

# **The D. B. K. Railway Project And the Tribals of Araku Valley**

**TRIBAL CULTURAL RESEARCH  
& TRAINING INSTITUTE  
TRIBAL WELFARE DEPARTMENT  
HYDERABAD  
1970**



*Study Series 4*

**THE D. B. K. RAILWAY PROJECT**  
**AND THE TRIBALS OF ARAKU VALLEY**

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**ANDHRA PRADESH**  
**HYDERABAD**  
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# D. B. K. RAILWAY PROJECT

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## FOREWORD

This research report on the D. B. K. Railway Project and the Tribals of Araku Valley is related to a problem in culture-contact-tribals coming in contact with the non-tribals who have infiltrated into their habitat in course of laying the D. B. K. railway line. What normally happens in a contact situation has been vividly presented in the report.

But the attempt made here by the author is not merely diagnostic ; but it is equally prescriptive. The author has suggested to impart technical education to the tribals so that the transformation from the agricultural economy which is the basis of their subsistence to an industrial or technical economy towards which the tribals are showing greater orientation, becomes easy.

The tribals are happy in the present situation ; because they are free from bonded-labour and they get ready cash and receive payment of their wages without much red tape. But the problem which he has posed is the proper implementation and administration of the future programmes so that the major portion of the benefits go directly to the tribals not to the non-tribals who are sure to infiltrate in larger number when employment opportunities are expanded in the area.

He has suggested enforcement of constitutional safeguards in the area so that the tribals are given special attention and special privileges.

Free India has continued to offer measures of special protection to the tribals, but in the rapidly changing context of national life they have been drawn to the vertex of world politics. Tribal problems are being politicised every day. One important product of increased politicisation is the process of 'Revivalism' and 'nativism' and demand for remaining steady in the list of the 'scheduled' and the 'backward'.

These processes and movements may be good for the tribals. But they are without doubt detrimental to National integration. Any tribal situation in India cannot be viewed in isolation from the wider national context and all schemes for economic prosperity of the tribal communities should be designed so as to foster their integration into the main stream of national life.

*Rajendranagar.*  
N. I. C. D. CAMPUS,  
HYDERABAD,  
*Dated 20-12-1969.*

N. PATNAIK,  
*Joint Director,*  
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N. I. C. D.



## PREFACE

It was during my tours in connection with the study of Madagada village and other research projects that I saw the whole of the Araku region humming with human and machine activity of the D. B. K. Railway Project disturbing the peace and tranquility of the picturesque Araku Valley. The bustling activity hatched the idea of sponsoring an empirical study to investigate into the effects of the prodigious project on the various facets of life and culture of tribes of Araku Valley.

The laying of D. B. K. Railway line opened new horizons for the tribal world of Araku Valley. The significance of this project lies in the fact that the tribals are suddenly forced to face a hitherto unknown construction activity, exposing them to variegated cultural patterns, reflecting a miniature India. A large number of people drawn from various parts of India suddenly made their appearance, worked for a short period and participated in the life of the tribals giving them a stirring experience. However, this confrontation was for a short period. The economic life of the tribals was also subjected to sudden changes leading to re-adjustment in the traditional relationships between man and nature. But the old order is restored as soon as the project came to an end.

This contact with various alien cultures of the country mostly led to unhealthy social situations in which the material inducement of the advanced people played havoc with the traditional norms of the tribal groups. The serious punishment meted out to the violators of tribe endogamy has been toned down to mild contempt and at most to a punitive feast for the community to re-admit the offender. Socially the younger generation is the worst hit as they fell an easy prey to the vices of advanced plains groups. Gambling, prostitution, cheating and pick-pocketing have made their first appearance. The adoption of plains material traits cannot be solely attributed to the D. B. K. Railway Project as the tribals are already having close contacts with the plains culture with the starting of planned development initiated by the inauguration of M.P.P.\* in 1956. Nevertheless, the social forces and the multifarious cultural contacts unleashed by the divergent cultural and linguistic groups and facilitated by the multiplied monetary transactions, accelerated the process of cultural borrowing and ultimately brought to surface the latent urges of the tribals for novelty and sophistication. Hence the unplanned and undirected temporary phase of social contact ushered in social imbalances. I hope, this will serve as an eye-opener for planners of future programmes for the region, especially in view of the impending introduction of passenger traffic and consequent immigration and emigration of populations hailing from diverse culture areas, and the resultant vigorous social interaction. Large scale and far reaching changes are in store for the tribals of Araku Valley.

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\* Multi-purpose Project.

The economic impact of the project is quite heartening as it could show the way for saving the tribals from the 'Gothi' (Bonded Labour) system and for weaning away from the wasteful agricultural practices like shifting cultivation. The area is full of promise for starting forest and mineral based industries and the industrial sector could come to the rescue of the already overburdened agriculture sector by diverting man-power from the agriculture and the allied sectors. This study showed that given the opportunity the tribal could shake off his initial apathy and shyness and take advantage of the new economic opportunities.

The future development would naturally involve large capital investment and immigration of skilled, semi-skilled and even unskilled labour from various parts of the country. Uncontrolled, the social and economic consequences of this will be disastrous to the local population. There is urgent need for building up social and economic infra-structure of the area with a view to prepare the tribals to become active participants of the future development and develop the necessary skills and capabilities so as to reap the advantages of these projects. It is therefore imperative that future socio-economic and cultural changes are to be controlled and planned through comprehensive programmes of development in order to help the tribal to live and nurture his growth in the changed social and economic environment.

The present empirical study is based on field work conducted under the supervision of Shri K. Mohan Rao, Lecturer and Shri S. Mohiuddin, Research Officer by the officer-trainees of the Institute in part fulfilment of their training programme in Applied Anthropology during the year 1965. Besides collecting additional data, Shri K. Mohan Rao, Lecturer, prepared the first draft of the report. The final draft was prepared by Shri M. V. Krishna Rao, Field Officer of this Institute. The statistical data were processed and analysed by Sri A. Somasekhar, Statistical Officer, assisted by Shri Ch. Subba Rao, Research Assistant of this Institute.

I will be failing in my duty if I do not acknowledge the kind co-operation of the Araku Block officials and the officials of the D. B. K. Railway Project, especially Shri A. R. Reddi, District Engineer, D. B. K. Railway Project, Araku without whose constant help the project could not have been completed. My thanks are also due to innumerable officials, non-officials and the tribal informants who could patiently bear with us in formal and informal discussions and in proper filling up of the schedules.

Hyderabad.

24TH NOVEMBER, 1969.

4TH AGRAHAYAN 1891 SAKA.

D. R. PRATAP

*Director-in-charge,*

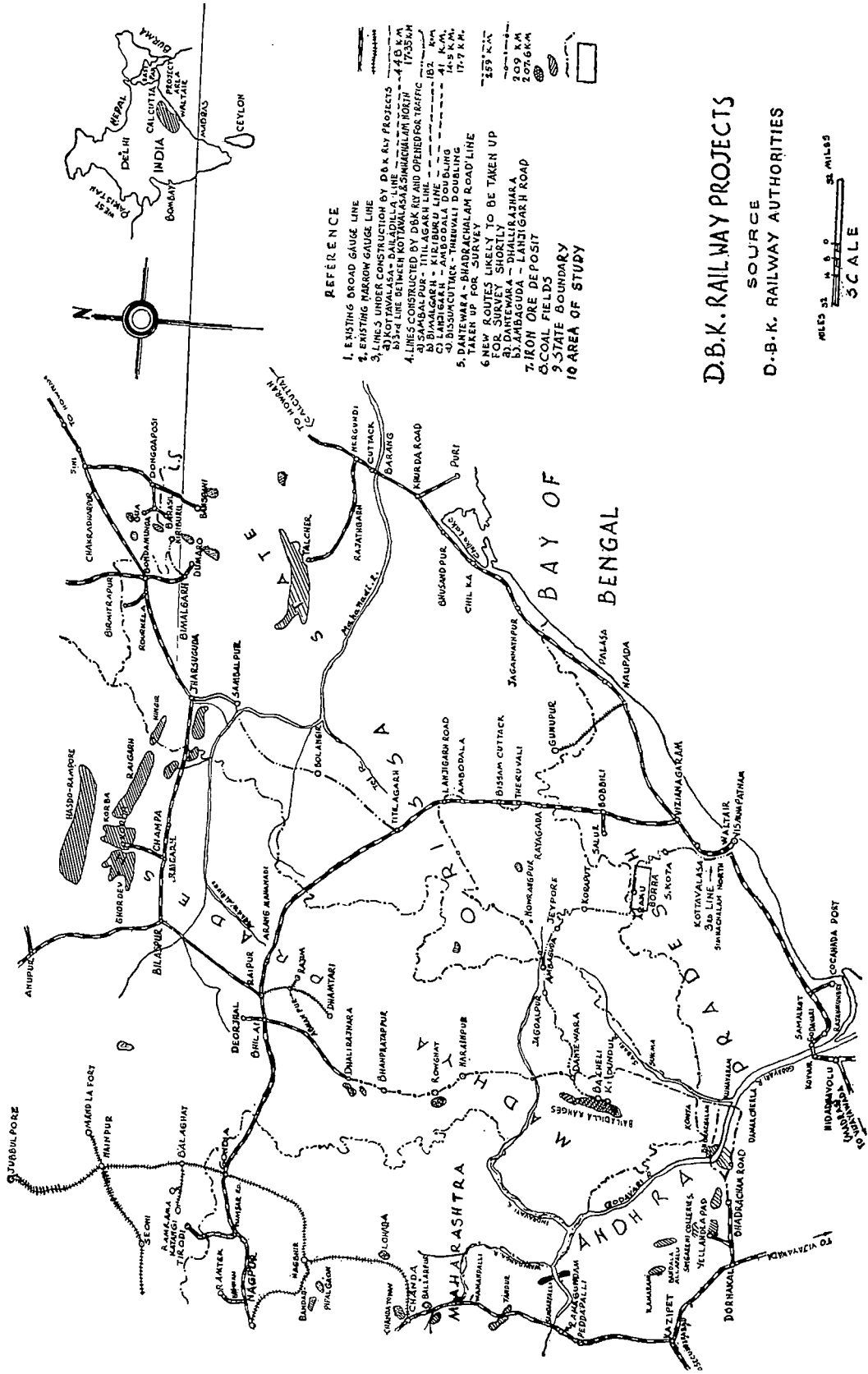
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# D.B.K. RAILWAY PROJECTS

SOURCE  
D.B.K. RAILWAY AUTHORITIES

## CHAPTER I

### Introduction

The new developments in transportation have multiplied the cultural and social links which are characteristic of modern life. The nature of transportation facilities available condition the intensity of contacts between scattered human groups and far flung areas. While the affluent American and Russian societies could break through the barriers of outer space and conquer the mythical planet—moon bringing it within the reach of man with their rapid strides in transportation and communication technology, the under developed India is still struggling to link every nook and corner of the country by laying a net work of roads and rail lines. Whether it is a primitive tribal society or a modern advanced society both are susceptible to far reaching changes due to increased cultural contacts between different ethnic groups. The modern machines of transportation are more effective in breaking the geographical, economic and social isolation of a society than the traditional means of transportation like pack animals, bullock carts etc., as these fast moving devices could conquer time and distance, thus bringing into close proximity different ethnic groups and cultures and setting in motion the processes of multi-group interaction and the consequent cultural transformation. Thus transport and communication facilities constitute the 'life lines' of a country through which ideas and innovations rapidly diffuse from one area to the other facilitating their quick and easy transmission even to remote and hitherto inaccessible areas. The improved modes of transport and communication facilities not only contribute for initiating fresh changes but also act as catalyzers in accelerating the process of change that is already in existence.

India is rich in mineral, coal and iron ore deposits whose maximum exploitation is a prerequisite for the rapid industrialization and the economic development of the country. Besides, the existence

of extensive and almost inexhaustible iron ore deposits afford ample opportunities for foreign export so as to earn the much needed foreign exchange. But most of these mineral and ore deposits are located in the inaccessible hilly tracts of the country which are the natural abodes of innumerable tribal groups who are devoid of modern means of transport and communication. The laying of railway lines is quite necessary for providing the requisite means of transport for lifting the iron-ore to the nearest sea ports from where it is exported to foreign countries. The construction of D. B. K. Railway line was undertaken by the Government of India with the express intention of providing transport facilities for the easy movement of iron-ore from the Kiriburu, and Baila Dilla mines situated at the southern borders of Bihar and Bastar district of Madhya Pradesh respectively to Visakhapatnam sea port from where the iron-ore is exported to Japan under an agreement between India and Japan.

Prior to the construction of D. B. K. Railway, the Araku agency tract was served by the Visakhapatnam-Machkund Road on which passenger buses have been plying between Visakhapatnam-Machkund and Vizayanagaram-Machkund. This is the only road available for the transport of agency produce to the plains areas. But the high cost of road transport over ghat road set limits to the mobility of both men and materials, and it is very rarely that the tribals could transport their hill produce to the plains areas. Moreover the tribals living in the areas are not even accustomed to bullock cart transport as the country carts were introduced during 1960's of the Multipurpose project period—1956-61. Their traditional modes of transportation are pack animals and human beings who carry their surplus produce as head loads and 'Kawadi' loads to the nearest shandy where it is disposed of either at the corporation purchasing centre or to the private merchants. The one interesting feature of the development of the transportation system is the introduction of buses, bullock carts and trains in quick succession within a period of two to three decades. As far as roads are concerned there are no all weather roads connecting the interior tribal villages with the Visakhapatnam-Machkund road. Only after the inception of the blocks some fair weather roads have been constructed connecting some of the important villages in Araku and Anantagiri Blocks. But these Kacha roads are not

useful for plying heavy vehicles. While the Bus is useful for carrying men who are living in road-side villages, bullock carts are not much popular in these areas because of the undulating terrain and the obstructing hill-streams. Moreover, unlike other tribal areas of the state, the bullock cart is not a traditional mode of transportation of the tribals of this region. Another peculiar feature of the transportation system is that the introduction of buses preceded the introduction of country carts. Thus the tribals of this region jumped from human and pack animal transportation stage to the advanced modern means of transport-buses, without the usual bullock cart stage. Yet this giant step forward did not result in large scale transformation of the tribal life and culture as is evident from the fact that there are no large scale tribal migrations to plains areas ; their occupational structure, modes of life, beliefs, rituals and social life remained almost static without perceptible changes. But the construction of the Visakhapatnam-Machkund high way and the consequent introduction of buses resulted in increased migration of plains people into tribal areas in search of livelihood like business, money lending, illicit liquor distilling and agriculture. This has also helped the slow diffusion of certain elements of plains material culture like iron agricultural implements, brass and aluminium utensils, plains dress pattern etc. The introduction of development programmes during the five year plan periods and the business activities of the Andhra Pradesh Scheduled Tribes' Co-operative Finance and Development Corporation resulted in increased monetization of the economic transactions of the tribals and the traditional barter system is fast vanishing.

So far the contacts between the tribals and non-tribals are confined mainly to the people belonging to Andhra Pradesh State and to a limited extent to Oriya speaking areas also. Thus Araku Valley is the meeting ground of three different cultures viz. Tribal, Oriya and Andhra. It is at this stage that the D. B. K. Railway project construction work was undertaken for about five years (1962-67) bringing the tribals into contact with a cross section of the Indian population hailing from different parts of the country and are functionally involved in various capacities in the construction work of the D. B. K. Railway project. Thus the D. B. K. Railway project work afforded an opportunity for the tribals of the region to have direct contact with the variegated cultural patterns of the various

Indian ethnic groups while they were engaged as casual labourers and semi-skilled labourers in the construction work of the D. B. K. under the supervision of technical personnel drawn from different parts of the country.

This temporary contact, however short it may be, resulted in the acquisition of certain new values and tastes by the tribals of the region. Certain signs of social maladjustments have also been noticed. Especially the younger generation among the tribals have developed new value attitude systems which have far reaching consequences on their behaviour patterns. During the five years of construction work many tribals were absorbed as unskilled and semi-skilled workers, thus getting themselves accustomed to systematic and heavy manual labour contrary to their traditional agro-forest based occupations. Besides, some of the tribals trained in trades such as carpentry in the training-cum-production centres of the Tribal Development Blocks have been absorbed as skilled and semi-skilled workers. While the D. B. K. construction work was in progress, the discussions with the officials of the D. B. K. revealed that all the tribal youth trained in carpentry in the production-cum-training centres of the blocks have been completely absorbed in the construction work of the project. The experience thus gained will definitely stand them in good stead in eking out their future livelihood with the help of the trade in which they were trained.

The project area in Araku agency is the natural habitat of as many as 19 tribal groups belonging to different linguistic families and varying levels of social, economic and cultural development. Bhagatas, Valmikis, Konda Doras, Samanthas (Khonds), Kotias, Porjas and Gadabas are the major tribal groups inhabiting the area. Bhagathas, Valmikis and Kotias are mostly settled cultivators whereas Samanthas and Konda Doras are 'Podu' cultivators. All the tribal groups mainly depend upon agricultural sector for their livelihood while forest labour and collection of minor forest produce constitute the most important subsidiary occupations. All the tribal groups speak Telugu and they are conversant with corrupt form of Oriya also. Samanthas speak 'Kui' dialect which belongs to Central Dravidian family of languages. Gadabas have their own dialects called Gadaba and Gutub languages, belonging to Central Dravidian and Munda groups of languages while the other tribal groups mostly speak Telugu.

As has been already discussed, the social, economic and cultural life of the Araku agency tribals is ripe for transformation because of the activities of plains immigrants, Government administrative machinery and the implementation of various development programmes under the Five Year Plans. The process of transformation is bound to be accelerated because of the construction of D. B. K. Railway, facilitating the introduction of the fastest vehicle of culture change that has ever traversed these areas.

The present research project is undertaken with the following objectives :

(1) To present an ethnographic account of the major tribal groups inhabiting the Araku agency area so as to serve as a bench mark study.

(2) To delve into the socio-economic changes that have taken place and pin-point the process of social maladjustment that has set in during the construction period.

(3) To isolate certain indicators of change so as to throw light on future patterns of cultural transformation.

(4) In view of the changing panorama of the valley—both physical and cultural—how the lives of the people inhabiting these regions should be moulded purposefully to suit the changing needs is to be suggested.

