# TRIBAL

**A Bi-Annual Bulletin Devoted to the Study of the Life and Culture of Tribes of Andhra Pradesh.**

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TRIBAL

A Bi-Annual Bulletin Devoted to the Study of the Life and Culture of Tribes of Andhra Pradesh.


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Demographic and Social Aspects of Tribal Education

Dr. B. K. Roy Barman

The tribal communities living in different regions can be divided into the following groups taking into consideration their historical, ethnic and socio-cultural relations.

(a) North-East India comprising Assam, N. E. F. A., Nagaland, Manipur and Tripura.

(b) Sub-Himalayan region of North and North-West India comprising the Northern Sub-montane districts of Uttar Pradesh and Himachal Pradesh as a whole including the areas recently transferred from Punjab.

(c) Central and East India comprising West Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh.

(d) South India comprising Madras, Kerala and Mysore.

(e) Western India comprising Rajasthan, Gujarat and Maharashtra.

The tribals constitute 6.87% of the population of the country. A statement giving the percentage of the Scheduled Tribe population to the total population (State-wise) is furnished below:

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<td>9. Maharashtra</td>
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<td>10. Mysore</td>
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The statement shows that except for Nagaland, N.E.F.A., L.M.A. Islands, Dadra and Nagar Haveli, in none of the States or Union territories, the Scheduled Tribes constitute more than 33% of the population. It tends to give an impression that the tribal people constitute only a small proportion of the population of India. This is however, only one side of the picture. There is the other. If examined up to the level of taluk or equivalent administrative unit in India where the scheduled tribes constitute 50%, or more of the total population.

There are altogether 14,034,885 scheduled tribe population in these 287 taluks. They constitute 46.58% of the total tribal population in India. In other words, almost half of the scheduled tribe population of India live in
pockets where they are the majority people. At the State level excepting Andhra Pradesh, Madras, Maharashtra and West Bengal, in all the States and Union Territories where the scheduled tribe population exist, majority of them live in areas where they are more than 50% of the total population.

The Scheduled Tribe communities dispersed all over the country, differ very much from one another in racial traits, language, social organization, cultural pattern, etc. The most dominant racial type among the scheduled tribe communities except those living in the sub-Himalayan belt is the Proto-Australoid. In the sub-Himalayan belt Mongoid racial type is more dominant. But everywhere there has been inter-mixture with other racial types, particularly, the Mediterranean type. A negro substratum is also suspected in some parts of the country. The tribal languages in India belong to all the major language families, though the Austro, the Dravidian and the Tibeto-Chinese families are the dominant ones. The numerical strength of the speakers of the tribal languages is 14,132,503. On the assumption that all the speakers of the tribal languages belong to tribal communities, they constitute 47.30% of the total tribal population of the country. It is obvious that the rest of the tribals share with their non-tribal neighbours, the same languages, as their mother-tongue.

It is also to be noted that bilingualism prevails considerably among the tribal population of India. Persons speaking one or more subsidiary languages in addition to their mother tongue constitute 15.73% of the total tribal population in the country.

89.40% of the tribal population regard themselves as Hindus. 5.53% regard themselves as Christians. The rest belong to other religions.

It is however to be noted that all of those who returned themselves as Hindus during the 1961 Census, are not equally incorporated in the Hindu social order. In terms of their orientation towards Hindu social order, the tribals can be classified as follows:

(a) Incorporated in Hindu social order.
(b) Positively oriented towards Hindu social order.
(c) Negatively oriented towards Hindu social order.
(d) Indifferent towards Hindu social order.

As regards the economic life of the scheduled tribes, it is to be noted that as against the national average of 43%, among the scheduled tribes, 57% of the population are economically active. On the one hand it is a measure of comparatively lower dependency ratio among them. On the other it seems to indicate the comparatively low capacity of the scheduled tribe workers to support large number of dependents and to provide them opportunity to equip themselves educationally and technologically for participating in the economic life
later on at a higher level. If the disposition of the working force by industrial categories is considered it is found that as against the national average of 73%, in case of the scheduled tribes, 91% of the workers are engaged in the primary sector of the economy related to the exploitation of the natural resources. The secondary sector or the sector related to manufacture, accounts for 11% of the total workers and only 3% of the tribal workers. The tertiary sector or the servicing sector accounts for 6% of the total workers and only 5% of the tribal workers. These data clearly bring out the under-developed condition of the tribal economy compared to that of the rest of the nation. These not only show the practically undiversified nature of the economy but also the fact that the primary sector has failed to have significant multiplication effect in the secondary and tertiary sectors. In other words the data relating to the distribution of tribal workers in different industrial categories underscore the low participation of the tribals in the total economy of the nation and also the low level of the out-turn of the primary sector.

While the distribution of the tribal workers in primary, secondary and tertiary sectors give a broad indication of the nature of their participation in the different sectors of economy, it is necessary to have an idea of the specific occupations in the different sectors in which the tribals are generally engaged. They are as follows:

1. Forestry and food gathering.
2. Shifting cultivation.
3. Settled agriculture.
4. Agricultural labour.
5. Animal husbandry.
6. Household industry.
7. Miscellaneous occupations.

There are few tribal communities in India today who are purely engaged in forestry and food gathering. Perhaps the Andamanese, Onges and Shompens of Andaman and Nicobar Islands are the only communities who belong to this category. There are communities like Birhor, Malapandaram, etc. who are predominantly engaged in forestry and food gathering; but it seems that they have symbiotic relationship with the peasant communities and live by exchange of commodities.

Shifting cultivation as the means of livelihood is found among many of the tribal communities of N.E.F.A., Nagaland, Manipur, Tripura, parts of Assam, livelihood is more widespread. It is found among some of the tribal communities of West Bengal, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh, Mysore and Kerala. It is to be noted that in most cases, the tribal communities engaged
in shifting cultivation, have other sources of livelihood as well. Frequently, they try to supplement their income from shifting cultivation by taking recourse to settled agriculture. For this purpose, wherever possible they construct terraces. Besides many of them engage themselves as labourers in construction activities going round the country. Sometimes they work as agricultural labourers in the forms of their neighbours. Settled agriculture is the primary source of livelihood for overwhelming majority of the tribal population in the country. This consists of terraced cultivation, wet rice cultivation and upland cultivation. In some parts of the country, for instance Kerala, Gujarat, Maharashtra, West Bengal, considerable number of tribals earn their livelihood as agricultural labourers. Animal husbandry as the main source of livelihood is found only among a few tribal communities, like Gujjars of Jammu and Kashmir and Himachal Pradesh; Todas of the Nilgiri Hills, and so on. Household industry as the main source of livelihood is found only among small tribes with scattered population like the Mahalis of West Bengal and Agarias of Madhya Pradesh. They are attached to their dominant neighbours as satellite communities and manufacture various objects for their clients. Diversified modern occupation is not the predominant means of livelihood for any of the tribal communities in India. However, some of the tribal communities have been drawn to a greater extent in a few modern industries. For instance the Santals, Oraons, Mundas, etc. have provided the bulk of the plantation labourers in the tea-gardens of Assam and North Bengal. Some of these tribes have also been drawn into the industrial labour force of Maharashtra and Gujarat to some extent.

As regards education, it is to be noted that the average percentage of literacy among the Scheduled Tribes of India is 8.5% as against 24% among the total population. But among the tribal communities there is a wide range of variation in the level of literacy. There are at the one end communities like Malapandaram, S-llung, etc. with hardly any literate among them; at the other end, there are communities like the Lushais with more than 40% literacy. If considered State-wise, the level of literacy varies from 4% in Andhra Pradesh to 27% in Manipur.

One crucial factor which would have important bearing on pattern of tribal education, is the understanding of the place of the tribals in the Indian society. By and large the policy of the political elites in India, through the ages about the tribal population has been that of tolerance for their different ways of life and non-interference in their internal matters and respect for their traditions and institutions. The two guiding principles underlying the new approach are: (a) protection of the tribal population and (b) their integration in the nation society. On the face of it, it may appear to many that the two guiding principles are contradictory to one another. They may be sceptic about the possibility of integrating the tribals in the national life through a policy of protection.
Protection of the tribals in the real sense of the term does not mean artificial maintenance of the status quo; it means creation of the conditions in which natural growth of the tribal societies can take place without imposition from outside and also without inhibition from inside. In India, massive efforts are being made to create such a condition through protective and welfare measures. Legislations have been enacted in the different States to prevent alienation of tribal lands and to give them protection against usurious money-lenders. An amount of Rs. 60 crores was set apart in the third plan for welfare of the tribals. The schemes implemented include education, agriculture, cottage industries, co-operation, animal husbandry, medical and public health, housing, communication, rehabilitation, community centres, aid to voluntary agencies and tribal development blocks.

In a general way, it can be stated that as a result of the development and protective measures, the tribal communities are more and more being involved in the political and economic structure of the country. In the matter of standard of living also, they are being brought on a par with the rest of the nation.

Paradoxically these have on the one hand brought them closer to the nation and on the other created new distances. The interpretation of this dynamic situation would depend on one's own understanding of the meaning of integration.

In a plural society there are at least four models of social integration, namely (i) identification with the dominant group, (ii) mutual give and take of the different parts to constitute a new whole, (iii) co-existence of different parts as autonomous systems and simultaneous acceptance of common group goals and group symbols, (iv) organization of individuals whose basic commitments are to the values of cosmopolitan humanism and who consciously and freely accept membership of different reference groups for the sake of deepening and diversifying their intellectual and moral experience in such a manner, as is not compatible with their basic commitments.

In India those who are accustomed to look upon the tribals only as the bearers of retarded cultures frequently advocate that the tribals should become integrated in the national life by effacing their own identity and adopting the culture and way of life of the neighbouring Hindu population. It is this outlook which shapes their approach to the problem of education of the tribals. They however fail to appreciate that in the context of the modern age it is not the capacity to negotiate with the supernatural, but the capacity to manipulate the forces of nature that is of greater concern even to the tribals. As a sequence to this concern, two types of developments are taking place among many of the tribal communities in India. One is infra-nationalism and the other is sub-nationalism. The phenomenon of infra-nationalism is mostly found in the border areas where the tribal communities used to live in comparative isolation and unacquainted with and uncommitted to the national symbols and
national goals. When such a community is seized by the urge to rapidly change the standard of level and enjoy the benefits of modern technology, it finds that for the satisfaction of its aspirations, the diffused commands over the resources—both tangible resources like lands and forests and intangible resources like factual knowledge, skill, ideas and ideologies must be replaced by a unified command. As a result, a vigorous search for a new social identity and expansion of intellectual horizon ensues. In its march clan loyalties are submerged in tribal loyalties. It is not necessarily incompatible with national loyalty; rather national loyalty is a logistic need for infra-nationalism.

But whether nationalism would be able to subsume, it would, partly depend on the initiative of the nation itself to meet infra-nationalism half way and partly on a number of geo-political factors. The polar opposite of infra-nationalism is sub-nationalism. It is found among the tribal communities in those parts of the country where they have been living in close contact with their neighbours for generations. Sub-nationalism is, however, not confined to tribal communities alone. It is also found among larger ethnic groups like the Bengalis, Oriyas, Gujaratis, Tamils, etc. In sub-nationalism there is a general awareness and acceptance of the symbols of the nation though at the same time, parochial symbols and interests also persist. It is related to the combination of the following factors:

(i) Conversion of a nation-society under colonial rule to a nation state in the post-colonial period;

(ii) Adoption of the programme of welfare state even in the absence of a determined elite to serve as the shock absorber.

(iii) Increasing disparity of development as a result of strategic investment of inputs for maximization of the gross national product.

It seems that unfortunately there is an inadequate appreciation of the dynamic significance of the phenomena of infra-nationalism and sub-nationalism found among the tribal communities of the country. A systematic analysis of these two processes would be necessary to gain insight about the aspiration—motivation pattern of the tribals which along with the demographic factors and the physical constraints should be taken into consideration for long term manpower planning and corresponding educational planning for the population concerned.
Some Reflections on the Implications of Panchayat Raj on weaker sections of the Community

By O. K. Moorthy

The Parliament adopted in December, 1954 the Socialist Pattern of Society as the objective of social and economic policy. The accent is on the attainment of positive goals and the raising of living standards among the disadvantaged classes. Expansion of social services through extension of free and universal education at the primary level, provision of larger opportunities for vocational and higher education, improvement in conditions of health, sanitation, water supply and housing are all sought to be attained. By a process of democratic decentralisation at the village, block and district levels, responsibility for development is entrusted to village Panchayats, Panchayat Samitis and Zilla Parishads and they are given considerable powers. This revolutionary change in the administrative structure, however, tends to ignore the special interests of the weaker sections in the actual implementation of the programme.

On account of the peculiar economic and social forces resulting in the dominance of higher castes and classes in sharing political and economic power, the weaker sections who are directly dependent on them for their livelihood are not benefiting from this arrangement. Though it has been declared that the laudable objective is to create conditions for the growth of a progressive co-operative rural economy with a diversified occupational structure, in which the weaker sections of the community are brought speedily with the rest of the community, experience has shown that this objective is merely on paper. In the following paragraphs, an attempt has been made to bring out the failure of Panchayat Raj, so far as the interests of the weaker sections are concerned:

Implementation of Educational Programmes for Weaker Sections vis-a-vis Panchayat Raj Institutions: In some of the States where Panchayat Raj has been introduced, the implementation of primary education has been transferred to the Statutory Local Bodies at the district and lower levels under the general supervision of the State Education Departments. It has been observed that as a result of this, the special measures necessary for educational advancement of the weaker sections have not been taken by the Panchayat Samitis.

Education—Master key to development of weaker sections: Rapid spread of education amongst Scheduled Castes and Tribes is one of the foremost

*Shri O. K. Moorthy is Deputy Commissioner for Scheduled Castes & Tribes, Government of India, New Delhi, and was awarded (1967-68) the United Nations Fellowship in Human Rights for study of indigenous people in U.S.A., Canada and Latin America.
requirements for their progress and development, and ultimately, their assimilation into the main stream of national life. Education is the master key to their lasting uplift. If the benefits of economic development are to accrue more and more to the relatively less privileged classes of society and the Directive Principle of State Policy that the operation of the economic system should not result in the concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment, is to be given a practical shape, the State should intensify its efforts at offering greater, educational opportunities to these communities.

**Need for Employment Oriented Education:** It needs no over-emphasis that more progress in general primary education is no solution to the economic problem. Such a step will only result in aggravation of unemployment of semi-literate or non-employable urban mass of people, unless it is accompanied by special steps for their rehabilitation and employment. Craft-based employment oriented education is the need of the hour. Further, purposeful efforts to wean these backward groups from caste-based occupations to those that have no association with caste are necessary for the sake of the larger social objectives. There is no evidence that Panchayat Raj Institutions have implemented the above policy as part of a special programme for weaker sections.

**Failure to take Special Measures for Weaker Sections in Education:** Special measures for weaker sections in the field of education include adequate supervision and inspection of educational institutions in inaccessible areas, intensification of efforts at greater enrolment of children of under-privileged communities, increasing availability of teachers for schools in backward areas, residential accommodation, specially for women teachers, provision of proper buildings for schools and hostel facilities for children from inaccessible areas, particularly for girl students. A close study of educational institutions in backward areas has revealed that Panchayat Raj Institutions have, by and large, failed to take effective measures in solving the above lacuna and have not made any significant impact on the problem. Inadequate supervision of Tribal and Harijan schools has for long remained one of the unresolved problems. Though the officers at the state and district levels have been held to be indirectly responsible for spread of primary education in these backward areas, it has been noticed that, in actual practice, the functionary at the lowest level has too unwieldy a jurisdiction with the result that there has been only superficial control. Further, the rapid spread of primary education in rural areas, especially where an element of compulsion is introduced, among the very indigent people to whom the child is an economic unit and is already an earning member, supplementing the family budget, enforcement is not only glaringly inadequate but also impracticable under present conditions.

**Difficulties in location of schools and recruitment of Teachers in tribal areas:** In the tribal areas where the problem is of long distances with no corresponding road facilities, the normal standards of the number of children per school have not been specially relaxed. In the poorer areas inhabited by
Scheduled Castes, both the number of schools and the student-teacher ratio are disproportionate to the actual requirements. The incentives and pay-scales offered for really well-qualified teachers in difficult areas are not adequate to attract the best amongst them. This difficulty is more pronounced in the case of women teachers. The normal practice of leaving the responsibility of providing accommodation of school teachers to the local village community cannot work in backward areas, where people are so poor that no offer of housing to a teacher will ever be made. Consequently, unless Panchayat Samitis provide special funds for all the above requirements, education is not likely to make any significant impact.

**Prevailing position in Andhra Pradesh, Orissa, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, Madras and Madhya Pradesh:** In Andhra Pradesh, Orissa, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh, it is the Zilla Parishad at the district level and the Panchayat Samiti at the block level to which the officers of the education department at the corresponding levels have been transferred. In Andhra Pradesh, as in other States, primary education is mainly the concern of Panchayat Samitis and the funds for these programmes are channelised by the State Government through these Institutions.

With the introduction of Panchayat Raj in Madras, primary schools have been taken over by Panchayat Union Councils from the District Boards—These Councils are the managing and disbursing agencies and deal with appointments and transfer of teachers, disbursement of their pay and allowances and endorsement of compulsory education for children in the age group of 6 to 11 years. The former Social Education Organisers are now redesignated as Extension Officers (Education) functioning under the charge of the Panchayat Union Councils.

In Madhya Pradesh, which has a vast tribal population, there are Jana Pada Sabha at Tahsil level which administer the primary schools in the area. It has been observed that the influence of non-official leadership on the administration of primary education, as exercised through Zilla Parishads and Panchayat Samitis, has not exhibited any special interest in the education of the weaker sections. On the contrary, powerful vested interests have tended to work against the progress of their educational advancement.

**Opinion Survey of Panchayat Raj in Madras—Effects on Harijans:** In opinion survey of Panchayat Raj in Madras, Shri M. Rafiq Khan* of All-India Panchayat Parishad, says that reports from the villages did not corroborate the statement of elected representatives and officials that several steps have been taken by Panchayats for improving the conditions in Harijan colonies. In this intensive study of the functioning of the Panchayat Raj in Madras State, Shri Rafiq Khan says that there is a big discrepancy evidenced from the replies to one of the questions they asked to specify the programmes.

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*Readings on Panchayat Raj—Edited by Shri George Jacob, NICD, Hyderabad—Chapter 5—Panchayati Raj in Madras by Shri M. Rafiq Khan.
taken up by Panchayats for the weaker section. It was reported that opening of reading rooms for Harijans was one such major programme. The author has observed that this programme may be of little use to Harijans due to mounting illiteracy in that section of the population. It was further observed that the other programmes reported as having been undertaken by Panchayats included Harijan Housing Schemes, grant of scholarships, mid-day meals, etc. It is well-known that these schemes are entirely financed out of State Government funds, subsidised by the Government of India. The author concludes that the Panchayats, as indicated by the responses to the opinion survey, have not taken steps to do whatever little they could for the weaker sections, and their performance in this field is not any better than in the field of tackling the question of rural unemployment.

Pattern of Leadership of Panchayat Bodies Study of the position in Mysore and Maharashtra in relation to Weaker Sections: In a study of the emerging pattern of leadership in Panchayati Raj set-up in Mysore State, Shri K. S. Bhat† observes as follows:

"The emerging leadership is economically better off compared to the other villagers—most of them having their own houses and pieces of land. Some of them pay income-tax and some others the profession-tax too. As a consequence, the economically weaker sections of the village community, particularly the scheduled caste members and the landless labourers, are automatically excluded from the activities of the panchayati raj bodies, admittedly, decentralisation of power had no effect on them."

Shri V. M. Sirsikar* in an interesting study of the pattern of rural leadership emerging in Maharashtra observes:

"It appears that there is a perceptible trend towards concentration of social, economic and political power. The decentralisation of power has not yet reached the poorer sections of the village community, like landless labourers and the scheduled castes."

