CHANGING PATTERNS IN TRIBAL SOCIETIES



V.N.V.K. Sastry M. Sundara Rao

THE BOOK

The Scheduled Tribe population in India form a distinct social economic and cultural group. Having lived in near isolation for several generations in the hilly and forest areas, they have evolved a way of life of their own to suit the environment in which they are living. Of the total Scheduled Tribe population of 8.43 Crores (2001 Census) in the country, more than 50% live in central India and adjoining hills in south India. There are about 700 Scheduled Tribes notified as per provisions of Constitution of India and 75 of them have been recognised as Primitive Tribes for providing special attention for their development in view of their small population, extreme backwardness, stagnant or dwindling population and very low literacy.

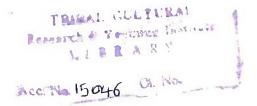
The once inaccessible areas are opened by roads in the last 40 years and more so in the last 20 years. Establishment of educational Institutions, hospitals, development institutions, improvement in communication facilities etc has increased awareness among the tribal population. Tribal markets which were only weekly markets till about 30 years ago became part of larger market with products like gum procured by tribals having international market and consumer goods from outside moving into the villages at an unimaginable pace. Migration of outsiders and their settlement also increased by leaps and bound making once predominantly tribal areas into tribal minority areas. The tribal leadership also became part of larger political party leadership or political movements, thus paving way to politicization. Tribal society is now part of larger society with varying degrees of exposure depending on the location of the habitat. Tribe are in transition stage. This book aims at capturing this transition stage and problems of transition.



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Foreword

The concept of development has such a universally positive appeal, that its pursuit has become inevitable in the contemporary scenario. The tribal communities, who are exposed to the apathetic colonial rule, and the negative effects of non-tribal influx, are brought in to the fold of development after Independence. Protection and integration of scheduled tribes with rest of the population has been the policy objective of the Indian government. Special provisions have been incorporated in the constitution of India for the protection of these vulnerable communities. In the last six decades, many development projects have been launched by various agencies for the welfare and all-round development of scheduled tribes. There are varied levels of receptivity and resistance to development among these communities. The benefits of development are unevenly distributed, and some communities have even become victims of development. After more than sixty years of planned development, the scheduled tribes in India continue to lag behind the rest of the population of India with regard to various development indicators. Liberalization, privatization, and commercialization had adverse effects on the economic survival of many tribal groups. A variety of factors are responsible for the present state of affairs in tribal areas.

Andhra Pradesh with a Scheduled Tribe population of 50.24 lakhs (2001), has the largest Scheduled Tribe population in South India. Of the thirty-three Scheduled Tribes in Andhra Pradesh, thirty inhabit hilly and forest regions. There was relative stagnation for a long period and significant changes took place starting from the colonial period onwards. The contact with non-tribal led to the emergence of caste like features among the tribal communities. After independence, further changes have taken place under the impact of Governmental policies and programmes. Pressure on land and forest resources caused by land alienation and forest policies resulted in serious livelihood problems to the tribal leading to misery and unrest. Having been involved in research on tribal areas of Andhra Pradesh over three decades, I feel that there is a dearth of published material for those who are interested in understanding the processes of tribal dynamics. This book is a welcome addition to the limited number of available studies.

Written by an experienced anthropologist cum administrator, Dr V.N.V.K Sastry, and a reputed Professor of Economics, Dr Sundara Rao, the present book is highly informative providing rich insights in development dynamics. Dr. Sastry, an authority on Gond movements in Andhra Pradesh, and Chenchu development, along with senior

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Foreword

academic Prof. Rao brings out a unique contribution dealing major dimensions of tribal ethnography, tribal policy, and development administration. Coming from an anthropologist, economist author combination, grass roots level qualitative picture and quantitative dimensions are incorporated in to the work. The proximity of the authors to the policy making exercises and administration helped them to unravel the intricacies of several recent programmes such as education and health. For example, the school complexes started in Andhra Pradesh is a worthy model to be emulated by other states. Dr V.N.V.K Sastry who was actively involved in tribal welfare department of Andhra Pradesh, brings out a lucid description of the structure organization and functioning of these complexes.

The authors provided a comprehensive account on scheduled tribes in Andhra Pradesh, covering their distribution, social organization, life cycle ceremonies, religious beliefs and practices, livelihood dimensions, and developmental dynamics. Like elsewhere in India, non-tribal migration in to tribal areas and the resultant contact with tribal populations had significantly affected the fortunes of tribal populations. The resultant misery and exploitation caused severe unrest among tribal populations, necessitating the implementation of protective legislations. The authors carried out an elaborate analysis on various legislations. Different policy initiatives on scheduled tribes, the structure organization of development agencies and an analysis of their functioning have been undertaken in a historical perspective. The book presents a comprehensive and contemporary picture of the tribal development scenario in Andhra Pradesh



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Chapter - 1

Tribes of India and Andhra Pradesh - An Over View

Anthropological Research in brief:

Anthropologist's interest in study of tribal societies dates back to early explorers and voyagers. According to Wendall, H. Oswalt (1972), the early and notable contacts between tribal people and Europeans took place along the West Coast of Africa when Portuguese explorers met tribal Negroes. Infante Enrique (1394-1460) Prince Henry, the navigator had ordered his ship captains to bring back African captives and in 1441 Antam Gonzales returned with ten Negroes, an oxide shield and a number of fresh Ostrich eggs. When Dias party in 1487 landed at Mosel Bay and attempted to present gifts to a groups of Hottentots who were herding cattle nearby, the Africans fled away. When sailors began to fill their water cans at a stream, the Hottentots attempted to drive them away by throwing stones. Dias killed one Hottentot with an arrow and others fled; such was the initial White - African contact, commented Oswalt.

Dias expedition has influenced Christopher Columbus (1451-1506) who was present at Portuguese Court when Dias reported his findings to King John II. The 1942 voyage was considered as not only a watershed in the history of exploration but an ethnographic land mark as well for its objectivity in reporting. Professional ethnography originated when persons were hired or commissioned by museums, government agencies, Universities etc. Lewis Morgan(1818-1881) on Iroquois, Alfred C. Hadden (1855-1940) on Torres Strait Islands, W.H.R Rivers(1864-1922) on Todas, Franz Boas (1858-1942), Alfred R. Radcliffe-Brown (1818-1955) on Andaman Islanders, Brownislaw Malinowiski (1884-1942) on Australian aborigines etc added scientific approach to the study of tribal/aboriginal societies.

In the Indian context, the knowledge of tribes dates back to Vedas and Puranas. Tribes have been mentioned in Vedas and Puranas by different names. In the Itereya Brahmana of Rug Veda, mention has been made of Andh tribes and the Andh tribe living in Andhra Pradesh and adjoining areas are believed to be one and the same. Similarly, the Dandakaranya mentioned in Ramayana is believed to be the present forest area in Visakhapatnam, Khammam and adjoining areas in Chattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa. The Savara tribe in Srikakulam tribal area is also believed to have relationship with mythical Sabari, a strong devotee of Lord Rama in epic Ramayana. Ekalavya, the hunter who excelled in bow and arrow shooting in Maha Bharat period is believed to have learnt the art indirectly by keeping the image of Guru Dronacharya. The Yerukula tribe in Andhra Pradesh claim descent from him.

L.P. Vidyarthi in his book Raise of Anthropology in India (1978) categorized the history of Social Anthropology in to Formative (1774-1919), Constructive (1774-1919) and analytical (1950 onwards) periods. He however, clarified that it does not mean that one phase has completely been replaced by the other. Establishment of Asiatic Societv of Bengal in 1774 by Sir William Jones with defined scope to study 'nature and man' and piloting a number of researches and publications on the broad subject, according to Vidyarthi is the beginning of anthropological investigation in India. Since then missionaries, travelers and few other anthropologically oriented individuals collected data on tribal and rural groups and published articles in various journals. The British encouraged their scholar - administrators to write on tribe and castes of the region in which they were posted. Risley, Dalton and O'Malley in Eastern India, Russell in Middle India, Thurston in South India and Crooks in Northern India collected ethnographic information on Castes and Tribes and the books they published provide basic information even today. The purpose of these volumes, according to Vidyarthi (1976) was to acquaint the government officials and private persons with classified tribes and castes in India with a view to ensuring effective colonial administration.

Sarat Chandra Roy described as father of Indian Anthropology by Hutton published his book on the Munda tribe in 1912. However, what has not come to light and therefore, not recognized by Indian anthropologists is the historical fact that Gidugu Ramamurthy Pantulu a school teacher and a scholar published books on Savara songs, stories and text books for Savara students in their own language in 1911 it self. He published an article on Savara Education in 1894. May be because of the fact that he continued to live in small and remote Savara tribal areas in Parlakhimidi forests of present day Orissa, for several decades as a primary school teacher. It may also be due the fact that he shifted to spoken language movements later on, his ethnographic works on Savaras might not have come to the notice of Bengal anthropologists. However, his work on Savara grammar and Savara-English dictionary got him international recognition as a linguist. He also wrote an essay on Tribal Education Policy to be followed by British in 1898 and submitted to the government which can be treated as a master piece and relevant even today. This can be called an applied anthropological work. But unfortunately the concept of applied anthropology came into existence several decades later.

Majumadar's work on Changing Hos of Singhbhum, M.N. Srinivas's work on Marriage and Family in Mysore and N.K. Bose's publication on Hindu Method of Tribal Absorption brought turning point in Indian Anthropology. Mention may be made on the ethnographic works of Haimendorf on the tribes of Deccan namely The Chenchus of Nallalamala, Hill Reddies of Bison Hills and The Raj Gonds of Adilabad District in early 1940s and Verrier Elwin's studies on the Savaras of Orissa, the spillover population lives in Srikakulam and Vijayanagaram districts of Andhra Pradesh. The subject of Anthropology expanded by leaps and bounds over time and Anthropologists have been associated in policy formulations and planning. Establishment of Tribal Research Institutes in all states with tribal concentration and departments of Anthropology in various Universities has helped in documenting the ethnographic data as well as in conducting studies on problems of tribes on transition and suggesting solutions. Now the

literature on tribes is voluminous and ever increasing.

On the definition of tribe :

Anthropological definitions :

The tribals inhabit the forest and hilly areas and they are economically very backward. Their culture is ancient, very rich and divergent. It is believed that they are earliest among the present inhabitants of the country and various elements in Indian civilization were contributed by the tribals. (Therefore, the names like Vanavasi (inhabitants of forests), Girijan (Hill people), Adivasi (original inhabitants), Adimjati (primitive tribes) etc are used.

The term 'Tribe' has been used by different persons differently over the decades. S. C. Dube (1977) in introduction to his book "Tribal Heritage of India") felt that "in the Indian context, the term Tribe has never been defined precisely and satisfactorily". However, Majumdar (1961) defined it as " a collection of families or group of families bearing a common name, members of which occupy the same territory, speak the same language and observe certain taboos regarding marriage, profession or occupation and have developed a well-assessed system of reciprocity and mutuality of obligation". However, Sahay (1969) after detailed examination of various definitions given by various authors for Tribe came to the conclusion that"the term Tribe, has never been defined precisely and satisfactorily in the India context".

During Census Operations :

The British during various Census operation also tried to differentiate the tribals (whom they also referred as Animists) from others. Enthoven, the Superintendent of Census Operations for Bombay for 1901 Census referred to the practical difficulty of "distinguishing the so called

Animists from others who formed part of regular Hindu Castes". However, according to Ghurye, G.S, some attempts were made by J.H. Hutton, the Commissioner of Census, Government of India in 1931 " who used the term Tribal in contrast to Hindu, Muslim, Christian etc" in the Tables at the end of Chapter on Religion". Hutton also spoke of tribal religion and even primitive religion in relation to Hindu religion. The British in Andhra region declared certain communities living in hilly and forest areas (Scheduled Districts) of the then Vizagapatnam District as Hill Tribes for purposes of implementation of Agency Tracts Interest and Land Transfer Act, 1917 (Act I of 1917) to protect their interests in land. and saving them from usurious money - lenders. In the other part of present day Andhra Pradesh, the erstwhile Nizam's government declared certain forest living communities as "notified tribal groups' for purposes of Implementation of The Hyderabad Tribal Areas Regulation, (Regulation No. III of 1359F).

As per Constitution of India :

In the Constitution of India certain provisions were made to recognize certain communities as Scheduled Tribes. Article 366 (25) of the Constitution of India refers to the 'Scheduled Tribes' as those who are scheduled in accordance with Article 342 of the Constitution. According to 342 (1) of Constitution of India "The President may after consultation with the Governor or Rajpramukh of a State, by public notification, specify the tribes or tribal communities or parts of or groups within tribes or tribal communities which shall for the purposes of this Constitution be deemed to be Scheduled Tribes in relation to that State". Further according to the Article 342 (2), Parliament may by law include in or exclude from the list of Scheduled Tribes specified in a notification issued under clause (1) any tribe or tribal community or part of or group within Tribes of India and Andhra Pradesh - An Over View

any tribe or tribal community but save as aforesaid a notification issued under the said clause shall not be varied by any subsequent notification. (7). In the Constitution of India no proper definition was evolved before declaring certain communities as Scheduled Tribes in 1950. The old lists of the British and The Nizam were mostly adopted for notification of Scheduled Tribes by President of India and repeated in various states in subsequent notifications when the States have been re organized on linguistic basis. To overcome this difficulty the Government of India appointed a Parliamentary committee called as Lokur Committee which has recommended the following criterion(MoTA:,2007-08) which is being followed by Government of India now :

- 1. Primitive Traits
- 2. Distinctive Culture
- 3. Shyness of Contact with community at large,
- 4. Geographical Isolation and
- 5. Backwardness social and economic

Distribution of Scheduled Tribes : All India

According to 2001 Census, the Scheduled Tribe population is 8.43 Crores constituting 8.2% of country's population. The Scheduled Tribe population is mainly distributed in two parts of the country namely the Central India with extension to South India and North Eastern India. More than 50% of The Scheduled Tribe population is in Central-South India belt in the States of Gujarat, Maharastra, Madhya Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh, Orissa, Chattisgarh, Jharkhand, Bihar and West Bengal. However in these states except in small pockets, the non-tribal population is also sizeable. This is because there are no restrictions on migration and settlement of non-tribal population in tribal designated (Scheduled) areas. In North East Indian States where the entry and settlement of non-tribal is almost prohibited, the tribal concentration is very high. There are 700 Scheduled tribal communities with tribes like Gond, Koya, Savara etc. distributed in more than one State. Government of India for the purposes of affording special attention for their development, have identified 75 tribal communities as Primitive Communities basing on economic and educational backwardness besides tendencies of declining population on certain groups. Andhra Pradesh with a Scheduled Tribe population of 50.24 lakhs according to 2001 Census occupies 8th rank among the states with Scheduled Tribe population.

Distribution of Scheduled Tribes in Andhra Pradesh:

Andhra Pradesh has the largest Scheduled Tribal population in entire South India. Within the State, the tribal areas can be classified as i. areas of tribal concentrations in the districts of Srikakulam, Vizianagaram, Visakhapatnam East Godavari, West Godavari, Khammam, Warangal Adilabad and Nallamal forest areas which are mostly scheduled areas and ii. Outside Scheduled areas. There are 35 Scheduled Tribe communities notified by President of India in Andhra Pradesh of which 31 live in tribal concentrated areas.

Subject	Total S.T Population	Percentage
ST Fopulation	50.24	06.59%
ST Population in Scheduled areas	30.47	60.65%
ST Population in plain areas	19.77	39.35%
Total number of Scheduled Tribes	35	57.55%
Living in Scheduled Areas	31	

Table-1

Constitution of India and Scheduled Tribes

Constitution of India made special provisions for the protection and development of Scheduled Tribes as follows :

Equality before Law (Article 14) - Tribes like any other citizens of the country enjoy this right. However, the State can make special provisions as per Article 15 (4) and for Reservation in appointment as per Article 16 (4) and for in promotions in employment as per Article 16 (4A).

A National Commission for Scheduled Tribes will be constituted as per Article 338 A fro taking up any issue related to Scheduled Tribes. There is also a provision to appoint a Commission to report on the administration of Schedule Area and welfare of STs as per Article 339 (1). The first Commission was appointed in 1960 with Sri U.N Dhebar as Chairman and the recent Commission was appointed was headed by Sri Dilip Singh Bhuria. Appointment of a Commission to investigate socially and educationally backward classes is also provided for as per Article 340 of the Constitution.

The Article 46 directs the State to promote educational and economic interest, and to protect from injustice and all forms of exploitation. Under Article 275 (1) Government of India provides special grants to the states with Scheduled tribe population Grant-in-aid for the welfare of STs, and to improve the administration of Schedule Areas.

The Article 330 provides for Reservation of seats in Lok Sabha in proportion of tribal population in the state to the total population. Similarly, reservations of seats are made in Legislative Assemblies as per Article 332. The reservations of seats in Panchayats are made as per provisions under Article 243 D. The provisions of Panchayati Raj were extended to Scheduled areas by an amendment to the Act popularly known as PESA (Panchayat Raj Extension Act to Scheduled Areas). The fifth Schedule of the Constitution makes special provisions for administration fifth Scheduled areas. Detailed discussion will be made on the administration of Scheduled areas in a separate chapter on the subject.

Major Areas of Tribal Concentration

There are 15 districts with more one lakh Scheduled Tribe (ST) population and the districts are arranged in the descending order. The details are as follows :

SI.No	District	ST Population	
1	Khammam	6.82	
2	Visakhapatnam	5.57	
3	Warangal		
4	Adilabad	4.16	
5	Nalgonda	3.42	
6	Mahboobnagar	2.78	
7	Nellore	2.42	
8	Vijayanagaram	2.14	
9	Guntur	2.08	
10	East Godavari	1.91	
11	Srikakulam	1.51	
12	Nizamabad	1.65	
13	Ranga Reddy	1.46	
14	Ananthapur	1.27	
15	Chittoor	1.28	

Table-2

in lakhs- as per 2001 Census

Major Tribes

The tribes with more than 20.000 population and their areas of Habitation are as follows:

Table-3

S. No	Scheduled Tribe	Population	Major areas of Habitation	
1	Sugali, Lambadi	16.41	All districts	
2	Коуа	4.56	Adilabad, Karimnagar, War-angal, Khammam, West Godavari and East Godavari	
3	Yenadi	3.96	Chittoor, Nellore, Prakasam and Guntur	
4	Erukula	3.87	All districts	
5	Gond	2.12	Adilabad	
6	Konda Dora	1.79	Vijayanagaram	
7	Bagata	1.09	Visakhapatnam	
8	Savara	1.05	Vijayanagaram, Srikakulam	
9	Jatapu	1.04	Vijayanagaram, Srikakulam	
10	Konda Reddy	0.76	Khammam, West Godavari and Eas Godavari	
11	Khond	0.66	Visakhapatnam	
12	Valmiki	0.55	Visakhapatnam,East Godavari	
13	Kammara	0.44	Visakhapatnam	
14	Kotia	0.41	Srikakulam	
15	Kolam	0.41	Adilabad	
16	Chenchu	0.41	Mahboobnagar, Kurnool, Prakasam and Guntur	

(in lakhs as per 1991 Census)

Sex Ratio

The sex ratio among the tribals compared to the general population is as follows:

SI. No	Census	Sex Ratio General Population	Scheduled Tribes
1	1991	972	960
2	2001	978	972

Table - 4

Tribes in Andhra Pradesh can be classified differently basing on their economy, language etc. The data in brief is as follows :

Economic Classification :

Basing on their traditional economy the tribes of Andhra Pradesh can be classified as 1. Gathering and Hunting 2. Cattle rearing 3. Shifting cultivation using slash and burn technique and 4. Agriculture. (Pratap, D.R., No Date). The tribes like the Chenchu of Nallamal forests still depend on collection and sale of Minor Forest Produce and hunting small game. While the forests they inhabit are officially owned by Government in Forest department, the traditional system of community ownership of MFP resources with in the traditionally defined geographical territory is continuing even today. Individual members of the society have usufruct right over collection and sale of Minor Forest Produce like gum, tamarind honey etc gathered by them.(Sastry, V.N.V.K :1993). Cattle rearing has been the traditional occupation of Banjara Tribal of Telengana areas and Goud tribals of Visakhapatnam district.

The tribes like the Savara of Srikakulam and Vizianagaram districts, Porja and Khond of Visakhapatnam district and Konda Reddy of West Godavari, East Godavari and Khammam districts still pursue slash and burn technique to clear the bushy growth on the hill slopes and make it suitable for cultivation. They then broadcast the seed; mostly small millets dibble the land and watch had a minmum of three plots of such lands on hill slops and they used to shift from one plot to the other ever year V.N.V.K.,1998).

The tribes like Gonds of Adilabad district, Koyas of

Tribes of India and Andhra Pradesh - An Over View

of Khammam and West Godavari district, Bagatha of Visakhapatnam district and Jatapu of Srikakulam district have been settled agriculturists for a long time. In the recent years there is a gradual shift to commercial crops in agriculture and horticulture from all these traditional occupations.

Linguistic Classification :

The languages spoken by the tribals can be classified as i. Dravidian spoken by the Gond, Kolam, Koya and Khond 2. Indo-Aryan spoken by the Lambada and Mundari spoken by Savara. Efforts have been made by scholars like Gidugu Venkata Rama Murty more than 100 years ago to study Savara grammar while text books for primary schools were prepared by Tribal Welfare department in 2005. Several scholars have been working on tribal oral literature in the recent years (Sastry, V.N.V.K:2009)

Marriage and Family :

Marriages are traditionally within the tribe but outside the Clan. Marriage by capture, elopement and negotiation are the three types of acquiring a mate till 1970s but in the recent years, marriage by capture almost disappeared. A person having more than one wife also existed predominantly till a few decades back. Early marriages with average marriage age of 12 years for boys and 8 years for girls has also changed in recent years to 20 years in boys and 18 years in girls especially among the educated. The traditional system of bride price has given way to dowry system due to influence of non-tribal society in the recent years. Families are predominantly nuclear.

Political Organization :

Each of the tribal village has a Panchayat (traditional village organization to decide all tribal affairs) for dealing with intra - tribal and inter - tribal disputes like marriage, property etc. Studies made by Tribal Research Institute, Hyderabad in 2005 .have revealed that more than 90% of the civil disputes are settled within the society by the Panchyats only and only criminal cases like murder under the influence of alcohol go to police

Other Cultural aspects:

Tribes have a variety of dance forms like Gusadi in Adilabad district, Mayuri in Visakhapatnam district and Kommu in Khammam districts. Their music, song, painting etc are rich in color and content. Their religion is based on belief in supernatural and influences of Saivism and Christianity are seen in recent years (Sastry, V.N.V.K. 1994).

Detailed description of each of these characteristics will be made in the subsequent chapters.

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Chapter - 2

Social Organization

Social Organization primary deals with grouping of individuals.Lowie,1950:30). Man being part of the society, he has to follow certain norms prescribed by the society for his own well being and for the well being of the society. For meeting the social and economic needs of the individual, each society evolved its own norms of behavior over generations. There are certain commonalities across the societies and specialty in these norms. As the tribal societies were living in geographical isolation till recently, they evolved their ours norms of behavior which form basis for culture. Once again, the physical environment in which they live broadly decides the economy to be pursued and all other aspects of social organization like religion, political organization, family, etc are also evolved to meet the economic needs of the individual and community. In the final outcome, "the social organization is the way things get done over a time in the community (Firth: 1961). The following description of characteristics of tribes of Andhra Pradesh show some commonality and also specializations among the tribal groups. They also show a some strikingly specialized cultural aspects which are different from caste communities. Knowledge of these specializations will also help in application of this knowledge in weeding out the false claims of some caste persons as belonging to tribal communities for availing the constitutional benefits meant for the tribals. A detailed discussion on this is made in the chapter on Fifth Schedule administration. The description of major characteristics is made in alphabetical order of their tribe name for the sake of convenience.

Geographical distribution

Tribes live in a contiguous geographical area and the political boundaries drawn for States in India on the basis of languages spoken by majority of non-tribals do not often coincide with tribal habitat. However, for the purpose of description of the geographical spread of the tribal population, we have to follow the Census classifications which are published on the basis of political and administrative boundaries of the country only and authentic data is available from this source only. As already mentioned, of the 35 Scheduled tribal communities notified in Andhra Pradesh, 31 live in hilly and forest areas which are also classified as Scheduled areas.

Andh is found in small number in Andhra Pradesh in Adilabad district while their major areas of concentration is Nanded, Parbhani and Yeotmal districts in Maharastra state. Bagathas are found mostly in Visahapatnam district only. They are also known as Bakta, Bagatha and Bogatha. As per legends, they got their name as Bagata because of the devotion (Bhakti) with which they served their Chieftains namely Golugonda and Madugula Samstans (Small kingdoms). Bagatha is believed to be corrupt form of Bhakta.

Chenchu, also known as Chenchuvaralu live in Nallamala Hills in the districts of Prakasam, Kurnool. Guntur and Mehboobnagar with spill over population in RangaReddy and Nalgonda districts on the borders of the forests. Andhra Pradesh. It is a small tribe of hunter gatherers. Chenchus living around Shaivite temple at Srisailam claim close affinity with Lord Mallikarjuna, also, also called as Mallana and his consort Brhmaramba Devi. According to Sastry, VNVK (1994), the term Mallana is a combination of two words Mala meaning Hill and Anna means brother. Mallana according to him was the original god of Srisailam represented by a stone like structure similar to tribal gods (called as Vrudha (old) Mallikarjuna) who was replaced by Sanskrit god Mallikarjuna after the Mallikarjuna temple administration slowly passed on to the Shiavite priests from Karnataka. In case of Bhrahmaramba temple, the goddess represents the Bhrahmaram meaning the bee, which is common in these honey yielding forests and well known to gatherers of honey. As per the local mythology gathered by this author, long time back the Mallana became old and deaf. As he could not hear what the devotees are asking, the number of devotees decreased. This necessitated the installation of New and young Mallikarjuna through Hindu rituals. The ritual displacement made all the difference in the life of Chenchus which will be discussed in the chapter on religion. Thurston (1906) as well as Raghaviah (1962) believe that Yenadi and Chenchus belong to the same stock but live in different habitats. Chenchus living in forests refer themselves as Konda (Hill) or Adavi (forest) Chenchus while the Chenchus living in villages in the valleys refer themselves as Voora (village) Chenchus.

Gadaba Tribe lives in Srikakulam, Vijayanagaram and Visakhapatnam districts in Andhra Pradesh and they are also concentrated in the Koraput district of Orissa. They are also found in the districts of Ganjam, Kalahandi and Sundergarh of Orissa. Thurston (1909) opined that Gadaba might have derived their community name from Godavari river from whose banks they migrated at Nandapur, the capital of rajas of Jeopore.

Gonds are the most numerous tribe in the country with their area of habitation extending from Gonda area of Uttar Pradesh to Bihar, Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa. Their area of habitation is popularly known as Gondwana deriving the name from the term Gond. Gonds had their own kingdoms in the past with capitals at Chadrapur, Mandla, Deogarh and Kherla. The Gonds of Adilabad district had their kingdom with capital at Chana, the present day Chandrapur of Maharastra. There were smaller kings like Raja of Sirpur (near Jainur) of Atram clan who were subordinate to Rajah of Chanda. Gonds call themselves as Koitur while the name Gond is a given by outsiders. There is no satisfactory explanation for etymology of the term Gond but some try to relate to the word Konda or Kondh meaning Hill to the term Gond. Description of Gond tribe will be incomplete if the satellite communities are not mentioned. Gond, Kolam, Pradhan and Thoti tribals form in to one traditional unit. For example, a Gond Rajah of Atram clan will have a Pradhan bard who is also an advisor, a Kolam warrior and a Thoti servant with the same surname and clan.

Jatapu or Jatapu Dora mainly inhabit the valleys

and foot hills of Vijayanagaram and Srikakulam district in Andhra Pradesh while they are also found in the adjoining areas in Koraput and Ganjam districts of Orissa. They claim to be sub ordinate kings of Jeopore kings and therefore add the word Dora meaning lord or king.

Kolam are also known as Kolavar and Pujari. They are found in Adilabad district of Andhra Pradesh and in larger numbers in the adjoining areas of Maharashtra. The Telugu speaking Kolams are known as Mannewarlu, meaning hill people and they are different from Manne, who are non-tribals are living in the same area.

Konda Dora live in Srikakulam, Vijayanagaram, Visakhapatnam and East Godavari districts of Andhra Pradesh and adjoining areas of Orissa. The etymology of the term Konda Dora is: Konda means Hill and Dora means lord or Chief. In their language they refer themselves as Kubing.They consider themselves as Hill Chiefs and also that they are descendents of Pandavas of Mahabharata and therefore, also refer themselves as Pandava Rajahs or Pandava Doras.

Konda Kammara are a community of blacksmiths among Konda Doras, even though enumerated separately as a scheduled tribe. They are mostly found in the hilly areas of East Godavari district. Konda Kapu also refer themselves as Konda Dora or Pandava Rytu and are found in the districts of Srikakulam, Vijayanagaram, Visakhapatnam and East Godavari district. There is a strong evidence that Konda Kapu are only a section of Konda Doras who have taken up settled agriculture and to differentiate themselves from primitive shifting cultivators among them, they have adopted the caste name 'Kapu' means crop watcher or cultivator in Godavari districts.

Konda Reddi is a small tribe living in the Godavari

gorges of East Godavari, West Godavari and Khammam districts. Among the Konda Reddies, the shifting cultivator and gatherer group living in interior forests are most backwards while the group living on the Godavari river banks in West Godavari district who have been cultivating even tobacco and the group living in East Godavari district who have taken up agriculture and horticulture are relatively advanced. The term Konda Reddi has been derived from the term Konda (Hill) and Reddi (headman). It is believed that the Konda Reddies belonged to to Reddy kingdom near Korukonda and they had retracted in to the Jungles after their kingdom fell to outsiders. However, this requires historical evidence. However, the well developed language equal to chaste Telugu in many respects, well organized political system speaks of their higher or-

Kondh live in Visakhapatnam, Vijayanagaram and Srikakulam districts in Andhra Pradesh and adjoining areas of Koraput, Phulbani and Kalahandi areas of Orissa. Kondh are also known as Kond, Kondh and Kanda is believed to have derived their name from the Dravidian word 'Konda' meaning hill. Another explanation is that the synonym Khanda used in Orissa for the same tribe means shoulder as they carry everything on their shoulders in the hilly and forest areas where sizeable population live. In Andhra Pradesh, the Kondhs are also referred as Kodulu which is believed to be corrupt form of Kotutlu meaning monkeys as they live in forests. However, the Kondhs claim themselves as Samanthas, sub-ordinate kings in the kingdom of Rajah of Jeopore. The Kondhs living on the borders of Vijayanagaram and Visakhapatnam district also refer themselves as Jatapu Kondhs, thus leading to a belief that Kondh and Jatapu are one and the same.

Kotia also known as Kutia and Khatia live mostly

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in Srikakulam district in Andhra Pradesh and adjoining areas of Orissa even though enumerated in the districts of Visakhapatnam and Vijayanagaram districts in Andhra Pradesh. They have been clubbed with some other communities like Bentho Oriya which had some undesirable consequences which will be discussed in another chapter.

Koya is another large tribe in Andhra Pradesh living along the Godavari river in the districts of Adilabad, Karimnagar, Warangal, Khammam, West Godavari and East Godavari districts. They are also found in the adjoining areas of Chattisgarh and Malkangiri areas of Orissa. They also refer themselves as Koitur, Koi, Konda Rajulu, Koya Dora, Racha Koya or Dora Chattam all meaning that they are the rulers or lords of the areas. They are several exogamous sub groups like Kottu Koyas, Rajah Koyas, Bhine Koyas Lingadhari Koyas etc. Koyas have many similarities with Gonds in their language, social structure etc making us to believe that they belong to a large 'Koi' family. Kuliya also referred as Mulia are found in the hilly and forest areas of Visakhapatnam district.

Lambada has the largest population among the tribal communities in Andhra Pradesh. They are also known as Sugali or Banjara and found throughout the state. They are also found in the states of Maharashtra, Karnataka etc but the community in Andhra Pradesh enjoys the status of a Scheduled Tribe. The tribe is believed to have migrated from Rajasthan to Telengana area of Andhra Pradesh areas along with Moghul armies when the later invaded Deccan and defeated the Golugonda regime. The British in Andhra area and Nizam in Nizam's dominions have declared certain groups among them as Criminal Tribes when they resorted to high way robberies but after India became independent, they were declared as De-notified Tribal (DNT) Community and subsequently as Scheduled Tribe initially in Andhra area and later on in Telengana area also. They were a nomadic tribal community possessing large cattle population till recently and settled on agriculture in the recent years. It is believed that the term Lambada is a corrupt form of Laban meaning caravan as they were travelling from place to place in search of livelihood. Labour is also Similarly the term Banjara is believed to have been derived from the term 'Vanchara' meaning 'nomads of forests. They settled in small hamlets called as Tandas often located at a distance from the main villages.

Mali tribe is found mostly in Visakhapatnam and Orissa areas. They claim that their community name is derived from the word Mala meaning garland. However, in another interpretation, their community name is attributed to the vegetable cultivation taken up by most of them and there fore, the word Mali, the gardener. Manne Dora, also known as Manne Rajulu is a small community and claim themselves as Dora (lord) of hills. They are distributed in the districts of Visakhapatnam, Vijayanagaram, East Godavari and west Godavari. Mukha dora also known as Nooka Dora are found in the districts of Srikakulam, Vijayanagaram and Visakhapatnam.

Naikpod also known as Naikada in Maharashtra are basically a Telugu speaking tribe found in Adilabad district of Andhra Pradesh and Nanded and Yeotmal districts of Maharashtra. Even though declared as scheduled tribe along with Gond in the Presidential Order, they are a separate tribe without any kind of marital relationship with Gonds. The Nayak community found in the districts of Karimnagar, Warangal, Khammam and West Godavari district claim that they and Naikpod are one and the same but it requires detailed study to establish the relationship

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as similarity of name between the communities cannot be taken as an evidence.

Pradhan are the traditional bards (referred as Patadi) to Raj Gonds who sing songs in praise of great Gond kings on every important occasion. The term Pradhan means minister. Many believe that the Gond kings in imitation of Hindu kings appointed Marathi groups as their ministers and the term Pradhan for them. Even today the Gonds seek the advice of Pradhan on all important matters. The Pradhan is authorized to receive compensation on behalf of his master in case of any dispute settlement. As already explained the Pradhan is part of great Gond social net work. Pradhan are found in Adilabad district and adjoining districts in Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh.

Paraja are concentrated in Visakhapatnam district of Andhra Pradesh and in the Koraput district in Orissa. They are also known by different phonetic variations such as Paraja, Parja, Porja or Poraja. The term Poraja is believed to have been derived from the word 'Po' meaning son and 'raja' meaning king. In another interpretation, Poraja means the sons of the soil. Reddy Dora inhabit the forest areas of Visakhapatnam district with synonyms such as Doratanalu, Racha Reddlu and Nookadoralu.

Rona also known as Rana or Rena are found in the forest areas of Vijayanagaram and Visakhapatnam districts of Andhra Pradesh even though their population is reported in other districts. The term Rona or Rana refers to the battle and it is claimed that they got this name as they were in the army of the Rajahs of Jeypore.

Soara also known as Savara means a mountain living people. It is a very large tribe living in Andhra Pradesh in Vijayanagaram and Srikakulam districts and in Koraput and Ganjam districts of Orissa even though they are listed in Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Bihar and West Bengal also. Some associate the term Savara with Sabari, the devotee of lord Rama in Ramayana living in Dandakaranya forests of central India.

Valmiki are found mostly in the Visakhapatnam and East Godavari districts claim descent from sage Valmiki who wrote Ramayana. Yanadi is another large tribe living mostly in the out skirts of rural villages or near forests or on the sea shores of Andhra Pradesh in Nellore, Prakasam, Guntur and Chittoor districts. Some of them are also found in the Nellore, Ongole and Kavali towns. Yerukula are also mostly found in the rural districts of Andhra Pradesh.

Linguistic variations

Tribes speak different languages falling in different language groups. Andhs speak Marathi which is an Indo Aryan language but they also speak Telugu, the official language and in Urdu with Muslim traders. The mother tongue of Bagathas is Telugu but they also speak Oriya language with their neighbors. Chenchus speak Telugu, the regional language but with a dialect of their own. Gadaba speak their own Gadaba language of Dravidian group and also in Gutob of Austric family.

Gonds have their own language called 'Koi' belonging to Dravidian linguistic family. They have their own number up to eight and the they use Telugu or Marathi numbers from nine on wards. Gond men because of their contact speak several languages other than their own mother tongue. In the Jainur market of Adilabad district his author came across a gonds who spoke in Gondi with other fellow tribal, in Marathi and Urdu with the Marathi and Muslim merchants and in Telugu or English with officials. Still he was recorded as illiterate in the census records by their own definitions!! . Gonds have a rich oral tradition in the form of songs and mythology sung by their bards Pradhan. According to one mythology, their culture hero Pahandi Kupar Lingal, who has 'lingas' all over the body has brought back their gods to restore peace in the area. Thurston felt that Jatapu and Khonds are one and the same as Jatapu living in hills speak Kuvi or Konda language while Jatapu living in plains speak Telugu. Kolams speak a language of their own called Kolami belonging to Dravidían group of families.

Konda Dora speak Konda language which belongs to Dravidian linguistic family but most of them have forgotten their language and speak Telugu. Konda Kammara and Konda Kapu speak Telugu only. Konda Reddies speak a chaste Telugu as their mother tongue comparable to Gradhika Telugu Bhasha (language used in old Telugu books). Kondh speak a language called as Konda or Kubi or Kui belonging to Dravidian linguistic family. They also speak in Oriya fluently while in the company of Oriya traders and in broken Telugu with officials from Andhra Pradesh government etc. Kotia tribe speaks only Oriya among themselves while they speak in Telugu in Andhra areas and in Oriya in Orissa areas of their habitation. Kulia tribals speak only Oriya as mother tongue but speak in Telugu with their neighbors.

Lambada speak a dialect belonging to Indo -Aryan language. They speak with the Telugu population in Telugu. The increase in number of educated among the Lambada is phenomenal in the recent years even though their literacy percentage as a group in still less compared to other tribal groups.

Mali speak in Oriya in Orissa and in Telugu in Andhra areas and both the languages in the boarder areas. Manne Dora speak only Telugu, the regional language. Mukha Dora or Nookha Dora speak only Telugu as their mother tongue. Naikpod speak only Telugu even though some linguists tried to classify their language separately by calling it as Naikidi. The mother tongue of Pradhans in Adilabad district is Marathi but they speak in Gondi only with their masters, the Gonds. Poraja speak a Dravidian language called Parji but speak Oriya and Telugu fluently. Reddy Doras speak only Telugu.

Rona speak Oriya at home and Telugu with others but do not have their own language.

Savara speak Savara language belonging to Munda family of languages.

Valmiki speak Telugu only.

Yanadi speak only Telugu.

Yerukula speak their own language belonging to Dravidian linguistic family.

Physical features

Tribes in Andhra Pradesh in general belong to Proto - Austroloid group but Andh are of below nedium height and broader facial profiles. Bagathas are medium statured (1943) classified Chenchus as Proto- Austroloid with mefound tall to very tall Chenchus in Prakasam and Guntur living in deep forests of Amarabad area in Mehboobnagar strains in body and hair structure. Gadaba are short statured with oblong faces and broader nasal profile. Kolams can be identified by their significantly different morphological profile. Medium stature with broad facial and nasal profile.

Konda Dora are in general short-statured with a long and narrow head shape, broad face and moderate chin and a narrow nose form suggesting slight deviation from Proto-Austroloid form. Konda Kammara are generally dark skinned and have black hair. They are shot statured with dolichocephalic head shape. Konda Reddies stand apart from rest of the tribal groups in their physical features also by their long and narrow head and broad facial profile. They have short stature with a short and moderately broad nose. Koyas are generally short in stature with medium or lean body, long and narrow head shape and broad nasal and facial features confirming to proto Austroloid racial features.

The Lambada are on an average of medium stature and their skin color is generally very fair but black in some parts of the state. Lambada women wear colorful and attractive dresses and can be easily distinguished from others. Unlike their Gond masters, Pradhan show a markedly Maratha physical features. Poraja are generally short stature, long and narrow headed people with a tendency to towards a round shaped head.

Savara are mostly short statured or below medium height with broad facial profile. On the whole they are repotted to be Dolicocephalic and possess short chin resembling the Austro- Asiatic family.

Yanadi are below medium stature, long headed with median value of cephalic index. They have a broad facial profile with a short chin and short and broad nasal features are on an average Yanadi are on an average below medium height with broad facial features and a relatively long and broad nasal form.

Medicine

Traditional medicine played major role till recently. Tribal knowledge of medicinal plants is immense. The medicinemen play important role in the society. Magic mixed with medicine is the prescription as per the belief system which center round the malevolent and benevolent gods and their influence over all aspects of their life. Chenchus of nallamala forests are expert medicine men and their knowledge of plant and root medicine is abundant. In one of the surveys by the author in 1988, it was found the Chenchus gathered more than 200 varieties of medicinal plants while the professors of Indian medicine were able to identify about 20 varieties of medicinal plants. The Chenchus were able to describe the use of root, leaf and stem for curing various diseases, snake bites etc. Koyas are expert medicine men and people from different parts of the state visit some Koya medicine men to cure paralysis, diabetes, asthma etc. But this knowledge is slowly disappearing as the old aged medicinemen are dying and young people educated in residential schools and away from villages most of the time had very little opportunities to learn this oral knowledge from their elders. The modern medicine is not reaching them because of inaccessibility of villages and also that the doctors by and large avoid work in interior area.

Toddy and alcoholism in Tribal life

The tribal areas are abundant in toddy yielding trees like Palmarrah, Jeelugu etc. Toddy plays an important role in tribal life. It substitutes food in the toddy yielding season and we often find the tribals under the trees only. Friendship grows there. Toddy tapped in the early morning is reported to be very healthy. Sastry, V.N.V.K (1970) reported that among the Koyas of Godavary agency, toddy is offered to the gods before it is tapped for the first time during the season. Koyas classify persons in to marriage age group only after he can climb the Palmarrah tree. However, the toddy tapped in the morning and kept till the afternoon becomes sour and adds kick. In some other areas, Ippa (Basia Latifolia) is available in plenty. Ippa flower is offered to Lord Rama temple in Bhadrachalam which has been the tradition of Koya tribals of the area for several general generations. Tribals brew liquor with these flowers. Now a days brewing of illicit liquor and mixing of chemicals in Toddy has become common leading to ill health and death in several cases. In the Chenchu areas of Nallamala Forests brewing of alcohol has become a house hold industry with several families making livelihood out of it. In one of the places near Chintala village on Dornala and Srisailam road, the author found the Chenchus brewing liquor by using bark of Tumma tree, old rubber shoes, fertilizers and finally mixing powder from used dry battery cells for added kick. In the state of intoxication, several quarrels, beating of wives and sometimes violence leading to murders also take place. Drinking of toddy or alcohol during birth, marriage or death ceremonies is also common. Lambada brew liquor from Mohwa flowers and sell in market places. Manufacture of hooch was also reported from several places.

Social Structure-Tribe, Sub Tribe, Phratries, Clans, familyaa

Tribes in Andhra Pradesh have typical social structure with their society organized in to Phrataries, Clans, sub-clans etc with variations among them as follows:

Andh and Sadhu Andh are two important sects among Andh. Andhs are divided in to several exogamous surname groups like Odham, Deshmukhi, Doural etc.. Descent is traced male line while succession rights go to eldest son. Bagathas are divided into three major sub-divisions namely Raja Bagathas, Reddi Bagathas and Chitti Bagathas which are again subdivided into several clans and decent groups. Among the Chenchus, Thurston identified eight exogamous septs like Gurram (horse), Aratis(Plantain tree), Mekala(goat) etc.while there are several exogamous clans also referred as Gotras. Gadaba have seven groups namely Bodo, Perega, Olaro, Kalayi, Kapu, Kathivi and Jurunu. Each group is again sub-divided into clans and lineages.