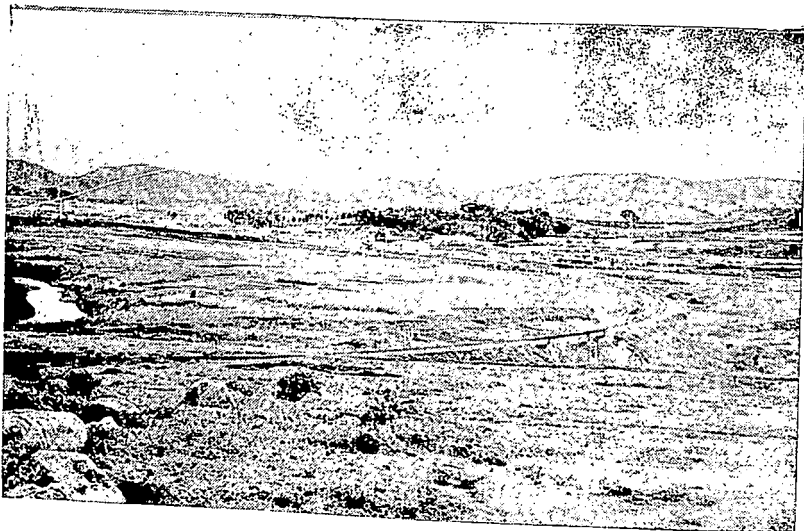
The selection of the villages is done on purposive sampling basis according to the intensity of communications, the consequent contact with plains people and the employment in the construction of D. B. K. Railway. The selected villages also reflect a cross section of the tribal villages in Araku valley. Of the ten villages studied, seven villages are situated very near the D. B. K. Railway line and the rest of the villages, namely, Tadika, Gannela and Sunkarametta are relatively far away from the railway line. The villages which are very close to railway line and those that are far away from it are selected to find out the intensity of the centripetal pull of the D. B. K. construction work and the consequent shift in their occupations and levels of income. While purposive sampling is done to select villages, the selection of informants is based on simple random sampling. Basic data are collected by canvassing

questionnaires. Case studies were also conducted to supplement the data collected through questionnaires. Besides, non-participant observation and both informal and formal interview were also employed in order to elicit information regarding social life of the tribals. Secondary data are collected from the official records of the project office and by holding formal discussions with the concerned officials.

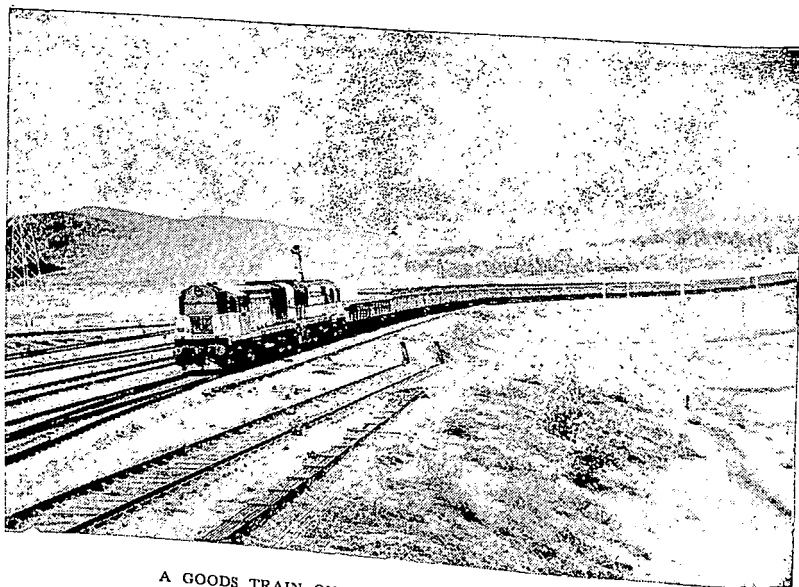
*Limitations of the study* :—The Research Project was conceived as soon as the institute was started in 1963. But actual field work could not be undertaken until 1965 due to lack of trained field staff. By the time the whole work was planned and questionnaires were prepared, a major part of the construction work of the D. B. K. Railway in Araku valley was at the closing stage. So it was not possible to conduct field work at work spots as most of the work centres were in the process of being wound up. Consequently, the study could not cover certain facets of the D. B. K. Railway such as labour relations, working conditions, relative performances of tribal and non-tribal labourers and intra and inter-group interaction between various tribal workers and in between tribals and non-tribal workers respectively. Only a part of the social situation obtaining at the work centres could be recorded depending upon the memory of the informants. Further, the ritual structure of these tribals is not dealt with in depth as the festivals and the associated rituals vary from one area to the other, some times even from village to village because the plural tribal groups have specific deities and associated rituals. Moreover most of the common major festivals have already been elaborately described in our other research works like 'Madagada—A Tribal Village in Araku valley'. Hence only the broad ritual structure, bringing out the common factors of their religious life alone is described.



TRAIN OF PROGRESS WENDING ITS WAY THROUGH HILLS



ARAKU TOWNSHIP AFTER INCEPTION OF D.B.K. RAILWAY PROJECT



A GOODS TRAIN ON THE TRACK IN ARAKU VALLEY

## CHAPTER II

### The D. B. K. Railway Project\*

In pursuance of the policy of replenishing the fast dwindling foreign exchange reserves by exporting surplus iron ore to foreign countries, the Government of India entered into two separate agreements with the Government of Japan, according to which the Government of India agreed to annually export six million tons of iron ore to Japan, which would fetch foreign exchange to the tune of Rs. 30 crores a year. For this purpose two deposits viz., the Kiriburu mines at the southern boundary of Bihar and Bailadilla mines in the Bastar district of Madhya Pradesh have been chosen for the large scale exploitation, so as to export annually 2 million and 4 million tons of iron ore respectively from the two sources. These two deposits are very rich in iron ore and they are located in the inaccessible hilly and forest tracts of the areas and were not penetrated by the modern means of transportation like fast moving goods trains.

Many tribal groups live in these areas and they are mostly isolated from the main stream of civilization as they are not connected by the modern means of contact. Hitherto the social and economic interaction between these backward tribal groups and the advanced plains people is limited to visiting government officials and the itinerant plains merchants because of whose respective activities the tribals have a glimpse of the plains culture. Besides, the traditional shandies held in these parts have opened the channels for the trickling down of many of the plains material culture traits into the tribal households. In addition, the construction of Ghat road between Visakhapatnam and Machkund which paved the way for the introduction of passenger buses and the consequent immigration of small groups of plains settlers into the tribal areas did not result

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\*The Dandakaranya—Balangir—Kiruburu Railway Project.

in any radical transformation of tribal way of life and culture as these immigrants are mostly confined to roadside villages and their purpose of immigration being the search for a livelihood. However, these multifarious agents of culture change prepared the necessary ground for the greater receptivity of the more developed plains culture, thus providing the direction for rapidly transforming the work ways and thought ways of the custom bound tribals.

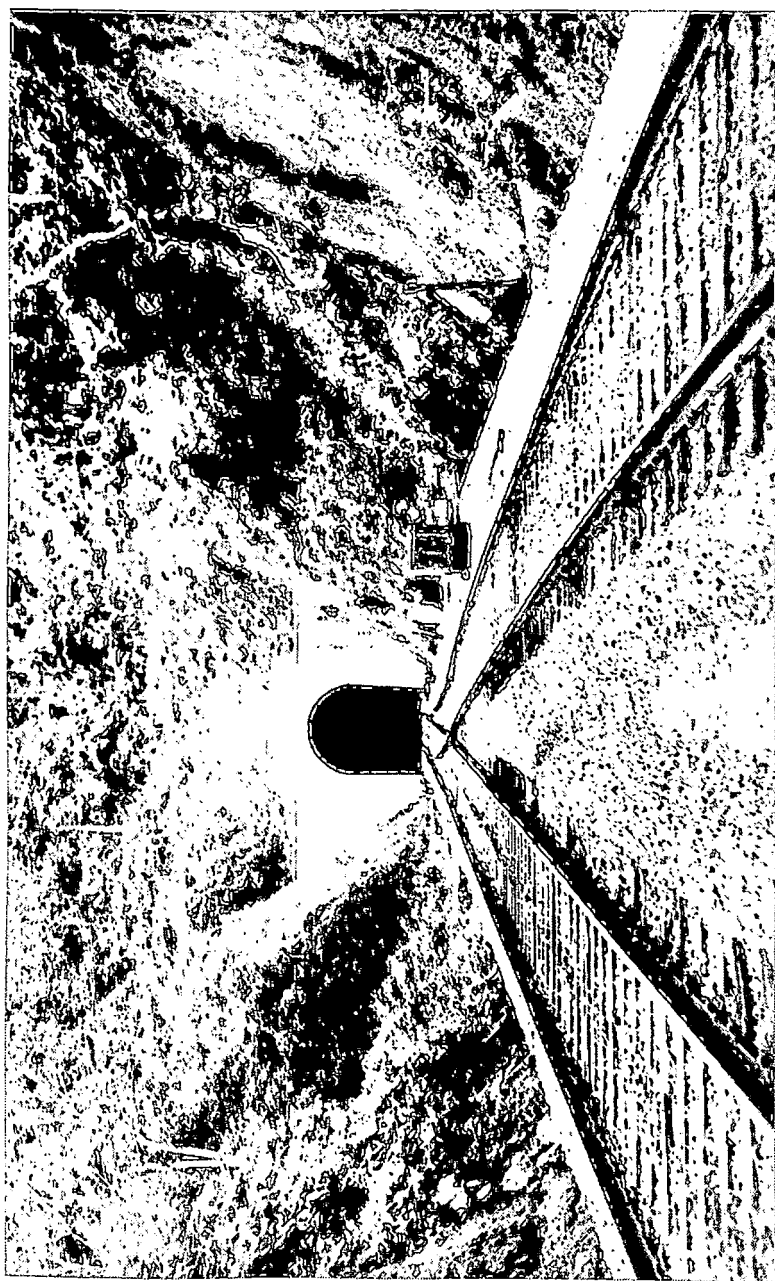
It is at this juncture that the construction of D. B. K. Railway line was started in the year 1962, passing through hill areas inhabited largely by tribals. This prodigious programme of laying new Railway line of a total length of about 700 KM, wending its way through huge mountains, negotiating innumerable rivulets and hill-streams, winding precipitous mountain sides and bridging steep and wide valleys is an engineering marvel which stands as an eloquent testimony to the highly developed technical knowledge and engineering skill of the Indian engineers. The entire D. B. K. comprises of 3 lines of varying lengths and in different directions, connecting the states of Orissa, Madhya Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh. The three new lines that are constructed are as follows :

(1) The longest of the three is a branch line of 477 KM length, connecting Visakhapatnam port with Bailadilla, touching the Dandakaranya rehabilitation area and passing through some of the important tribal areas of Andhra Pradesh, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh. This Railway line has the distinction of being the highest broad gauge line in the world. It is also interesting to note that the highest Railway station in India is situated on this line at Similiguda which is about 15 KM from Araku.

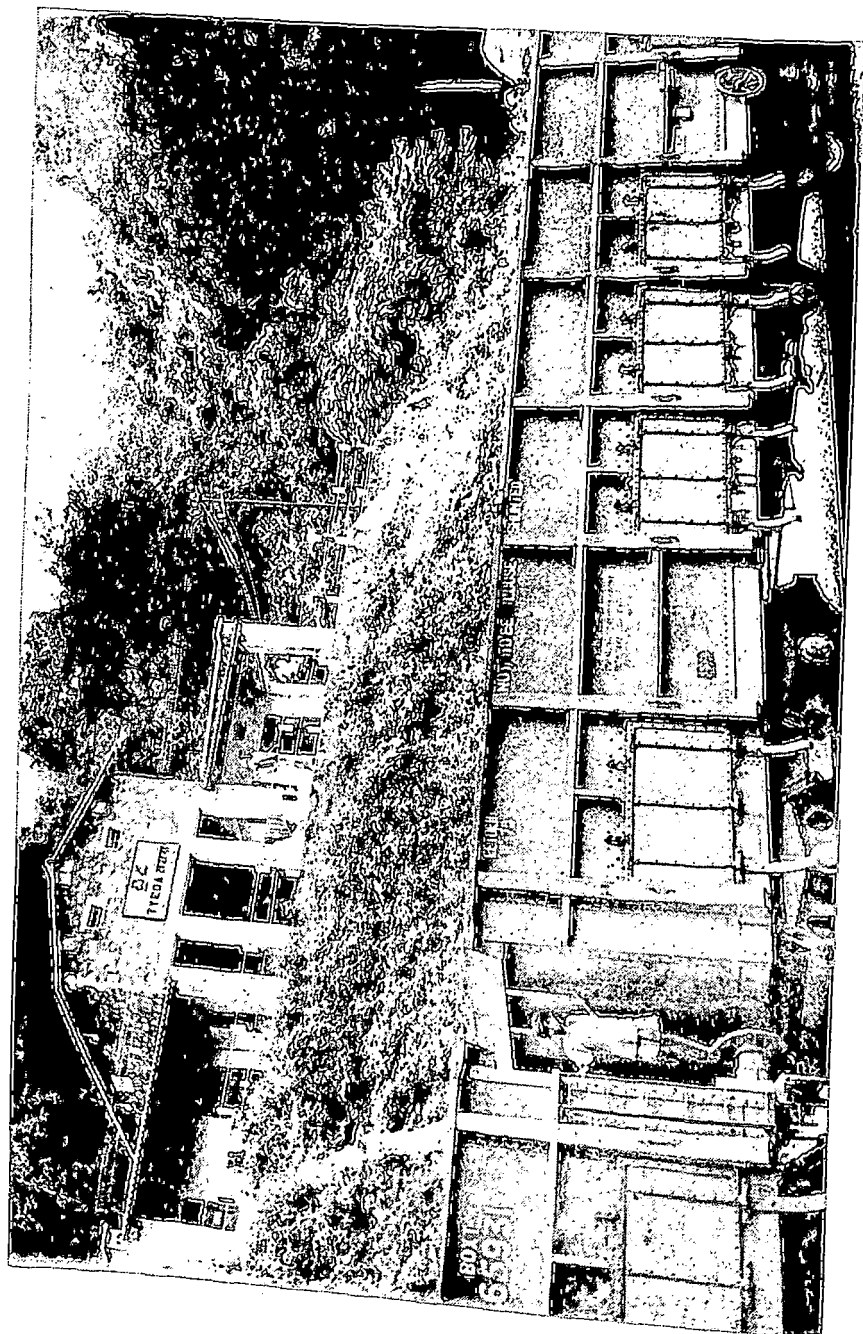
(2) The next important railway line is the 182 KM long link connecting the existing rail heads of Sambalpur and Titilagarh and touching among other points, the Balangir town in Orissa.

(3) The smallest of the three lines is 41 KM long branch line connecting Kiriburu mines to the rail head of Bimlagarh.

Of the three lines, the Kottavalasa-Bailadilla line is one of the most ambitious and difficult railway constructions in India, posing many engineering challenges and technical problems as most of the terrain is hilly with thick jungles and the tribals inhabiting this region are not accustomed to strenuous work. The magnitude



RAILWAY TUNNEL



of the work could be gauged from the fact that 49 tunnels, totalling seven miles in length were bored for crossing the Eastern Ghats and other hilly sections of the line. The ascent from the coastal plains to height of over 3,000 feet above sea level over a short distance of about 40 miles is another formidable task over the difficult terrain.

Since these lines are passing through Dandakaranya in Madhya Pradesh, Balangir town in Orissa and Kiriburu mines in Bihar, the project is named as Dandakaranya-Balangir-Kiriburu Project. The project came into existence in 1960 with headquarters at Waltair and survey and planning of the project was completed during 1960-61. The construction work was started in 1962 and the line has been opened for ore transport since May, 1967.

Even though the D. B. K. Railway line has been constructed with the express object of providing suitable transport facilities for the lifting of iron ore, the project is fraught with certain concomitant developments that are sure to mould the traditional life of the tribals for the better and substantially contribute for the strengthening of the national economy as well. Firstly, in the wake of the present goods trains, passenger trains are also sure to steam into the various Railway stations situated in the tribal areas facilitating to and fro transport of men and materials thus bringing together different ethnic groups and cultures while shattering the traditional geographical and cultural barriers. Secondly, the regions through which the new lines are passing have rich deposits of limestone, graphite, manganese etc., in addition to immense forest wealth which provide the much needed raw material for starting an industrial complex in the area and also feed the industries that are already existing in the plains areas. There is already a proposal for setting up a cement factory with an initial capacity of 600 tons, near Borra caves in the Anantagiri ghats where deposits of limestone are located. Another cement factory is proposed near Koraput. A jute, twine and rope factory, to be located at Sringavarapukota has also reached the blue print stage. There is ample scope for starting sugar and paper manufacturing industries and also Aluminium and Ferro-Manganese plants. The availability of power from Machkund Hydro-Electric project and also from the Upper Sileru Project with a possibility of obtaining steel at rail-head prices are bound to give impetus to rapid industrial development. The existing mica

mines are an immense source for export of mica. The Kothavalasa-Bailadilla line will also contribute for the development of Dandakaranya area where refugees from East Pakistan are being resettled. Perhaps the day is not far off when the whole area will be humming with human and machine activity of some industry or the other promising vast employment opportunities for the local tribals and the plains people as well.

The project also indirectly contributes for the promotion of tourism. As the Kothavalasa-Bailadilla line traverses the beautiful Anantagiri hill ranges touching the famous Borra caves and passing through the Koraput and Araku Valleys which are famous for their salubrious summer climate, there is great scope for developing them as hill stations. The Andhra Pradesh government is developing the Araku valley as a health resort.

In Andhra Pradesh, about 115 KM of D. B. K. Railway line is laid between Kothavalasa and Gorapur stations which is a segment of the Kothavalasa-Bailadilla line. Of the 115 KM line in Andhra Pradesh, about 80 KM length of line runs through the hilly tracts of Araku agency starting from Boddavara Station situated at the beginning of the Anantagiri hill ranges and extending upto Gorapur Station located on the fringe of Andhra Pradesh border with Orissa. Thus a major portion of the Railway line passes through the tribal area of Araku agency and out of 13 stations situated in Andhra Pradesh, 9 stations are located in the Agency area, the remaining being in the plains areas.

## CHAPTER III

### The Agency, the People and the Cultural Milieu

One interesting feature of the introduction of steam engine in Araku valley is that its introduction was not integrated with the other tribal development plans that have been formulated and implemented in the region for the last one and half decades. Nor does it form part of a programme oriented towards directed change of the life of the people of the area as the D. B. K. Railway was mainly intended for the transport of iron ore and only secondarily for the benefit of the inhabitants of the area. But whatever may be the chief motive behind the introduction of hitherto unknown means of transportation, its repercussions on the various facets of tribal life and culture are bound to be far reaching.

The last two centuries have witnessed sweeping reorganizations of people's lives as a result of the diffusion of new means of subsistence, transportation and new ideas. For example when the horse was introduced to the North American Indians of the plains, it transformed their way of life within two generations. After living for centuries as fairly peaceful farmers, they gave up agriculture and rapidly became warlike raiders\*. Such transformations are not sheer accidents. They are the products of the working of the basic principle that customs and beliefs are interwoven into a whole and that changes in one facet of life will have repercussions on other facets.

Now that a new mode of transportation has been introduced into the tribal life of Araku valley ; its effects, both immediate and future, on the various aspects of their life could only be understood and predicted in the context of the existing ecological, ethnic, material;

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\* Human Problems in Technological Change, Ed. By Edward H. Spicer.  
Russel Sage Foundation, New York, 1952. page 17.

social and cultural setting of the Araku agency. Hence this chapter is mainly intended to present the basic structure of the geographical setting, human composition and the social and cultural milieu of the region so as to depict the existing social system of the region with an intention that such presentation of the social situation will greatly help in studying the dynamics of culture change at a future date when perceptible and permanent changes may occur due to the impact of D. B. K. Railway Project.