Some other instances of mis-use—Merger of Funds and Diversion for other purposes: Specific funds allotted for the amelioration of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes under the jurisdiction of Panchayat Samitis are usually merged with other funds. In many cases, it has been observed that either the funds are diverted for other purposes or not utilised in time and in the manner specified in the scheme. The funds earmarked for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes by the Government of India or the State Government are so earmarked under a specific Article of the Constitution and the diversion for other purposes is not only improper but unconstitutional. In

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*Readings on Panchayati Raj edited by George Jacob, NICD, Hyderabad
Chapter 6—Emerging Pattern of Leadership in Panchayati Raj set-up in Mysore State, by Shri K. S. Bhat.

†V. M. Sirsikar—Leadership Patterns in Rural Maharashtra Paper submitted to the International Political Science Association Round Table, Bombay, 1964.
some States, work for the removal of untouchability has also been entrusted to the Zilla Parishads. The Panchayats can play a very important role in the matter of eradication of untouchability if they take real interest in the problem. But unfortunately, in most of the Panchayats, this interest is yet to be created. Instances have come to notice in which public water works constructed by the Panchayats, with Government aid, are not opened to Scheduled Castes. Similar forms of discrimination have also come to notice in the allotment of cultivable land. In Punjab, this type of discrimination has necessitated the amendment of the Punjab Village Common Lands (Regulation) Rules 1955, under which the Panchayat must reserve one-third of the cultivable land proposed to be leased for the Scheduled Castes. In this connection, it is necessary to confer on the District Magistrate supervisory authority over the Panchayat Samithis. Where the Panchayats neglect the welfare work of the Scheduled Castes/Tribes, or where they are not going to give priority to the allotment of waste-land vested in the Panchayat, the District Magistrate may be given the power to veto the decisions of the Panchayat Samithis, if such decisions are detrimental to the interests of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes.

Statutory Earmarking of Funds and Departmental Implementation for welfare sections: From these studies, it is evident that on account of factors such as economic dependence on higher castes, social disabilities such as untouchability, extreme poverty and low level of literacy and civic consciousness, the interests of weaker sections not only tend to be neglected but also deliberately ignored, in Panchayat Raj Institutions, unless programmes affecting their welfare are statutorily earmarked with specific outlays clearly apportioned. In such a situation, it is also essential that implementation of such a programme is guaranteed under separate departmental auspices.

Panchayat Raj in Tribal Areas—Scope of Traditional Panchayat vis-a-vis Statutory Panchayats: In Tribal areas, by and large the Tribal Councils have simple and informal arrangement whereby village elders meet together under the leadership of the headman to settle disputes of a social and religious character. They also deal with general matters affecting village life. It appears that they are not organized well enough to undertake the type of development functions now being entrusted to Statutory Panchayats. The Elwin Committee on Special Multipurpose Tribal Blocks suggested that in all homogenous tribal areas, where the new Panchayat Acts have not been introduced, the Governor should exempt the operation of such Acts under the V-Schedule and make a serious attempt to use the existing machinery instead. The advantage of working through the traditional institutions is that they have evolved naturally out of the command a ready allegiance from the people who will be more willing to co-operate with institutions which have established position among them through long use and convention.

Views of Elwin Committee and Dhebar Commission on Panchayats in Tribal Areas: The Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission also
recommended that in homogenous areas such as Nagaland, NEFA, Hill Districts of Assam and Manipur, statutory Panchayats may not be introduced, but a serious attempt may be made to develop the existing tribal councils to transfer powers of statutory Panchayats gradually to them. The introduction of new Panchayats may defeat the very object of having them, for they are looked upon as alien institutions, something super-imposed on tribal culture and not evolving naturally out of it. However, in Panchayats in predominantly tribal areas, State Governments should ensure that the Sarpanches should be elected or even nominated if necessary, from among the tribals only. A major responsibility rests on non-official agencies working in tribal areas to educate tribal communities sufficiently on the benefits of Panchayat Raj and prepare the people for it before the actual introduction. Failure to do this has been responsible for inadequate response by the tribal people to Panchayat Raj.

Rotation of reserved seats: In the matter of representation of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, notwithstanding the reservation of a specific number of seats depending on population, it is desirable that the seats so reserved are regularly rotated with each successive election to ensure participation by all contesting Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe aspirants in proportional representation.

Direct Election of Sarpanches by Weaker Sections: In the matter of election of the Sarpanch, who holds a key position in executing schemes for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, their interest would be secured better if he is directly elected by the people and not indirectly by the members of the Panchayat. In backward areas inhabited by large number of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, the primary objective is speedy implementation of the weaker sections. With the rising expectation and the demand for more and more welfare programmes by members of the weaker sections, their full and active participation in the process of development can be ensured only if they are satisfied that their representatives would have a say in development. Moreover, on account of limited means and wide order of priorities, important local needs can be specifically met only through directly elected representatives.

Gujarat-Sen. Castors: From the studies under taken by the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for the 1964-65 Report, on the working of Democratic decentralisation in relation to the weaker sections of the community, the following observations are significant:

(1) The number of Sarpanches from among the Scheduled Castes was only 35, out of a total number of 6,863 Sarpanches, which comes to 0.5%. This representation is inadequate and there is no provision in law to ensure adequate representation of Scheduled Castes as Sarpanches.
(2) In the Taluka Panchayat Samitis, the representation of Scheduled Castes is much less compared to their population and this is mainly due to the fact that under the existing law, only 2 representatives of the Scheduled Castes can be co-opted as members in the Taluka Panchayat, irrespective of their population.

(3) In the Zilla Parishads, the representation of Scheduled Castes was merely 3%. This low percentage is not understood as the relevant enactment provides for the reservation of seats for Scheduled Castes on the basis of their population.

Scheduled Tribes: (1) The Scheduled Tribes are not adequately represented on Village Panchayats in the districts of Baroda, Broach, Surat and Bulsar.

(2) The Scheduled Tribes were not adequately represented as Sarpanches in the districts of Broach, Surat and Bulsar. Similar was also the position in respect of their representation in Taluka Panchayats in these districts.

(3) In the Zilla Parishads, the Scheduled Tribes are inadequately represented in the districts of Broach, Surat, Bulsar, Panchmahals and Banaskantha.

Uttar Pradesh Scheduled Castes: Provisions exist for the co-option of 3 to 10 Scheduled Caste members to the Zilla Parishads, if no such member is elected. However, it is found that adequate representation has not been given to them. For instance, in Saharanpur district, although the Scheduled Castes constitute about one-third of the total rural population, only 5 Scheduled Caste members have been co-opted to the Zilla Parishad, which has a total membership of 107. Likewise, in Hamipur district, where the population of Scheduled Castes is one-fourth of the total rural population, only one Scheduled Caste member has been co-opted to the Zilla Parishad having a total of 53 members. Similarly, in Pratapgarh District, having one-fifth of the total population belong to Scheduled Castes, only four have been co-opted to the Zilla Parishad having 103 members.

West Bengal: There is no reservation of seats for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes in Gram Panchayats, Anchal Panchayats and Zilla Parishads, but under the West Bengal Zilla Parishad Act, 1963, provision has been made for the reservation of two seats for the 'backward community' in Anchalika Panchayats. It is, therefore, necessary that representation of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes should be secured in the Gram Panchayats and the Anchal Panchayats at least in proportion to their population, either by reservation of the seats or co-option, if they fail to get themselves represented through election. Similarly, the West Bengal Zilla Parishad Act, 1963, should be suitably amended in order to secure representation of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the Zilla Parishads.
Direct Election generally preferable to co-option. The existing pattern of concentration of social and economic power in the hands of dominant sections of the population in the rural areas may result in further consolidation of their power and may lead to more intensive exploitation of the Scheduled Castes and the Tribes. Some of the State Governments have provided, through legislation, for the co-option of the members of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes in the Panchayat Raj bodies. In a democratic set up where popular representation only through direct election is the most accepted form of representation, a co-opted member may not command popular support and by the very reason of his being co-opted he may not be able to wield sufficient influence in the Zilla Parishad. It is, therefore, necessary to provide suitable safeguards to the members of the Scheduled Tribes and Castes by reserving seats for them in Gram Panchayats, Panchayat Samitis and Zilla Parishads, preferably on population basis, and ensure their representation through reserved seats by direct election, as is the accepted formula for other reserved seats in Parliament and State Assembly constituencies.

Quite a few studies which have been undertaken of Panchayat Raj Institutions express interest and concern for the welfare of the weaker sections of the community. A very interesting study of 'Democratic Socialisation and Participant Alienation in Mulhi Village Panchayat (Gujarat)' was conducted by Dr. K. C. Panchananikar and Dr. (Mrs.) J. Panchananikar. It is reported that when the Panchayat was requested through Government for grant of a larger plot of land for use of 'Chamar-kund', for tanning and processing of leather by the local Chamar caste, the Government did not respond. Thus stressing on the Panchayat the need to encourage and support the community's occupational venture, the Panchayat with great reluctance, resolved to part with 0.3 acre of its waste land. Similarly, the request of the Milk Producers' Co-operative for allotment of land for water tanks did not find a happy response from the Panchayat. The author concludes that these two episodes of lack of response on the part of the Panchayat, point to the total unawareness of the local authority to its responsibility to encourage and activate local occupational enterprise. Likewise, the authors observe that when the question of housing the Vaghris, the backward community in the village, arose, the Panchayat instituted legal action against them for raising unauthorised huts on the waste land without prior permission. The authors observe that this incident reveals lack of understanding and the need to adequately motivate houseless sections of landless labourers if they are to be committed to agricultural work.

In their view, the Panchayat had no long term vision and perspective of economic development.

Sociology of Development Credit Discrimination in favour of advanced Communities: Another observation of what the authors call "the Sociology of Developmental Credit" has been made of the loans distributed out of the Block funds. Out of 20 applications for agricultural and land improvement
loans, a sum of Rs. 67,750/- was sanctioned to 12 families, all of whom happened to belong to the advanced community. There was a subsidy amount of Rs. 1,500/- in each of the loans for the purchase of oil engines, which is the main attraction about these loans. The largest single amount of Rs. 23,000/- was borrowed by the wealthiest land-owner. The economic concentration of power in the majority community is revealed by the fact that out of 2,064 shares, one single advanced community hold 1,753, while the others hold 311 shares in the three co-operative societies.

Effects of Reservation of seats in favour of Weaker Sections: The authors have another interesting observation on the reservation of seats for Scheduled Castes and Tribes in the Panchayats. They say 'reservation had the latent effect of indifferent attendance and dumb participation, and thus was a drag on meetings. It deprived other more active and influential villagers of the opportunity to enter the panchayat'.

Findings, Sadiq Ali Team on Panchayati Raj in Rajasthan: No solicitude for Weaker Sections: The Government of Rajasthan appointed a Panchayat Raj Study Team in November, 1962, under the Chairmanship of Shri Sadiq Ali, M.P., to study the working of the Panchayat Raj Institutions and suggest measures for improving their working. The team submitted its report to the State Government in July, 1964. In their findings relating to the working of these institutions, in so far as the weaker sections including the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes are concerned, the Committee have observed, "we are of the opinion that by and large the Panchayat Raj Institutions have not been able to devote any special attention and render any significant help to weaker sections. The Panchayat Raj Institutions had their limitations also in this respect. They have very little funds from their own resources and, therefore, they have hardly any capacity to initiate any measures on a sizeable scale for welfare of weaker sections. The various schemes which have been transferred to them are hedged in by terms and conditions.

Well-to-do Sections only derive benefits: The nature of these schemes is such that by and large well-to-do sections only of the community are able to derive benefits. This is more so in case of production programmes. The State Government accepting some of the important recommendations of the Study Group on Welfare of Weaker Sections had issued directives that certain funds should be earmarked in each Panchayat Samiti for the welfare of the weaker sections.

No Panchayat earmarked funds for weaker sections: "But despite this direction, perhaps no Panchayat Samiti has earmarked any such funds. Due to limited financial resources, this was not possible also. We found that in the sanctioning of loans and subsidies by far the larger share has gone to the comparatively well-to-do sections of the community in the villages. Under the existing circumstances and limitations, Panchayati Raj Institutions
have not exhibited any special solicitude for the welfare of the weaker sections of the community.

Liberalise Loan Rules for weaker sections for credit worthy purpose and not person: The following suggestions are offered in this connection:

(i) The schemes for the benefit of weaker sections should be so orientated that weaker sections are able to derive the maximum benefit out of them. It is necessary to liberalise the rules and procedures for grant of loans and subsidies. Certain conditions in respect of grants and loans have already been liberalised but we understand they have not been put into effect in all cases. The condition of furnishing security for loans should be relaxed in their cases. The principle of credit worthy purpose, not the credit worthy person, should be put into practice.

(ii) Loan Assistance for Rural Housing to be limited only to weaker sections: Loan assistance given for rural housing should be exclusively utilised for helping weaker sections. The weaker sections of the community live on the periphery of the village and suffer from acute shortage of accommodation. Effective steps should be taken to allot them house sites. If land is not available, the State Government should acquire it and provide to the weaker sections so that they are able to have better living space.

(iii) Preference for the weakest among the weak: Assistance in form of grants and loans should be given to the weaker sections in the order of priority based on their economic condition. That is to say, amongst the weaker sections also those who have less income should get priority.

(iv) Zilla Parishads should accept special responsibility for weaker sections: Zilla Parishads should have a special responsibility to improve the lot of weaker sections and given adequate special funds to be spent only for the schemes benefiting the weaker sections of the community.

Earmarking of funds in Andhra Pradesh for weaker sections not implemented: The Andhra Pradesh Government is understood to have issued executive instructions in the Zilla Parishads that 5% and 12% of the total outlay in the district should be earmarked for programmes for Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes respectively. A recent review of the implementation of this order has revealed that this has not at all been implemented in practice.

Opinion expressed in Assemblies for Departmental Implementation of schemes for weaker sections: There has been considerable criticism,
particularly from the Scheduled Caste members of the Legislative Assemblies in Andhra Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh, regarding the implementation of various welfare programmes for the Scheduled Castes, by the Panchayat Raj Institutions. The feeling is that these programmes were progressing satisfactorily when they were under the control of the Government directly and since their transfer to the Panchayat Raj Institutions extraneous considerations were coming into play, denying to the Scheduled Castes their due claims. There was, therefore, constant pressure from the M.L.As. for demanding reversion to the old system of executing the welfare programmes for the Scheduled Castes through the Departments concerned in the States.

Unspent Balances of funds earmarked Sections lying in personal ledger Accounts: In this context, it may be pointed out that instances came to notice in some States like Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh, where considerable unspent balances of the previous years were lying with the Block authorities and the progress of expenditure and implementation of the schemes was not satisfactory. In Rajasthan it has been observed that large funds sanctioned by the State Social Welfare Department were lying unspent in the personal ledger accounts of the panchayat samities. The Social Welfare Directorate of the State Government had conducted on the spot checks of funds placed at the disposal of the Panchayat Samities since their inception, for the welfare of the scheduled castes, the Scheduled Tribes, etc.

The table below gives information in respect of three districts for which complete information has been received:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>District</th>
<th>Amount</th>
<th>Balance unspent</th>
<th>Total of columns 6 and 7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Transferred to P.L. Accts</td>
<td>Utilised</td>
<td>Lying in P.L. Accts of P.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Nagaun</td>
<td>1,24,200</td>
<td>89,095</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Jaisalmer</td>
<td>1,31,200</td>
<td>61,850</td>
<td>42,250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Jhalawar</td>
<td>1,73,000</td>
<td>82,397</td>
<td>14,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>4,28,400</td>
<td>2,33,342</td>
<td>56,550</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Diversion of Funds for other purposes: It would be seen from the above table that the balance of amount which remained unspent in the P.L. Accounts of Panchayat Samities and with the grantees amounted to 45.78% of the total amount placed at the disposal of the Panchayat Samities of the 3 districts. Separately, 27.31% and 6.80% of the balances out of total remained with Panchayat Samities in their P.L. accounts and with grantees respectively. Only for 24.44% per cent of the funds utilized, the utilization certificates were received by the Social Welfare Department. It has also been reported that funds meant for particular schemes have been diverted by the Panchayat Samities without the approval of the Social Welfare Department.
Well-to-do Beneficiaries only selected: In Maharashtra and Uttar Pradesh, it was noticed that in a large number of cases, the beneficiaries selected were well-to-do people and their selection appeared to have been influenced by political considerations. In one village of Lucknow District in Uttar Pradesh, the President of the Gram Panchayat had fraudulently attempted to obtain payments for grants which were sanctioned at his instance to some of the Scheduled Caste residents of his village. It was later discovered that the grantees had never applied for any grant and they were not aware even of the sanction.

Need for Strict Vigilance in Selection: It is thus evident that the selection of proper beneficiaries is of vital importance for the very success of the scheme of democratic decentralisation and therefore, it is necessary that suitable rules should be framed on this subject by the State Governments. It would also be necessary to prescribe application forms for obtaining grant-in-aid under different schemes. These forms should be such as may elicit correct information regarding economic status of the applicants. Entries in the application forms should be verified by the block authorities and bear their specific recommendations, and each case should be discussed at the meeting of the standing committee sub-standind committee at the Panchayat Samiti level.

Shortcomings in Democratic Decentralisation—Why not Departmental Implementation: In the matter of administration of Tribal and Harijan welfare programmes, the process of democratic decentralisation of development functions at the village level has resulted in a setback. Zilla Parishads and Panchayat Samities who have been entrusted with Tribal Development Blocks are dominated by powerful vested interests composed mostly of non-tribals. The landlord, the money-lender, the forest and P.W.D. contractor and the liquor vender—all agents of exploitation of the tribals dominate the tribal scene and are not enthusiastic about programmes for the weaker sections. It is for serious consideration whether the Tribal Development Programme should not be taken away from the scope of democratic decentralisation and departmentally implemented. Various studies conducted in the Tribal Development Blocks confirm that the Panchayat Samities dominated by the vested interests may not be in a position to deliver the goods in so far as the Scheduled Tribes are concerned.
Social and Economic Factors in the Development of Tribals in Andhra Pradesh*

—D. R. Pratap

India has a vital component of tribal population whose claim for a proper place in the social and economic life of the country, of which they form an integral part, cannot be ignored. There are as many as 212 Scheduled Tribes whose population is 29.88 millions, constituting 6.81% to the total population. Their variegated cultural patterns, racial characteristics, plurality of occupations and linguistic variations enrich the social and cultural heritage of Indian society in general.

On the basis of geographical propinquity, demographic concentration and linguistic affiliations the tribes of India can be broadly stratified into three Zones viz., (1) North-North-Eastern, (2) Central or Middle and (3) Southern Zone. The tribal areas of Eastern Kashmir, East Punjab and Himachal Pradesh fall in the first Zone. The central or Middle Zone comprises the tribal areas of West Bengal, Bihar, Southern Uttar Pradesh, Southern Rajasthan, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa. The States of Andhra Pradesh, Mysore, Tamilnad and Kerala constitute Southern Zone. The major tribal groups inhabiting the first zone include the various Naga tribes, Khasis, Garos, Rabhas, Daflas, Apa Tanis, and the Khasas. Most of these, except for an admixture of Mon-khmer (Austro) speech, as for instance among the Khasis. Most of them belong to the Mongoloid racial stock.

In the Central Zone the Oraon, Santhal, Munda, Gond, Kolam, Khond, Baiga, Bhil and Savara are the major tribal groups. Austric family of languages are mostly spoken by the tribes of this region, although some of the important tribes like the Oraon and the Kolam, the Gond and the Khond speak dialects having Dravidian affinity. The tribes of Middle India mostly belong to Proto-Australoid race.

Chenchus, Lambadas, Koyas, Bagatas, Gadabas, Kadars, Irulas, Naikpods, Todas, Kotas, Yerukulas and Yanadis are the most important

*Extension lecture delivered to the Trainees of IX General Course conducted by Orientation and Study Centre, Rajendranagar, Hyderabad on 26-6-1968.
tribal groups of the Southern Zone in which most of them speak some form or the other of Dravidian languages viz., Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, Tulu and Malayalam. In the Southern Zone Kadar, Irula, Panyan and the Chenchu have a definite Negrito strain characterised by frizzly hair.