Gond is a generic term comprising of several groups and in Madhya Pradesh where largest number of Gonds live, Government of India notified more than fifty sub groups and in Maharastra also equal number of groups have been notified. In Adilabad district Gonds call themselves as Raj Gonds. Gond society is divided into four Phrataries called Saga. They are Nalwen Saga, Sewen saga Sarwen Saga and Edwen Saga basing on the number of divine ancestors who are related as brothers. Each of these Phrataries is further sub divided in to clans (surname) and sub clans (Khandan). Marriage is out side clans as well as Phrataries. Jatapu are divided into a number of exogamous clans (called as Vamsa) like Prahka,Neehka and Mookha etc and septs like Thorika, Kadrika, Addaku (Leaves), Konda Gorre (Hill Sheep), Navali Pitta (Pecock), Arika (millet) etc. Kolams are divided in to a number of exogamous clans like Tekam, etc.

Konda Dora have several exogamous clans like Naga (Cobra), Surya (sun), Peyya (cow), Konda Gorre (hill sheep) etc. Konda Dora claim that they are inferior in social status to Bagata, Kotia and Manne Dora and superior to Gadaba, Poija and Khond who are neighbors in their area of habitation. Konda Kammara are divided into Clans(Gotra) and surname (Inteperulu) groups like Neeerem, Kanem, Dabbakutta etc. and marriage is outside the surname group. Konda Kapu have the same clans like Naga (snake), Surva (sun), Puli (tiger), Matya (fish). Konda Reddies are divided in to exogamous septs or intiperulu like Vallalu, Kadapala, Kathula etc. They do not eat beef and thus claim superiority over their neighbors the Koyas who are beef eaters. Kondhs are divided in to several segments namely Dongriva Kondh, Kuti Kondh, Japtapu Kondh etc. Each of these are further sub divided in to a number of exogamous lineages and clans like Milleka (peacock), Mandenga (Tiger), Moosaka (ape), Tadinga (snake). Kotia have two endogamous groups namely Bodo Kotia and Sono Kotia which are further subdivided in to a number of exogamous clans like Surya (Sun), Naga (snake), Killo (Tiger), Matya (fish) etc. Like the Gonds, Koyas also have an exogamous Phratary system called Gatta Gotra namely Mudo (third), Nalo or Nalugo (fourth) or Paredi, Aido (fifth), Aro (sixth), Peramboyalu etc and these are further sub-divided in to several exogamous clans like Soyam, Chanda, Madakam etc. Kulia have clans like Naga (snake), Matya (fish) etc like their neighbors in Visakhapatnam district.

The Lambadi in Telengana area are divided in to four patrilineal clans namely Rathod, Ramhar, Chauhan and Vadtya while the Sugali in Andhra area report four clans namely Mudevane (Mudavath), Banoth, Varthe and Bukke (Bhukya).

Mali like their neighbors also have two divisions namely Bada (big or higher) Mali and Sono (small or lower) Mali. They are sub-divided in to several exogamous sub groups like Killo (tiger), Ontala (snake), Korra (sun) and Gollary (monkey). Manne Dora are divided in to exogamous surnames like Yangala, Marika, Konda Raju etc. Mukha Dora have two lineages, Vamsam namely Kora and Naga which consists of several surname groups like Chikkudi, Velanga, Kakara all referring to vegetable and fruits.

Naikpod are divided into a large number of clans like Pujarwad (priest), Langewad (wild animal), Kommuwad (animal horn) etc. Pradhans have the same phrataries as of Gonds i.e. four, five, six and seven brother phrataries and clan names similar to the Gonds. Each of the Pradhan family is attached to a Gond family of same sir name for all religious purposes.

Poraja comprises of several divisions such as Sodia Porja or Bada Porja, Bareng Paraja or Jodia Poraja, Bada Jodia or Penga Paraja, Konda Paraja or Selia Poraja etc. with totemeic clans like Bagh (tiger), Nag(cobra), Mandi (cow), Kachim (tortoise) Bouda (goat) etc.

Reddy Doras are divided into clans such as Naga (snake), Chandra (moon) and Surya (Sun) and are further subdivided into surname groups called as Intiperulu. Rona have totemic clans like Matya (fish), surya (sun), Ballu (bear) which are sub-divided in to several surname groups.

Savara are divided in to twenty five divisions like Jati, Arsi, Jadu, Kindal, Kimbi. Lanjia and Sudha. Basing on the location of their habitat, the Savaras are grouped as hill Savara and Plains living Savara.Valmiki have clans like Surya (sun), Naga(snake) etc. which are further sub-divided in to surname groups.

Yanadi are divided in to two broad groups namely Challa Yanadi who eat left out (cold) food and Manchi Yanadi who are having their own occupations like fishing, collection of Minor Forest Produce crop watching etc. Yarukua are divided in to several occupational groups like Dabba Yerukula (Basket makers), Yeethapullala Yerukula

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(baskets or mats makers), Uppu Yerukula (salt merchants), Ura Yarukula (Pig reares) etc. Each of these groups is subdivided into four Phrataries namely Sathpati, Kavadi, Menpati and Mendragutti which are sub divided in to several surname groups. Yerukula claim mythical association with Ekalavya, the forest living tribal and great archer whose story is described in epic, Maha Bharata

Marriage

Marriages in all tribal communities is outside the Clan or Phratary (where they exist among Gonds and Koyas) but within the tribe. Marriage outside the tribe is viewed seriously and such couple and their parents are excommunicated even today. Tribes prefer marriage with one's mother's brother's daughter. Both sororate and levirate marriages are permitted. Early marriages were common in earlier years while in recent years marriage after attaining adult hood has become common. Monogamy is common form of marriage while polygyny is also accepted. Divorce and remarriage is also permitted for men and women. Decent is patrilineal, residence is patrilocal and authority is patriarchal in all tribal groups. Marriage by capture, by elopement with mutual consent, service, exchange and by negotiation with payment of bride price are some of the commonly accepted forms of marriage among the tribal communities.

During the surveys made by this author during 1970 to 1990 among the tribes like Savara of Srikakulam district, Konda Reddies of Godavari agency, Koyas of Godavari areas, Gonds of Adilabad district, this author was informed about the occurrence of marriage by capture in their areas especially when the girls are returning from weekly market or from forest in the night hours. The girl was taken to their relative's house and a word is sent to her parents about the desire of the boy to marry her. Both the parents and their relatives used to meet and agree to perform the marriage. They often used to inform that the reason for withdrawing their girls from the residential schools and hostel after attaining ten years of age was that their girls may be captured by boys when they are returning from schools or home during holidays for marriage However, when asked to show the person in their village who got married by this method of acquiring a mate, they could not show such a person and informed that such a practice existed a generation ago. Due to contact with outside world and education, this practice is slowly disappeared even among the forest living tribal communities. In the same areas in 1990s, the author found that the educated among younger generation were not willing to discuss about this practice as outsiders may brand them as primitive.

Marriage by elopement after mutual consent which is another way of selecting a mate accepted by the tribal communities. After the elders come to know of this, a meeting of parents and elders of both the parties would be held which will end up in deciding on marriage and on feast to be arranged. The practice of marriage by elopement is still continuing as this practice also occurs in modern societies.

Marriage by negotiation is the most preferred ways of acquiring a mate even though marriage by elopement after mutual consent still . In marriages by negotiation, payment of bride price called 'Voli' in cash and kind is required. The amount depended on several factors like similar payments made in the family in previously, economic status of ily was not in a position to pay the bride groom's famthere was an alternative of performing the marriage by service. It is called as Illarikam, Illatam, Lamsade (Gondi) etc

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among different tribes. The bridegroom agrees to serve certain number of years in the house of the father in law. After satisfactory completion of the probation period, the father in law performs the marriage with his own money. In some cases where the boy and girl are grown up, the marriage is performed by the father in law with his money but with a condition that the boy will stay in his house and serves him throughout the life. As per this condition, the boy has to live in the father in law's house for ever and any deviation will be viewed seriously by the elders. Marriage ceremony is performed at the bride's house .recent trends in marriage Now a days, large number of boys are getting jobs in government and private companies and demanding dowry to be paid by the girls family in imitation of the practice in neighboring non-tribal society. Use of music band, mike and loud speakers, arranging grand lunch or dinner has also become very common. Second marriage has also become common in several areas. Those of the boys who were married at an early age of 13 to 15 as per tradition and got jobs as teachers, forest guards etc after education are marrying second time. The second wife is generally an employee from their own community or outside. Polyandry is not reported in the tribal societies in Andhra Pradesh.

Tribe - Non-tribe marriages are also creating some administrative and legal problems in the recent years. There is an argument that such marriages lead to integration and therefore, to be encouraged as a progressive measure. Government also implements some cash and other incentives for such couple. But the author's experience is that tribenon-tribe marriages occur with some evil intensions by the non-tribals in the name of love. The non-tribal traders and migrant cultivators who, in several cases, are already married lure the innocent tribal girls for marriages by taking them to cinemas and offering clothes and ornaments. After the marriage, they slowly corner the benefits from her landed property. The women continue to work as farm laborer in her own land while the non-tribal husband transfers the profits from crops to his original wife and children in his native place for their well being. In several other cases, the non-tribals are more intelligent and keep tribal women as concubines. In one case in Paderu agency of Visakhapatnam district, this author came across a non-tribal running a big hotel in the name of tribal women kept as concubine. While she, the de-jure owner was found working in the kitchen, the non-tribal husband manages the cash counters. It was confidentially revealed by the other employees of the hotel that the non-tribal de-facto owner goes to his residence in the West Godavari district once in a month to deposit the profits from this hotel with their family members.

The non-tribals also resort to the practice of obtaining the tribal community certificates after marriages by manipulation even though the government rules clearly say that the caste of the individual does not change with marriage. In several cases the High Court and Supreme Court reiterated that the progeny of tribe-non-tribe marriages are re eligible for benefits of reservation when the male parent is a tribal and the children are brought up in tribal environment and suffered the disadvantages of tribes. As large number of educational opportunities in technical and nontechnical colleges and employment in government are available due to reservations for Scheduled Tribes, these false certificates are obtained by manipulation by revealing the tribal mother's name to get the benefits of education and employment which are otherwise not available.

Family-types

Among the Bagathas, nuclear families are common

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while joint families also found when married brothers live together or when married sons live with parents. Nuclear families are very common among Chenchus who are basically gatherers and hunters. We hardly find any joint families. Even the huts of Chenchus are very small and dispersed in forests to be very close to the resources yielding Minor Forest Produce. These huts can be easily dismantled and rebuilt at new locations in few hours if they need to migrate to the new place. Among the Gonds who are settled agriculturists also nuclear families are in large number but joint families exist in sizeable numbers. The Kolams usually live in nuclear families but extended families are also found among them in considerable numbers. Nuclear and extended families are found among the Konda Dora. Among the Konda Kammmara and Konda Kapu also nuclear families are predominant. Nuclear families are common among the Konda Reddies and Kondhs while extended families in found in few cases.

Among the Koyas the joint family system is very popular with the eldest brother becoming the head of the family after the death of the father and also acting as manager of the property. This system called as Kamatam system was very popular till 1980s slowly gave way to individual property right and emergence of nuclear families in large numbers. The individual ownership also increased the incidence of land alienation which was difficult in jointly owned property system of Kamatam. Sastry, VNVK (1985) found among the Koyas of West Godavari district a system of categorizing the tribe in to different age groups as: those who are drinking milk from mother (kids), those who are playing pebbles(small children), those who can climb Palmyrrah tree (Adults), Pedda (old) and Musili (very old). By the very migratory nature, the Lambada families are nuclear.

Political structure and Organization traditional and recent trends

The traditional political organization consists of intra tribal councils inter tribal village councils and inter village councils to resolve all issues. Chenchus have a elaborate Inter and intra - village councils and the Kula (tribe) Pedda (head) is called as Peddamanchi. Chenchus also have an elaborate community property ownership pattern when it comes to forest resources. In a study made by this author in 1989 in upper plateau villages in Mahboobnagar, it was found that each of the Chenchu villages have their own territory called as Haddu which is respected by the neighboring villagers. The Chenchus living in a territory consider that the entire natural resources like water, land and forests belong to the community and therefore the community elders manage the resources. The community members have only usufruct rights. The honey comb or a tamarind tree or gum yielding tree is a community property while the same resources if available in the back yards of Chenchu households are considered to be properties of those individual families.

Gonds have an elaborate political organization with a village head called as Nar Patel. There as intra tribal councils when Pradhan and other tribal group live in the village (advisory groups) for group villages headed by Patel of biggest clan of the areas and now a days they have a district society are finalized by Rai Medial. All matters relating to surveys by this author in 2005, it was found that except by the traditional councils. Most of the cases are however, fine called Tappu to be paid in cash to the aggrieved party

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Konda Dora have their own traditional council called Kula Panchayat while adjudicates all disputes within the community while the intra tribal and inter village councils takes up the disputes between the communities and between the villages respectively. Konda Reddies have a strong political organization with social control enforced through Pinna (small), Pedda (big) and Pedakapu (higher level) leaders of the community. Kondhs also have a traditional council to maintain social control.

Koyas have an elaborate territory system called Gumpu coinciding with hillocks. All natural resources with in the territory around the hillock belong to the Gumpu and the head called Pinna Pedda or Pedda Pedda mamnage them with the help of tribal heads.

Lambada have a traditional council called as Kula Panchayat with the head of the community referred as Nayak (leader) but of late most of the prominent people among the community add title Nayak or Naik.

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Chapter - 3

Traditional Economic System of The Tribals

The tribal communities more or less have been passing through various stages of economic evolution/ development, starting with hunting, gathering to settled cultivation and market economy. They have developed ingenious methods of exploitation of natural resources for their survival, but simultaneously ensuring the sustainability of these resources. The subsistence systems depend usually upon nature of habitat, accessibility of natural resources degree of attainment of knowledge and technology for exploitation of available resources. The tribal culture is reflected in tribal economies and the economic system of the tribals can be understood in the purview of the cultural factors. Economic anthropology envisages economic activities of man in his social and cultural framework. In other words economic anthropology is an analysis of economic life as a sub-system of society. Eminent anthropologists opine that economic anthropology deals primarily with the economic aspects of social relations. Economy is an important constituent of the community life and plays a deciding role in the formation of the cultural and social structure of society. Owing to this, people with the same natural -surroundings have developed different economic processes to meet their ends.

The Nature of Tribal Economic Structure :

The grading of the Indian tribes on the basis of their economic life and occupation is given by eminent sociologists. Majumdar classified the tribes as hunting and collection stage, shifting cultivation, manufacturing etc., settled agriculturists, who keep poultry, cattle, know weaving and spinning, pottery and terrace farming. Another classification has been given by Majumdar along with Madan. This six fold classification includes, food gathering, agriculture, shifting axe cultivation, handicraft, pastoralism and industrial labour. Dube divides the Indian tribal economic system, firstly, into two parts, important and semi-important, and ultimately suggests the following economic types. Im-Agriculture Control of the following economic types Agriculture Stage, Settled Primary Agriculture Stage. Semiimportant types are Cattle-herders, Tribes earning their live lihood from a specific craft or industry, Crime as a source of livelihood for a few tribes. Das (1967) has given a fivefold division of tribal economy, nomadic food collectors and pastoral, shifting cultivators of hill slope, plough cultiva-tors of plateau and Tarai tors of plateau and Tarai areas, tribes who are partly assimilated with the Hindu social system, and totally assimilated tribes who have gained a good social status among the Hindus. Atal (1965) has presented four types of tribal economies, food gathering, shifting cultivation with food collection, business and nomadic life and pastoral economy. J. H. Hutton is of the opinion that there are three economic types of Indian tribes, the tribes who collect food materials from the forest, the tribes who are in pastoral stage and the tribes who live on agriculture, hunting, fishing and industries.

The above mentioned typologies were discussed in different contexts and the revised typology of seven types that emerged as, of rest hunting type, the hill cultivator type, the plain agricultural type, the simple artisen type, the pastoral and cattle herder type, the agricultural and non-agricultural labour type, the skilled and white-collarjob type working in offices, hospitals, factories and so on. This typology reflects the various grading from hunting and food gathering to the industrial phase.

The tribes thus appears as a special economic type, each has its own life-ways, its own environmental circumstances which finally fit them into different economic types. Keeping all the different classifications in view a typology is suggested as under. Here again it must be kept in mind that no particular type is either completely adopted by the tribes or is exclusively the means of livelihood for them. The forest hunting type, the hill-cultivation type, the plain agriculture type, the simple artisan type, the pastoral and cattle-herder type and the folk-artist type. The agricultural and non-agricultural labour type sections of the tribe, working in the mining and manufacturing industries. Traditionally they belong to plain agriculture and simple artisan types; The skilled, white-collar job and traders type-some individuals of the families of the tribal communities are working in offices, hospitals, factories, business enterprises, doing business on a small scale and in All-India or State Government Services owing to the percentage of reservation of seats for the Scheduled Tribes and so on.

The tribal communities more or less have been passing through various stages of economic evolution, starting with hunting, gathering to settled cultivation and market economy. Most of the general economic theories which have been developed by eminent economists are based on the data of a particular culture. Alfred Marshall has given a broad definition which can easily include the economic organization of any community. But in the true sense he, too, is interested in a discussion of the phenomenon of price and its ramifications into the, activities of the market. Most of the economists have analyzed and emphasized money value. They talk of economic activities of man. Hicks consider that economic activities do occupy a large part of the life of nearly everyone and economics endeavors to study these activities. He further says that the study of economics can therefore take us a considerable way towards a general understanding of human society. Economic life deals with material wants of the people. Similarly J. M. Keynes's theory of employment has the logical starting point, the principles of effective demand meaning thereby the desire plus ability to buy.

In the tribal communities the price system is noractivities. These general economic theories would hardly be applicable in their original spirit. A few students of ecomunities in their study and mention may be made of Bucher and his followers. But in the analysis of the data they have tive culture which is reflected in their statement. Earlier literate societies but they too failed in analyzing the eco-

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nomic activities of man. For an assessment of the tribal economy, special analytical concept are necessary because social organization culture kinship, political organization, and religion affect economic organization and performance so directly and sensitively in tribal communities that only a socio-economic approach which considers explicitly the relationships between economy and society is capable of yielding insights and generalization of any importance. There the social and religious setting of the economy is accorded full recognition as an effective force in shaping economic effort.

Characteristics of traditional tribal economy :

It is very difficult to find a simple and precise definition of the tribal economy. The socio-economic structure in tribal communities is markedly different from that of the non-tribal. They have a very simple technology which fits well with their ecological surroundings and conservative outlook. They practice different types of occupations to sustain themselves and live on marginal economy. The tribals of India belonging to different economic stages, from foodgathering to industrial labour which presents their overlapping economic stage in the broader framework of the stages of economy. And the last important point to be emphasized is that a tribe is usually considered an economically independent group of people having their own specific economy and thus having without any social class. They are culturally a social unit and at the same time enterpriser and worker as well as producer and consumer. The system of distribution is linked to the barter system. The man who exerts to acquire the material means of existence by performing some duties to meet the basic needs of life. They works to get his livelihood through their economic performances. Traditionally the tribal economy is considered as subsistence or primitive economy. It gives the assurance of subsistence livelihood to persons through the social determination of labour and land allocation and the social right to receive emergency material in times of need and has the pervasive social control of production and distribution.

A. Forests and Tribals :

The forest area in the country is 74.74 million hectares covering 22.7 percent of total geographical area. At present 94 percent of the forest dwellers are tribals and their economy is dependent on forest to a great extent. They exploited the forests for fulfilling their basic needs by hunting wild life and collecting roots and fruits. A United Nations report on tribal development pointed out that tribal people in general derived, either directly or indirectly, a substantial amount of their lively hood from the forests. They subsist on edible leaves and roots, honey, wild games and fish. They build their houses with timber and bamboo and practice cottage crafts with the help of local raw materials. They use herbs and medicinal plants available in the forest to cure their diseases. Even their religion and folklore woven round the spirits of the forests. This dependency for their livelihood on the forests creates in the tribals an equally strong attachment to the forests.

Tribals residing in or near the forests collect various minor forest produces (MFP) during the seasons of their availability both for their own use as also for sale either to government agencies or to contractors. Tendu (Beedi) leaves are collected during April - May when they mature. Sal myrabolan) is collected when it ripens in early winter. Gum rains. Pine trees are tapped for resin during warm and hot seasons. Various edible products, are collected whenever

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they become available. Thus the collection of minor forest produce goes on throughout the year, though certain months of the year are more busy for the collectors. Agriculture and allied activities of tribals are also dependent on forests to a large extent. Agricultural implements and tools are made from wooden poles and bamboos. The maintenance of Cattle for agricultural purposes is dependent to a large extent on the existence of grazing facilities in the forest. Similarly, house construction in tribal areas is undertaken with materials collected from forests. Timber, bamboo and grass are used in house construction. Even for the purpose of binding or fixing the poles in the constructions, creepers are used rather than iron nails.

In the tribal concentrated areas of Andhra Pradesh, the ceremonial hunting is organized by every tribal village from Srikakulam to Khammam district during the months of March-April. This festival is known as 'Chait Purab' (New Year festival) in Visakhapatnam tribal areas and 'Vijju Pandum' (Seeds festival) among Koyas of Godavari Gorges. The ceremonial hunting is preceded by series of rituals for seeds charming and performing Puja to agricultural implements. Egalitarian principles are followed whenever community ceremonies, functions and hunting expeditions are organized. In the past, the hill tribes used to celebrate ceremonial hunting for a month. The Goudus in the tribal conof Srikakulam, Vizianagaram, centrated areas Visakhapatnam and East Godavari are good pastoralists. They not only rear their cattle but also rear the cattle of the respective villagers. Since the tribal habitat is surrounded by forests, they are wholly or partly dependent on the forests to eke out their livelihood. Forests provide numerous edible roots, tubers, fruits, leaves etc., throughout the year besides various items of Non Timber Forest Produce (NTFP). Tribals used to go to the forest early in the morning and while collecting Non-Timber Forest produce they eat several edible fruits and return home only in the afternoon. But with degradation of forest, they are not getting any kind of edible fruits in good quantity. Similarly, the non timber forest produce is also gradually dwindling in various parts of tribal habitat. The concept of property in tribal economy is distinct and different. The trees in specific places among Chenchus in Andhra Pradesh and honey combs are clan property. In other cases, the first identifier will be the owner. Their environment is their storehouse, and, in the coldest climates (where a surplus is put by to see people through the lean season), or in times of acute ecological disaster, there is always some food to be found in a group's territory. Because food resources are typically distributed equally throughout the group (share and share alike is the order of the day), no one achieves the wealth or status that hoarding might bring. In such a society, wealth is a sign of deviance rather than a desirable characteristic. The tribal groups never kill an animal, bird or cut a tree or plant with which they claim totemic affiliation. They developed harmonious social relationship with nature and eco system unlike the so called "civilized people".

B. Low Levels of Technology:

Tribals have developed indigenous methods of exploitation of natural resources for their survival. The subsistence system depends usually upon nature of habitat, knowledge and technology for exploitation of available reeconomies' small in scale. Similarly tribals have simple technology compared to the industrialized economies. The tools turing group. The tribes have found nine important traits elsewhere. There is an absence of technological aids in a

Traditional Economic System of The Tribals

tribal economy which results in inefficient, inadequate or even wasteful exploitation of nature. Consequently, the bare minimum necessary for sustenance is raised with great difficulty. An economic surplus is rare in their community. The economic relations among the tribals themselves are mostly based on barter and exchange. Money as a store and measurement of value and, medium of exchange is not used widely. Institutions like banking and credit are used only in dealing with non-tribal groups which depends upon the nature and frequency of contacts with them. The profit motive in economic dealings is generally absent. The regular market as an institution along with its conditions of market like perfect competition and monopoly is absent. What comes nearest to it is the weekly market or festival and seasonal meets.

The manufacture of consumer rather than capital goods is common and the same are consumed nothing being saved or exchanged in trade. Specialization based on specially acquired specific technical abilities is absent. However, division of labour based on factors other than specialization like sex is widely present. The notion of property is closely related to display and expenditure of wealth rather than to its accumulation. Material goods, movable and immovable may be referred to as property and this entails the existence of some rules of inheritance. Both types of ownership, collective and individual, are known.

The characteristics of the tribal economy may broadly be viewed in three ways, the structure of the tribal economy, the tribal economy as a socio-economic and cultural system, and economic characteristics of the tribal economy. The structure of the tribal economy is generally based on forest and sea and forest for coastal and island tribals. The simple technology and absence of technological aids is the other structural feature of the tribal economy. At the socio-economic and cultural level the family is a unit of both production and consumption. The community itself sets like a co-operative unit. And the tribal communities living in a village or locality are economically interdependent. The distribution is generally based on gift and ceremonial exchange. In analyzing the pure economic characteristics as general economics perspectives the features are two, viz.. absence of profit in economic dealings and presence of periodical markets.

All societies have structured arrangements to provide the material means of individual and community life. Yet, we have different economic systems owing to structural differences. Thus the structural difference may be considered as main indicator for the economy. The structure of economic activity is implied in the internal order that obtains in the interrelations between the people participating in the economic pursuits The internal orders of the tribals shape their economy. The tribals are generally have a small economy. It is this smallness of scale which is the fundamental characteristic of primitive life that most a small is geographical area and within a community of persons numbered in hundreds or thousands.

C. Tribal Market Economy :

The tribal market brings together people from different ethnic groups for not only economic but also secular and religious activities in the tribal region. Tribesmen and place or another place to transact their socio-economic native goods, i.e., produced in the region, like food grains, non-native goods produced in the urban region or outside Traditional Economic System of The Tribals

the region, via., salt, mill clothes, readymade, clothes, cosmetics, soaps, etc.

The impact of weekly, markets on their traditional life too has shown an attitude of accepting innovation. The market is the most powerful channel of communication in the tribal economy. Monetary economy has percolated through the market. Also the. Weekly market has obtained a place, in the social organization of the tribal people. Thus market is the nerve-centre of the economy of the adjoining villages. It provides the villagers with an opportunity to sell their articles and to purchase those they need. It is also a centre which connects different villages with the town as only up to here the weekly buses and trucks come. The market is the hub of economic life in the region. It serves. as a centre of redistribution for resources and material goods of occupationally diverse communities in the region. Traditional economic transactions are carried on through barter; commodities are measured by volume rather than by weight; production is small in scale; concern is with consumer goods rather than with trade goods; competition is absent, prices being fixed by traditionally determined relative values and not by an inter-play of the demand and supply. The modern role of the market is characterized by the growing use of money, measurement by weight, introduction of mass-production and manufactured commodities and fixation of price by the laws of demand and supply, etc.

In the market two kinds of commodities enter, i.e., general-purpose commodities primarily produced inside the region and special-purpose commodities brought from outside the region. Among the former mention may be made of rice, corn, oil, earthenware, baskets, leaf mats, vegetables, ropes, etc. The latter are mill cloth, tailored garments, mirrors, cosmetics, etc. The tribal people generally refrain from using cash, preferring barter involving regional products. The whole business enterprise runs in the tribal area within the framework of the weekly market which is a regular phenomenon of the tribal life. Thus it can be easily concluded that the weekly market is the mirror of the tribal culture in India in general.

The business enterprise and its pecuniary form of economy which has entered into the tribal life in the modern times is, in the real sense, run by the so-called Baniyas, Sowkars, money-lenders, small businessmen, the Phariyas, etc., who visit the weekly markets. No doubt these businessmen, petty traders and money-lenders have introduced a lot of innovations in the economic life of the tribals and helped them in times or need. At the same time they have given a shake to the specific form of tribal economy with have captured all the tribal areas throughout India, and settled in tribals themselves as tribes are gradually losing their materials and land possessions to these men.

The functional relationship between tribes or within tribes or tribal people and non-tribals of the tribal villages or the region is characterized by an interdependence, quite similar to the Jajmani system. Under the system each caste group, within a village, is expected to give certain stanor the family head served by an individual is known as his the Kamin. of Jajman.

D. Shifting Cultivation Patterns:

Many of these people, however, have graduated to settled agriculture. Savara of Srikakulam and Vizianagaram districts, Khonds, Konda Doras, Mukadoras, Kotias, Bagathas, Porjas, Gadabas and Valmikis of

Traditional Economic System of The Tribals

Visakhapatnam district, Konda Reddies of East Godavari, West Godavari and Khammam district resort to shifting cultivation. In Andhra Pradesh, shifting cultivation is extensively practiced in the districts of Srikakulam, Vizianagaram, Visakhapatnam, East Godavari, West Godavari and Khammam and sparsely in Adilabad district. It is estimated that 62,504 families are engaged in shifting cultivation over an area of 62,948 hectares. Even those engaged in slash and burn cultivation do not cut the trees which are of food and economic value (M.F.P). In the primordial method of cultivation (shifting cultivation) abundant traditional skills and knowledge are shown. Some of the tribals like Savara of Srikakulam district cut the trees leaving one or two feet of stumps on the ground to facilities re-growth and to prevent soil erosion. They take up generally mixed crops as per their consumption needs and times of scarcity. The Savara of Srikakulam and Vizianagaram districts are known for their indigenous engineering skills in diverting the perennial water resources from top of the hills for cultivation of irrigated crops on the hill slopes and valleys. They have been doing excellent stone bunds and other soil conservation measures from time immemorial on the hill sloves.

The Savara show remarkable engineering skill in constructing terraces on hill slopes for growing paddy by diverting the hill stream to the terraces. The Savaras cultivate very good varieties of bananas, red gram and other millets in the valleys and on hill slopes. The Red varieties of bananas are grown by tribals only in the perennial sources of water in the Valleys. The Savara believe that the big variety of red gram which is very tasteful can be grown and thrive very well on fertile hill slopes and therefore they continue to do shifting cultivation to grow this

variety of crops. The dietary patterns, culinary habi varieties of crops grown, duration, place of cultivation et are interconnected and change in one aspect will ha repercussions in other aspects of the lifestyles of loc

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Settled Cultivation Patterns:

The tribals of Northern coastal districts observe see charming festival before the onset of monsoon. Small quar tities of varieties of seeds from each household are collecte and all the villagers assemble at village central place calle 'Cahduru' on the auspicious day fixed by; the 'Disar (priest). They cultivate food crops which can be harvested within two months, four months and six months as per hi requirements. Unlike in plain areas the tribals o Visakhapatnam district cultivate root and tuber crops like turmeric, yam, ginger, etc for longer periods of one year of two and then only they harvest these tuber crops. Because of long duration they get very good variety of tubers and roots. The turmeric cultivated by the tribals is considered as a good aromatic quality which got good demand in different far away States. The non tribals widely use this variety for cosmetic purposes.

If a tribal family owns more land the land is divided proportionately for various purposes like cultivation of food crops, commercial crops, grazing etc. The tribal farmer not only rotates the crops but leaves a portion of land fallow for one or two years to regain fertility and rejuvenation of

F.

Non-Agricultural Activities:

The non-agricultural laborers are mostly engaged in different industries. It is believed that the non-agricultural labour type is the result of increase in the pressure on

land due to population growth and opening of different mines and industries in tribal areas. The tribals have been in prolonged contact with this industrial life and have responded to this. As a result of these factors hundreds of tribals from the agriculturist or artisan type go out as seasonal migrants to nearby or distant towns, mines, mills and tea gardens to work as laborers, in railway and road construction, forestry, construction work like civil work in emerging factories. houses, dams, bridges, etc. They might move to the working place in bands, which include males and females.

Some individuals families of tribal communities of all the regions are working for their livelihood in different offices, hospitals, factories and business enterprises.. Some of them are engaged in commercial trade of their own. Apart from their initiative,' the seat reservation in different services as laid down in the Constitution has helped a lot in creating this type of economic life among the tribals. In the skilled and white-collar job no particular Indian tribe, can be placed. It is observed that mostly the tribals educated by the Christian missioners are engaged in offices, hospitals, administrative jobs, etc. They are scattered throughout India in different capacities. Even though the tribals are living in penury the tribal womenfolk adorn themselves beautifully in traditional styles. The rich and attractive ornaments indicate their taste for "things of beauty'. In the past, the women folk used to weave their colorful saris on the primitive looms.

The traditional wall paintings of Savaras of Srikakulam and Vizianagaram districts called 'Idisung' reflect the magico-religious and artistic manifestations. The wall paintings and designs are the important core aspects of culture of Savara.

Structural changes in the occupational patterns:

Keeping in view the close association of indigenous tribal production and social organization, a nine-point framework has been given to illustrate the fundamental characteristics of tribal economy as a forest- based economy, small unit of production, consumption and pattern of labour being the family, simple technology, absence of profit in economic dealings, community as a co-operative unit, gift and ceremonial exchange, periodical markets and the economic institution of forest-based economy The first and foremost characteristic of the tribal economy is the close relationship between their economic life and the natural environment or habitat which is, in general, the forest. All the members of the family whether husband or wife, parents or children, together form the production unit. The allocation of labour and produce and decisions are for the most part domestic stipulations and production is geared to familial requirements. Yet it never means that the familial group is self-sufficient. They get the co-operation of individuals of other households too. The family is constituted for production by age-groups and is equipped to govern production by possession of the necessary tools that are easily made and skills that are common and uncomplicated.

In a marginal economy one group of people practices different types of occupations at one time for their livelihood and the fact that a tribe uses all kinds of occupations to eke out their subsistence. The main stages of ing and food gathering, pastoral, agricultural, and tech nological. This idea of successive stages in economic life is torically interpreted, provide for a basic unity of economic life and un linear in feature, that is, from collection f

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hunting and pastoral to agriculture. The multi lineal type of economic development has also been suggested. All these have their own specialty which identifies the tribal economy in the broader set-up of Indian economy. All economies make use of natural resources. Generally people call economic structures are the rules in force through which natural resources, human co-operation, and technology are brought together to provide material items, and services in a sustained repetitive fashion. Each of these features is structured, natural resources, division of labour and use of tools require social rules. Another similarity is the incorporation of superficially similar devices and practices in economies differently organized. They may make use of market-places, devices for measuring some type of trade or transaction.

A. Work Participation Rates in the Household Economy :

The information relating to the major primitive (Konda savara, Gadaba, Kondh and Porja) and plain (Jatapu, Konda Dora, Valmiki and Bagata) tribes in the north coastal districts of Andhra Pradesh reveal the following facts. The details pertaining to sex-wise distribution of workers shows that though the male population is higher than female population. Among the work force female participation is higher than male population. Among the total female population more than 70 percent are working and on the other hand in the total male population only 68.69 per cent are working population. This indicates that in tribal economy women does much work, she participates in agricultural operations, collection of minor forests produce and also in non-agricultural labour activity. The freedom to remarry and the bride price give her more or less equal status with men. This situation reveals a low dependency ratio among the tribal households. In the total population, workers are very higher than nonChanging Patterns in Tribal Societies

workers and the extent of child labour is around 10 percent of total population. Inter tribe worker participation rates indicate that except in case of plain tribes in all other primitive tribes women work participation rates are very high. Similarly across, size groups of farms women work participation rates are high in case of marginal and small farms.

The data pertaining to non-workers among different tribes reveal that including school going children, the male workers are only around 30 percent of total population of the households. Among the non-workers men are in higher proportion than women. The male non-workers are higher in number than women. The non-workers are very less in number incase of primitive tribes and very high incase of plain tribes and medium and large farms. The tribal groups wise distribution of child labour among the selected households shows that the child labour are only 10 percent of total population of the selected tribe households. Among the child labour female are higher than men . The child labour are more in number among primitive tribes and marginal and small farms residing in the hill and remote areas and the number of child labour are relatively low among the plain tribes and medium and large farms residing in the plain areas of the tribal economy. In the remote and interior areas tribal people used to engage their children in activities like cow herding, sheep rearing, crop guarding and other agricultural and household activities. As the tribal agriculturist cannot afford to employ wage labour because of poverty, he finds it easily and necessary to involve his children in some activity. The low rate of child labour among the tribes indicate that more and more children are being sent to schools rather than involving them in household activities or gainful employment. This is a good symptom of

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transformation of the tribal economy.

B. Dependency Ratio :

In the tribal economy in agriculture and non-agriculture activities most of the family members are involved. Hence we assume a low dependency ratio among the tribal households. The data on the dependency ratio shows that it is around 1:0: 31 to 1:0: 51 among different tribes and it is 0.42 when all the three tribes put together. However in case of farms the dependency ratio is very low in case of marginal farms 1:0:34 and relatively higher in case of small farms, 1:0:45, medium farms 1:0:67 and large farms 1:0:60. The size of dependency ratio depends upon the work participation ratio of the children and also of the adult above the age of 55 years though nearly 35 percent of the children population are not in the effective work force, due to the existence of adults above 55 years of age is negligible (4.21 percent) of total population and a high rate of the female work participation rates it is observed that the dependency ratio in general is relatively low among the tribal communities. It is interesting to note that the dependency ratio is relatively low among the primitive tribes rather than the tribes in plains because in the hill and remote areas the child labour is very high in primitive tribes.

The tribal women in general go out to collect roots, fruits and fire- wood. The women of hill and simple cultivators help in sowing, weeding and harvesting operations. Tribal women generally do not work- with men in preparing the field or in ploughing. Old women of the Bagatas of Vishakhapatnam are, however, an exception to this. In shifting cultivation (Konda Podu) lands tilling up of the soil is done with a certain agricultural implement known as 'valuva' after the first rain. Even old women of the family participate in this operation. Both young and old, irrespective of their sex, take part in weeding the field. It has been noticed that the male with a better economic status takes two wives, one to serve and look after him and another to look after his home and property. The following descriptions of the activities of the tribal men and women illustrate the extent of division of labour among the Indian tribes. In the tribe making of embankments, bows, arrows, nets and fishing implements, baskets, hunting, felling of trees, thatching of houses, harvesting, threshing, oil crushing; propagation and collection of Lac, etc., are some of the jobs assigned to men. Women carry loads, take the surplus produce for sale to the weekly market and engage themselves in rope-making, fishing and the preservation of fish, making walls, weeding, transplanting paddy, fetching water and collecting fuel besides cooking, cleaning of the house and rearing of children. Children look after the birds, tend cattle, fish in shallow water, collect Mahua and Lac and help their mothers in rearing their' younger siblings.

C. Nature of Different Occupations :

The children set out in the jungle with their cattle herd. Some of them accompany their mother or sister to help in digging out the roots collection of firewood or in youth form the axis of familial production. They take part in their agricultural operations, i.e., preparing the fields, collection of minor forest produce or in fishing or hunting, well-organized division of labour in the tribal family is based oil a The sex-wise division of labour is more prominent in them folk. Both the male and female folk work according to their physical capacity. The boys and girls are allotted different in their age. The grown-ups take part in all im-

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portant and strenuous jobs.

Agriculture is the predominant occupation in the tribal concentrated(tribal sub-plan) areas of the north coastal districts of Andhra Pradesh, followed by labour works. Because of the subsistence nature of agriculture, the tribes are compelled to work as both agriculture and nonagricultural labour, to collect minor forest produce in the forestry to earn additional income. Though all the selected households are agriculturists as 50 percent of the sample households are marginal farmers, and 30 percent belongs to small farms. Many of the marginal and small farms are forced to go with other occupations like labour works and forest produce collection. As all the selected households are agriculturists their main occupation is cultivation and they are owner cultivators. The occupational spread of adult workers by participations in number of activities shows that in addition to their main occupation more number of plain tribe households are participating in labour works both in agriculture and non-agriculture and forest produce collection as secondary occupations. On the other hand a number of 60 per cent primitive tribe households in the remote and hilly areas are considering labour works and forest produce collection as one of the secondary occupations. In the selected tribes 36 percent of the households are with more than two occupations.

Tribe wise and size group wise occupational distribution of family members according to their main occupation shows that in the total family members 47.77 percent are largely depending upon agriculture, nearly 20 percent of family members are relying upon labour works and the extent of family members depending upon collection of forest produce is only 3 percent. Out of 30 percent of the nonworkers, larger portion belongs to school going children . The primitive tribes are relatively relying more upon minor

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The prevailing work participation raters in the subplan areas of north coastal districts of Andhra Pradesh indicate that female workers are relatively higher than the male workers. The extent of child labor is high in hill areas rather than in plains. The dependency ratios are very low among primitive tribes and marginal and small farms. The occupational patterns reveal that, though all the selected households are cultivators, along with agriculture they are involved with number of other subsidiary occupations. Tribes in the remote areas are with more occupations than the tribes in plains which indicate the move of primitive tribes towards settled cultivation and wage employment. The occupational patterns of selected tribes as a whole indicate the process of transformation taking place in the living patterns of plain tribes and medium and large farms, which are living in the plain areas. However, the degree of response to modernity is still relatively low among the primitive tribes and marginal and small farms who are living in remote and hilly areas. The study reveal that, due to very poor occupational patterns the primitive tribes who reside in interior hill areas are prone to exploit by the different non institutional sources which ultimately causing high levels of indebtedness. The analysis relating to occupational patterns ultimately reTraditional Economic System of The Tribals

veal that still the primitive tribes and many of the marginal farms needed more emphasis to promote their socio economic living conditions.

Thus division of labour based on age and sex seems to be a common feature among the tribals. Besides all members of a family are engaged in economic activities. The tribal method of exploitation of nature is crude. It is carried out without any outside efficient technological aid. The implements and tools, used are indigenously produced and the latter are very crude in nature. In economic dealings, the profit motive is quite absent among the tribals. The barter system fulfils one's requirements but does not give any profit. The mutual obligation and extension of free-of-costhelp and labour give no profit at all. This aspect would again be reflected in the pattern of their operation on community level, and gift and ceremonial exchange which have been dealt with below. Balanced reciprocity, that is, direct exchange, is also prevalent among the tribes on a good scale.).

The process of economic change in tribal people:

Tribal culture in India is passing through a phase of economic change with the rest of the country. Modern technology and concepts have been developed. The tribal economy too is witnessing a continuous impact of the new modern economies which is evident from the fact of the emergence of some new economic typologies among them, viz., labourer type and white-collar job type. It is very difficult to find a simple and precise form or trend of change in tribal economy as it is fast changing oil local levels. But the best approach to the identification of the change would be to consider the different new economic activities and developments on one hand and the description of a few resultant forms of ceremonies which have emerged oil the other. This would rather reveal the nature and extent of the economic transformation in the present period of opportunities of advancement to every citizen -on the basis of common socialism. It will also be our purpose to refer to some of the economic difficulties which the tribals are facing today. The modern economic activities are changing the traditional tribal economy.

The following modern forces need mention in the changed context of new economy of the tribes, education, new link of tribal market with big markets or urban markets, co-operatives, commercial banks, labour unions, Land Mortgage Act and its knowledge, concept of saving, a shift in consumption pattern from need-based to impersonal need, changed situation on the international barriers. Similarly emergence of commercial aptitude among the tribals like, emergence of tribal money-lenders, change in cropping pattern from cereals to cash crops, and open sale of minor forest produce as a means of cash economy and so on and reservation in government and semi-government establishments.

The education has received a grand welcome by the tribals and the elites among the tribals are fast moving towards urban and industrial fields for white-collar jobs in public or private enterprises and business. The tribal markets have been linked to the big markets and this has introduced many innovations in the tribal life. The tribals are buying their so-called fashionable and luxurious articles. At the same time tribal goods are. also finding their way into a wider. This has encouraged tribal economic activity. Nomic trend. The agriculturist type tribals are accepting labour co-operative societies are adding new dimensions

Traditional Economic System of The Tribals

The commercial banks have just started giving loan, to poor tribals. A few of the urban neighborhood are getting loans to improve their economic condition. This has shaken the moneylender's business and thus exploitation. The tribals who have not made themselves open to the Land Mortgage Act are being exploited by outsiders and even by their own fellow big men. Now a few of them especially the rich neighbors have come to know about the sevenyear limitation for compulsory return of the mortgaged land. This has minimized the land mortgaging tendency. The monetary economy and high times has given them a concept of saving for future. Now the tribal money-lenders are there to exploit and help the tribals in their own tribal ways. Emergence of a commercial attitude is directly reflected in their produce like potatoes, green vegetables, etc. Tribals have developed new potato and vegetable varieties to cope with the rising demand of industrial and urban centers in their neighborhood.

The above analysis ultimately reveal that, the line of change in tribal economy based on their major typologies may be taken for the time being as, from forest hunting economy to forest hunting and agriculture, from hill cultivation to settled cultivation, from simple agricultural economy to multi crop agricultural economy, labour and white-collar job and commercial economy and from artisan type to artisan-plus-marketing and so on. Thus the tribes present a notable range of economic process.