Visakhapatnam district comprises of two natural divisions viz., the agency area and the plains area. The D. B. K. Railway line is mostly confined to the agency tracts whose characteristic feature is the zig-zag line of the Great Eastern Ghats which almost runs parallel to the coast from the north-east to the south-west and is situated in the interior of the district. The Agency areas extend over Chintapalli and Paderu taluks and portions of Narsipatnam, Chodavaram and Srungavarapukota taluks. The highest peaks in the district are Sankaram and Galikonda which are 5,300 feet in height above the mean sea level ; the average height of the hills in the district being 3,000 feet. The D. B. K. Railway line mainly traverses the hilly and wooded agency tracts of Srungavarapukota and Paderu Taluks before crossing the borders into the adjoining Orissa State.

The Anantagiri ranges and the Araku valley are the most notable physical features of the Srungavarapukota and Paderu Taluks. In this part of Visakhapatnam, the agency starts from 38/2 mile and extends upto 78th mile on Visakhapatnam-Machkund road. This can be divided into two tracts, viz., the hilly tracts covered with thick jungle growth, whose knolls and cliffs overlook the narrow and steep valleys that are intermittently locked between the hill ranges extending from the beginning of the ghats to Sunkarametta and the tracts denuded of dense forest growth with broader valleys starting from Sunkarametta and extending upto Orissa border.

The forests of the former tract are of semi-deciduous type, the important tree species being *Terminalia Tomentosa* (Maddi), *Tamarindus indicus* (Chinta), *Pterocarpus marsupium* (Yegisa), *Pongamia glabra* (Kanuga), *Mangifera indica* (Mamidi), *Semecarpus anardium* (Jidi), *Melia Azadiracta* (Vepa), *Albizzia amara* (Nalla regu), *Allizzia lebbek* (Dirisanam), *Coadrelec toona* (Gali-

*manu*), *Dillenia pentagyna* (Revadi), *Bombax Malabaricum*, (*Buruga*) and bamboos. At suitable places teak and eucalyptus have also been raised by the Forest Department.

The geognosy of the region also points out that the area is rich in useful rocks and minerals. 'Archaean age' rocks like quartz veins, pegmatites, charnockite, granite, khondalite, quartzite and calsilicate are generally found in the region. It is interesting to note that the name khondalite is derived from the word 'Khonds', one of the aboriginal tribes of the region, in whose country the series is especially well developed. The khondalites are essentially garnet-sillimanite schists, containing graphite in varying quantities as well as some quartz, and felspar. The rocks are greyish to reddish in colour, usually foliated. The typical khondalite is very well developed in the areas where it is accompanied by beds of crystalline lime stone and calcareous gneisses, which are regarded as metamorphosed sediments. Since the characteristic feature in nearly all the minerals of these gneisses is the abundance of lime, the rocks have been called cal-gneisses, although calcite is not invariably present. The charnockites found in the area are associated with pyroxene granulite and the more basic forms of norite. It is a granular aggregate of hypersthene; sapphirine, brown biotite, sillimanite and cordierite have been identified in soil specimens and the rock is thought to be the result of interaction between an ultra basic igneous magma and Khondalites.

Recent lateritic formations are generally confined to elevations of 3,000 feet and above. They can best be found in Araku valley between Digva Kantaram (17° 59' : 82° 34') and Solabham (17° 58' : 82° 35') in parts of Gudem agency. These laterites are mostly in the nature of ferruginous gravels or as red ferruginous laterites forming thin capping over the underlying. In the Araku valley and elsewhere in Visakhapatnam district red loam soils are found. The following is mechanical analysis of the soil from Araku valley : clay 23%, silt 25%, fine sand 17.6%, coarse sand 33.6%.

The existence of crystalline limestone is discovered near Borra (18° 16' 45" : 83° 2' 45"). The limestone band occurs as a lenticular body within calc-granulite having a rough triangular out-crop pattern. The limestone band has a maximum length of about 3,500 feet and width of above 900 feet. The limestone is generally

massive and medium grained and magnesian bearing in character. The total estimated yield of the limestone deposit is as much as 40,00,000 tons. In addition to the main band, another limestone band 1.6 KM West of Borra cave supplements the reserves estimated for the Borra limestone. The Borra limestone seems to be suitable for making magnesian lime for structural purposes. It may also be possible to utilise it in glass manufacture and for making mild abrasives for polishing metallic surfaces. The Borra caves are famous for Philopopite mica and very good marble.

There are only two known large occurrences of red ochre in the agency tracts. The bigger one of these is found about 6 furlongs to the west of Sarayi village ( $18^{\circ} 10' : 82^{\circ} 45' 30''$ ). The total available ore in sight here is to the order of 37,000 tons. The other occurrence of red ochre lies about a furlong to the west of Araku village ( $18^{\circ} 20' : 82^{\circ} 51'$ ). It is estimated that the available reserves are to the tune of 22,500 tons.

The ochre at Sarayi is of a better grade but ochres from both the localities could be utilised either as neutral mineral pigment or for the manufacture of paints. Araku colony lying about 3 miles east of Araku village would be a suitable centre for starting a small scale paint industry.

The above brief description of the geology of the region naturally leads to a study of the natural water resources. There are innumerable hill streams locally known as *Geddas* flowing down the hills, some of them forming into rivulets and rivers. Two notable rivers of the region are Machkund and Gosthani. The Paderu taluk is drained and watered by the Machkund river. The river Machkund which got its name from the Fish-God, Matsya Raja and the Matsya dynasty rulers who are said to have ruled over the country called Matsya Desa, originates in the Madugula hills in Paderu Taluk and flows nearly north at first and then turns westwards into the Orissa State. The river constitutes the boundary between Andhra Pradesh and Orissa State for about 50 miles. In the lower reaches where it flows as a boundary between Malkangiri taluk of Orissa state and Paderu taluk of Andhra Pradesh on the one hand and still farther down between Malkangiri Taluk and Chintapalli Taluk on the other, it is known as Paleru and Sileru respectively. The waters of the river have been harnessed

for generating hydro-electric power under Machkund Hydro-Electric Scheme with a generating capacity of 1,50,000 K.W. and it is a joint venture of Andhra Pradesh and Orissa States.

Gosthani river originates in the Anantagiri hill ranges, some miles away from the famous Borra caves which are situated at a distance of about 3 miles from the D.B.K. Railway line. According to local tradition that deep in the caves there is Sivalingam over which the idol of a cow stands and water flows from the udder of the cow, falls on the Sivalingam and flows down in the form of a river. From this point the river is called Gosthani as it is believed to originate from the udder of a cow. The stream flowing from the western side and joining the Gosthani river near Borra caves is only a hill stream.

The Araku agency is also famous for its salubrious summer climate with the elevation varying from 3000' to 5000' from the mean sea level and plenty of scope for developing it into a beautiful summer resort. Winter will be very severe, especially during December and January with plenty of fog and dew fall. Heavy and incessant rains lash the agency during rainy season *i.e.*, from June to September, the average rainfall being about 56.9".

In contrast to the scenic beauty and the mineral riches of the agency, the soils are generally poor ranging from rocky and gravelly to red clay loams and they are deficit in organic matter, nitrogen and lime. In reaction they are slightly acidic and the soils of Anantagiri tract slightly differ in nature from the soils of Araku tract. In the former tract, the soils are black and more fertile than the later tract because of the presence of organic matter due to the thick forest growth in the Anantagiri tract. Hence, in Araku valley soils of poor gravelly to red clays are met with. They can be called 'hungry soils' which respond to heavy manuring and irrigation with the depth of the soil varying from a few inches to 5 to 8 feet in some places.

The sparsely wooded Araku valley is a beauty spot of the agency tracts of Paderu Taluk, famous for its picturesque surroundings, cool summers, and resounding with 'Dimsa' dance and music of tribal folks inhabiting the area. The Valley is specially interesting for a student of Science of Man and it can be rightly called a paradise

for anthropologists as it has been the age old abode of about 19 tribal groups. It is a narrow strip of land about 7 miles long and 2 miles wide, encompassed by a chain of mountains whose gentle slopes are shorn off their vegetation due to persistent 'Podu' cultivation. Situated at an altitude of 3,080 feet above mean sea level, it is connected by the Visakhapatnam-Jeypore road on which buses ply regularly. The hill-stream Patalagedda flows in the middle with the land on either side gently rising towards the hills. The elevation, climate, rainfall and the soils are ideally suited for growing coffee, potato, pineapple and sugarcane. As far back as second world war, the Araku Valley Scheme was originally sanctioned for growing potatoes and vegetables for the army and with the cessation of hostilities, the scheme was switched over to the general development of hill men. As the climate is suitable for growing mulberry trees; a government silk farm is established with a mulberry garden. The yarn from the cocoons is reeled in the farm and the silk yarn and waste are sent to Hindupur for proper disposal. A perennial water fall of 30' height, called Jilda Vagu water fall is about 4 miles from Araku colony. Its waters are being used for irrigating a government orchard where citrus fruit plants, exotic vegetables and plantations like cinchona, pyrethran and eucalyptus are grown.

The vivid description of the physical resources and the natural environment naturally leads to a discussion on the human groups inhabiting the Araku agency. There are as many as 19 tribal groups and a handful of plains settlers living in scattered settlements situated on hill slopes and the valleys below, both in the dense forests and the sparsely wooded tracts of the area, claiming descent from mythical sages to the warrior caste Kshatriyas. Bhagatas, Valmikis, Konda Doras, Khonds, Gadabas, Kotiyas, Goudus and Nooka Doras are the major tribal groups inhabiting the agency tracts. Most of the tribal villages are heterogeneous in ethnic composition but group identity and communal solidarity are quite discernible from the fact that each group tends to construct the houses in exclusive clusters or at least by the side of equal status groups. The non-tribals also live in these tribal villages, a little away from the tribal houses or in exclusive clusters of single caste houses constructed by the side of equal status tribal houses. While the non-tribals and some of the advanced tribal groups like Bhagatas,



PORJA MAN



GOUDU OLD WOMAN



PORJA MAN FROM RAGINIGUDA VILLAGE



PORJA BELLE



Valmiki, Kotiyas and Nooka Doras are mostly confined to the roadside villages, the relatively backward tribal groups like Khonds, Konda Doras and Gadabas mostly live in settlements perched on hill slopes. Entry into or exit from the settlement is through precarious jungle paths and hilly tracts with some hill stream or the other cutting across the way. The terrain of the settlement area is undulating with irregular lanes and alleys winding their way through the clusters of houses. The house types vary from square to rectangular invariably with thatched roofs and wattle or mud walls. The Khonds live in typical linear or long huts which are built in parallel rows. Each linear hut is divided into about ten compartments and each of these apartments accommodates a single family.

The social structures of the various tribal groups broadly resemble each other because of similar clan organization, social practices, customs, beliefs and codes of conduct. The social pyramid of the tribals of the area could be broadly divided into three strata taking their food habits and the prevailing concepts of community social status into consideration. Bhagatas, Nooka Doras, Goudus and Kotiyas occupy the highest stratum of the social pyramid as eating beef and pork is tabooed among these tribal groups. These four tribal groups constitute the non-beef-non-pork eating communities. The next stratum consists of beef and pork eating tribal groups like Konda Doras, Porjas, Gadabas and Samanthas while Valmikies and Ghasis\* belong to the lowest social stratum because of their carrion eating food habits in addition to the consumption of beef and pork. Again the tribal groups belonging to each stratum can be classified into high and low status groups based upon the customs of acceptance of cooked food and other prevalent generally accepted traditional concepts of status criteria. Bhagatas occupy the highest step of the social pyramid followed by Nooka Doras, Goudus and Kotiyas respectively in the hierarchical order of the first stratum. The other three communities accept cooked food from the Bhagatas being the most superior community among all other tribal groups and as such Bhagatas do not accept cooked food from other tribal groups. Similarly a tribal group occupying a lower step of the pyramid accepts cooked food from the communities higher in

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\*Not a Scheduled Tribe.

social status. In the second stratum Konda Doras occupy the highest place among beef and pork eating communities with Porjas, Gadabas and Samanthas occupying the respective steps below Konda Doras. In the same way among the two carrion eating tribal groups—Valmikis and Ghasis, Valmikis claim superiority over Ghasis as the latter tribal group is traditionally associated with the most unclean occupation—rearing horses, and Ghasis accept cooked food from Valmikis but Valmikis do not accept cooked food from Ghasis. As has been already mentioned this is a broad classification which may not hold good in certain exceptional cases. For example, of late some of the Nooka Doras are claiming superior status over Bhagatas. But this contention is not accepted by other tribal groups. Thus even though the present social hierarchy fairly holds good for the region, there may be certain local deviations as precept differs from practice in exceptional situations prompted by changed economic, political and religious roles. But such situations are very rare.

The social, political and ritual organizations of the various tribal groups of the region broadly resemble each other because of similar clan organization, social practices, beliefs and codes of conduct with minor variations at micro level. Most of the tribal groups are divided into a number of unilateral descent groups called 'Vamsams' or clans. These exogamous clans regulate marital relations among these endogamous tribes. Even though clans are exogamous, there are certain brother clans between whose members marital alliances are tabooed. These brotherhood clans are the products of the traditional institution of 'Nestam' or bond friendship which is prevalent among all the tribal groups of the region. The clan members believe in descent from a common fictitious ancestor and inheritance of property and descent is traced through male line only. The common clan names of the various tribal groups are Korra (Sun), Killo (Tiger), Onthalu (Snake), Rambhi (Bird), Pangi (Kite), Ballu (Bear), Samardhi (Flower) etc. Among certain tribal groups like Bhagathas, Valmikis etc., the clans are divided into a number of 'Intiperulu' (surnames) while among others like Ghasi, the clan names are adopted as surnames. Each of these clans are further sub-divided into a number of families.

Family constitutes the fundamental unit of the social structures of the various tribal groups. In general, immediately after marriage

a son or brother establishes a separate family and as such most of the families are predominantly of nuclear type only. But joint families are also met with in a number of cases. Even after establishing a separate household, the relations with the family of procreation are still maintained through reciprocal visits during festive and ceremonial occasions and by mutual help in agricultural operations and in times of external threat to the families of the nearest kin. Inheritance of property and surname are through male line only and authority and residence are patriarchal and patrilocal respectively among all the tribal groups. Matrilocal residence is also permitted among all the tribal groups as marriage by service is socially permitted.

The eldest male member either father or elder son (If the former is too old and the latter is married) is the head of the family. Even though woman is not entitled for a share in the family property, she enjoys almost equal status and her views are ascertained and given due weight before a final decision is taken by the family head in all family affairs. Before solemnising marriage, woman's opinion is ascertained and she is at liberty to accept or reject a proposed alliance. Woman is also at liberty to seek divorce if she does not like her husband for any reason. Moreover, woman is an economic asset as she helps the family by doing the lighter type of works in the family pursuits, in addition to her household duties like cooking, cleaning the house, looking after children etc. But in public life and in all matters pertaining to the code of conduct of the members of the tribe, it is the domain of the elder male members of the tribe or village. Women are not allowed to participate in the deliberations of the village and tribe level traditional councils as all the members are exclusively males. Even in the religious sphere women play a restricted role except among Samanths which is the only tribal group among whom woman can hold the office of a priestess called 'Pejjeni'. But even Samantha women are not permitted to participate in the religious rituals during periods of pollution such as menstruation, pregnancy and child birth. Thus women play a less prominent role in social life than in the family life.

From the 10th year onwards children help their parents in the family pursuits by tending cattle, weeding fields, chasing birds

from the standing crops, etc. When the parents are engaged in their family occupation, the younger children are left to the care of the older children and it is common sight in the tribal villages that grown up girls carry their younger brothers and sisters in a cloth sling hanging across their shoulders. A child generally suckles at the mother's breast until two or three years or until the mother became pregnant once again. Then the child is weaned away and introduced to cereal diet. Parents lavish more affection upon the male child as even grown up boys are seen wandering and playing in the villages whereas the same age group girls are found helping their parents in the house-hold chores and other minor works. Thus while female children grow up into hard working women, male children become lazy and pleasure loving young men. But the birth of a female child is not considered as a curse upon the family and the practice of paying bride-price definitely indicates that woman is a prized possession of a man.

Among all the tribal groups monogamy is the most prevalent form of marriage and polygamy is also in vogue to a lesser degree than monogamy. Polyandry is strictly prohibited. Symmetric cross-cousin marriages are the preferred alliances. Levirate and sororate marriages are socially accepted. But plural wives are mostly restricted to well-to-do tribals only. Even though woman is an economic asset, the payment of bride-price and the exorbitant marriage expenses are the major hurdles for acquiring a second wife as most of the tribals cannot afford to pay bride-price and bear the heavy marriage expenses. Widow remarriage is socially recognised. Divorce is socially granted at the request of either party. But if a woman deserts her husband and repairs to her parental home or elopes with another man, either the parent or the second husband, as the case may be, should pay compensation to the former husband. Neither a man nor a woman can violate the rules of clan exogamy or tribe endogamy. The violator will be expressly excommunicated from the tribe by the tribal council. If a person belonging to a higher status tribal group selects a spouse from a low status tribal group, the tribal council of the former tribe immediately ostracises the offender. The offender will not be admitted into the community fold until he/she divorces the spouse and undergoes a purificatory ceremony. The traditional priest of the community performs purificatory ceremony by stamping

the tongue of the offender with heated gold ring. Besides, the offender should pay Rs. 50/- to the priest and arrange a community feast to his tribe.

The prescribed methods of acquiring mates are by negotiation (Boibandi Biba), mutual love and elopement (Udaliya Jibar), capture (Trolli Anabar) and by service (Gorjuvai). While marriage by negotiation is pre-arranged by parents of the spouses and other elders of the tribe, marriage by love and elopement and capture do not involve any role of the elders. The former method is resorted to when the boy and girl like each other and the parents refuse to perform the marriage while mock capture is undertaken with the knowledge of the girl. Even though the usual marriage celebrations and consequent expenditure are skipped over, payment of bride-price and consent of the girl are essential for the solemnization of the marriage by the elders in both cases. Marriage by service is resorted to by poor youngmen who cannot afford to pay either bride-price or bear the marriage expenses. The bridegroom serves his prospective parents-in-law for a stipulated period and if the parents-in-law are satisfied with the services of the bridegroom they solemnise the marriage. Sometimes when a couple are not blessed with male children and have female issues only, they invite a poor young man, preferably one of their nephews or a prescribed nearest blood relative to come and help them in the family pursuit on a promise that after serving them satisfactorily, the young man will be given one of his daughters in marriage. In such cases the married couple may be given a share in their property also.

While marriage affairs are the concern of a limited group of people, usually the families of the spouses involved, the code of conduct of the members of a tribe and the villagers is looked after by the respective tribe and village councils. The tribal societies of the area have developed certain indigenous institutions of social control in order to maintain group solidarity and harmonious inter-tribal and intra-tribal relations in the village. At the individual tribe level the 'Kula Panchayat' consists of hereditary elders whose membership is inherited from father to son or to the nearest blood relation viz., brother or brother's son etc., in the absence of a son. The size of the tribe level council differs from village to village depending upon the number of families of a particular tribe inhabiting a village. Generally cases of violation of clan exogamy, incestuous sexual

relations, family disputes and cases of divorce and any other derogatory acts of the members that may lower the prestige of the tribe involving violation of the code of conduct of the group are dealt with by the tribe level council. It is also the duty of the tribal council to represent the tribe members during inter-tribal disputes. The tribal council thus plays a dual role—punishes the culprit and protects the victim.