The numerous tribal groups live at different levels of economic development. While some tribal groups like the Baiga of Madhya Pradesh, the Chenchus of Andhra Pradesh and Kadors of Kerala are in the food gathering stage, a few tribals like the Todas of Nilagiris, Banjars and Goudus of Andhra Pradesh are mostly pasturals. The rest of the tribal groups mainly depend upon agriculture and allied activities. The degree of proficiency achieved by each tribe in the art of agriculture, their main stay, ranges from ‘Podu’ to plough cultivation. The scheduled area of India extends over approximately one hundred thousand square miles and nearly a third of the total scheduled tribal population lives in the scheduled areas. Just as the cultural patterns vary from region to region and tribe to tribe, the topography of the scheduled area changes from the forest clad Hill ranges of Western and Eastern Ghats, to the snow-capped majestic Himalayan ranges. Generally speaking, some lead an isolated life, some are partially acculturated and the others are completely assimilated.

With the advent of independence, India opted for planning to achieve a systematic social and economic development of the people. In this massive programme of planned development, the welfare of the backward sections of the population like the Scheduled Tribes was given special attention by providing additional funds in order to bridge the gap between the levels of development of the tribals and their neighbouring plainsmen. The various programmes are intended to instil a spirit of dynamism in their social and economic life so as to achieve rapid cultural change. Inspite of huge investment and herculean governmental efforts, much progress is yet to be achieved. The pace of progress is generally slow as the planners and the executive generally lose sight of the interplay of social, cultural and economic factors.

In the light of my experiences in the tribal areas of Andhra Pradesh, both as a development functionary and as a researcher in the field of Tribal Welfare I would like to analyse the role of social, cultural and economic factors which retarded or accelerated the programme implementation process. Let me first of all bring home that the programmes have been formulated without taking cognizance of the multiple factors like geo-ethnic differences, cultural variations and different levels of economic development of the tribal and the non-tribal on the one hand and between one tribal group on the other hand.

The thirty three Scheduled Tribes of Andhra Pradesh live in varied environments. While some of the hill tribes like the Gonds, Koyas, Kolams, Hill Reddis, Naikpods, Savaras, Bagatas, and Valmikis are mostly confined to the inaccessible hill slopes, jungle clearings and the intermittent valleys of
scheduled areas, other tribal groups like Yanadis, Yerukulas and Sugarlis lead a symbiotic life with the non-tribal population of the plains, while the Chenchus remained in the jungles of Nallamalai Hills and Amarabad plateau. While the Chenchus remained as food gatherers, Mandulas and Sugalis are either nomads or semi-nomads. The Banjaras of Telengana area and the Goudus of the agency areas of Visakhapatnam and Srikakulam Districts are mostly pastoralists. The Gonds of Adilabad, Koyas of Khammam, East and West Godavari districts, Bagatas, Valmikis and Jatapus of Srikakulam and Visakhapatnam districts are mostly settled plough cultivators, while the Hill Reddis of Godavari Gorges, the Samathas of Visakhapatnam and Srikakulam districts generally subsist on shifting cultivation.

Social and religious ceremonies, customs of marriage, codes of conduct, dress and decoration, music and dance differ from region to region and tribe to tribe. Thus the culture of the tribals living throughout Andhra Pradesh does not offer a uniform pattern. In many of the tribal villages of the scheduled areas which are multi-tribal in composition live a handful of plains settlers. The decrees of tradition condition the relations between one tribal group and the other. Rules of tribe-endogamy, clan-exogamy resulted in the formation of intimate spatial and kin-groups in the matrix of village-life. The village life is sometimes threatened by occasional conflict and tension caused by sporadic violation of prescribed codes of conduct. But these conflicting situations are quickly compromised through the effective machinations of the village and tribe-level traditional councils. Thus the village functions as well-knit integrated unit through a network of emotional ties and reciprocal relationships. The tradition-bound agrarian economy suffers from antiquated agricultural implements, traditional agricultural practices, chronic indebtedness, rocky terrain and the depredations of the predatory birds and animals.

The extent of scheduled areas in Andhra Pradesh is 11,595 sq. miles. Roughly 80% of the scheduled area is distributed in the districts of Srikakulam, Visakhapatnam, East Godavari, Khammam and Adilabad. As per 1961 census, there are 13,24,368 scheduled tribals, constituting 3.68% to the total population of the State.

There are certain social hurdles which are to be taken into consideration while planning either social or economic development. The traditional inter-tribal and intra-tribe relations have a great deal to do with whether it is possible to implement certain programmes for the benefit of number of tribal groups. First I would like to deal with the Social barriers under the following factors of Social Structure:

1. Group Solidarity.
2. Influence of Kinship.
3. Conflict.
4. Loci of authority.
In folk communities, custom prescribes how people ought to behave toward their fellows in upholding an ideal. Their ideal behaviour is reflected in a strong sense of 'We' feeling or small-group identification, mutual obligation and their readiness to ostracise anybody who violates these traditional norms. This sort of group solidarity can be readily observed in Tazangi Housing Colony of Visakhapatnam district. With the construction of Machkund Project many tribal villages of the area were vacated and the tribals are rehabilitated in other areas. In Tazangi Rehabilitation Colony, the tribals belonging to the same old village occupied one wing of the Colony and named it after their old village. Further in the same wing tribals belonging to a particular tribe occupied a particular row of huts. Thus village and community identity are not lost sight of even in their new colony.

Reciprocity is the hallmark of tribal group solidarity. The institution of 'Nestam Kattuta' or Bond Friendship is intended to strengthen group life by solemnizing the ritual, political, economic and social relations between two individuals or families for their mutual benefits. The sacred bond Friendship sometimes cuts across community barriers and fosters friendly relations between the various tribal groups living in a village. Such sacred friendship patterns are to be taken cognizance of while planning voluntary construction activities and cooperative institutions in tribal areas.

The tribal leads a hazardous life in the mountainous and forest tracts of tribal areas. This necessitated a corporate existence in which kinship plays a dominant role. Some of the tribal groups developed typical references for the reciprocal help of a particular type of kinsfolk. These preferences are the products of their traditional laws which sometimes give rise to the element of suspicion in the relationship with a particular kin. For example, the Chenchus of Nallamalai hills always prefer the help of their affinal relatives in their honey collection activity which involves climbing of steep cliffs with the help of ropes firmly held by other members of the expedition in order to reach the bee-hive hanging there. A Chenchu does not take the help of his nearest blood relatives as he suspects them to be his enemies and doubts their sincerity in holding the ropes while he climbs the cliffs. This apparent suspicion is due to their traditional law of succession which decrees that the nearest blood relative will succeed to the property of a deceased person. This Kinship factor is to be considered while formulating schemes for labour co-operatives in mining, quarrying and forest work which involves certain amount of risk to an individual's safety. In a majority of tribal groups both blood and affinal relatives are assigned certain roles during the performance of social and religious ceremonies. These kinship roles are intended to provide psychological security and satisfaction in their daily life. So it is quite essential on the part of the extension worker to identify the typical patterns of kinship relations and implement the schemes by functionally involving the most suitable set of relatives in the successful completion of a work.
In tribal shandies groups of tribals gather round a merchant indulge in bargaining which involves a lot of haggling and fun. The ultimate result of this transaction is always to the advantage of the cunning merchant who cheats them by selling cheap quality goods at high rates and by using false weights and measures. But the pleasures of bargaining in the company of others and of conversation and joking compensate for the loss. This is one of the important factors for the continued popularity of a private merchant, in the face of a D. R. Sales Depot of the A. P. S. T. C. F. & D. Corporation which sells all its goods at fixed prices and the mechanical transactions with the Salesman are not conducive for humorous interludes. The Salesman of the Corporation should emulate the private merchant in developing friendly and jovial relations in their dealings with the tribal so as to popularise corporation sales depots.

Conflict and factionalism are the major hurdles in the implementation of Welfare Programmes. Even though tribal areas are free from faction fights based on party politics in some areas, there is an under-current of mutual jealousy and hatred which are the products of social and economic inequalities that are traditionally existing between one tribal group and the other. Further the vagaries of vested interests, especially the plains settlers bring them to surface in order to reap the benefits of these group conflicts in the guise of pacifiers. Intimate association and friendship presuppose mutual and reciprocal obligations according to village code of conduct. If development personnel identify with one faction their programmes will achieve partial success only. One group helps the official with the intention that the official reciprocates them by bestowing official favours whereas the other group members feel it their ardent duty to reject anything offered by the officials who are too close with their rivals. Even if the programme benefits them. So in such a village, the Extension Worker should plan out his programme very carefully and try to be a friend of both the factions without giving scope for either faction to think that he is more indulgent towards a particular group.

Proper recognition of leaders is a prerequisite for the smooth introduction of innovation in tribal areas. In the custom bound tribal society authority is vested in traditional leaders as far as social problems are concerned. These traditional leaders are generally more than one in number. Every tribe will have its own head and in a village these tribe leaders will have sometimes a common leader who acts as a liaison between the government and the village. He is called the Muttadar, Voora Muncif or Village headman. The powers of this authoritarian leaders are all pervasive. Especially in some of the villages where feudal system is still in existence, authority tends to be monolithic i.e. concentrated in the hands of a traditional authoritarian leader. In addition to the traditional village headman and the tribe level head, there are other leaders like the village priest, medicine man etc. This complex leadership pattern is reflected in the village level council and tribe level council which are the most important-decision making institutions in all matters pertaining to tribal way
of life. The deliberations of these institutions are generally guided by the village level headman.

The introduction of democratic decentralization did not radically alter the traditional power structure in the village. As the panchayat in the tribal areas generally includes a number of villages in its jurisdiction, the most powerful traditional leader of the area could become the Sarpanch while the membership of the panchayat is confined to the other less powerful leaders of the village. But the membership in a Panchayat is limited in number which is in proportion to the size of the population. So a number of local leaders whose influence is confined to their particular tribe or village are left out in the process of election. But these are important forces to be reckoned with while introducing Welfare Programmes. The nature of these political systems has much to do with the receptivity of a community to change. The Extension worker generally assumes that persons elected to local offices by popular vote are the proper village-leaders with whom to work. But this assumption is only partially sound as these people are leaders, but not the only leaders. For example in matters of village religious life and health problems the opinions of the general leaders are secondary to the opinions of the village priest and the medicineman. A close examination of group dynamics in tribal villages reveals several different levels of leadership, each with somewhat specialized functions. To work efficiently and effectively in such a community, it is quite essential to recognize these several levels and the areas of influence of each.

Inspite of intensive and extensive implementation of various development programmes during the three plan periods the hiatus between the levels of development of the tribals and the non-tribals remained as wide as ever. This necessitates the critical examination of the constellation of the psychological and economic factors that are responsible for this snail's pace of development. The low receptivity of the tribals, freak climatic conditions proverbial ignorance and illiteracy, lack of ownership rights over lands, chronic indebtedness, evil machinations of money lenders and vested interests, implementation of stero-typed programmes which are not oriented towards the felt needs of the people, inadequate funds, haphazard, and unrealistic schemes, lack of follow-up programmes constitute barrier complex in the transformation of tribal way of life. Moreover, the integrated approach envisages multi-sided development which ultimately resulted in diffusion of effort. Further, in the absence of effective implementation of protective legislation, the benefits of developmental programmes got diluted.

The developmental programmes are implemented on the principle of voluntary acceptance of change without the element of force. An individual adopts an innovation of his own free will, only when he has become convinced that it offers him some kind of reward perhaps greater efficiency, or more security or enhanced status. Qualitative value-attitude judgements result in the selection and ranking of certain objects and certain modes of conduct as more
desirable, more agreeable or more worthy than others. The set order of such preferences play a notable role in the adoption of innovations. Let us now examine successes or failures of certain developmental programmes in tribal areas of Andhra Pradesh and illustrate them with concrete example so as to throw guide-lines for future planners of tribal development.

Agriculture being the mainstay of the majority of the tribals, has rightly received top priority. It is only in the field of agriculture some degree of success has been achieved when it suited the felt needs of the area without being incompatible with the traditions and beliefs of the areas. For example, prior to the introduction of development programmes, the tribals of Araku valley did not know transplantation of paddy seedlings. But due to the intensive extension work undertaken during M.P.Ps period, the practice of transplanting paddy seedlings was successfully introduced. It is a common sight in Utneor and Polavaram areas that some of the well-to-do Gonds and Koyas use water engines for irrigation purposes. They are also raising commercial crops like Sugarcane and Chillies in suitable patches. Thus a beginning is made in the correct direction and a break-through is achieved in their traditional cropping pattern.

The tribal sometimes tests the patience of the extension worker and unless he is convinced of the good intentions of the Governmental agency he would not come forward to adopt the improved method. While I was at Utneor I used to release minor irrigation loans in instalments. It required a lot of goading in order to convince the conservative tribal of the utility of the irrigation well. Once in Keslapur village until the construction work of the well was half finished by the extension personnel, the beneficiary did not co-operate with the work of digging the irrigation well. But as the work progressed, the tribal farmer got convinced of the sincerity of the effort of the extension worker. Since then the actively co-operated with the extension workers in the early completion of the work. Thus, constant persuasion and sincerity of effort on the part of extension personnel could muster the co-operation of the indifferent tribal.

There are certain short-comings noticed in the implementation process which can be attributed to certain administrative delays. Supply of improved seeds is not made in time for the tribal to charm them with supernatural powers. The ‘Nisham’ festival of Visakhapatnam district and the ‘Viduri’ festival of Adilabad district tribal are specially intended for charming the seeds with supernatural powers so as to ensure proper germination, better crop yields and to afford protection against pests. So the seeds that are supplied after the celebration of these rituals are not utilised for sowing but sold away in the local market or conveniently consumed.

The stereotyped improved implements sometimes do not suit the peculiar local conditions such as the texture and depth of the soil, physique of the draught animals and motor habits of the people involved as these vary from region to
region, and tribe to tribe. For example, the buck scraper which is useful in plains areas with soft deep soil is not of any use in the rocky and undulating terrain of the tribal areas.

During an empirical holistic study of a tribal village in Araku valley, we are surprised to notice two improved potter's wheels supplied to the potters by the Block lying idle and the potters working as usual on their traditional wheels. Our investigation revealed that the wheels supplied by the Block are too heavy to be handled by a single man. The new wheels require the services of two potters at a time to operate them properly. But, the motor habits of the two people will not be harmoniously balanced as they are accustomed to individual handling of light wheels. So the improved wheels were discarded. One redeeming feature is that the Block authorities realised their unsuitability and supplied them light wheels with ball bearings which can be handled by an individual with less effort. It teaches a positive lesson to introduce superior implements which are improvements upon the local type of implements with better performance. Such implements are readily accepted as they are already in use in one form or other.

Some of the sophisticated implements like the sprayers and dusters are not serving their purpose properly. Whenever they fall under repair, the spare parts and technical know-how are not locally available. Moreover, as the tribal is not well versed in the handling of these equipment they are susceptible to frequent breakdowns. This calls forth the establishment of a small workshop at least in the block headquarters.

In another Araku village, a Common Facility Centre was started with the express intention of imparting training in leather tanning and production of leather goods. But the centre failed to attract the local tribals to volunteer themselves for training and it was therefore wound up. The most important cause for the failure of this programme was rooted in their traditional status criteria and its associated social stigma. Even the beef eating tribals did not come forward to undergo training in leather work for it was the traditional occupation of the people occupying the lowest run of the social ladder in the plains areas viz., Madigas.

Even the digging of drinking water wells received a set back in some of the tribal areas of Visakhapatnam District. The tribal of these parts are accustomed to drink water from running streams alone. They are allergic to drink water from wells as it is considered to be stagnant water. But the water from the cisterns constructed on the running streams is favourably utilised for drinking purposes as they consider the water from the cisterns to be running water and not stagnant. Much money would have been saved if the planners assessed the nature of the felt needs of the people prior to the introduction of the drinking water wells.
Education is the most important instrument of cultural change. Even this was not properly implemented by the authorities. In spite of the repeated recommendations of expert committees and commissions, the much needed tribal bias is not given to the educational programmes in tribal areas. Stereotyped curricula and syllabi are introduced without taking into consideration the peculiar conditions prevailing there. Lack of effective supervision and missionary zeal among the teachers and the poverty of the tribal parents are mainly responsible for the phenomenal prevalence of absenteeism, stagnation and wastage in tribal schools. This calls for the establishment of more number of Ashram Schools and giving a tribal bias to the education system by incorporating lessons on tribal mythology, folklore and by orienting the whole system production based. Seed multiplication farms, fruit orchards and vegetable gardens could be profitably attached from Upper Primary School onwards.

The poor economic conditions of the tribal are also hindering the process of smooth implementation of the programmes. Most of the fertile lands in the tribal areas are alienated to non-tribals, through the machinations of money lending. More over the absence of Survey and Settlement resulted in poor credit worthiness of the tribal cultivator, which in turn caused the non-utilization of the loan provision available with the various developmental agencies. A special machinery for the Survey and Settlement of tribal areas and also for the effective implementation of protective legislations is quite essential to bestow the tribal with ownership rights and shield him from the undue exploitation of the plains Sowcars and money lenders.

Co-operative movement, which was expected to take utmost advantage of the ingrained corporate life of the tribals, proved to be a flop in tribal areas due to the ignorance and illiteracy of the tribal. Moreover, official red-tape, cumbersome administrative procedures and the depredations of non-tribal members made them dormant in implementation. Loans are not issued in time, nor collected in time. Even the Apex institutions are reluctant to advance loans to societies due to lack of sufficient security. There is urgent need for streamlining the entire co-operative sector in tribal areas by bringing all types of co-operative institutions into the fold of A.P.S.T.C.F. & D. corporatisins Establishment of Industries in tribal areas has been haphazard and ill conceived. Instead of starting agro-forest based cottage and small material is not locally available were started. For example, cane industries were started in tribal areas with raw-material imported from Madras, even Java and Singapore. This resulted in high cost of production. Besides there is no local market and there is no surity of continuous supply of cane. The training programme lacked follow up programme in providing gainful employment to many of the trainees. Moreover, while introducing the training programmes, the traditional occupations of the local tribals have not been taken into consideration. The occupational specialisation of some of the
tribals like Hill Reddis and Yerukula (Basket weaving), Gadabas (Weaving), Chenchus (Honey collection and pasturisation) and Banjaras and Goudus (Dairy farming) should be viewed for starting cottage industries, so that those tribal groups may be materially benefitted by fruitfully improving their traditional skills.

Coming to the problem of non-official leadership which is chosen as the instrumentality for the effective implementation of the developmental programmes, it must be admitted that the local leadership could not provide the necessary guidance. Due to ignorance and illiteracy, the tribals participation appears to be passive. Yet it is observed that the Tribals are slowly adopting themselves to the new pattern of social, political and economic life. This welcome consciousness of the Tribal is sure to facilitate the accelerated diffusion of new ideas and innovations into the tribal areas.

Though the present T. D. Block is suitable for the effective implementation of Development Programmes, ‘area approach’ would be more profitable for the introduction of certain schemes like vocational and secondary education, processing industries, Communication and Co-operation as these will be uneconomical, if comprehensive schemes are introduced at the block level. For this purpose geographically contiguous tribal areas should be grouped into an ‘area’.

In conclusion, let me remind you that any rigid division of the development problems into economic and social is contrary to the true needs and interests of the developing societies. The right approach is to strike a balance between economic and social development for the harmonious development of the society as a whole.
How Gandhi Saw the Tribals

G. N. R. Mudiraj

Although Mahatma Gandhi's writings on the tribals are not altogether lacking, they are conspicuous by their paucity. Nevertheless, among the thousands of pages of the written and spoken word of Gandhi that reflect his abiding interest in liberating the masses from all bondage, it is not too difficult to discern his few writings on the tribals which illuminate his views on and concern with their well-being.

Gandhi's concern for the tribals was part of his wider concern for all the depressed and underprivileged sections of Indian society. But, though Gandhi took up the challenging and formidable task of working for the amelioration of the down-trodden masses after his return to India from South Africa in 1915, his interest in the uplift of the tribals was manifested in an explicit form much later. Gandhi’s profound humanism and conviction that India’s progress depends upon the progress of every neglected and forsaken component of her population drew his attention to the pitiable lot of suffering millions who struggled for existence, away from their fellow countrymen of the plains, in their remote jungle habitats.