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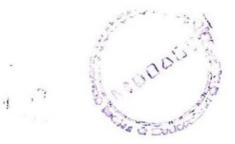
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Chapter - 4

Religion and Ritual Practices of Tribes - Inter Tribe Variations

Lowie (1950) included all forms of supernaturalism including magic in religion. Man's experience with nature varies from time to time and place to place. Many times, the sudden changes in life are beyond are unexplainable to the primitive mind. Causes of sudden prevalence of diseases, death, natural calamity, continuous wild animal attacks etc are attributed to the influence of supernatural power. Similarly, good happening is also attributed to the super-natural. The concept of Supreme God (Persa Pen, Bodo Devo, Bhagvan etc) among the tribes of Andhra Pradesh can be explained with these concepts. After generations of experience with nature, the tribes evolved their

Changing Patterns in Tribal Societ

own religion which consists of knowledge, beliefs, practietc. Tribal religion in India according to Vidyarthi (1985 have long been described as animistic as magic was considered to be the predominant element of religion. The blief that spirits (super natural) exist in all living and dea forms like trees, animals, mountains, streams, earth, air etancestors is all pervasive. It is also believed that the presentribal religion is simple form of Hinduism and indigenous populations have contributed in the past to the building of other, the differentiation between the two religions becamhelp of a frame work called Sacred Complex which conmances.

Tribes of Andhra Pradesh having lived in isolation have evolved their own religion which is an important part of their culture. Beliefs about the origin of the tribe, birth, death, diseases, spirits of various types-protective, benevolent, malevolent and ancestral, beliefs relating to crops and first fruits, ritual friendship etc are very common to all the tribes. Further, the life cycle ceremonies from birth to death are also common but vary in their performance and associ-ated beliefs Traditional area in their performance and associated beliefs. Traditional medicine with associated magical ern medicine where ern medicine where ever and whenever available. Festivals form important part of tribal religion and are influenced by Hinduism in the tribal religion and are influenced by Hinduism in the total states to enced by Hinduism in their content and practice due to contact with outsiders. Led contact with outsiders. Influence of Christianity is also increasing in several parts of tribal areas of Andhra Pradesh In this chapter the tribal areas of Andhra Pradesh In this chapter the tribe wise variations are explained in the alphabetical order of the tribes in the state.

Census of India, 1981 classified most of them as followers of Hinduism. The data for major tribes is given in

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the following table:

SI. No Tribe % of followers of Hinduism Andh 1 99.41 2 Bagatha 99.93 3 Chenchu 99.47 Gadaba 4 99.92 5 Gond 99.80 Goudu 6 99.93 7 Jatapu 99.92 8 Konda Dora 99.73 9 Konda Kammara 99.55 10 Konda Kapu 99.73 11 Konda Reddi 99.99 12 Kondhs 90.26 13 Kotia 99.02 14 Koya 99.89 15 Lambadi/Sugali 99.80 99.88 16 Mali 17 98.39 Naikpod 18 Pradhan 94.84 19 Poraja 99.82 20 92.97 Saora 21 Valmiki 95.90 22 Yanadi 98.34 23 98.54 Yerukula

Table - 1

Religion

Andhs worship Hindu deities such as Mahadeva, Kandoba, Massai, Munja and Krishna. Bagathas worship Hindu gods besides their own gods. They also practice ritual friendship called 'Nestam' by which their neighbors, tribal or non-tribal become friends for ever. They are willing to sacrifice everything to maintain their ritual friendship. Taking advantage of this belief system, the non-tribal trade become 'Nestam' and prosper in their business. Bagatas als hand over their lands to the 'Nestam', when they could no repay the loan with interest (which is generally very high This kind of 'Nestam' relationship leading to exploitation of tribal by non-tribal money lender cum trader is also seen in the Koyas of Godavari areas and among the Savara and Khond where it is called as 'Goth bandan'. Most of the tribes (harvest festival) and Kotha Panduga (festival related to the first fruit or the harvested grains for the first time)

Chenchu believe and worship many deities of their own and of Hindu religion. A detailed discussion of Chenchu religion and transformation due to influence of Hinduism is made separately in this chapter. Among the Gadaba, the village deity is known as Undi or Thakurani. They also worship other deities like Dharanidebi, Danteswari, Asivamma, Jakaramma, Pata Deveta besides Friests, they invite priests from Mali and Gauda tribal neighbors.

Gonds of Adilabad district have an elaborate religious and ritual practices. According to one mythology, with Hindu Gods by giving them milk from her breasts sepaalso while drinking milk from one of the breasts. Angered by this, Lord Shiva, the husband of Parvati, referred to as the Gond gods were missing from Gond country, there was big chaos and then their culture hero Pahandi Kupar Lingal believed to be having Lingas (symbols of Lord Shiva) all over his body. One story says that the Shambhu Pen guided the Gond hero to bring back their Gods while according to another story, the Jangu Bai, a Gond Goddess helped the Culture hero to bring back the truant Gond Gods. The Gond Gods after liberation came to the fore in four batches of four gods, five gods, six gods and seven gods. They formed in to four Pages (Sagas) which became the basis for social structure of the Gond society. Their religious functionaries include Devari (village priest), Katora (clan priest) and Bhaktal (diviner).

While all Gonds have a Persa Pen (supreme god), each of the clans and lineages have their own gods. Two important ceremonies are performed in the months of Bhave (April-May) and Pus (December- January) in honor of Persa Pen. The Clan members also worship deities like Aki Pen (village deity), Nat Aawal (village mother) and gods/goddess / totems represented by tiger, cow, tree, forest etc. While living in Gond country, one would feel that Gonds are always involved in performing one ritual or the other throughout the year. Pradhans, the traditional bards of Gonds play important role in all ceremonies by singing songs accompanied by musical instruments and they are paid in cash and kind for the services rendered. Gonds also came under influence of Hindu religious preachers and some of the Gonds became vegetarians under their influence. There are two important festivals among Gonds namely the Nagoba Jatra and Dandari. These will be discussed separately in the subsequent paragraphs.

All the sub groups of Goudu are Vaishnavites and follow Goudiya or Bengal school of Hinduism founded by Chaitanya Dev. They worship Jagannadha Swamy and various Thakuranis (village deities). The major festivals of Goudu include Dussehra, Divali, and Dolo Purnima. Each Jatapu village has a shrine for a deity called Zankari Peenu and all important community festivals are celebrated at this shrine. Kammara worship village goddesses like Moda Kondamma, Gama Sankamma, etc. and they perform Itukula Panduga, Korra Kotha (for first crop of millets), Jodla Panduga etc.

The pantheon of Konda Dora includes deities of their own faith known as Dayyams (super natural) as well as deities like Nukalamma (goddess of grains), Pothuraju, Ammathalli (Mother goddess), Hindu gods like Tirunathaswamy, Sri Rama, Anjaneya etc. Their main festivals include their own Pusa Panduga and Itukala Panduga and Hindu festivals like Dasara, Ugadi, Sankranti and Sivaratri.

Konda Kapu profess Hinduism and worship community, village and regional gods. They observe festivals of Banda, Pooni, Dussehra, Sankranti, Kotha Amavasya, Vittingi Panduga and Sivaratri. While Konda Reddies follow more or less Hindu faith, Konhds and Kotia follow a mixture of traditional religion and Hinduism. Koyas worship Bhudevi (Goddess of Earth) and Gudimata (village deity). They also perform almost all Hindu festivals. One of the important festivals of Koyas of Warangal district is Sammakka Jatara and the details are furnished subsequently. Lambada/Sugali follow Hinduism and Lord Krishna and Gopikas are dearer to them as they are basically cattle breeders. Lambadis perform Teez and Seetala Bhavani festivals.

Mali living in Visakhapatnam district worship village deities like Bodo Devta (supreme god), Jaka Devta, Sanku Devta or Nisani Devta.They also observe Sankrati, Kotha Amavasya, Dussehra and other Hindu festivals. Manne Dora observe all Hindu festivals like Sankrati, Gangalamma Panduga, Pydithallamma Panduga, Deepavali etc. Naikpods profess Hinduism only and worship almost all Hindu gods besides their own clan deities like Rajoba, Jagadambi, Dropadimai, Adellu and Potharaj. Naikpods carry Lakshmi Devara masks along with them to Koya villages and dance on the request of the latter. It is believed that such a dance in their villages will bring prosperity to them. The sacred specialist, devkar, acts as a medium between supernatural and the people.

Pradhan were bards of Gonds till recently and played important role in all festivals of Gonds. They play a variety of musical instruments during festivals like Nagoba Jatara and worship of Persa Pen etc. Fall of glory of Gonds had effect on Pradhan's life and economy. Presently we find very few old Pradhans performing this ceremonial role as younger Pradhans are taking up education and employment. The oral history of Gonds preserved only in the songs sung by Pradhans will be lost in no time if the present trend continues. Pradhans are also influenced by Maratha traditions as their mother tongue is Marathi.

Valmiki, though majority are recorded as Hindus by Census of India follow Christianity also in sizeable numbers. They visit church on every Sunday and perform Christmas with all devotion. They however continue to worship their own deities like Sankudevudu and PothuRaju. The major festivals performed by them are Dussehara, Kotha Amavasya, Sankranti, Ikiti Panduga and Konda Devta Panduga.

Yanadi worship their own deities like Poleramma (boundary goddess) besides Hindu gods like Venkateswara, Vinayaka and Rama. Sizeable among Yerukula are converted into Christianinty eventhough many are recorded as Hindus in Census classification.

Life cycle ceremonies

The life cycle ceremonies are common for all the tribal groups but vary in their observation.

Among the Gonds, the delivery of child takes place at a secluded part of the house by the traditional midwife assisted by elderly women. The purification bath is given on ninth or eleventh day. The naming ceremony takes place in the third month and paternal aunt plays important role in naming ceremony. Gonds generally believe that the death is caused by evil spirits, often invoked by enemies. The dead are cremated after elaborate rites. Gonds believe that the soul will unite with Persa Pen after death and it is up to the Persa Pen to decide to send back to earth for next birth or not. Kolam observe a period of pollution after birth of Child and perform a purification rite on fifth day. On fourth day the child is tonsured and named. The death pollution lasts for ten days. The dead are buried and ancestor worship is performed.

Konda Kammara observe-pre-delivery rituals for pregnant women. Post delivery pollution is observed for thirteen days and the baby is named on the final day. Tonsure ceremony is observed for the male child in ninth month. Puberty rites are observed for girls. The dead are cremated and death pollution is observed for seven days.

Among Kotia, the adolescent rites for a girl is called 'Kanya Uthani' and the pollution caused by menarche is observed for seven days. The dead are cremated and period of pollution is also observed like other groups. Predelivery rituals and Post delivery rituals are observed by Koyas like the other tribal groups. Pollution is observed for thirteen days after birth of a child and naming ceremony is performed after the thirteen day or in the third month. The puberty rite for girls is observed along with observation of pollution for nine days. The dead are cremated and death pollution is observed for seven days. Tonsure ceremony is performed for the male child in the ninth month.

The Kulia observe birth pollution for seven to eleven days but unlike others, they name the child on the day of birth. Pollution after attaining puberty is also observed. Death rites are performed on the third and tenth day of death. Lambadi/Sugali observe nine days of birth pollution. The naming ceremony (Varnam) is done on the fifteenth day after birth. The dead are either cremated or buried and pollution is observed for three days. Bado Mali wear sacred thread after marriage. Pollution is observed like other tribal groups after birth and death. The dead are cremated and ancestor worship is performed as part of the death rites. They have their own sacred specialists for performing birth, marriage and death ceremonies. While Manne Dora observe the pollution after birth and death, the dead are either buried or cremated. The ancestor worship is also performed. Among the Naikpod community, pre delivery rituals are observed after seventh month of pregnancy. Birth pollution is observed for twelve days while naming, piercing of ears, tonsures are performed for boys and girls subsequently. Pollution is observed after puberty for seven days and during this period, the girl is kept in isolation.

Soara observe first cereal eating ceremony for the children and puberty for girls. Limma, a death rite is performed on the fourth day of death. Ancestor worship is also common among them. Soara magician cum priest draws a drawing with white color on red ochre background called 'Idisung' on the walls inside Saora hut and it is believed that this brings all prosperity to the members of the household. Valmiki perform Chinna (small) Karma and Pedda (big) Karma for the dead.

Yanadi observe nine days of pollution after birth and naming ceremony takes place any time after this period. The girl is kept at a secluded place in the house after menarche and pollution is observed for nine days. The Brahman serves the Yanadi as priests during marriages.

Hinduization of tribal festivals

The once isolated tribal areas have been opened for outside society due to laying of roads, introduction of buses, news papers and to the TV and Cinema in many places. Apart from this, opening of educational institutions have also increased the exposer of tribals to outside world. Many tribes started visiting important Hindu pilgrim centers during summer months. All these factors contributed to the pace of impact of Hinduism on tribal religion which is clearly visible during the performance of their festivals. Three case studies from Gond, Chenchu and Koya are presented here to explain the changes that have been occurring in their religion.

The Gonds of Adilabad district, as already described in the earlier chapters have elaborate festivals. Two important festivals are Nagoba Jatara held every year at Keslapur village and the other is Dandari festival held every year in all important Gond villages. On Pushya Bahula Amavasya day roughly corresponding to the month of January, a Jatara (festival gathering) will be held every year at Keslapur village in Adilabd district. It is a festival to worship the Nagoba, the serpent god also called as Sri Shaik Pen. This festival is very important for the Buigota sect of Mesram clan members who play an important role in the performance of Puja. As per the my-

thology of Gonds as sung by their bards Pradhans, when the Paniyar brothers were young, there occurred a great epidemic in which, except Paniyar brothers all others died. Therefore, they left the village and reached a Golla (shepherd's) house situated in a far away village after roaming so many places. There, they lived in seven huts for twelve years by rearing cattle belonging to the shepherds. After earning some money from this work, they started their return journey. On their way they visited their maternal uncle belonging to Sakati clan. The maternal uncle never helped them in times of need at any time earlier. In spite of this, these brothers visited their maternal uncle to pay their respects. However, the daughter of the maternal uncle feared that these people came to kill her father. In the night she turned herself in to a Tiger and killed all but the last of the brothers escaped with the help from Serpent God. Somehow, he reached his village, the Keslapur and settled. He was married subsequently also. After some time, he invited the Serpent god, who saved his life, come and stay in his village. While agreeing to his request, the Serpent God suggested for inviting 16 female goddess and 18 male gods. He obliged and constructed shelters to all the goddess and gods along with the Serpent God. Since then the members of Buigota sect of Mesram clan have been performing the pujas for generations.

According to another mythology, the last of the brothers who survived plucked the seven golden leaves hanging in the house out of innocence. The Serpent goddess got angry. In order to pacify the goddess, milk and food made of milk products are offered on Pushya Bahula Amavasya. Even today, the members of Mesram clan gather in the compound near the Nagoba temple and cook food for the god/goddess. Only after they offer the food to the god/goddess, the other Gonds are permitted to enter in to the temple. Pradhans, the traditional bards of Gonds sit in the compound of the temple (Pranganam) and sing songs accompanied by musical instruments. The devotees offer money, beedies etc to the Pradhans while returning from the temple. Haimedorf wrote in his tour dairies that he has seen Gonds sacrificing cows, goat etc.on this occation. He has also written that the Gond Rajah of Sirpur Atram lineage used to visit the temple in a Palanquin and he was received with all honor and reverence by the Gonds. He used to conduct courts also.

Lakhs of Gonds from Adilabad district and adjoining areas of Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh visit this temple during the festival. Therefore, in olden days when communication facilities were almost non-existing, this was the only occasion for the Gonds to meet each other. Realizing the importance of this meet, Mr. W. V. Grigson the Revenue Minister in Nizam's government and later on Hiamendorf, the Advisor to Nizam on Tribal Affairs organized tribal meet (Darbar) in early 1940s in which all the officers of Nizam's government participated to hear the grievances of Gonds. The proceedings were held mostly in Gondi, the language of Gonds. This has met the needs of the Gonds who were demanding for distribution of lands after they revolted against Nizam in 1940s under the leadership of Komaram Bhim due to impoverishment. This tradition of Darbar continued after independence also. However, in course of time it has become a political platform for unending speeches by leaders of different stature and political affiliations. The speeches and discussions were mostly in Urdu or Telugu and tribal language is forgotten. The focus shifted from problem solving mode to problem/conflict creating or political party promotion mode. Slowly the tribals lost interest. If there are some tribals still attending the Darbar, it is out of compulsion from their tribe leaders

than their interest.

As the number of devotees increased, the income to the temple increased and the temple administration was taken over by Endowments Department of Government. The Hinduization process increased even though the tribal priests still play important role in the festival. The Dhupa (holy smoke), Deepa (holy light) and Naivedyam (holy food) offerings in the Hindu style dominate the proceedings. The sanctum sanctorum now resembles that of a Shiva temple with serpent hood adorning the god. The Pradhans who are custodians of Gond traditions are now interested in formal education and employment than continuing as Bards of Gonds. We have to wait and see whether there will be further erosion of the Gond tradition or not. Exhibitions by the government departments, private stalls selling eatables and consumer goods make shift cinema halls etc. have become a routine affair resembling a Mela in any Hindu festival.

The second festival is Dandari occurring before Deepavali festival. Until few decades ago i.e. till 1980s, the forests in Gond country were reverberating with sound from a variety of musical instruments during Dandari festival coinciding with Hindu Deepavali festival. Playing the Kalikom, a curved piped instrument by the Pradhan (the sound of which is audible for about a kilometer) signifies the starting of the festival. Drums and piped instruments of different varieties are played by Gonds and their bards the Pradhans almost non-stop for a week before Deepavali during the Dandari festival. Elders, men and women get busy with the preparations to receive the guests while the children in their best costumes run around enjoying music and dance while joining the elders once in a way. The villagers hosting the festival send invitations to their relatives living in other villages to join Dandari festivals. The number of people invited depends on the financial capability of the villagers as lot of expenditure is involved for feeding the guests alone in the three day festival. The respect the host Village head, called Patel commands in the area and his clan size, spread and status, finances that can mustered for the festival etc also counts in the number of guests invited. Therefore, the festival is now a days performed only in a few villages. The number of villages performing the festival also decreases if the crops fail in an year. The village servant called 'Karobar' goes round the villages with the invitation from the Patel to the other village heads called Nar Patels.

As the villagers are preparing to the festival, some of the men decide a few months in advance to done the role of Gusadi, representing their gods. Even though they behave like a clown throughout the festival, the Gusadi is shown highest respect by the villagers because of this belief that the Gusadi possess the gods of village to convey blessings to the villagers. The other important aspect of the festival is that it is an occasion for villagers from neighboring villages to enjoy, discuss many issues of common interest, fix marriage alliances etc. It is also believed that, when the Gusadis from other villages carrying the Gods of their villages join Gusadis of the host village and dance to bless all the villagers of all participating villages. Villagers take food only after the Gusadis are offered food.

Dandari is a festival to worship the Etmasar Gods, who are gods of dance. In the songs sung by the Pradhans, the stories of how the dance gods, the Raur brothers invented the musical instruments, dance forms and songs are explained. They also explain how the gods distributed different musical instruments (Akada) to different clans. Even though the actual festival occurs in November every year, the preparations start ritually in the month of June -

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July when the musical instruments, Gusadi cap etc are taken out from the half ceiling of their houses and worshipped by sacrificing a foul. The Gusadi cap is made of peacock feathers with horns of sheep mounted in the front and decorated with beads of different colors. The frame is made of fiber in two sizes, one for elders and the other for youngsters. They prey the Raur brothers that the crop yields should be good so that the Dandari can be performed without any financial problems. From then onwards, they sing songs and dance whenever they are free. As the Dandari festival starts three days before Deepavali, the villagers build small thatched shelters in the village for the visitors. Some of the visitors stay in the houses of their close relatives such as father-in-law, brothers-in-law, maternal cousins etc.

The villagers from other village reach the outskirts of the village on the night before the start of festival and formally send a word to the host villagers that their Dandari arrived. Even otherwise, from the sound of musical instruments, they will know the arrival of the visitors. The elders of the village go to the outskirts of the village, called Vididi. greet the visitors with traditional greetings: bowing and saying Ram, Ram with folded hands and welcome to the village. As the visitors reach the village, their feet are washed with water mixed with vermillion and led to the shelters built for them. The children up to the age of 16 are even carried to the on shoulders by the host villagers. The elders are offered Beedi followed by tea. They enquire each other about their wellbeing. Then the host villagers go to the village boundary again to receive the other visitors. As this reception is going on, the visitors who arrived first get prepared for dance with the host villagers. Batch after batch arrive at the host village and in some of the Dandari, the number of visitors may be around 500. The whole hill range

reverberates with the sound of drums and musical instruments. Musical instruments, Gusadi, song, dance, humorous dramas and Pooja are the important components of Dandari.

The important of the musical instruments are Kalikom, Pepre, Kingri, Gumela, Dappu and Dolu. Gusadis play important role in the dance and festival. They participate in all dances and form a ring around dancers as if they are protecting all dancers. They wear small loin cloth around their waist and anoint ash with ring like paintings over it all over the body and around the eyes. They decorate their neck with ornaments made of beads of different colors and wear the head gear (Topi) as already described. They also wear anklets made of small bells called Gajjalu. Dried and treated skin of deer hangs from the left shoulder and they hold a stick (Rokal) in the right which symbolizes the gods. As they dance, they beat the skin with left hand and wave the stick while the Gajjalu make sounds when they jump to the rhythm of the instruments. The other dance is 'Gumela' where in the young boys decorate themselves as girls by wearing saris and blouses. They dance with sticks which are called Kolatam. This is followed by 'Samdimkola' dance in which they form in to a ring and move backward and forward while moving in a circular fashion. Men wearing white cloths join the ring alternatively in the dance. This dance is performed in the beginning and end of the festival. Then they retire for lunch.

The Para dance and Khel follow the lunch or performed in the evening. The Gonds enjoy the 'Khel' which is a humorous skit. The forest guard who invariably appears in the skit harasses the tribals and beaten by the aggrieved tribals. This shows their anger on lower level forest officials. Gondi Bhajan on Marathi style is sung in between the episodes. Women dance separately while singing songs. This dance is called 'Dhimsa' in which while forming into a line, each women holds the waist of the women to her left with left hand and puts her right hand on the shoulder of the woman on the right side. They move to and fro as well as forward and backward as they proceed like a snake in the dance. The song is called 'Rela' in which even the contemporary events like visit of an officer, death and diseases etc are mentioned as the song proceeds. The greatness of the song and drama is that the male and female singers sing the songs one after the other for hours together without any repetition which reveals their tremendous remembrance capacity almost equal to any Vedic scholar. This also disproves the common notion among the teachers from plains areas that tribals have poor remembrance capacity.

The final stage of the festival is Pooja to the Akipen. The village priest called Devari cleans the sacred pole with water and anoints with turmeric paste and red ocher. New flag made of white cloth with figures of Sun and moon is hoisted. All the musical instruments used in the festival are kept before the flag post and the Pooja is performed to them also. Use of Agarbatti (incense sticks), offering of Banana, breaking of coconuts, camphor, Gud etc which are commonly found in the Hindu festivals are also seen here. When asked about the details, a Gond priest of Umri village said that they are all Hindus and he is a like a Brahman priest among them. After the Pooja is over, the Gusadis are offered the food first and others eat later. Then the farewell to the guests starts and ends by evening with each and every guest given farewell till they cross the border of the village.Gonds also visit Hindu temples like Tirupathi, Srisailam, Vittoba etc. in summer seasons.

The influence of Hinduism on Chenchu religion gives a different dimension. As already explained in the intro-

duction chapters, majority of Chenchu are in gathering economy and therefore, they have to struggle for existence every day. This did not perhaps give them the scope for development of many cultural forms like dance, decoration, song, drawings etc as the tribals settled in agriculture have. In the Nallamala hills, which is their habitat, they were the only inhabitants till a few decades ago and there are historical and mythological evidences to show that the Chenchu have religious relationship with the famous Shaivite temple at Srisailam. Mythological stories of Chenchus show that the original god of the temple is called Mallanna and he was a Chenchu god. The etymology of the term Mallanna is Mala = hill and Anna = brother. In these areas, it is common to address elder brother as Anna. It can be assumed that the Chenchu worshipped the Mallanna with reverence and treated Him as mythical brother. In the present temple there is an old temple called Vrudha (old) Mallikarjuna temple and the god is represented by a broken stone. Chenchu gods are also generally represented by stones and wooden poles like many other tribal gods. There are historical evidences in the writings of Palkurki Somanadha , a famous Shaivite scholar to show that the Chenchu performed a number of Poojas in the temple and played important roles in the temple administration. But now they are almost outside the purview of the temple for all practical purposes. How did this displacement occur? is an important question.

In the oral tradition of the temple, there is an interesting story throwing light on this. It seems the Mallanna became old and developed a problem in hearing. Therefore he could not satisfy the wants of pilgrims. In course of time, the attendance to the temple decreased. Then arose the need for younger Mallanna whose sanskrit name is Mallikarjuna. As this a mythological story, it is difficult to know when this has happened exactly in course of history but the fact is that the sanskritic god replaced the Chenchu gods. The Chenchu were also displaced from temple rituals. The Chenchu who sacrifice animals as part of worship are obviously disliked and kept away by the Hindu priests. The Hindu Shaivite priests took charge of the temple and its proceedings. Now the Chenchu are associated in only two items of worship that too performed outside the temple. The two are 1. carrying the Palanquin of the god and 2. distribution of left out food from offerings to the poor. While this is a ritual displacement, they also faced economic displacement.

Earlier when there were no roads to the temple town, pilgrims used to go by walk on the hillocks through valleys. The Chenchu were giving escort and were even carrying the old people on cots etc. They used to protect them from wild animals during the to and fro journeys. The Chenchu of one village used to hand over the pilgrims to the next villagers in the onward journey and take over from them in the return journey. The pilgrims used to make some payments (called Metta) in cash and kind. When roads were constructed during the construction of Hydro Electric Dam at Srisailam on river Krishna, they facilitated the running of buses for the pilgrims also. In course of time, the frequency of buses increased with the up gradation of gravel roads in to black topped roads. While this has greatly helped the pilgrims to have a smooth journey to the temple, it has deprived the Chenchu of their livelihood. Only very few pilgrims from Karnataka state who a oath that they go by walk, travel by foot on the old routes. This also happens mostly during Dasara and Shivaratri days. During other days the Chenchu are seen as beggars near temple or on the high way.

Chenchu, in earlier days also used to escort the

priests carrying ornaments of the temple from Srisailm to Nandyal and back during festivals. This role is also not performed now as the temple has its own security arrangements for the ornaments of the temple. Now we will find a large number of Chenchu in hamlets very close to temple converted to Christianity.

The third example is from Koyas of Godavari valleys. As the agriculture is the predominant occupation of Koyas, they perform a festival called Bhudevi (mother earth) Panduga (festival) every year before the agriculture season starts. They worship the bullocks, agricultural implements especially the plough, by sacrificing fouls. All the men have to go to the forest, hunt and bring back small game. Women chase them in to the forest. If someone cannot hunt, he will be considered as impotent. Till the men return, the women will be singing songs, dance and sometimes stop the passer by and demand money for the festival. This festival is not performed in many villages because the Wild life Conservation Act prohibits the hunting of small game, even by using small net, bows and arrows etc. Secondly a large number of Koyas are converted in to Christianity and they were advised by their priests against performing tribal festivals.

In Bhadrachalam town of Khammam district, there exists a famous temple of lord Rama. Like in Srisailam, there is a strong belief that this temple also belonged originally to the Koyas of the area. There is a small temple behind the present Hindu temple and the lord there is represented by a big stone with foot prints believed to be of lord Rama. According to the local mythology, this temple had only a small hut constructed by one women called 'Dammakka' who is again believed to be a Koya women. The present day temple was constructed 400 years ago by Sri Ramadasu who was an official in Golconda dynasty incharge of administration of this area and a staunch devotee of lord Rama. Koyas used to offer fruits of Palmarrah tree and Ippa (Basia Latifolia) flower in the olden days. Even today, Ippa flower forms part of the offerings made to the God. Slowly the temple was taken over by Brahmin priests from Coastal Andhra and it is now this is 100% Hindu temple. In this area also many of the Koyas care converted in to Christianity.

In Warangal district, a tribal Jatara called Sammakka -Saralamma Jatara is performed once in two years for three days ending on Magha Poornima (in January). Koyas who had their own kingdom about 500 years ago had a Koya tribal Chief called Pagidi Giddaraju belonging Majji clan of Fourth Gatta (Phratary). He had married Sammakka, a Koya woman from Medaram village in Warangal districts who belonged to Chanda clan of Fifth Gatta (Phratary). It is believed by the Koyas that the couple lost their lives during a fight with Kakatiya rulers and Sammakka became immortal. Another myth among the family members of Sammakka clan is that Sammakka died like any other human being due to old age but a fire appeared on the tenth day death ceremony. Sammaka is believed to be still living in the nearby hillock called Cilakala Gutta and brought to the Gadde (platform) by the family priests before the festival. The belief among the tribals is that Sammakka is very powerful and can fulfill any want of the people. As the areas are opened to outside world with laying of roads in the recent decades, the non-tribal population from far off areas also started visiting Jatara. Now the attendance is about 60 lakhs of which tribals are about 5 to 10%. The belief systems about Sammakka are also changed. Now the popular belief is that Sammakka is re-incarnation of goddess Vana Durga, the Durga of forests who is one of the eight forms of Durga as per Hindu scriptures. Stories, folk songs, folk dances of rural origin and books by Hindu scholars on the lines of stories of goddess Durga are also heard on audio cassettes frequently and the tribal belief system is slowly disappearing. The priests are still from the family of Sammakka but the management of the festival is done by Endowments Department of Government of Andhra Pradesh which also manages majority of the Hindu temples. The offering in the form of coconut, Gud, burning of incense, chanting of Mantras etc resemble the Hindu festival in content and performance also. Thus the tribal religion is fast changing in to Hindu mode in some areas have. The influence of Christianity in save areas, we find influence of Christianity increate can be studied only after a decade also as both Hinduism and Christianity are they followed by same family members ----their own religion form are existing now.

Inter-Tribe and Inter Regional Variations

Since independence Indian Government is putting strenuous efforts to bring the tribals in to mainstream of the economy and to improve their socio economic conditions. Government has made massive efforts for the socio economic development of tribal people through organized economic planning. Along with planned development programms, the constitutional safeguards, protective legislation, introduction of new agencies like Girijan Cooperative Corporation, Integrated tribal Development Agency etc., substantial financial provisions in the Five Year Plans, provision of modern means of transport, roads and bus services, extended information network services to tribal areas are expected to work as change agents and modern forces to improve their socio economic conditions. Also all these are expected to bring substantial multi dimensional change in the tribal society and economy.

Religion and Ritual Practices of Variations

There is very little impact of development in several tribal areas and among some primitive tribal groups living in interior scheduled areas, in spite of completion of five decades of planned change and development. The melody of stagnation or some times deterioration is very deep and complicated. Proper understanding of tribal communities, continuous dedicated field work, guidance, adoption of bottom up strategy with total transparency, participatory management and genuine empowerment of local tribal groups are essential for making tribal communities as partners in prosperity of the nation.

In spite of spending large amounts in the tribal areas the gaps in the levels of development in tribal areas and outside are persisting. In the areas of per capita income, education, health and infrastructure availability these gaps are very glaring. The planners and executors will be minding the tribal content of implementability of impact if such traditional values are ignored in fixing up the role of development functionary the modern technological advancement and scientific methods can promote the wellbeing of the tribal societies when they are planned carefully keeping in view the cultural values, local beliefs, customs and conditions.

These issues indicate that the planners somehow missed to cognizance of these different states of economy of tribals causing practical difficulties in implementation. The social and economic levels of the tribal communities are not homogenous. But they are at different levels of variability, tribal development can not be uniform. The development schemes have to be devised in the light of sociocultural factors and economic needs of the tribals in each region and sometimes each community. The socio-cultural matrix of tribal communities in our country exhibits distinct systems and traditions. Among the tribal communities, traditional values and social ethos play an important role and significance of social, cultural factors cannot be ignored in formulation of schemes for their all-round sustainable development.

Many efforts are made by Government, academicians and researchers to identify the problem of the tribal economy. These studies have contributed for better understanding of the socio economic conditions of tribals and they lay out the main features of tribal economy like, its agro forest base, periodic markets, exploitation, hierarchy in tribal society, income, occupational patterns credit and education. Any attempt to study the incidence of poverty among the tribals has not been made. The level of development of the different tribes and socio cultural traits of different tribes will also have some influence on the economic conditions of tribes .Against this background the study of inter-tribe relations has assumed great importance of the student of economic dynamics in the post independent India. This study provides a basis for enriching the existing theories of inter-tribal and intra-tribal pattern of life and economic conditions

Also the studies in the nature of socio-economic conditions, region specific intensive studies on living conditions are very important. Another important aspect of crucial concern yet not studied is comparative economic position of the primitive and plain tribes who live in interior hill tract villages and in the road side plain villages. The tribes whether they are primitive or plain those who reside in the interior hill tracts are living in utter poverty conditions when compared to their counter parts living in the road side plain areas. In the light of these facts an attempt is made a basis for enriching the existing theories of inter-regional pattern of socio-economic conditions. The studies deal with the inter tribe and inter regional relations among the different tribes of the North Coastal agency areas of Andhra Pradesh are attempted. The study aims on inter regional variations to analyze the a rimitive Tribal Group's economy and assess the impact of various agents of change in the context of intensive contracts that developed during post independence period are having more relevance to formulate the appropriate policies for the development of the primitive tribes as well as tribes living in the interior hill areas. This study endeavors to examine the socio-economic characteristics of the prominent primitive and plain tribes with different relational aspects in the North Coastal districis of Andhra Pradesh.

The look at the structure of the study area, it is confined to all the three districts Srikakulam, Vizianagarm and Visakhapatnam districts from the North Coastal tribal belt of Andhra Pradesh. It shows that, a higher proportion of the area in these districts is covered with forests and uncultivable land. The gross cropped area is limited in all the three districts. Agriculture is the predominant sector and it is contributing higher proportion of both income and employment. The analysis relating to the basic features of the agency areas of the three selected districts ultimately reveal that among the selected districts the agency area of Visakhapatnam is having higher extent of area and tribal population and it is followed by Vijayanagaram and Srikakulam districts remained with relatively lower extent of area and population. The profile of the selected districts, mandals villages reveal that all the major economic indicators are showing that they are far less than that of the state and district averages

Socio-cultural and religious conditions:

The socio, cultural and religious living patterns of selected primitive and plain tribes in the north coastal dis-

tricts of AP indicate that tribes in the plains are responded to the modern forces. The process of change is felt through their changing life style, material culture, social and economic relations, political organization, beliefs and rituals when compared to hill tribes. There is a considerable change in the food habits of the plain tribes, the taste of the present generation is changing, people prepare to take as much as vegetable curries, different non-vegetarian items along with cooked rice. They are consuming milk to prepare tea. Many tribals opening tea stalls at roadside bus stops, the stalls are always crowded. Also due to the interaction with Christian tradition they are slowly reducing the consumption of liquor made of Ippa flower (ippasara) and other liquors.

Another impressive change identified in the tribes in the plains is in their dressing pattern. The tribes are wearing modern dresses like pants, lungies, shirts, banyans, and under wears. The dress of women also varies with means, age and education. They like to wear mill made clothes, synthetic and woolen clothes. Men are maintaining more hairstyles. The family system is also changed from joint family system to nuclear family system. The education and health facilities providing by the governmental agencies are being utilizing more by the tribes in the plains. They are also adopting family planning system.

It is noted that, among the tribes who have settled in the low country some differences have arisen in the marriage rites. Owing to the introduction of Hindu customs some of the tribes who are not Hinduised than other consult their religious men as to what day would be most auspicious for marriage, erect pandals, despise with the use of liquors, substituting for it with sugar water, and hold a festival for two or three days. But even the most Hinduised tribes has not yet fallen directly into the hands of the Brahmin priests. Of the marriage customs of the plain tribes, the following account is given; the tribes are taking to 'menarikam' (marriage with maternal uncle's daughter) although the hill customs requires a man to marry outside his village. Their wedding ceremonies bear a distant resemblance to those among the hill tribes. Even among plain tribes ancestral worship arising out around their dwellings is predominant in their beliefs and ritual practices.

Music and dance is a way of life to the tribals of study area and these are important aspects of their cultural heritage. Dancing in the villages provides them opportunity for collective rejoining as well as inculcates in them a sense of cultural solidarity. The traditional patterns of music and dance of the tribes in the study area undergoing change in some aspects, mainly due to the impact of education, music and dance is slowly becoming less popular among the educated sections of the tribal society. The traditional songs which contains an element of culture and history of the different primitive tribal groups are slowly being replaced by cheep romantic songs tuned to light music in the films. The tribal groups are changing in terms of their cultural values like music and dance, which have transformed to incorporate a new role towards integration with the wider Indian society. Also the encouragement and support from the government legislation for the progress of tribal music and dance have inculcated a new sense of pride in their cultural heritage.

The traditional patterns of music and dance of the different tribes in the study area also had undergone change in some aspects. The plain tribes are changing in terms of their cultural values like music and dance. Music and dance is slowly becoming less popular among the educated sections. Similarly social interaction between these tribes and Christians and Hindu tradition change the social relation between different sections of the tribal society as well as with other groups. Though inter community relations have increased, marriages are still largely performed within their castes. The change in their social domain is gradually diluting their marriage practices, their beliefs in the animism, supernatural forces and in their religious life.

The tribal Sub-Plan approach through ITDA, education and health facilities, interaction with non-tribal as well as Hindu and Christian traditions, modernization of tribal economy, increase in wage labour system are considered as exogenous forces. The change agents of modernization which are expected to bring rapid socio-cultural and economic transformation in the tribal society of north coastal districts of AP. The tribes in this region responded differently towards the exogenous change agents. The degree of response towards these change agents is found higher in case of plain tribes who are relatively residing in the plain areas. However, the response to change agents is less in case of primitive tribes who are living in remote and hilly areas.

The inter tribe variations socio-cultural and religious life pattern analysis of the selected tribes reveals, how the different tribes in the north coastal districts of AP responded to the exogenous change agents and modern forces. The selected primitive and plain tribes are not only popular but are socially, culturally, ritually dominant tribes in the north coastal districts of AP. The comparative observation about their socio-cultural and religious life patterns and styles reveal that plain tribes who are living in plains significantly responded to the change agents. The degree of change is more in plain tribes who are residing in the surroundings of mandal head quarters and in roadside villages. However, the degree of change among even these tribes is limited in the interior villages.

The Primitive Tribes also shown some degree of change but somewhat less when compared to plain tribes. This reveals that the impact of the change in the life styles of different tribes is not uniform throughout the study area. The topography of study area itself does not facilitate the spread of alien cultures into the hill tracts and remote interior areas, co-existence of money economy and barter economy are still found in primitive tribe villages. Among the tribal communities traditional values and social ethos play an important role and significance of socio-cultural factors cannot be ignored in formulation of schemes for their all-round sustainable development.

The field observation reveal that, because of the relative isolation of the remote and hilly areas and also due to the continuity of traditional political system which punishes those who do not comply with the traditional ritual behavior there is no perceptible change in the socio-cultural and religious traits of primitive tribes. Also majority of the tribals in remote and hilly areas are still poor, illiterate and ignorant and they are still in favour of traditionalism. The impact of change agents as well as Hindu and Christian traditions have not made any dent on the life styles of tribes in hilly and remote tribal areas. On the other hand the modern forces and change agents actively influenced the tribes in plain areas particularly plain tribes responded to the imitative effect of these forces of change is felt through their changing food habits, type of family life style, material culture, social relations, political organization and rituals. The interaction with Hindu and Christian traditions the culture of plain tribes in plains resulted in the diffusion. Certain elements of the Hindu and Christian tradition entered into them and in the process some elements of their traditions are lost and changed, their magicoreligious life. The change in aspirations is resulted largely among the plain people the change is found in their behavior pattern, language and standard of living. In most cases the tribes in plain areas resembles more with their nontribal neighbours in the town. The above analysis reveal that the tribes living in plains, particularly plain tribes slowly emerged as socially and politically leading communities and dominating the tribal scenario.

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Chapter - 5

Review on Tribal Development Policies

An attempt has been made in this chapter to review briefly the tribal development policies implemented in the Indian economy. The analysis is broadly divided into four parts. At the outset the historical perspectives of tribal development policy in the pre independent India are discussed. The important aspects relating to tribal policy during post independence period are discussed next. Afterwards the tribal development strategies implemented during the period of economic planning are presented. The specific policies implemented towards PTGs development and critical evaluation of the implementation of the strategies are discussed at the end.

Tribal policy in the pre independent India:

The institutions of the British Government were aimed at regulatory functions such as law and order maintenance and revenue collection. These were found to be unsuitable for taking up the dynamic developmental programmes of the welfare state. The tribal areas were the last to come under the British rule due to their inaccessibility. To avoid troubles from violent tribes, the British Government adopted a policy of pacification through indirect rule with respect to tribe areas and treated them differently from the rest of the country. Accordingly the following measures were taken. The Schedule Districts Act of 1874 was enacted to keep large tracts of tribe areas outside the jurisdiction of normal administration. For these areas the executives were endowed with wide powers. The administrative policy was based on the principles of non-interference into the affairs of the tribes and isolation. All these provinces were provided with autonomy to rule the tribe areas under their control following broad guidelines formulated for this purpose. In accordance with the Policy, Agency Rules have been formulated in the year 1924 by the Government of Madras Province suppressing all the existing rules. The Agency Rules provided for the Revenue and Judicial administration of the tribal areas as their positions were recognized for administrative purposes.

The Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas Act which came into existence in 1935 resulted in the non-applicability of any legislations of the Provincial Government to tribe areas except on the direction of Central Government. The act also enabled Governors to pass special regulations for tribe areas with prior consent of the Governor-General. In accordance with the provisions of the Scheduled Districts Act of 1874, the Ganjam and Vishakapatnam Act was promulgated in 1939. This act provided for administrative justice in both civil and criminal matters in the tribe areas of Ganjam and Visakhapatnam Agencies in Madras Presidency. Rights of collection and superintendence of Revenue of every description within the tracts of the country specified under the Act has been conferred on the Agent to Governor.

The committee on Partially Excluded Areas of Orissa, which examined the conditions of tribes, observed that the advent of British has left all the aboriginals at the mercy of local chiefs and Muttadars. According to the committee, earlier, the rulers were checked for the fear of violent uprisings of the aboriginals, which was removed as the mightily British Government stood behind these chiefs. Ghurye pointed out that in view of the fact that the tribes are often sullen and on occasions violent, the main purpose of the British Policy was to secure peace and not necessarily to help people to advance on the road to progress either by integration with Plains Hindus or other wise. The outcome of British administrative policy can be broadly summarized quoting from Sharma that the administration in tribes areas during pre - independence days was not formalized. The decision making level, both in British India and Indian States, was near enough to the common-man. The system could hardly respond to the needs of each specific situation. Development, as a function of the administration, had yet to emerge. Therefore the socio-economic life of the community was largely left untouched. Maintenance of order and protection from unwanted elements where necessary were the main objectives of administration

The British Policy of isolating the tribes led to the misery of the tribes as it freely left them to the exploitation of zamindars, money lenders, and local chiefs. The policy of conservation of forests resulted in curbing age old practices of tribes like shifting cultivation, hunting, and others. The entry of merchants and money lenders further affected the tribes who were already facing many odds such as vagaries of nature, denudation of hills and loss of soil fertility. Under these conditions, the policy of non interference of the British with regard to tribe areas helped only to perpetuate the socio-cultural gulf between the tribes and nontribes besides exposing them to the nefarious practices of merchants and money lenders.

Even during the British rule, the miserable plight of the tribes and the exploitation to which they were subjected was recognized by the Governments. As a result certain regulations have been made and important among them is "Agency Tracts Interest and Land Transfer Act of 1917" of the Madras Presidency. This act provides for a limit of 24 percent on the rate of interest on any debt of liability against a member of scheduled tribe. This act also made null and void the transfer of immovable property in tribe areas to non - tribes and the authorities were empowered to eject the non-tribes in possession of such property. There is another important Act:- "the Andhra Agency Debt Bondage Abolition Regulation of 1940" of Madras Presidency. Under Regulation III of the Act, the system of debt bondage in Tribe areas was abolished and violators were made liable to punishment. These regulations of the British Government suffered severely with the problems of implementation. The result is seen in further worsening of the situation. The British policy resulted in exploitation and of tribal lands and thus they have lost command over the natural resources in their own habitat. The British administrators have neglected the tribe areas.