The village level council, generally known as 'Barobai' or twelve elders comprises of hereditary members of elders drawn from various tribal groups inhabiting the village. It is presided over by the 'Voora munsif' or village headman who is a hereditary functionary appointed by the 'Muttadar' and also recognised by the government. The village council decides land disputes and other disputes involving different tribal groups of the village and some times even those disputes which could not be settled by the individual tribal councils are brought for settlement to the village council. It is also the responsibility of the village council to represent villagers in case of inter-village disputes. Besides, the village council which invariably includes the priest (Pujari) of the village deities, makes arrangements for the proper celebration of various village festivals in consultation with the priest. The disputes that could not be settled at the village level are referred to the 'Muttadar' for the final adjudication.

The 'Muttadar' is the traditional supreme political, social and administrative head of the 'Mutta'. The 'Muttadari' system was a creation of the British regime. According to this system a number of villages are grouped into a 'Mutta' and it is administered by an hereditary intermediary called 'Muttadar'. The essence of the 'Muttadari' system is that government realise land revenue from a group of villages in the shape of fixed 'Kattubadi' paid by the 'Muttadar' who should also help the government in maintaining law and order in these inaccessible hill areas. In lieu of their services, the 'Muttadar' and his 'Voora Munsifs' enjoy rent free lands. Because of their direct contacts with government and their authoritarian status in the 'Mutta' villages, in course of time, the 'Muttadars' assumed the roles of feudal lords and the poor and ignorant tribals have been reduced to virtual serfdom. Thus the 'Muttadars' have become the supreme leaders of the 'Mutta' in all facets of village life. Neither village festivals nor inter-village disputes nor even agricultural operations could be conducted without the forma-

approval of the 'Muttadar'. Even to this day, inspite of the withdrawal of 'Sanads' by Government, the 'Muttadars' still hold sway over the village life of the tribals of Araku agency, though subdued to some extent. Almost all the 'Muttadars' and 'Voora Munsifs' belong to Bhagata tribe only.

Since 1962 a new dimension has been given to the power structure of the tribal region by extending the process of democratic decentralization because of which the tribals are for the first time introduced to the institutionalised statutory political structure at the grass roots level. Elections were conducted for two terms viz., 1962 and 1964 since the inception of Panchayat Raj in the tribal areas of the region. These two elections showed that there is not much political awakening among the tribals as there has been no remarkable change in the leadership patterns of the tribals. In most of the panchayats, the traditional authoritarian leaders like the 'Muttadar' and the 'Voora munsifs' and the most influential hereditary members of the tribal council have been unanimously elected to these statutory bodies. In a few cases the non-tribals or their tribal henchmen are also elected as members of the panchayat taking advantage of the initial ignorance of the tribals to grasp the significance of the role of the panchayats in moulding their material welfare. Ideology oriented power politics are yet to descend upon the valley. But one heartening feature is the general awakening of the tribal leaders to the realities of these democratic institutions since the tribals are also slowly realising that it is through the instrumentality of democratic decentralisation that tribal development programmes are implemented in the tribal areas. In this regard the tribals of Araku valley are more fortunate than the tribals of other areas as they are reaping the benefits of development programmes for about a decade, since the Araku valley is one of the four tribal areas selected for the first introduction of Multipurpose projects in 1956. This longer programme implementation period helped the tribals of this area to become more plan-conscious than the tribals of other regions who were denied the benefits of Community Development until the Third Five Year Plan period when all the tribal areas are brought under some Tribal Development Block or the other.

Just as the tribal societies evolved traditional codes of conduct and social control institutions for maintaining harmonious and

frictionless group life, they have also developed religious practices to commission the services of supernatural powers and spirits whose favourable attitude is believed to be essential for the physical and material welfare of the individual and the group as well. These religious practices seem to have originated from an ingrained belief in the existence of spirits which are the surviving souls of their dead ancestors. The worship of these spirit beings constitutes the core of their culture and the beliefs and the consequent rituals are inextricably interwoven into the social, economic and religious life of these tribals.

From birth to death, life for the tribals is a series of crisis involving risk especially at the time of pregnancy, birth, puberty, marriages disease and death as these are considered to be the turning point, in an individual's life. These are believed to be critical stages requiring special protection from unseen and supernatural powers and this belief ultimately resulted in the evolution of the various *rites de passage*. The tribal groups of the Araku valley perform these life cycle ceremonies and family rituals lest they incur the displeasure of the ancestor spirits. They also celebrate certain village festivals which a



KONDA KAMMARA MAN FROM ARAKU VILLAGE. ( NOTE THE RING ON  
THE WRIST, A SIHK CULTURAL TRAIT )



THE STATEMENT GIVEN BELOW GIVES THE NAME OF THE FESTIVAL, ASSOCIATED DEITY, PERIOD OF WORSHIP, IMPLICATION ETC.  
CELEBRATED IN A TYPICAL TRIBAL VILLAGE IN ARAKU VALLEY.

Sl.No.	Name of the Festival	Deity or Spirits worshipped	Implication	Months & Duration
1.	Chaitra (Kothamasa) Panduga	Nishan, Bhairav & Bees Janthra	Ceremonial hunting, first ploughing and churning seeds	March-April (Chaitra) 12 Days.
2.	Pedda Devudu Panduga	Pedda Devudu, Ancestral spirits	General welfare. Eating food in the fields	April-May (Baisakh) 1 day.
3.	Bheema Devudu Panduga	Bheema	Cattle welfare	May-June (Landjat) 1 day.
4.	Korra-sama-Kotha	Ancestor spirits	Eating of first fruits	July-August (Banda) 1 day.
5.	Balli or Gyamma	Jankari	Protection of the fertility of the seeds and soils	August-September (Vasa) 12 days.
6.	Metta Dhanyam Kotha	Ancestor spirits	First fruits eating	September-October (Dasara) 1 day.
7.	Deepavali (Dyadi)	do	Dumba worship, festival of lights.	October-November (Dyadi) 4 days.
8.	(a) Chaikkudu Kotha (b) Mukma Devi Panduga (c) Ganga-Devudu Panduga	Mukma and ancestral spirits and Ganga Devudu	First fruits festival, General Welfare	December-January (Push) 27 days.
9.	Nandi-Devudu Panduga	Nandi-Devudu	New thatch to the huts	January-February (Magh) 1 day.
10.	Phagun Kalchuta	..	Bumper crops	February-March(Phagun) 1 day.

intended for the welfare of all the tribal groups without any community distinction involving mass sacrifices, processions and propitiations. While the life cycle ceremonies are intended for the protection of the individual or at the most his immediate kin-group such as family or clan, the various village festivals have seasonal significance and functional implication like protection of crops, people, huts, cattle, fertility of the soil and seeds, efficacy of agricultural implements besides heralding of rainy, winter and summer seasons. Pedda Demudu, Ganga Demudu, Bhairav Devta, Mukma Devta, Nandi Demudu, Nishan Demudu and Jankari Devata are the most important deities whose worship is the duty of all the tribals of the village. Ancestor worship is invariably undertaken during every festival. While the corporate worship of the village deities gave rise to common priesthood for all the village festivals, the propitiation of ancestor spirits during life cycle ceremonies and other family propitiations seem to have developed separate priesthood for each tribe. This is amply illustrated by the fact that all village deities have a common priest called 'Pujari' mostly belonging to Bhagata tribe, whereas during life cycle ceremonies each tribe has its own functionary.

A fleeting glance at the statement\* shows that the tribals spend as many as 60 days in the celebration of the various festivals. On any festive or ritual occasion the tribals do not undertake any work. In addition to these 60 days, March and April are the most auspicious months for the celebration of marriages. Throughout the year sporadically some family or clan will be performing one or the other of the life cycle ceremonies. Almost 1/3rd of an year is thus spent in such unproductive activities like propitiation of some deity or the celebration of some life cycle ceremony or family ritual. Besides waste of time, the performance of these rituals involves some expenditure. Perhaps this is one of the main causes for the chronic backwardness of the various tribal groups of the region and the tribals living in other parts of the country also. But from the sociological point of view, the various festivals and ceremonies are the unifying chords bringing together different ethnic groups. The exhilarating music and the exquisite 'Dimsa' dance performed during these festivals foster harmonious inter-tribal relations and thus contribute for village solidarity. In the gay abandon of the festivities, the tribals forget the past wrangles, petty quarrels and

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\*See Page 25

status distinctions and an egalitarian atmosphere pervades the whole scene. Irrespective of community status all the tribal groups revel in the 'Dimsa' dance whose continuous performance for a whole month preceding Sankranthi, reaches its climax on Sankranthi Day. By this time almost all the crops are harvested and during this month as many as three deities are worshipped since this period of plenty prompts a befitting propitiation of deities so that they may be favourably inclined towards the material welfare of the tribals. The theme of the various rituals and festivals also indicates that the tribal is not much worried about washing off his sins in order to enjoy a peaceful and luxurious time in the other world to which his soul may transmigrate after death. All his religious practices seem to be intended for his material well being in this world only and not for escaping ravages of hell as the tribals' notion of heaven and hell are quite hazy and unclear.

*Concepts of Disease and Cure* :—The tribals of Araku valley generally attribute any disease or death to either sorcery or to the wrath of malign and angered spirits. Sorcery or witchcraft is one of the most dreaded practices in tribal areas. The belief in magic and witchcraft arises not from a specific type of inherited mentality but from a particular form of cultural environment in which they are brought up. They believe that they suffer from stomach-ache if any outsider sees while eating food. Whenever they suffer from any disease, they approach the traditional medicineman (Guru). The local medicineman refers to Palmyra leaves book (Raccha). This bundle of palmyra leaves contains the details of evil spirits, and causes of various diseases and methods of curing them. It is written in Oriya language. He writes on small palmyra leaf some magical formulae and rolls it into a small bundle and it is tied around the neck of the diseased person. One can find number of such palmyra leaf rolls around the necks of tribals and their children. The Guru also sacrifices fowls to the malevolent spirits in order to ward off their wrath. Besides, he administers oral herbal medicines also. For cold and fever, he collects tubers of 'Tunga', 'Vasakommu', 'Batridumpa', 'Sottabori' and crushes them and gives to the diseased. In case of cold, 'Pippalidumpa', garlic, 'Avalu' (mustard), 'Vammu', leaves of 'shekai' are boiled and the water is given to the patient.

For epilepsy the roots of 'Bilaikosu', 'Laxmi' flowers, 'Billalacha' and tail of 'Kanuju' (Sambar) are brought and grinded and then given to the patient.

'Patalagaridi' (*Rawulfia Serpentina*) is a very important medicinal herb. It is used for curing head-ache, stomach-ache and snake-bite. For snake-bite this root and tobacco are ground together and mixed with water and given to the victim. Then he vomits. Again another dose is given. It is believed that poison does not enter the heart and thus the man will be saved. It is also believed that if a man eats the root of 'Patalagaridi' continuously for 21 days, snake poison shall not enter into the body of the man and even if that man is bitten by a snake, the snake will die rather than the man. At the time of investigation in Kiloguda village plains people from Srungavarapukota and other neighbouring towns had approached the local medicine man of Kiloguda to cure a mad boy. They even proudly claim that they will not be hurt when they are either stabbed or shot at if they consume certain herbs. Both tribals and non-tribals have immense faith in the efficacy of herbal medicines. When a pregnant woman is not having easy delivery and suffering from prolonged labours, the traditional medicine man goes into the jungle and pulls out a plant (*Kukurdanti*). If the plant comes out with the entire root without any cut, it is believed that the woman will have easy delivery and both mother and child will be safe. If the plant is broken in the middle they believe that the woman is sure to die. After delivery if a woman has profuse bleeding she is given liquor. The baby and mother are given bath with hot water soon after delivery. Generally the name giving ceremony is observed on the seventh day of delivery. Soon after this name giving ceremony the woman is free to attend to domestic work.

There are many indications that tribals' health in their own habitat is in a deplorable condition. The more varied diet, the greater physical effort in agriculture and hunting in the forest and some of the social customs have counteracted these adverse conditions. There is no doubt the insanitary conditions in villages are responsible for such ill health. During rainy season the cattle sheds which are situated near the dwelling houses give bad smell. But majority of tribal houses, even in the most squalid surroundings are remarkably kept clean by the housewives. They regularly smear the walls of the house with cow-dung mixed with ash of



MUKA DORA WOMEN FETCHING WATER FROM STREAM



burnt straw. The houses are not at all provided with windows because of extreme cold during winter season. They also believe that if there are windows evil spirits can easily enter the house and harm the people. Each household, day in and day out, keeps red hot charcoal in earthen ware stoves. During winter and rainy seasons they sit by the side of charcoal stoves and during night also they sleep by the side of the red hot charcoal stoves only as they do not possess good blankets to protect them from the biting cold. Both man and woman regularly take bath. The women folk wash the clothes once in a week. Ash is added to water and the dirty clothes are boiled and then washed in running water.

*Food and Food habits* :—Ragi is the staple food of the tribes of Araku area. They eat cooked Ragi when they are hungry and drink Ragi gruel when they are thirsty. The tribals generally consume Ragi food three times a day. They take rice also especially on festive occasions, or whenever close relatives visit their homes. In well to do houses they mix Ragi with rice and prepare food.

The tribals generally depend on the natural fruits like jack and mango during the summer season. The jack and mango fruits are abundantly available in the agency area during the season. These fruits from tender stage to fully ripen stage are source of food to the local people. The poorer sections of the tribes of the area store the mango pulp and make porridge out of it. They crush the mango pulp and make a lump and preserve it for the lean months. Whenever they are actually in need of it, they soak this in water for some time. The lighter part of the lump when soaked in running water becomes soft, they make porridge out of it and drink. Small white insects (Bodding) which are found in the decaying shrubs and palms are also eaten by them. The tribals burn them and eat or prepare curry out of them.

They also depend on edible roots, leaves etc., which are available in plenty in the jungles. Edible roots such as 'Alangur kanda', 'Pit kanda', 'Taragai', 'Sarukanda', 'Mundu kanda', 'Allukanda', 'Pith kanda', 'Kosa kanda', 'Suttakanda', 'Sorindakanda' etc., are some of the edible tubers. A variety of leaves and flowers such as 'Chenna pattaro', 'Servalli', 'Chakonda', 'Kaoilarisagh',

'Shekai' etc., are also eaten by the tribals. The local people bring these leaves, boil them in water, add salt and chilli powder and eat it as curry. They also collect 'adda' seeds and burn or boil them and eat. 'Konchanpool', another kind of wild flower is also used in the preparation of curry. The villagers grow pumpkins in their kitchen gardens. They preserve these pumpkins throughout the year. The flowers, tender shoots and tender leaves of pumpkin are also used for the preparation of curry. In addition to Ragi, they also consume paddy, 'Korra' and many other varieties of cereals and pulses like redgram ('Sirikandulu,' 'Kondakandulu,' and 'Tamatatamalu'), Bengal gram, black gram, green gram and beans. Tender bamboo shoots and rice are also consumed by these tribals. Some of the tribals are growing cucumber, cabbage, gourds and brinjals on their kitchen gardens.

All the tribals eat meat of fowls, goats, sheeps etc., and wild animals. Valmiki, Konda Doras, Gadabas, Samanthas and Porjas who eat pork also rear and eat pigs. Valmiki and Ghasis eat the flesh of dead animals also.

*The Traditional Drinks* :—The origin of the habit of drinking intoxicants and its purpose is lost in the mist of antiquity. According to cultural orientations of tribes, the act of drinking is inseparably connected with the net work of sacred ideas, sentiments, magico-religious and social activities. Drinking of this type is extensive among the tribal communities and addiction to this habit begins from childhood and even infants at the breast are given liquor.

During all the religious festivals ceremonial drinking of liquor is very essential. The priest who officiates the ceremony takes liquor and then only recites the 'mantrams'. The traditional medicinemen or women also invariably take liquor and invoke the spirits and chant 'mantrams' in order to placate the evil spirits. The group drinking of liquor generally precedes the participation of members in social ceremonies. The initiation of marriage proposals starts with the drinking of liquor by both parties. Most of the fines collected from the persons who had committed breach of norms is also utilised by the community members for drinking liquor. After delivery a woman is also given liquor so as to be relieved from the pains. At the time of obsequies most of the relatives of the deceased person take liquor. All the people irrespective of age and

sex indulge in excessive drinking in weekly shandies. The women folk are permitted to drink as freely as men but it is not an uncommon sight a wife bringing her intoxicated husband home. Excessive drinking is more common among men than women. On the shandy day several people take liquor excessively and forget their way to home and reach different places in a semiconscious state. The next day when he regains consciousness, he returns to his village. The tribals used to prepare their own traditional drinks and consume them. The traditional drinks include 'Maddi kallu' (Pendani) 'landa' and 'Jeelugukallu' (Caryota palm toddy).

In the preceding pages the cultural milieu of the Araku valley tribals is described. And this generally necessitates study of the major tribal groups of the area who mostly contributed to the distinct culture complex of the valley so as to grasp the nature and composition of the cultural elements contributed by each tribe for the complex whole. A brief description of the major tribal groups is presented below :—

*Bhagata* :—This once warrior community which had tradition of serving the Golugonda kings with 'Bhakti' (devotion) is said to have derived its name Bhagata from the root word 'Bhakti'. They are also known as Rana and Rona which also indicate their soldierly profession as 'Rana' means war.

Socially, economically and politically Bhagatas are the most dominant group of the region. Most of the 'Muttadars' and 'Voora Munsifs' (Village Headmen) belong to Bhagata tribe and this traditional authoritarian status helped them to become the most powerful community of the region, and a sizable number of panchayat members and Sarpanchas of the region belong to this tribe.

Bhagatas occupy the highest rung of the social ladder of the region. The social structure of this endogamous tribe is divided into a number of exogamous clans called 'Vamsams' such as Korra (Sun), Kilo or Bagh (Tiger), Gollari (Monkey), Pangi (Kite) etc., and each of these clans are subdivided into a number of 'Intiperulu' (Surnames). Descent, authority and residence are patrilineal, patriarchal and patrilocal respectively. The accepted methods of acquiring mates are by negotiation, mutual love and elopement,

capture and service. Junior levirate, sororate, widow remarriage and polygynous marriages are socially approved. Divorce is socially accepted subject to the condition that the second husband of the woman pays compensation (Maganali) to the first husband.

Bhagatas are sedentary cultivators and only a small number of them resort to 'podu' or shifting cultivation. The poorer sections of the tribe mainly subsist on agricultural labour and forest labour. Collection and sale of minor forest produce is the most important subsidiary occupation along with forest labour and agricultural labour.

The most effective institution of social control is the 'Barobai' or the twelve elders of the tribal council. Disputes arising out of family feuds, breach of prescribed code of conduct, theft, illegal and incestuous sexual relations, cases of ex-communication, fixing the day and celebration of village festivals and even the starting of the agricultural operations fall under the purview of the 'Barobai'. The deliberations of the 'Barobai' are guided by the 'Voora Munsif' (village headman) of the concerned village or the 'Muttadar'.