To Gandhi, reform and reconstruction of Indian society was as essential as freedom from foreign rule. In fact, he regarded building of a new social order based on social equality and justice as a pre-requisite for political independence. “My notion of democracy” said Gandhi, “is that under the weakest should have the same opportunity as the strongest.” Keeping this view in mind, when he formally retired from the Congress Party in 1935, he devoted himself fully to the cause of remodelling Indian society in accordance with philosophy of Sarvodaya or welfare of all.

Gandhi carried out his reform and reconstruction activities within the framework of his “Constructive Programme”, which embodies his conceptual scheme and strategies for a non-violent social revolution and which was to him an inseparable part of his programme for political emancipation of India. Yet like a good planner who is guided by the realities of the situation rather than his preconceived notions, Gandhi reviewed his “Constructive Programme”

from time to time and filled in the gaps. This may be seen from the fact that Gandhi included more and more national problems in his ‘Constructive Programme’ to make it a truly representative plan of national reconstruction. It was in 1945 that when Gandhi revised his ‘Constructive Programme’, he incorporated a new item entitled ‘Advisories’. Stating the reason for adding this new item to the list, Gandhi observed, "Service of advisories is also a part of the Constructive Programme. Though they are the sixteenth number in this programme, they are not the least in point of importance."  

Gandhi took a holistic view of life. He did not believe in dividing life into narrow, water-tight compartments called social, political, economic, religious. Nor did he look upon society as a mere mass of disconnected categories of caste, class, creed and culture. To him they were all inter-connected and inter-dependent links in a wider chain. And, therefore, identification of every individual and sub-group with the society at large was to Gandhi the goal for the attainment of which all Indians must work in union. "Our country", Gandhi wrote perceptively, "is so vast and the races so varied that the best of us cannot know all there is to know of men and their condition. As one discovers this for oneself, one realizes how difficult it is to make good our claim to be one nation, unless every unit has a living consciousness of being one with every other.

All his life Gandhi emphasised that political freedom devoid of social justice, social equality and human dignity had no substance or reality. His ideal of democracy was the self-government of the masses in which the authority and power would be acquired and enjoyed not by a privileged few at the apex of social hierarchy but by all members of society including the least and lowest. For the realization of such a wholesome democracy, Gandhi combined the movement for social reform and reconstruction with the movement for political freedom. He declared with the courage of his conviction that "Complete Independence through truth and non-violence means the independence of every unit, be it the humblest of the nation, without distinction of race, colour or creed."  

Though Gandhi's gigantic responsibilities and preoccupations in other spheres of national life did not allow him to attend personally to the task of tribal welfare, he unmistakably inspired and influenced a number of those selfless, humanitarian workers whose life's mission it was to strive for the betterment of tribemen and who guided their destinies at a time when the age-old barriers of their isolation were fast breaking down and boundaries of culture contact were rapidly expanding. How Gandhi entrusted the work  

of tribal welfare to Thakkar Bapa and his band of social workers and how Thakkar Bapa travelled through the length and the breadth of our country rousing the conscience of countrymen towards the amelioration of the tribes are the facts which no student of Indian anthropology can afford to ignore.

A glimpse of how Gandhi’s philosophy of “Constructive Programme” permitted reform and welfare work among the tribesmen may be had from Dr. B. H. Mehta’s graphic account of tribal welfare in India. Dr. Mehta writes: “In Gujarat, where Gandhiji wielded great influence in the twenties and thirties, the tribals had come to be known as kaliparaj or the black population. The upper castes called themselves ujilparaj or the fair people. Those who accepted the message and programmes of Gandhiji called themselves varjlas or the purified ones; and the tribals who did not give up drink and meat were called sarjlas or the destined ones. Before this division could have far-reaching social significance, the term raniparaj or forest dwellers came into existence parallel to the term, Harijan which came to be used for the untouchables. It was at this stage that Independence was achieved and the term Adivasi, meaning original inhabitants came to be used to identify the tribal population, along with vanaj-jati or forest dwellers.”

Indeed Gandhi himself referred to the change in the designation of the tribals in his “Constructive Programme.” Discussing the significance of the tribal people, Gandhi explained, “The term adivasi, like raniparaj, is a coined word. Raniparaj stands for kaliparaj (meaning black people, though their skin is no more black than that of any other). The term adivasi (for Bha, Gonds, or others variously described as Hill Tribes or aboriginals) means literally original inhabitants and was coined, I believe by Thakkar Bapa.”

It is important to note that Gandhi’s stirring call for non-violent resistance and peaceful non-co-operation roused people not only in cities and villages but also in some of the remote jungle tracts where poverty-stricken, inarticulate masses of tribal folk led a hand-to-mouth existence. A close look at the freedom movement in India reveals that the struggle for India’s Independence was in no way confined to the populations of the plains alone. Some of the forest-dwellers of India especially the tribes of Bihar have a remarkable record of service and sacrifice in the cause of national Independence. In his Autobiography, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, refers in highly appreciative terms, to the participation of the adivasis of Bihar in the freedom movement. “Their faith in the Congress”, writes Dr. Prasad, “was so deep that they were prepared to do anything for it. During the non-co-operation movement some one told them that sheep and goats were maintained only to provide one with meat and rearing them was not in keeping with the principle of non-

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violence. These simple folk immediately let loose thousands of sheep and goats in the forest!" Citing an instance of the adivasis' enthusiasm for the Congress, Dr. Rajendra Prasad tells us that on the occasion of the Gaya Congress of 1922, "Two days prior to the opening of the session, three to four hundred Adivasis arrived in Gaya, walking nearly 200 miles from Ranchi and the neighbouring areas. They had brought with them their rations and even earthen-wares to cook their food." Dr. Prasad also tells us that several adivasis who participated in satyagraha died in prison while serving their term of imprisonment.

Although the problem of reform and reconstruction of tribal communities was formally incorporated into Gandhi's "Constructive Programme" in 1945, Gandhian workers had penetrated the forest-bound tribal settlements much earlier and launched efforts to rid them from appalling poverty, ignorance and exploitation. As early as the twenties, Thakkar Bapa's Bhil Seva Mandal (which later on extended its scope of activities to Assam, Uttar Pradesh, Orissa, Madras and Madhya Pradesh) has already initiated amelioration work among the Bhils and Gandhi's message and philosophy had become a guiding light and force among the tribals of Gujarat. In 1940, as a result of the interest evinced by Gandhi and Dr. Rajendra Prasad, a tribal welfare organisation called Seva Kendra was set up in Ranchi with the latter as the President. But the activities of this organisation were limited to the uplift of the local tribes. In 1946, a broad-based organisation, called Adimjati Seva Mandal, was formed with Dr. Prasad as the President. In the wake of this organisation and mainly due to the effort of Thakkar Bapa, a network of tribal welfare organisations called Seva Mandals were formed in several parts of the country where tribal population was found in sizeable number. As the culmination of it all, the year 1948 witnessed a memorable event in the history of Gandhian movement for tribal reform and reconstruction. It was the formation of the first all-India organisation designated as Bharatiya Adim Jati Sevak Sangh, with Dr. Rajendra Prasad as the President and Thakkar Bapa as the Vice-President. In fact, the formation of Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh came about a few months after Gandhi's martyrdom as though it were the utmost tribute from those whom he inspired all his life to love and serve the depressed and dispossessed inhabitants of the forests.

It is worth noting in this connection that Gandhi never subscribed to the view that welfare of the tribes lay in their segregation from the rest of Indian society. The idea of putting up an iron curtain between the tribals and the non-tribals or keeping the tribesmen outside the main stream of national life was simply alien to his imagination. As Prof. Nirmal Kumar Bose "for

7. Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Autobiography (Bombay 1957), P. 187-188.
8. Ibid., P. 187
9. Ibid., P. 561
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whom Gandhi was both a leader to follow and a subject to study in a spirit of scientific detachment\(^{10}\), has so aptly put it: "Mahatama Gandhi's definition of Swaraj was that it ought to mean freedom of the masses from all forms of exploitation or inequality, achieved through the promotion and organization of their non-violent strength. And his "masses" did not draw any line of distinction between the tribal and non-tribal inhabitants of India\(^{11}\). It was with this conviction that \(^{12}\) during the period 1934 to 1935, when hot controversies were raging about the constitutional position of the tribal areas, Thakkar Bapa, along with Sarat Chandra Roy, opposed the British idea of excluding them from the general administrative set up. They were right in telling the country that the administration which had neglected the tribemen for about two centuries had no moral right, when faced with political imperatives, suddenly to become the self-appointed and self-designated champions and the protectors of the tribemen from their own fellow countrymen. If anyone had a right and a duty to safeguard a weak group of Indians, it was ourselves and not the foreign rulers."\(^{13}\)

In this context it is necessary to point out that Gandhi wanted to free the tribemen from all forms of bondage including exploitation by religious agencies. As such, he strongly opposed proselytising activities of certain unscrupulous people, who taking advantage of poverty and ignorance of backward groups converted them to a new faith.\(^{14}\)

Any evaluation of Gandhi's contribution to the cause of India's tribal people would be incomplete without taking into account his immense influence on the life and work of Verrier Elwin, the missionary turned anthropologist. How Elwin, an Oxford-educated young man of evangelical background, came to India as a missionary to serve the tribals in accordance with the ideals of the Christian Church but took to the scientific study of tribal society and culture, discarding his earlier objectives, and how successfully he identified himself with people who were different from him both ethnically and culturally is perhaps one of the most romantic pieces of contemporary tribal history. Alluding to his life's metamorphosis, Elwin wrote in his Autobiography, "My journey from a deeply religious evangelical home to modernist and catholic Oxford and then through Gandhi's settlement at Sabarmati to the tribal hills of India involved many changes in my outlook and way of life." Again, realizing what a deep impression Gandhi made on his career, Elwin confesses.

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10. This is how A. B. Shah describes Prof. N.K. Bose’s relationship with Gandhi in his ‘Introduction’ to N. K. Bose and P.H. Patwardhan, Gandhi in Indian Politics, Bombay 1957
11. N. K. Bose, Culture and Society in India (Bombay 1967, P. 197)
13. See especially the chapters ‘How they convert’ the social bias and ‘Missionary Methods’ in M. K. Gandhi, Christian missions: their place in India. (Ahmedabad, 1941)
“My contact with Gandhi wedded me to India and I am today an Indian citizen.” In a deep reminiscient mood, Elwin further observes, “I fell in love with India when I was with Gandhi and he accepted me. Later I had an even stronger intense and specialized attachment to India’s tribal people.”

Indeed Elwin was not the only anthropologist whose outlook and approach to tribal life and decades, Gandhian thought and values have pervaded the thinking of so many students of tribal culture and so many tribal welfare workers that it would be superfluous to attempt at drawing up a list of all of them.

In sum, all his life Gandhi strived to extend to the tribals their share of social justice, social equality and human dignity, though his contribution to their cause was more indirect than direct. Gandhi had no illusions about the fact that unless a sizeable number of zealous and dedicated workers, infused with the spirit of humanitarian service and democratic ideals were available, the objectives of reform and reconstruction would not be achieved. Referring to the small number of such workers who were then working in tribal areas, he wrote reflectively, “the harvest is rich but the labourers are few” 16. But who can deny that the number of labourers has increased in quantity and quality in proportion to the harvest over the years since Gandhi made this remark?

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FROM BIRTH TO ADOLESCENCE

Magico-religious practices among the Tribals of Chintapalli Agency

M. V. Krishna Rao

Both in the extent of scheduled area and in the population of scheduled tribes, Visakhapatnam district occupies pride of place among the other districts of Andhra Pradesh with 2,13,820 scheduled tribes population, mostly living in 2,606 sq. miles of scheduled area of the district. Chintapalli agency is the second most important tribal habitation of the district with as many as 360 scheduled villages inhabited by tribals, a majority of whom belong to Bagata, Valmiki, Konda Dora and Kammara tribes.

The social structure of the tribal society of Chintapalli agency is quite similar to that of the other agency tracts of the district with Bagata and Valmiki occupying the highest and the lowest rungs of social ladder respectively. The usual socially recognised methods of acquiring mates among all the tribal groups are by negotiations, exchange, capture, and service. Levirate, sororate and widow-remarriage are socially approved among all the tribal groups. Patri-lineal succession, patrilocal residence and patriarchal authority are the common characteristics of all the tribal societies of the area. One interesting feature of the social structure of the region is the division of all the endogamous tribal groups into various exogamous clans with common clan names such as ‘Naga’ (Snake), ‘Hanumantha’ (Monkey), ‘Mathsya’ (Fish), ‘Surya’ (Sun), ‘Puli’ (Tiger) and ‘Elugu’ (Bear).

Their economy is agro-forest based with economically advanced tribal groups like Bagatas and Valmikis mainly thriving on settled plough cultivation, agriculture labour and collection and sale of minor forest produce. The backward tribal groups like Konda Doras and Gadabas resort to ‘Podu’ or shifting cultivation in addition to marketing the minor forest produce collected from the nearby forest. They are polytheists and the pantheon of the various gods and goddesses includes deities like Rakasamma, Sankademu, Nandademaru, Bhimademaru, etc. These deities are believed to protect the various facets of tribal life. Hence the tribals celebrate festivals of every diety with elaborate rituals involving innumerable sacrifices of various animals and birds such as goats, pigs, cows, fowls etc., intended to appease these supernatural powers to the maximum. In addition to these festivals the tribals also perform certain life cycle ceremonies and when an individual passes from one stage of life to another in order to solicit the blessings of ancestor spirits and village
deities. While the corporate worship of the village deities is meant for the protection and promotion of welfare of the cattle, crops, habitations and the village society in general, the various life cycle ceremonies are designed to protect the life of an individual by invoking the supernatural powers through a series of magico-religious practices to be performed for the smooth change over from one stage of life to another.

The performance of the life cycle ceremonies constitutes a vital component of the tribal religion. Hence in the present paper an attempt is made to describe the various magico-religious practices and the associated beliefs observed during the celebration of the life cycle ceremonies from birth to adolescence among the major tribal groups, especially Bagatas and Valmikis of Chintapalli agency area.

Birth, puberty, marriage and death are the most important turning points in an individual's life. Each stage marks the beginning of a new phase in his life. Their critical junctures of life are charged with fear and anxiety. Under such disturbed mental conditions, the tribal man like most of his civilized plains' neighbours seeks to satisfy the emotional need of restoring hope and confidence to his mind by methods expected to enlist the help of invisible supernatural powers. He believes that these supernatural powers are potent enough to help him in tiding safely over each crisis. The methods devised and organised by each society for this purpose, constitute what have been called the 'rites de passage'.

The tribals of Chintapalli agency believe that human actions are guided by the supernatural, the representatives of which are their various gods, goddesses and spirits. So they consider it necessary to maintain harmonious and friendly relations with them. These friendly relations are established by way of regular propitiation of the supernatural. They appease them with food, and nourishment by way of offerings and sacrifices on particular occasions of risk to the individual or family. Thus these tribals have evolved special rites and ceremonies—religious and magical—calculated to ensure safety at the turning points of an individual's life. In the present paper, I shall describe the various religious and magical rites and ceremonies by which the tribal societies of Chintapalli agency tide over the various crisis periods in the most plastic part of the life of an individual.

Birth Rites

Pre-natal Care: Even before the birth much care is taken about the pregnant woman. During the time of pregnancy they observe many taboos for the safe delivery of the baby. Although the foetus remains within the mother, it is considered that it can still be attacked by evil spirits. So, many taboos are imposed on the movements, food, decoration etc. of the pregnant woman. They recognise pregnancy with the break in the monthly periods of
the woman. From this period onwards she is given not only a special status in the society but specific restrictions are also imposed on her as a woman is considered to be very delicate during her pregnancy. This attitude of considering her as ‘delicate’ is very important. She is not only delicate to undertake any heavy tasks, but she is also delicate in the sense that she is vulnerable or least resistant to the attacks of evil spirits. To protect the pregnant woman from these evil spirits, the tribal society has evolved many taboos that are to be strictly followed by the pregnant woman.

*Taboos on the woman*: The pregnant woman is tabooed from going to places that are regarded to be haunted by evil spirits. Burial grounds, in the first instance, are believed to be the natural abodes of the evil spirits. The tribals feel that it is very difficult to identify the spirits because they have no body and have a peculiar characteristic of mixing with air. The spirits are generally believed to wander in darkness and mix in darkness thus becoming invisible to the naked eye. So the pregnant woman should not go out in darkness. Some of the ways in which the evil spirits tease the pregnant woman have also been narrated. The evil spirits may tickle her, throw her down, and torment her.

Besides the taboos restricting her from coming into contact with the spirits of the supernatural world certain taboos are observed even in respect of her wearing ornaments. A pregnant woman should not wear new bangles from the sixth month onwards as they believe that it may result in difficult labour before delivery.

*Taboos concerning the husband*: There are certain restrictions on the husband of the pregnant woman. He should not go for hunting during the pregnancy period of his wife. Hunting involves the killing of animals and such killings reflect on his wife. The dying animal, they regard will take revenge on the hunter by cursing his pregnant wife. Such curse of the animal may result either in abortion or in the death of the pregnant woman preceded by difficult labours. Again, the husband should not touch a dead body lest this may result in the still birth of the child.

*Taboos concerning the house*: If there is a pregnant woman in the house the natural conditions and surroundings of the house should not be disturbed. Valmikis and Kammars do not re-thatch the house until the woman's delivery, as this may result in definite abortion. But this taboo is not observed by Bagarias. Even minor repairs to the house like plastering of floor and walls are also to be postponed till the delivery or else it is believed to result in the death of the woman. Even if the house collapses during the pregnancy of a woman, they should not rebuild the house until six months after delivery. During this period they shift to a neighbouring house. If this taboo is violated the pregnant woman is sure to die during her labours.
Illness during pregnancy: When a pregnant woman is ill and if she does not recover from the illness during the normal course of time, they suspect that illness might have been caused due to the influence of evil spirits and the services of a 'Goravaguda' or 'Vaidyadu' (Spirit doctor) are at once commissioned. The modus operandi of the spirit doctor is to smear the forehead and the abdomen of the woman with 'Vibhuti' (Charmed cowdung ash) after uttering some 'mantras' in order to drive away the evil spirits. Dysentery and swelling of feet and face during pregnancy are believed to be the signs of the evil spirit possession. As a measure of precaution some of the pregnant women use magical protective devices like 'Tayethu' or 'Rakshareku' (Talisman).

Besides using the above mentioned protective devices the tribals seek the help of tribal as well as non-tribal deities to protect the pregnant woman from evil spirits. They promise presents to the tribal deities like Rakesamma, Pandavas and to Hindu Gods like Lord Venkateswara, Simbaclalam Appanna and Annavarapu Satyanarayana.

Raha Teerchutha: For the first pregnancy Valmikis and Bagathas perform a ceremony called 'Navagraha Puja' or 'Raha Teerchuta' in the third month of pregnancy. During the third month a 'Muhurthagadu' is consulted to decide the auspicious day to perform the ceremony. In the early morning of the fixed day the pregnant woman takes bath and wears new clothes presented by her parents. The 'Muhurthagadu' stitches a cup with pipal (Ficus religiose) leaves. This is called 'Ravi Midaka'. This 'Midaka' is filled with small quantities of nine varieties of cereals, red gram, black gram, bengal gram, peas, Aorse gram, green gram, gengelly seed, paddy 'Suryakanta' seeds, and nine varieties of flowers. The 'Muhurthagadu' fills the 'Midaka' with some oil and arranges eight cotton wicks on the eight sides of the 'Midaka' with a ninth wick in the centre.

In the central portion of the house a place is cleaned and 'chodi' powder designs are drawn over it. The pregnant woman is seated on this design with her face towards the west. The 'Muhurthagadu' now lights the nine wicks in the 'Midaka' and it is turned round her head and legs thrice, calling out the names of the nine 'grahas' (Navagahas), one by one and requesting them to protect the pregnant woman from evil spirits. This is called 'Digadudupu'. The woman is asked to spit thrice into the 'Midaka'. A hen is then sacrificed and other offerings like coconuts are also made to the 'Navagrahas'. The hen and the 'Midaka' are taken out of the house and let in the shade of a tree. The 'Muhurthagadu' is paid for his services both in kind and cash according to the economic ability of the family.