Inaccessibility and difficult terrain, less revenue, lack of basic facilities and influence of philosophy of "Noble

Savage" on the administrators and policy makers were some of the important reasons for negligence of tribes and their areas during British rule in India. In the long run, the policy shattered the economic base of the tribes and reduced them to a state of penury. It not only created bitterness among them for their countrymen but also isolated them from the main stream of the society. Eventually the bitterness and unrest among the tribes surfaced in sporadic movements and armed revolts.

Tribal development policies in the post indipendece period :

In this part an attempt is made to highlight the important dimensions that have taken place in the context of evolving the tribal development policy during post independence period.

Special Provisions for Tribes in the Indian Constitution:

The authors of the Indian Constitution were deeply conscious of the miserable conditions of the tribes who were segregated from the national main stream. The social scientists of this period also focused their attention towards the conditions of the tribes and began to discuss how best to deal with them. One school of thought led by Elwin argued to protect the aboriginals by completely isolating them from the rest of India and later he shifted his stance. A second school of thought led by Ghurye opined assimilation of the tribes into national main stream as essential. A third school believed that tribes should be integrated into the Indian society but not necessarily assimilated which means that it aims to preserve their identity. Ghurye (1963) made an elaborate discussion on the three solutions suggested for tribal problems; no change and revivalism: Isolationism and preservation; and assimilation (1963:133-173). Dube (1968) and Vidvarthi (1968) discussed various approaches from anthropological point of view. The Government of India came to the stand that the tribe population cannot be left to lag behind and isolated. Nor the natural resources in tribe areas can be neglected. Integration of tribes into the national mainstream was considered to be the solution. The policy is to bring the tribes into the main stream in a phased manner. This policy also cautioned that the tribes should not be allowed to get exploited in this process.

The Government of India appointed a sub-committee in 1947 with Thakkar Bapa as its chairman to study the position of Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas of the erstwhile British Government. The committee made several recommendations. One of the important recommendations was that the state should bear the responsibility of the tribe people. It laid emphasis on the protection of tribe lands and prevention of exploitation by money-lenders. It also suggested certain statutory safeguards for the protection of tribes. After independence the British Policy of isolation and non-interference was replaced by a policy of integration through development. Accordingly several provisions were made in the Indian Constitution. The most important provision of the constitution is the Article 244, which provides for administration of scheduled areas in accordance with the Schedule V to the constitution and the administration of tribe areas (Assam State) under Schedule VI. Articles 5, 16, 19, 46, 244, 275, 330, 332, 335, 339 and 342 of the Indian constitution provided specific provisions for the advancement of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

There are reservations in educational institutions, services, political bodies, special relaxations in age, qualifications, etc. Further the provisions are allowed for the necessary funds for Tribe Development Programmes. Many special provisions were made in Schedule V to the consti-

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tution in the interests of the Tribe areas. Clause "6" of the Schedule V empowered the President of India to declare any area where there is predominant concentration of tribe people as Scheduled area. The constitution of scheduled areas has two clear objectives, to assist the tribes in enjoying their existing rights unhindered or unobstructed by others; and to develop the areas and promote economic, educational, and social progress among them. The Fifth Schedule also gave wide powers to State Governors empowering them even to modify the existing enactments and make regulations for the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes. Article 338 of the Constitution provides for instituting a Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes with an object of submitting reports on the administration of tribe areas in general and in particular about the provision of educational and medical facilities and communications in such areas. The Commissioner's report is to be placed before the Parliament.

Under the provisions of the Act 339 of the Constitution, the Government of India has set up the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission. The commission in its report submitted in 1960-61, specified the policies to be followed towards Scheduled Tribes. The commission suggested, that the tribe should be assured that his rights in the land are safe and that the Government and Society are there to protect him; that the tribe should be made confident that no one will tamper with his way of life or his benefits and customs; and that the tribe should be made to realize that change is indispensable without which no development is possible, and the development is intended to secure for him and his family greater opportunities of life along with the rest in the country of which he is an inseparable part.

The founding fathers of Indian Constitution laid a

firm policy of tribe development by incorporating various provisions on the doctrine of "compensatory discrimination". Consequent to the National Policy on Tribes which envisaged for protection and integration of tribes, several protective legislations were passed to provide protection and to safeguard the interests of tribes. These acts and regulations emanate from various constitutional provisions. Some of the important Central Acts are Protection of Civil Rights Act, 1955, Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act, 1976. Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act, 1986. Forest Conservancy Act, 1980, and Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, 1989.

Different Committees on Tribal Policy:

The Government of India appointed several commissions and committees from time to time to report on the development of tribes. The foundation for the Tribe Development Policy was laid by the first Prime Minister of India Late Sri. Jawaharlal Nehru, who enunciated the policy of 'Panch Sheel' for tribe development. The essence of this policy is that tribe development should be along the lines of the genius of the tribe community and nothing should be imposed upon them. Verrier Elwin Committee - 1960, suggested for the protection of the tribes through enacting of legislations for curbing money lending, scaling down of past debts, automatic discharge from agreements in the matters of bonded labour and adequate alternative sources of credit (1960:132). While legislations were made to prevent land alienation and money lending, co-operatives were planned through the Tribal Development Blocks as alternate sources of credit. Considering inadequacies of the individual co-operatives due to lack of sufficient financial base and operational efficiency the State Government of Andhra Pradesh established a State level Co-operative body, 'The Girijan Co-operative Corporation' to combine co-operative credit and marketing in the interests of the tribes.

The Aiyappan Committee - 1948 toured the Agency areas of Madras Presidency and suggested that co-operatives may be established to eliminate exploitation of Shahukars (Money lenders). The Malayappan Committee-1950 laid special emphasis on the immediate need for relieving the tribes from the clutches of the money lenders. As an ameliorative measure the committee suggested for starting a network of multi-purpose co-operatives. Dhebar Commission-1961 (Report of the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission, 1961). Shilu A.O.Committee-1969 (Report of the study team on Tribe Development Programmes, 1969). Prof. Vidyarthi Committee-1972. (Report of the Task Force on development of Tribe Areas), Dr. S.C.Dube Committee-1972 (report of the Expert Committee on Tribe Development-1972), Appu Committee-1972 (Report of the study groups on Relief of Indebtedness and Land alienation and restoration in Tribe areas). K.S.Bawa Committee-1973 (Report of the study team on co-operatives in Tribe Development Projects) and Maheswara Prasad Committee-1979. (Report of the groups on administrative arrangements and personal policies in tribal areas) all these committees suggested various measures with regard to the entire tribal development programme in general.

Similarly Svaraman Committee-1981 (Report of the study group on land holding system in Tribe Areas) and Prof.B.K.Roy Burman Committee-1990 (Report of the study group on land holdings in Tribal Areas). These Committees conducted specific studies and dealt with selected subject like personnel policies, Land alienation, credit structure etc. Besides these committees and commissions, 'The Fifth Five Year Plan' formulated important policy guidelines, which laid the foundation for the present strategies for the development of tibes and their habitats.

Draft National Policy on Tribes :

An appropriate National Tribal Policy should articulate the criteria, meaning and purpose, based on which scheduled tribes and Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs) are declared in India today, and alter any aspects which seem to be too steeped in colonial biases. Also, as of now, legislation and policy does not distinguish between members of the same tribe in the same area who display varying levels of 'development indicators'. Economic criteria do not disqualify a person from being a member of a tribe, and being a descendant of the traditional chief or ruler of a tribe also does not disqualify a person from being a member of the tribe. This is the law as it stands today. The government of India has issued a Draft National Policy on Tribes and is presently inviting public comments. The term "Tribe" is nowhere defined in the Constitution of India and in fact there is no satisfactory definition anywhere. The Draft National Policy on Tribals provides that the characteristics considered by the President for notifying any tribe as "Scheduled Tribe" are the tribes' primitive traits, distinctive culture, shyness with the public at large, geographical isolation and social and economic backwardness.

The use of "insensitive" and "derogative" terms such as "PTG Groups" in the Draft National Policy on Tribals is antithetical to the universally recognised principles on the dignity and equality inherent in all human beings. The use of the term "primitive" fails to secure understanding of and respect for the dignity of the human person. Certain "derogative" terminologies are no longer acceptable in the lexicon of civilised societies. While it is obviously not logical to

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de-recognize a person's tribe identity for the reasons mentioned above, a criteria for varying degrees or kinds of benefits/entitlements could be formulated. This needs to be debated upon and discussed widely, and reflected in the policy. However, for other entitlements such as tribe quotas linked to employment, financial assistance from the government through schemes etc., it might turn out to be equitable to make a distinction for entitlement within tribes. The draft policy has not touched upon this and this needs to be corrected in the National Tribal Policy that is finally prepared.

What is most disturbing is the fact that the Draft National Policy advocates assimilation of vulnerable communities amongst indigenous and tribe peoples, the so called Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs). The Draft National Policy on Tribals also fails to refer to the de-notified tribes. The British India adopted the Criminal Tribes Act of 1871 to identify certain groups as criminal tribes. The Act was racist. In 1952, Government of India officially "de-notified" the stigmatized ones but enacted the Habitual Offender's Act which is not much different from the Criminal Tribes Act of 1871. Both the Criminal Tribes Act and the Habitual Offenders Act negate the universally proclaimed principles that "all human being are born free and equal". The listing of certain tribes under the Habitual Offenders Act negates the cardinal principle of the criminal justice system - the presumption of innocence before proven guilty.

Although the Draft National Policy envisages to halt "stigmatization" of the so called PTGs (PTGs), one wonders as to how such stigmatization can be halted when the Draft National Policy uses such pejorative terms. A Draft National Policy must conform with existing international standards which secure understanding of and respect for the dignity of the human person and not provide impetus

to archaic notions which promote the doctrines of racial superiority. The Draft National Policy on Tribals should use the term "indigenous and tribal people" consistent with India's obligation as a ratifying party to the ILO Convention No 107 and "vulnerable groups among indigenous and tribe peoples" to describe the so called "PTGs." In addition, the characteristics given by President of India to identify "scheduled tribes" are deleted and the characteristics accorded under ILO Convention No 107 and ILO Convention No 169 be adopted to describe these communities. The National Policy on Tribes must abandon any policy of assimilation with regard to the vulnerable groups amongst indigenous and tribe peoples, provide mechanisms for follow up and implementation of the recommendations of the sub-groups of the National Commission on Populations on the demographic problems of these vulnerable groups, conduct evaluation of the schemes undertaken for the development of the so called PTGs with a view to improve implementation of the existing schemes and include the Denotified Tribes under its Five-Year Plans programmes.

Tribal development stratagies during five-year plans :

The Government of India attempted with a strong determination to see that the tribes do not lag behind in the living standard and thinking of the Indian populace, or remain isolated. Integration of tribes into the national fabric was considered as being the utmost for the tribe development. The government took adequate precautionary measures in deciding development action for cause of the tribes and formulating plans for achieving a balanced program. The policies direct the government to bring the tribes into the manifold in a phased manner. It would increase accessibility of tribes for any type of facility created in the society for them. The major objective of development planning in India is to accelerate economic development with social justice. The social justice is referred to as the equal opportunities in the society to access the developmental efforts.

The strategy for tribe development has undergone finer orientation in successive plan periods. During the First Plan (1951-56) period community developme. Provision was introduced to improve the social and economic situation of backward classes including those of scheduled tribes. The First Five-Year Plan clearly laid down the principle stating that the general development programmes so designed to cater adequately to the back ward classes and special provisions used for securing additional and more intensified development for scheduled tribes. The first plan allocated Rs.19.93 Crores for the development of the scheduled tribes and for the scheduled areas in India. The states also provided Rs.11 Crores as their share for the development of the tribe areas and the scheduled tribes. To build up minimum infrastructure communications were of that much importance for tribes that the first plan allocated Rs 2 Crores for their development in the state's plans, apart from the grants available from the central and state governments. These development activities took greater care to avoid exploitation of the tribes. Irrigation facilities and drinking water were provided with greater care.

The Second Plan (1956-61) laid emphasis on economic development and gave a special focus on reducing economic inequalities in the society. Further development programmes for STs have been planned for, based on respect and understanding of their culture and traditions with an appreciation of their social, psychological and economic problems. An important landmark during the second plan was the opening of 43 Special Multi Purpose Tribe Development Blocks (SMPTDB), later termed as Tribe develop-

ment blocks. In the Second Plan a provision of about Rs. 48 Crores was made with a shift in emphasis towards the economic development activities such as agriculture, cottage industries and forest co-operatives. Each tribe development block contains 25000 people as against 65000 people for a normal block. The central government provided an amount of Rs15 lakh per each SMPTDB. The committee on SMPTDBs set up under the Chairmanship of Verrier Elwin (1959) studied the working of these Blocks and found that they were providing very useful services. In the Second Plan, the total out lay was of the tune of Rs.4600 Crores; particularly the allocation to the tribe sector was Rs.49.92 Crores, which was again roughly 1percent of the total plan expenditure. The second plan envisaged that the benefits of economic development should accrue more and more to the relatively less privileged classes of society in order to reduce inequalities. As to the STs 'Welfare programmes have to be based on respect and understanding of their culture and traditions and an appreciation of the social, psychological and economic problems with which they are faced. The second plan under took schemes for supply of drinking water, improvement of housing conditions, setting of dispensaries with maternity and child welfare centers along with mobile health units.

The Third Plan (1961-66) continued with the same principle as in the Second Plan as to establish greater equality of opportunity and to bring about reduction in disparities in income and wealth and a more even distribution of economic power. Under the Third Plan priority was assigned to economic improvement, education, health, housing and communications. Plan allocation for welfare of tribes was increased. The Third plan provided Rs. 50.53 Crores for tribe development. The third plan advocated the development in education and provision of training facilities, improvement of agriculture, building up of communica-

tions, improvement of health and medical facilities and supply of drinking water are both essential and inevitable. The Third Plan provides for a large program of tribe development blocks. In all, 43 development blocks that come under this program, each block involved a total outlay of Rs. 27 lakhs, Rs. 12 lakhs funded under the Community Development Program and Rs. 15 lakhs by the Ministry of Home Affairs. Following the recommendations made by the Committee on Special Multi-purpose Tribal Blocks, the scheme of development in these areas made much more flexible. The program would extend not only to scheduled areas but also to those blocks in which the tribe population constitutes two-thirds or more of the total population. The plan proposed that to allot about 60 percent of the funds for economic uplift, 25 percent for communications and 15 percent for social services, with assuring of more resources for the effective tackling of the problem, supply of drinking water.

The Fourth Plan (1969-74) proclaimed that the basic goal was to realize a rapid increase in the standard of living of the people through measures that also promote equality, and social justice. An important landmark in this direction was setting up of six pilot projects in Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa in 1971-72 with a separate tribe development agency for each project. The Fourth Plan allocated Rs.32.50 Crores for the development of the tribal areas. The Fourth Plan laid emphasis on consolidation, improvement and expansion of the services to accelerate the process initiated by the earlier plans and to equalize the opportunities derived by the development process. The Fourth Plan covered 43 percent of tribe population under 504 tribe development blocks. The review of the level of the development achieved in the SMPTBs has brought out the need for extension of the period of supplementary allocations for the tribe development blocks. The Fourth Plan gave priority to increase the agricultural and live stock production followed by the diversification in the occupational pattern of the landless agricultural laborers. This plan stressed for concentration on promotional and developmental activities, which intends to raise the economic standards of different tribes.

Albeit these laudable objectives of the main ingredients forced the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission (Dhebar Commission), 1961 and Shil Ao committee, 1961 to observe that, tribal development programmes suffered from inadequacy of investment and slow pace of implementation and they felt that more area development was counter productive and a firm protective base was necessary to built. Both the bodies also laid specific attention to inadequacy of administrative structure, communications and educational structure for the tribe communities. Also the Taskforce on development of tribe areas of 1975 pointed out that there was a continuous decline in the proportion of expenditure on scheduled tribes.

In the light of the above findings, a total and comprehensive view of the tribe problem was first taken on the eve of the Fifth Plan (1974 -78) by way of evolving tribe Sub-Plan strategy which is both developmental and protective. In this regard tribes are divided into three categories, namely: (a) tribes residing in areas of traditional tribe concentration, (b) dispersed tribe population and (c) PTGs wherever they reside whether in areas of tribe concentration or outside. In areas of tribe concentration an element of area development was incorporated in the development schemes. The PTGs were treated each as a separate group for more imaginative need based and flexible handling. The Fifth Plan (1974-78) marked a shift in approach as reflected in the launching of the Tribal Sub Plan (TSP) for the direct benefit of the development of tribes. The TSP stipulated that funds of the centre and the states should be quantified on the population proportion basis with budgetary mechanisms to ensure accountability, non divertability and utilization for the welfare and development of scheduled tribes.

The Fifth Plan allocated Rs.1182 Crores for the development of the tribes. There has been a substantial increase in the flow of funds for the development of STs under TSP arrangement, resulting in the expansion of infrastructure facilities and enlargement of coverage of the target groups in the beneficiary oriented programmes. Tribal Sub-Plans incorporating programmes of particular significance to the tribal economy were prepared for areas with large concentration of scheduled tribes, in 16 states and 2 Union Territories. Priority has been accorded to regional schemes and communities forwarded by NEC for securing *a balanced development of the northeastern region*. Due to initial difficulties in identifying and implementing the scheme, the Programme has had a slow start.

The strategy of tribal development envisaged during Fifth Plan has been broadly continued during the Sixth Plan (1980-85). The strategy has, however, been improved upon in some respects. During Sixth Plan, 235 pockets of Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP) are identified. Special programmes were chalked out for those areas and Special Central Assistance (SCA) was provided for development of these pockets. To make the programmes result oriented, much greater emphasis was laid on family oriented programmes in economically benefiting sectors than in earlier plans. The various programmes in the Sixth Plan are mainly intended to achieve the objective of narrowing down the gap between the levels of development of tribe areas and other areas and also to bring more rapidly a qualitative change in the

tribe communities. The plan devised a Modified Area Development Approach (MADA) for pockets of tribe concentration with population of 10000; at least half of them being STs, and delineated 245 MADA pockets. The Sixth Plan allocated Rs.4193 Crores for the development of the tribal areas. Separate Sub Plans covered 63 percent of the tribal population of the country. The Tribal Sub Plan divided areas into 180 Tribal Development Projects for operational purposes. This plan tended to continue with the Tribal Sub Plan approach in such a way to preserve the tribe identity and way of life in a manner consistent with the development strategy. The Sixth Plan advocated a four-fold strategy for the development of scheduled tribes. This Tribal Sub Plan accorded high priority for training of personnel to work or working in tribal areas and for provision of necessary facilities like housing, health and education. For providing credit and marketing facilities, the LAMPS are improved.

The strategy adopted for tribe development has marginally changed during the Seventh Plan (1985-90). The approach is a judicious mix of beneficiary oriented programmes, human resource development and infrastructure development. The new strategy is oriented for creation of assets under agriculture, horticulture and sericulture by taking up programmes in an integrated manner. In the seventh plan, there was a substantial increase in the flow of funds for the development of STs resulting in the expansion of infrastructural facilities and enlargement of coverage. This plan put special emphasis on the educational development of the scheduled tribes. For the economic development of STs, two national level institutions were set up viz. Tribe Cooperative Marketing Development Federation (TRIFED) in 1987 as an apex body for State Tribe Development Cooperative Corporations, and National Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Finance and Development Corporation (NSFDC) in 1989. The Seventh Plan allocated Rs.6976.76 Crores for the development of the tribes.

In the Eighth Plan (1992-97) the Government while revising the strategies of tribal development has emphasized that the problems of the tribes have to be tackled by suitably strengthening the mechanism of planning and implementation of programmes of Tribe Sub-Plan. The plan not only emphasized elimination of exploitation, but also paid attention to the special problems of suppression of rights, land alienation, non-payment of minimum wages and restrictions on the right to collect minor forest produce etc. Nevertheless, the main stress is on their economic development. The Eighth Plan tends to tackle the problems of scheduled tribes by streamlining the mechanism of planning and implementation of programmes of TSP and the schemes specifically targeted for their welfare. The Eighth Plan intends to have a national policy of rehabilitation of the displaced persons by the large-scale projects, to codify the rights and concessions of the tribes and to implement the forest policy. The plan tends to put thrust on the women of the scheduled tribes. Facilities like schools, hostels and institutional structures will be available in such a manner that these promote integration of scheduled tribes with the rest of the society. This plan stipulates to formulate a new policy on Minor Forest Produce in relation to the scheduled tribes. Eighth Plan stipulated to review the functioning of the LAMPS and the other cooperative institutions and intends to prepare a detailed plan for the PTGs for their overall development.

In the Ninth Plan (1997-2002) emphasis is laid on a total integrated effort for all-round tribe development and massive efforts have been made for the socio-economic de-

velopment of tribe people by the government through organized economic planning. The Ninth Plan aimed to empower STs by creating an enabling environment conducive for them. This process essentially encompassed three vital components viz. social empowerment, economic empowerment, and social justice. The plan allocated Rs.3174.13 Crores for the development of the scheduled tribes of which the actual expenditure tends to only Rs.3091.32 Crores to empower the STs as the agents of socioeconomic change and development and make them the active partners and partakers of the development process. The Ninth Plan tends to extend all assistance to STs, to ensure speedy socio-economic development through qualitative concern and quantitative substance in every measure undertaken. While implementing programmes for the STs, the Ninth Plan strives to ensure 'People-Centered Development' and 'People's Participation' with effective involvement of Panchayati Raj Institutions and also to delegate all the necessary financial and administrative powers to the local self governments for their participation in the targeted programmes. This plan tend to allocate funds directly for the welfare of women through the 'Women's Component Plan' by the nodal Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment. The spread of literacy through the efforts of the National Literacy Mission will be ensured to reach the tribes for employment-oriented education, diversified vocational training, and accorded it with high priority.

The Ninth Plan proposes for an action plan for the welfare and development of PTGs through an integrated action plan incorporating supply of safe drinking water, food and nutrition security, health coverage, educational facilities etc., within-built flexibility to cater the specific needs of each tribe and its environment. The plan proposes for special health packages combat diseases, endemic in nature and affecting the lives of the tribe population by prioritizing the PTGs and tends to promote the indigenous systems of medicine. The Minth Plan acknowledges the need for a National Tribal Policy, and reiterates to formulate a comprehensive Tribal policy with a special focus on Primitive Tribal Groups and the displaced tribes.

In the Tenth Plan (2002-07) an attempt is made towards empowering tribes through continuing the on-going provided strategy of social empowerment; economic empowerment and social justice through taking effective steps to prevent the serious problem of displacement of tribes and ensuring their effective rehabilitation through a laiddown rehabilitation policy. This plan tends to expend an amount of Rs. 1754 Crores (which excludes Rs.2500 Crores as Special Central Assistance to TSP and Rs.1500 crore as Grant In Aid). This plan tied to expedite the finalization of the National Policy for Rehabilitation of the displaced persons with a special focus on the displaced tribes, by providing them land for land and item for item, last possessed before displacement. The Tenth Plan accorded high priority to prevent and restore the alienated land to the tribes and, if possible, to put a total ban on the transfer of tribe land to non-tribes. The Tenth Plan endeavored to boost agricultural production in tribal areas through the extension of the irrigation facilities through promotion of micro-irrigation systems and by creating awareness among the tribals for effective water resource management. This plan tried to adopt an effective strategy that takes into account the prospects of the tribes as well as forests together complementing each other. This plan tends to channelize the efforts to ensure that the interests of the tribes, protected and linked with the bio-diversity and environment restoration projects.

The Tenth Plan identified the priority groups re-

quiring the basic needs and living in different geographical regions with varied socio economic conditions. Besides utilizing the services of the local educated tribes, the plan tends to mobilize the local resources to develop the educational infrastructure. Primary health care services in tribe areas are extended by involving local NGOs to cover all terrains in all seasons with a special focus on women, children and PTGs. Indigenous medicines and the traditional knowledge and methods of healing are encouraged in attending to the health needs of the tribes. The plan strengthened the households food security of he scheduled tribes living in far-flung areas to make reach the programmes of Special Nutrition Program through the ICDS, for the children below 6 years.

The Eleventh Plan (2007-12) is entitled as 'Towards Faster and Inclusive Growth". The strategy of this plan for the development of the scheduled tribes is based on inclusive growth. Under this approach development and empowerment of socially disadvantaged groups and bringing them at par with the rest of the society is given top priority. In his context this plan considers education is the one of the most effective instruments of social empowerment and is vital for securing horizontal and vertical mobility. Hence schemes for the educational up-liftment of the STs have borne fruit although the gap between the general population and STs is still at unacceptable levels. Educational schemes in favor of these sections is going to be continued with redoubled vigor. While bringing the STs to national level may take time, certain aspects of the backwardness need to be immediately set right. Total eradication of the practice of bonded labour, which especially targets the STs, will be achieved in the 11th Plan. For this, intense efforts will be made to identify and rehabilitate bonded labour and their children. The Special Component Plan (SCP) for

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Scheduled Castes and the Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP) are two strategic policy initiatives to secure overall development of the STs and to remove all socio-economic and educational disparities between them and the rest of the population. It is disturbing to see that both these schemes have not been implemented with a full sense of commitment and involvement, either by the Central or by the State Governments. The 11th Plan will ensure that they be implemented with further innovations and deeper commitment.

Over a period of time a large number of people, particularly tribe groups, have severely suffered from the brunt of mega development projects. In this context efforts therefore are planned during the 11th Plan to prepare a comprehensive and integrated national policy for land acquisition, compensation, and resettlement. During the plans the primitive conditions of the tribal life, their vulnerability to economic exploitation, the existing socio-psychological barriers due to isolation, necessitated a cautious and phased approach for the development of tribes. A special approach has been formulated by the Indian Government with protection and integration of tribes as its principal objective. Following this approach, developmental institutions were established to look after the all-round development of tribes.

Special Schemes Evolved for Development of PTGs :

There are about 700 major scheduled tribe communities who are scattered throughout the length and breadth of the country. The tribal groups are at different stages of social and economic development. At one extreme are groups which are indistinguishable from the general agricultural communities in the more backward areas, while at the other extreme are groups which still lead a secluded and archaic mode of life. This situation of large difference in the levels of socio-economic development of various tribal communities has always posed problems before the planners and the administrators. There has been efforts to identify the more back ward tribal communities and for making special programmers for these groups. The study team on Tribal Development Programmes (Shilu Ao Team) constituted by the Planning Commission had pointed out in its report (1969) the marked imbalance in development among the tribal communities continues to be extremely back ward and some of them are still in the Primitive food gathering stage. The team reiterated the view of the Dhebar Commission (1961) that the development of the class, which it termed as lowest layer, should be made the special concern and should receive the utmost consideration.

The Fifth Five Year Plan marks a new phase in the tribal development in India. The first step in this regard was enunciation of a clear policy frame by the Government of India as reflected in the guidelines for preparation of a tribal Sub- Plan approach is based on a twin and secondly, development efforts through planned schemes to raise level of income and living. As a preliminary step towards chalking out a strategy for development of PTGs, a workshop on the subject was held in the Ministry of Home Affairs in 1975. Further, as a part of the Tribal Sub-Plan Strategy during Fifth Five Year Plan period PTGs ware identified in 14 states and one union territory. Recently the Ministry of Tribal Welfare introduced the scheme of development of PTGs with effect from 1st April 2008. Since PTGs constitute the most vulnerable section among tribals and inhabit isolated, remote and difficult areas in small and scattered hamlets/habitats, the scheme aims at planning their socioeconomic development in a holistic manner by adopting habitat development approach and intervening in all spheres of their social and economic life, so that the quality of life of PTGs is improved and a visible impact is made.

The scheme will cover all the 75 identified Primitive Tribal Groups. The scheme is extremely flexible because it enables every state to focus on areas that they consider is relevant to their PTGs and their socio-cultural environment Activities under it may include housing, land distribution, land development, agricultural development, cattle development, construction of link roads, installation of non-conventional sources of energy for lighting purpose, social security including Janshree Beema Yojana or any other innovative activity meant for the socio-economic development approach for the comprehensive socio-economic development of PTGs, more particularly for the PTGs who are nomadic in nature. In this scheme efforts should be made to bring nomadic PTGs to the settled mode of life, will be carefully addressed. The funds under this scheme would be made available only for those items/activities which are very crucial for the survival, protection and development of PTGs and are not specifically catered to by any other scheme of State or Central Government or by guidelines governing the utilization of funds under Special Central Assistance to Tribal Sub-Plan and Article 275(1) of the Constitution. The general principle of convergence of funds and functionaries will apply.

All the 17 State Governments and the Union Territory shall prepare a long term "Conservation-cum-Development" (CCD) Plan for each PTG of their state following the format prescribed by the Ministry of Tribal Affairs for a period of 5 years on the basis of requirement assessed through baseline survey and submitted to Ministry of Tribal Affairs at the start of Plan period. The CCD Plan shall clearly indicate the annual provisions for each financial year and also the agency involved in implementation of that activity. While preparing the CCD Plan, the State Government/UT administration shall also keep habitat/hamlet development approach in view, more particularly for the nomadic PTGs. The State Government/UT administration shall ensure proportionate flow of financial resources for all PTGs found in their state and the activities shall be taken with a proper mix of interventions through the State/ UT Government and NGOs.

The duplication of intervention in same area shall be avoided. The delivery mechanism has to be strengthened through innovative plans and procedures. The CCD Plan submitted by the State/UT shall be examined and approved for entire period of 5 years by an expert committee constituted by the Ministry. At the field level, the CCD Plan shall be implemented under the supervision of a committee constituted by the state government for the purpose. The state government implementing agencies will furnish a schedule of activities to be undertaken with the first and subsequent release of funds, and the time likely for their continuance or completion to enable effective project progress monitoring. Ministry officials will undertake field monitoring and reviews.

The scheme will be implemented in accordance with aforesaid CCD Plan prepared by the State/UT through various agencies of the State Government/UT administration like Integrated Tribal Development Projects (ITDPs)/Integrated Tribal Development Agencies (ITDAs), Tribal Research Institutes (TRIs), and also Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs). The State Government concerned will, however, be responsible for proper execution, implementation, supervision and coordination of the scheme, including identification of NGOs for the purpose. The Ministry of Tribal Affairs can also draw up plans for the PTGs involving reputed national level bodies, including industry associations, and the concerned state governments/agencies.

Enforcement of existing legal/protective measures is resorted to along with the provisions made under the Fifth Schedule to prevent tribe indebtedness, bonded labour and other exploitation. Involving tribes especially those engaged in shifting cultivation, closely and gainfully involved in joint forest management, social forestry, agro-forestry etc., are intended to facilitate rightful collection and gainful disposal of minor forest produce and other produce.

Strengthening the grass root democratic institutions viz., PRIs and Gram Sabhas as per the provisions of 73rd and 74th amendments and PESA Act, 1996, resulted in solving the persisting problems through: providing basic minimum services. The XI Plan giving much focuses on "inclusive growth" is ultimately focusing upon the tribal communities who have not joined in the process of growth. During the plans the primitive conditions of the tribes life, their vulnerability to economic exploitation, the existing socio - psychological barriers due to isolation necessitated a cautious and phased approach for the development of PTGs. A special approach has been formulated by the Indian Government with protection and integration of tribes as its principal objective. Following this approach, developmental institutions were established to look after the allround development of tribes.

Recently the Ministry of Tribal Welfare introduced the scheme of development of PTGs with effect from 1st April 2008. According to the scheme PTGs are analysed as among scheduled tribes, there are certain tribal communities who have declining or stagnant population, low level of literacy, pre-agricultural level of technology and are economically backward. 75 such groups in 17 States and 1 Union Territory have been identified and categorized as PTGs Most of these groups are small in number, have not attained any significant level of social and economic progress and generally inhabit remote localities having poor infrastructure and administrative support. Therefore, they become the most vulnerable sections among the scheduled tribes and priority is required to be accorded for their protection, checking the declining trend of their population and their development. Such an approach may also strengthen the few MADA and such micro-projects in operation in our country.

The recent officially given features relating to the PTGs reveal that still there is very little impact of development in several interior hilly areas and among some PTGs living in interior scheduled areas, in spite of completion of more than five decades of planned change and development. The melody of stagnation or some times deterioration is very deep and complicated. Proper understanding of tribal communities, continuous dedicated field work, guidance, adoption of bottom up strategy with total transparency, participatory management and genuine empowerment of local PTGs are essential for making tribal communities as partners in prosperity of the nation.

These issues indicate that the planners somehow missed the cognizance of these different states of economy of PTGs causing practical difficulties in implementation. The social and economic levels of the tribal communities are not homogenous. But they are at different levels of variability. Tribal development can not be uniform. The development schemes have to be devised in the light of sociocultural factors and economic needs of the PTGs in each region and sometimes each community. The socio-cultural matrix of PTG communities in our country exhibits distinct systems and traditions. Among the tribal communities, tra-

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ditional values and social ethos play an important role and significance of social, cultural factors cannot be ignored in formulation of schemes for their all-round sustainable development

Critical Evaluation Of The Strategies For Poverty Alleviation In Tribal Areas :

The trickle down hypothesis in the simplest form states that rapid growth of per capita income will be associated with a reduction in poverty, In the context of agricultural development in India, the trickle-down theory has been interpreted to suggest that growth in the agricultural output without radical institutional reform will reduce the incidence of poverty. The strategy of poverty alleviation adopted by the Government of India during different plans suffers from the following limitations: The income generation orientation of poverty alleviation programmes does not recognize the importance of increased flow of social inputs through family welfare, nutrition, social security and minimum needs programmes in alleviating conditions of poverty on a long-term basis. The programmes have done little for disabled, sick and socially handicapped individuals who cannot participate in normal economic activities. The strategy for poverty alleviation has also failed to do justice to women in intra-family distributions.

Income and employment-oriented poverty alleviation programmes put additional income in the hands of the poor which they can use for buying food. But these programmes do not ensure that the poor can really manage to get adequate food all the year round for the family with the increased income, because this depends on the price, supply ease and time distribution of income. The household approach focused around self-employment enterprises or wage employment guarantees is not correct in the state of continuing demographic pressures and increasing smallness of the size of farm holding.

About the implementation part of the tribal development and anti poverty strategies there are different views among the researchers. Some argue that what was happened to tribals in India during the last 50 years is agonizing. The approach to tribal development from the Fourth Plan onwards had found that actual benefits trickling down to the tribals have not been consistent with promises we have made. The gap between tribals and non-tribals has been widening and tribal exploitation has become more effective and increased after the implementation of developmental plans. A.K Sharma pointed out that, Government of India has not only failed to encourage the development of tribals but has actively maintained their under development. He also stated that the laws and programmes have failed because of the attitudes of the powerful feudal elitist groups and non-involvement of tribals in the development process.

Tribal Cultural Research and Training Institute, Hyderabad and Agro Economic Research Centre, Waltair etc, have corroborate the views of earlier committees such as Malayappan, Ray, Dhebar Commission etc., regarding the exploitation of tribals by non-tribal traders-cum-money lenders even after passing of protective legislation and introduction of agencies such as GCC, ITDA etc. In spite of huge investment outlays, the implementation of the tribal development programmes is not a story of success. Approach to tribal development in the Sixth Plan states that the benefits accruing the tribals were inconsistent with huge investment. The Working Group on tribal development for Eighth Five Year Plan also observed that tribal Sub-Plan strategy has yielded results but these do not commensurate to the expectations and investments made so far. The

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area based and individual based programmes did not have desired impact. However some micro level studies of which focused mainly on the impact of development programs on tribal households indicate a mixed pattern. There were many reasons for the failure of tribal development programs. There were delays in the implementation of the programs. Coordination at various levels was absent, the state Governments did not ensure a reasonable share of benefits from the general development programs to the tribals. The developmental efforts increased the differences between tribal groups. The performance of the administrative machinery is very unsatisfactory. The remarks of the Pianning Commission in this regard about the need of fresh look on the tribal development are worth mentioning.

Various developmental agencies especially the GCC, ITDA, DRDA and the activities of various other government departments like forestry, soil and water conservation, roads and buildings, minor irrigation, the horticulture etc., have geared to improve the quality of life of the tribals and in the growth of their economy. Development of modern means of transport, roads and bus services have opened up the tribal areas in recent decades and several non-tribals came into contact with the tribals and contributed for the magnetization of tribal economy. Due to the thrust of the directed contact with the Hindu and Christian culture also expected rapid socio-cultural and economic transformation of the tribal economy. For these changing agents and modern forces, tribals have shown fewer signals for transformation.

The most important reason for their inability to respond the continuous efforts of the government policies and changing agents may be due to socio-cultural heterogeneity, low level of literacy and awareness, inadequate infrastructure and input supply and the indifferent attitude of

the tribals in general. Improvement in the quality of life and levels of socio-economic conditions of tribals are sought to be examined in terms of endogenous and exogenous factors. At low levels of growth or stagnation traditionalism perpetuates itself and internal growth impulses are very weak or non-existence. Hence in tribal societies extraneous (non-economic) factors play a significant role. Social change was the consequence of non-economic factors, but over a period of time in causation with the other proximate causes the internal growth impulses may be internalized in the tribal economy. All these factors works as prime movers of change in the matrix of analysis as part of the process of cumulative causation. The analysis reveals that the improvement in the socio-economic conditions in the tribal areas is having the complexity of process. The improvement in socio-economic conditions may occur out of the simultaneous efforts of all the exogenous (non-economic) and endogenous (economic) factors.

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Chapter - 6

Protective Legislation with Special Reference to the Andhra Pradesh Scheduled Areas Land Transfer Regulations

An attempt is made to analyze the protective measures undertaken to improve the plight of tribals in general and the tribals of A.P. in particular. Efforts are mainly put in to examine the implementation of A.P. land transfer regulations and rules Regarding the earlier measures are concerned, there have been a series of tribal revolts in various parts of the state since 1803. The tribals rose in revolt against the land and forest policies and exploitation by feudal landlords. These uprisings drew the attention of the administration to the traditional rights of the tribals in land and forest and also to the problem of their exploitation by the outsiders. In recognition of the traditional rights of the cimple and innocent people, the British government excluded these areas from the normal administration as early as in 1839.

Mr. George Russell, the first member of Board of Revenue of the erstwhile Madras Presidency, was deputed to study the causes of unrest in the hill tracts of Kasipuram, Palakonda, and Payakaaraopet, Zamindaries of Visakhapatnam and the parlakimidi zemindari of Ganjam district. On the basis of his recommendations the Ganjam and Visakhapaptnam district Act, 1839 (Act XXIV of 1839) was passed. The entire hill tracts of Visakhapatnam and Ganjam districts were removed from the perview of ordinary law and was administered directly by the Collector with the extraordinary powers conferred on him in his capacity as Agent to Government. In 1860, rules were framed under Sec. 4 of 1839 act, whereby the procedure for the trial of a tribal case was laid down and the Criminal Procedure Code was made applicable to it. Further, the Indian legislature passed the Scheduled Districts Act (Act XIV of 1874) in 1874 to remove the ambiguities in the laws in force in the tribal areas.

According to this Act, the Provincial Government was empowered to declare, in respect of the tracts specified in the act, which enactments were not to be enforced and to notify; the application, with modifications or restrictions, if necessary, of an enactment in force at the time to any part of British India. This act also defined and specified the Scheduled districts. Certain portions of Visakhapatnam and Godavari Districts were included in part-I of the Scheduled districts Act of 1874. Similarly in 1909, the Nuguru, Alabaka and Cherla Estates, now in Khammam district as Nugur Taluka, became subject to the Madras Government under the Government of India Act, 1909. All enactments and notifications, orders, rules and bye-laws issued under the enactments in force in Bhadrachalem Taluk were brought in to force in the estates of Nugur, Alabaka, and Cherla, except certain laws specified by Regulation of 1909.

The other major step is the Agency Tracts Interest and Land Transfer Act of 1917. This act, the Madras Act I of 1917, was passed with the aim of regulating the interest on loans and the transfer of land in the agency tracts of the then Ganjam, Visakhapatnam, and Godavari Districts. Under this Act, under section - 3 of the act. compound interest was abolished and simple interest was reduced to 24 percent per annum and in any case, the total interest was not to exceed the principal amount. Again under section 4 of the Act, any transfer of immovable property was made null and void when it was made without the previous consent obtained in writing of the Agent or any Prescribed officer. However, such transfer was allowed in favour of another member of a Hill tribe. Restoration of such lands to the transferor was provided for and there were 6 rules under the Act. which defined the procedure.

The Word "HILL TRIBE" is important here. According to the section 2(©) of the Act, it included anybody or class of persons resident in the agency tracts, but excluded the landholder as defined in the Estates Land Act (Madras Act-I of 1908). Despite clear-cut provisions, the Act of 1917 could not achieve any success because of its loopholes the definition of 'Hill Tribe' is the main loophole. Under this act any non-tribal who was resident in the agency tracts could acquire land from a member of a hill tribe. As a result many moneylenders and itinerant merchants from the plains migrated to the agency and settled there to carry on their business. This act did not disturb the provisions of the Estate Land Act which gave the right to the land holder to proceed with the eviction of tribals and as a result only a few cases were detected under this Act, Due to the application o⁴ common principles of the civil procedure code, the special agents gave permission to the tribals to sell their lands to pay off their debts to the moneylender. Thus the act was used more to enable the non-tribals to acquire lands in tribal areas with the sanctity and seal of the Agent than to prevent exploitation of the tribals.

Protective Measures in Andhra Pradesh:

In Andhra Pradesh, 9 districts viz., Srikakulam, Viziayanagarm, Visakhapatnam, East Godavari, West Godavari, Khammam, Warangal, Adilabad, and Mahaboobnagar, constitute the traditional habitat of nearly 31 out of 35 tribal groups. The three tribal groups, Viz., Yerukala, Yanadi and Sugali, or Lambada are mainly living in the plain areas outside the scheduled area. The tribal population which constitutes 6.31 percent of the State population can be divided into 4 categories basing on their geographical distribution, habitat, and levels of development. The strategies of development approaches and specific schemes for their accelerated development are formulated on the basis of this categorization.

Tribal Sub-plan area with the tribals living in the areas of tribal concentration in the Scheduled village and adjoining areas, Those tribals living in small pockets outside the scheduled areas, and Those tribals dispersed throughout the state. Land is the main source of livelihood for majority of the tribals living in the sub-plan area. As many as 92 percent of the tribals of the sub-plan area depends upon agricultural and other allied activities. Hence, land assumes great importance in the tribal development. Due to several reasons such as lack of education, mobility and entrepreneurial skills, the tribal dependency on land

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has enormously increased. They developed emotional and sacred ties with the ancestral lands and territory. The tribal areas which are now called scheduled areas in the state, constitute the traditional habitat of the majority of the tribals of Andhra Pradesh and the area was an inaccessible tract walled off by dense forests and hills. The tribal communities are in occupation of this tracts and are living by practicing shifting and settled cultivation. Due to the development of communication and transport facilities and improvement of living conditions in tribal areas, the influx of land greedy non-tribals, the usurious moneylenders and traders into scheduled areas has steadily increased. In some tribal areas the unabated influx of non - tribals resulted in a radical change in a democratically composition whereby tribal became numerical minority in what was once their exclusive habitat. The immigrant non-tribal taking advantage of ignorance, illiteracy and simplicity of the tribals devised various dubious methods in which the tribals are locked in unending cycles of borrowing and repaying. When the tribals were over burdened with backbreaking debts, the usurious moneylenders forced them to part with their lands in lieu of their debts. The tribals who are entirely dependent upon these immigrant moneylenders for their credit needs could not extricate themselves from the strong hold of the usurious moneylenders.

The lack of easy and reliable credit sources for the needs of tribals such as consumption loans, loan for social customs and traditions such as marriage, death ceremony etc., the multiplication of needs of tribals and increasing dependency of the tribals on various items brought from outside contributed to their indebtedness. The non-tribal immigrants evolved various deceitful methods by which they grabbed the land of the tribals. Some of the following methods of transaction are noticed in the scheduled areas of the state: a) Kandagutha, b) Payida c) Thirumanam kaulu d) Tanka e) Namu etc., As a result of all these methods, large chunks of fertile lands had changed hands from tribal to non-tribal and thousands of tribals have been deprived of their ancestral lands and became agricultural labourers. According to one study, about 50 percent of the cultivable land in the scheduled area is under the occupation of nontribal, and the agricultural labourers in the sub-plan area are on the increase. For instance, in the districts of Srikakulam and West Godavari the Agricultural labourers constitute 55.65 and 51.79 percent to the total workers respectively.