The actions and thoughts of the tribe are conditioned by their firm faith in the existence of innumerable ancestor spirits and deities which are believed to guide their destiny. During the memorial service to the ancestor spirits and worship of village deities like Nishan, Jankari, Sanku Demudu, Ganga Demudu, Nandi Demudu etc., bloody sacrifices are offered to ward off their wrath.

*Samantha* :—Khond, Samantha, Jatapu, Konda and Kuvinga are synonymous terms referring to one of the most backward tribal groups of Araku agency. It is very rarely that Samantha habitats are situated in the foot hill areas or flat lands. Hill peaks and slopes are the favourite settlement spots of the Samanthas. Their house types, social structure, livelihood, rituals and dialect depict them as a distinct tribe in the Araku Valley.

A typical Samantha settlement is characterised by three long linear houses, two of which are built parallel to each other with the third linear hut constructed facing the ends of the other two linear huts. Each of these linear huts are divided into five or six single room compartments separated by mud-plastered wattle walls or only mud walls. Each compartment houses a family.



SAMANTHA MAN



In their typical dress and bead ornaments and physical features like light complexion, short noses and Mongoloid strain they are distinct from other tribes.

The Samantha social structure, which is again characteristic feature of the tribe consists three sub-groups viz., Kutia, Dungria and Desia, each of which is divided into a number of unilateral descent groups and every one of these clans has a specific name and an associated 'Illu penu' (house deity). A few clans and their respective 'Illu penu' are : Malleka (Ganga penu), Mandinga (Sannulu penu), Hooika (Donga penu), Killeka (Dodi penu) and Hoka (Sita penu). Even though clan is strictly exogamous, marital alliances are prescribed between certain groups of clans and proscribed with others. The clans between whom the matrimonial alliances are prohibited are called 'Tainga' or brother-clans and the clans between which marriages are permitted are known as 'Sandinga' clans. These groups of clans, however do not form into phratries. In this patrilineal society monogamy is very common with rare cases of polygyny which is also socially approved. Junior levirate, sororate, and widow remarriage are socially accepted. Symmetric cross-cousin marriages are preferred while maternal uncle-niece marriages are also in vogue. Paying exorbitant bride-price and giving an expensive feast are pre-requisite for marriage. Besides marriage by negotiation and exchange, marriage by elopement, capture, and service too are socially accepted.

The Samanths are polytheists and their pantheon consists of a number of deities whose names invariably have the suffix 'Penu'. The hierarchy of the gods in the Samantha pantheon is given below :

1. Bhima penu : *God of rains.*
2. Jakari penu : *Village deity.*
3. Illu penu : *House deity.*
4. Horu penu or  
Hussa penu : *Deity of Mountains.*
5. Jolla penu : *Deity of Streams.*
6. Ruga penu : *Deity of diseases.*
7. Pota Raju : *Deity of Jungle.*
8. Tokki penu : *The Mother Earth.*

There are as many as ten festivals during which these deities are propitiated by the Samanthas. Another peculiar feature of the Samantha religion is the specialisation of the various religious functionaries. 'Disari' is both a priest and an astrologer. 'Pejjeni' is a married woman or widow who officiates all the rites of the Samanthas. 'Tromba' is a male functionary who acts as priest for Jakari penu and Ruga penu while 'Gumbria' plays musical instruments during the various festivals. It is very important to note that human sacrifice was offered to Jakari penu until the last century by the Samanthas.

The tribal council of the Samanthas consists of four or five selected members headed by a hereditary chief called 'Havanta'. The tribal council preserves the codes of conduct, safegurads the interest of the tribesmen and promotes tribal solidarity.

Samanthas are cultivators and are notorious for 'Podu' cultivation in which they are adepts and out beat all other tribal groups. Millets like 'ragi', 'sama' and 'korra', oil seeds like niger and castor and pulses like redgram are raised in their 'podu' fields. They are experts in hunting and fishing also. Handicrafts like basket and mat weaving, oil extraction etc., are known to them. Collection and sale of minor forest produce and forest labour also sustain them for considerable periods.

Their staple food comprises of 'sama' and 'ragi' supplemented by numerous edible roots, tubers, fruits and leaves available in their jungle habitat. Mango kernel, tamarind, 'Adda' and jack seeds are pounded and their flour is used for preparing gruel. Beef and pork are consumed by them besides the flesh of other domesticated and wild animals.

The Samanthas have their own dialect called Kui or Kuvi which is akin to the 'Kubi' dialect spoken by their neighbours, Konda Doras. Their language belongs to the proto-kui division of the Central Dravidian group. Another distinguishing feature of Samantha culture is their famous 'Mayura' (peacock) [dance]. The males alone perform this dance imitating the peacock with a bundle of peacock feathers tied behind their waist and sporting them behind their back according to the modulations of the body during the performance of the dance. Besides their typical tradi-

tional 'Mayura' dance Samanthas also participate in the performance of the famous Dimsa dance of Araku valley along with other tribal groups.

The Samanthas are the most primitive of all the tribes of Araku valley subsisting on shifting cultivation and living in isolated hilly tracts.

*Gadabas* :—Gadabas are another primitive tribe of the region. There are three major sub-groups among Gadabas *viz.*, Bodo or Gutub, Kathera or Ollaru and Parengi or Kolloyi. The term Kapu Gadabas does not indicate any particular division of Gadabas for the prefix 'Kapu' is generally applied to all Gadabas who have settled in the plains and took to agriculture, irrespective of their sub-group affiliation.

The Gadabas constitute into two distinct speech groups—Central Dravidian Linguistic group and the Munda speaking group. While the dialect of the Katheri Gadabas belongs to the former linguistic group, the dialect of the other two divisions, Gutub and Parengi belongs to Munda or Mon-khmer speech group.

The traditional dress of the Gadaba women is peculiar to the women of this tribe only and it is famous for its colourful red, blue or black and white stripes. It consists of two parts—the kilt (Kithaki) which is wrapped round the waist hanging down the knees and the upper cloth which is simply knotted on one shoulder after bringing it from underneath the armpit of the other shoulder. These two pieces are woven on a most primitive indigenous handloom. The warp of the cloth is hand spun fibre of 'Palikamaren' or 'Boddamaren' trees and the woof the cotton yarn. Nowadays many of the younger generation women have given up the traditional dress and are imitating the plains dress patterns by wearing sarees and blouses.

One interesting feature of the Gadaba social structure is the peculiar grouping of clans to regulate marriage on the basis of the belief in common descent and bond friendship. Each of the sub-groups are further sub-divided into a number of clans, which are organised into three groups *viz.*, Todam or Dadabai clans, Samidkil or Muvuntor clans and Parikil or Parikinin clans. All the clans belonging to Todam group trace their descent through one common

male ancestor and hence marital relations between members belonging to various clans of this group are strictly prohibited. Unlike the Todam clans, Samidkil clans have different mythical ancestors and therefore marital relations are permitted between these clans. The Parikil group is composed of brother-clans between whom ceremonial bond friendship developed since generations, and as such, even though there is no blood relationship between them, marital relations are strictly tabooed.

Similar to other tribal groups of the region Gadaba society is patrilineal, patrilocal and patriarchal and spouses are acquired through negotiation (Oduru), mutual love and elopement (Odiliya ottisu or Origandhasanam) and capture. Pre-marital relations are not considered as a serious social offence unless the girl becomes pregnant. But extra-marital relations are considered equivalent to adultery and as such liable to punishment. Polygyny, widow remarriage and levirate are socially accepted. But it is compulsory on the part of the man who marries her for the first time after she becomes a widow to pay 'Munda Tappu' (Penalty) to either her parents or parents-in-law wherever she lives at the time of marriage or elopement.

They celebrate many seasonal and agricultural festivals during which they propitiate Jakari, Disamavaru, Ratala Polamma etc., besides offering ancestor worship and participating in the festivals of the village along with other tribal groups.

The code of conduct, inter-tribal and intra-tribal relations are harmoniously maintained by the tribal council which generally consists of four or five village elders headed by the 'Mudalee' or headman. Trial by ordeal, taking oath and the examination of eye witness is the *modus operandi* of dispensing justice.

Traditionally Gadabas are palanquin bearers for the local Rajahs and temple deities. But for a few Gadabas living around Madugula who still serve as palanquin bearers of the local deities, others have given up the traditional calling. Sedentary agriculture and allied labour and shifting cultivation constitute their major sources of livelihood. Collection and sale of minor forest produce, hunting and fishing are the most important subsidiary occupations



KOTIA MAN



*Kotia* :—Kotia is another important tribal group of the Araku agency thriving on settled agriculture. The tribe is divided into endogamous sub-groups—Bodo and Sano Kotiyas and the former sub-group claims superior social status over the latter sub-group. Again these two sub-groups are further sub-divided into four subdivisions each. Each of these sub-divisions consists of a number of clans which are common to the other tribal groups also. They belong to the upper stratum of the social hierarchy along with Bhagatas, Goudus and Muka Doras as they too do not eat beef and pork.

The practice of marriage by capture is fast vanishing, giving way to marriage by negotiations. A man who cannot afford to bear marriage expenses and pay bride-price resorts to marriage by service. Marriage by mutual love and elopement is also socially approved and this is usually preceded by a period of courtship and also the local practice of friendship known as 'Goth Band Bar'. The man and woman who enter into 'Goth Band Bar' pay reciprocal visits to each others house, frequently meet at shandies and exchange gifts and this friendship may ultimately lead to marriage.

Kotias live in multi-tribal villages along with other tribal groups and participate in the propitiation of the local deities like Jankari, Sanku Demudu, Nandi Demudu, Ganga Demudu etc. Many of the elderly men of the tribe are found wearing sacred thread similar to Bhagatas and Mooka Doras.

Settled cultivation is their main stay but they resort to 'Podu' cultivation also. The meagre income from agriculture is supplemented by the income derived from collection and sale of minor forest produce and forest labour.

*Valmiki* :—Valmiki, Paidi, Domb and Pano are synonymous terms applied to the same tribe. The noteworthy feature of Valmiki is their versatility and great receptivity to change. Naturally Valmiki reaps the benefits of any welfare programme better than any other tribal group and pave the way for others to emulate them because of their ingrained initiative and pushing nature. From settled agriculture to working as commission agents to plains sow-cars in the business transactions of minor forest produce, Valmiki are adepts in adopting any occupation to their advantage. This



Valmikiis mainly thrive on agriculture even though they are found engaged in a variety of occupations like collection and sale of minor forest produce, hides, horns and skins of wild animals, agricultural labour, money-lending, middlemen in the business transactions between tribal and non-tribal merchants, and playing music during all the festivals and life cycle ceremonies of the tribals of the region.

As Valmikiis occupy a very low place in the social hierarchy social distance is practiced by other tribals. Even though physical contact is not believed to result in pollution, Valmikiis are neither allowed to enter the houses of higher status tribals nor permitted to touch their utensils.

*Muka Dora* :—Muka Doras, who are otherwise called Nooka Doras and Mooga Doras, are another predominant tribe inhabiting the Araku Valley. Like the Bhagatas and unlike Gadabas and Samanthas they do not have a dialect of their own and Telugu is their mother-tongue. But many of them are well versed in Oriya also.

In social status, Muka Doras claim highest place in the prestige pyramid even over Bhagatas. But this contention is neither accepted by Bhagatas nor by any other community. Their social practices and social organisation are similar to Bhagatas but for the absence of separate 'Intiperulu' or surnames among them. Muka Dora society is divided into several exogamous clans such as Korra, Gammela, Kakara, Sugra, Kinchoyi, Chickudu, Mamidi etc., and these clan names are adopted as their 'Intiperulu'.

Their marital practices and family life are similar to the practices of other tribal groups. Marriage by elopement, negotiation, capture and service are the approved methods of acquiring mates. Besides levirate, sororate and widow remarriage, acquiring plural wives *i.e.*, polygyny is also socially approved.

Their festivals and other religious practices are similar to the other tribal groups. Many of the elderly men of the tribe wear sacred threads like the Bhagatas and Kotias of the region. Similarly they wear 'Tulasi' (Basil) beads around their necks which is a symbol of their affiliation to the Krishna cult of the neighbouring Oriya and Andhra People.

Muka Doras are predominantly settled agriculturists but a few of them resort to 'Podu' cultivation also. They also work as forest labourers and agricultural labourers besides collecting and selling minor forest produce to supplement their meagre income from agriculture.

## CHAPTER IV

### Maladjustment

It is into such a tradition bound, sentimental and primitive society that one of the fastest modes of transportation has been introduced. The construction work functionally involved people from various human groups possessing distinct and superior material culture than the tribal groups of Araku valley. A miniature Indian society with its variegated cultural patterns, illustrating 'unity in diversity' has been witnessed during the construction work of the project. Though for a short period, the tribal folk could have a glimpse of the advanced material life of a cross section of Indian people. Most of these alien workers came here as technical experts, mechanics, fitters, engineers, skilled and semi-skilled labourers etc. But for a few highly paid officials, all others have immigrated to this place individually leaving their families in their native places. And it is only with the low paid personnel of these alien workers that the tribals came into actual contact as a majority of the tribal men and women worked as casual and unskilled labourers under the direct supervision of these low paid employees. Thus people hailing from two distinct culture zones *viz.*, the tribal and non-tribal have developed certain functional relations in the context of their work.

But here it must be borne in mind that the tribals of this region have been acquiring plains cultural traits from the handful of plains settlers who have been tickling down to these hilly tracts since the construction of the Visakhapatnam-Machkund road in the first half of the 20th century. The process of culture change further received an impetus with the opening of the Araku Multi-purpose Block in the year 1956 and the consequent Tribal Development Block. But both these landmarks in the process of culture change just brought the tribals into contact with cultures of their more advanced neighbouring plains people of Andhra and Orissa regions.

These two stages have helped the tribal to some extent to eschew his proverbial initial shyness and conditioned him to readily imbibe the plains culture if an opportunity came his way.

The present stage of cultural transformation is distinct from the preceding two stages as it suddenly confronted them with a broader cultural canvas of hitherto unknown diversity and magnitude. But one characteristic feature of this phase is that it is very temporary; lasting for five years only. This new social situation suddenly descended upon them, lingered for a while and vanished as quickly as it came leaving behind a trace of its former existence in the shape of superficial debasing changes which are not to the advantage of the tribals. While the tribal culture is not enriched in any way by this contact situation, it could only make some dents into the morality of the tribal societies. This sort of social situation naturally resulted in social maladjustment of the tribal groups to some extent.

Both tribal men and women acquired new tastes, desires and habits which are not in consonance with the traditional behaviour patterns and social practices of their societies. The temporary phase of contact seems to have degraded the social values and morality of the tribal women. The influx of a large number of men in several instances had resulted in their having illegitimate intimacy with the poor tribal women folk who are mostly trapped by attractive gifts and money. Some of these women could establish permanent married life with some of the male workers hailing from Punjab, Madras, Kerala etc. In some cases it led to the disruption of previous harmonious family life and violation of tribe endogamy. According to a sample study conducted in ten villages of Araku Valley 19 cases of tribal-non-tribal marriages and 49 cases of family disorganisations were recorded. The following table gives the village-wise particulars of inter-community marriages and family disruptions.



KONDA KAMMARA MAN WITH HIS NON-TRIBAL WIFE



PORJA WOMAN AND HER MUSLIM HUSBAND



## INTER-COMMUNITY MARRIAGES AND FAMILY DISRUPTIONS

<i>Sl. No.</i>	<i>Village</i>	<i>Marriages outside the tribe (with non-tribal D.B.K. workers)</i>	<i>No. of disorganised families.</i>
1.	Adapavalasa	4	4
2.	Araku	7	18
3.	Bondam	1	2
4.	Gannela	..	2
5.	Gorapur	1	7
6.	Kiloguda	5	11
7.	Ranginiguda	..	..
8.	Rega	..	4
9.	Sunkarametta	1	1
10.	Tadika	..	..
Total :		19	49

Of the ten sample villages only two villages were not effected as they are located far away from the work centres. The villages like Adapavalasa, Araku, Gorapur and Kiloguda are situated very near the workspots facilitating frequent contacts between the tribal women and non-tribal men. Among 179 sample families, 10.6% were effected due to pre-marital inter-community relations and the consequent breach of tribe endogamy in these families. About 27% of the sample families suffered disruption due to extra-marital and extra-tribal relations which ultimately resulted in elopement and divorce to the former husband. But these extra-tribe marital relations did not flourish much as the non-tribal man deserted his tribal wife and returned to his native state as soon as his work in the D. B. K. Project is completed. But a few husbands who are faithful to their tribal wives took their spouses also along with them.

Some of the non-tribal male workers took undue advantage of the indigenous traditional bond friendship institutions, like Goth

Band Bar and started amorous flirtings with the innocent tribal girls by befriending them with gifts like rolled gold ornaments, cosmetics, sarees etc. After sometime the poor girls were abandoned and ultimately tempted to drift into immorality. In a few roadside villages a class of professional prostitutes have cropped up who were hitherto unknown in these parts, posing serious health hazards to the tribals. Until D. B. K. Project construction work started cases of venereal diseases are few and far between. The Medical Officer of the Mobile Medical unit, Araku stated that about 15 per cent of the tribal patients are suffering from some venereal disease or the other.

The construction of D. B. K. Project in the tribal areas also created more opportunities for greater social interaction among traditional communities. This greater social interaction between groups of people not only facilitated tribal and non-tribal marriages but also inter-tribal marriages. In former days the inter-tribal marriage was an object of scorn and contempt. The couple who belonged to different tribal communities used to suffer numerous humiliations. But now-a-days the couples are at the most treated with a mild contempt which soon dies away. The hypergamous marriages (Anuloma) were to some extent tolerated by the tribal communities in olden days but hypogamous marriages (Pratiloma) were totally prohibited. But even 'Pratiloma' type of marriages are being tolerated. This type of marriages occurred in Araku village. A man belonging to Valmiki community which is considered to belong to the lowest stratum of the social hierarchy, married a girl belonging to the Bhagata community. Bhagatas occupy the highest place in the social pyramid of Araku region. This man worked in D. B. K. Project near Borra caves. There he came into contact with the girl. He eloped with her and lived in Rajahmundry for two months, and then returned to Araku village. The parents of the girl came to Araku village and demanded bride price (Voli or Jhola) from the man. The village elders settled the dispute and the Valmiki man was asked to pay Rs. 200/- to the girl's parents as compensation. He paid the amount to the girl's parents. The girl's parents arranged community dinner with that money in their own village. And then they were accepted into their community fold. It is stated by the local people that in former days if any Valmiki man happened to marry a Bhagata woman, the parents

of the girl were completely ex-communicated and sometimes the person who married a Bhagata woman used to be killed. But now nobody is scrupulously following these stringent customs and traditions. In the same village another Valmiki man married a woman of Kammaras community. Kammaras are also regarded as superior in social status to Valmikis. He too paid bride price to the girl's parents and the girl's parents arranged community dinner and they were also admitted into their community fold. Thus a number of inter-tribal marriages are taking place. The bride price has enormously increased after the inception of D. B. K. Project. In former days the bride price was only below Rs. 50/-. But now it has risen upto Rs. 200/- to Rs. 300/-.