This is almost a magical rite intended for the protection of the woman and the foetus from the evil influences of spirits which may cause diseases like
swelling of the body, dysentery etc. Since a pregnant woman is highly suscep-
tible to the haunting of evil spirits, the tribals never fail to perform this cer-
emony. Once this ceremony is performed it is considered that the woman is safe
from the attacks of evil spirits during the rest of her pregnancy period.

Difficult labours: If a woman has difficult and prolonged labours it
is generally attributed to the influence of evil spirits or infringement of a taboo
either consciously or unconsciously. In case of difficult labour the ‘Goravva-
gadu’ (Spirit doctor) is called in. The Spirit doctor smears some ‘vihuti’ on
the forehead and abdomen of the women after uttering some ‘mantras’. Sometimes the husband or any other elder member of the family promises
presents to Rakasamma or any Hindu God for an easy delivery. If all these
traditional methods fail to produce easy delivery, then only they will think of
hospitalizing the woman.

After Birth: The birth of a child is an important event in the family
life of these tribals. It marks the end of a critical and delicate period of the
woman and signals the addition of a new member to the family. After birth
the attention of the family members is shifted from the mother to the child.
The newborn child is considered to be a delicate helpless creature who is vul-
erable to the attacks of evil spirits. The birth ceremony is intended to protect
the child from these evil influences. Besides, the child, the convalescent mother is
also considered to be least resistant to the attacks of evil spirits. So the cer-
emony is also intended for the protection of mother.

Immediately after the delivery, the ‘Goravagadu’ or one who knows how
to read a Hindu Almanac is called into decide the star of the new born baby.
If the neonate is born under the influence of an auspicious star the child is given
an immediate bath. If the baby is born under the influence of an inauspicious
star, the ‘Goravagadu’ performs an act called ‘Digadudupu’. He sacrifices a
hen and turns it thrice round the head of the baby and next around the head
of the mother. Afterwards a burning stick is similarly turned round the head
of the baby and the mother. Then the baby is given bath.

Chinna Purudu (First purification bath): Among Valmikis this is performed
on the third or fifth day after delivery and among Bagathas on the second day
itself. Until the first purification bath, the baby and the mother are considered
to be under birth pollution. The male members of the house should not eat
their food inside the house until the final purification bath (Pedda Purudu).

In the early morning of the Chinna Purudu day the whole house, utensils
and clothes are cleaned. A woman from each house of the tribe is invited to
bring a pot full of hot water from their houses. They smear turmeric oil to the
bodies of both mother and baby and gives them hot water bath. Then all the
women take their bath. After the bath they perform ‘Digadudupu’. This should be performed by a fasting woman who also cooks the food for the day’s feast.

The ‘Digadudupu’ is performed in the following manner: The fasting woman stitches two ‘Neredu’ (Eugenia Jamboleana) ‘Midakas’ (leaf cups). The fasting woman holds the two leaf cups in both the hands. The leaf cups are filled with oil and cloth wicks are put in them. Then the wicks are lighted. These are called ‘Divvula Kammalu’. With the two ‘Divvula Kammalu’ in her hands, the fasting woman stands before the mother and turns round one Divvula Kammu in the clockwise direction and the other in the anti-clockwise direction. After this she goes behind the mother and repeats the act once again. Besides the mother, the act is repeated to the child, father of the child and to all the women that are present there. The food cooked by the fasting woman is served to all the female members of the tribe. In the ensuing feast neither males nor children are allowed to participate.

‘Pedda Purudu’ (Final purification bath): This may be performed on the 5th, 7th, 9th or 11th day of delivery according to the convenience of the family. Until the ‘Pedda purudu’ bath, the whole house is considered to be under pollution and the entry of male members of the family is forbidden. The male members of the family should not eat their food inside the house. It is cooked outside the house to facilitate the male members to have their food. Similar to the ‘Chinnu Purudu’ day the mother and the child are given purificatory bath and ‘Digadudupu’ is also performed in the same manner. For the community feast, not only females but all the males and children of the tribe are also invited. From this day onwards the male members of the family take their food inside the house as the taboo is lifted after the purificatory bath. If the mother and child are suspected to be suffering from any evil influences, the services of a ‘Goravagadu’ will be commissioned. Generally the mother and child wear protective magical devices like ‘Tayathu’ or ‘Raksha Reku’.

’Kappadenu Mokkamu’: After the purificatory bath and the ‘Digadudupu’ rites, the mother is taken to a nearby stream or well by some of the elderly women of the tribe. She goes there with a bow in one hand and an arrow in the other and an empty brass pot over her head.

Just by the side of the stream or well she cleans a spot and draws designs with Chodi flour. She makes the clay figure of a frog and keeps it on the design along with the bow and arrow. ‘Puja’ is performed to the clay figure with vermillion, turmeric, jaggery, and garlic along with burning of incense in the name of Kappa Demudu. After the ‘Puja’ she cleans her teeth with a brushing stick. Until performing the ‘Puja’ the woman is not allowed to brush her teeth with a stick. Instead of using the brushing stick she uses charcoal powder to clean her teeth. If the mother fails to observe this custom, the tribals believe that it may result ineffective teeth for her child. She fills the empty
brass pot with water and carries it home. A fasting woman separately cooks food for the mother and herself by using the water that is brought from the stream.

After the performance of ‘Pedda Purudu’ the mother participates in her regular household duties. The bringing of water after ‘Kappadenumud’ Mokkadam’ is an act of initiation to her usual household duties once again. Now the mother is considered no more susceptible to the influence of evil spirits. But the child still needs protection from the evil eye and the evil spirits. The mother takes every care to see that the child is completely protected from these evil forces. To avoid the evil eye she clothes the child in rags and decorates the forehead and eyes with black soot obtained by burning of castor oil lamp. From now onwards the attention of the family members shifts from the mother to the child.

Name giving ceremonies: There are two types of name giving ceremonies that are performed by the tribes of this region. In the first type of ceremony the father performs the ritual. In the second type it is the maternal uncle who performs the ceremony. The first one is practised by a majority of the Bagathas and some Valmikis and Kammaras also. The second one is in practice among most of the Valmikis and some of the Bagathas. The name giving ceremony substantiates their statement regarding rebirth, that the dead kin will be reborn as their children. The child naming ceremony is performed on the 21st day after the birth of the child or on any auspicious day within three months after the birth of the child. If they have already promised to name the child after some god, the child is definitely named after that god. If no such promise exists, the following is the procedure followed during the first type of name giving ceremony.

In the early morning of the auspicious day the mother and the child are given oil bath. In the central portion of the house a place is cleaned with cow-dung and chodi powder designs are drawn. A wooden plank is placed over the designs and it is covered with a white cloth. The mother sits on this plank with the baby in her arms facing east. The father of the child now sacrifices a hen if it is a female child and a fowl if it is a male child and offers it first to their dead forefathers. Then the right leg of the hen is severed from the body. The father holds the right leg in his right hand and keeps it just within the reach of the child. Then he calls out the names of their dead kin one by one and tempts the child to catch the leg after calling out each name. When the child holds the leg of the hen at the call of a particular dead kin’s name, the child is named after that dead kin. Generally they start calling out the nearest dead relatives names first.

In the second type of name giving ceremony the maternal uncle of the child plays a prominent role. The maternal uncle keeps the child on lap and a tumbler with water up to its rim is kept before him. He takes some grains of
rice into his hand and throws three rice grains, one after another, into the water kept before him and at the same time utters the name of a dead kin. If the three grains of rice float and meet by their ends in the middle of the water, the child is named after that kin. If the rice grains do not meet and any of the grains sinks down, the act is repeated once again, calling out the name of some other dead kin. Thus the act of throwing the three rice grains is repeated until they meet by their ends at the call of any of their dead kin's name. The baby is given the name of that particular dead kin at the call of whose name the three grains of rice meet by their ends. Thus these tribals believe that they can identify the particular dead kin who is reborn as the child.

Puattu Koppu Teeyuta (Tonsures ceremony): This ceremony is usually performed in the third month of the child or during any of the odd number months such as 5th, 7th etc., of the baby. They consult a 'Muhurthagadu' to fix the auspicious day on which the ceremony is to be performed.

In the morning of the day on which the ceremony is to take place, the baby is given an oil bath. The child's maternal uncle is invited by the parents to perform the ceremony. He takes his bath and wears new clothes presented by the child's father. He cleans a spot in front of the house and decorates it with 'chodi' flower designs. On this design a wooden plank is placed and the child is seated on this plank. One by one the family members put turmeric mixed rice 'Akhshintas' over the head of the baby after turning them thrice around the child's head. The mother's brother then cuts a lock of hair from the child's head with a scissors. And then the whole hair is removed and buried in a secret place in order to avoid falling into a sorcerer's hands. The child is given bath and sweets are distributed among the members of the family and the tribe.

If the first hair is already promised to some deity, then they make a visit to that deity's temple. In such a case the mother's brother is not invited to cut the first hair. The first hair cutting ceremony is performed for both male and female children.

If they fail to perform this ceremony it is believed that the child may suffer from boils on the head and other scalp diseases. They also believe that the growth of the child may be retarded if the first hairs are not properly removed.

One or two main ideas seem to underlie these ceremonies and observances during pregnancy, child birth and childhood. Firstly there is the idea of protecting mother and child from evil influences to which they are considered to be particularly liable in their non-natural taboo state. Secondly there is the idea of restoring mother and child to the normal state and admitting them into the community and making the child a worthy member of it.
Puberty rites for girls: From the first appearance of the menstrual flow of a girl is considered to have attained adulthood. This is another important landmark in the life of a girl on her way to become a wife and eventually a mother.

The tribal of Chintapalli agency believe that a girl is least resistant to evil spirits at the first break of her monthly cycles. Menstruating woman, they consider, always attract ghosts and spirits and the chances are more so at the first appearance of the menstruation.

So immediately after the first appearance of the menstrual flow, the girl is confined to a separate place inside the house. This portion is closed with cloth curtains or bamboo 'thattles', for males are tabooed to see the girl during this period. They believe that if this taboo is violated the girl may become barseen. The place is first cleaned with cow dung and designs are drawn with 'chodi' flour by an elderly woman. Over this decorated spot four seers of paddy mixed with half a seer of rice are spread. This heap is covered with an old sack or a mat. An elderly woman now helps the girl to sit over this mat. The girl should not leave this mat until her purification bath, except for attending to nature calls. The girl is kept here for eleven days or more if there is no auspicious day to give the purificatory bath. She should not eat sour or savoury food stuffs. But she is given sweet food stuffs. She is not allowed to leave the house during day time as there is danger of seeing male members of the community. Under the cover of darkness alone she can go out to attend her nature calls. Even then she is accompanied by an elderly woman so that she may not be haunted by evil spirits. On the 11th day the girl is given her purification bath. Among Valmikis the nails of the girl are also trimmed. The girl is presented with new clothes by the mother and all the women of the community are given a feast. The old clothes of the girl are given to a cobbler, if the girl belongs to Valmiki tribe. Bhatas wash these clothes and use them once again.

The puberty rites of these tribes consist of a number of taboos rather than any ritual. They do not perform any corresponding initiation ceremony for boys.
The Banjaras of Andhra Pradesh

—C. Chenchu Raja

The Banjaras are a colourful tribe inhabiting almost all the districts of Andhra Pradesh. They are also known as Lambadies, Lambani, Brinjara, Banjari, Vanjari, Boyapari, Sugali, or Sakali. They are predominantly found in Anantapur, Guntur, Krishna, Kurnool, Warangal and Adilabad districts. In the Andhra area they are recognised as Scheduled Tribes, but in the Telangana region they are not treated as Scheduled Tribes. However they are treated as denotified tribes in this region. According to the 1961 census their population in the Andhra region was 96,174. Figures for the corresponding period are not available for the Telangana region as they were not separately enumerated. But 1941 census tell us that there were about 4.04 lakhs in Telangana region. Allowing for the decennial increase it is estimated that there are about 5.82 lakh Banjaras in our State now.

It is interesting to know that the word Banjara is perhaps derived from the Sanskrit 'Vanachara' which denotes the once nomadic Banjaras. In course of time the word 'Vanachara' might have changed into Banjara. Similarly Lambadi seems to have been derived from the word Lamban or length which perhaps refers to their long caravan of Bullocks along which they used to move. This brings us to an interesting point in their history. Their home land was undoubtedly Northern India. They migrated down South as carriers of merchandise along with the Moghul armies. The turbulent medieval period of Indian history provided these nomadic people with an opportunity to profit by working as a kind of unofficial commissariat to the armies of warring Moghals, Marathas and even the Europeans. It is said that they supplied grain, cloth and other articles of daily need to the armies by acting as a private enterprise lending a hand in the wars.

It must have been a boon to those who availed their services, to have a band of mobile merchants especially when the roads were not developed and the other modern means of transport were altogether unknown. The Banjaras used the Bullocks as pack-animals to transport the supplies. It must have been a lucrative occupation. As the times changed and conditions became normal during the British period, the Banjaras who were for some centuries moving from place to place had to outgrow their nomadic habits. The Banjaras present a complete picture of transition of a group of people from nomads to settled peasantry. The transition was no doubt marked by their struggle to adapt themselves to the changing conditions. They are a versatile lot. When
once their occupation of trading with the armies was lost they gradually started to settle down, first as pastoralists and then as settled cultivators. One cannot miss the transitional maladjustment they had to face during which they degenerated and took to crimes like robbery, and dacoity in the process of their adjustment. They were even notified under the Criminal Tribes Act and a keen watch over their movements was kept. The Criminal Tribes Act was repealed after Independence and the communities listed in the Criminal Tribes Act were denotified.

Given a set of favourable opportunities they are remarkably capable of adjusting themselves to changing conditions and organise themselves for development work with immense zeal. In Warangal district particularly the Banjaras have established themselves as good cultivators. Another example of their adjustable temperament is revealed in the survey conducted by this Institute in Bapunagar, a banjara settlement near Sanathnagar in Hyderabad city, according to which out of 180 workers 35 have adopted different trades like Mechanism, Fitting, Driving, Wiring, Moulding etc. Hence it can be said that Agriculture is not the only means of livelihood but Banjaras are also engaged in different modern occupations. These Banjaras are also working in Projects, Collieries, Metal Works, Cement Factories, P. W. Department, Electricity Department etc. This reveals their capacity to adjust themselves to various environments and variety of occupations.

Their dialect is a curious blending of the two main languages of North viz., Hindi and Gujarathi. Their dialect is more akin to the language of Western Rajputana. Their linguistic affiliation can be traced to the Indo-Aryan branch of the Indo-European family. Greirson expressed that Banjari of Southern parts is “a mixture of surrounding Dravidian languages.”

The Banjaras are a virile race with tall stature fair skin and often the shade of their eyes is light. They closely resemble Rajputs in their physical features. To my mind Professor Haimendorf is right in pointing out that “with their tall stature fair skin and light eyes Banjaras and Mathuras appear even at a glance as ‘Foreigners’ in this part of India.” The dress of men comprises of a dori, gadi turban or a cap which they wear on festive occasions. The Banjara women are famous for their colourful and attractive dress. They wear lainga of coarse cotton prints richly embroidered with many folds near the waist. A phadki is worn over the shoulders and the head where it rests on a comb made of horn or wood. A bodice with long sleeves embroidered in the front covers their breasts and it is fastened at the back with two strings whose ends are bedecked with cowries, beads and glass pieces. Around their necks they wear silver or brass Huslee and Jingling bells around their ankles. Heavy gujaries are tied to the hair near to the temples of married women. These Gujaries are a sign of marriage which the widows are tabooed from wearing. Their arms are fully covered with horn or bone bangles. The upper armlets are removed on the death of husband.

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One of their principle deities is ‘Bunjarinimata’ which is believed to reside in the horns of cattle. They worship Balaji and dedicate the decorated bull and it is regarded as the protector of the herd. It is called ‘Gurubail.’ Another important deity is ‘Kalika’ or ‘Bhavanidevi’ whose festival is celebrated with much pomp during which seven sheep are offered in sacrifice. The other important festivals are ‘Teez’ and ‘Seethal Bhavani’, ‘Holi’, ‘Dasara’ and ‘Deepavali.’ The Banjars are good cattle breeders and agriculturists as well. Their traditional occupations are very much influenced by the modern trends. As has been already said they are adept in changing their ways of life to the changed conditions. They have plenty of occupational mobility.
Aboriginals in Industrial and Urban Environs

—D. Ramachandra Raju

The smouldering sky of Singareni Collieries shelters among other numerous aboriginals. These aboriginals found shelter in this once invulnerable and wooded country from a period unrecorded in history in order to escape from the onslaughts of the invading Dravidians and Aryans. The commencement of commercial exploitation of vast deposits of coal first at Singareni and later at a place now called Kothagudem laid open the hitherto inaccessible habitat of aboriginals. Several suburbs which sprang up around Kothagudem consequent on the expansion of the Collieries and establishment of a giant Thermal Power Station and Kinnerasani Project at Palavancha exposed the long isolated aboriginals to outside contacts.

Kothagudem, ' New Castle ' of Andhra Pradesh, forms the nerve-centre of the coal and its allied industries along with Bellampalli, Mancherial, Ramagundam, and Singareni. This coal town attracted workers, businessmen and entrepreneurs from various parts of the country, and even from abroad. As a result these towns are now characterised by co-exising and intermingling traditions. The town presents a spectacle of complex and gigantic machinery. The town is as much dominated by modern industry as Tirupati is by temples. Traditional institutions such as temples, mosques and churches and organisations for the propagation of the great religions of India do exist but are rather weakly developed. Singareni Collieries Workers' Union, Indian National Trade Union Congress and Towns' Competing political parties are the dominant corporate groups. Caste is not so effective as it is in rural India in regulating marriage and traditional occupations and to a great extent in structuring social interaction. The town is again extreme in the proportion of leisure time spent in modern forms of diversion (Cinema, playing cards, etc.) as compared to devotional and other traditional forms of entertainment characteristic of the Great Tradition of the region. Modernism is more pronounced among the people of these towns than in any other more typical towns of Andhra Pradesh.

The town is the melting-pot of castes and cultures. Multiple national and regional castes, religious groups, their sects and sub sects and races and their characteristic cultures constitute the veritable socio-cultural mosaic of Kothagudem and Singareni. Further, it is a confluence of languages. Most of the major languages of India and some tribal dialects like Koya and Banjari
as well as some foreign languages like Japanese, Persian, English, Nepalese etc., are also heard. Most of the local people acquired a smattering of Urdu or Hindustani.

It is the rendezvous of two diverse sub-cultures (Coastal Andhra and Telangana) of Telugu people. Even the Telugu language spoken in this place is an outcome of linguistic diffusion of the two colloquials spoken in Coastal Andhra and Telangana. Quite a few Hindi and Urdu words find their place in the vocabulary of colloquial language of the local people. Similarly a few Telugu words also found their way into the other languages spoken by the people of the town.

Into the matrix of this urban and industrial centre, the Social Welfare Department (then Social Service Department) brought about a hundred of landless Koya families to rehabilitate them in a colony now called Subhasanagar constructed with the funds of Social Service Department in a vast area of virgin land situated at a distance of stone's throw from the railway station of Kothagudem.

In the following pages I endeavoured to discuss the impact of the industrial and urban environment on the preliterate forest dwelling Koyas. In this study of impact of industrial and urban environment on the Koyas of Subhasanagar, it is found that some aspects of social structure and culture changed while others remained unchanged. This uneven change can be best explained by distinguishing structural changes from cultural changes. To facilitate understanding, the structural changes have been further categorised into economic, political, ritual and familial changes, according to the type of functional relations involved and the cultural changes into material and non-material.