A. The A.P. Scheduled Area Land Transfer Regulations and Rules :

The measures initiated to help the tribal have already been discussed in earlier chapter. This exercise is meant for reviewing the progress achieved under the A.P. scheduled areas, Land transfer regulations. The Government having realized the problem of land alienation in the tribal areas initiated measures for checking the usurious money lending and land alienation in the tribal areas. The result is the enactment of the:"Agency Tracts Interest and Land Transfer Act, 1917." Under this act transfer of immovable property by a member of a hill tribe to a non-tribal without permission in writing was prohibited and compound interest on loans was abolished. On the recommendation of Prof. Haimendorf, the Hyderabad State made the "Hyderabad Tribal areas regulations, 1359F(1949 AD)" to protect the tribals against the exploitation by outsiders. The next major step in this direction is the A.P. Scheduled areas, land transfer regulation, 1959. Under the powers conferred by the para 5(2) of the Vth scheduled of the Constitution, Governor of A.P. made the A.P. Scheduled Areas Land Transfer Regulations, 1959 repealing the agency tracts

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interest and land transfer act, 1917. This regulation called I of 1959 provided comprehensive protection to tribals against exploitation by non-tribals.

The regulation came into force in the districts of Srikakulam, Visakhapatnam, East and West Godavari and later it was extended to the scheduled areas of Mahboobnagar, Adilabad, Warangal and Khammam districts by Regulations II of 1963 to bring uniformity in law through out the scheduled areas of the state. Under these regulations (section 3(1)) any transfer of lands by a member of scheduled tribe to anybody other than a member of a scheduled tribe is considered null and void. If such illegal transfer of land is made, the Agent or the Agency Divisional officer is empowered to restore the property to the transferor or his heir. Further according to these regulations, no land situated in scheduled areas owned by a member of a scheduled tribe shall be liable to be attached and sold in execution of a money decree. But in practice these regulation were frequently violated and illegal land transfers were not checked due to certain practical difficulties. In most cases, the alienation process starts with lease or mortgage and culminates in the transfer of ownership right. In some cases, though the ownership is in the name of a tribal in the records, ipso facto the lands are cultivated by non-tribal. Also it is a fact that though the certain regulations on the alienation of lands from tribal to non-tribal, it did not absolutely prohibit such transfers. As such another regulation, Regulation-I of 1970 was passed in place of Regulation I of 1959.

B. Andhra Pradesh (Scheduled Areas) Land Transfer (Amendment) Regulation, 1970 (1 of 1970):

Regulation I of 1970 was passed to amend Regulation I of 1959 to plug its loopholes. Regulation I of 1970

totally prohibited transfer of any immovable property in the scheduled areas. The amending regulation substituted sub-section (1) of section-3 of regulations I of 1959 by prohibiting and declaring null and void the transfer of immovable property situated in the agency tracts by any person whether or not such person was a member of a scheduled tribe. Even when a person was a member of a scheduled tribe and was not able to sell his immovable property to another tribal on reasonable terms, provision had been made to surrender the land to the Government upon which the government would be obliged to acquire it on payment of reasonable compensation under section 10 of the Andhra Pradesh ceiling on Agricultural holding Act, 1961. A statutory presumption has been drawn, that until the contrary is proved, any immovable property situated in the agency tracts and in possession of a person who is not a member of a scheduled tribe shall be presumed to have been acquired by such a person or his predecessor through a transfer made to him by a member of a scheduled tribe. The non-tribals challenged the validity of regulation I of 1970 by filing a batch of writ petitions (No. 4609 of 1971) in the High court, Hyderabad. Their Lordships, justice K.V.L. Narsimham and justice Alladi Kuppuswami, in their judgment dated 29.04.1971 while upholding the validity of the said regulation held that the amending Regulation was not retrospective and it did not affect transfers which were made by the tribals prior to the passing of the Regulation.

Further, the regulation-I of 1970 affected the transactions of the Co-operative Land Mortgage Banks, operating in the Scheduled areas, which had to stop all their transactions due to the restrictions imposed by the Regulation. These co-operative banks had by that time already advanced money to their members who were all tribals. To remove this hardship, regulation I of 1971 was passed.

The Andhra Pradesh (Scheduled areas) Land Transfer (Amendment) Regulation 1971 (I of 1971) amended the Section 3 of Regulation - I of 1959. Regulation I of 1971 provided for the mortgaging of any immovable property situated in the agency tracts to any co-operative society, including a land mortgage bank or to any commercial bank or any other financial institution approved by the state government on the express condition that, in the event of default, the property should be sold only to tribals or cooperative societies consisting wholly of members belonging to scheduled tribes. Further it prohibited lawyers from representing non-tribals without the permission of the Agent. Even this attempt has been hampered by several writ petitions filed by affected non-tribals. Whenever eviction notices were served on them, many non-tribals filed petitions under Article 226 of the Constitution, challenging the constitutional validity of the regulation on the ground that section 3(1) of the Regulation was in violation of the Fundamental Rights guaranteed to them under Articles 19 and 31 of the Constitution and that it was violative of the provision of the rule of law contained in Article 14 of the constitution, and as such section 3 of the Regulation was ultra virus. But the High Court of Andhra Pradesh upheld the constitutional validity of the Andhra Pradesh Scheduled Areas Land Transfer Regulation 1959. They said that it was only a reasonable restriction on the exercise of Fundamental Rights.

However in another batch of writ petitions the Andhra Pradesh High Court while dealing with the ejectment proceedings taken up suo motto under the A.P. Regulation I of 1959 against the non-tribals in possession of property held that the power to pass a decree for ejectments was exercised only on a transfer of immovable property made in contravention of sub-section (1) of section 3 of Regulation I of 1959 and the statutory presumption embodied in clause 6 of sub-section (1) of Section 3 did not afford the requisite foundation for the initiation of proceedings for eviction. Hence, the proceedings for eviction of nontribal were held to be ultra virus. Further the Regulation was also held to be ultra virus as it imposed a restriction on appearance by a counsel by making prior permission of the Agent as necessary while the statute itself did not impose any restriction on the right of representation by a legal practitioner. As a result the regulations could not work effectively in restoring the land to the tribals. The following table-1 depicts the details in support of our contention.

Thus it is clear that the land transfer regulations and its amendments could not stop the transfer of land from the hands of tribals to non-tribals and the Regulation could not restore these lands to the tribals. The Court litigation and other dubious methods adopted by non-tribals in grabbing the lands of tribals and connivance of the officials with the non-tribals are the major factor for such state of affairs in the implementation of the Regulation. An attempt is made to study this problem in the study area and found the following ways of land transfers in spite of the operation of Land Transfer Regulation:

Lease and mortgage is the most common method found in the area. The poor and innocent tribal due to lack of other sources to get money for their needs for social customs and traditions are using the lands for obtaining the money for their immediate needs. The Scholar found no arrangements for supplying the credit, even the crop loans for the tribal of the area. Hence, land mortgage or lease is the only source of getting money, which ultimately resulted in the transfer of land to the non-tribal. Concubinage or Marital alliances is another method. The scholar found con-

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cubinage as most common and marital relations between tribal women and non-tribal men are also found, but such instances are very few. The scholar found a number of tribal women having relations with the non-tribal men living in the area and many of such non-tribals are enjoying large chunks of fertile lands in the tribal area. These relations are acceptable to the tribals and to the surprise of the scholar no tribe complained about such lands which are under the occupation of such non-tribal. It is also found that the tribal women who are concubines of the non-tribals are not allowed to live in the locality of non-tribals along with their families. Hence, the method is adopted only for enjoying the tribal lands by the non-tribal.

Servant system is another method by which the non-tribals are occupying the tribal lands. The scholar found several tribals as farm servants of non-tribals. To escape the land transfer regulations the non-tribals are acquiring the tribal lands on the name of such farm servants. In some cases it is done with the knowledge of those farm servants, but in most cases such acquisition is done without their knowledge. Role of political parties is the major factor observed in transferring the tribal lands to the non-tribals or in preventing the restoration of lands from non-tribals to the tribal. The scholar found several such cases where one particular political party supporting the non-tribals illegal occupation of tribal lands when they declared their support to that political party. In some cases political positions are offered to enthusiastic tribal youth for exchange of fertile tracts of the scheduled area.

It is also found that the exchange of tribal lands even for cheap liquor. Tribal system of social organization itself is the root cause of these illegal land transfers. The tribal society is a close and coherent group and all the tribals living in that group will live under the leadership of one head. The scholar found such head or chief in almost all the tribal gudas or groups or villages. These tribal heads are found in the close association with a rich non-tribal and hence the other tribals have no say when the non-tribal occupies or acquires the tribal land with the support of such tribal head. Creation of fraudulent and fake documents is another popular method by which the non-tribals are occupying or acquiring the tribal lands. It is found many documents created as sale deeds by the non-tribals for occupying the tribal lands in violation or to escape the land transfer regulation.

There is an interesting case noticed in which one non-tribal purchased 40 acres of tribal land in 1995 in violation of the Regulation I of 1970. But that non-tribal created sale deeds in the form of Agreements on stamp papers pertaining to the year 1969 and convinced the authorities that the transaction took place in 1969 i.e. before the Regulation I of the 1970 was passed. Interestingly the said transaction was not registered till date. When the issue was taken to the notice of the revenue authorities, the Mandal Revenue Office gave certificate in favour of the non-tribal. But every tribe of that village in which the land is situated knows how and when that transaction took place. Hence, it stood as a dispute between that non-tribal and the tribes of that particular village. Several hundreds of acres of tribal land is under occupation of non-tribals. The Revenue officials support the contention of the non-tribals for various reasons. It is the root cause of the land problems in the tribal area of the West Godavari District. Apathy or connivance or indifference of the corrupted Revenue officials is also a factor responsible for land transfers despite the operation of land transfer regulation, Regulation I of 1970. Offices of the special deputy collector created for the nine scheduled area districts are responsible for the effective

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implementation of the regulation. But in practice the officers are sympathetic towards non-tribals rather than tribals. With this basic sympathetic atmosphere the entire officialdom is working for the benefit of non-tribals and hence the result is violation of the land transfer regulation. The cases will not be so easily filed or if filed they will not be decided timely or if decided timely they will be locked up in appellate courts. The net result is no restoration of tribal lands but vexation and financial burden to the tribals. Again the result of all this is the lease or the mortgage of the remaining piece of land to the non-tribals. Thus the plight of tribals is at the mercy of officials than at the effectiveness of the regulation.

The other major problem of the tribals is their debttrap. It is already seen that the tribals are in the clutches of usurious moneylenders and such moneylenders are lending money in the scheduled areas, which is the main cause of large scale land alienation. Realizing the need for protecting the tribals from exploitation by the moneylender, the Govt. of A.P., has enacted the Andhra Pradesh moneylender's regulation, 1960 (Regulation I of 1960) and imposed a healthy control on money lending activities in the scheduled areas.

C. The Andhra Pradesh Money Lenders Regulation, 1960 (Regulation 1 of 1960):

The salient features of this regulation are: License is necessary for money lending in the scheduled areas and such licenses are to be renewed annually. Interest on the loans issued in the Scheduled areas, has been kept under control. It shall not exceed 12 percent and shall not be compounded. The total interest amount shall not exceed the principal. According to the subsection (I) if the money is advanced against a pledge and if the loan amount is Rs.

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25/- or less, the rate of interest shall not be more than 9.3 percent per annum and if the amount is more than Rs. 25/ - the rate of interest is 6 percent per annum, and every licensed moneylender is required to maintain account books for the loans he has advanced in the scheduled area.

The lacuna in the Regulation I of 1960 are identified. The regulation failed to curb the activities of the moneylenders in the scheduled area. The main lacuna of the regulation is that it does not cover moneylenders operating from outside the scheduled areas. Further it is found that the money lenders operating in the scheduled areas never obtain licenses and not even a single case was found where action has been initiated against such un-licensed money lenders. Secondly, the rate of interest charged is not confined to the regulation and it ranged from 25 to 200 percent per annum. Thirdly the moneylenders never maintained any account books for the loans advanced by them and most of the loans taken by the tribals are orally arranged. The lacuna of the regulation necessitated another regulation for providing debt relief to the tribals. The result is the A.P. (Andhra Area) scheduled tribes debt relief regulation, 1960, (Regulation II of 1960)

D. The Andhra Pradesh (Andhra Area) Scheduled Tribes Debt Relief Regulation, 1960 (II of 1960):

The Regulation II of 1960 was enacted to provide relief to the tribals from the debt accumulated and again the Regulation was amended in 1970 to scale down the debts to provide further relief to the tribals from the debts incurred by them since the time of the regulation of 1960. This regulation was applicable to debts other than those due to the State Government, local authorities and Co-opdebts which existed on the date of the enactment of the

Regulation and for a ceiling on the rate of interest for further credit transactions. According to the Regulation, all interest outstanding as on 1.1.1957 is deemed to have been discharged and only the outstanding principal amount is to be repaid.

In case where twice the amount of the principal amount has already been paid, the entire debt is deemed to have been discharged. Further, the Regulation also includes Section 9 (a) of the Madras Agricultural Relief Act of 1938 to facilitate mortgages with possession. The Regulation could not yield good results and caught with many hurdles. The tribal debtors are not prepared to antagonize the moneylenders by going to the courts to prove their cases. According to one study in Bhadrachalam out of 414 applications received from the tribals by the special deputy tahasildar for scaling down their debts amounting to Rs. 43,489 under the provisions of the Regulation 1960, only 4 cases involving a debt of Rs. 410 could be scaled down and the remaining 410 cases were dismissed or closed. because of compromise proceedings outside the court or withdrawal of applications by the tribals. Thus the stringent regulations passed to curb the land alienation and the tribal indebtedness could not bring the desired success mainly due to certain inherent characteristic features of tribals. The tribals are largely ignorant of the provision and procedure of the protective measures envisaged under the two regulations, Regulation 1959 and Regulation I of 1960. The tribal mind is not set in tune to deal with the cumbersome procedure of the regulations. Secondly, the poor tribals could not afford to bear the expenditure or to loose the time involved in going to the courts. Third, the tribals are not prepared to antagonize the moneylenders who are readily available to meet their credit needs timely without any cumbersome procedure. Therefore they do not want to invoke the provisions of the debt relief regulation to scale down their debts. Finally it is the honesty and high sense of obligation to pay the debts that prevent the tribal from taking steps for scaling down their debts.

However, the Government of A.P. made necessary arrangements for the effective implementation of these regulations. Special deputy collectors were appointed in the scheduled areas for implementing the Land Transfer Regulation and 21 Deputy Tahasildars were appointed as special officers to implement the Debt Regulation. Further publicity wings were established to create awareness among the tribals about the provisions of the protective legislation under Special Deputy Collectors. Tribal Cultural Research and Training Institute (ICR & TI), Hyderabad produced publicity literature in the form of pamphlets, posters, and broachers, for distribution among tribals. The above analysis ultimately makes it clear that the protective laws are stringent but the results are nonsatisfactory. The land in the scheduled area continued to be alienated to non-tribals through various dubious methods. To some extent, this is the persistent lacuna in the regulations enacted so far, which made the implementation of their provisions very difficult and gave scope to the uninterested and indifferent implementing agency to play their part. Infact, the protective legislation does not apply to the cases noted below:

The land transfer regulation is not retrospective but prospective. Hence the sizeable fertile tracts of land transferred to the non-tribals is an-affected by the Regulation. For instance, the regulation did not affect the vast chunks of alienated lands in the possession of non-tribals in Adilabad, Khammam, Warangal and Mahaboobnagar districts, where the same was transferred between 1950 and 1960. Even the few transfers that took place after the Regulation are locked up in the hands of non-tribals due to apathy of the officers and due to court litigation. Thus the lands occupied by the non-tribals, prior to 1917 and those transferred to non-tribals prior to 03-02-1970 are not covered by the regulation. The regulation also does not cover those lands for which the non-tribals have been introduced as possessors by landholders prior to the notified date under the Estate Land Act, 1908. The provisions of the Ryotwari settlements of Andhra Pradesh (Scheduled area) Regulation of 1970, the Andhra Pradesh Muttas (Abolition and conversions into ryotwari) regulation of 1969 and the Andhra Pradesh Mahals (Abolition and conversion into ryotwari) Regulation of 1969, stand in the way of eviction of non-tribals from the scheduled areas.

According to the Regulations I and II of 1969 a nontribal ryoth is entitled to a Patta of land situated in the Mahals and Muttas if he is in lawful possession of the land for a continuous period of 8 years immediately before the notified date and such pattas are not void under the A.P. Scheduled areas Land Transfer Regulation of 1959. Same is the case in-respect of the lands other than those situated in Muttas and Mahals of the Andhra area of the State where the ryotwari settlement regulation of 1970 is applicable. Therefore the Regulation of 1969 made the implementation of the land transfer regulation as very difficult. Taking the regulation of 1969 as an advantage the non-tribal obtained pattas from the Muttadars and Mahaldars. There were no proper records, as most of the areas in Andhra Region were not surveyed. The non-tribal occupants took advantage of this and established themselves as lawful occupants of the land for the required period and claimed pattas under regulations I and II of 1969 and regulation II of 1970

The provisions of the land transfer regulations did

not cover benami transfers. Many non-tribals occupied the lands in the names of tribals who are faithful to them either willingly or under inducement. The definition given to the word "Hill Tribe" under Act I of 1917 has been taken advantage by many non-tribal merchants and traders who became residents in the agency area and acquired lands from triblas and obtained pattas and there by they escaped from the jurisdiction of land transfer regulation. The protective legislation on either land transfer or on money lending does not provide any relief and protection to those tribals who are residing in the non-scheduled areas. These legislations are operative only in the Scheduled areas of the State.

E. Andhra Pradesh (Scheduled Areas) Ryotwari Settlement Regulation, 1970 Vs Andhra Pradesh (Scheduled Areas) Land Transfer Regulation, 1959 and Andhra Pradesh High Court Decision in W.P. No. 5664/80:

It is seen how the non-tribal settlers in the agency area managed to obtain pattas under the settlement regulations. Also it is noticed that the main hurdle in implementing the land transfer regulation is the absence of proper land records and lack of clear titles to the tribals over the lands under their cultivation. Therefore three regulations were made to create proper land records in the former Mutta, Mahal and government villages. They are, a) A.P.Mahals (Abolition and conversion into ryotwari) Regulation, 1969, b) A.P. Muttas (Abolition and conversion into ryotwari) Regulation 1969 and c) A.P.Scheduled areas Ryotwari Settlement Regulation, 1970. Under these regulations tribal rights in occupation of land continuously for a period of one year immediately before the notified date shall be entitled to ryotwari patta to such land. In case of non-tribals the period is 8 years for making them eligible to obtain pattas for the land under their occupation, subject to the condition that the same is not hit by the land transfer regulation.

In practice the Muttadaras and Mahaldars admitted many non-tribals into their muttas and mahals and made them pattadars in their respective muttas and mahals. Outside the muttas and mahals also many non-tribals occupied sizeable extents of land in the scheduled area. Though the possession of non-tribals for a continuous period of 8 years in all the settlement regulation is subject to the tests of the other protective regulations especially land transfer regulation, this provision is not understood in proper spirit by the implementing authorities.

Following A.P. High Court in W.P. No. 5664/80 several non-tribals were given pattas under the regulations of 1969 and 1970. For instance in Bhadrachalam Division, 9949 non-tribals were given pattas over an extent of 68267 acres of land. This caused hue and cry among tribals and the discontented tribals approached the A.P.High court. The Honorable High Court of A.P. in W.P. No. 5664/80 held that once a patta has been granted after a due enquiry under section 5 of the Regulation of the 1959, it shall not be opened to the authorities under the Land Transfer Regulations to ignore the said pattas and take proceedings under section 3 of the Regulation 1959 or to hold that such person is liable to be evicted under the provisions of the Regulation I of 1959.

This decision of the A.P. High Court hampered the implementation of the Land transfer Regulation. Hence to safe guard the interests of tribals and to prevent erosion of the over-riding effect of the land transfer regulation, it is proposed to amend section 15 of the A.P. Scheduled areas Ryotwari Settlement Regulation of 1970, besides inserting d new clause (c) after clause (b) of sub-section (2) of section

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3 of Land Transfer Regulation. Under the amendment proposed to the regulation, 1970, it is decided to exempt the Land Transfer Regulation 1959 from the over riding effect of Kyotwari Settlement Regulation, 1970. The idea is that these amendments would enable the enforcement staff to implement the provisions of the Land Transfer Regulation without any hindrance from the Settlement Regulation.

To sum-up, it is seen that the land transfer regulations are necessary to protect the tribals and to enable them to lead their dignified life which is the basic requirement for their development. However, the question is about the implementation of the land transfer regulation. In spite of the amendments made for the effective implementation of the Land Transfer Regulation, the poor and innocent tribals do not get back their lands from the hands of the nontribals. The Special Deputy Collectors appointed for implementing the Regulations are not committed and are biased towards non-tribals because of various reasons. Hence there is every necessity to make the provisions of the regulations more stringent to cover all aspects raised in the preceding paragraphs. However, the follwing points shall be borne in mind in this context.

First, a suitable regulation shall be made to ban the malafied adoption of tribal children by the non-tribals and the concubine relations of the non-tribals with the tribal women shall be penalized.

Second, there are no penal provisions in the land transfer regulations. It is necessary that there should be provisions for awarding deterrent punishments to the nontribals or the tribals who are at fault. The non-tribals who deliberately violate the provisions of the Land Transfer Regulations and who sticks to the lands by dubious means even after it has been ordered to be restored to the triable

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and the tribals who alienates his land after it has been restored should be punished.

Third, efforts must be made to extend the operation of the Land Transfer Regulation beyond the Scheduled Areas on the lines of Orissa Land Reforms Act, 1960. Hence the efforts of the non-tribal immigrants to de-schedule the Scheduled Area on the plea that the present tribals population has been reduced to minorities should be checked. It is an attempt to get over the stringent land transfer regulations related to the scheduled area. If the non-tribal immigrants are successful in their attempt, it would be a step for the end of protection afforded by the Constitution to the tribals against the exploitation by outsiders. Further this step would encourage large-scale inflow of non-tribals from every nook and corner and they would out number the tribals and provide further ground for the non-tribal immigrants to de-schedule the scheduled area.

Fourth, the provisions of the regulations I and II of 1969 and regulation I of 1970 must be thoroughly reviewed to avoid granting pattas to the non-tribals for the lands under their occupation for a continuous period of 8 years. Instead, a suitable compensation should be proposed so as to avoid non-tribals from the Scheduled areas. Otherwise the deceitful non-tribals will devise ways and means to circumvent the Land Transfer Regulations and grab the tribals land on a large scale.

Fifth, a massive programme of awareness is to be undertaken with an aim of reducing the consumption expenditure of the tribals. The tribals are habituated for a lavish spending for social purposes. As there is no suitable credit system giving loans to meet the consumption expenditure of the tribals, the tribals, who are not disciplined in their consumption expenditure, are going to the money

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lenders for credit and as a result the stringent regulations against money lending and debt relief could not be implemented. Therefore, a special programme of creating awareness about the financial discipline is to be undertaken by suitable agency before implementing any regulation besides creating a suitable and secured credit system in the tribal areas to meet the tribals genuine credit needs. Otherwise, the protective legislation would be a futile exercise.

Lastly, it is the court litigation that made the implementation of Land Transfer Regulation very difficult. As and when eviction proceedings are initiated the non-tribals are filing a number of writ Petitions and obtaining judgments in their favour, which are coming in the way of eviction proceedings. It is high time that either these laws are to be brought under the per view of Schedule IX of the Constitution of the Country or the Civil Courts and High Courts shall be barred from trying these cases under the Land Transfer Regulations. Until such time the government shall make necessary arrangements to argue the cases on

In the end, we conclude that the protective measures are made to provide protection to the tribal and to safe guard their interests but the atmosphere is not congenial for their effective implementation and therefore the authorities should concentrate on creation of necessary atmosphere before taking these legislations for implementation. 'If there is a will, there is a way' and the fate of the tribals shall not be left to their fate.

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Chapter - 7

Administration of Scheduled Areas in Andhra Pradesh

1.

Origin and History of Scheduled Areas in Andhra Pradesh

The tribals in India who always preferred to be independent revolted against the British whenever the administrative actions of British impinged on the customary rights of the tribal people. The independent loving tribes have been resisting interference/ dominance of outsiders for nearly two centuries by now. The struggles which started in middle of 18th century continue even today. Some of the major struggles in tribal areas of India prior to independence in India are Rampa Rebellion(1813), Kol insurrection(1831), Santal Rebellion(1855), Sardari Agitation(1887), Bastar Raising(1911), Khond Rebellion(1920) and fituries in Rampa country (1940).

In Andhra Pradesh, the tribal areas had different administrative histories. The coastal Andhra tribal areas were under British Rule till India achieved Independence while the tribal areas of Telengana were under Nizams Dominions till the Nizam's government fell in 1949. The British government started administering the tribal areas separately. The Ganjam and Vizagapatnam district Act (Act XXIV) was promulgated in 1839 (166 years ago) covering the Zamandari and Hill Zamindaris (Tracts) of the then Ganjam and Vizagapatnam District mentioned in the Act and administered by District Collector as Agent to government. That is how the administration of these areas have come to be known as Agency areas and came directly under government de linking them from intermediary Zamindars. This was deliberately done by British as they thought that de-linking of tribals and tribal areas from the traditional hold of Zamindars is necessary for their own political advantage.

2. Scheduled District Act :

In the year 1874, the first Scheduled District Act (Act XIV) was promulgated which covered the tribal areas of present day Srikakulam, Vizianagaram, Visakhapatnam, East Godavari, West Godavari and Bhadrachalam division of Khammam district (which was part of the then East Godavari district). All these areas are to be administered by District Collector as Agent to Government. No records after the formation of separate Scheduled Districts. Howtheir lands which means that there is no impact of this separate administration policy.

3. Ganjam and Vizagapatnam Act, 1839 (Act No. XXIV) of 1839

Zamindaries and Hill Zamindaries (Tracts) of Ganjam and Vizagapatnam District covered by this Act were mentioned in the Act. The administration of Civil and Criminal Justice (Superintendence of Police), Collection and the Superintendence of revenue was vested with the District Collector as Agent for the State Government. The State Government was made competent to prescribe Rules for Agents and has powers to alter limits of tracts

4. Scheduled Districts Act 1874 (Act XIV of 1874)

It extended to Scheduled Districts mentioned in the first Schedule. The local Government from time to time may declare what enactments are actually in force or not actually in force may correct any mistake of fact in any notification issued under this section. The local governments may also from time to time appoint officers to administer Civil and Criminal justice,.....to conduct the administration within Scheduled Districts. Under Agency Rules issued, Agent to state government was vested with same powers as are vested in District and Revenue courts and Agency Divisional officers with the same powers as are vested in the subordinate and revenue courts. Agent was empowered to appoint any of his subordinates as Agency Munsif.

5. Agency Tracts Interest and Land Transfer Act. 1917 (Act I of 1917)

In view of large scale disturbances in tribal areas, the government of Madras in 1880 appointed Mr. H.E.Sullivan, the First Member of Board of Revenue to enquire in to disturbances in Rampa Country. Among other things, he found that the misdeeds of Zamindar of Rampa were chiefly responsible for the disturbances. As a

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result of his recommendations, the Manasabdari of tenure of Rampa held by Rampa Bhupathi Devu was cancelled absolutely and forever. The Muttas were settled in favor of hill Zamindars. Mr Sullivan also found that the trbal are losing their land and other resources because of mischief of money lenders and traders. Then the Act I of 1917 to Regulate the Rate of Interest and Transfer of Land in the Ganjam, Vizagapatnam and Godavari Agency tracts was promulgated . In this Act, the Agency tracts, Agent, Hill tribe, Immovable Property, Prescribed and Transfer were defined. The most important aspect of this Act was that "transfer of immovable property by a member of a Hill Tribe shall be absolutely null and void unless made in favour of another member of a Hill Tribe or with the previous consent in writing of the Agent or of any other prescribed officer"

6.

Government of India Act. 1935 - Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas

As part of Government of India Act,1936, Excluded and Partially Excluded areas were declared. The present day Fifth Schedule Areas broadly correspond to Partially Excluded Areas. In this Act, the important feature is that lature shall apply to excluded or partially excluded areas unless Governor by public notification, so directs for its may make Regulations for the peace and good Government in excluded or partially excluded area.

7. The Hyderabad Tribal Areas Regulation, (Regulation No. III of 1359F)

In the tribal areas falling under Nizam's Dominions, the protective law came very late in 1359 Fasli (1948 AD). Agent and Assistant Agent appointed by Government. In

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this Act also the "Government may by notification in the official gazette direct that any Act, Regulation or Rule for the time being in force shall not apply to any notified tribal areas or shall apply with omissions and modifications as may be so specified". Further, "Government may, by notification in the official gazette make such rules as appear to them to be necessary or expedient for the better administration of any notified tribal area in respect of tribals and of their relations with non tribals". There is a provision for barring jurisdiction of courts of law and also to transfer to Agent of all suits or proceedings pending before any court of law or revenue authority for the eviction of any tribal from lands or house site in notified area. The Agent or Assistant Agent was vested with all Civil and Revenue Jurisdiction in all cases involving the rights of any tribal in any land, house or house site situated in any notified tribal area and to try any criminal offence in which a tribal is involved as a party. The Act prohibits the grant of patta right over any land in any notified tribal area to a non tribal and empowering the Agent to cancel or revise any title. It also authorized the Agent to i. To recommend to government for revision or cancellation of any forest settlement made under Hyderabad Forest Act 1355F, ii. To exclude land from a reserve forest, up to limited extent with concurrence of DFO, iii. To dismiss official of any government department who is guilty of abusing his position, iv. To extern from a notified tribal area any non tribal who is presence in notified area is likely to be detrimental to the interests of tribals, v. To abolish Patel and Patwari Watans and to vi. To control money-lending

8. Scheduled areas in Andhra Pradesh:

After the Constitution of India came in to existence in 1950, the Tribal concentrated areas in India are notified as Fifth Scheduled Areas and Sixth Scheduled areas by President of India as per provisions of the Constitution. Initially as per Dhebar Commission, no criterion followed by Government of India to declare Scheduled areas. However, Government of India evolved a criteria for declaring any area by President of India as a "Scheduled Area" under the provisions of Fifth Schedule of Constitution which consisted the following:

- 1. Preponderance of tribal population,
- Compactness and reasonable size of the area,
- 3. A viable administrative entity such as a district, block or taluk, and
- 4. Economic backwardness of the area as compared to neighboring areas.

In Ar dhra Pradesh , the partially excluded areas of British region and Notified Areas of Nizam's Dominions became part of Fifth Schedule areas.

The Scheduled Area in Andhra Pradesh extend over 5936 villages and spreads over 31485.34 Sq.Kms in the districts of Srikakulam, Vijayanagaram, Visakhapatnam, East Godavari District, West Godavari District, Khammam, Warangal, Adilabad and Mahboobnagar Districts. The details are as follows:

rict	Scheduled Area (Sq. kms.)	Scheduled Villages (Number)
akulam	1289.32	108
ianagaram	1740.98	298
akhapatnam	5904.51	3368
t Godavari	4191.65	559
st Godavari	1006.10	102
ammam	6899.82	889
arangal	3122.46	177
	rict akulam ianagaram akhapatnam st Godavari st Godavari aammam arangal	(Sq. kms.) akulam 1289.32 ianagaram 1740.98 akhapatnam 5904.51 at Godavari 4191.65 est Godavari 1006.10 aammam 6899.82

	initiation of Schedule	a Areas in Anan	rairauesn	
8	Adilabad	6138.50	412	
9	Mahaboobnagar	1191.90	23	

31485.34

5936

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Administration of Scheduled Areas in Andhra Pradesh

9. Will the status of Scheduled Area change?

Total

In the year 1976 Government of India has taken a policy decision to declare all villages with more than 50% tribal population and contiguous to scheduled areas as Schedule area. As a result of this, a proposal was sent by Government of Andhra Pradesh to Government of India to include 804 such villages. Even after three decades, no decision was taken to declare these areas as Scheduled Areas. In this proposal, areas predominantly occupied by Chenchu tribals in Nallamala hills south of Krishna river were not included. The constitutional benefits are thus denied to the tribals living in these villages/areas. While this is the case with proposals for inclusion, strong demands are voiced from Khammam and West Godavari districts to delete some villages from existing list as the proportion of tribal population in these villages has come down to less than 50% due to migration of non-tribals in to the Scheduled areas. The Census trends already suggest large scale migration of non-tribals in to Scheduled areas reducing the percentage of tribal population substantially in two Scheduled areas as follows:

SI. Scheduled area No		Percentage of Tribal Population 1991 Census 2001Census	
1	Adilabad district West Godavari District	43.97	32.62
2		43.15	43.89

The thinking of Government of India as reflected in the Draft Tribal Policy is that "considering the demographic changes since then, particularly the influx of non-tribal populations in the Scheduled Areas, the following will be considered for determination of Scheduled Areas: (a) ST population percentage of less than 50%, on a case to case basis (b) A Gram Panchayat in lieu of a Development Block may be taken as a unit." is also disturbing. If this is agreed to, several areas get excluded from the list of scheduled areas in the Scheduled areas of Adilabad, Warangal, Khammam and West Godavari Districts and it may encourage migration of non-tribals in to scheduled areas as there are no restrictions on migrations in to Scheduled areas.

10. The Constitution of India, 1950 and Safeguards:

As citizens of India, the Scheduled Tribes enjoy all the fundamental rights guaranteed by Constitution of India as follows :

- 1. Equality before law
- 2. Prohibition of discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth.
- 3. Equality of opportunity in matters of public employment.
- 4. Abolition of un-touchability
- 5. Right to Freedom
- 6. Freedom of speech and expression
- 7. Assemble peacefully and without arms
- 8. To form associations and unions.
- 9. To move freely throughout the territory of India.
- 10. To reside and settle in any part of territory of India.
- 11. To acquire, hold and dispose of property.
- 12. To practice any profession, or to carry on any occu-

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pation, trade or business.

- 13. Protection in respect of conviction for offences.
- 14. Protection of life and personal liberty.
- 15. Protection against arrest and detention in certain cases.
- 16. Right against exploitation.
- 17. Prohibition of traffic in human beings and forced labor.
- 18. Prohibition of employment of children in factories etc.
- 19. Right to freedom of Religion.
- 20. Right to Property.
- 21. Right to Constitutional remedies.
- 11. Special Provisions in Constitution of India:

Constitution of India has many provisions to promote social, economic and political the interests of Scheduled Tribes living inside or outside Scheduled areas. They are briefly as follows:

- a) Social :
 - 1. The State to make special provisions for the Social economic and political advancement of any socially and educationally backward classes of citizens or for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes [Article 15 (4)],
 - 2. ?Equality of opportunity for all citizens in matters relating to employment or appointment to any office under the State (Article

16),

- 3. The state to make provisions for reservation in appointment, posts in favour of any backward class citizens which in the opinion of the state is not adequately represented in the services under the state [Article 16 (4)],
- 4. The state to make provisions in matters of promotion to any class or classes of posts in the services in favour of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes (Article 16 (4A)
- A National Commission for Scheduled Tribes to investigate, monitor and evaluate all matters relating to the Constitutional safeguards provided for the Scheduled Tribes (Article 338 A)
- 6. Appointment of a Commission to report on the administration of the Scheduled areas and the Welfare of the Scheduled Tribes in the States (Article 339 (1)
- 7. Appointment of a Commission to investigate the conditions of socially and educationally backward classes and the difficulties under which they labour and to make recommendations to remove such difficulties and to improve their conditions (Article 340)
- 8. To specify the tribes or tribal communities to be Scheduled Tribes (Article 342)
- b) Economic:

For economic development also there are some special provisions as follows:

- 1. The state, to promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and in particular of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, and protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation (Article 46)
- 2. Grants-in-Aid from the Consolidated Fund of India each year for promoting the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes and Administration of Scheduled areas [Article 275(1)
- 3. The claims of the members of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes in the appointments to services and posts in connection with the affairs of the Union or of a State to be taken into consideration consistent with the maintenance of efficiency of administration (Article 335).
- c) Political:

On the political side also there are some special provisions as follows:

- Reservation of seats for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes in every Panchayat (Article 243D)
- 2. Extension of the 73rd and 74th Amendments of the Constitution to the Scheduled areas through the Panchayats (Extension to the Scheduled areas) Act, 1996 to ensure effective participation of the tribals in the process of planning and decision making.

Further, Constitution of India has special provisions

for Scheduled Tribes living in Scheduled areas as follows:

11. FIFTH SCHEDULE - Article 244 (1)

Provisions as to the Administration and Control of Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes - Part A

- a. General
 - Interpretation In this Schedule, unless the context otherwise requires, the expression "State" means a State specified in Part A or Part B of the First Schedule but does not include the State of Assam.
 - 2. Executive power of a State in Scheduled Areas - Subject to the provisions of this Schedule, the executive power of a State extends to the Scheduled Areas therein.
 - 3. Report by the Governor or Rajpramukh to the President regarding the administration of Scheduled Areas - The Governor or Rajpramukh of each State having Scheduled Areas therein shall annually or whenever so required by the President, make a report to the President regarding the administration of the Scheduled Areas in that State and the executive power of the Union shall extend to the giving of directions to the State as to the administration of the said area.
 - 4. President's Powers: The President may at any time order :
 - i. direct that the whole or any specified part of a Scheduled Area shall cease to be a Scheduled Area or a part

of such an area;

- ii. alter, but only by way of rectification of boundaries, any Scheduled Area;
- iii. on any alteration of the boundaries of a State or on the admission into the Union or the establishment of a new State, declare any territory not previously included in any State to be, or to form part of a Scheduled Area; and any such order may contain such incidental and consequential provisions as appear to the President to be necessary and proper, but save as aforesaid, the order made under sub paragraph (1) of this paragraph shall not be varied by any subsequent order.
- iv. for delineation of Scheduled Areas, the four criteria cited by the Dhebar Commission, viz. (i) preponderance of tribal population, (ii) compactness and reasonable size of the area, (iii) underdeveloped nature of the area, and (iv) marked disparity in economic standards of the people and outside the area is being used.
- Administration and Control of Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Part B
 - 1. Tribes Advisory Council -

b.

(1) There shall be established in each State having Scheduled Areas

therein and, if the President so directs, also in any State having Scheduled Tribes but not Scheduled Areas therein, a Tribes Advisory Council consisting of not more than twenty members of whom, as nearly as may be, three-fourths shall be the representatives of the Scheduled Tribes in the Legislative Assembly of the State.

Provided that if the number of representatives of the Scheduled Tribes in the Legislative Assembly of the State is less than the number of seats in the Tribes Advisory Council to be filled by such representatives, the remaining seats shall be filled by other members of those tribes.

- (2) It shall be the duty of the Tribes Advisory Council to advise on such matters pertaining to the welfare and advancement of the Scheduled Tribes in the State as may be referred to them by the Governor or Rajpramukh, as the case may be.
- (3) The Governor or Rajpramukh may make rules prescribing or regulating as the case may be :
 - (a) The number of members of the Council, the mode of their appointment and the appointment of the Chairman of the Council and of the officers and servants thereof;

(b) The conduct of its meetings and its procedure in general; and

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(c) All other incidental matters

c. Governor's Powers as to Extension of Application of Laws to Scheduled Areas

- i. Notwithstanding anything in this Constitution, the Governor or Rajpramukh, as the case may be, may by public notification direct that any particular Act of Parliament or of the Legislature of the State shall not apply to a Scheduled Area or any part thereof in the State or shall apply to a Scheduled Area or any part thereof in the State subject to such exceptions and modifications as he may specify in the notification and any direction given under this sub-paragraph may be given so as to have retrospective effect.
- ii. The Governor or Rajpramukh, as the case may be may make regulations for the peace and good governance of any area in a State which is for the time being a Scheduled Area.
- iii. In particular and without prejudice to the generality of the foregoing power such regulations may : -
 - (a) prohibit or restrict the transfer of land by or among members of the Scheduled Tribes in such area;
 - (b) regulate the allotment of land to members of the Scheduled Tribes in

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such area;

- (c) regulate the carrying on of business as money-lender by persons who lend money to members of the Scheduled Tribes in such area.
- iv. In making any such regulation as is referred to in sub- paragraph (2) of this paragraph, the Governor or Rajpramukh may repeal or amend any Act of Parliament or of the Legislature of the State or any existing law which is for the time being applicable to the area in question.
- All regulations made under this paragraph shall be submitted forthwith to the President and, until assented to by him, shall have no effect.
- vi. No Regulation shall be made under this paragraph unless the Governor or the Rajpramukh making the regulation has, in the case where there is a Tribes Advisory Council for the State, consulted such Council.
- d. Report of Governor
 - i.

The Governor or Rajpramukh of each State having Scheduled areas therein shall annually or whenever so required by the Presiing the administration of the President regardeas in that State and the executive power of the Union shall extend to the giving of diof the said area.

ii. It was observed that there is a delay of 3 to 4 years in Andhra Pradesh. The Governor's reports does not speak of disturbances to peace and good governance occurring in all Scheduled tribes in scheduled areas in the recent years due to the activities of left wing extremists. Government of India in their Draft National Tribal Policy (2006) has commented that "Over the years, the Governor's report has unfortunately become a routine document and highlights only the achievements of the State Government in tribal development. In-depth analysis of the problems of Scheduled Areas is generally not included in the reports. The Governor's report needs to be made into a significant document".

e. Amendment to the Fifth Schedule

- i. Parliament may from time to time by law amend by way of addition, variation or repeat any of the provisions of this Schedule and, when the Schedule is so amended any reference to this Schedule in this Constitution shall be constructed as a reference to such Schedule as so amended.
- ii. No such law as is mentioned in sub-paragraph (1) of this paragraph shall be deemed to be an amendment of this Constitution for the purposes of Article 368.

12. Special Laws in Andhra Pradesh:

Using these powers vested with him, several Land and other related Regulations were made by Governor of Andhra Pradesh, and the status of their implementation is Changing Patterns in Tribal Societies

discussed.

a. Andhra Pradesh Scheduled Areas Land Transfer Regulation, 1959

The following are the important features.

- i) Not withstanding any thing contained in any enactment, rule or law in force in the Agency tracts, any transfer of immovable property situated in the Agency tracts by a person, whether or not such person is a member of a Scheduled Tribe, shall be absolutely null and void, unless such transfer is made in favour of person, who is a member of a Scheduled Tribe of a society registered or deemed to be registered under the Andhra Pradesh Co-operative Societies Act, 1964 (Act 7 of 1964) which is composed solely of members of the Scheduled Tribes.
 - ii) Transfer means mortgage with or without possession lease, sale, gift, exchange or any other dealing with immovable property not being testamentary disposition and includes a charge on such property or a contract relating to such property in respect of such mortgage, lease, sale, gift, exchange or other dealing.
 - iii) Until the contrary is proved, any immovable property situated in the Agency tracts and in the possession of a person who is not a member of Scheduled Tribes, shall be presumed to have been acquired by such person or his predecessor in possession through a transfer made to him by a member of a

Scheduled Tribe. (Amendment of 1970)

- iv) Transfer of land between non tribal and non tribal is prohibited. (Amendment of 1970)
- v) Mortgage without possession to any co-operative society or to a bank permitted (Amendment of 1971)
- vi) Offences under this Regulation to be cognizable (Amendment of 1978).

Government of Andhra Pradesh have created special machinery headed by a Special Deputy Collector with powers to hold courts in villages and make suo motto enquiries to book cases of violation of provisions of Regulation. The Project Officer of Integrated Tribal Development Agency (ITDA) with mandate to protect and promote interests of tribals is made Additional Agent to Government while District Collector is the Agent.

b. A.P. Scheduled Areas Money Lenders Regulation ,1960

The Regulation has the following features.

- i. Money Lender to obtain license annually.
- ii. Money Lenders to exhibit their names over shops in the chief language of locality with the word "Money Lender".
- iii. Interest and charges allow to money lender are also defined.
- iv. Rules framed in 1961.

It is a common knowledge that money lenders are the only sources of finance for tribal cultivators in majority of scheduled areas as institutional lending is absent in these areas. The interest rates varied from 50% on cash to 100% on kind loans to be repaid in one season. Large areas of land belonging to tribals passed on into the hands of non-tribals when the tribals could not repay the loans.

С.

A.P. Scheduled Tribes Debt Relief Regulation 1960.

The Regulation has the following features

- i. All interest outstanding as on 1st January 1957 shall be deemed to be discharged.
- Where the sum paid including interest is twice the amount of principal, the principal deemed to have been wholly discharged.
- iii. Rules issued in 1960 and 1972.