In addition to illegal sexual unions, the tribals are contracting other vices of the plains people. Gambling and cases of thefts have considerably increased in the tribal areas which were once popularly known as placid places. Gambling (Game of cards) was completely unknown to these tribals prior to the inception of D.B.K. Project. The younger generation tribal workers in D. B. K. acquired this vice from the plains' people who came to work in D. B. K. Project. Many adolescents are employed in large numbers in D. B. K. Project. Generally the older generation stayed back at home in order to look after agriculture and other traditional pursuits and domestic affairs. The adolescent boys who were once totally dependents upon their parents are able to earn money in D. B. K. Project. They can now spend money according to their whims and fancies. When the boys have become regular earners, they became economically independent and this situation led to weakening of parental control. The younger generation is thus able to enjoy a greater sense of freedom than they formerly enjoyed. The incidence of gambling is more acute in Araku village. The boys work in the day time and during night times they play cards. Sometimes they abstain from work and indulge in gambling. When they don't have money they steal from their homes and participate in playing cards.

Some of the boys are also indulging in pick-pocketing at the shandies (Weekly markets). Every Friday a shandy is organised in Araku village. The boys enter into busy places and pick-pocket the tribals. Some of them are also deceiving the tribals. The tribals bring the minor forest produce such as Adda leaves, tamarind

etc., to the shandy. They sell them to the Corporation. The purchasing agent weighs the produce and gives a chit to the seller. He has to go to another cashier and get the amount. The boys deceive the tribals and knock off that chit and run to the cashier and take the amount and escape in a split second. Several such cases are reported at the weekly shandy of Araku Village.

The social maladjustment described in the preceding pages could be attributed to the work of the human element that entered the tribal areas through the D. B. K. construction work. But the changes that are observed in their material life and culture could not be solely attributed to the introduction of D. B. K. Railway. The various processes of material changes that are observed in the tribal food habits and material culture have been the products of the process of immigration of plains settlers and the programmes of development that have been introduced in these tribal areas for the last 10 years. But the increased cash payments and the material culture that is brought by the non-tribal workers of the D. B. K. served as catalyzers in accelerating the process of changing food habits and acquiring fashionable articles of plains origin in the tribal areas. There is considerable change in the dietary systems of tribals. In former days their items of diet consisted of only the articles available in their own habitat. But now they are habituated to tea and coffee. A number of hotels sprang up in the villages which are very close to D. B. K. Project. In Araku village, there are six hotels which came into existence after the inception of D. B. K. Project. Early in the morning they take tiffin and tea in the hotel and go for work. In other villages where there are no hotels they prepare tea in their homes. It can be said that most of the tribals are habituated to drink tea early in the morning instead of 'Chodi' porridge which gives them good nourishment. A few of the tribals who possess large number of cows milch the cattle for preparing tea.

They are also gradually using soaps and other cosmetics. Whenever they want to take head bath they bring the fibre of 'Bararagi' tree and boil it in water. The same water is applied to the head as shampoo. Similarly a kind of mud called 'Chikotimatti' is also rubbed into the hair at the time of washing. They use number of local fruits and fibres to wash their heads and bodies at the time of bath. But now-a-days all these traditional articles which are used



TRADITIONAL DRESS OF TRIBALS (Porja) OF REGA VILLAGE



BORROWED MODERN PATTERNS OF DRESS AFTER  
INCEPTION OF D.B.K. PROJECT

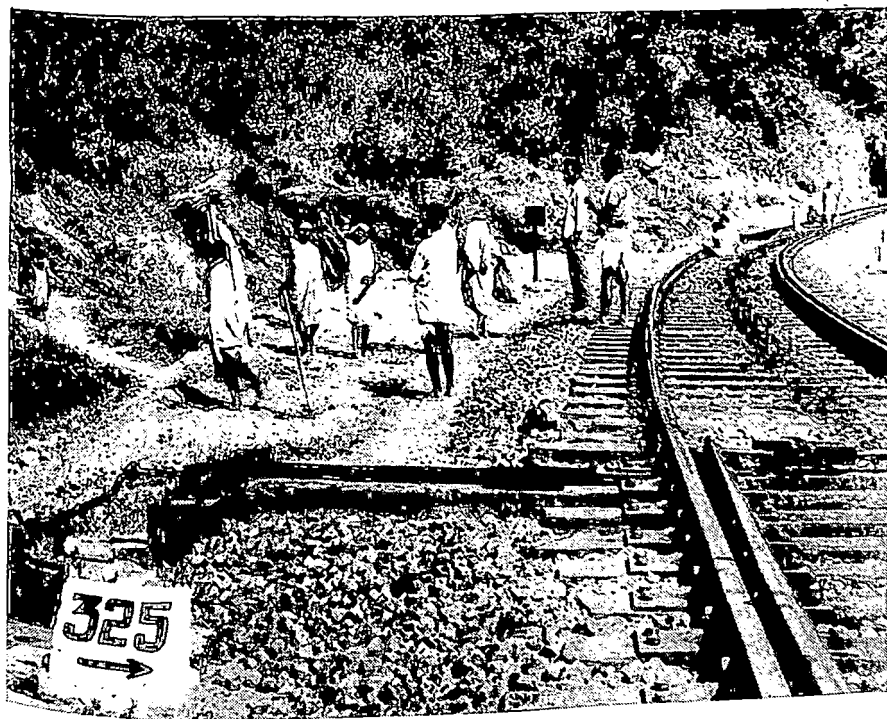
for cleaning and washing are replaced by soaps. The soaps are largely used by all the age groups of tribal community.

The incidence of drinking illicit liquor has increased enormously. In former days they used to manufacture their own native drinks, such as 'Maddikallu' or 'Pendani', 'Landa' etc., and consume generally on festive occasions. The tribals used to take also illicit liquor at the weekly market places (shandies). After the inception of D. B. K. Project the tribals gave up the preparation of traditional liquors and started drinking illicit liquor, which is easily available even at the work spots. On the day when they get their weekly wages the liquor vendors collect the dues from their customers. Some of the tribals are taking illicit liquor daily and thus run into the clutches of liquor vendors, namely, Sondis. When their debts multiply they mortgage their lands or even sell away their lands.

Hunting is no more a useful pastime in these tribal areas. Almost all the game in the vicinity of the villages has been scared away due to the construction of railway line in the dense forest.

Contact with the non-tribals has made the tribal familiar with a large variety of new goods. In former days they used to purchase only three articles from the shandy : (1) Clothes, (2) Kerosene and (3) Salt. But now they are purchasing several commodities including food grains and cosmetics with the money earned in the D. B. K. work. The local products are being replaced by imported goods. The earthen pots, gourds and bamboo containers are replaced by brass and aluminium utensils. The brass nose rings are gradually replaced by gold nose rings. Most of the tribal women folk who are living in the roadside villages like Sunkarametta, Araku village, Yendapalli Valasa (Araku Station) etc., have changed their traditional dress pattern. But all of them have not totally given up the traditional dress. Whenever they attend to agricultural work or collection of fire wood or Minor Forest Produce, they dress themselves in their traditional pattern as it will be quite convenient and comfortable when dressed in traditional pattern. They generally wear the plains dress when they do not have work. Their traditional dress does not cover beyond knees but whereas the plains women's sari completely covers up to foot. If they put on plains women's dress it will be difficult

for them to attend to work in wet lands or any type of work in forests. The tribal women feel free in their own traditional dress as they can easily attend to all sorts of works without any hindrance. The dynamics of culture change that had set in due to the introduction of D. B. K. among the tribals of Araku seem to have made only superficial changes without touching the core of their culture. Their codes of conduct, institutions of social control, social ceremonies, and religious rituals remained without any perceptible changes.



TRIBAL WOMENFOLK WORKING ON RAILWAY LINE



## CHAPTER V

### Tribal Economy and D. B. K.

The notable feature of the economy of the tribals of the Araku region is an unorganised primary sector followed by un-developed secondary and tertiary sectors. As the tribal lives in hilly and forest areas, the land available for profitable cultivation is limited and even this limited land has not been properly exploited as the custom bound agricultural practices with primitive technology, poor cattle, infertile soils and dependence upon unpredictable nature are not conducive for the healthy growth of agriculture. Agriculture and allied activities constitute the fulcrum of the tribal economy followed by collection of Minor Forest Produce, Forest Labour and labour in construction works like D. B. K. and other development works.

Traditionally the possession of land and the agricultural labour have been conditioned by two important institutions viz., the 'Muttadari' and the 'Gothi' systems respectively which are prevalent in the Araku region. The 'Gothi' system is otherwise known as Bonded labour. Most of the tribes of Araku valley such as Bhagatas, Valmiki, Khonds, Konda Doras, Goudus, Gadabas and Kammaras mainly live on tilling land of one type or the other. Bhagatas and Valmiki are mainly settled agriculturists, cultivating both wet and dry lands. The traditional occupations of Goudus and Kammaras were cattle rearing and blacksmithy respectively. But now-a-days there is a shift in their occupations from cattle rearing and blacksmithy to settled agriculture. Whenever these tribal groups do not have enough land for plough cultivation, they resort to 'Podu' cultivation also. Khonds are notorious for their shifting cultivation, that is why their settlements are also confined to hill slopes and interior forest areas. Konda Doras and Gadabas also mainly depend upon shifting cultivation, but where there is land available for settled cultivation,

they do plough cultivation also. In addition to plough cultivation, Valmiki's eke out their livelihood as businessmen, ceremonial musicians and as menial village servants called 'Barikas'.

Some of the agricultural labourers have been the victims of the 'Gothi' system prevalent in these areas. According to this system a poor needy tribal enters into agreement with an owner cultivator who advances loan to the tribal. The poor tribal should repay by serving the creditor until the loan is completely repaid. The creditor charges compound interest and the value of the debtor's services are always fixed at the barest minimum. Thus the poor tribal is kept under perpetual service of the creditor for years together and sometimes it extends over generations also.

Another important institution that conditioned the Land Tenure system of Araku region is the 'Muttadari' system. The 'Muttadari' system was a product of the British regime. According to this system a group of tribal villages are constituted into a 'Mutta' and it is managed by an intermediary called 'Muttadar'. The 'Muttadars' are allowed to deal with the Government directly and were granted 'Sanads' by the British Government. It is based on service tenure whose conditions are (1) a fixed 'Kattubadi' to be paid to the Government by the 'Muttadar' (2) The 'Mutta' is resumable by the Government for default, but for this condition the grant is otherwise hereditary and permanent. (3) According to 'Sanad' conditions the 'Muttadars' should maintain law and order by giving timely intimation to Government regarding disturbances and other infringement of law.

The 'Muttadars' collect land revenue through 'Voora Munsifs' (Village Munsifs) appointed by them. Both 'Muttadar' and village Munsifs enjoy the rent free lands for their services. Though the ownership of land is vested with the Government, the 'Muttadars' are allowed to allot lands for cultivation purposes to the tribal tillers. This resulted in the concentration of lands in a few tribal families according to the whims and fancies of the 'Muttadar'. This ultimately precipitated into a feudal system with a few land owning families and a large number of tribals becoming landless labourers.

In such an economic situation the D. B. K. Railway construction work was started in the year 1962 employing labourers drawn

from various parts of the country and the local tribal groups as well. The laying of the Rail line affected the economic life of the local tribals in two ways. Firstly, the acquisition of lands throughout the length of the Railway tract resulted in loss of land for some of the tribals in the Araku area. According to a sample study conducted in Araku valley, of the 179 families surveyed in 10 villages, 61 families lost lands due to the construction of D. B. K. Railway through their fields. The details of the number of tribal families who lost land and the number of families who received compensation in each of the surveyed village are furnished in table 1 of Appendix.

A fleeting glance at the table shows that 34.08% of the total families surveyed have lost land either partly or completely due to the construction of the Railway tract. 90.16% of the sample families had secured compensation. This shows that a sizeable number of families have been thrown out of their lands in seven surveyed villages and the villages Gannela, Sunkarametta and Tadika were not affected due to their location—away from the railway track, constituting the non-impact area as far as the acquisition of land is concerned.

The extent of land lost by the tribals varies from family to family depending on its proximity to the Railway line. The details of a few cases of the extent of land lost and compensation paid have been recorded during the survey and they are as follows :

(a) Rana Kondaiah, a Bhagata, resident of Araku village through whose fields the Railway line passes lost about 20 acres of land and he was paid Rs. 2,400/- as compensation.

(b) Buride Jagannadham of Kotia tribe, a resident of Adapavalasa village lost nearly 2 acres of land due to acquisition by D. B. K. Project for which he was paid Rs. 860/- towards compensation.

(c) Gatum Sanyasi Naidu of Bondam village is a Bhagata. He lost about 5 acres of land due to the construction of D. B. K. Project for which he was paid a compensation to the tune of Rs. 400/-.

(d) Swabi Bhagataram of Porja tribe is a resident of Ranginaguda village. He lost 2 acres of land as it was acquired for D. B. K. Railway construction and was paid Rs. 210/- as compensation.

On the whole, in a majority of cases the tribals have lost only a part of their land.

In the light of the disturbed situation of land, the land holding pattern of the tribal families was studied. Of the 179 families surveyed, 17 families are landless. The distribution of the remaining land holding families as per size of the holding is given in table number 2 of the Appendix.

An analysis of the figures clearly indicates that 62.96% of the families are having less than 5 acres of land. This shows that the bulk of the families are just possessing small holdings only which are not even sufficient for a bare subsistence level of living. 22.22% of the families are having land from 6-10 acres showing that they are just on the subsistence level leading out a precarious livelihood. 11.11% of the families whose holdings range from 11-25 acres can be safely classified as average income families. A meagre 3.70% of the families fall in the holding group of 26 acres and above indicating only a handful of families are above the poverty line. In general, the inverse proportion between the number of families and the size of holding illustrates that the majority of the families are not having sufficient land to completely depend upon agriculture to sustain their families throughout the year.

The above discussion on land holdings naturally leads to the study of the workers and non-workers in the sample families. Of the 959 sample population 66.21% are workers. The distribution of workers and non-workers with reference to their age-groups is furnished in table number 3 of Appendix.

The workers are found concentrated between the age-groups 11-60 indicating that a tribal man or woman will be an active worker between these age-groups. All the sample population in the age-group 1-10 are non-workers only showing that until the child attains the age of 11 he/she will not become an active worker. Another feature is that none of the men and women in the age-groups 21-40 are non-workers. This shows that all

the persons between 21-40 are active workers only. It is also found that while males outnumber females among workers, females outnumber males among non-workers showing that males play a dominant role as workers.

Most of the workers have agriculture as their main occupation constituting 86.36% to the total persons engaged in different main occupations. Table number 4 of Appendix gives the age-group-wise and main occupation wise particulars of the sample tribal people.

After agriculture, agricultural labour and work in D. B. K. constitute the most important main occupations with the respective percentages being 6.73 and 4.73. Only two people are engaged in forest labour, and none of the tribals are having collection of Minor Forest Produce as their main occupation. The low percentage of people having D. B. K. work as main occupation shows that only landless labourers mainly depend upon D. B. K. work as a major source of livelihood. Majority of the males are having agriculture as their main occupation whereas females outnumber males as agricultural labourers. Again in D. B. K. Project work males outnumber females. D. B. K. work could not be one of the most important main occupations as it provides temporary employment only. Besides, the tribal is still more attached to his land as it provides him not only foodgrains but also sufficient work throughout the year.

The most perceptible impact of D. B. K. is noticeable in the subsidiary occupation of tribals. Table 5 of Appendix shows the distribution of tribals in different subsidiary occupations.

Of the 695 persons engaged in subsidiary occupations, 72.52% are in D. B. K. Railway work. The next major subsidiary occupation is forest labour (13.53%) followed by agricultural labour (9.06%) and collection of Minor Forest Produce (3.74%). This shows that the most important traditional subsidiary sources of livelihood like forest labour, collection of Minor Forest Produce and agricultural labour have been relegated to secondary positions due to the diversion of labour from these occupations to D. B. K. Railway work. In general, it can be said that the Primary sector is sustaining a majority of the tribals; but at the same time, though

for a temporary period, the D. B. K. work which falls under the tertiary sector could wean away many tribals from the primary sector subsidiary occupations. This also shows that the tribals are not always allergic to new work ways.

D. B. K. work attracted both males, females and adolescents of the surveyed villages. Table 6 of the Appendix gives the sex-wise and village-wise particulars of persons engaged in D. B. K. work.

It may be inferred that more than 50% of the surveyed population is benefited from D. B. K. work. The village-wise analysis shows that the percentage of people benefited varies from 20.37% in Ranginaguda to 64.79% in Adapavalasa. On the whole, more than 50% of the surveyed population of five villages is attracted towards D. B. K. Project work. This indicates that majority of persons are drawn from the villages which are situated near the Railway line or its work spots.

The D. B. K. workers hail from different tribal communities inhabiting the Araku region. Table 7 of the Appendix indicates the tribe-wise and sex-wise distribution of workers engaged in D. B. K. with reference to their literacy. It is evident from the table that only relatively advanced tribal groups could take advantage of the employment opportunities provided by the D.B.K. This shows that considerations of social status did not come in the way of higher status tribes in joining the work spots. The more backward tribal groups like Samanthas, Dulia, Gadaba and Goudus are numerically insignificant in the surveyed villages as they are mostly inhabiting the interior villages. On the whole, the literate workers constitute 13.59% to the total workers. This shows that many of the literates among tribal communities are absorbed into the D.B.K. Project. Another interesting feature is that a majority of the literates belong to economically advanced tribal groups like Nooka Doras, Bhagatas, Valmiki and Kotias.

The actual work spots are situated at varying distances from the surveyed villages. Table 8 of the Appendix indicates the distribution of families at various centres and their distance from the native village from which they used to go for work daily.

From the table it can be seen that the work spots which are far away from the sample villages have accommodated more



TRIBAL WOMENFOLK WORKING ON RAILWAY LINE



TRIBAL (Valmiki) RETURNING HOME AFTER  
HIS DAY'S LABOUR ON THE RAILWAY LINE



PARGI SIMU, A PERMANENT PORJA WORKER IN D.B.K. PROJECT  
FROM REGA VILLAGE



number of working families than the nearer work spots. This is to be attributed to three different factors ; (1) Initial indifference of the tribals to take advantage of the earliest employment opportunities in the nearest work spots, (2) the existence of work spots at the time of survey and (3) the distance of the village from the nearest work spot. These different factors contributed for the working of tribals in distant work spots rather than the nearest work spots. For example, the nearest work spot for Tadika village is more than 5 Kms. from the village. Hence the tribal workers have no other option than to work in the spot. Regarding Ranginaguda, even though it is a track side village the nearby work spots have been wound up at the time of survey as the work in those spots was completed. Further, it must be borne in mind that more than 50% of the tribal working families have been attached to work spots whose distance is not more than 2 Kms. from their native villages. This shows that the majority of tribals have utilised the nearest work spots and only when the three factors mentioned above came into operation they attended to work in distant work spots. This also shows that the centripetal pull of the work centre extends even to radius of 5 Kms and above since 38.86% of the working families are attached to centres which are at a distance of 5 Kms and above. Besides, it is observed that out of the 179 total working families only four families are residing in the work spots.