ECONOMIC CHANGES

Occupational diversification: The economy of the Koyas of Subhasanagar has undergone considerable change during the last 20 years. The output of goods and services with the same labour input by the Koyas of the colony is no longer the same as it was 20 years ago. The new Forest policy deprived most of the tribes through the lands of the villagers of Subhasanagar of the tribes deprived of the lands assigned to them by the Government. The rest of the villages of the lands assigned to them by the Government. The rest of the villages who did not lose their lands under either of the two schemes have the tribes who did not lose their lands under either of the two schemes have the gradual lost their lands to their debtors. The loss of land compelled the gradually lost their lands to their debtors. The loss of land compelled the Koyas of this village to seek other sources of earning livelihood. In such situations, Kothagudem town offered alternate avenues of employment, forest produce, poultry produce and other livestock produce, timber, firewood, etc.
The Koyas gradually adopted occupations which are not totally incompatible with their traditional occupational pattern and which did not call for new and specialised skills. Thus they took to growing of vegetables like bottle gourds, country beans, ladies fingers, angular gourds, pumpkins, cucumber, maize etc., not only for domestic consumption but for sale in the market of Kothagudem also. The Koyas, however, do not grow exotic vegetables and other vegetables which would have fetched them higher prices in the local market because they are traditionally not adept in growing such vegetables. They rear poultry, sheep and goats for commercial purposes also as there is very good market for the poultry and live-stock products in Kothagudem town. They sell milk, butter, ghee and dung cakes for the towns men of Kothagudem. As their part time profession, the able bodied Koya men and women of the colony very frequently collect firewood and timber stealthily from the neighbouring forest and sell them to the people and carpenters at Kothagudem. They face stiff competition in this trade from Banjara. But there is greater demand in Kothagudem for the goods of Koyas than for those brought by Banjara as the goods brought by Koyas are known for their better quality and lower prices. The women folk and children collect seasonal jungle fruits such as wood apples, custard apples, Jambolans, ‘Usiri’ etc., and dump them in Kothagudem market in such huge quantities that the prices of these fruits touch their lowest ebb. Even though vegetable and firewood market in Kothagudem is not controlled by the Koyas and Banjaras, their supplies exercise considerable influence on the prices of these commodities. Thus agro-forest based subsistence economy of the villages was transformed into cash economy and the barter system was replaced by monetary transactions.

The increased commercial exploitation of forests in the neighbourhood of Kothagudem and establishment of office of Forest Department and of the forest contractors and raising of large scale plantations of teak, mango, cashew and eucalyptus opened new vistas of employment for Koyas of this village. Koyas are quite at home in forest work. Most of the able bodied men of this which can sustain them for the rest of the year. A few youngsters joined as Gangmen in the construction of roads, buildings and bridges in and around Kothagudem. The Sipur Paper Mills also employ the villagers for cutting bamboo coupes in Khammam District. Three young men of the village are employed as Gangmen for the ground work at Incline 5 of Singareni Collieries. Four men are employed as manual labourers in the local saw mills and timber depots. The forest labour and road and building construction work increased the spatial mobility of the villagers for they started accepting work at distant places as the employers arranged conveyance and provided better cash wages. The spatial mobility led to the multiplication of contacts with tribals and non-tribals of different places.

The new diversified occupational pattern of the villagers has led gradually to their closer integration with the economy of the Kothagudem as well as that
of the region. The once self-sufficient agro-sylvic based economy of the Koyas of this village is now linked on to the wider industrial and commercial system. The villagers now live in symbiosis with Kothagudem for they not only find market for selling their commodities and purchasing their provisions and but also their employers. Similarly the people of Kothagudem depend, if not exclusively, on the Koyas of this village for the supply of firewood, timber, livestock and poultry products, vegetables, fruits etc. In short, the future of the Koyas of this village is linked with the future of the Kothagudem town. Similarly the villagers can also influence the supply and hence the prices of many daily requirements in Kothagudem.

The economic diversification and the consequent integration of the economy of the village with that of the reason increased the range of their economic relations. Moreover, most of the traditional Koya economic institutions are incompatible with the new economic environment in which the Koyas of Subhasnagar now operate. The greater integration of the village with the regional economy led to greater fluctuations in the income and expenditure of the villagers. Previously natural calamities were the only determinants in the fluctuations in the income of the Koyas. Now, apart from natural calamities any policy decisions by the authorities of the local colleries regarding the closure of uneconomical mines at Kothagudem will have impact on the villagers. The wider range of relations and new economic environment led to the weakening of the traditional interdependence and co-operation among the Koya farmers in their economic pursuits and the traditional horizontal solidarity of the Koyas suffered a set back. The villagers are now motivated by economic considerations and self-interests. They became time-conscious as money wages are paid now according to the length of the period they work unlike in the old economy.

The economic roles of Koya women are also considerably altered in the new economic order. While they continue to discharge their traditional duties like house keeping, and child rearing, they now collect firewood, jungle produce such as fruits, honey etc., and grow vegetable gardens in their spacious back yards, raise poultry and she-buffaloes and sheep and goats mainly for commercial purposes. They take vegetable, livestock produce, firewood and other minor forest produce to Kothagudem for sale. They return home with other minor forest produce to Kothagudem for sale. It is thus the provisions purchased out of the sale proceeds of their produce. It is thus the women of this village that enable Koya men to devote their time for heavy work such a forest labour and construction work which in turn enable them to participate in wider cash economy.

The transformation of subsistence economy into cash economy, occupational diversification and consequent spatial mobility and their participation in the wider cash economy gradually brought about marked changes in the expenditure pattern to these aboriginals. While their addiction to
alcoholic beverages continues, they acquired the habit of drinking beverages like tea and coffee. Many villagers regularly visit hotels at Kothagudem, so much so that a tea stall was opened by a non-tribal at the village itself. The clothing requirements of the Koyas have also enormously increased. The number of other domestic requirements has also considerably increased. Quite a few of the villagers now use cosmetics and trinkets. The metallic possessions of these villagers are much more elaborate than that of the Koyas of the neighbouring villages, let alone the Koyas of the interior villages. The expenditure on spicas, oils and cigarettes and beedies is higher than it is in most other Koya villages. Most of the Koyas of this village purchase their provisions on credit from the traders of Kothagudem and pay their bills once in a week on their payday. The new economic order necessitated the establishment of creditor-debtor relationships between the traders of Kothagudem and the Koya customers of the village as most of the villagers purchase their provisions from their shopkeepers of Kothagudem on credit basis and pay off on their payday once in a week.

Political changes: The traditional Koya council is no longer so powerful an agent of social control and judicial body as it was. The economic diversification of the villagers led to development of contacts with and dependence on contractors and other employers. The word of employers now carries more weight than that of the Ponna Pedda or other members of the Koya council, since the villagers now depend on employers for livelihood. In their old agro-forest based subsistence economy, the dependence on outsiders was absent. The villagers used to turn to the Ponna Pedda and the other elders for guidance and advice. Almost all the disputes were settled by the traditional Koya council. There was no interference of the non-tribals in the affairs of the Koyas. Occupational diversification of the villagers and consequent dependence on non-tribals led to emergence of numerous problems, solution of which is not found in the traditional code of Koyas. The Ponna Pedda of the village could neither provide employment himself nor explore employment opportunities to his tribesmen. He could not keep abreast with changing times, in order to retain his supreme position. He himself like his fellow tribesmen now ekes out his livelihood mostly by working as forest labourer. He therefore lives in distant places away from home for months together. Even during his stay at the village his economic pursuits preclude the work spots they take the disputes for arbitration direct to their employers. The traditional tribal council is confining itself to the spheres of jurisdiction of the Koya council have been very much shrunk. But irrevocable as they used to be since the culprits very often rush to his non-influences the council head and members for they are also his employees at one time or the other and gets the fine or punishment to his employee-culprit
reduced or even cancelled. Such precedents ultimately contributed to the weakening of the traditional Koya council for the violators of the norms sought excuse for their crimes by citing the precedents.

Unlike in the past the members of the Koya council are no more necessarily elders of ‘gotras’. The economic diversification has called for new type of leadership. The elders of the ‘gotras’ who could adopt to the new environment and continue to be head and shoulders over his ‘gotra’ men have retained their membership in the Koya council. Those members of the Koya council who could not adopt to changed environment were gradually replaced by the new members. The proficiency in tribal law and the birth in a numerically large gotra are no longer the only essential qualifications to become a member of a tribal council. The new members of the council are vocal and assertive and capable of mediating with contractors and other employers and procure work for some of their villagers.

The punishments are no longer so effectively meted out to the offender as in the past. The ostracism is not effective because the victims now conveniently desert the village and live in Kothagudem where the tribal council does not wield any influence to exert pressure on a social offender to make him conform to the norms.

Their proximity to Kothagudem, the local headquarters of many political parties and hence the centre of intensive political activity enabled the villager to gain some knowledge about the ideologies of some political parties and their local organisation and subsequently acquired political awareness unlike their fellow tribesmen, in the interior villages. Almost all of them cast their votes in the general elections. Many a young men of the village now emotionally talks about exploitation by the rich and criticises the local political leaders.

*Familial changes:* The transformation of the economy of the village from subsistence to cash led to the break down of the institution of joint family in the village. In the old economic order the traditional occupations—agriculture and hunting—needed co-operation and collective effort of all the family members. Co-operative and collective work of all the family members is neither indispensible nor always possible under the new economic order with diversified occupations of the members of the family. The new occupations provided ample scope for independent earning by the Koyas of either sex. Economic independence of the family members affected the traditional respect shown by the members towards the elder members of the family. The younger members of the family are not handing over their entire earnings to the common pool of their family. They are habituated to visit tea stalls and cinemas and purchase attractive dress at Kothagudem which necessitated concealment of a part of their earnings. The older generation does not approve such attitude of the younger generation. This disapproval has naturally led to
frictions between the parents and their grown up children, particularly sons. The recurring quarrels often lead to setting up of manage by the male members soon after their marriage. The new occupational pattern also affected the relationship between wife and husband. The new economic roles of the women gave ample scope for women to develop illicit sexual relations. The Koya women in the new economic order regularly visit several houses in Kothagudem and come in contact with different types of people in disposing of their produce. Moreover the long spells of absence of their men-folk further compelled the Koya women to resort to clandestine relations. They are not so afraid of the punishments of the Koya council of cannibal offences either. In short, the multiplied contacts of the women with the outsiders, the long and frequent absence of their husbands and the ineffective control of Koya council led to waxing of sexual laxity—among Koya women. It is now not uncommon sight to find Koya men beating their wives for their alleged unchastity. The incidence of divorce and divorce is on the increase. The new economic environment provided the wives independent sources of income which in turn made them less subservient to their husbands. The women now sell firewood, vegetables, livestock products etc., in Kothagudem and they keep aside a part of the money derived by selling these produce for their children. This provides another ground for quarrels between wives and husbands.

Organisational changes: The Koyas of this settlement was closely knit corporate group in the early years of the colonisation under the leadership of the 'Penna Pedda'. They subsisted on agriculture and hunting which did not need much dependence on non-tribals. There was therefore no non-tribal interference in the affairs of the village. Moreover agriculture and hunting needed intra-tribal co-operation. The able 'Penna Pedda' organised all his tribesmen as one corporate group. His pronouncements were final and irrevocable in matters of village and tribal solidarity. The violators of village and tribal norms were severely punished. The Koya council could exert pressure effectively on the violators of the norms to make them conform to the norms. The occupational diversification and consequent dependence of the villagers of the non-tribal employers weakened the hold of the Koya council over the villagers. The neighbouring cosmopolitan town (Kothagudem) afforded protection to the Koya culprits of the village when they are on the chase.

The hereditary principle on which the social organisation of the Koyas in the interior villages is still based, is found incompatible with the new social organisation of Subhas Nagar with the extension of range of relations beyond the limits of the village. The Koya council of Subhas Nagar is no longer exclusively composed of the eldest members of the large clans of the village. It includes two vocal and educated (Primary) young men who are employed in the colliers. The dependence on fellow-villagers diminished and the personal element in the relationships between the villagers gave way to an impersonal one.
Cultural changes: The Koyas of this village have been in contact with the people of Kothagudem ever since they settled in this village. These contacts have been multiplied and strengthened with the loss of lands of the villagers and the consequent greater economic dependence on Kothagudem. Contacts with the urban people of Kothagudem led to a stratification into superior non-tribal and inferior tribal in the minds of Koyas of this village themselves. The non-tribal urbanites of Kothagudem also looked down upon the Koyas for their ‘inferior’ and ‘primitive’ food habits, way of life got invested with great prestige value which feeling has further strengthened by the ethnocentric ways of the non-tribal urbanites of Kothagudem. So the Koyas of this village gradually eschewed the traditional habits, customs and traditions which the ethnocentric urbanities looked down and gradually, adopted the habits, customs and traditions of the ‘superior’ urbanities of Kothagudem. The changes in the culture of the villagers may conveniently be classified into changes in material and non-material culture.

Changes in non-material Culture: The old people in Subhasnagar still show emotional attachment to the soil and cherish farming and give it supreme importance in their economic values. But the young folks who grew up in the industrial and urban environs do not exhibit any such emotional attachment towards land and farming. This change in attitudes in the younger generation towards land and agriculture is mainly due to three reasons: Firstly, the younger folks were born after their parents lost their lands and were compelled to take up non-agricultural jobs in Kothagudem town and forest. The labour in the nearby forests and plantations of the Forest Department. The labour in the nearby forests and plantations of the Forest Department. The younger generation has a more urban environment, naturally do not like to be stigmatised by the non-tribal people of Kothagudem town.

In the old agro-forest based economy the Koyas used to perform various ‘Kothas’ in which they gratefully offered the first fruits of the crop to the deities. These functional rituals were discontinued due to their functional futility consequent on the occupational shift of the villagers. The thanksgiving Kothas for the deities who ensure bumper crops for the Koyas became irrelevant in the non-agricultural pursuits of the villagers.

Two decades of closer contact with people of Kothagudem town, who are predominantly Hindus, brought about changes in their religious beliefs,
practices and pantheon also. The Koyas now visit Hindu fairs held in Kothagudem town and some even go to temples of Vinayaka, Siva-Parvati, Rama, Hanuman and other gods and goddesses of the (Hindu) great tradition of India and perform 'pujas' and make offerings to them. They participate in the festivals of the great tradition like Vinayaka Chaviti, Deepavali, Dasara, Sri Rama Navami, Holi, Sankranti, Sivaratri etc., held in Kothagudem. They incorporated Hindu gods and goddesses in their pantheon, and the pictures of these gods and goddesses have found a place of reverence in the homes of the villagers. The villagers now feel very shy to give information about the traditional festivals, pantheon and their significance for they now think that their traditional religious concepts and practices are primitive. This feeling has been deep-rooted in their minds mainly due to the ethnocentric behaviour of the non-tribal people of Kothagudem. The Koyas of this colony do not have a temple or any place of worship for their traditional deities. They do not visit the temples of their traditional deities situated in the neighbouring Koya villages. The mass media such as Radio, Cinemas etc., have also partly responsible for their changing world view and attitudes towards machinery, modern medicine etc. The Koyas of the village in the early years of rehabilitation did not avail of the vast employment opportunities in the collieries out of fear. Many of them thought that industrial labour is alien to them and hence acceptance of jobs as industrial labourer would amount to deviation from their traditional occupational pattern and hence violation of Koya norms. Now all of them are mentally and physically prepared to take up any kind of job in the collieries.

The economic mobility and proximity to urban centre effected the language of the Koyas of Subhashnagar. All the villagers speak Telugu. Even though a few of them know 'Koi' language, they are too shy to speak the language. Consequently their children now speak Telugu only. The Telugu language spoken by the villagers particularly by men folk is more refined than the one spoken by their counterparts in the interior villages. The youngsters try to conceal their identity by speaking a refined Telugu. Many Urdu and English words infiltrated into their language. Some of them even acquired a smattering of Urdu, the lingua-franca of the Kothagudem people.

Changes in the material Culture : The changes in the economic values and cultural values in town brought about changes in various spheres of material culture. The most important of them is the disappearance of traditional hunting tackle. Even the traditional Koya agricultural equipment like plough, hoe, digging stick etc., are replaced by the improved implements available in Kothagudem market. The Koyas of this village whose forefathers were noted for archery no longer use bow and arrow. The youngsters are as ignorant of archery as any non-tribal youth of Kothagudem. The other hunting equipment such as snares, snayers, traps, nets, spears etc., are conspicuous by their absence. Every family has a few knives and one or two axes.
In the old economic order they lived in perfect ecological equilibrium. Their equilibrium has been completely shattered in the new economic environment. The urban contacts of the villagers exercised great influence in shaping new food habits. The impact of urbanism is more pronounced in their food, drink and dress habits. While they continue to drink alcoholic beverages, all the villagers irrespective of age and sex commence their day with a cup of tea. They visit restaurants at Kothagudem for 'sophisticated' dishes like 'Idli', 'Dosa' and various kinds of sweets apart from bread and biscuits on their pay day. It is several years since the villagers consumed wild roots and tubers on which they used to subsist in the months of food scarcity in the past, while their counterparts in the forests still live on wild roots and tubers during the lean months. All the villagers, save for a few who firmly believe in the nutritional and strength giving properties of these roots and yams, developed distaste for these wild roots and tubers. Sambar and curries of various vegetables unknown to the Koyas previously are being prepared in the Koya households. There is considerable change in their cuisine, consumption of sophisticated spices like cloves, pepper, cardamom, etc., is common. The use of Mahua oil both for cooking and hair dressing as also for lighting purposes is completely discontinued. The time-conscious Koyas of this village do not like to extract oil from 'Ippa' (Mahua) oil at all. The villagers are using kerosene oil for lighting and coconut oil for hair dressing. Some youngsters even use bottled perfumed oils purchased from the stores at Kothagudem. The Koyas gave up smoking 'leaf pipes'. The older people instead started smoking readymade (country) cigars and beedees whereas the younger people are smoking cigarettes and beedees.

The dressing pattern has also been markedly altered. The dress worn by the youngsters is elaborate and modern. Many young men of the village wear shirts, pants, vests and underwear either readymade or made of mill cloth purchased at Kothagudem cloth stores. Most of the boys wear half pants and shirts or vests. The girls wear frocks. The younger women wear frocks. The younger women wear brasseries (made by local tailors). Both men and women irrespective of age are dress conscious. The youngsters are crazy after nylon and terylene fabrics. Some youngsters even wear half smocks. The older women have also special occasions. The hair styles of both men and women have been changed. Barring a few old men the men have modern hair cuts. Even the children do not sport the tuft of hair any longer. Except a few old women, the older women now dress neatly. The younger generation discontinued wearing chunmings and some of them are not even wearing their hair on their ears. The women instead started wearing rolled gold ornaments. Many of them have wrist watches and use safety razors and blades for frequent shaving.

The domestic earthenware are being replaced by brass and aluminium ware. The gourd containers are replaced by cheap glass and chinaware. A few families have bedsteads too.
CONCLUSION

The empirical data marshalled in foregoing pages conclusively prove that the pre-literate and pre-industrial Koyas are not 'timeless and changeless' people. It has been demonstrated how the forest dwelling aboriginals gradually acclamatised themselves to the new economic environment of the industrial and urban centre. The loss of lands and absence of agricultural employment opportunities in the neighbourhood compelled the agro-sylvian Koyas to take to non-agricultural employment opportunities in the neighbouring industrial town as well as the surrounding forests and plantations. The occupational diversification led to integration of tribal economy with that of this industrial centre and that of the region.

The importance of kinship group has relegated to background. The common economy of the clan is superceded by individual desire for grain and money. The ties of kinship obligation and co-operation gave way to a nexus of relations based on self interest and money. While the personal element between the villagers is diminishing the growing individuality undermined the tribal solidarity.

With the multiplication of contacts with urban people there was shift in the economic, social and cultural values of the Koyas. Customs and habits of the urban society found favour with the people. The gods and goddesses of the great tradition found place in the pantheon of the villagers. The festivals of the great tradition replaced the traditional 'first fruit eating festivals' (Kothas).