This Regulation is also on paper only.

d. The Andhra Pradesh Muttas (Abolition and Conversion Into Ryotwari) Regulation 1969

The Regulation has the following features

- i. Muttas in certain scheduled areas of Visakhapatnam and East Godavari Districts have been abolished and converted into Ryotwari lands.
- ii. All rights and interests of Muttadars stand transferred and vest with government.
- iii. Director of Settlements to carry out survey and settlement operations in Muttas and introduce Ryotvari settlements.
- iv. Ryots or tenants in the Mutta be entitled to

a Ryotwari patta provided such possession is not against the provisions of LTR.

- v. Muttadar is also entitled to a Ryotwari patta in respect of Agricultural lands lawfully held by him.
- vi. Rules issued in 1970.
- e. Andhra Pradesh Mahals (Abolition and Conversion Into Ryotwari) Regulation, 1969

The Regulation has the following features

- Mahals in the Scheduled Areas of Nugur, Alabaka and Charla in Khammam district abolish for conversion into Ryotwari lands.
- ii. Entire Mahal (including all communal lands, poram bokes, waste lands, pasture lands, lanka lands, forest,mines and minerals, quarries, rivers and streams, tanks, irrigation works, ferries and buildings) shall stand transferred and vest in the government free from all encumbrances.
- iii. Relationship between proprietor and tenant shall be extinguished.
- iv. Director of Settlements shall carry out survey and settlement operations.
- v. Tenant is entitled to Ryotwari patta if the possession or occupation is not against the provisions of LTR.
- vi. Rules issued in 1970.

f.

A.P.scheduled Areas Rotwari Settlement Regulation 1970 (Regulation 2 of 1970)

The Regulation has the following features

- i. A Regulation to provide for the Ryotwari settlement of certain lands in the Scheduled Areas in the Andhra Area of the Sate of Andhra Pradesh in respect of which no settlement has been effected.
- ii. Director settlements to carry out the survey and settlement operations in the scheduled areas.
- iii. Government shall appoint one or more settlement officers who shall be subordinate to the Director.
- iv. Ryot is entitled to Ryotwari patta if the possession or occupation is not against the provisions of LTR.
- v. Rules issued in 1971.

In all the three Regulations mentioned above, the Ryotwari Patta (Title for Land) can be given only if the possession is not against the provisions of Land Transfer Regulation,1959 as amended from time to time .However, various reports show that there is large scale violation of this provision of the Regulation.

8. Loss of Lands:

In spite of existence of a such Laws over decades, 48% of land in scheduled areas has gone in to the hands of non-tribals. Even where cases have been booked by Special Deputy Collectors (Tribal Wel-

fare) under LTR, 1.62 lakhs of acres of land was decided in favor of non-tribals in SDC's courts and there are apprehensions among tribals that the law was misinterpreted or ignored to favor the nontribals. Further, Out of 1.25 lakh acres of land decided in favor of tribals, only 1.06 acres was physically restored to tribals leaving about 25,000 acres not restored to tribals as per SDC court orders. How much of the land reported to have been restored to tribals is under actual enjoyment of tribals is another question. Non-tribals are also cultivating sizeable extents of land in Scheduled Areas by taking them on lease from tribals even though such transfer is also prohibited under Law. This kind of situation is continuing because of ignorance of law on the part of tribals , passive response from officials designated to implement the Law and non-availability of legal support from outside to tribals. The height of mischief was discovered in West Godavari District a few years ago when large number of fake orders of High Court of Andhra Pradesh were unearthed by Project Officials of ITDA.

h.

Regulation of Trade of Minor Forest Produce:

Most of the tribals living near forest, especially the landless depend on collection and sale of Minor Forest Produce like Ippa, Tamarind, Adda Leaf, Broom Sticks, Honey etc in the weekly markets. Invoking powers of Governor under Fifth Schedule, one important Regulation was made to regulate trade of notified items of Minor Forest Produce by vesting monopoly right with government. The state owned Girijan Cooperative Corporation was vested with notified items monopoly of Minor Forest Produce while monopoly on Beedi (Tendu) leaves is vested with the state owned Forest Development Corporation by an Act passed by Andhra Pradesh legislature. While the state monopoly has helped tribals initially, the opening of markets in the recent years as a result of liberalization increased the competition from private traders. Tribals often complain that they are getting lesser amounts from government owned corporation due to less rates paid by these Corporations and the traders from out side can not purchase as per provisions of the monopoly Regulation. They can be prosecuted if they indulge in trade. One example frequently quoted is the Girijan Cooperative Corporation paid around Rs10/ - per Kg of Tamarind to tribals when the rate on open market was around Rs 50/- or more.

Reservations for Local Tribals helped:

Invoking Powers of Governor under fifth Schedule, Government of Andhra Pradesh (the only State to do so) amended Recruitment Rules to provide for 50% to 100% reservations of lower level posts to local tribals living in Scheduled areas. Altogether, 19 Government Orders were issued and these include posts of teachers, attenders, drivers, village assistants, salesmen, cooks, forest guards, forest guards etc. In case of teachers the minimum education qualification was lowered from class 12 plus Teachers Training Certificate to 10th class with a clause that they will be sent for training at government cost after recruitment. This has helped greatly not only tribals in getting employment but also filling up of lower level posts in tribal areas as outsiders were not willing to work in tribal areas or frequently abstain from duty after joining. As many as 10,000 tribal youth are employed in various posts. Still sev-

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eral technical posts are vacant as qualified local tribals are not available. This policy of 100% reservation was challenged in the High Court of Andhra Pradesh but the High Court upheld the constitutional validity of these Orders.

Problem of False Caste Certificate holders:

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Even though this problem is occurring through out the state, the false caste certificates are being obtained on the names of certain communities from Scheduled areas only. The Act 16 of 1993 has the following important provisions.

- i. An act to regulate the issue of community certificates relating to persons belonging to scs, sts and bcs.
- ii. To curb effectively the evil practices of producing false community certificates.
- iii. To ensure that such false certificate holders do not avail of the benefits of special provisions made for the advancement of scs ,sts and bcs.
- iv. It extends to the whole of Andhra Pradesh state.
- v. Any person belonging scs, sts and bcs can make an application for community Certificate in order to claim benefits of reservation (see g.o.58)
- vi. In public appointment Admission to educational institutions For purposes of contesting-for elective post reserved for such categories Any other benefits under any special provisions made under clause (4) of art

15 of constitution of india.

- vii. Scheduled tribes for purpose of claiming any benefit or protection meant for scheduled tribes under fifth schedule to the constitution of india being in force in scheduled areas
- viii. Competent authorities were notified
- ix. District collector may either suo-motto or on a written complaint by any person, call for the record, enquire into the correctness of such certificate and cancel the certificate, by notification, after giving the person concerned an opportunity of making a representation. The burden of proof shall be on claimant.
- There is provision for appeal appeal and review by district collector and government
- xi. Competent authority shall have all the powers of civil court while trying a suit under the code of civil procedure 1908
- xii. There is provision for penalties
- xiii. Who ever obtains a community certificate by furnishing false information ; or filing a false statement; or any other fraudulent means shall, on conviction, be punishable with rigorous imprisonment for a term which shall not be less than six months but which may extend up to two years and with fine which shall not be less than one thousand rupees but which may extend up to five thousand rupees.

- xiv. Provided that the court may, for adequate and special reasons to be mentioned in the judgment, impose a sentence of imprisonment for a lesser term or fine.
- xv. Benefits secured to be withdrawn
- xvi. Debarred from educational institution
- xvii. Discharged from the service forthwith
- xviii. Withdrawal of any other benefit
- xix. Amount paid by government as financial benefit shall be recovered
- xx. Educational qualification acquired shall also stand cancelled
- xxi. Punishable with rigorous imprisonment between six months and two years and fine between Rs.1000 to Rs. 5,000
- xxii. The penalties are also applicable for: persons elected to offices reserved for scs, sts and bcs, competent authority
- xxiii. Who intentionally issues a false community certificate

In spite of the existence of the Act false Caste Certificates are obtained and the benefits meant for Tribals are cornered by these false certificate holders. Taking Scheduled Tribe certificate by the persons belonging castes with similar name is very common. For example, caste Reddy as Konda Reddy; Plains Goudu as Agency Goudu; Kapu as Konda Kapu; Savrala Vallu as Savara; Totis (sanitary workers of Hyderabad) as Thoti tribals; Pardhi of Maharastra as Pradhan and Kammara as Konda Kammara.

k. Other Important Laws applicable to Scheduled Areas:

There are there important legislations applicable to Scheduled areas have far reaching impact on lives of tribals.

Andhra Pradesh Panchayat Raj (Amendment) Act 1998. (Pesa Act 7 of 1998)

The following are important provisions of the Act.

- i. Applies to the Gram Panchayats, Mandal Parishads and Zilla Parishads constituted in the Scheduled Areas in the state.
- ii. A village shall ordinarily consist of a habitation or a group of habitations or a hamlet or a group of hamlets thereof comprising a community or communities and managing their affairs in accordance with traditions and customs.
- iii. Every Gram Sabha shall be competent to safeguard and preserve the traditions and customs of the people, their cultural identify, community resources and without detriment to any law for the time being in force, the customary mode of dispute resolution.
- iv. Every Gram Sabha shall:-
- v. Approve plans, programmes and projects for social and economic development before such plans, programmes and projects are taken up for implementation by the Gram Panchayat, at the village level.

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- vi. Be responsible for the identification of selection of persons as beneficiaries under poverty alleviation and other programmes.
- Vii. Every Gram Panchayat shall obtain from the Gram Sabha a certification of utilisation of funds by that Panchayat for the plans, programmes and projects referred to in subsection (2)
- viii. The reservation of seats in the Scheduled Areas to every Gram Panchayat and Mandal Parishad shall be in proportion to the population of the communities in that Gram Panchayat or the Mandal Parishad as the case may be:
- ix. Provided that the reservation for the Scheduled tribes shall not be less than one-half of the total number of seats:
- Provided further that all seats of Sarpanches of Gram Panchayats and Presidents of Mandal Parishads shall be reserved for the Scheduled Tribes.
- xi. The Government may nominate persons belonging to such Scheduled Tribes who have no representation in Mandal Parishads:
- xii. Provided that such nomination shall not exceed one tenth of the total members to be elected in that Mandal Parishad.
- xiii. The Mandal Parishad shall be consulted before making the acquisition of land in the Scheduled Areas for development projects and before resettling or rehabilitating per-

sons evicted by such projects in the scheduled Areas, the actual planning and implementation of the projects in the Schdeudled Areas shall be coordinated at the State Level

xiv. Planning and Management of minor water bodies in the Scheduled Areas shall be entrusted to Gram Panchayats, Mandal Parishads or the Zilla Parishads, as the case may be, in such manner as may be prescribed.

xv. The recommendations of the Gram Panchayat, made in such manner as may be prescribed, shall be taken into consideration prior to grant of prospecting license or mining lease, for minor minerals in the Scheduled Areas.

xvi. The prior recommendation of the Gram Panchayat, made in such manner as may be prescribed, shall be taken into consideration for grant of concession for the exploitation of minor minerals by auction.

The study of implementation of this Act by this author shows that the Act is yet to be translated in to reality even after ten years. The following is the Provision wise analysis.

SI.	Durania	the third the start of the star
No	Provision	Present Status
i.	A village shall ordinarily consist of a habitation or a group of habita- tions or a hamlet or a group of ham- lets thereof con-prising a commu- nity or communities and manag- ing their affairs in accordance with traditions and customs	 Large and age old tribal habitations continue to be part of large Panchayats dominated by not

- Approve plans, programmes and projects for social and economic development before such plans, programmes and projects are taken up for implementation by the Gram Panchayat, at the village level
- Be responsible for the identification of selection of persons as beneficiaries under poverty alleviation and other programmes
- iv. The reservation of seats in the Scheduled Areas to every Gram Panchayat and Mandal Parishad shall be in proportion to the population of the communities in that Gram Panchayat or the Mandal Parishad as the case may be.

- v. The Mandal Parishad shall be consulted before making the acquisition of land in the Scheduled Areas for development projects and before resettling or rehabilitating persons evicted by such projects in the scheduled Areas, the actual planning and implementation of the projects in the Scheduled Areas shall be coordinated at the State Level
- vi. The prior recommendation of the Gram Panchayat, made in such manner as may be prescribed, shall be taken into consideration for grant of concession for the exploitation of minor minerals by auction.
- vii. Enforcement of prohibition or regulation or restriction of the sale and consumption of any intoxicant

ITDA(GO.17 Dt 21-09-2005) and VSS (GO.13 Dt12-02-2004) : Works are being approved by the special groups constituted by Executive Orders of Government and groups constituted informally under Indira Kranti Pathakam approve the Rurał Development Prgrammes.Even budgets are sanctioned to these groups.

The special groups or middlemen or leaders provide list to the funding organization directly in many cases as revealed in studies by TRI, Hyderabad on TRICOR programmes.

Because of tagging of tribal habitations to non-tribal habitations, many Panchayats are not reserved to tribals.

Even in wholly scheduled areas, ZPTC and MPTC are reserved for nontribals. Eg. Utnoor, Narnoor etc in Adilabad district. Such ZPTC and MPTC may not work for the interests of tribals or they may work against tribal Mandal Presidents and Sarpanchs elected almost from same constituency

Tribals complain that no consultation was made in case of Polavaram Irrigation Project or Jindal Aluminum Project before the actual planning of the projects or on rehabilitation measures proposed even though it may effect very large tribal population living in scheduled areas.

Lot of illegal mining of semi-precious stones is taking place as there is no clarity on this issue

Complaints of false cases booked against tribals by Excise officials are reported frequently

Changing Patterns in Tribal Societies

viii. The ownership of minor forest produce

ix. Prevention of alienation of land in the Scheduled Areas and restoration of any unlawfully alienated land of a Scheduled Tribe

x. Management of village markets by whatever name called

Exercising control over money lending to the Scheduled Tribe.

 xii. The Mandal Parishad shall exercise control

 over institutions and functionaries in all social sectors; and
 over local plans and resources for such plans including tribal subplans".

 -Tribals can collect notified MFP but have to sell only to GCC as monopoly over purchase of MFP still lies with state owned Girijan Cooperative Corporation Ltd

-Ownership of forest lies with Government.

Special Deputy Collector, Tribal Welfare, P.O., ITDA (as Additional Agent to Government) continue to deal with implementation of Land Transfer Regulation, 1959.

Management by Panchayat does not exist.

As lending by Banks is virtually absent, it is the money-lender that controls the tribals and their economy

The institutions are still controlled by officials of respective Government Departments

Plans are prepared by officials only and MPP is not consulted.

13. Forest Acts and Tribal Life:

Forests in Andhra Pradesh extend over an area of 63,813.73 Sq.Km. and 79.10% of the area is Reserved while 19.38% is protected. Only 1.52% is un-classed. The total forest area forms 23.20% of the total geographical area of the state. There are basically five forest types namely Southern Tropical (25%), Southern Tropical Dry Deciduous (45%), Littoral (4.5%) and Tidal Swamp Mangrove (0.5%). The largest concentration of forests is in Adilabad (11.32), Warangal (5.82%), Khammam (13.22%), Mahaboobnagar (4.75%), Visakhapatnam (6.92%), East Godavari (5.07%), West Godavari (12.73%), Prakasham (6.94%), Kurnool (5.51%), Kadapa (7.84%), and Chittoor (7.09%). Note: (Fig-

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ures in brackets represent percentage of forest area to total geographical area). Available statistics also shows that 60% of the Scheduled area is covered by forests. Thus forest play important role in tribal life and development.

Till the tribal inhabited hilly and forest areas were opened through net work of roads in 1950s and more so after 1980s, most of the tribal areas were isolated. These areas were inhabited by tribals only and non-tribal migration in to tribal areas started only after 1970s. Having lived in isolation over several unknown number of generations, tribals developed their own way of life called "culture". Each of the tribal habitations has its traditionally defined territories called Haddu or Sivaru or Polimera which is the recognized by the tribals of neighboring habitation, even today. The community considers the natural resources like water, forest and land, within their territory as Common Property Resource and there are well established systems of social organization which ensured equity in enjoyment of usufruct rights over the land and forest resources by individual members of community. Even after the British and Nizam's government declared forests as state owned, the de facto ownership of resources remained with the forest living tribal communities.

The trees, hillocks, hill streams and animals became part of tribal culture. Some of the examples are Jampanna Vagu, Pulimadugu, Mamidiguda and Chintaguda. There are several sacred groves where the tribal believe that their gods and goddess live and they are well protected by the community. The man-nature spirit complex is central to the tribal religion. A fruit yielding tree is equated with child bearing mother and is never cut. Tribals knowledge of biodiversity is oral but vast. Their belief systems also centre round their experiences with nature. A tree or animal which is treated as totem , is never cut or killed.

Tribals gather a variety of Minor Forest produce like tamarind, adda leaf, gum, soap nut, marking nut etc and they used to exchange (barter) them for dry fish, spices etc in the weekly market called 'Santa'. With the monopoly rights conferred to Girijan Cooperative Corporation (G.C.C.), over certain notified Minor Forest Produce, the tribals started selling these Minor Forest Produce items to the G.C.C. at the weekly market centers. The cash received is not only used for purchase of food provisions but also for purchase of consumer goods. Some of the N.T.F.P. in the value added form can yield very good incomes to the tribals. There were lot of conflicts between tribal customary way of life and Forest Law. The Forest Act, 1980 which has put total ban on conversion of forests to any non-forestry activity without permission of Government of India, there revolts occurred in tribal areas. Then a review was made at all India level and National Forest Policy was issued in 1988

14. National Forest Policy, Vana Saramkshana Samithi and Tribes

The National Forest Policy 1988 has recognized the symbiotic relationship between tribal people and forests. Government of India through their Resolution dated 7-12-1988 directed that the "Primary task of all agencies, responsible for forest management including the forest development corporations should be to associate the tribal people closely in protection, regeneration and development of forests as well as to provide gainful employment to people living in and around the forest."

In consonance with the National Forest Policy 1988, Government of Andhra Pradesh issued State Forest Policy in 1993 for "encouraging the participation of village communities in forest management through Joint Forest Management by organizing them in to Vana

Samrakshna Samithis. Learning from the experiences of implementation of Joint Forest Management through V.S.S, the Government of Andhra Pradesh issued a revised Andhra Pradesh State Forest Policy, 2002 to "consolidate the initiatives taken in the area of JFM and evolve the system further in to Community Forest Management. The important features of the policy as they relate to tribals are as follows.

- i. Tribals would be educated about the adverse effects of Podu and motivated to take up viable alternate land use practices on such lands besides alternative income generating activities.
- ii. Upgrading the initiatives from J.F.M. to C.F.M. through delegation of decision making process and aims at decentralizing the entire process of planning and implementation with Forest department acting more as facilitators and providers of technical and infrastructure support.
- iii. Community Forest Management envisages decentralized participatory approach and empowering forest dependent local communities for inculcating a sense of ownership and pride among the forest dependent communities engaged in C.F.M.
- iv. In G.O.Ms No.13 Environment, Forests, Science and Technology Dept. dated 12-2-02, as amended in G.O. Ms No.4, Environment, Forests, Science and Technology Dept. dated 12-01-04, comprehensive orders were issued for implementation of Community Forest Management Project. The responsibilities of Forest Department include facilitating V.S.S in performing its duties and responsibilities as per Government Order. The VSS, Management Committee, Chairperson and Vice- Chairperson, have

to perform the duties and responsibilities prescribed in the order to protect and develop forests.

 VSS shall be entitled to the following forest produce obtained from the forests managed by them as follows:

- a) All Non-timber Forest Produce;
- b) All Intermediate yields obtained from silvicultural operations in natural forests;
- All timber and bamboo (including yield from bamboo plantations) harvested from the forest managed by them except in case of plantations;
- d) In case of teak plantations within VSS area, whose age is known, twice the proportionate yield harvested (including yield from thinning) with reference to age of the plantation and the period of maintenance by the Vana Samrakshana Samithi (maximum entitlement will not however exceed the total yield of the plantations)
- e) In case of other plantations, whose age is known, 50% of harvest including thinning) of the period of management of plantation by Vana Samrakshana Samithi is less than 50% of the rotation period and 100% of volume harvested if such period of management by the Vana Samrakshana Samithi is more than 50% of rotation period of the plantation.
 - f) All the timber obtained from second and subsequent rotations of all plantations.

A separate Tribal Development Strategy was developed mainly focuses on economic development of tribal members of VSSs through conservation and development of durable Forest (Common Property) Resource and its sustainable use through value addition, development of enterprises and market support. The development of such Common Property Resources and its management through activities such as afforestation, harvesting, value addition and marketing of existing NTFP, timber and bamboo etc. will provide continuous wage and non wage revenue and employment. The resources so created are expected to provide sustainable livelihood to the VSS members in future. It will be ensured that no tribal member of VSS will be disadvantaged on account of implementation of activities of the Project. The following are details.

- a. No project activities or Orders issued or Rules framed for implementing the Projects shall adversely affect the livelihood of tribals.
- b. Survey of lands assigned to tribals outside forests where demarcation of boundaries between the individual holdings has not been done will be taken upon priority so that these lands can be developed to increase productivity from these lands to enhance income levels of these tribals.
- c. The concept forests as C.P.R. in the emerging new context should be consolidated by ensuring speedy flow of benefits to the tribal community and by giving legal back up to VSS. The AP Forest Act 1967 needs to be amended to introduce a separate chapter on Community Forest Management. Vana Samrakshana Samithis need to be given a legal status to exercise functions of protection and development of forest land allotted to it, for planning, imple-

mentation and monitoring of the VSS programmes.

- d. In Scheduled Areas where PESA Act is applicable, Rules may be framed to make VSS as a Special Purpose Group with in Gram Sabha to own and manage NTFP.
- e. Where the 100% V.S.S. is tribal, the Micro Plan of the VSS itself will be tribal development plan with special focus on providing permanent livelihood in forests. However, when the tribals are in lesser proportions, a Tribal Development Plan within the Micro plan of VSS has to be prepared with similar objective.
 - f. As there are tribe wise variations in dependence on forests (within a tribe also there are variations depending on the location of their habitation), there should be tribe wise plans with in the Tribal Development Plan addressing the specific needs of most backward among the tribal groups and understanding the degree of dependence on the forests.
 - g. Growing of vegetables, fruit trees etc may be planned in the back yards of tribal houses.
 - h. Tribal men and women have to be adequately trained to take up protection, management of forests especially regeneration- natural and artificial, processing and marketing of NTFP etc.
 - i. Existing and future potentiality of educated boys and girls should be fully utilized by enabling them to become part of growing market economy and extract maximum benefit out of it for better livelihood.
 - j. While the tribals can be trained in taking up Alter-

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native Livelihood Programme activities at central places, the scheme implementation should be decentralized to VSS level by supplying all equipments required as soon as training is completed. Market tie up, fixation of prices and profits are important for sustenance of VSS activity.

- k. Growing of nurseries by VSS members at village level after giving training to be planned.
- 1. Coordination between development departments at village level should be achieved for better results as, for example increase in output from agriculture, or horticulture outside the forest would correspondingly decrease dependence on forest for livelihood.
- m. While education will enhance the quality of participation, improvements in health, provision of safe drinking water etc will decrease the number of days of absence from work due to ill health caused by water borne diseases.
- A mechanism will be evolved for reducing delays in release of budgets for speedy implementation of programs.
- A participatory monitoring and evaluation method of project will be evolved.

A study of the CFM by the author has shown that the change in policy has helped the tribals to be recognized as de-facto owners of the forest allotted to the community (VSS). This feeling of ownership has led to the determination among tribals to protect the forest from destruction by their own members or outsiders. They also realized that the forests if protected and developed will provide sustainable livelihood in future also. They also under stood that the Non-Timber Forest Produce in value added form has

good and sustainable market The younger generation's preference is for this kind of activity rather than the traditional gathering type.

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The Scheduled Tribes And other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act, 2006

It was found in various surveys by this author that large extents of land under cultivation by tribes have been included in the reserve forests during British / Nizam's period and continued after independence also even though the Forest Act provides for giving information to the inhabitant ,obtaining their objections and settling the claims before giving final notification. The statistics submitted by the Forest department to the Tribal Welfare department and made public by the Hon'ble Minster for Tribal Welfare has shown that for 25 lakh acres, no final notification was given determining the rights of people living in and around the area notified for Reserve Forest. Some of case studies gathered from Waranga (It was under Nizam) and Visakhapatnam(It was under British) districts are given under as illustrations to show the red- tapism in government leading to unrest among tribals.

- a.
 - i)

Warangal District :

Dubbeka Village - 1,18,933 Hect: FSO passed orders in 1974 and requested DFO, North to rectify defects and furnish re-notified proposals by adopting revised survey numbers. Interim reply furnished in 1995 by DFO, North informing that the particulars are awaited from FRO, Pasara. The correspondence is going on for the last 33 years. The original notification was reported to have been issued by Nizam's government in 1940s, but I could not get the authentic record.

ii) Karlapally Village- 386 Hect : Draft notification sent by District Collector, Warangal in 1996 and pending in CF, Warangal office since then the objections raised by PCCF in 1996 are not attended.

- iii) Bussapur Village- 105.30 Hect : Sec 4 notification in 1968. Proclamation in 1970. Joint inspection done in 1970. FSO ordered for deletion of three patches from notification. DFO, Warangal, North filed appeal in District Court and case was remanded to FSO, Khammam to hear the claims of DFO. FSO, Khammam passed orders in1975for excluding Sy. Nos 7 to 35. Case pending since 1975 in DFO, Wgl, North (32years). The original notification also was reported to have been issued by Nizam's government in 1940s, but I could not get the authentic record.
- *iv)* Chanchankota Village 248 Hect. : 12.35 acres of Patta land included in notification. The Pattedars agreed for cash compensation or land to land with in the village. MRO, Cherial informed that no government land is available in the Village for compensation and fixed Rs9000/- per acre as compensation. PCCF has asked JC whether govt. land is available in the district. Cultivators are not willing for land to land compensation outside the village. DFO, Wgl, North was requested in 1995 to give willingness. No action for the last 12 years.
- v) Damaravai Village- 440 Hect : FSO passed orders for dropping the entire area as these

lands were already assigned on Lavoni Pattas in the years 1961-62, 67-68 and 70-71. The DFO, Warangal North preferred appeal in District Court in Warangal and the District Judge remanded the case to FSO, Khammam for disposal. The FSO passed orders in 1976 stating that only 50 acres is under cultivation and requested DFO to furnish revised proposals under Sec15. He has also requested for maps, field books etc. DFO replied in 1996 saying that the FRO and Spl. Duty Party conducted resurvey and found that most of the area is under cultivation. There is no further report. Case pending for more than 30 years.

- vi) Mallial Village- 56 Ac : Forest block was notified in AP Gazette in 1968 and entire assigned to tribals in 1970.FSO after survey 1980 requested DFO, Warangal North drop reservation process as the entire block is under wet and dry land cultivation of tribals. On a reference from DFO, Warangal North, PCCF advised DFO in 1996 to examine as per provisions of Forest Conservation Act, 1980. No further action reported since 1996.
- b. Visakhapatnam District: A case study of Kennerla Forest Block
 - i) Kennerla Forest Block is in Lammasingi agency area of Visakhapatnam district. It is part of former Lammasingi Mutta (Mutta is a group of villages governed by Muttadar-a hill chief under an agreement with British). The Bagatha tribal group whose habitations

were submerged in Jolaput reservoir of the Hydro-Electric project on River Machkund migrated to this place between 1958 and 1960 to join their Bagatha kinsmen living in these areas. The Muttadar of Lammasingi village also belonged to the same Bagatha tribe had permitted the migrants to settle down in this village. They were paying rents to Muttadar and obtained receipts also.

- ii) The Forest Block extended over an area of 5800 acres. It was notified in 1968 under Section 4 of Andhra Pradesh Forest Act, 1967. The Telugu version of the notification was published in 1978 i.e., ten years later. The older tribals of this area informed that they came to know about the Forest notification only after the Forest Settlement Officer informed about it in January, 2007.
- iii) The Block extends to an area of 5800 acres with 18 villages in the forest block and 37 villages on the fringe. While notifying the forest block in 1968, the areas under occupation of tribals before 1960 with the permission of Muttadar were also included.
- iv) The Muttadari System was abolished and converted into Ryot wari system in 1969. The Settlement Officer appointed under the Regulation conferred Patta (ownership title) rights to an extent of 2880 acres to the tribals but the same lands continued to be part of Reserve Forest notified under Sec, 4 of Andhra Pradesh Forest Act, 1967 even to day as Section 15 notification was not issued so far.

- v) The problem now is that the survey numbers have changed and many old records are not traceable. Surveyor posts are vacant.
- vi) Tribals were living as thieves in their own lands and in the grip of fear that theymay be asked to leave the reserve forest at any time.

While this problem is burning through out India, , the Government of India found a new way of solving the problem from a different angle by passing The Scheduled Tribes And other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act, 2006. The details of the Act are as follows:

- i. It is an Act to recognize and vest the forest rights and occupation in forest land in forest dwelling Scheduled Tribes and other traditional forest dwellers who have been residing in such forests for generations whose rights could not be recorded; to provide for a frame work for recording the forest rights so vested and nature of evidence required for such recognition and vesting in respect of forest land;
- ii. The Act got the assent of President on 29th December, 2006;
- iii. It is an Act to rectify the historical injustice done during Colonial period and in independent India in not recognizing the forest rights on ancestral lands of forest dwelling Scheduled Tribes and traditional forest dwellers who are integral to the very survival and sustainability of the forest eco system;
- iv. The recognized rights also include the responsibilities and authority for sustainable use, conservation of bio diversity and maintenance of ecological bal-

ance and thereby strengthening the conservation regime of the forests, while ensuring livelihood and food security of the forest dwelling Scheduled Tribes and other traditional forest dwellers;

- v. It also addresses the long standing insecurity of tenurial and access rights of these people who were forced to relocate their dwelling due to State Development interventions.
- vi. The individual and community or both forest rights were clearly defined;
- vii. All rights over forest occupations before 13th December,2005 have to be recognized after due verification;
- viii. No member of a forest dwelling Scheduled Tribe or other traditional forest dweller shall be evicted or removed from forestland under his occupation till the recognition and verification procedure is complete;
- ix. The most important aspect of this Act is that the Gram Sabha (general body of villagers) shall be authority to initiate the process for determining the nature and extent of individual or community forest rights or both that may be given to forest dwelling Scheduled Tribes and other traditional forest dwellers with in local limits; and
- As on sept1, 2009 rights tribals over 13.66 lakh acres of forest land have been recognized to benefit 1.73 lakh families
- 16. Fifth Schedule and Civil and Criminal Justice Administration

In tribal areas the Criminal Procedure Code of 1898

was continued even after the CrPC of 1973 came into existence. It was not extended to Scheduled Tribes Areas by an order of Governor in 1974. This was brought to the notice of the Supreme Court. In the W.P. (Civil) No. 324 of 2003, Sri A. Sadguru Prasad, Secretary, A.P. State Human Rights Committee, Hyderabad filed public interest litigation to ventilate the grievances of the tribals living in agency and scheduled areas of Andhra Pradesh. In his petition, he brought to the notice of the Hon'ble Supreme Court that "the right to speedy trial is deprived to the tribals and thereby their liberty under Article-21 is infringed". He also informed the Hon'ble Supreme Court that the State Human Rights Committee Chairman, Justice Y. Bhaskar Rao, former Chief Justice, visited Visakhapatnam jail and heard the complaints by the prisoners and under trial prisoners that "in spite of the fact that they have completed the sentence in jail, they have to serve more period since remand period was not set off". The Hon'ble Supreme Court was requested to issue "a suitable direction to the concerned to extend the provisions of Cr.PC, 1973 to the scheduled areas of Andhra Pradesh by declaring that application of Cr.PC 1898 is discriminatory, unconstitutional and violative of Article 21 of the Constitution".

Government of Andhra Pradesh vide G.O.Ms.No.33, Law (LA&J. Home (Courts-B) Department, dt. 11-03-2004 initially have decided to extend only certain provisions of the Cr.PC 1973 to scheduled areas of Andhra Pradesh. However, in view of the orders of Supreme Court orders, the Government issued another notification (vide G.O.Ms.No.41 Law (LA&J. Home (Courts-B) Department, dt. 25-03-2004 applied the entire Cr.PC 1973 to all the scheduled areas of Andhra Pradesh retrospectively from 11-03-2004.

This blanket extension of new CRPC is also not

free from problems. Several NGOs, public representatives, research scholars, University Professors etc., have represented to government that the Cr.PC 1973 was extended into scheduled areas without examining its implications, especially in the context of the fact that the tribals have their own customary law for administering justice and that there were several advantages in the old Cr.PC (other than the issues considered by the Hon'ble Supreme Court). Most important aspect mentioned was that the crime in tribal societies was not an organized crime and it occurs under conditions of intoxication or in a fit of anger during arguments over petty issues or in elopement cases or in disputes over property (common/joint/individual property). Most of these disputes are resolved by traditional tribal councils. A few of the cases going to executive magistrates were decided with small fine and warning. Thus the justice is available at door steps, they argued, compared to formal judicial system which has lengthy, time consuming and expensive.

The courts are presently located at distant places, 100 to 200 km from tribal habitat. The expenditure on travel, food, accommodation, advocate charges etc. add to burden of debt to debt. They have therefore, requested government to get, the whole issue of application of Cr.PC 1973 to scheduled areas examined. Accordingly, Director, Tribal Welfare has constituted a committee with Prof. Krishna Kumari, MCR HRD, Hyderabad as Chairman, Dr. V.N.V.K. Sastry, Director, TCR&TI, as Convener with a provision for co-opting three advocates. Sri Anil Kumar, Kum. Prashanthi and another were co-opted. The Committee requested to :

i. study the customary law of tribals and its implementation in tribal societies presently

206	Changing Patterns in Tribal Societies
ii.	study the provisions of Cr.PC 1898 and compare with Cr.PC 1973
iii.	study the advantages or disadvantages of implemen- tation of Cr.PC 1898
iv.	consult stake holders like tribal leaders (traditional as well as elected), NGOs, research scholars, prac- ticing advocates, magistrates, police officials and officers working/worked in scheduled areas etc.
v.	suggest a better adjudicatory mechanism for the scheduled areas in view of the suggestions from the stake holders.
ing its	The Committee performed the following tasks dur- study: -
i.	studied various books on tribal culture and tried to understand the socio, political and economic con- ditions of the tribals. This paved way for the Com- mittee to understand the environment in which tribals live and the problems faced by them. The Committee specifically former line

- cifically focused on the customary modes of dispute resolution and extent of dependence on redressal mechanisms available out side the culture.
- ii. toured in various tribal areas of Kurnool, Prakasam, East Godavari and Adilabad districts to get first hand information on the social and economical conditions under which the tribals are presently living.
- iii. collected the statistics regarding the crimes committed in these areas.
- iv. obtained the views of : - a) Tribals and the tribal heads who are the affected parties

a. b) Lawyers who are practicing in tribal areas c) Special Magistrates who adjudicated cases d) Judicial Magistrates who are to adjudicate cases in tribal areas e) Officials of Police Department f) Project Officers of the ITDA's g) Officials of Tribal Welfare Department h) NGO's who are working in those areas and i) Media people in those areas.

- V. A Workshop was conducted on 5-02-2005 at Hyderabad on the "Applicability of Criminal Procedure Code, 1973 in the Scheduled Areas" in which the Principal Secretaries of Tribal Welfare and Home Departments, Commissioner Tribal Welfare Department, two Districts Judges, several Judicial First Class Magistrates with their jurisdiction extending over Scheduled Areas, the Project Officers of ITDAs, Scheduled Tribe MLAs, Officers of Tribal Welfare Department, advocates, tribal chiefs and representatives of NGOs participated and exchanged their views on various issues related to the application of new Cr.P.C to Scheduled Areas. The views and opinions expressed by the officials in the Workshop had been taken note of to suggest a better adjudicatory mechanism to the tribals in Scheduled Areas.
- vi. Apart from this the Committee had one to one discussions on the issues involved in application of new Cr.P.C to Scheduled Areas with Judges, Commissioner, Tribal Welfare Department, research scholars from TCR&TI, Principal Secretary, Tribal Welfare and academicians in law and Social Sciences.
- vii. Above all a comparative study of 1898 Code and

1973 Code had also been done. The important changes that came up with the 1973 Code are mentioned, explaining the effect they would have on tribal life.

Since the findings and recommendations of the committee are still under consideration of the Government, no further details could be furnished in this article.

17. Tribal Sub Plan:

Origin Of Tribal Sub-Plan: Detailed reviews were made at national and state levels at the end of fourth five year plan and need for a new national strategy for over all development of tribal areas and tribals was established. Tribal Sub Plan was first started in fifth five year plan ie. from the year 1974-1975. The review of tribal situation revealed the following.

- i. There was unrest in several tribal areas of the country and state
- Tribal areas of West Bengal, Orissa, Bihar and Andhra Pradesh were experiencing unrest
- iii. First five year plan- there was no separate programme for tribal areas
- iv. Second five year-Special Multipurpose Projects (M.P.Ps) were started in four Blocks in Andhra Pradesh
- v. Third five year plan 24 Tribal Development Blocks were started after review of M.P.Ps
- vi. Fourth Five Year Plan, while continuing Tribal Development Blocks -Special nutrition programme (SNP) and Housing scheme in all tribal blocks were started.

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- vii. Special project called Girijan (Tribal) Development Agency (GDA) was started in Srikakulam District
- viii. Major gaps in approach existed at the end of Fourth Five Year Plan were also identified as follows:
 - a. Area and population coverage of Tribal Development Blocks was less than 30%
 - b. Only Tribal Welfare Department budget was available for tribal development
 - c. Flow of funds to tribal areas from other Departments was less than 1% of total plans of the state
 - d. There were large disparities in levels of development between tribal concentrated areas and plains areas
 - e. Some tribal groups remained most backward
 - f. There was urgent need to protect the interests of tribals on land and forest which are two principal sources of livelihood and also in market
 - g. There was no organizational, financial and programme integration at all
 - h. Postings in tribal areas were mostly punishment postings
 - i. Tribals needed to be empowered to face new situations.

New strategy of Tribal Sub Plan and Integrated Tribal Development was initiated in 1974-75 and details are as follows :

	210		Changing Patterns in Tribal Societies
	1.	Triba	ls were categorized as those
		i.	living in areas of tribal concentration
		ii.	Small pockets of tribal concentration outside Scheduled areas called MADA, Clusters
		ш.	living as dispersed populations
		iv.	living as Primitive Tribal Groups pursuing Pre-agricultural stage of economy
		In an	eas of tribal concentration, it was proposed to
lit		i.	narrow the gap in levels of development be- tween tribal areas and other areas
4 4 19		ii.	improve the quality of life- economic, edu- cational and health
1		iii.	Integrated area development with focus on tribal development to be followed to achieve
11			these goals through
		iv.	elimination of all forms of exploitation in land, forest and market

- v. building the inner strength of the people,
- vi. improving organizational capabilities
- vii. TSP to be a continuous exercise

Integrated approach was proposed to be followed in areas of tribal concentration. Four types of integration was envisaged to translate sub-plan approach in to action

i. area synchronization - ITDA areas to be formed by including all scheduled areas and all non-scheduled areas/villages with more than 50% tribal population and contiguous to scheduled area

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- ii. financial integration to be achieved by integrating the budgets of state plan, special central assistance, central sector programmes and intuitional finance
- iii. organizational integration to be achieved by bringing all development and regulatory departments under ITDA
- iv. programme integration to be achieved by integrating all programmes of all departments in to the plans of ITDA
- v. State plan to play major role in development of infrastructure
- vi. Special Central Assistance to be provided by Government as 100% assistance to state has to be to be gap filler only ie; on programmes not covered by State Plan or programmes to cover the gap. The example often quoted is that the special central assistance has to be used for providing electric motors in a habitation electrified with State Plan funds.

For determining the minimum flow to tribal subplan from State Plan, the following four factors pertaining to Tribal Sub Plan areas have to be considered:

- i. Total population
- ii. Geographical area
- iii. Comparative levels of development and
- iv. The state of social services (lesser the state of services, more funds are required to fill the gap)

However, in practice, the flow of funds is generally decided on the basis of population of tribals (6.6%) only. Even then the actual flow was between less than 3% in all these years due

212	Changing Patterns in Tribal Societies		
i.	Problem of divisible and non-divisible nature of bud- get up to 90s and due to over emphasis of Exter- nally Aided Projects later on.		
ii.	Funds allocated are also diverted.		
iii.	Institutional finance comes as margin money and or bank finance		
iv.	Banks are expected to give loans under differential rate of interest(4%)		
v.	Actually loans given constitute is not even 10% of requirement		
compa vantag	Andhra Pradesh government adopted Society model ared to government model in other states. The ad- ges are :		
i	Non-lane ability of funda		

- i. Non-laps ability of funds
- ii. Flexibility to adopt to local and immediate demands
- Possibilities for building local priorities in to action plans
- Powers to sanction schemes given up to Rs 1 lakh to P.O.ITDA ; up to Rs 2 lakhs to chairman ITDA ; up to Rs 15 lakhs to governing body

Organizational integration was achieved as follows:

- i. Andhra Pradesh is first in the country to introduce single line administration in ITDA areas in 1986(G.O. Ms 434 dt 14-8-86 G.A.Dept)
- ii. Model based on village tribal leadership
- iii. Comprehensive orders issued again in 2002 (GOMs

274 dt 15-6-2002 G.A.Dept)

- iv. Basic features of these orders are
- v. A Senior Time Scale IAS officer or officer of State government of equal cadre to be appointed as Project Officer
- vi. P.O. was made Ex. Officio Joint Collector(Tribal Welfare) and Additional District Magistrate
- vii. Certain powers of Joint Collector were transferred to P.O.
- viii. all development programmes in the sub-plan areas to be approved by ITDA
- ix. administrative control over all development and regulatory functionaries with jurisdiction in subplan area

Review of implementation of Tribal Sub - Plan over the last thirty years has shown that the disparities in levels of development between tribal areas and general areas continued even though there is some progress in tribal areas over 1975. The other important goal of elimination of exploitation remains as an un-fulfilled commitment. On the other hand there are trends of increase in exploitation. The Tribal Unrest which was limited to Tribal areas of Srikakulam district in 1960s has spread to all tribal areas by 2006. A classic case of State itself being encroacher of tribal livelihood resource base is explained here under.

18. Development and Displacement -Case Study of Polavaram Irrigation Project:

Displacement due to irrigation dams, mining, industry etc has become a life and death problem in scheduled areas.While explaining the case study there would be some repetition of some discussion made in the earlier paras of this article. The repetition was not avoided deliberately fro the sake of emphasis of the problem.

Tribal Life and Constitutional Crisis :

A case of Polavaram Irrigation Project(Indira Sagar) is explained to understand constitutional and cultural issues involved The proposed irrigation project on river Godavari at Polavaram in Andhra Pradesh is likely to submerge 276 villages of Andhra Pradesh and displace 1,17,000 population. 76,000 acres of land is likely to be submerged. Now there are reports that some villages of Orissa state and Chattisgarh are also likely to be submerged. Forest areas to a large extent with a very rich bio-diversity are also likely to be submerged. Some Mandal Parishads get submerged totally while Bhadrachalam Parliament (ST) and Assembly (ST) constituencies lose representative character to that extent and Zilla Parishad covering these areas become deficient to that extent. Several NGOs, political parties(especially CPM), tribal elected Members of Parliament, State Legislature and local bodies are agitating over the issues of misery likely to be caused to the aboriginal tribals on account of this project. So far the demands have been on rehabilitation measures to be taken up. However, in this paper, the constitutional and cultural issues that have not been addressed so far properly are raised to enable further discussion. The Mandals (the smallest unit of revenue administration in Andhra Pradesh) likely to be submerged partly or wholly are, Kovvur, Polavaram, Devipatnam, Kunavaram, Bhadrachalam and Burgampahad.

Area and population

Most of the population likely to be affected is the populations who are constitutionally recognized to as

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Scheduled Tribes through a Presidential Order. Most of the area likely to be submerged is a Scheduled Area which is also declared as much by President of India as per provisions of Constitution of India. The tribal population also falls into international classification of "indigenous population" and therefore, the resolutions of United Nations to deal with such populations also apply. Fifth Schedule of Constitution of India also provided several safe guards to Scheduled Tribes living in Schedule Areas which are applicable to these areas and tribes. Hence the problem assumes larger constitutional importance.

