* which is a meeting place, where political meetings, village council and tribal council meetings are usually held, apart from organizing entertainment programmes during social, ceremonial and religious festival occasions.

In Agency Goudu tribe, usually the marriage takes place at the brides residence. The local *Desari* or *Pujari* officiates the marriage. The consummation of marriage takes place on the same day or the next day after marriage or any auspicious days at the bride grooms residence. *Yanalu*, a non-vegetarian feast, is offered to all close relatives at the bridegrooms' residence after the consummation (nuptial) ceremony. In the past the marriage expenditure was very minimal, now the marriage expenditure has become much and more expensive alike that of castes in plains.

In the past Agency Goudu tribe traditional economy was pastoral economy. At present their economy is considered as agro-forest based like that of other tribals in the study area. Majority of the Goudu families now, are not totally depending on cattle keeping and grazing. At present they directly or indirectly depend on land and forest. A considerable number of them in the northern coastal districts are cattle breeders and cultivators. To train cattle in self defence against the attack of predators, a Goudu man covers himself with tiger skin and pretends to attack the cattle which in turn try to defend themselves. This training is called *Adari*. The Mogatho Goudus also sell coconuts and castor oil. The Dood Goudus inhabiting in Vizianagaram and Srikakulam districts are expert cattle breeders who sell milk and its product. The Agency Goudus who inhabits in the agency area of Visakhapatnam do not have the practice of milking their cattle. Some of the Goudu men in the area are cowherds, and they graze their own cattle and others on payment of cash and kind annually. Some of them are employed as private bus conductors, low ranked government servants, and a few of them are teachers and other government salaried employees. Barter system (*vasthumarpidi paddathi*) is still in practice in some Goudu habitats, where milk and its products are exchanged for pulses, rice etc, some of them are employed as *paleru* or *kambari* (contractual labourer) or annual farm servant. Large majority of the Agency Goudu families in the study area are facing the economic problems of poverty, indebtedness, unemployment and exploitation by the non-tribal money lenders and traders in the area of market. They are also experiencing the problems of economic deprivation, geographical isolation, marginalization and social exclusion like that of other tribes in the scheduled areas of Visakhapatnam, Vizianagaram and Srikakulam districts.

The Goudus have their own traditional tribal council or panchayat called 'pradhano'. Their traditional tribal head is called *Naiko* (Naidu) and his position is hereditary in nature. The eldest son in a family, *Behara* holds head position, since male primogeniture is the rule of succession. Disputes relating to divorce, marriage alliance, pre-marital and extra marital relations, property disputes, crime, theft etc are settled by the *Naiko* (Naidu) or tribal council' pradhano. A fine is imposed on the guilty. *Maganali thappu* is imposed on a woman if she opts for divorce and remarries. This is usually paid by the new paramour on her behalf. Now a day community associations or tribal welfare associations are being formed for a group of villages.

The Goudu are vaishnavite Hindu. They consider lord Srikrishna as their community deity. They worship nature and natural products like that of other tribes in the region. They observe almost all Hindu festivals as well as tribal festivals. The Sollokhondia Goudus are mostly followers of chaitanya form of vaishnavism. Special attention is paid for the worship of JaganadhaSwami due to their Oriya Origin. The village deities like Sankudevatha, Nisani Devata, Sorumangala, Jakaradevata, Nandi devatha, Baradani etc are also revered. Their major sacred shrines of worship are Simhachalam, Arasavalli, Srikurmam, and Srimukhalingam, which are located in Visakhapatnam and Srikakulam districts respectively. They also make pilgrimage to Jaganantha Swamy temple of Puri, occasionally. Like various other Oriya communities, they worship goddess lakshmi on Thursdays in the month of November. She is represented by a basket filled with grain, where in some place a hair ball which has been vomited by a cow. They have sacred specialists like pujari and Desari, generally these two persons act as priests and conduct religious rituals and social ceremonies.

The Agency Goudus celebrate major festivals like Dussehra, Deepavali, Mallemma panduga on Maha Sivaratri day, Vinayaka chaviti, and Sankranti. They also observe the tribal festivals like *Korra kotha*, *Kandi Kotha*, *Mamidi Kotha*, *Panasa Kotha*, and *etum* or *etikulapanduga* (hunting festival). They also attend the Modu kondamma fair at paderu usually held in the first week of May month in every calendar year. On deepavali day, they sing devotional songs in praise of lord Krishna and dance in group (*gaudo nat*). In addition, they also perform the *Dimsa* dance in which both men and women actively participate. The ladies sing folk songs during festivals and socio-ceremonial occasions. Their traditional dances like kolatam, Gobiatta, Gaudonat and Dimsa are also accompanied by folk songs. In the past Goudu community people used to construct their traditional type of Thatched houses with the locally available material. At present the traditional Thatched houses have been replaced by tiled houses and R.C.C buildings. A few Goudu men at present have skills and knowledge in

making certain agricultural implements like plough, spade, axe, ropes etc, by them selves. Generally the local konda kammara (black smith) supply the agricultural implements to the Goudu peasants on payment of both cash and kind. The Goudu usually purchase the required minimum domestic ware (cooking utensils) in the nearby weekly markets (shandies). Majority of the Goudus in the study area have access to the weekly market shandi. The Goudu people who inhabit the areas near to mandal head quarters avail the daily market facility available in such places too, apart from weekly market shandi.