It can be concluded with certainty that if the process of change in the village continued unabated, the Koyas of the Subhasnagar are sure to be detribalised and change beyond recognition in a few decades.
అధ్యాపిక ఎంపుతో వారి వద్దు

15-8-1984 తెలంగాణ సంస్థ సౌకర్యానికే రాయారు

అధ్యాపికపై ప్రతిపత్తిని తెలంగాణ సంస్థానానికే రాయారు.
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ముఖ్యమైనం, ఇది ఐదుండి సాధారణేతర విషయాలను అధికంగా విస్తరించి కొలువైన యొక్క ప్రతి ఖేతి పదార్థాల సాధనాలు నిర్మాణానికి ఉపయోగించడం కారణం అయితే, ఈ ప్రత్యేకహోహో ప్రస్తుతిలో కొనసాగితే ఇది అధికంగా ఇది అభివృద్ధి వచ్చింది. ఈ విషయాల పంపసంస్థల విషయంగా అధికంగా ప్రత్యేకమైన పంపసంస్థ పంపసంస్థలు కొనసాగింది. ఈ విషయంలో పంపసంస్థల విషయాల ప్రత్యేకంగా ప్రత్యేకమైన పంపసంస్థ పంపసంస్థ పంపసంస్థలు కొనసాగింది.
ಅವರೆಗೆ ವೀಗಿಸಿದರೆ ಅವರೆಗೆ ಆರೋಗ್ಯವು ಎಣ್ಣೆಯೇ. ಅವರೆಗೆ ಆರೋಗ್ಯವಿದ್ದರೆ ಸಹಾಯವನ್ನು ಇಲ್ಲಿಯಾಗಿ ಇರುತ್ತದೆ. ಅವರೆಗೆ ಆರೋಗ್ಯವಿದ್ದರೆ ಸಹಾಯವನ್ನು ಇಲ್ಲಿಯಾಗಿ ಇರುತ್ತದೆ. ಅವರೆಗೆ ಆರೋಗ್ಯವಿದ್ದರೆ ಸಹಾಯವನ್ನು ಇಲ್ಲಿಯಾಗಿ ಇರುತ್ತದೆ. ಅವರೆಗೆ ಆರೋಗ್ಯವಿದ್ದರೆ ಸಹಾಯವನ್ನು ಇಲ್ಲಿಯಾಗಿ ಇರುತ್ತದೆ. ಅವರೆಗೆ ಆರೋಗ್ಯವಿದ್ದರೆ ಸಹಾಯವನ್ನು ಇಲ್ಲಿಯಾಗಿ ಇರುತ್ತದೆ. ಅವರೆಗೆ ಆರೋಗ್ಯವಿದ್ದರೆ ಸಹಾಯವನ್ನು ಇಲ್ಲಿಯಾಗಿ ಇರುತ್ತದೆ. ಅವರೆಗೆ ಆರೋಗ್ಯವಿದ್ದರೆ ಸಹಾಯವನ್ನು ಇಲ್ಲಿಯಾಗಿ ಇರುತ್ತದೆ. ಅವರೆಗೆ ಆರೋಗ್ಯವಿದ್ದರೆ ಸಹಾಯವನ್ನು ಇಲ್ಲಿಯಾಗಿ ಇರುತ್ತದೆ. ಅವರೆಗೆ ಆರೋಗ್ಯವಿದ್ದರೆ ಸಹಾಯವನ್ನು ಇಲ್ಲಿಯಾಗಿ ಇರುತ್ತದೆ. ಅವರೆಗೆ ಆರೋಗ್ಯವಿದ್ದರೆ ಸಹಾಯವನ್ನು ಇಲ್ಲಿಯಾಗಿ ಇರುತ್ತದೆ. ಅವರೆಗೆ ಆರೋಗ್ಯವಿದ್ದರೆ ಸಹಾಯವನ್ನು ಇಲ್ಲಿಯಾಗಿ ಇರುತ್ತದೆ. ಅವರೆಗೆ ಆರೋಗ್ಯವಿದ್ದರೆ ಸಹಾಯವನ್ನು ಇಲ್ಲಿಯಾದಿಗೆ ಇರುತ್ತದೆ. ಅವರೆಗೆ ಆರೋಗ್ಯವಿದ್ದರೆ ಸಹಾಯವನ್ನು ಇಲ್ಲಿಯಾದಿಗೆ ಇರುತ್ತದೆ. ಅವರೆಗೆ ಆರೋಗ್ಯವಿದ್ದರೆ ಸಹಾಯವನ್ನು ಇಲ್ಲಿಯಾದಿಗೆ ಇರುತ್ತದೆ. ಅವರೆಗೆ ಆರೋಗ್ಯವಿದ್ದರೆ ಸಹಾಯವನ್ನು ಇಲ್ಲಿಯಾದಿಗೆ ಇರುತ್ತದೆ. ಅವರೆಗೆ ಆರೋಗ್ಯವಿದ್ದರೆ ಸಹಾಯವನ್ನು ಇಲ್ಲಿಯಾದಿಗೆ ಇರುತ್ತದೆ. ಅವರೆಗೆ ಆರೋಗ್ಯವಿದ್ದರೆ ಸಹಾಯವನ್ನು ಇಲ್ಲಿಯಾದಿಗೆ ಇರುತ್ತದೆ.
ನ್ನು ಪ್ರಕಟಿಸಿದ ತನ್ನ ಸ್ತೂಪವು ಆಗ್ರಹಕವಾಗಿ ಪಡೆದುಕೊಳ್ಳಲು ವಿಶೇಷಗೆ ಸುತ್ತಿರುತ್ತದೆ. ಇದು ಆತನು ಶಕ್ತಿಯಾದ ಹೂದಿಗಾರವಾಗಿದ್ದಾಗ ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿ ಮಾಡುವ ಸ್ಥಳದ ಒಂದು ಸುತ್ತಾಗಿದ್ದು, ಅದು ತನ್ನ ವಿಮಾನದ ಪ್ರತ್ಯೇಕಿತ ಸ್ಥಳದ ಪ್ರತಿನಿಧಿಯಾಗಿದ್ದು. ಇದು ಉಪಕ್ರಮವನ್ನು ಪಡೆದಿದರು. ಅದು ಒಂದು ಹೂದಿಗಾರದ ಪ್ರವೇಶದ ಸಪ್ತಾಹದೊಂದಿಗೆ ಪೂರ್ಣವಾಗಿ ವಿಶೇಷ ಪರಿಧಿಯನ್ನು ಪಡೆದಿದ್ದು, ಅದು ಒಂದು ಹೂದಿಗಾರದ ಪ್ರವೇಶದ ಸಪ್ತಾಹದೊಂದಿಗೆ ಪೂರ್ಣವಾಗಿ ವಿಶೇಷ ಪರಿಧಿಯನ್ನು ಪಡೆದಿದ್ದು. ಅದು ಒಂದು ಹೂದಿಗಾರದ ಪ್ರವೇಶದ ಸಪ್ತಾಹದೊಂದಿಗೆ ಪೂರ್ಣವಾಗಿ ವಿಶೇಷ ಪರಿಧಿಯನ್ನು ಪಡೆದಿದ್ದು. ಅದು ಒಂದು ಹೂದಿಗಾರದ ಪ್ರವೇಶದ ಸಪ್ತಾಹದೊಂದಿಗೆ ಪೂರ್ಣವಾಗಿ ವಿಶೇಷ ಪರಿಧಿಯನ್ನು ಪಡೆದಿದ್ದು. ಅದು ಒಂದು ಹೂದಿಗಾರದ ಪ್ರವೇಶದ ಸಪ್ತಾಹದೊಂದಿಗೆ ಪೂರ್ಣವಾಗಿ ವಿಶೇಷ ಪರಿಧಿಯನ್ನು ಪಡೆದಿದ್ದು.
வேதீ விண்மீன் செய்ய நூற்றாண்டுகளுக்குப் பின் பரம்பரையாக வெளிப்படுத்தப்பட்டது. இது நூற்றாண்டுகளுக்குப் பின் மத மற்றும் பிற பல்வேறு பல்கலைக்கழகங்களில் பரவக்கட்டும் நூற்றாண்டுகளின் போது என்று அறிவிக்கப்படுகிறது. பண்டைய கிரேக்க கவிஞர்களின் வரலாற்றுக்கு ஏற்பட ஐரியம் மற்றும் ஜெர்மானிய பல்கலைக்கழகங்களில் பரவக்கட்டும் நூற்றாண்டுகளின் போது என்று அறிவிக்கப்படுகிறது. இது வேதீ விண்மீன் செய்யப்படும் வரலாற்றுக்கு பின்னர் பரவலாற்றுக்கு ஏற்பயிரியுள்ளது. பண்டைய கிரேக்க கவிஞர்களின் வரலாற்றுக்கு ஏற்பட ஐரியம் மற்றும் ஜெர்மானிய பல்கலைக்கழகங்களில் பரவலாற்றுக்கு ஏற்பயிரியுள்ளது.
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[Text content in Telugu]

[Image of handwritten notes]
మాటలు కృష్ణ మామ్మలు

(కాలం నిర్ధిష్టమైన)

గ. చింత

మాటలు

ప్రత్యేకమైన కాలంలో, ప్రత్యేకమైన విధానంలో పాలబడు విషయాలు. యొక్క పరిమితమైన కాలంలో ప్రత్యేకంగా పాలబడుతున్న ఫలితాలు పరిమితమైన కాలంలో ప్రత్యేకంగా పాలబడుతున్న ఫలితాలు. యొక్క పరిమితమైన కాలంలో ప్రత్యేకంగా పాలబడుతున్న ఫలితాలు పరిమితమైన కాలంలో ప్రత్యేకంగా పాలబడుతున్న ఫలితాలు. యొక్క పరిమితమైన కాలంలో ప్రత్యేకంగా పాలబడుతున్న ఫలితాలు పరిమితమైన కాలంలో ప్రత్యేకంగా పాలబడుతున్న ఫలితాలు. యొక్క పరిమితమైన కాలంలో ప్రత్యేకంగా పాలబడుతున్న ఫలితాలు పరిమితమైన కాలంలో ప్రత్యేకంగా పాలబడుతున్న ఫలితాలు. యొక్క పరిమితమైన కాలంలో ప్రత్యేకంగా పాలబడుతున్న ఫలితాలు పరిమితమైన కాలంలో ప్రత్యేకంగా పాలబడుతున్న ఫలితాలు.

మాటలు ఉపనిషాదం లోని మాటలు లో యొక్క పరిమితమైన కాలంలో ప్రత్యేకంగా పాలబడుతున్న ఫలితాలు. యొక్క పరిమితమైన కాలంలో ప్రత్యేకంగా పాలబడుతున్న ఫలితాలు పరిమితమైన కాలంలో ప్రత్యేకంగా పాలబడుతున్న ఫలితాలు. యొక్క పరిమితమైన కాలంలో ప్రత్యేకంగా పాలబడుతున్న ఫలితాలు పరిమితమైన కాలంలో ప్రత్యేకంగా పాలబడుతున్న ఫలితాలు. యొక్క పరిమితమైన కాలంలో ప్రత్యేకంగా పాలబడుతున్న ఫలితాలు పరిమితమైన కాలంలో ప్రత్యేకంగా పాలబడుతున్న ఫలితాలు. యొక్క పరిమితమైన కాలంలో ప్రత్యేకంగా పాలబడుతున్న ఫలితాలు పరిమితమైన కాలంలో ప్రత్యేకంగా పాలబడుతున్న ఫలితాలు.

మాటలు లో యొక్క పరిమితమైన కాలంలో ప్రత్యేకంగా పాలబడుతున్న ఫలితాలు. యొక్క పరిమితమైన కాలంలో ప్రత్యేకంగా పాలబడుతున్న ఫలితాలు పరిమితమైన కాలంలో ప్రత్యేకంగా పాలబడుతున్న ఫలితాలు. యొక్క పరిమితమైన కాలంలో ప్రత్యేకంగా పాలబడుతున్న ఫలితాలు పరిమితమైన కాలంలో ప్రత్యేకంగా పాలబడుతున్న ఫలితాలు. యొక్క పరిమితమైన కాలంలో ప్రత్యేకంగా పాలబడుతున్న ఫలితాలు పరిమితమైన కాలంలో ప్రత్యేకంగా పాలబడుతున్న ఫలితాలు. యొక్క పరిమితమైన కాలంలో ప్రత్యేకంగా పాలబడుతున్న ఫలితాలు పరిమితమైన కాలంలో ప్రత్యేకంగా పాలబడుతున్న ఫలితాలు.
"தமிழ் நாளையும் குடியிருக்கும் கேதர என்று பார்க்கல். எனது
நடுத்திருத்த பாலனின் செய்யுடன், பொருள் கொண்டு குறிப்பிட்டு
தமிழ் நாளையும் பார்க்கல். எனது பாலனின் செய்யுடன்
நடுத்திருத்த பொருள் கொண்டு பார்க்கல். மூன்று ரோஷகத்தின்
தமிழ் நாளையும் பார்க்கல். எனது பாலனின் செய்யுடன்
நடுத்திருத்த பொருள் கொண்டு பார்க்கல். தமிழ் 
நாளையும் குடியிருக்கும் கேதர என்று பார்க்கல். எனது
நடுத்திருத்தின் செய்யுடன் குறிப்பிட்டு
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நடுத்திருத்த பொருள் கொண்டு பார்க்கல். தமிழ் 
நாளையும் குடியிருக்கும் கேதர என்று பார்க்கல்.

என்று பாலன் புராந்த இருக்கும் செய்யுடன், எனது
நடுத்திருத்த பாலனின் செய்யுடன் குறிப்பிட்டு
தமிழ் நாளையும் பார்க்கல். எனது 
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என்று பாலன் புராந்த இருக்கும் செய்யுடன், எனது
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நடுத்திருத்து செய்யுடன் குறிப்பிட்டு
தமிழ் நாளையும் பார்க்கல். எனது 
நடுத்திருத்து செய்யுடன்
தமிழ் 
நாளையும் குடியிருக்கும் கேதர 
என்று பார்க்கல்.

என்று பாலன் புராந்த இருக்கும் செய்யுடன், எனது
நடுத்திருத்த பாலனின் செய்யுடன் குறிப்பிட்டு
தமிழ் நாளையும் பார்க்கல். எனது 
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(ప్రభుత్వం) ప్రభుత్వం నాయకత్వం (Holy of the local people)

ప్రభుత్వం నాయకత్వంలో ప్రతి ప్రతి దినం ది నాయకత్వం ప్రతి నాయకత్వం ప్రతి నాయకత్వం ప్రతి నాయకత్వం ప్రతి నాయకత్వం ప్రతి నాయకత్వం ప్రతి నాయకత్వం ప్రతి నాయకత్వం ప్రతి నాయకత్వం ప్రతి నాయకత్వం ప్రతి నాయకత్వం ప్రతి నాయకత్వం ప్రతి నాయకత్వం ప్రతి నాయకత్వం ప్రతి నాయకత్వం ప్రతి నాయకత్వం ప్రతి నాయకత్వం ప్రతి నాయకత్వం ప్రతి నాయకత్వం ప్రతి నాయకత్వం ప్రతి నాయకత్వం ప్రతి నాయకత్వం ప్రతి నాయకత్వం ప్రతి నాయకత్వం ప్రతి నాయకత్వం ప్రతి నాయకత్వం ప్రతి నాయకత్వం ప్రతి నాయకత్వం ప్రతి నాయకత్వం ప్రతి నాయకత్వం ప్రతి నాయకత్వం ప్రతి నాయకత్వం ప్రతి నాయకత్వం ప్రతి నాయకత్వం ప్రతి నాయకత్వం ప్రతి నాయకత్వం ప్రతి నాయకత్వం ప్రతి నాయకత్వం ప్రతి నాయకత్వం ప్రతి నాయకత్వం ప్రతి నాయకత్వం ప్రతి నాయకత్వం ప్రతి నాయకత్వం ప్రతి నాయకత్వం ప్రతి నాయకత్వం ప్రతి నాయకత్వం ప్రతి నాయకత్వం ప్రతి నాయకత్వం ప్రతి నాయకత్వం ప్రతి నాయకత్వం ప్రతి నాయకత్వం ప్రతి నాయకత్వం ప్రతి నాయకత్వం ప్రతి నాయకత్వం ప్రతి నాయకత్వం ప్రతి నాయకత్వం ప్రతి నాయకత్వం ప్రతి నాయకత్వం ప్రతి నాయకత్వం ప్రతి నాయకత్వం ప్రతి నాయకత్వం ప్రతి నాయకత్వం ప్రతి నాయకత్వం ప్రతి నాయకత్వం ప్రతి నాయకత్వం ప్రతి నాయకత్వం ప్రతి నాయకత్వం ప్రతి నాయకత్వం ప్రతి నాయకత్వం ప్రతి నాయకత్వం ప్రతి నాయకత్వం ప్రతి నాయకత్వం ప్రతి నాయకత్వం ప్రతి 

(ప్రభుత్వం) ప్రభుత్వం నాయకత్వం (Holy of the local people)
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மொழிவைக் கூறுதல்

இந்தக் கூறின் விளக்கம் என்றும் அந்தக் கூறின் விளக்கம் என்றும் உரையாடப்படும் விளக்கத்தின் வாய்ந்த வெளிப்பாடு தொடர்புடையதாயின் விளக்கத்தின் வெளிப்பாடு. எனவே கூறின் விளக்கத்தின் வலைப்பாடு தொடர்புடையதாயின் விளக்கத்தின் வலைப்பாடு.

மொழிவைக் கூறின் விளக்கத்தின் வலைப்பாடு தொடர்புடையதாயின் விளக்கத்தின் வலைப்பாடு. எனவே கூறின் விளக்கத்தின் வலைப்பாடு தொடர்புடையதாயின் விளக்கத்தின் வலைப்பாடு.

மொழிவைக் கூறின் விளக்கத்தின் வலைப்பாடு தொடர்புடையதாயின் விளக்கத்தின் வலைப்பாடு. எனவே கூறின் விளக்கத்தின் வலைப்பாடு தொடர்புடையதாயின் விளக்கத்தின் வலைப்பாடு.
1. 

"ನಾನು ಸಾಮಾನ್ಯವಾಗಿ, ಮಹಾವೈದ್ಯ, ಮನುಷ್ಯದಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಸ್ವತಂತ್ರತೆ, ಏಕರುಜೀವಿಯರಿಗೆ, ಸಹಾಯ ಮಾಡಲು ಮತ್ತು ಸಹಾಯ ಸಹಾಯವನ್ನು ಪಡೆಯಲು ಬಳಸುವುದು, ಸಹಾಯ ಮಾಡಲು ಸಹಾಯ ಸಹಾಯವನ್ನು ಪಡೆಯಲು ಬಳಸುವುದು, ಮತ್ತು ಸಹಾಯ ಸಹಾಯವನ್ನು ಪಡೆಯಲು ಬಳಸುವುದು."

2. 

"ಮನುಷ್ಯರು ಕೆಲವೆರಡು, ಮಹಾವೈದ್ಯ, ಮಹಾವೈದ್ಯ ಮುಂದುವರೆಯುವುದು. ಮನುಷ್ಯರು ಕೆಲವೆರಡು, ಮಹಾವೈದ್ಯ, ಮಹಾವೈದ್ಯ ಮುಂದುವರೆಯುವುದು. ಮನುಷ್ಯರು ಕೆಲವೆರಡು, ಮಹಾವೈದ್ಯ, ಮಹಾವೈದ್ಯ ಮುಂದುವರೆಯುವುದು."

ಇಂದಿನ, ಮಲ್ಯಾಣ, ಮಹಾ, ಮನುಷ್ಯ.
యొక్క ప్రారంభం తెలుగు మాటలు మెరికగా – తెలుగు సంస్కృతం

ఇంత లేదా మరో మనస్తాత్త్వానికం తయారు చేయబడింది. ఇది అనేక ఉపయోగాత్మక ఉపయోగం కలిగి ఉంది. భారతీయ సాహిత్యం, సాంస్కృతిక సాధనాలకు సంబంధించిన విషయాలు అనేకగా ఉంటాయి.

మంచి ప్రారంభం తెలుగు సంస్కృతం లోని విషయాలను ప్రారంభం చేయడానికి ముందు పిలుస్తుంది. ఈ పిల్లలు ప్రారంభం చేస్తున్నారు. దీనితో పిలిచే ఉపయోగాలు కలిగి ఉంది. ఈ భాష పిల్లలు తయారు చేస్తున్నారు పిలిచే ఉపయోగాలు కలిగి ఉంది.

యొక్క ప్రారంభం తెలుగు సంస్కృతం లోని విషయాలను ప్రారంభం చేయడానికి ముందు పిలుస్తుంది. ఈ పిల్లలు ప్రారంభం చేస్తున్నారు. దీనితో పిలిచే ఉపయోగాలు కలిగి ఉంది. ఈ భాష పిల్లలు తయారు చేస్తున్నారు పిలిచే ఉపయోగాలు కలిగి ఉంది.