Among the 179 sample workers studied, 168 are unskilled and only 11 workers are skilled or semi-skilled. This shows the scarcity of skilled workers in the tribal areas. The few skilled and semi-skilled workers available are mostly drawn from the few Training-cum-production centres attached to Blocks. It is very important to note that none of the skilled workers possess the technical knowledge required for operating complicated machinery. All of them are only either carpenters or blacksmiths.

The D. B. K. work mostly provided casual employment to the tribal labourers and consequently it failed to be a dependable permanent source of income. Hence 94.41% of the sample workers are casual labourers who used to subsidiarily depend upon D. B. K. during off-season or whenever they do not have enough agricultural work.

Out of 179 workers interviewed 169 are casual workers, 9 are temporary workers and only one worker from Araku village is absorbed as a permanent Class IV employee in D. B. K. Railway office at Araku. The 9 temporary workers are also not sure of their continued employment as their services are liable to be terminated as soon as the work is over. This is the main reason because of which a large number of workers did not depend upon D. B. K. work as a major occupation.

The period of service is the yardstick for measuring the attachment of a tribal to D. B. K. work. Table 9 of the Appendix gives the village-wise break up of workers and their period of service in D. B. K. The table amply illustrates the fact that the tribals are shy to take up a new work in the initial years as is evident that only 5.03% of the sample workers are found engaged for a period of 4 years. Again 16.76% and 3.91% of the sample workers are engaged in D. B. K. work for 1 year and 6 months respectively. This shows that only a meagre number of tribals are engaged in D. B. K. work in the closing years as there was not much work at the fag end of the project. More than 70% of the sample workers have been engaged in D. B. K. work for a period of 2 to 3 years indicating that as soon as the initial stage of indifference is over, the tribals came forward in large numbers to take up the work as they are convinced of the attractive wages and its stop-gap utility. Here it should be noted that the periods of work are not continuous as it provided them subsidiary source of livelihood only.

The above analysis gives an idea of the occupational patterns and the place of D. B. K. in the economic structure of the tribals. It is also important to understand the occupational preferences of tribals—D. B. K. *Vis-a-vis* other occupations. The sample study shows that a majority of the tribals preferred agriculture to D. B. K. and other occupations. Table 10 of the Appendix gives the village-wise occupational preferences of tribals.

The tribal's preference for agriculture can be understood from the fact that he lives very near to land as it provides him the necessary food grains besides giving him more stable income and work throughout the year than the other occupations. D. B. K. Project work is given second preference by as many as 43.14% of the sample workers. It provides them better wages in terms of cash with

which he can purchase whatever he wants. It is the most preferred occupation among the other labour oriented occupations such as agricultural labour, forest labour and high ways labour since payment is prompt. It is interesting to note that the traditionally popular occupation *viz.*, agricultural labour has been relegated to third position, even though for a temporary phase the D. B. K. work could attract more people than the agriculture oriented occupations. The village-wise analysis reveals that in villages which are prone to more plains contacts and situated on the road-side, the villagers expressed preference for D. B. K. work rather than the most important traditional occupation *viz.*, agriculture. This is amply illustrated in the case of Araku, Sunkarametta, Gorapur and Kiloguda villages. In general 55.69% of the sample workers preferred their former occupations than D. B. K. showing their attachment to the occupation to which they were accustomed. This shows that the tribal is still custom-bound.

In order to find out the attitude of the tribals towards the wages paid in D. B. K. exclusively, opinions were recorded regarding the wages and the relative economic standard. Of the 179 sample workers, 68.16% stated that they were not satisfied with the wages paid by the contractors of the D. B. K. Project revealing the hostility of the workers to the exploiting nature of contractors. But, relatively speaking the tribals seem to be psychologically satisfied with the present standard of living as 63.69% of the sample workers stated that their present economic position is better than the previous position.

As has been already discussed the D. B. K. Railway work attracted workers from different tribal groups who are socially stratified into superior and inferior status communities. When the tribals belonging to various tribal groups are asked to state their community preference in their work groups, 60.10% of the total sample workers preferred working with their own tribesmen and 29.80% of them preferred to work with non-tribals while only 10.10% agreed to work with other tribal groups. The village-wise opinions of sample tribal workers are given in table 11 of the Appendix.

One interesting feature of this opinion study is that non-tribals are preferred to other tribal groups as their work mates. It can

be safely attributed to the relative positions of each tribe in the social ladder of the region and the consequent antipathy of the high status tribal groups to work with the low status tribal groups. This status criteria does not arise if they work with non-tribals. The greatest preference for own tribal people proves their group solidarity and the ingrained 'We' feeling typical of the tribals.

The predominant economic role of the D. B. K. can be assessed from the fact that D. B. K. has become one of the most important sources of income for the tribal families during its short period of existence. Traditionally, agriculture, agricultural labour, collection of Minor Forest Produce and forest labour used to be major sources of income in the order of precedence. But the introduction of D. B. K. modified the existing order of precedence of the sources of income as D. B. K. became a second major source of income next to agriculture as is evident from the table 12 of the Appendix.

The income derived by the tribal families from different sources clearly shows that agriculture contributed 46.18% of the total income, the share of D. B. K. being 36.19%. All the remaining subsidiary occupations *viz.*, agricultural labour, forest labour, collection of Minor Forest Produce and other miscellaneous sources contributed about half of the income from D. B. K. This clearly indicates that the D. B. K. work has almost replaced the other labour oriented subsidiary occupations. Thus the D. B. K. had profoundly influenced the tribal economy though for a short period.

The classification of sample families into different income groups gives an idea of the income distribution pattern of the tribal families. Table 13 of the Appendix indicates the distribution of families with reference to the income ranges.

The analysis of the table shows that the average income per family being Rs. 961-50, 55.87% of the families are below the average income and only 29.60% are above the average income while 14.53% families are just on the borders of the average income. Thus the income of a majority (about 70%) of the tribal families is either below average or just on par with the average income. The per capita income of a tribal worked out to Rs. 179-40 and

this is far below the State per capita income of Rs. 402.55\* for the year 1964-65 indicating the subsistence level of economy. The difference also shows the hiatus existing between the income levels of the tribals and non-tribals.

The discussion on the income pattern necessarily requires a description of the expenditure pattern of the tribals. The most important items of expenditure are food, clothing, cultivation, social and religious ceremonies, drinking, smoking, repayment of debt etc. The expenditure pattern of the sample families is given in table 14 of the Appendix.

As food is essential for the survival of any human being the expenditure on food will be naturally higher than other items of expenditure. This is amply illustrated if we glance at the expenditure patterns of the tribals also as 62.45% of the total expenditure of the sample families is on consumption of food. After food, clothing constitutes the next important item of expenditure as the climate during winter is colder in Araku valley than other regions requiring ample protection with warm clothing. The tribals' main occupation is agriculture requiring sizeable amounts of expenditure on cultivation. But the agricultural practices of these tribals are still custom bound as they are not accustomed to costly improved agricultural practices. Besides, most of the agricultural operations are undertaken on reciprocal labour basis and mostly by family members. Hence the expenditure on agriculture is less than the expenditure on clothing and food. The tribal is still sentimental, custom bound and much addicted to drinking and smoking. Therefore sizeable amounts of income is sapped out by these three items of expenditure. The expenditure on education involves only a fraction of his income as all the tribal children are entitled for free education. Thus education constitutes the least expensive item of the expenditure pattern.

The distribution of families into expenditure groups gives an idea of the expenditure levels of sample families. Table 15 of the Appendix indicates the expenditure ranges of the tribal families.

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\*Provisional per capita Income (at current prices) Source : Hand Book of Statistics, Andhra Pradesh, 1965-'66 Bureau of Economics and Statistics, A.P.

The average expenditure per family being Rs. 974.71/- nearly 50% of the families have expenditure below the average expenditure. About 20% of the families have spent on a par or just below the average expenditure indicating that more than 60% of the tribal families' expenditure is less than the average. Only 32% of the sample families are having expenditure above the average. The per capita expenditure worked out to Rs. 181.93 per annum. This indicates the poor standard of living of the tribals as the daily expenditure per individual works out to half-a-rupee.

The income-expenditure correlation gives a clue to the relationship of income and expenditure patterns of a tribal family. The income and expenditure correlation is shown in table 16 of the Appendix.

The table shows that 29 sample families are found in the same income and expenditure range *i.e.*, Rs. 601-800 and 30 families are in 1201+ income and expenditure groups. In order to find out whether the expenditure is increasing with the increase in income, the income and expenditure co-efficient of correlation is calculated and it worked out to  $+0.85$  revealing a very high positive correlation. Thus a rise in income always led to a corresponding rise in expenditure. This shows that the tribal is not in a position to accumulate savings as habits of thrift and frugality are yet to be cultivated by the tribals. Hence, though their incomes increased due to D. B. K. work the corresponding rise in expenditure nullified the increased income without giving scope for capital accumulation.

The positive co-efficient of correlation between income and expenditure and the excess of expenditure over income clearly shows that some of the tribal families are forced to resort to borrowing in order to make both ends meet. This is amply illustrated by the fact that out of 179 families studied 94 families (52.15%) are indebted as shown in table 17 of the Appendix.

The table amply illustrates that more than 50% of the debt was borrowed from private money lenders and all other sources clubbed together could not provide as much credit as the private money lenders. About 20% of the credit requirements of the tribal are provided by the Government agencies like Block Office and Co-operative Societies showing the poor performance of the Govern-

ment agencies. Again among Government credit agencies, the role of Co-operative Societies is very insignificant as only 6.49% of the credit is provided by the Societies.

Even source-wise preferences of tribal families indicate that 52% of the indebted families have borrowed from private money lenders. The hold of non-tribal money lenders is evident from the fact that of the 53 families borrowing from private money lenders 31 families are indebted to non-tribal money lenders. It is also very interesting to note that some of the well-to-do tribals are also advancing loans to their own community people in imitation of the plains sowcars. Here it should be noted that 6 tribal families have drawn loans from more than one source. The average debt per indebted family worked out to Rs. 110.67. In spite of the existence of many Government credit sources the tribal is still forced to borrow from private money lenders. This situation is the product of official red tape, cumbersome procedures and non-availability of pattas due to lack of survey and settlement and the readiness of the private money lender to advance and collect loans at proper time without insisting upon surety.

The discussion in the preceding pages on the economic pursuits, income and expenditure patterns and the indebtedness of the tribals of the region indicates that in spite of the D. B. K. Project work the tribal is not in a position to save his earnings or acquire productive assets and their economy still continues to be of subsistence type. The assets of the tribal families are the usual traditional agricultural implements, household utensils, a thatched hut and a piece of dry, wet or 'Podu' land. Some rich families belonging to 'Muttadars' and 'Voora Munsifs' possess gold and silver in addition to the fertile lands. But this could not be attributed to D. B. K. Project work as these 'Muttadars' and 'Voora Munsifs' have a title for these lands in lieu of their services. In general the introduction of D. B. K. could not bring about radical changes in the economic life of the tribals as the duration of the work was for a short period without follow-up programmes to absorb the discharged tribals in permanent establishments.

## CHAPTER VI

### Conclusion

The lay man's concept of tribals is that of a small group of people living in seclusion, shunning all sorts of innovations, accustomed to a carefree and hand to mouth life without any idea of saving for the rainy day and traditionally unmindful of the intricacies of modern life unless and until their traditional customs and taboos and way of life are tampered with. Similar to many other popular concepts of tribal life and culture; this concept is also both a reality and a myth. It is a reality as a figment of imagination of the age-old relations existing between tribals and their non-tribal neighbours; a myth as an empirical truth.

It is very rarely that the present day tribals live in perfect isolation anywhere in the world as almost all of them are caught to some degree or the other in the currents of culture change that have been sweeping through every nook and corner of the respective countries. The degree of percolation of these socio-economic processes is mainly conditioned by the nature of communication and transportation facilities available in the region. With the rapid strides made in the development of transportation, a proportionate diffusion of innovations and the consequent transformation also set in. These ultimately lead to the creation of new economic opportunities and a shift in the age-old cultural standards and value-attitude systems of the people as exemplified in the tribal situation obtaining in the Araku valley in the wake of the laying of the D. B. K. Railway Project.

The present report sets at naught the popular notion that the tribal is a 'Noble savage living in pristine purity'. Prior to the introduction of Community Development and the D. B. K. Project,

a handful of official functionaries and itinery traders were the only agents of plains culture who used to tickle down the precarious ghat roads and bridle paths. But the introduction of community development programme about five years earlier than the D. B. K. Railway opened a new chapter in the lives of these tribal groups. For the first time, the tribals tasted the fruits of directed change in the form of drinking water cisterns, wells, inter-village fair weather roads, improved agricultural implements, seeds, maternity centres etc. Further, the construction of Machkund Hydro-Electric Project, the laying of pucca all-weather road between S. Kota and Machkund gave fillip to the immigration of plains settlers into these parts as the successful eradication of the dreaded agency diseases like Yaws, Malaria, Black Water Fever etc., through special Public Health Programmes converted these proverbially unhealthy areas into pleasant health resorts. The laying of the pucca road facilitated the introduction of regular passenger buses and thus contributed for more extensive cultural contacts. The tribal is no more encompassed in the idyllic surroundings of the Araku valley having harmonious and undisturbed relations with the nature. His contacts with non-tribals have become more intensive and purposive. He began to have a full view of the cultural canvas of the plains brethren. Slowly the tribal began to incorporate certain material traits of plains people and started availing the benefits of directed change initiated by the Community Development Programme. So far the 'world view' of tribal could widen upto the region without much deviation from his codes of conduct and norms of society.

It was at this stage that the construction work of D. B. K. Railway project was started in the tribal areas of the state which initially slightly upset the existing social system resulting in cases of violation of tribe endogamy and family disorganization. Previously such violations of traditional norms used to be severely dealt with by the tribal council by ex-communicating the offenders and heaping all sorts of insults on them in order to make life unbearable for the culprit and his family in the society. Some of the higher status tribal groups used to take physical revenge on a low status

tribal man if the latter happened to elope with a woman belonging to higher status tribal groups. But now-a-days such cases just give rise to mild contempt from the higher status groups and the family of the eloped woman is readmitted into their tribe if a punitive feast is given to the community by the offender's family. Besides these cases of breaking of traditional norms, certain vices of the advanced groups like gambling, prostitution, cheating and pick-pocketing etc., have also made their appearance for the first time among the tribes after the inception of the D. B. K. Railway in Araku valley. Coffee and tea slowly replaced the traditional nutritious drinks like 'chodi' gruel with the starting of a number of hotels in Araku. Drinking illicit liquor is also on the increase as manufacture and sale of illicit liquor was a flourishing business at the D. B. K. work spots. Further, increased monetary transactions due to payment of wages in cash and the immoral activities of non-tribal workers of the D. B. K. served as catalyzers in accelerating the process of social degeneration, changing food habits and acquiring taste for cheap fashionable articles of plains origins as is evident in the shandies. The unhealthy process may receive a further impetus when passenger trains are introduced in the near future and problems of social maladjustment may reach serious proportions causing damage to the family life and even village life of the tribals unless social infrastructure is properly built up in the meanwhile by instilling a sense of self respect and regard for the vital elements of their cultural practices especially among the younger generation tribals through special schemes of social education. The Assistant Block Public Relations Officers have a definite role in moulding the thought ways of the tribal and preparing them for the impending social changes that are products of increased migrations of both tribals and non-tribals hailing from various regions of the country into each others habitat through inter community marriages and in search of better livelihoods which will be facilitated by the fast moving passenger trains connecting various industrial centres and metropolitan areas of the country.

While socially the presence of various ethnic groups and their associated social values and material culture adversely affected their social life, the economic consequences of D. B. K. Project are more favourable to the tribals. Some of the tribal labourers could escape the shackles of 'Gothi' or bonded labour system as D. B. K. work provided them independent livelihood, freeing them from the clutches of the landlord. The construction work could also wean away many of the tribals from shifting cultivation thus showing that given a better opportunity, the tribals are prepared to accept new livelihood patterns, if not overnight, within a reasonable period of two to three years during which period they are convinced of the utilitarian role of the project.

Though the project was of short duration, still it could attract a large number of tribal workers as is evident from the fact that more than 50% of the samples worked in D. B. K. Project. Another interesting feature is that after agriculture and allied labour, labour in D. B. K. Project was the most important occupation of the samples relegating forest labour and allied occupations to fourth place. The most noticeable impact was on the subsidiary occupation of the tribals as the important traditional subsidiary occupations like forest labour, collection of minor forest produce and even agricultural labour have been supplanted by the opportunities in D. B. K. work and it became the most important subsidiary source of income with 72.52% of the samples having labour in D. B. K. as their subsidiary livelihood. The study further revealed that the relatively advanced tribal groups like Nooka Doras, Valmikis and Bhagatas have taken more advantage of D. B. K. work than the other tribal groups showing that consideration of social status did not prevent a higher status tribal from joining the work in D. B. K. Railway. The main attraction in D. B. K. work is assured income and prompt payment of wages at regular intervals.

The tribals seem to be psychologically satisfied with the beneficial role of D. B. K. Project in their economic life as 63.69% of the sample workers stated that their present economic position is better than the previous position. In their occupational preferences

also work in D. B. K. was second to agriculture only. But in general 68.72% of the sample tribal workers preferred to stick to their traditional occupations only. This shows the persisting but decreasing hold of tradition on the tribal mind. The hold of traditional occupations should be mainly attributed to the very temporary nature of employment in D. B. K. This is amply supported by the figures that of the 179 sample workers, 169 are casual workers, 9 are temporary workers and only one worker from Araku village is absorbed as a permanent Class IV employee in D. B. K. Railway Office at Araku. Assured and permanent employment is a precondition for attracting larger number of tribals.

What economic gains the D. B. K. promises for the future generations is more important than what the tribals have already secured from this brief period of construction work. As has been already described in Chapter II, the Railway line connects certain natural resources of Araku agency such as deposits of lime stone, graphite, manganese and forest raw materials like medicinal herbs, roots, tubers, grasses etc., which can be fruitfully exploited for developing an industrial complex in the area by establishing Cement Ferro-Manganese, Aluminium, Jute, Twine and Rope manufacturing factories at various points near D. B. K. Railway line. But how far the tribals of the region are prepared to reap the benefits of these industries is the crux of the problem. From the present levels of education and technical skill of these tribals it is quite evident that the majority of tribals are not fit for securing technical and administrative jobs. Even for unskilled labour the tribals may not be preferred because of the prevailing stereotype that the tribal is proverbially lazy and his mental calibre is so low as to successfully compete with the quick grasping plains unskilled labourers. To tackle the first problem it is imperative to activate and orient the present production-cum-training centres attached to the Block to suit the future demand for skilled and semi-skilled workers by imparting basic training to the tribal youth in a specific skill. To further mould these semi-skilled technicians produced by these Block-Training Centres, suitable Industrial Training and Mining Schools should be opened exclusively for the benefit

of potential tribal technicians. It is also essential to absorb all the technically qualified tribals into the jobs for which they are trained according to a carefully prepared follow-up-programme. Before the industries reach fruition stage, it is possible to achieve sufficient educational level by providing opportunities for higher education to the future generation tribal youth and by planning these educational facilities on the basis of the potential strength of students available in the present elementary and higher elementary schools of the region. Reservation of administrative jobs for Scheduled Tribes candidates in these industries should be strictly enforced according to the statutory provisions.