The Goudu do not have linkages with any other community for ritual or social or occupational purposes except from Black Smith (konda Kammara). They have commercial relations with Bagata, Konda Kapu, Konda Kammara and Jatapu tribes. Bond relationships (*nestham kattuta*) is established with the members of tribes like the Bagata, Konda Kapu, Jatapu, Savara and Konda Dora. They do not accept cooked food from the Particularly Vulnerable Tribes (PVTGs) and valmiki tribe. They accept only uncooked food items from these tribes. Patron-client relationships are observed with land owning communities like the Velama, Kapu, Telaga and Jatapu in Srikakulam and Vizianagaram districts. The Goudus take land for a stipulated period of time (*kauluki teesu konuta*) a tenancy system with fixed land rent peryear. Share cropping is also in practice is which produce is equally shared by both parties *paluama bhagam cheyuta* of land owner and share cropper.

There are very few literates among the Agency Goudu. A few are employed as bus cleareres, drivers, teachers, clerks, constables etc. Now their children avail of free government educational facilities. A few graduate employed youth also found in the community. A considerable number of Goudu families are benefited with the welfare programmes of I.T.D.A. Almost all the Goudu families are benefited with the wage employment programme of MNREGP, they avail of family welfare programmes, Anganawadi scheme of ICDS. Modern civic aminites, media and communication facilities are availed by the Goudu. Development among the Goudu community is taking place in a slow pace, due to lapses at implementation level. Social and cultural changes are noted among the Goudu people due to their culutre contact (Acculturation) with the castes of plains, and also with the effect of modernization, urbanization education, employement and mass media. Changes are also observed in housing, dressing and food habits among the Agency Goudus in the study area. Still certain age old customs and traditions persists among them especially in observance of rituals, festivals and ceremonies. The Agency Goudu habitats located near by mandal headquarters and road side having proper infrastructural facilities when compared to the Goudu settlements located in interior forests, hills and hill slopes. The ethnographic

information given in this report clearly depicts about the life styles and living conditions of Agency Goudu tribe. In sum the Agency Goudu people are now in transitional stage of pastoral economy to peasant economy like that of Bagata and Jatapu tribes. The cultural traits of pastoral community is slowly disappearing among the Agency Goudu due to occupational change. The racial and physical features of Agency Goudu people in the study area appear very close to the 'Goudo Caste' of plains in Orisa state. The Agency Goudu people inhabiting the Agency areas of Visakhapatnam, Vizianagaram and Srikakulam district are historically of Orissa Origin. But they are permanently settled in the Scheduled areas of Andhra Pradesh state and got the Scheduled tribe status on the basis of geographical and ecological factors. Moreover the kindred of this tribal group are also found in the tribal area of Koraput district, and the ancestors of the present Agency Goudus in Andhra Pradesh have migrated from Nandapur of Orissa state and permanently settled here. They have established symbiotic relationship with the neighbouring tribes and forests since long time and got tribal identity as well as status in accordance to Vth schedule of constitution.

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## **PHOTOGRAPHS**



Figure 1 Agency Goudu people of Peddaveedhi



Figure 2 Middle aged couple in vamugedda





Figure 3 Young Copule in Agency Goudu tribe in vamugadda village



Figure 4 Asbestos roofed house





Figure 5 Tiled house



Figure 6 Pujari in Agency Goudu Tribe





Figure 7 Medicine man



Figure 8 Interaction with Agency Goudu people





Figure 9 Agency Goudu people in-farm work



Figure 10 Cattle shed





Figure 11 Modern musical instruments



Figure 12 FGD with key informants of Agency Goudu tribe



Figure 13 Agency Goudu man (cowherd attire)



Figure 14 Goudu Old men





Figure 15 Goudu woman



Figure 16 Goudu men in (cowherd attire)





Figure 17 Goudu women with milk products



Figure 18 A street in lakkaguda





Figure 19 Cattle shed of Agency Goudu Tribe



Figure 20 Agency goudu woman with goats





Figure 21 Kitchen Garden in front of the house of Agency Goudu family



Figure 22 Agency Goudu Old Man





Figure 23 Agency Goudu school going children



Figure 24 Agency Goudu couple carrying turmeric from farm





Figure 25 Turmeric field



Figure 26 Redgram field





Figure 27 Mixed crop in agricultural field of Agency Goudu



Figure 28 Paddy fields and forest