పిల్లలు ప్రారంభం తెలుగు సంస్కృతం లోని విషయాలను ప్రారంభం చేయడానికి ముందు పిలుస్తుంది. ఈ పిల్లలు ప్రారంభం చేస్తున్నారు. దీనితో పిలిచే ఉపయోగాలు కలిగి ఉంది. ఈ భాష పిల్లలు తయారు చేస్తున్నారు పిలిచే ఉపయోగాలు కలిగి ఉంది.

పిల్లలు ప్రారంభం తెలుగు సంస్కృతం లోని విషయాలను ప్రారంభం చేయడానికి ముందు పిలుస్తుంది. ఈ పిల్లలు ప్రారంభం చేస్తున్నారు. దీనితో పిలిచే ఉపయోగాలు కలిగి ఉంది. ఈ భాష పిల్లలు తయారు చేస్తున్నారు పిలిచే ఉపయోగాలు కలిగి ఉంది.
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சிம்சோல்கை அமைந்திருக்கும் சமயம், இன்று, இன்னையே.

சில சமயந்தலங்கள் இன்று இன்றை அழைப்பதால்.

சிம்சோல்கை வல்லுவதியனால் இன்று இருக்கும் அமைந்திருக்கும் சமயம்.

சிம்சோல்கை வல்லுவதியனால் இன்று அமைந்திருக்கும் சமயம்.

சிம்சோல்கை வல்லுவதியனால் இன்று அமைந்திருக்கும் சமயம்.

சிம்சோல்கை வல்லுவதியனால் இன்று அமைந்திருக்கும் சமயம்.

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சிம்சோல்கை வல்லுவதியனால் இன்று அமைந்திருக்கும் சமயம்.
“ಸಮಕ್ಷದಲ್ಲಿ ಸಹಾಯಕದ ಸಂಖ್ಯೆಯನ್ನು ಸೂಚಿಸಿಕೊಂಡಿ”

“ಇಲ್ಲಿ ಸಹಾಯಕದ ಸಂಖ್ಯೆ 20 ಎಂಬುದರ ಸಂಖ್ಯೆಯನ್ನು ಸೂಚಿಸಿಕೊಂಡಿ.”

ಸಹಾಯಕ ಸಂಖ್ಯೆ 20 ಎಂಬ ಸಹಾಯಕದ ಸಂಖ್ಯೆಯನ್ನು ಸೂಚಿಸಿಕೊಂಡಿ.

“ಸಹಾಯಕ ಸಂಖ್ಯೆ 20 ಎಂಬದು ಸಹಾಯಕದ ಸಂಖ್ಯೆಯನ್ನು ಸೂಚಿಸುತ್ತದೆ.”

ಸಹಾಯಕದ ಸಂಖ್ಯೆ 20 ಎಂಬದು ಸಹಾಯಕದ ಸಂಖ್ಯೆಯನ್ನು ಸೂಚಿಸುತ್ತದೆ.

“ಸಹಾಯಕ ಸಂಖ್ಯೆ 20 ಎಂಬದು ಸಹಾಯಕದ ಸಂಖ್ಯೆಯನ್ನು ಸೂಚಿಸುತ್ತದೆ.”

ಸಹಾಯಕದ ಸಂಖ್ಯೆ 20 ಎಂಬದು ಸಹಾಯಕದ ಸಂಖ್ಯೆಯನ್ನು ಸೂಚಿಸುತ್ತದೆ.
"रुप्ल (Rupla)" अथवा "रुपला" (Rupala) के रूप में उल्लिखित है। इसका उपयोग विभिन्न व्यंजनों के लिए किया जाता है। इसे चावल, सूजी, फलों और फलों के साथ रखा जाता है। यह एक मिश्रण है जो जीबा और आमिज्जा के साथ बनाया जाता है। इसे चावल, सूजी के साथ भी खाया जा सकता है।
మామల్లును ఎంచుకోవండి మరో మిగిలి మిగిలు మిగిలాయి మిగిలు మిగిలి మిగిలాయి మిగిలు

అవసరం ఉండే పదమాయంలో వాడకు మామల్లు ఎంచుకోవండి మరో మిగిలి మిగిలు మిగిలాయి మిగిలు మిగిలి మిగిలాయి మిగిలు

మామల్లును ఎంచుకోవండి మరో మిగిలి మిగిలి మిగిలాయి మిగిలు మిగిలి మిగిలాయి మిగిలు

అవసరం ఉండే పదమాయంలో వాడకు మామల్లు ఎంచుకోవండి మరో మిగిలి మిగిలు మిగిలాయి మిగిలు మిగిలి మిగిలాయి మిగిలు

మామల్లును ఎంచుకోవండి మరో మిగిలి మిగిలి మిగిలాయి మిగిలు మిగిలి మిగిలాయి మిగిలు

అవసరం ఉండే పదమాయంలో వాడకు మామల్లు ఎంచుకోవండి మరో మిగిలి మిగిలు మిగిలాయి మిగిలు మిగిలి మిగిలాయి మిగిలు

మామల్లును ఎంచుకోవండి మరో మిగిలి మిగిలి మిగిలాయి మిగిలు మిగిలి మిగిలాయి మిగిలు

అవసరం ఉండే పదమాయంలో వాడకు మామల్లు ఎంచుకోవండి మరో మిగిలి మిగిలు మిగిలాయి మిగిలు మిగిలి మిగిలాయి మిగిలు

మామల్లును ఎంచుకోవండి మరో మిగిలి మిగిలి మిగిలాయి మిగిలు మిగిలి మిగిలాయి మిగిలు

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అవసరం ఉండే పదమాయంలో వాడకు మామల్లు ఎంచుకోవండి మరో మిగిలి మిగిలు మిగిలాయి మిగిలు మిగిలి మిగిలాయి మిగిలు

మామల్లును ఎంచుకోవండి మరో మిగిలి మిగిలి మిగిలాయి మిగిలు మిగిలి మిగిలాయి మిగిలు

అవసరం ఉండే పదమాయంలో వాడకు మామల్లు ఎంచుకోవండి మరో మిగిలి మిగిలు మిగిలాయి మిగిలు మిగిలి మిగిలాయి మిగిలు

మామల్లును ఎంచుకోవండి మరో మిగిలి మిగిలి మిగిలాయి మిగిలు మిగిలి మిగిలాయి మిగిలు

అవసరం ఉండే పదమాయంలో వాడకు మామల్లు ఎంచుకోవండి మరో మిగిలి మిగిలు మిగిలాయి మిగిలు మిగిలి మిగిలాయి మిగిలు
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ನಾಮದಾಯಕವಾಗಿ ಅದು ರಮ್ಮಭಾಗವಾಗಿ ಬಳಸಲಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಇದು ತನ್ನ
ಅಪ್ರಭೂಮಿಯ ವಿವರಗಳನ್ನು ಮಹತ್ವದ, ಇದು ಅನುಗ್ರಹಾರ್ಯವಾಗಿ, ನಾಮದಾಯಕ
ನಿವೃತ್ತಿಯಾಗಿ ಆದಾಯ್ಯಿತು. ಇದು ಸೂತ್ರಪಡಿಸಿದ,

ನಾಮದಾಯಕವಾಗಿ ಅದು ರಮ್ಮಭಾಗವಾಗಿ ಬಳಸಲಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಇದು ತನ್ನ
ಅಪ್ರಭೂಮಿಯ ವಿವರಗಳನ್ನು ಮಹತ್ವದ, ಇದು ಅನುಗ್ರಹಾರ್ಯವಾಗಿ, ನಾಮದಾಯಕ
ನಿದ್ದೇಶಗಳನ್ನು ಆದಾಯ್ಯಿತು. ಇದು ಸೂತ್ರಪಡಿಸಿದ,

ನಾಮದಾಯಕವಾಗಿ ಅದು ರಮ್ಮಭಾಗವಾಗಿ ಬಳಸಲಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಇದು ತನ್ನ
ಅಪ್ರಭೂಮಿಯ ವಿವರಗಳನ್ನು ಮಹತ್ವದ, ಇದು ಅನುಗ್ರಹಾರ್ಯವಾಗಿ, ನಾಮದಾಯಕ
ನಿದ್ದೇಶಗಳನ್ನು ಆದಾಯ್ಯಿತು. ಇದು ಸೂತ್ರಪಡಿಸಿದ,

ನಾಮದಾಯಕವಾಗಿ ಅದು ರಮ್ಮಭಾಗವಾಗಿ ಬಳಸಲಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಇದು ತನ್ನ
ಅಪ್ರಭೂಮಿಯ ವಿವರಗಳನ್ನು ಮಹತ್ವದ, ಇದು ಅನುಗ್ರಹಾರ್ಯವಾಗಿ, ನಾಮದಾಯಕ
ನಿದ್ದೇಶಗಳನ್ನು ಆದಾಯ್ಯಿತು. ಇದು ಸೂತ್ರಪಡಿಸಿದ,

ನಾಮದಾಯಕವಾಗಿ ಅದು ರಮ್ಮಭಾಗವಾಗಿ ಬಳಸಲಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಇದು ತನ್ನ
ಅಪ್ರಭೂಮಿಯ ವಿವರಗಳನ್ನು ಮಹತ್ವದ, ಇದು ಅನುಗ್ರಹಾರ್ಯವಾಗಿ, ನಾಮದಾಯಕ
ನಿದ್ದೇಶಗಳನ್ನು ಆದಾಯ್ಯಿತು. ಇದು ಸೂತ್ರಪಡಿಸಿದ,
ಪಾಠ ಹೊಸದಾದ್ದಾಗಿ ಮುಂದುವರಿಸಿದ ವಾರ್ತೆಗಳು ಕೆಳಗಿನ "ಮುಂದುವರಿಸಲು" ಅಂತರ್ಗತ ಸಾಧನಗಳಿಗೆ ಪೂರ್ವಕವಾಗಿ ಮುಂದುವರಿಸಿದ ಅಸ್ಪತಳುಗಳನ್ನು ಸಾರಿದೆಹೆಚ್ಚಾಗಿ ಸಿದ್ಧಿಸುತ್ತಾರೆ. ಹೆಚ್ಚಿನ ವಾರ್ತೆಗಳನ್ನು ಪೂರ್ವಕವಾಗಿ ಮುಂದುವರಿಸುವುದಕ್ಕೆ ಸಾಕಲಕ್ಕೆ ಒಂದು ಸಾಧನವಾದ "ಮುಂದುವರಿಸಲು" ಸಾರಿದೆಹೆಚ್ಚಾಗಿ ಸಿದ್ಧಿಸುತ್ತಾರೆ. ಮುಂದುವರಿಸಲು ಎಂದರೆ, ಅಂದರೆಗಳು ಪೂರ್ವಕವಾಗಿ ಮುಂದುವರಿಸಿದ ವಾರ್ತೆಗಳನ್ನು ಪೂರ್ವಕವಾಗಿ ಮುಂದುವರಿಸುವುದಾಗಿ ಪೂರ್ವಕವಾಗಿ ಮುಂದುವರಿಸುತ್ತದೆ. ಇದರ ಮೇಲೆ ಕೆಲವು ವಾಸ್ತವಿಕ ಮೂಲಕ ಮುಂದುವರಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿದ ವಾರ್ತೆಗಳು ಸಾರಿದೆಹೆಚ್ಚಾಗಿ ಸಿದ್ಧಿಸುತ್ತದೆ. ಇದರ ಮೇಲೆ ಕೆಲವು ವಾಸ್ತವಿಕ ಮೂಲಕ ಮುಂದುವರಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿದ ವಾರ್ತೆಗಳು ಸಾರಿದೆಹೆಚ್ಚಾಗಿ ಸಿದ್ಧಿಸುತ್ತದೆ. ಎಂದರೆಗಳು ಪೂರ್ವಕವಾಗಿ ಮುಂದುವರಿಸಿದ ವಾರ್ತೆಗಳನ್ನು ಪೂರ್ವಕವಾಗಿ ಮುಂದುವರಿಸುತ್ತಾರೆ. ಇದರ ಮೇಲೆ ಕೆಲವು ವಾಸ್ತವಿಕ ಮೂಲಕ ಮುಂದುವರಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿದ ವಾರ್ತೆಗಳು ಸಾರಿದೆಹೆಚ್ಚಾಗಿ ಸಿದ್ಧಿಸುತ್ತದೆ.
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மெய் 'வெளியுறு செழ்வால்' செழுமையுள்ளது. நேரத்தில் முன்னுச் செல்வு என்றை சொல்லி, இன்றைக் காண்பது என்று குறிப்பிடும். தொடர்றுக்கொண்டு வகுப்பாகக் கொண்டால், *சுருக்கு* படிக்கும் என்று சொல்லலாம். சுருக்கு என்பது, மேலும் செல்வு என்று பதிவு செய்யும். மேலும் செல்வு என்றால், வெளியுறு செழ்வால் என்று பதிவிடும். வெளியுறு செழ்வால் என்பது, *பொழுது* வந்து விளக்கப்படும் வேளாண்மை.}

மேலும் 'வெளியுறு செழ்வால்' என்று விளக்கப்பட்டுள்ளிருக்கும் என்றால், *நேரடியில்* வந்து விளக்கப்படும் வேளாண்மை. நேரடியில் வந்து விளக்கப்படும் வேளாண்மை. பொழுது வந்து விளக்கப்படும் வேளாண்மை. பொழுது வந்து விளக்கப்படும் வேளாண்மை.}

மேலும் 'வெளியுறு செழ்வால்' என்று விளக்கப்பட்டுள்ளிருக்கும் என்றால், *நேரடியில்* வந்து விளக்கப்படும் வேளாண்மை. நேரடியில் வந்து விளக்கப்படும் வேளாண்மை. பொழுது வந்து விளக்கப்படும் வேளாண்மை. பொழுது வந்து விளக்கப்படும் வேளாண்மை. பொழுது வந்து விளக்கப்படும் வேளாண்மை.}
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குறிப்பிட்டல்கள் உள்ளன. முன்னர் காணப்பட்ட அட்சி
கால் பொழுதும், வெளியேற்றத்தால் மாறி அரசின் தலைமையின் கீழ்
என்று பதிவு செய்யப்பட்டது. விரும்புவர் வெளிப்படுத்தல்
நிறைவுக்காக இருந்துப் பதிவு செய்யப்பட்டது. முன்னர் வெளிப்படுத்தல்
செய்யப்பட்டது. வெளிப்படுத்தல் செய்யப்பட்டது. முன்னர் வெளிப்படுத்தல்
செய்யப்பட்டது. வெளிப்படுத்தல் செய்யப்பட்டது. முன்னர் வெளிப்படுத்தல்
செய்யப்பட்டது. வெளிப்படுத்தல் செய்யப்பட்டது. முன்னர் வெளிப்படுத்தல்
செய்யப்பட்டது. வெளிப்படுத்தல் செய்யப்பட்டது. முன்னர் வெளிப்படுத்தல்
செய்யப்பட்டது. வெளிப்படுத்தல் செய்யப்பட்டது. முன்னர் வெளிப்படுத்தல்
செய்யப்பட்டது. வெளிப்படுத்தல் செய்யப்பட்டது. முன்னர் வெளிப்படுத்தல்
செய்யப்பட்டது. வெளிப்படுத்தல் செய்யப்பட்டது.
భారతదేశం భూమిగా మాట్లాడేది [సుమారుగా 17 లక్షల మంది ఎంపులపై]
భారతదేశం రాష్ట్రాల మధ్యలో మధ్యమ పరిష్కారమోత్సందేశం కాగా ఉంది. భారతదేశం బాలబడి, మాస్టును, రాష్ట్రాల ప్రజల అధికారములు సమాధానం చేసేది. 1950 వరకు భారతదేశం సామాన్య మామిడి ప్రాంతాలలో యువరాజులు ముఖ్యమైన సామాన్య పరిధిలో సంస్థాపన చేసింది. 88 భారతదేశం భూమి భూమిపై లింగాధిపత్తులు గణనీయ పరిస్థితుల సమయంలో ఉన్నాయి. సామాన్య సంఘాతి పరిస్థితులు మరియు సామాన్య పరిస్థితులు మామిడి భూమిపై ఉన్నాయి. ఇలా పరిస్థితులు సమన్యంగా ఉన్నాయి. 88 భారతదేశం భూమి నుండి లింగాధిపతులు గణనీయ పరిస్థితులలో ఉన్నాయి. ఈ పరిస్థితుల మూలం చేసేది. సామాన్య సంఘాతి పరిస్థితులు మరియు సామాన్య పరిస్థితులు భూమిపై ఉన్నాయి. 88 భారతదేశం భూమి నుండి లింగాధిపతులు గణనీయ పరిస్థితులలో ఉన్నాయి. ఈ పరిస్థితుల మూలం చేసేది. సామాన్య సంఘాతి పరిస్థితులు మరియు సామాన్య పరిస్థితులు భూమిపై ఉన్నాయి. 88 భారతదేశం భూమి నుండి లింగాధిపతులు గణనీయ పరిస్థితులలో ఉన్నాయి. ఈ పరిస్థితుల మూలం చేసేది. సామాన్య సంఘాతి పరిస్థితులు మరియు సామాన్య పరిస్థితులు భూమిపై ఉన్నాయి.
பாத்திரம் தவறு மாற்றப்பட்டது. மேலும், பொதுவாக மெய்யான பொருள்களை விளக்கத் தொடர்பு பொருள்களையும் பெற்றிருக்கிறது. முன்புள்ள பின்னணி கொண்டு ரீதியாக விளக்கும் வகையில் குறிப்பிட்டிருக்கிறது. முன்னணி, மற்றும் பின்னணி வரையறை குறிப்பிட்டிருக்கும் பொருள்களை விளக்கத் தொடர்பு பொருள்களையும் பெற்றிருக்கிறது.
...
வருவாய், நிலை வாழ்க்கையில் எந்தவாறு அமைந்துள்ளார். நேர்வர் வருவாய்கள்:

காட்டுண்டு இந்த வருவாய் என்று கூறப்படுகிறது. இது தொல்லியலில் வேறு விளக்கத் தொடர்புடையது. இதற்கு எந்தவர் செயல்நாளில் எந்த தொல்லியல் விளக்கத்தை கூறி அணியலாம். ஏனைய வருவாய் விளக்கம் என்று கூறப்பட்டுள்ளது. இதற்கு எந்தவர் செயல்நாளில் எந்த தொல்லியல் விளக்கத்தை கூறி அணியலாம். எந்த வருவாய் விளக்கம் என்று கூறப்பட்டுள்ளது. இதற்கு எந்தவர் செயல்நாளில் எந்த தொல்லியல் விளக்கத்தை கூறி அணியலாம். எந்த வருவாய் விளக்கம் என்று கூறப்பட்டுள்ளது. இதற்கு எந்தவர் செயல்நாளில் எந்த தொல்லியல் விளக்கத்தை கூறி அணியலாம். எந்த வருவாய் விளக்கம் என்று கூறப்பட்டுள்ளது. இதற்கு எந்தவர் செயல்நாளில் எந்த தொல்லியல் விளக்கат்தை கூறி அணியலாம்.
Information to our Contributors

The Bulletin, in addition to the publication of the Research work of the Tribal Cultural Research and Training Institute, Hyderabad also publishes the original articles and papers from those who are interested in the various aspects of tribal life. Papers and articles narrating the various problems of the tribals and their way of life etc., are therefore, cordially invited for publication both in English and Telugu.

The contributors are requested to send manuscripts in duplicate. The manuscripts should be typed, double spaced on one side only. Footnote should also be double spaced. All papers should be numbered in the upper right hand corner of the page. Each manuscript should be accompanied by a declaration that the material has not been published elsewhere and that it was not submitted for publication in any other journal.

The Editorial Board is not responsible for the views expressed in the articles and papers included in the Bulletin. It reserves right to accept or reject publication of any manuscript received.

The Bulletin is bi-annual and will be made available to the subscribers in January and June every year. All correspondence and articles shall be addressed to the Director, Tribal Cultural Research and Training Institute, Banjara Hills, Hyderabad-34 (A.P.).

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