It is very important to note that so far the primary sector *i. e.*, agricultural sector is traditionally sustaining the largest number of tribals. But the limited cultivable land available in these areas cannot accommodate the ever increasing tribal population pointing out the necessity for creating alternate employment opportunities in Secondary and Tertiary sectors, *viz.*, industrial, and railway and other communication works, especially in the Secondary sector in view of the vast industrial potentialities of the area. In the Tertiary sector also some of the Railway workshops may be located in the Araku region in view of the future increase in the number of trains with the introduction of passenger trains. Consequently tribals trained in blacksmithy and carpentry wings of the Production-cum-Training Centres may be absorbed in these workshops. Further, the Railway Stations can provide employment to tribals as porters and gangmen for the maintenance of the railway line. There is also need for the laying of all weather roads of every nook and corner of the region in order to connect all the tribal villages to one railway station or the other so as to provide the necessary outlet for the agency produce. The immense scope for the organization of the Secondary and the Tertiary sectors in the Araku region holds promise for relieving the pressure on the land by diverting the excessive man power to these sectors. But careful planning and sincere implementation is a prerequisite for achieving the smooth diversion of the excessive man power from the agricultural sector to the prospective industrial and communi-

cations sectors. For achieving this task both cultural pluralism and economic inequalities of the various tribes in general and in between the tribals and non-tribals in particular are to be taken into consideration in chalking out the future programmes.

The drawing up of a suitable programme may not be an easy task in view of the nature of the terrain and the cultural life of the valley, but it is not an impossible one if anthropologists, administrators and industrialists pool their resources and plan out the programme carefully. If this co-ordination is achieved the present iron ore carrying goods train is sure to become the train of progress for the tribals of the region in particular and for the tribals of the other areas through which the railway line traverses in general. The present report is a first step in this direction providing the necessary bench-mark data for the progressive planning of the area in future.

## TECHNICAL APPRAISAL

The report on D. B. K. Railway Project and the Tribals of Araku valley brings into focus a number of important conceptual and substantive issues.

The project was implemented as an Indo-Japanese collaboration scheme, with a view to providing facilities of transport of iron ores from the mines of South Bihar and Bastar district of Madhya Pradesh to Visakhapatnam Port from where these could be exported by sea.

The construction phase of the project was a shortlived one ;—1961 to 1966. It was a phase of high drama, marked by heightened expectation, sullen apprehension, reckless enjoyment, helpless oscillation between personal mobilisation and social wastage, robust hope and dementing frustration. During this period, people from the plains and the forests, the deserts and the seacoasts, gathered in this area of centuries of darkness and brought with them the dazzling light of the today, as well as the gathering tornado of tomorrow, caused by the attempt of the “wind of change” to find its way through the blind alleys of yesterday.

The drama revealed to the tribals a new horizon ; made them conscious of new opportunities and ways of life and at the same time subjected their traditional institutions to great strain.

After the completion of the phase of construction, mostly the people who came from outside have left. The region is now like a deserted banquet hall. Among many who were drawn into this human interaction of great suspense, there is a feeling of something gained and something lost. The present monograph purports to be a balance-sheet of socio-cultural and economic gain or loss.

On the positive side are the following achievements.

- (i) During the construction phase many tribals got employment as skilled and unskilled labourers.
- (ii) Tribals who were trained in some of the vocational trades like carpentry in the training cum production centres set up by the Tribal Development Blocks were absorbed as labourers in the project.
- (iii) Some persons among the tribals have been motivated to strive for modern ways of life based on improved technology and have been able to stabilise their position.

On the negative side, particular mention may be made of the following.

- (i) The project has been like a capricious lover to the tribals, giving bountiful gifts so long as it needed them, and then discarding them with complete unconcern.
- (ii) The tribals who were employed as casual labourers in the project have been left high and dry. The traditional sources of livelihood no longer satisfies the needs about which they became conscious during the project period, and at the same time the new hope which sustained them for sometime has disappeared like a mirage.
- (iii) The most hard hit in the process has been the younger generation. A good number of them could successfully challenge the traditional authority structure of the society, because of the economic opportunity provided by the project. Unthinkingly they discarded the old ; but now they feel that they themselves have been the victim of a callous desertion by the new. The result is the trauma of a guilty complex on the one hand and a complex of merely "being used" on the other ; goaded by these two complexes, they seek escape in alcoholism and gambling. In this milieu when economic motive is added, the slippery slope of degeneration easily takes them to the practice of cheating, pick-pocketing and other delinquent behaviour without any compunctions. It is also possible, that the same set of factors has played an important role in creating a fertile ground for political iconoclasm of a sort to flourish in the area.
- (iv) Over and above these, the traditional social restrictions in sex life were subjected to a great strain due to the monetary and other allurements available during the project period.

Taking an overall view, one cannot help feeling that the balance is heavily loaded on the negative side. But here a question arises, whether this negative balance is just another confirmation of the classifical view of the harmful effect of contact between people of different levels of culture and technology, or whether it is the result of inadequate planning and incomplete approach to the problem of development.

In this connection a few salient facts are also to be brought into sharper focus for a correct appreciation of the implications of the situation.

It is obvious that D. B. K. Project has failed to create a new economy at the local level, which could provide lasting support to the new social aspirations and modes of life which were created during the project period. From the short account furnished in the monograph, it appears that one of the reasons of this failure was that the project was planned with very limited

dimensions in view. Its main purpose was to connect two points of space, namely the point of extraction and exploitation of natural resources at the one end, and the point of export for marketing at the other. But the intervening space seems to have been dealt with more as an unavoidable territorial nexus than as an additional resource base, to be developed as an inseparable part of the project. Similarly the human situation also seems to have been considered more in terms of instrumental value than end value. The fact that transport and institutional network for orienting and mobilising the physical and human resources of the region was not constructed, even during the construction phase of the project, not to speak of pre-project preparatory phase, seems to confirm that it was a limited vision, that went into the planning of the project.

As the present monograph provides a descriptive account of the manifestations of the socio-economic life of the people, during the project period and afterwards, without control observations in areas, outside the sphere of influence of the project or areas where more or less similar project, but with different sets of significant variable has been implemented, it will not be appropriate to draw conclusions in a definitive manner. But at the same time one can venture to formulate some operational hypotheses through logical fit. They are as follows :—

- (i) If advanced means of transport and communication are provided in an area, which does not have the technological, economic and cultural base for the absorption of the benefits of the same, this would lead to greater frustration and exploitation of the human and natural resources of the area.
- (ii) It follows from the above, that, if in national interest, advanced means of transport is to be provided through an area, which is not prepared for it, a crash programme of technological and economic development of the area, as well as of creation of the socio-cultural base for such development, should be launched simultaneously.
- (iii) The crash programme should visualise nodal points of growth in complementarity of relations in areas with diversified socio-economic resources and in hierarchy of relations in areas with more or less uniform type of resource base. The nodal points are to be visualised not only in terms of spatial relations, but also in terms of level of technology and social mobilisation. The implications of this postulate are as follows :—
  - (a) Physical infra-structure of growth should be provided at well formulated strategic points, to be determined after taking into consideration, (1) the traditional economic activities including technology, (2) the mechanism of internal

control of the traditional economic activities, (3) the assessment of new economic needs, (4) the shifts in the nature of utilisation of the traditional resources, activities and technology in response to the new needs, (5) the new elite class and centres of decision making that are likely to emerge out, in the different phases of growth.

- (b) Institutions to bring into focus and sustain, desirable growth orientation, are to be treated through a positive strategy of encouraging the forward looking elite.
- (c) At every phase of growth, an optimum balance is to be obtained in the mutual relations among the technical elite including entrepreneurs in new economic activities, political elites in the context of modern political institutions and the traditional socio-political elite with reference to institutions which are symbols of identity of the community.
- (d) The concept of optimum balance must be related to a dynamic context. For this purpose, the micro-level implications of the developments at the macro-level are to be considered first and then is to be considered how the micro-level realities are likely to tamper the growth pattern at the macro-level.

It is only after this binary analysis that there could be a reasonable chance of gaining the necessary insight for spelling out the spatial, human and operational elements of strategy of development, with certain degree of realism.

Here it is to be noted that the above formulations have purposively been presented in the form of abstract postulates. At the present state of social research, particularly in tribal areas, any attempt to build up a model of changes in the social relations and in the complexities of social organisation would be unrealistic. But, at the same time, the social scientists are required to sensitise themselves about the "needed lines of research" that they should undertake. In the present technical appraisal, an attempt has been made in that direction."

New Delhi,  
Dated 12th June 1970.

B. K. ROY BURMAN,  
Deputy Registrar General,  
Ministry of Home Affairs,  
Government of India.

# APPENDIX

TABLE 1

*Number of families who lost land due to D. B. K. Project*

Sl. No.	Village	No. of families		
		Who lost land	Paid compensation	Not paid compensation
1	2	3	4	5
1.	Adapavalasa	9	9	..
2.	Araku	10	9	1
3.	Bondam	14	14	..
4.	Gannela	..	..	..
5.	Gorapur	9	5	4
6.	Kiloguda	3	2	1
7.	Ranginaguda	9	9	..
8.	Rega	7	7	..
9.	Sunkarametta	..	..	..
10.	Tadika	..	..	..
Total		61	55	6

TABLE 2  
*Distribution of Families as per the size of holding—Village-wise*

Sl. No.	Village	Size of holding (No. of acres)										Total
		-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-25	26-30	31+				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10			
1.	Adapavalasa	9	2	..	1	..	..	..	12			
2.	Araku	20	5	1	..	..	..	..	26			
3.	Bondam	10	6	3	..	..	..	..	19			
4.	Gannela	12	8	..	1	..	1	..	22			
5.	Gorapur	14	3	..	..	..	..	..	17			
6.	Kiloguda	14	4	..	1	1	..	..	20			
7.	Ranginaguda	2	2	1	1	1	2	..	9			
8.	Rega	4	2	1	..	..	..	1	8			
9.	Sunkarametta	12	2	2	1	..	..	..	17			
10.	Tadika	5	2	1	2	..	2	..	12			
Total		102	36	9	7	2	5	1	162			

TABLE 3  
*Workers and non-workers-age-Group-wise*

Age-group	Workers			Non-workers			Total
	M.	F.	Total	M.	F.	Total	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1-10	..	..	..	125	149	274	274
11-20	84	74	158	22	15	37	195
21-30	79	84	163	..	..	..	163
31-40	68	76	144	..	..	..	144
41-50	69	47	116	..	1	1	117
51-60	32	12	44	1	1	2	46
61-70	4	3	7	2	6	8	15
71 +	3	—	3	1	1	2	5
Total ..	339	296	635	151	173	324	959

TABLE 4

*Age-Group-wise Distribution of Tribals in different Main Occupations*

Age-group	Agriculture		Agriculture labour		Forest labour		D. B. K. Railway		Others	
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
-10	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
11-20	71	60	3	10	1	..	6	3	3	1
21-30	59	59	8	5	..	1	7	4	..	..
31-40	47	50	3	5	..	..	2	1	..	..
41-50	47	35	1	1	..	..	1	1	5	1
51-60	25	11	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..
61-70	4	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
71+	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total ..	254	221	15	22	1	1	16	10	8	2

TABLE 5  
*Age—Group-wise Distribution of Tribals in different Subsidiary Occupations*

Age-group	Agriculture labour		D. B. K. Railway		Forest labour		M. F. P. gathering		Hunting		Others	
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1-10	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
11-20	10	12	80	59	13	15	2	5	2	..	..	..
21-30	4	5	65	64	14	18	..	..	..	..	..	..
31-40	4	6	64	55	3	6	1	8	..	..	..	..
41-50	..	3	57	33	10	7	3	2	3	1	1	..
51-60	7	9	23	2	5	3	..	..	..	..	..	..
61-70	1	2	1	1	..	..	2	3	..	..	..	..
71 +	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	26	37	290	214	45	49	8	18	5	1	1	1

TABLE 6  
*Distribution of D.B.K. Workers—Village-wise and Sex-wise*

Sl. No.	Village	Total persons surveyed	Number of workers working in D.B.K.						Total	Percentage of workers in D.B.K.
			Adults		Adolescents					
			M.	F.	5	6	7	8		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		
1.	Adapavalasa	71	21	17	5	3	46	64.79		
2.	Araku	147	44	34	11	5	94	63.95		
3.	Bondam	120	25	20	2	2	49	40.83		
4.	Gannela	144	38	29	2	1	70	48.61		
5.	Gorapur	100	30	24	3	2	59	59.00		
6.	Kiloguda	132	39	34	5	5	83	62.88		
7.	Ranginaguda	54	10	1	..	..	11	20.37		
8.	Rega	46	12	11	..	..	23	50.00		
9.	Sunkarametta	94	22	11	..	..	33	35.11		
10.	Tadika	51	14	11	..	..	25	49.02		
	Total	959	255	192	28	18	493	51.41		

TABLE 7

*Tribe-wise workers in D.B.K. and their literacy*

Sl. No.	Tribe	Males			Females			Grand Total
		Literates	Illiterates	Total	Literates	Illiterates	Total	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1.	Nooka Dora	27	37	64	..	51	51	115
2.	Konda Dora	4	42	46	..	35	35	81
3.	Samanthas	1	..	1	..	..	..	1
4.	Valmikis	12	48	60	..	45	45	105
5.	Kotia	8	32	40	1	29	30	70
6.	Porja	2	23	25	..	16	16	41
7.	*Dulia	..	5	5	..	4	4	9
8.	Goud	1	..	1	..	..	..	1
9.	Gadaba	..	3	3	..	1	1	4
10.	Bhagata	10	28	38	1	27	28	66
Total		65	218	283	2	208	210	493

\*Not a Scheduled Tribe.

TABLE 8

*Distance of Villages and work spot-wise Distribution of Families*

Sl. No.	Village	$\frac{1}{2}$ KM	1 KM	$1\frac{1}{2}$ KM	2 KM	3 KM	4 KM	5 KM+
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1.	Adapavalasa	2	5	..	1	2	..	2
2.	Araku	..	1	9	16	5	..	..
3.	Bondam	13	2	..	1	..	..	4
4.	Gannela	..	2	..	1	..	..	20
5.	Gorapur	2	11	..	..	4	..	2
6.	Kiloguda	4	5	..	8	5	..	3
7.	Ranginaguda	..	..	..	..	..	..	11
8.	Rega	4	..	..	..	..	..	..
9.	Sunkarametta	..	2	..	..	1	1	14
10.	Tadika	..	..	..	..	..	..	12
Total		25	28	9	27	17	1	68

TABLE 9

*Period of Service in D. B. K.*

Sl. No.	Village	$\frac{1}{2}$ Year	1Year	2Years	3Years	4Years	Total
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1.	Adapavalasa	1	..	4	6	1	12
2.	Araku	2	13	10	5	1	31
3.	Bondam	...	4	9	6	1	20
4.	Gannela	2	...	14	5	2	23
5.	Gorapur	..	2	9	7	1	19
6.	Kiloguda	1	6	8	7	3	25
7.	Ranginaguda	...	...	9	2	..	11
8.	Rega	...	1	4	3	...	8
9.	Sunkarametta	1	4	7	6	...	18
10.	Tadika	...	...	6	6	...	12
Total		7	30	80	53	9	179

**TABLE 10**  
*Occupational Preferences of Tribal Workers*

Sl. No.	Village	Preferences for				
		Agriculture	Agri. labour	Forest labour	Highways labour	D.B.K. labour
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1.	Adapavalasa	8	.. ..	..	..	11
2.	Araku	14	2	..	..	25
3.	Bondam	16	3	.. ..	..	9
4.	Gannela	18	3	..	..	11
5.	Gorapur	13	5	1	1	13
6.	Kiloguda	15	3	..	..	18
7.	Ranginaguda	10	1	.. ..	..	1
8.	Rega	7	..	.. ..	..	4
9.	Sunkarametta	11	3	..	2	12
10.	Tadika	9	.. ..	.. ..	..	6
	Total	121	20	1	3	110

TABLE 11  
*No. of Persons who like to work with*

Sl. No.	Village	Own tribesmen	Other tribesmen	Non-tribals
1	2	3	4	5
1.	Adapavalasa	3	1	9
2.	Araku	10	2	20
3.	Bondam	17	2	2
4.	Gannela	21	5	1
5.	Gorapur	11	4	6
6.	Kiloguda	12	3	12
7.	Ranginaguda	11	..	..
8.	Rega	8	1	4
9.	Sunkarametta	15	2	3
10.	Tadika	11	..	2
Total:		119	20	59

TABLE 12

*Source-wise income of Tribal families*

Sl. No.	Source	Total Income (Rs.)	Percentage
1.	Agriculture	79,472	46.18
2.	D. B. K. Work	62,294	36.19
3.	Agricultural labour	14,470	8.41
4.	Minor Forest Produce	7,383	4.29
5.	Forest Labour	7,175	4.17
6.	Others	1,315	0.76
Total:		1,72,109	100.00

TABLE 13

*Income Ranges of Tribal families*

Income Ranges	Number of Tribal families	Percentage
1	2	3
1-200	1	0.56
201-400	9	5.03
401-600	39	21.79
601-800	51	28.49
801-1000	26	14.53
1001-1200	18	10.05
1201 +	35	19.55
Total :	179	100.00

TABLE 14

*Item-wise Expenditure of Tribal families*

Sl. No.	Item	Total expenditure (Rs.)	Percentage
1	2	3	4
1.	Food	1,08,955	62.45
2.	Clothing	20,180	11.57
3.	Cultivation	13,110	7.51
4.	Social and religious ceremonies	11,800	6.76
5.	Drinking Liquor	10,150	5.82
6.	Smoking	7,677	4.40
7.	Repayment of debt	2,303	1.32
8.	Education	298	0.17
Total :		1,74,473	100.00

TABLE 15

*Distribution of families as per expenditure ranges*

Expenditure Ranges	Number of families	Percentage
1	2	3
1-200	1	0.56
201-400	7	3.91
401-600	35	19.55
601-800	44	24.58
801-1000	35	19.55
1001-1200	21	11.73
1201 +	36	20.12
Total :	179	100.00

TABLE 16

*Income Expenditure Correlation*

Income	EXPENDITURE							Total
	1- 200	201- 400	401- 600	601- 800	801- 1000	1001- 1200	1201 and above	
(Distribution of families)								
1-200	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
201-400	..	3	3	..	3	..	..	9
401-600	..	3	26	9	1	..	..	39
601-800	..	1	6	29	10	4	1	51
801-1000	..	..	..	4	18	2	2	26
1001-1200	..	..	..	1	2	12	3	18
1201 +	..	..	..	1	1	3	30	35
Total :	1	7	35	44	35	21	36	179

TABLE 17

*Distribution of Indebted families-Source-wise*

Sl. No.	Source	No. of families indebted	Amount borrowed Rs.	Percentage of debt incurred
1	2	3	4	5
1.	Private Money Lender			
	A. Tribal	22	2,590	24.90
	B. Non-tribal	31	2,845	27.35
2.	Friends and Relatives	20	2,490	23.93
3.	Co-operative Society	11	675	6.49
4.	Block	12	1,485	14.27
5.	Other Sources	4	318	3.06
Total :		100	10,403	100.00

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