Scheduled Areas and Land Laws

The Scheduled Areas in Andhra Pradesh are spread over 9 districts namely Srikakulam, Vijayanagaram, Visakhapatnam, East Godavari, West Godavari, Khammam, Warangal, Adilabad and Mahaboobnagar district. Numerous hill streams and small rivers flowing in the scheduled areas of Adilabad, Warangal, Khammam, West Godavari East Godavari and Visakhapatnam join each other to finally join mighty river Godavari at Kunavaram, (a few kilometers upstream of Polavaram). The rich natural resources of forest, land and water provide livelihood to tribals.

The definition of Transfer under this Regulation is also very elaborate. "Transfer means mortgage with or without possession, lease, sale, gift, exchange of such property or contract relating to such property in respect of such mortgage, lease, gift, exchange or other dealing". The intention of this law is very clear from this: Land being principal source of livelihood to tribals should not go in to the hands of any persons other than tribal. By implication of as already pointed out, it is also a reserve kept for future generation of tribals. Let us now examine the provisions of Fifth Schedule of Constitution of India.

The Fifth Schedule, which is often referred to as "Constitution within Constitution" has many provisions for protecting the interests of tribals. The executive power of the state extends to the Scheduled Areas. The Governor of the state having scheduled areas shall submit an annual report to President of India on the administration of the scheduled areas. There shall also be a Tribes Advisory Council with all the Scheduled Tribe Members of State Legislature as members have a duty is to advise government/governor "on such matters pertaining to the welfare and advancement of scheduled tribes in the state as may be referred to them by Governor".

The Governor may make Regulations for peace and good government in scheduled areas with the consent of the President of India and he can also restrict the applicability of general laws to scheduled areas partially or wholly or with modifications. As can be seen from the above, in all Vizagapatnam District Act was promulgated in 1839, the burden of ensuring peace and good governance has been District Collector as Agent to Government.

The President of India by an order can "direct that the whole or specified part of the scheduled areas shall cease to be Scheduled Areas or part of such areas" or inof rectification or include new areas in scheduled areas, some areas from scheduled areas, these were no instances so far of such deletion in any of the states having Fifth Scheduled areas. On the other hand, all states except

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Andhra Pradesh have included several non-scheduled areas with more than 50% tribal population and are contiguous to scheduled areas in the list of scheduled areas through a Presidential Order.

The Constitution of India provided another safeguard. While defining the duties of National Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes under Art 338, it has directed that "the union and every state government shall consult the Commission on all major policy matters affecting Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes" (Now there is a separate Commission to look after the interests of Scheduled Tribes).

Keeping in view the importance of self-governance in the Scheduled Areas, Parliament enacted the Panchayats (Extension to the Scheduled Areas) Act, 1996 which is popularly known as PESA Act (Act 40 of 1996). As a follow up, the Andhra Pradesh State Legislature passed Act 7 of 1998 to be applicable to the scheduled areas of these state. Both the acts empower the Gramsabha /Gram Panchayats at different levels in scheduled areas to protect the interests of tribals on land, forest produce, market etc. As per PESA Act, 1996, the Gram Sabha, or Panchayat "shall be consulted before making acquisition of land in scheduled areas for development projects"

Considering the fact that all these constitutional provisions are applicable to the scheduled areas, it is to be noted that it is the bounden duty of state government to comply with all the provisions of law in letter and spirit before the Polavaram irrigation project is launched. The biggest Constitutional and moral issue therefore, is : Whether the state which is required to protect and promote the interests of tribals living in scheduled areas as per directives/provisions of Constitution of India can act in a manner which results in disappearance of large chunk of Scheduled Area. Further, the state government has no powers to alter the status of Scheduled Areas. Only the President of India after following due process can declare that such areas cease to be scheduled areas. The other related hypothetical questions are "whether the tribes living in these scheduled areas who enjoyed legal protection from exploitation under Fifth Schedule will continue to enjoy the same status in the new area?", "Whether, the habitations/ colonies where they may be rehabilitated will be declared as scheduled areas by the President of India to continue the protection and development? And Will the PESA and other Acts apply in the new areas also and how ?. Now let us examine the cultural issues.

Cultural Implications :

Koya, Konda Reddy and Nayak are the major aboriginal tribes living in the scheduled areas likely to be submerged,. The tribes who have been living in isolation for generations in the forest and hilly areas evolved their own "way of life" which is popularly known as culture. As it is evolved over several unknown number of generation, it is often believed that the roots of Hindu civilization are in many references to the tribal areas and tribal people were Tribal cultural continuation continues even till today with Mallikarjua, Koya Dammakka temple becoming Rama held once in two years became a Jatra for lakhs of non-

Tribals having lived in forest and nature incorporated several living and non-living things as part of their culture. Pulimadugu refers to a water body frequented by

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tiger while Mamidiguda refers to the habitation having mango trees. There are animals like goats etc. forming totems in tribal culture. Tribal habitations also have their own traditionally defined boundaries (Haddu) which are respected by the tribals living in the adjoining habitations who also have their own territory. Neither the Revenue dept nor Forest nor Panchayat Raj Departments during British or after independence respected these age old and time tested traditional boundaries by drawing their own boundaries resulting situations of conflict almost every day. Even today, tribals feel that all the forest, land and water resources in their territory belonged to them. The concept of "mother earth" is very strong among them. They evolved their own social organization to manage the natural resources so that all the members of tribal community make a decent livelihood. It is the communities' recognition of usufruct ownership that is important for them and their enjoyment continues at the will of the tribal owner as well as the village elders who manage resources on behalf of the community.

There are intra-tribal, inter-tribal and inter-village councils established as per tradition to manage their own affairs. The concept of a title (patta) for land was introduced later on by the government and even after several decades of independence, there are hundreds of square kilometers of inhabited tribal areas which are not surveyed and settled. It is in this context, the argument in some quarters that compensation will be available only to the title holders becomes irrelevant and absurd as the government which introduced revenue system of land records has not completed its own work. As an alternative, the customary law of recognition of ownership by community is also not respected for determining their ownership.

Large number of tribals depended on collection and

sale of minor forest produce. As the forests around the habitation are treated as property of the community, there are customary laws for organizing exploitation of the natural resources by the community. Here also community' recognitions of usufruct right is important and in a way it was recognized even by the Andhra Pradesh Forest Act 1964 and also national forest policy which provided concessions to tribals for collection of Minor Forest Produce with de jure ownership of forests remaining with government. Best variety of Beedi leaves are available from these Bhadrachalam forests while Gum, Tamarind, Ippa etc are other forest produce on which tribals live. Treating the MFP gathering on par with daily wage labor will not there be correct as forests are renewable resource base for them.

The important aspects of culture is strong native moorings. Each and every aspect of their life is linked to their religion and primitive religion is defined in simple terms as 'belief in supernatural". There are boundary goddesses which protect the habitations. There are malevolent and benevolent gods. While the former are appeased through lent attitude. They are several myths associated with origin of the tribe, birth, death , life after death etc. The tribal's knowledge of nature is unlimited and beliefs associated hundreds of sacred groves where their gods are believed to emoniously protected by tribals.

There are elaborate methods of marriage and there are also elaborate kinship relations and kin behavior patterns. In short, tribal culture is a complex whole evolved over several unknown number of generations with reference to a given area, called culture area and it will be a bad idea to submerge this great living culture area and it will

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be on absurd idea, if some one thinks that this culture can be rebuilt at a new place as culture will be in the minds of people and it manifests itself only on important occasions only at the places with which they have mythical associations. In the new setting, they may remain as individuals but will not be living as communities as earlier.

International agreements under the departments of United Nations like ILO and World Bank have elaborate policy of Resettlement and Rehabilitation. They unequivocally suggest for resettlement of "communities as communities". India is part of UN and there fore, the state governments have to respect them even if they do not seek assistance from UN agencies. There are also elaborate central and state government orders on Resettlement and Rehabilitation. Political chiefs of governments are also promising that they will do their best for project affected populations. Then why people should agitate? is a pertinent question and Why people did not agitate in earlier projects? is another relevant question. If they have not agitated earlier, it is because of their lack of awareness of the constitutional provisions. Further, they also had immense faith in the system and believed that justice will be done to them by government. However, experiences of people in the earlier projects increased their doubts over the delivery mechinary of the government than strengthening their faith. Let us examine some of the projects.

After India became in dependent, Zamindaries were abolished and Ryotwari system was introduced in plains areas as a progressive measure. In 1969, Muttas and Mahals in the scheduled areas of Andhra Pradesh were also abolished to introduce the Ryotwari system through Regulations. Treating tribal Muttas on par with plains Zamindars is itself a wrong step as Muttadars were as poor as any other tribals. Survey and Settlement operations were con-

ducted in some of the scheduled areas covered by Muttas and Mahals and other scheduled areas . In all the three Regulations that were issued for the purpose , it was clearly mentioned that while giving pattas to Ryots, it should be ensured that they are not conferred to them in contravention of land Transfer Regulation. In the areas that are likely to be submerged, tribals complain that thousand of acres were settled in favor of non-tribals without regard to law. Even where tribals have tittles for their land, there are several instances where they lost their lands due to manipulations of money- lenders and traders who circumvented the Land Transfer Regulation with connivance of officials. Hence, it is contended that the manipulative non-tribals get more benefits in rehabilitation process than law abiding and innocent tribals, who wait for justice to be done by government agencies .

The major dams were described as Temples of Modern India by our first Prime Minister but it is also a fact that they have displaced Sons of Soil to benefit outsiders and little or no attempts were made for resettlement or rehabilitation. Several Chenchu tribal gudems of Mahaboobnagar and Kurnool district were submerged under Srisailam Hydro Electric project. It is a known fact that not even a single Chenchu worked during the dam construction even as a manual laborer. Even today their representation in Irrigation/Power Department is very insignificant. The power generated from the dam is made available to far off towns but not to Chenchu gudems situated few kilometers from Dam even today as the Forest Acts come in the way of laying of electric lines to these habitations. Nagarjuna Sagar also submerged Chenchu gudems of Prakasham district with out rehabilitation.

Chenchus of Pedda Cheruvu (which has a history and pre-history also) affected by Varadaraja Swamy Me-

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dium Irrigation Project were proposed to be rehabilitated at Kottala Cheruvu in 1990s. They were shifted over night from their habitation. A well planned and ill executed rehabilitation project resulted in reverse migration of Chenhus as they could not shift to agricultural way of life from gathering economy in a few months of half-hearted rehabilitation work. To their shock, they found their habitation demolished by then and they had to live under trees for some time.

In case of Surampalem Reservoir scheme in East Godavari district, the Hon'ble High Court of Andhra Pradesh (W.P.No. 8476/2001) had to give direction to government to consult people as government has not followed it own order (G.O.Ms.No.64, dt. 18-04-90) prescribing detailed procedures to be followed in respect of tribals affected by the projects. By G.O.Ms.No. 98, Irrigation Department dated 15-04-1986, provision of employment to the displaced persons was guaranteed in the project posts. How ever, ever since the ban on general recruitment was imposed by government in 1980s as part of economy measures, employment guarantee to project affected populations was also not honored. While issuing the latest government order Rehabilitation and Resettlement Policy, both the above mentioned progressive orders were made in operative. Let us now examine the new government policy. The first objective of the new R&R Policy is to "Minimize displacement and to identify non-displacing or least displacing alternatives". In case of Polavaram Project, we have to wait and see whether these alternatives to minimize displacement are being worked out or not. Statements by engineering officials in various interviews with news papers and TV show that no attempts are made to search for alternatives.

A brief discussion on concept of compensation is required. There is a cross-cultural difference in perceptions.

While we determine the price of land in terms of sale value, tribals never think in terms of sale value and they treat the land as source of livelihood. Further, as the Law prohibits such a sale to non- tribals and tribals are very poor, the registered sale value is minimal and it can not be an acceptable proposition. Then, land to land has to be provided. However, the latest R&R Policy of A.P. Government speaks only of preference to tribals in allotment of land in ayacut .Allotment of land to land is not made mandatory. Further, it was not clearly spelt out whether the compulsory land acquisition clause will also be made applicable to lands of private owners in the ayacut as they become prosperous at the cost of tribal oustees. The lands so acquired can be allotted to tribals

The threat of displacement is also from mining operations. Coal mines mostly situated in Koya tribal belt in Adilabad, Karimnagar, Khammam and Warangal districts had earlier displaced many Koya habitations. It is believed that the name Kothagudem was given by Koyas in their traditional way to groups of sheds constructed near their habitat, when mining operations were first started by Singareni. The Kothagudem has grown by leaps and bounds and Koya gudeins receded into jungles. Here also, even today very few or no Koyas are working in the Mines, even as laborers. The public sector Heavy Water Plant located in Manuguru (a scheduled village) in the same district hardly provided jobs to tribals living around it just as ITC, Bhadrachalam, a private company located in scheduled areas has not helped much the tribals living around it. Koyas who were displaced ritually from Bhadrachalam temple long back did not get employment even today in temple administration or are given place in temple rituals.

We often hear tribals, going to the weekly market, saying that they settle down mentally only after seeing the

forest during their return journey. That is their psychology. Therefore, the major question is 'Will the tribals proposed to be rehabilitated in the relatively advanced Godavari districts, be able to withstand the onslaughts of advanced populations and cultures when they are not able to resist the exploitation of non-tribal migrants form Godavari districts in in their own habitation Khammam?" Another hypothetical questions. "What will happen if the tribals decide to go back to the forests when they are not satisfied with the new environment?". When the dam is completed, there will be a sheet of water for about 90 Kms upstream from Polavaram. After that it will be Reserve Forest only and it is out of bounds as per Forest Conservation Act. It will be like Devil and Deep Sea for them if this issue is not addressed now.

12. Major issues yet to be addressed

Three major problems continue even today which are sources of friction between tribals and government. They are i) there is a dispute between Revenue and Forest boundaries for several Kilometers ii) About 20 lakh acres of forest is under cultivation of tribals and iii) the problem of shifting cultivators and enclosures in forests which are not revue villages. This happened because the determination of rights of tribals living in reserve forests did not take place for decades in 25 lakh acres declared under Section 4 of Andhra Pradesh Forest Act 1964.

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Chapter - 8

Agricultural Patterns of Tribes

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Hill cultivation is a seasonally regulated sequence of procedures designed to open up and bring under cultivation a patch of forest land. After one or two seasons of staple cropping the plot is left fallow for years together with a view to restoring fertility of the soil through forest growth, following which the plot is again cleared and burnt and another cycle of cultivation begins. This process continues. Hill cultivation goes under a variety of names. The other variously called names are shifting cultivation, slash-andburn cultivation, nomadic agriculture, migratory primitives' agriculture, primitive horticulture, brand tillage, hoe-andburn, swidden agriculture and so on. In addition to these descriptive names and local terms, a particular type of farming with some distinctive features, while allowing for minor local variations, is commonly termed as shifting cultivation. According to the F.A.O.'s estimate the actual area under, shifting cultivation in the world would be about 36 million sq. km inhabited by some 200 million people

Widely distributed over the country, the practice of hill cultivation is highly - varied but in general the hill cultivators follow the following cycle at their own convenience. The stages to complete one full cycle are, selecting the forest patch or land, worshipping, cutting the forest growth and spreading it for drying, collecting big logs and firewood, setting fire to the shrubs, planning or final preparation of the field for sowing, sowing seeds with digging sticks or with the help of hoes, weeding, watching and protecting the crop, harvesting and 0000000storing, worshipping and merry-making. All the members of a family are involved in the operation in some way or the other. The patch of forest land is left fallow for one to 10 years as the case may be. In one particular plot they may raise only one crop or utilize it for two to three seasons. And these two stages of operation vary from place to place, from tribe to tribe. The main crops are maize, millet, green pulses, beans, etc.

The process of selection of site is concerned, after the first-day clearance operation for construction of the field hut, the farmer returns home. If he dreams a bad omen he leaves the plot and selects another. A big area is selected for persons of one block (Penal) in a village. Worship for good crop and protection. Clearance of forest for cultivation in early January. A plot of 1 to 1.5 hectares requires a month engaging two persons a day. Both men and women of the family work. Drying of felled trees and burning in February-March. Burning takes place usually on the seventh day the Full Moon in the month of March.

Phujung ceremony-rites performed at the first visit after burning by offering a fowl for good crop. Demarcation of plot and construction of a field house in the centre. Individual plots are demarcated by big logs from the big field of a block of village people (usually the whole village is divided into two Mocks according to residential pattern as upper khel and lower khel). Preparation of Luzu or vegetable gardening adjoining the field hut. Sowing the seeds, viz. paddy, white and red, maize, etc., in March and April. Merry-making by 'celebrating Moatsu-the festival of the land-for six days. Weeding-for two to three times. Watching for the protection of crops. Rites performed at the time of harvesting at aphu (place of worship in front of the field house). Mills (1926 : 122) gave an account of tenter ceremony in which the priest remains in gonna for six days. Harvesting. Storing in granaries which are constructed away from the dwelling houses in October and November. One plot is cultivated for two years.

Jhuming is done in phases. First; the forest is selected. After one days genna observation the forest patch is cleared, wood allowed to dry and purification performed before it is burnt. The field hut is constructed. Yacht golfing is prayed, the crop sown and a genna to mark the end of sowing observed. The field is watched from the field hut, and the ritual forwarding off pests performed. Next the field is weeded, first-fruit ceremony observed, harvesting done and finally merry-making in Vada festival at the close of the agricultural year is done. All suitable land in the Rangma area was taken up generations ago and now lies fallow under secondary jungle on six to 12 years' rotation. Ordinarily, two to three crops are taken from a plot of land before it is discarded. Whole village own a particular jhurn field in the same area in one block for easy. approach, labour saving and easy watching. The staple crop is rice.

Agricultural Patterns of Tribes

Millets, taro, cotton, chilies, ginger, oilseeds, etc., are also grown. An important characteristic of the tribal agriculture is co-operation which can clearly be seen at the time of transplanting paddy, and on other occasions. The help is rendered among the relatives or among the villagers or among the people of an area on a reciprocal basis.

Resources of the traditional tribal economy are concerned, the agriculturist tribes have their land as the main stay of their economy. The fertilizer used by the tribals is cow-dung manure. The dung is collected in a pit into which dirt and other refuse are kept. After some lime the decomposed contents of the pit are scattered in small heaps all over the plot. The ploughing before the first shower mixes the manure with soil. The irrigation facilities are provided by nature. Rain is the best, and the tribal farmers solely depend on it. The agricultural activities of different agriculturist tribals living in all the four zones of tribal India may be surveyed to get a broad picture of the form of agriculture prevalent among them. The agriculture cycle starts with ploughing for three or four times, once immediately after the first showers in January or February and twice within a month or two of the first ploughing to expose the soil to the sun. After some time the land is again ploughed. Before sowing, the fields are manured in late June just before the rains. Soon after the first rain the fields are ploughed twice or thrice. The seeds are scattered all over the field, and the fields leveled. Still some of these tribes are largely depending on food gathering, hunting, non-timber forest produce collection and shifting (Podu) cultivation for their subsistence and survival.

Features Of Agricultural Economy of Selected Tribes In North Coastal Andhra Pradesh:

Agriculture in the tribal areas differs from that of the plain areas, even though the innate character is the same for both types of geographical farming. But, Podu or shifting cultivation is a unique feature of PTG agriculture. Tribals of these selected districts are settled agriculturists, albeit shifting cultivation is a vestige transition of tribal society from one of food gathering and hunting stage to that of settled agriculture. The PTGs in North Coastal Andhra area usually deal with wet, dry and Podu cultivation. The farmers raise both dry and wet crops. The dry land is rain fed while the wet lands are irrigated by streams; Podu cultivation is much prevalent due to the availability of low gradient hilly slopes. Podu is largely undertaken by the households living in the interior hill tracts located in the hill tracts.

The households living in plain areas are undertaking very limited extent of Podu cultivation in the selected villages. All the PTG communities are partly or wholly dependent on shifting cultivation in more extent in the interior hill tracts which are located in the interior hill areas. During the sample survey it is noticed that a few Gadaba and Kondh households living in the region II mandals and villages were also found to follow this practice due to lack of alternative employment opportunities for them. The number of families following only shifting cultivation or only settled cultivation or partly shifting cultivation and partly settled cultivation has indicated along with the area of lands possessed by them in each village. It is noticed that out of 360 households covered in the sample nearly 16 percent households are dependent solely on shifting cultivation 44 percent of the households are dependant partly on shifting cultivation and partly on settled cultivation. Nearly 40 percent are dependent only on settled cultivation. Among the sampling households 60 percent of the households are partly or wholly dependent on shifting cultivation. Thus from among the six villages which came to the

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sampling fold shifting cultivation was found to be practiced in four villages.

Nature of the Operational Land Holdings and Cropping Pattern :

Shifting cultivation is economically more viable to the tribes are as their principal source of income in the North coastal Andhra districts Region because of low capital investment necessary for seeds, manures and techniques employed in the process of production. Apart from land and labour which are easily available they use traditional seeds which they preserve at the time of harvesting their crops to obtain them from their neighbours mostly on exchange. The jhum fields are not manured excepting spreading of ashes obtained from firing of felled materials. Implements used are very simple. The most distinctive practice that we have come across among them is the use of drought animals like cows, bullocks for ploughing the swidden. Techniques of cultivation are acquired through active participation by an individual since early age. Total absence of paid wage-labour system is another peculiarity of the practices since exchange of labour is the main feature of the system. Both communal and individual ownership of land is also found in the field of shifting cultivation. However, individual ownership is mostly found in North coastal Andhra districts.

Shifting cultivation is practiced in the hilly terrain, where climatic conditions such as medium rainfall, medium temperature, and soil type are favourable for quick growth of plants. In the absence of suitable land for settled cultivation on one hand and availability of areas covered with immediate growing vegetation, on the other, a number of communities like Bonda, Kandha, Didayi, and Koya of North coastal Andhra districts Region practice shifting cultivation as most suitable from of cultivation. In course of time, this has become a deep rooted habit with many people. Several communities still cling to it even through land is in short supply. In such a situation the 'fallow period' and jhum cycle get reduced. Selection of sites for shifting cultivation is made on a number of considerations ie., Fallo period, growth of wild plants to be slashed, nearness to village, nature of slope, supernatural deviations etc. The tribes of southern Orissa cut the trees high above the ground leaving the stools of about 2 feet in height where as those of northern Orissa cut the trees flush with the ground.

The women are forbidden to take part in the Jungle clearing among the Juangs and the Bhuyans where as there is no such taboo associated with this work among Saora, Dongria Kondhs and other tribal communities of southern Orissa. Among the Dongria Kondhs "there is no difference between the males and females as regards the division of labour. The women toil hard from dawn to dusk. They cut the shrubs with the males, lit fire, level the ash and till the plots with the hoe, broadcast the seeds, weed the grasses and finally harvest the crops. Winnowing, threshing and strong are also done by both men and women. (Upali Aparajita, 1994). The shifting cultivation is a way of life. Individuals, irrespective of gender are initiated into it at an early age as a part of traditional social process that helpes to acquire the skill and techniques of shifting cultivation through participation. Children in the age group of 9 to 10years accompany their parents to the swidden to learn various operations by imitation and through occasional instructions from the elders from the Bonda, Didayi, Kutia Kandh, Dongria Kandh and Paroja of the North coastal Andhra districts.

Shifting cultivation has very little scope for specialization as diverse crops are sown in a single plot of land. Mixed crops of hill paddy, minor millets, pulses, oil seeds are grown in shifting cultivation and they are harvested in

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succession. Unlike the Saoras and Dongaria Kondh who have their threshing floors and harvests each crop once, the Bondos reap a small quantity every day, just enough for the days food threshing it with their feet on verandah, husking, clearing, cooking and eating immediately (Elwin, 1950) Reaping a small quantity of crop every day and absence of threshing floors indicates that the PTGs like Bondo do not have power to sustain stocks of the produce. This indicates a very primitive level of economic performance and a very low standard of living.

It has been stated earlier that shifting cultivation is resorted to on a particular land for a period of two to three years. In the 2nd and 3rd year felling of trees is not required to be carried out. Hence pressure of work is much less in the subsequent years. Generally crops grown in the second and third year are of a different variety from those of the previous years. The change in the cropping pattern is due to the declining fertility in the successive years. Shifting cultivation is primarily a labour intensive pursuit with division of labour based on age and gender and at the same time a collective, more or less cooperative system in which members of various units of social organization starting from the family, minor lineage group to village have to participate individually as well as collectively; and cooperate with each other at various operational stages.

The family structure among the Bonda, Koya, Diadayi and Kandha is mostly nuclear and is small in size. With individual ownership of house and homestead land and usufruct right over swidden going hand in hand, family act as the basic socio-economic unit. It shoulders the entire responsibility of cultivation in the patches allotted to it and should remain in readiness to help the close kinsmen and neighbours, village officials, etc., whenever called for on nominal wage or no wage and on cooperation basis. All members of a household of tribes like Bonda, Koya, Kandha and Paraja form an effective production unit by participating ungrudgingly in all sorts of distinctive duties traditionally earmarked for each. In shifting cultivation the entire village acts as a single production unit. All decisions relating to it are taken in the meeting of the village in case of Bonda and Didayi tribe. Village meeting are presided over by the village functionaries like Nayak, Member, and Mukhiya etc. The role of the village leaders is still considered essential and inseparable from the process of shifting cultivation in the study villages khoirput and Podia Block.

Shifting cultivation is a system interwined with hard and arduous labour coupled with risk to human life brought by wild life. It is not a lazy and lethargic process as alleged by some observers. Both men and women walk several kilometers every day, work in hot summer, windy rainy season and rigorous winter in the high hills infested with wild animals and poisonous reptiles. Among the Soara, shifting cultivation is a collective venture. All participants are expected to carry on the required operations as per the calendar collectively fixed. In such a situation, promptness, not laziness of an individual, is the likely watch word. In shifting cultivation, the Bonda, Didayi and Gond tribe follow a defined cropping pattern. Different crops are grown separately in specific part of the same patch in different years of cultivation. As is the practice in many other areas, the Gond tribes do not mix up different crops. These crops are not only traditional but also popular among them since they themselves consume most of these. Use of improved seeds, and chemical fertilizers and pesticide and the modern techniques of cultivation have not yet found their way into the shifting cultivation fields of the Bondos of Khoraput.

Agricultural Patterns of Tribes

Shifting cultivation is a subsistence economy among the Bonda Didayi, Kandha providing the community a variety of food crops one after another within a period of 5 to 6 months. Almost all these food crops are mostly consumed at home and the surplus, if any, is either sold or bartered. Niger is the only crop grown in swidden that is totally disposed off by sale or by exchange for paddy grains. Some of the service personnel like the Blacksmith, the potter, milkman and basket maker are paid in kind. Some items of produce from swidden are exchanged for things of daily necessity. Thus, shifting cultivation is obviously less marketable. Swidden cultivation is their main source of food and nutrition that helps to maintain a balanced diet.

Shifting cultivation is not only the major source of income to many households in the interior hill tracts of the study area but also provides ample scope for earning extra income by making bigger clearings when necessity arises for more funds to meet the expenses of a costly ritual like marriage ceremony or payment of an old debt. It is also used as a source of building a common fund for the village. The unmarried youths too raise a common fund for their activities through shifting cultivation. Produce from the clearings cultivated collectively by the households and by the unmarried youths go to their respective common funds. Shifting cultivation is never a competitive undertaking. Nobody likes to make bigger clearings for accumulation of wealth. Further, it provides security at the time of food crisis caused by failure of crops in the plain and wet land due to drought or flood. In swidden cultivation, total crop failure does not occur, because a large variety of crops grown are harvested one after another within a period to 4 to 5 months. In the sampling interior hill tracts it was found that the cultivation period and fallow period has become more of less equal i.e. 2 to 3 years of cultivation period is followed by 2 to 3 years of fallow period.

The system of shifting cultivation has been defined by Pelzer as "an economy shows main characteristics are rotation of fields rather than crops; clearing by means of fire, absence of draught animals and manuring, use of human labor only, employment of dibble stick or hoe; short period of soil occupancy alternating with long fallow period. Shifting cultivation forms a part and parcel of their culture. It has become a way of their life the rituals, social organizations and recreational activities are so much inter-twined with the practice of shifting cultivation that it is difficult to isolate it through the total culture complex. This is one of the main reasons of continuation of this from of cultivation in spite of the efforts made to wean away the tribals from the practice of shifting cultivation. Among certain tribes shifting cultivation has a deep religious significance. Their economic and religious life is interwoven to such an extent with this practice that it is difficult to isolate the economic factors for separate treatment. It has been rightly pointed out that "shifting cultivation has a special significance in the ethos of concerned tribal society and the social relationship, cultural values and mythical beliefs are directly linked with it. Tribal value orientation is one of the basic causes underlying the continuance of shifting cultivation among most of the tribes of hill regions.

The scarcity of lands in the plains in relation to demand and their high prices put them beyond the tribals reach. It is also not easy for them to invest large funds on instruments required for settled cultivation. On the other hand with the ashes of natural vegetation as manure and seeds in the system of shifting cultivation. Besides podu digging stick and axe all of which can be manufactured by cultivators themselves excepting the iron part which can be provided to them by the local black smiths in exchange of small amount of their produce. Shifting cultivation provides work to all members of a tribal family. Women take active part in cleaning podu land, breaking clod of earth, hoeing, dibbling weeding and reaping. The children right from a tender age helps their parents on all these activities. Plough cultivation in wet or dry lands involves clear division of labour which does not fit in with the traditional style of life and work of these people.

The shifting cultivators in general are found adopting several supplementary source of subsistence allied to it. They carry on collection of edible roots, shoots, leaves, flowers, fruits and mushrooms and several varieties of minor forest produce such Mahua flower, myrabolen, sal seeds, tamarind, firewood, honey, broom, jhuna, siali leaves, thatching grass etc. In addition to this they carry on hunting. Podu cultivation is the only means of survival for interior households who do not posses any low lands or terraced of plots of land either because of land alienation or because of pressure of population on limited plain lands. Thus swidden cultivation has been a safety value against pauperization and destitution. This aspect of swidden cultivation is more extent in mining and industrialization areas where a large number of tribals are dispossessed of their lands and villages which were inherited by them from their forefathers

In the tribal areas of North Coastal districts of AP there is a lot of pressure on land due to the increase in tribal population and in-migration of non-tribal people. The per household availability of cultivable land has declined over a period of time. The details pertaining to the average size of operational land holding (OLH) of the sample households reveal that the average size of OLH of all tribes is recorded as 3.20 acres. It may be noted from the table that the largest average OLH is held by the households living in plain areas and the smallest OLH is owned by the households living in the interior hill tracts it may be noted that a large part of the land is Patta land given by the Government to these primitive tribes for organizing the settled cultivation.

The Problem of Shifting Cultivation

There are many areas in Andhra Pradesh where the terrain offers little scope for agriculture other than shifting cultivation on hill slopes. This type of tillage, also known to anthropologists as slash-and-burn, or swidden, cultivation, is described in Telugu as podu. Several tribes of Andhra Pradesh were traditionally podu cultivators, and it is only in the last fifty years that considerations of forest conservancy led to various measures aimed at the restriction or total elimination of podu, In the agency areas of north coastal Vishakapatnam, Vijayanagaram and Srikakulam districts slash-and-burn cultivation is still the main method of tillage of tribal communities. Wherever the terrain lends itself to the cultivation of rice and hill streams facilitate irrigation, the transition to such permanent cultivation relieves the pressure on land used for podu . Such pressure has arisen where the Forest Department has claimed large parts of the land for plantations of commercial species, such as teak or eucalyptus, but a shortage of land has also come about in certain hill villages owing to the natural growth of population. The argument, often put forward by forest officials, that podu cultivation is inherently wasteful and detrimental to the preservation of forests is nevertheless not without flaws. In the areas inhabited for centuries if not millennia by shifting cultivators, there are some of the largest natural forests, whereas the expansion of intensive plough cultivation has nearly everywhere led to a disap-

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pearance of forests. This becomes obvious in many parts of Andhra Pradesh.

The government, which in the past eight years has pursued a very effective policy of tribal rehabilitation, recognizes the part podu is playing in the economy of such tribes as Saoras, Gadabas, Jatapus, and Konda Doras. Relatively small plots have been assigned to tribals on patta on the assumption that the occupiers augment the yields by crops grown on podu fields In the north coastal districts of AP only limited areas have been declared reserved forest, and the majority of the hill slopes are open for podu cultivation. Here the government has accepted the fact that the tribesmen have an inherent right to the hills and valleys of their ancient homeland. To some extent the difference in official attitudes is undoubtedly due to the fact that in the north coastal districts of AP the tribesmen led by Naxalite revolutionaries, had risen in armed revolt against oppression by outsiders.

In fact more often tribes have been described as peasants without the criteria used for defining peasants being adequately applied. The pattern of land ownership in the study area reveal that the area was under the rule of Zamindars and Muttadars during the British regimes and tribals of this area gave up their traditional practices of communal ownership of land and sought sustenance through individual ownership (Parthasarathy .G). Land becomes the commodity of the mart, even though land transactions were few and far between. But land transfer to non-tribals through loan transactions or usufruct mortgages becomes a common feature. It was only through the 1917 and 1959 movements that land was restored to the tribals but the ownership structure remained skewed. All the selected villages are un-surveyed villages. Against this background an attempt is made in this study to analyze

the agricultural patterns of Gadaba tribal households.

Features of Agricultural Economy of Tribes in North Coastal AP:

In the selected villages the size of the land holding of the tribal farming family is small due to a high degree of a pauperization of the small people as marginal and small landowners. Distribution of sample households according to class-size group reveal that the size-group is fixed in proportion with the prevailing conditions in the villages. Across different size group of farms marginal farms (50 percent), small farms (33.33 percent), medium farms (13.33 percent) and large farms (3.33) are categorized for the in depth study of tribal agricultural patterns. It may also be noted that the marginal farms are found in large number among the tribal communities. All the selected heads of households are permanent residents in the respective sample villages and have been staying there from more than 10 years.

In the tribal areas of north coastal districts of A.P, there is a lot of pressure on land due to the increase in tribal population and in-migration of non-tribal people. The per household availability of cultivable land has declined over a period of time. The details pertaining to the average size of operational land holding (OLH) of the sample households shows that the average size of OLH of all tribes and size groups is recorded as 3.14 acres. The average size of OLH of different size groups is in commensurate with the relative economic status of the sample households. The smallest size of OLH of 1.56 acres is owned by marginal farms (MRF) and also it may be noted that a large part of the land is Patta land given by the Government to the tribals for settled cultivation practices.

Cropping Pattern

The tribal people in north coastal districts of AP

usually deal with wet, dry and Podu cultivation. The farmers raise both dry and wet crops. The dry land is rain fed while the wetlands are irrigated by streams; Podu cultivation is much prevalent due to the availability of low gradient hilly slopes. Podu is largely undertaken by primitive tribes. Among the different size groups of farms except large farms all other farms are undertaking Podu cultivation. Considerable changes have taken place in agriculture sector; so far the cropping pattern is concerned. The tribal farmers are used to grow cereals and millets in the past. However, due to efforts made by governmental agencies tribals have come to know about growing non-traditional and commercial crops and still a large portion of the gross cropped area is used for growing food crops. The seasonwise distribution of gross cropped area details indicates that the gross cropped area under Kharif crop and under Rabi crop are lesser than the area under Podu cultivation. The large and medium farms cultivating relatively large proportion of the gross cropped area under Kharif season. It implies that the marginal farms are depending more upon the Podu cultivation than the remaining size groups. Gadaba tribes are conducting higher proportion of total Podu cultivation in the study area and their area under Kharif and Rabi seasons is very low. The sample tribal households have reported that 17 types of food and nonfood crops are raised by them in the entire gross cropped area under Kharif, Rabi, and Podu.

Among them ten major crops have been identified on the basis of relative proportion of cropped area of each crop in the total gross cropped area 9 crops have been identified as the major crops by the sample households; the data relating to cropping pattern in the study area reveal that the area under the major 9 crops constitutes about 85.13 percent of the gross cropped area. It may be observed that as much as 37.51 percent of the total area of the major crops is under paddy cultivation. The total area under cereals and millets of the gross cropped is very high. The tribal farmers have been growing commercial crops like turmeric, jingle, and vegetables in a considerable area. Also it is noticed that, in the study area, it has been estimated that more area is under shifting cultivation, among the major crops considered in the study, crops like ragi, red gram, samai, jowar, bajra, turmeric and a variety of mixed crops are grown under Podu cultivation. Though Paddy is also grown the area under this crop is negligible. More than 90 percent of the Podu is held by marginal and small farms. In spite of the strenuous efforts made by the governmental and nongovernmental agencies the practice of Podu cultivation is prevalent particularly in the villages of the hilly areas.

Irrigation Facilities:

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The north coastal Andhra Pradesh has non-perennial rivers. Land provides good harvest only under rainfed clouds of Southwest and Northeast monsoons. The tribals for a long time were neglected in building irrigation tanks or canals for cultivation of lands. In the study area, irrigation facilities were meager in spite of the ground water potential and the existence of hill streams. The ITDAs established separate engineering department to provide irrigation facilities and made efforts to construct check dams across the hill streams wherever possible. Due to these facilities the tribal cultivator is able to raise crops that can be raised under irrigation facilities. The average proportion of irrigated land in the total non-Podu operational land holdings shows that the proportion of irrigated area in the operational land holding is around 20 percent. The average size of irrigated area of the large farmer is higher while the lowest is that of the marginal farms. Average size of irrigated area of all tribes and farms is estimated to only 0.30 acres. This shows that substantial efforts are still needed to

Agricultural Patterns of Tribes

be made by the governmental agencies in this area to provide irrigation facilities that suit the local conditions.

Cost of Cultivation:

In tribal agriculture estimation of cost of cultivation involves difficulties. The value of family labor is only estimated in terms of imputed market wage rate. Payments are made either in cash or kind, or both. Method of payment varies depending upon the type of operation. Value of productivity calculated on the basis of local market prices which have been utilized for all practical purposes. The total cost includes the following items. The value of family labor imputed at market wage rate. Value of hired labor, bullock labor, either owned or hired is construed as consisting of two bullocks along with adult male working for eight hours a day, the value of fertilizers is calculated at market prices and the value of compost is imputed. Seeds either home produce or purchased are valued at the market prices and the rental value of own land is excluded from the cost of cultivation.

Costs in Non-Podu Cultivation:

Non-Podu cultivation involves both dry and wet cultivation. The tribal agriculture is subject to different farming systems like irrigated (Wet), Un irrigated (Dry) and Podu farming. It may be noted that per acre cost of cultivation of a crop may vary across seasons, farming systems. So the net return per acre of a crop becomes important. An attempt has been made here to make an estimation of the per acre costs, output and net returns of the major crops.

The per acre costs and returns of cultivation of major crops shows that the per acre cost of paddy is higher than all other crops followed by mixed crops i.e. bajra, jingle, red gram and ragi. Of the total cost, it may be observed a relatively larger proportion is spent on human labour ranging from 44.52 percent in the case of paddy to 61.04 percent in case of jingle. The per acre cost on bullock labour is also ranging from 10.69 percent in case of paddy to 23.59 percent in case of red gram. A higher cost on seeds and seeding has been spent on mixed cropping is high while the lowest cost is incurred in the case of ragi. The per acre cost on fertilizer is high incase of paddy and while it is very low incase of red gram. The per acre costs on pesticides, irrigation and transportation is either null or negligible. The per acre costs and returns of the major crops across size groups of farms indicate that the net return from paddy is the highest across the major crops. Since paddy is a major crop grown by all size groups of farms and constitutes substantial proportion in the gross cropped area, a more detailed analysis has been made with regard to paddy crop.

The per acre costs and return on paddy grown under Kharif and Rabi seasons under irrigated and unirrigated reveal that the per acre costs and the output of paddy under Kharif in irrigated area is higher than other categories of paddy. The net returns per acre under irrigated Rabi are relatively higher than other categories of paddy. This is because of the low cost per acre due to the amount spent on human and bullock labour. It is also evident that, paddy grown under irrigation in Kharif and Rabi seasons is more remunerative than paddy under Kharif and Rabi in irrigated area across different tribes and size groups of farm households. The per acre total costs, total output and net return of paddy crop of irrigated and un-irrigated area under Kharif and Rabi seasons across different size groups of farms also shows that paddy grown under irrigation in Kharif and Rabi seasons is more remunerative than unirrigated Kharif.

Costs in Podu Cultivation :

The primitive method of land usage under shifting or Podu cultivation is even now existence in widely separated places throughout the world, especially in regions of high rainfall and temperature, where conditions are favorable for the quick growth of plants. The chief characteristic features of shifting cultivation are rotation of fields, employment of communal labour, use of fire for clearing the land, keeping the land fallow for a number of years for regeneration of forests, ritual performance, use of human labour as chief in put, non-employment of drought animal and use of very crude and simple implements like dibble stick, sickle, scrapper etc. In some part of India, hunting and food gathering are important subsidiary occupations . of shifting cultivation. Tribal households reported that, they have been raising several crops under Podu, but only major crops are considered in this study on the basis of their relative importance of cropped area. except for turmeric, a higher proportion of the total cost is incurred for human labour for all most all crops, followed by seeds and seedlings. The use of fertilizers is almost nil incase of Konda Savara households. Consequently the total cost per acre is relatively low to that of non-Podu cultivation. The per acre costs and returns of major crops under Podu cultivation indicate that per acre cost on human labour are the highest component followed by seed and seedlings across almost all tribes and size groups of farms.

Comparative Cost Structure:

The comparative position of net returns per acre on Podu and non-Podu shows that the net returns from different crops which are grown under Podu and non-Podu cultivation only to the crops grown commonly in both the farming systems among the crops, paddy and mixed cropping are more and more remunerative under non-Podu cul-

tivation. Ragi and red gram are more remunerative under Podu cultivation. The average yield per acre of selected major crops grown by the sample households. Though the yields of different crops are not comparable in view of variation in prices, such a comparison under different farming systems would be useful. The per acre yield of paddy vary across different seasons and farming systems. It is higher under irrigated area in Kharif season and lowest under un irrigated area in Rabi. The per acre yields of ragi and red gram under Podu cultivation are relatively more than those under non-Podu except bajra. The per acre yield of all other crops are relatively low in Podu cultivation. The input output ratios explain that crops like paddy and mixed cropping are more remunerative under non-Podu farming system, than under Podu cultivation. The ratios are less in Podu farming in the case of ragi and red gram than under non-Podu farming system because of the relatively lower cost of production under Podu cultivation. Though some crops are remunerative under Podu cultivation the tribal farmer should be made aware of the renills of Podu cultivation. The governmental agencies have to guide more the tribals towards plantation crops and horticulture.

Conclusions:

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The analysis of the farm activities indicate that dry and wet cultivation under Kharif and Rabi seasons and Podu cultivation are in practice. The average operational land holding, net area sown and gross cropped area of the sample households corresponds with the size group of households. It is identified that the tribal cultivators are growing non-traditional crops along with traditional crops. The cropping pattern indicates that more than 40 percent is under Paddy cultivation and the total area under cereals and millets of the gross cropped area is as high as nearly 60 percent. The proportion of irrigated area in cropped area

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is only around 20 percent and the average size of irrigated area of all farms is only 0.30 acre. The proportion of irrigated area increased along with size group of farms.

An analysis of per acre costs and returns under non-Podu cultivation shows that a large proportion of the cost is spent on human labour. Under non-Podu cultivation, it has been estimated that the net returns per acre from paddy under irrigated Kharif and Rabi are higher when compared to all other categories of crops. Similarly paddy under irrigation in both the seasons is more remunerative. The comparative analysis reveals that paddy and mixed cropping are more remunerative under non-Podu cultivation. The analysis of input-output ratios also reveals the same trends relating to costs and net returns of different major crops. The value of total costs, total output and net returns are very high in case of paddy under non-Podu and they are very high in case of turmeric in Podu. The per acre costs and return on cultivation of paddy under non-Podu reveal that the total costs are high incase of irrigated area under Kharif and net returns are very high in case of irrigated area under Rabi. The comparative picture of net returns per acre in Podu and non-Podu cultivation indicate that in case of paddy and mixed cropping non-Podu is remunerative and in case of ragi and red gram Podu cultivation is remunerative. However, the average per acre yields of selected major crops is very high in case of non-Podu cultivation rather than Podu cultivation. Similarly except in case of mixed cropping the input output ratios are relatively high in all major crops under non-Podu cultivation.

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Chapter - 9

Tribal Education

Introduction:

In Andhra Pradesh, Tribal education got impetus in 1986 when the government of Andhra Pradesh have taken a policy decision to provide accessibility to primary education to all children in the primary school age group. This is in response to National Education Policy of 1984. By that time government of Andhra Pradesh have already started Residential Schools called by different names such as Ashram Schools and Gurukulam Schools which became part tribal life. It would be interesting to trace the history of these institutions over the decades so that we learn lessons for future programs in India or similar programs for indigenous or aboriginal communities in other parts of the world. Before we go it to details, let me clarify in the beginning that the word Scheduled Tribe (or Tribe in normal usage) in India refers to a community which is recognized by President of India as such under the provisions of Constitution of India. In the international parlance, they fall under the broad category of Indigenous populations. In other countries they are referred as Aboriginals.

Government of Andhra Pradesh is the first state in India to start Residential Schools called Ashram Schools in 1971. Again the State is first to start Gurukulams exclusively for secondary school education for Scheduled Tribes (1975) to provide quality education. The number of Institutions for Scheduled Tribes (STs) has increased slowly and steadily over the years.

The number institutions during the academic year 2006-07 is as follows

SI.N	o Category of Institution	Total
1	Residential Schools (Classes V-X)	29
2	Residential Schools Upgraded to Junior Colleges (Classes V-XII)	38
3	English medium Residential Schools (Classes V-X)	04
4	Independent Residential Junior Colleges (Classes XI-XII)	05
5	Ashram Schools (Classes III-X)	504
6	Hostels (Classes VI -X)	506
7	Best Available Schools(Classes VI -X)	120
8	Schools of Excellence(Classes VI -X)	03
9	Junior Colleges Of Excellence(Classes XI-XII)	03
10	Mini Gurukulams (Primary Residential Schools (Classes I-V)	41
11	Primary Schools(Classes I-V)	4317
12	Community Schools (Our Schools) (Classes I-II)	5441
_	Total II (Chases 1-11)	11,01

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Growth of educational institutions:

Situation before Sixties :

Educational programs in tribal areas of Andhra Pradesh date back to pre-independence days. The tribal areas of Coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema were under British while the Telangana areas were under Nizam's rule. In the year 1940, Gond tribals of Adilabad district under the leadership of Komaram Bhimu revolted against the exploitation of non-tribals and officials of Revenue and Forest Departments of Nizam's government. The Nizam's Government appointed Prof. Haimendorf as Advisor. The important rehabilitation program suggested by him was to allot land to all the tribal families. The next important program initiated was the Gond Education Scheme. A Teacher's Training Centre was started in 1943 in Marlavai in Adilabad district and Gond tribals educated upto class V were appointed as teachers. By 1945, about 30 schools were started. Similarly, Teacher's Training Centers were started in Ginnedhari in Adilabad district, Tadvai in present day Warangal district and Sudimella in present day Khammam district. Vocational Training Centre especially in Carpentry to enable tribals to manufacture agricultural implements and construction of houses etc., was also started at the same time.

In the then Kurnool district under the British, Chenchu Development Scheme was started ion 1915. As part of this scheme, a team of officials headed by Divisional Forest Officer and consisting of Asst. Chenchu Officer, a Chenchu Health Officer and Education Superintendent were also appointed. The first school was started in 1916 and the number has increased to 27 with 305 boys and 141 girls. There were separate schools for girls in places like Peddacheruvu. However, the Nizam's Government which started education schemes in Gond and Koya areas has not started any education scheme in Chenchu areas of Mahaboobnagar district which were also part of Nizam's Dominions.

However, the British which has taken so much of interest in development of education in Chenchu areas of the then Kurnool district did not have any special scheme for educational development in Coastal Andhra Tribal areas. However, some youth inspired by Mahatma Gandhi during the days of independence struggle have started some schools in these tribal areas. Dr. Radhe Shyam in Ramannagudem in West Godavari district tribal areas, Sri Rebbapragada Mandeswara Sarma in Paderu and Araku in Visakhapatnam district tribal areas and Sri Mallipeddi Krishna Murthy in Mandasa in tribal areas of Srikakulam district started the schools.

Situation during Sixties:

Government of India in 1950 started a nation wide development program called Community Development Program (CDP). In the year 1955, Special Multipurpose Tribal Development Blocks (M.P.P.) were started in areas of tribal concentration all over India. Four such Blocks were started at Araku, Paderu, Narsampet and Utnoor. The emphasis of the program was on roads development, provision of drinking water and education. About 50 primary schools were started by Government during this period. A National Commission (called Dhebar Commission) appointed by Government of India to study the implementation of Constitution of India in respect of Scheduled Areas and various committees appointed by Government of India have pointed out that the Community Development Blocks and Special Multipurpose Tribal Development Blocks covered only 10% of tribals. After

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detailed reviews, the Tribal Development Block approach was extended to larger areas of tribal concentration. In Andhra Pradesh, 4 M.P.P. Blocks became 24 Tribal Development Blocks. The approach to tribal development remained more or less the same. The number of primary schools became 120. The absenteeism of teachers was high because of inaccessibility of these areas. From the parent's side also there was lack of interest on children's education due to ignorance. Between 1964 and 1970 the tribal areas of Srikakulam district witnessed mass upsurge against exploitation of tribal by traders and money lenders. Tribals lost lot of land in the process. Similar unrest surfaced in other parts of the state, though in a smaller dimension. The tribal areas of Adilabad, Warangal and Godavari districts also saw revolts in the pre-independence days also. People started realizing that due to lack of education they are falling easy prey to manipulations of money - lenders and traders. This resulted in development of an urge to educate their children. But their economy and social conditions did not give much scope for continuing their children in schools. Male students were forced to drop out from school to help their parents in agriculture and collection of forest produce. Female students were also forced to drop out of school to help their mothers to fetch water from hill stream, caring younger children, helping in kitchen etc. Most of these girls were also married at the age of seven and to their mother - in- law's place as per tradition. The drop out rate at Class 2 was as high as 98%.

In the year 1964, Government of India started a Tribal Research Institute at Hyderabad as part of All India policy of starting such institutions in all states with tribal concentration. It collected lot of data on tribal way of life during 1964 and 1970. By 1970s, it has conducted a number of applied tribal research studies and one of the topics was on tribal education. The studies revealed some interesting issues relating to tribal education.

- Their traditional economies vary significantly depending on the areas of their habitation. They are broadly categorized as:
 - Gathering and Hunting
 - Shifting Cultivation
 - Cattle Rearing
 - Trading
 - Settled Agriculture
- Their Social Organizations also vary
- There fore, Challenges of Education also vary
- Education models available were mostly evolved based On experiences In developed countries or literate societies
 - With In the developing societies, there are no experiences from pre-literate societies
 - The added problem (!) Is that most of them have their own dialects and teachers are from non-tribal areas do not understand that dialect
 - However, the advantage is that these societies have highest forms of oral tradition
 - Villages are small and scattered
 - Teachers from outside were not willing to work in interior habitations
- Lack of accommodation for teachers and school

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- Cultural barriers-
 - Language problem
 - Food problem
 - How to spend time after school hours?
- Health problems for teachers and family members
- Lack of hospital facility and dearth of doctors
- Problem of education of grown up children
- Additional expenditure on keeping wife and children in town for education
- Supervisors also can not go frequently.
- Absenteeism of teacher is high as a result of all these factors

Review in early 1970s resulted in starting of Ashram Schools :

Detailed reviews were conducted in early 1970s as the literacy figures for Scheduled Tribes as per 1961 Census were distressing. They are as follows:

Area	Scheduled Tri	I Census		
	Male	Female	Total	
Andhra Pradesh	1.26	1.18	1.21	

As part of national policy for development of tribal areas, one more new strategy was initiated in 1975 ie at the beginning of Fifth Five Year Plan called Tribal Sub-Plan for integrated and over all development of areas of tribal concentration. The review conducted before evolving the policy has shown that:

- Area and population coverage was less than 30%
- Only Tribal Welfare Department's budget was avail-

able for tribal development

- Flow of funds to tribal areas was less than 1% of total plans of the states
- Some tribal groups remained more backward than other groups
- There was urgent need to protect the interests of tribals on land and forest two principal sources of livelihood and in market
- There was no organizational, financial and program integration
- Postings of personnel in tribal areas were mostly punishment postings
- Tribals needed to be empowered to face new situations arising out of culture contact.
- There were large gaps in development levels between tribal areas and plains areas as follows:

SI. No	Indicator	State	Tribal area
1	Literacy (%) (1971 Census)	24.57	5.34
2	Electrified villages (%)	64.90	9.70
3	Irrigated area(%)	22.00	3.20
4	Villages accessible by all weather roads(%)	65.24	12.52

Comparitive levels of development Andhra Pradesh - 1974-1975

The important features of national policy for tribal development (Tribal Sub-Plan) are as follows:

- Tribals were categorized as those
 - i) living in areas of tribal concentration
 - ii) living as dispersed population- MADA,

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Cluster

- iii) living as primitive tribal groups
- In areas of tribal concentration, it was proposed to narrow the gap in levels of
 - i. development between tribal areas and other areas
 - ii. improve the quality of life-economic, educational and health
- Integrated area development with focus on tribal development to be followed to achieve these goals
- Immediate objectives are to:
 - i. Elimination of all forms of exploitation in land, forest and Market,
 - ii. Building the inner strength of the People,
 - iii. Improving organizational Capabilities
- TSP to be a continuous exercise
- Four types of integration was envisaged to translate sub-plan approach in to action as follows
 - Area synchronization- ITDA areas to be formed by including all scheduled areas and all non- scheduled with more than 50% tribal population and contiguous to scheduled area
 - ii) Financial integration to be achieved by integrating the budgets of state plan, special central assistance, central sector programs and intuitional finance
 - iii) Organizational integration to be achieved by

bringing all development and regulatory depts. under ITDA (Single Line Administration)

iv) Program integration to be achieved by integrating all programs of all departments in to the plans of ITDA

At All India level, there was a detailed review of tribal situation at the end of Fourth Five Year Plan i.e., in 1973 by Working Groups of eminent persons constituted for the purpose. A clear strategy for providing access was evolved. All villages or habitations with more than 200 population and have about 20 school age children should have a non-residential school as children from the same village will attend the school. To start with, one teacher was appointed to teach classes one and two. Small and scattered habitations have to be mapped and clusters have to be formed. While forming such clusters, care should be taken to see that the geographical barriers like hillocks, hill streams etc, and forests, should be considered. As children can not travel daily from their scattered habitations, the school should be a residential school. The concept of Ashram School is, however an age old concept in which even the kings used to send their children to Ashram (Abode) of the saint curn teacher, located deep in the forest. The students have to work while learning. However, in the government Ashram School model, the government provides accommodation, food, books and a pair of clothes. The school is also located in the same premises. Ministry of Home Affairs Government of India in their guidelines for Fifth Five Year Plan issued in 1974 have categorically stated that "The Ashram School must be taken as necessary part of strategy of even educational development."Government of Andhra Pradesh made a detailed mapping of literacy areas in early 1970s and found to its astonishment that large blocks of

tribal areas were zero literacy areas in many parts of scheduled areas.. Guided by research results of Tribal Research Institute, Hyderabad, Government of Andhra Pradesh started opening Ashram Schools for groups of sparsely populated and scattered habitations. As many as 25 were started in the one batch.

Early Phase of administration of Ashram Schools (1970-1980)

The school is headed by a Head Master supported by three teachers. All the teachers and Head Master should have studied at least 10+2 and passed Secondary Grade Basic Training from a Teachers Training Institute. Government is supposed provide accommodation to teachers in the same habitation but because of lack of sufficient funds, only school buildings were constructed. The villagers how ever, provided huts to teachers. However, they lived alone leaving their wife and children at their birth place or nearby small towns. In several villages the tribal farmers donated part of their lands for constructing school buildings.

One of the teachers was designated as Warden of the hostel. Initially, the students were sleeping in the school only as there was no separate hostel building. In the initial years, teachers were given Zeeps by the officers to motivate the parents to send their children to schools. The admission was in Class I. Each class had strength of 20 students as per Government of India norm for tribal areas compared to 1:30 for rural areas. Children used to run away from the schools in the nights through thick jungles. It was a tension all the time for the teachers. The elder among the students were asked by teachers to keep a watch on the movements of younger students and also bring them back to schools.

All the students were provided two pairs of clothes, all prescribed text books and note books free of cost as incentive. They are supposed to go to their villages only during terminal holidays. However, in practice, the children go to their villages when they are sick, during festivals etc. On many occasions they do not return to school till one of the teachers goes to their village and bring them back. There were number of instances where in the students disappeared in to jungles on seeing the Jeep. On some other occasion, they were found by teachers near the hill stream playing in the stream waters. The parents were persuaded by the teacher to send them to schools. There fore, it was the school that was going to students first in tribal areas, the opposite of what happens in a normal school in developed areas. Even though the age limit for the student at the time of admission in Class I is 6 years, children of 8 years were also admitted as the tribal parents do not count age as we count. They traditionally go by age groups depending on the type of work each of the age group performs in traditional context. So when they complete the Class II, the girls are already marriageable age and are required to look after younger children. The male students join the age group of boys who are supposed to look after cattle. So they are withdrawn in to their traditional works.

While the absenteeism of teachers is a perpetual problem, the socio-economic conditions of parents also contributed to drop out problem in large percentage. There was also a tendency to show fictitious enrolment by teachers to show minimum strength required for sanction and continuation of primary school. This also added to the drop out ratio in statistical terms. The Head Master and the teacher designated as Warden were always busy in administrative works such as preparing bills and obtaining sanctions, procurement of food items etc.

The Text books used in tribal areas were the same

books prescribed by government for all schools in non-tribal areas. The language and content was so alien to students that they could not appreciate the content. Many times it was irrelevant. In spite of all these disadvantages, awareness was increasing among parents to educate their children. They were willing to forego the income or work from children and take additional burden on to themselves.

Even though ITDAs were started in 1974-75, it took some time for them to settle down. Government started a policy of posting young officers of Indian Administrative Service of Senior Time Scale as Project Officers and introduced single line administration. The important features of this policy are:

- Andhra Pradesh is first to introduce single line administration in ITDA areas in 1986(G.O. Ms 434 dt 14-8-86 G. A. dept)
- Model based on village tribal leadership to have a single window to attend to all tribal issues
- Comprehensive Orders were issued again in 2002 (G.O. Ms 274 dt 15-6-2002 G. A. dept)
- Basic features of these orders are
- Project Officer to be Ex-officio Joint Collector(Tribal Welfare) and additional District Magistrate
- Certain powers of Joint Collector as per annexure of the G.O will be exercised by the Project Officer.
- Project Officer to be additional Agent
- All development programs in the sub-plan areas to be approved by ITDA
- Administrative control over all development and

- Regulatory functionaries with jurisdiction in
- Sub-plan area (leave, travel allowance, postings etc.)
- Andhra Pradesh adopted society model compared to government model in other states. Advantages are :
- Non- lapsable nature of funds
- Flexibility to adopt to local and immediate demands
- Possibilities for building local priorities in to action plans
- Powers to sanction schemes
 - Up to Rs 1 lakh to Project Officer
 - Up to Rs 2 lakhs to chairman ITDA
 - Up to Rs 15 lakhs to governing body

Simultaneously, Government of Andhra Pradesh appointed educational officers of the rank of District Educational Officers /Deputy District Educational Officers exclusively for ITDA areas. The concept of single line administration and special education officers for ITDA areas gave special impetus to tribal education.

Quantum Jump from 1980 on wards :

There was a quantum jump in 1980s with opening of 100 Ashram Schools in 1980 alone and 3000 primary schools in 1986 when the National Education Policy was introduced. The number of Government schools reached a figure of 4317 and community schools a level of 5411. With this primary school facility was provided to almost all tribal habitations with more than 50 population. Government of

Andhra Pradesh has also started expanding coverage in Gurukulam Institutions from 1983 on wards. Their number reached 123. The number of Ashram schools reached 504 and that of Hostel to 506. Tribal villagers also started opening community schools (called Maa Badi- our schools) on their own by contributing funds from their meager financial resources. They appointed their own teachers by paying, them Rs,300/- per month (Rs 30/- per family x 10 families).The tribal areas are also benefited by Educational projects funded by International Fund for Agriculture Development (Education Component), UNICEF and World Bank supported District Primary Education Project and Government of India funded Sarva Siskha Abhiyan.

The enrolment of children has increased substantially as follows :

Ycar	Primary	Enrolmen Upper Pr	Post -Matric	
1971	1.01	-	-	-
1981	3.15	0.57	0.41	0.03
1991	4.85	0.81	0.58	0.15
2001	8.07	1.83	1.59	0.97

The quantitative jump in educational institutions and enrolment did not enthuse educationists as drop out ratios continues to be high even though they was a declining trend in the rate over the years.

Vear	Drop out rate at Class V	Class VII
1971	75.30	93.91
1981	68.10	78.01
1991	65.20	78.01
2001	65.80	80.82

The statistics are as follows :

Subsequently, there was a detailed review of tribal education and was decided to streamline educational institutions and concentrate on quality education as quantitative coverage has almost been achieved. Therefore, a new concept of School Complexes was introduced and policy guidelines for organization, functioning and monitoring of School Complexes were issued .The details are as follows :

Objectives of school complex

- 1. Improve educational standards and administrative efficiency of Schools functioning in the area of the School Complex.
- 2. Facilitate supportive supervision to the teachers working in the schools under the School Complex for improving the efficiency of the teachers.
- 3. Organize regular in-service training to the teachers to improve their competency.
- Develop appropriate methodologies for effective teaching aimed at higher enrolment and retention of tribal children.
- 5. Ensure comprehensive planning base don systematic survey habitations and ensuring that the children do not drop out the school by working out vertical linkage between the various Institutions and ensuring a smooth system of feeder institutions.
- Close monitoring of the performance of the students at the pre-matric stage.
- Conducting surveys for identifying School-less habitations and taking steps to open schools in such habitations.

- 8. Creating awareness among villagers about education and encouraging them to participate in the day to day administration of Village/Community School.
- 9. Organizing training programs for other community based functionaries such as VTDA functionaries, Community Health Workers (CHWs), Liaison Workers etc.

Constitution and location of school complex:

- 1. A School Complex shall ordinarily consist of about 30 to 40 schools including the schools under the management of ITDA, Government Primary Schools, Maabadis, Panchayat Raj, Government, Aided and other Schools functioning in the Tribal Sub-Plan area.
- The School Complexes should be opened in the Mandals having more than 50%TSPvillages but restricting the number of Schools under one School Complex to 30 schools.
- 3. The Project Officer, ITDA shall prepare a map including all the Schools coming under the School Complex so that the schools are easily accessible from the School Complex and as far as possible the School Complex is located centrally.
- 4. The School Complex should be preferably located in a place, which is connected by all weather road and accessible by bus and is preferably having a PHC or close to a PHC.
- 5. There should be enough land for taking up further construction of buildings and also to hold gathering or people in the School Complex premises.

- 6. The School Complex shall have electricity facility and also adequate supply of drinking water for the students and also for an additional strength of about 100 others who may be visiting the School Complex for training purpose.
- 7. Each School Complex will be provided with the required equipment and material

Function of the school complex administrator:

- 1. Organizing Kalajathas (cultural programmes) on Education, Health, Nutrition and other related topics once in a year as per the instructions of the Project Officer, ITDA.
- 2. Conducting annual survey of the Children in the School-going age group of 5-14 years as per the guidelines given at annexure II and ensuring that a specific school is identified and tied up for each student to pursue education as per the instructions given by the Government in this regard from time to time. The Project Officer, ITDA will issue necessary guidelines, supply formats and registers for the purpose of Surveys every year.
- 3. Working out a system of identifying dropouts and taking steps to bring them back to school.
- 4. Arranging for payment of salaries of the teachers of Girijan Vidya Vikas Kendras (GVVKs) and Community Schools (Maabadis).
- 5. Organizing two-day orientation training programme for all teachers of primary schools, GVVKs and Community Schools every month.
- 6. Organizing training programmes for the office bearers of Village Tribal Development Associations

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(VTDA), Community Health Workers scheme (CHWS) Liaison workers etc. as per the instructions of the Project Officer, ITDA.

- 7. Proper upkeep and maintenance of the equipment and material of the School Complex.
- 8. Any other work entrusted by the Project Officer, ITDA or by the Govt.

Functions of the school complex resource persons (SCRPS)

The Job content of the School Complex Resource Person consist of

- Academic improvement functions
- School Environment improvement functions.
- Community Mobilization functions.

Academic improvement functions:

- SCRP shall visit the Primary Schools in his area at the rate of one school per day and ensure 100% coverage of all schools in his area in order to provide on-job/on site guidance to the teachers to ensure a qualitative teaching - learning process in the class rooms.
- Extending guidance for a duration of 120 minutes per visit by
 - Observing the class room practices and identifying the strengths and Short comings.
 - Taking up a model lesson in order to propose the ideal options to the class room specific to the teacher and the school visited by him on that particular day of visit.

- Taking up demonstration lessons in the School Complex Review meetings keeping in view the general requirements of the teacher in his area.
- Furnishing a detailed report on the observations to the School Complex administrator so that necessary job improvement programs can be taken up by the School Complex.
- Reporting on the Progress of Minimum Academic Program (MAP) in all Primary Schools.
 - Coverage of syllabus as per annual action plan of curricular activity.
 - Continuous comprehensive evaluation through monthly and terminal exams.
 - Identification of slow learners and special coaching for them.
 - Maintaining Parallel Attendance Monitoring and reports of irregular students should submit to the Addl. Project Co-coordinator.
 - Assist MEO in School Grading and works for the progress.
 - Observes ECE/ALS/Back to Schools and giving suggestions, take active part in community mobilization.

School environment improvement functions:

Interaction with teacher and community for duration of 60 minutes per visit for

 Reporting on 100% enrolment through enrolment drives and Kalajathas.

- Reporting on participation of children due to timely supply of incentive, inputs and conversion of raw rice into cooked food.
- Reporting on School Beautification, Cleanliness of the surroundings, and development of school infrastructure.
- Reporting on School Health check up.

Community mobilization functions:

While visiting the habitations in his jurisdiction, the SCRP shall collect the following reports :

- Report on the functioning of School Education Committee/VTDAs/Thrift Groups/VSS.
- Report on the functioning of CHWs.
- To report on the Utilization/Maintenance of identified community structures of the VTDA.

Project monitoring & resource center (PMRC)

- 1. Each I.T.D.A. shall have one PRC located at the ITDA headquarters.
- The PRC will be headed by the Agency D.E.O./ Agency Dy. D.E.O.
- 3. The D.E.O/Dy.D.E.O. Will be assisted by one administrative officer (ADO), one Academic Officer (ACO) and one Training Officer (TRO). In the academic and training functions are to be looked after by an academic -cum-training officer.
- 4. The above positions will be filled by senior panel grade Head masters taken on deputation by selection through a committee consisting of P.O, RDO/ Sub-Collector, DO /APO and DEO/Dy .D.E.O. In

case panel grade masters are not available, senior assistants with at least 10 years experience or Post Graduate Teachers with at least 5 years experience may also be selected for this purpose.

5. The vacancies arising due to such deputation will be filled with contract teachers to be engaged by the I.T.D.A

Quality education through Residential (Gurukulam) Schools

The other important institution of excellence started by government of Andhra Pradesh is Gurukulam. G o v ernment of Andhra Pradesh has been running these Gurukulams exclusively for Scheduled Tribes to provide quality education. The first such Residential School for Scheduled Tribe children was started in 1975 at Kinnerasani in Visakhapatnam District. The number of Institutions increased slowly and steadily over the years to reach 123 by 2005-06. The details are as follows:

SI.	Depar-		Total N	lo. of li	istituli	ons in 20	05-06		
No.	tuent		wol (E.M)	URIC	RJC		Jr. Col- lege of Exce- llence	Guru-	Total
I.	TWD	26	04	23	01	3	3	41	101
2	SE	03	-	15	-	-	-	-	18
3	I E.	-	-	-	04	-		-	04
	TOTAL:	29	04	38	05	3	3	41	123

(Source : Gurukulam, Hyderabad)

a) Organization :

Government of Andhra Pradesh in the year 1975 has taken a decision to start Residential Schools to provide quality education to all categories of students. As part of the programme, the first Residential School exclusively for tribal students (with small percentage of seats for nontribals) was started in the year 1975 at Kinnerasani Dam site in Visakhapatnam District. Since then, the number of schools started increasing year after year in the last three decades. The following is the growth of Residential institutions :

SI.No.	Year	Res. Schools	Upgraded Junior colleges	Independent Junior colleges	Total
1.	1974-1979	2	-	-	2
2.	1980-1990	33	-	4	37
3.	1991-2000	26	33	1	60
4.	2001-2006	19	5		27
	Total	80	38	5	123

Even though the first institution was started in the year 1975, it was only in the decade 1980-90, large number of schools (37) was started while 26 schools were started in the decade 1990-2000. In the year 2000, Government of India sanctioned 41 Mini Residential Schools to Andhra Pradesh as part of national programme of providing education in low literacy tribal pockets. These institutions will have classes from I to V.

As the demand for quality education at 10+2 level increased, 33 Residential Schools were up-graded by Government of Andhra Pradesh by adding 11th and 12th classes to these institutions. These institutions are called as Upgraded Residential Junior Colleges (U.J.R.C.). Government of Andhra Pradesh has also started 5 independent Residential Junior Colleges, four of them in the decade 1980-90.

Funding for these institutions were provided by Tribal Welfare Department and Education Department and these institutions were being managed by Education Department along with General Residential Schools. As the tribal Residential Schools are located in the interior tribal areas, there were problems of management. Education Department and Tribal Welfare Department in the year 1998 held a joint review and decided to form a separate Society to manage the Tribal Welfare Residential Schools. This Society called Andhra Pradesh Tribal Welfare Ashram and Residential Educational Institutions Society (APTWAREIS) was approved by a Government Order No, .51 SW (TW Edu-1) Department dated 03-06-1998. It was registered under Andhra Pradesh Public Societies Registration Act, 1350F. Due to some administrative problems, Ashram Schools were removed from purview of the Society in the year 1999. The Society started functioning with effect from 03-06-1999. There is a provision to affiliate District Societies.

The objects and purpose for which the Society is established are :

- a) to establish, maintain, control and manage Tribal Welfare Ashram Schools, Residential Schools, Junior Colleges, Industrial Training Institutions and Polytechnic Colleges (Gurukulam Vidyalayamulu) for the talented and meritorious children belonging to Scheduled Tribes residing within the State of Andhra Pradesh and to do all acts things necessary for or conductive to promotion of such schools and colleges.
- b) To affiliate and to accord recognition to similar Tribal Welfare Residential Schools, Ashram Schools, Institutes and Colleges established and run by any Society or private persons in the State.
- c) to prepare, introduce, supervise and modify from time to time the curricula, syllabi and other programmes and conduct of examination in regard

to the education of pupils in the Tribal Welfare Residential Schools, Ashram Schools, Institutes and Colleges established by or affiliated to or recognized by the Society.

- d) to organize and conduct study courses, conferences, lectures, seminars, workshops, study tours and the like for the benefit of the staff and students of the Tribal Welfare Residential Schools, Ashram Schools, Institutes and Colleges.
- e) to create teaching, administrative, technical, ministerial and other posts under the Society and in the schools, Institutes and Colleges.
- f) to constitute such committees, or other bodies as may be deemed fit and to prescribe by rules of the Society its powers, functions, tenure and other matters.
- g) to acquire, hold and dispose of property in any manner whatsoever for the purposes and in pursuance of the advancement of objects of the Society.
- h) to maintain a fund to which shall be credited:
 - i. all moneys provided by the Central and State Governments.
 - ii. all fees and other charges received by the Society.
 - iii. all moneys received by the Society by way of grants, gifts, donations, benefactions, bequests or other wise and
 - iv. all moneys received by the Society in any other manner or from any other source.
- to subscribe to or to become a member of or to cooperate with any other organization, institution or

association having objects wholly or in part similar to those of the Society.

- to fix and collect such fees and other charges as may be laid down by the rules, bye-laws or regulations of the Society.
- to deposit all moneys credited into the fund in such banks or to invest in such manner as the Society may decide:
- I) to borrow or raise moneys with or without securities or on the security of a mortgage, charge, hypothecation or pledge over all or any of the immovable or movable properties belonging to the Society or in any other manner:
- m) to make or endorse on behalf of the Society and to accept or draw in favor of the Society any drafts, cheques and notes or other negotiable instruments on the discount of charges therefore and for this purpose to execute and sign, such deeds and documents, advance such moneys as may be considered expedient or necessary for the purposes of the Society;
- n) to do all such acts or things as may be considered necessary, incidental or conducive to the attainment of all or any of the objects of the Society.

Board of Governors

The Society is managed by a Board of Governors consisting of 12 Ex-Officio members and 7 nominated members as shown below. The Board of Governors is headed by the Principal Secretary of Tribal Welfare Department as Chairperson. An IAS officer in the Senior Time Scale or above is appointed as the Chief Executive of the Society.

1.	Principal Secretary to Government / Secretary to Government, Tribal Welfare		Chairman
2.			Vice Chairman
3,	Secretary, Education Department		Member
4.	Secretary, Finance Department		Member
5.	Director, Intermediate Education		Member
6.	Director, School Education	•••	Member
7.	Director, SCERT		Member
8.	Director, TCR & TI		Member
9.	Chief Engineer, Tribal Welfare		Member
10.	Managing Director, GCC		Member
11.	Commissioner, Tribal Welfare		Member
2.	Secretary, APTWAREIS		Member Secretary
3.	One Principal of Tribal Welfare, Residential School to be nominated by Chairman of the Soci	 iety	Member
4.	Representative of NCERT, New Delhi		Member
5.	Representative of NIEPA, New Delhi		Member
6.	Two Project Officers of ITDA to be nominated by Chairman of the Society		Member

The Chairman is also authorized to invite any experts or others who in his opinion are in a position to contribute to the efficient functioning of the Society. The Board of Governors shall meet at least once in a quarter or as frequently as required.

The Board of Governors shall meet at least once in a quarter of each year and if necessary more than once in a quarter.

The Board of Governors is supported by two standing committees namely i) the Standing Committee for Administrative and Financial Matters and ii) the Standing

Committee on Academic Matters. The duties of standing committee on Administrative and Financial Matters are as follows The Standing Committee for Administrative and Financial matters shall subject to the general approval of the Board of Governors shall consist of :

- (1) Chairman, APTWA & REI Society.
- (2) Secretary to Government, Finance Department or his nominee not below the rank of Joint Secretary to Government.
- (3) Secretary to Government, Education Department
- (4) Secretary to Govt. (T.W. Department)
- (5) Commissioner of Tribal Welfare
- (a) Determine the qualifications of candidates to be recruited to the staff of the Society and its affiliating institutions other than the academic staff.
- (b) Regulate the conditions of service of the staff of the Society and its affiliating institutions particularly in respect of scales of pay, leave allowances, sanction of advances, provident fund, payment of traveling and daily allowances admissible to members of Board of Governors and others associated with any committee constituted by or under the Bye-laws.
- (c) Administer the funds of the Society and manage the properties of the Society.
- (d) Determine the procedure to enter into agreements for and on behalf of the Society.
- (e) Determine the policy of investment of Provident Fund amounts and:
- (f) Discharge such other functions as may from time to time be assigned to it by the Board.

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The duties of standing committee on Academic matters are as follows:

- (I) The Standing Committee For Academic Services Of The Body Shall Consist Of
 - (1) Chairman, A.P.T.W.A.R.E.I. Society
 - (2) Commissioner of Tribal Welfare
 - (3) Director of Higher Education
 - (4) Director of School Education
 - (5) Secretary, A.P.R.E.I. Society, Hyderabad
 - (6) Director, S.C.E.R.T.
 - (7) Director, TCR & TI
 - (8) Principal each of the Residential School, Junior College and ITI managed by the APTWRAEIS.
 - (9) Representative of N.C.E.R.T.
 - (10) An eminent educationist nominated by the Chairman.
- (II) The Standing Committee For Academic Matters Shall Subject To The General Approval Of The Board Of Governors
 - (1) Determine the qualifications of the candidates to be recruited to the teaching 'staff of the educational institutions.
 - (2) Recommend to the Board of the remuneration payable to the question papers setters, Chief and Assistant and Assistant Camp Officers, Coding and Decoding Officers,

Examiners for spot valuation, Tabulators etc.

- (3) Prepare and execute detailed plans and programmes for the furtherance of the objectives of the Society.
- (4) Determine the procedure, conditions and terms to affiliate to the society any institution having objectives similar to those of the Society or to recognize any other institution.
- (5) (a) Effectively implement the curriculum, syllabus as laid by Education Department,
 (b) determine and organize co-curricular activities, evaluation procedures and other similar academic programmes to be followed in the Educational Institutions managed by or affiliated to the Society within the broad frame work prescribed by the Education Department.
- (6) Determine the duration of the Seminars, Curriculum, Courses etc. that may be conducted for the benefit of the staff of the Educational Institutions managed by or affiliated to the Society.
 - (a) Decide on academic programmes like quick research investigations into the practical problems faced by the Society, Schools, Teachers and Students with a view to obtaining research solutions for them.
 - (b) Organizational of orientations programmes for the teaching staff of the schools in the latest methodologies and trends of education and de-

velop instructional materials according to the academic needs of the schools identified from time to time.

- (c) Discharge such other functions as may from time to time be assigned to it by the Board.
- (d) The Chairman shall, however, have powers to extend a special invitation for any meeting of the Standing Committee to an educational expert or such other person(s) whose presence may be considered useful.
- (e) The Secretary shall be Member Secretary to the above two Standing Committees.
- (f) The decisions taken by the two Standing Committees shall, except where they are contrary to any general direction given by the Board, be implemented by the Secretary after obtaining the previous approval of the Chairman of the Board, in case the Chairman was absent at the meeting of the Committee and report there on shall be submitted to the Board at its next meeting for approval.
- (g) The Standing Committee shall be convened by the Secretary as often as may be necessary and their meeting shall be held at the office of the Society or at such other place as may be decided by the Chairman.

(h) Three Members shall from the quorum for a meeting of the Standing Committee.

The Chairman and Member Secretary of the Society were conferred with financial and administrative powers for smooth functioning of the Society. There are two Deputy Secretaries i) for Academic and ii) for administration supported by Assistant Secretaries and secretarial staff-

The conduct and Service Rules and recruitment Rules for the staff were issued by 1999 it self so that the Society functions on a full-fledged scale from the beginning compared to sister societies which took more than a decade to frame Conduct, Service and Recruitment Rules after their formation.

Qualification of teachers:

One of the important decisions taken by the society is to appoint highly qualified teachers for Residential Schools. The following table shows the qualification prescribed for each category of teaching posts:

SI. No	Post	Prescribed academic qualifications
1.	Principal, Residential Junior College	1st or 2nd class Post Graduate Degree with not less than 50% marks
2.		1st or 2nd class Post Graduate Degree with not less than 50% Marks and a B.Ed., Degree with not less than 50% marks.
3.	Junior Lecturers Residential Junior Colleges	1st or 2nd class Post Graduate Degree with not less that 50% marks and a B.E.d., degree with not less than 50% marks
4.	Post Graduate Teacher	Ist or 2ndclass Post Graduate Degree with not less than50%marks and B.Ed., degree with 50%marks.

After Government of Andhra Pradesh imposed ban on regular recruitment for all posts, they have relaxed the

ban for recruitment in Residential Schoo' for Scheduled Tribes on the condition that contract appointments can be made and renewed year after year basing on the performance of teachers. Thus fresh and young candidates with Masters Degree qualifications could be appointed on contract. There are advantages and disadvantages in this system as follows.

- The young teachers could devote lot of their attention to children education in the day and evening classes also;
- ii) They are also well informed of the latest subject;
- iii) The temporary nature of their job made them to work more responsibly;
- iv) The disadvantage is that the turn over is high;
- v) The temporary nature of the jobs in interior forest areas get lesser preference for aspiring teacher candidates to permanent but less paid government teacher posts and similar temporary posts located in rural areas in sister Residential Schools Society.

Infrastructure-buildings:

All Residential Schools are provided with a huge building complexes and sufficient land. A minimum of 10 acres of land is made available. Some of the schools located in interior areas have been allotted 20 to 30 acres of land also. Two acres of land is set apart for playground which is prepared for playing football, hockey and cricket. Smaller grounds are prepared for Volleyball, Kabaddi etc. which are also favorite sports for tribal children. In the last two years, sports track is also being prepared for running practice. Sports and games material is also supplied.

About 1/2 acre is left for growing vegetables and an-

other half an acre is left for flower garden in girls institutions.

The building consist of four components namely school, dormitory, dining cum kitchen and staff quarters.

The school buildings are constructed as per Indian Standard Institution (ISI) (IS:8827 of 1978 as reaffirmed in 1996). The school building essentially consists of a Principal's room, staff room, library, laboratories separately for physical sciences and biological sciences, medical inspection room to be used by staff nurse, room for keeping games and sports equipment also to be used as office room by Physical Director. The gross area of class room in sq meters per student place as per ISI is 1.26 for Secondary and Higher Secondary. It was informed by the Dy. Executive Engineer and Architect of the office of Chief Engineer, Tribal Welfare that these dimensions are strictly followed. Even though the average size was decided on the assumption that the furniture will be provided, in practice, children up to class X generally are found squatting on the floor due to lack of furniture.

The rooms have sufficient windows to provide light and air as per Indian Standard Institute. But these standards worked out for general areas create problems in tribal areas.

The rain fall are generally prolonged and heavy. Therefore, the walls and floors get wet. Children who are not provided with benches generally squat on the floor. Therefore they have a problem. Winter in the hilly and forest areas is generally severe. Children who mischievously break the windows suffer during this season. Moreover, they are not supplied with woolen cloths. Two pairs of polyester cloths hardly help them in winter. Hence they suffer from fevers frequently due to exposure to cold. Com-

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pared to this, their traditional huts are closed ones and there will be fire always burning in winter to provide warm temperature in the house. The summer is generally good but there will be holidays for the school. Hence there is need for re-designing the buildings according to climatic conditions of tribal areas.

The class rooms are fitted with tube lights and fans but they are mostly spoiled. In the winter times, the class rooms have dim day light.

The other building is Dormitory, also commonly referred to as hostel buildings. It has three portions, one hostel, dining hall and kitchen.

The hostel rooms are also planned according to Indian Standard' Institute. The average requirement for boarder was also provided according to standard. However, the problem here is also that at very few places cots were provided and in many places they were broken. The steel cots where ever provided get colder in the winter and the children are rarely provided woolen blankets. Poor lighting in the hostel rooms makes night reading a difficult affair. Moreover, the frequent 'power-cut' generally start every year from January and extend beyond final examinations in March/April. This makes preparation for final examinations difficult. Few lights are run with diesel generators and all students gather around these lights affecting their concentration on studies.

Bath rooms are rarely used and toilets generally are dysfunctional.

The cooking is generally done on LPG. However, in the interior villages, regular supply of gas during rainy season is disturbed due to floods to hill streams. The fuel wood is wet and cooking food gets late during night and day. This directly affects the serving of foods in time and indirectly affects study time. Kitchen waste management is generally poor with left-out food thrown in the hostel backyards. Waste water management is also rarely seen. However, rain water harvesting is planned in many places. Alternative energy devises run on solar energy are also not available in many places except availability of solar lanterns in some places.

The dining hall is spacious with table and chairs and can accommodate 200 students at a time. With a requirement of 30 minutes per batch, the entire batch of students in the school can have their food in one and half hours time or at best in two hours with some time in between the batches required for cleaning. Further, in schools which are upgraded to add class XI and Class XII, the rush during lunch and dinner becomes more. As the lunch and dinner time gets extended, they encroach into the class hours during day and study hours in the night.

Regarding water availability to students, it is generally planned @50 liters per student against standard of 135 liters per person. In normal circumstances, the water availability planned will be sufficient but when one of the bore well fails, they have problem. The water brought from outside in tankers is impure. The environmental standards for bathrooms and toilets in terms of numbers is met but maintenance requires to be improved.

Out of 76 institutions, 55 have their own buildings, 8 are under construction and 3 are not having their own buildings.

Quarters to staff are also provided while the quarters in interior areas are under- utilized, there is demand for quarters in places near or in mandal head quarters.

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Incentives to students :

Apart from providing food and accommodation, dresses, notebooks, text books etc., are also provided free of cost. The adequacy of the incentives deserves to be discussed.

To provide food, government sanctions funds @ Rs.300/- per student on an average per month which works out to Rs.10/- per student per day. Even though an ambitious menu has been prescribed for providing nutritious food to students, the quality and quantity of food twice in a day, breakfast, tea etc., that can be provided @Rs.10/per day per student can very well be imagined.

Two pairs of dresses are provided to all students. For boys up to Class VIII, short and shirt are provided while boys in higher classes (IX to XII) are provided pant and shirt. In case of girls, those studying up to Class VIII are provided skirt and shirt while girls in higher classes (IX to XII) are provided Punjabi dress. While quality polyester cloth is used for the dresses and arrangements are made to get the dresses stitched at school level according to sizes of students, two pairs of dresses are hardly sufficient for the year. We often find children using them as school uniform by wearing other dresses of often poor quality bought in local market outside school hours.

Note books, drawing books, mathematical box, record books etc., are supplied free in sufficient number. Ball pens, pencils etc., are not generally supplied. Complete requirement of text books are supplied. One trunk box to keep books and cloths, bedding material (often a blanket) a steel plate, glass etc., are also supplied. Supply of shoes and physical training dress is also on the agenda.

Target groups :

In order to cater to the quality of educational need of different groups, the institutions are divided into i) General Scheduled Tribes-Boys, ii) General Scheduled Tribe -Girls iii) Primitive Tribal Group-Boys and iv) Primitive Tribal Groups- Girls.

51. No	Category	Res. Schools TM	EM	Res. Junior Colle- ges	Upgr- aded Res. Junior Colleges	School of Exce- llency Co-Edu	College of Exce- llency Co-Edu	Total
1.	ST Gent	11	4	5	21	3	2	47
2.	ST Girls	10				5	3	
3.	P.T.G. Boys			-	13	-	-	23
4.				-	3	-	-	10
	P.T.G. Girls	1		-	1	-		2
5.	Mini Gurukulams	41	-	-	-	-	-	41
	Total	70	4	5	38	3	3	123

The following are the details of number of schools.

Apart from these institutions, 41 Mini Gurukulams were started as part of Government of India Scheme as already pointed out in the beginning. Four English Medium Schools, 6 Ekalavya Residential Schools and six schools of Excellence (3 Residential Schools and three Residential Junior Colleges) were also started. Details of each of these institutions are as follows:

i) Scheduled Tribes - General :

The entry point is class VI for all General Scheduled Tribe schools. There are 90 seats with 45 in each section of which 70 are reserved for Scheduled Tribes, 10 for Scheduled Castes, 2 for open category and 4 for children of employees working in Scheduled Areas.

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The unit of admission in ITDA district is Revenue Division in which the school is located while in Non-ITDA Districts, the district is taken as a Unit. In case of Residential Schools at Chittedu and Somasila started exclusively for Yanadi, the unit of admission is Nellore, Prakasham, Guntur and Chittoor districts which are Yanadi concentrated areas.

There are reservation of seats for Primitive Tribal Groups (Annexure-VII) of the area with in this Scheduled Tribes quota of 70 seats, as per their population and again sub divided among the various groups to provide representation to all Primitive Tribal Groups of the area. In Residential School, exclusively meant for Yanadi (recognized as a backward tribal group on par with P.T.G. by Government of Andhra Pradesh), there are reservations for sub-groups like Paki Yanadi and Challa Yanadi who are backward among Yanadi.

In ITDA districts the Project Officer, ITDA will be Chair Persons while in Non-ITDA districts, District Tribal Welfare Officer will be the chairperson for selections of students.

The admissions are made on the basis of merit in the written test conducted every year in April/ May.

ii)

Scheduled Tribes, General-Girls :

The unit of admission, number of seats, reservations for Primitive Tribal Groups and admissions based on merit in written test is same as in Scheduled Tribes General for Boys. However, out of 90 seats, 85 are reserved for Scheduled tribes, 2 for Scheduled caste, 1 for Backward classes, 1 for open category and one for children of Employees of Scheduled areas.

iii) Primitive Tribal Groups:

As already pointed out Government of India recognized 8 tribal groups as Primitive Tribal Groups for affording special attention. And Government of Andhra Pradesh recognized Yanadi as backward tribal group to receive special attention on par with Primitive Tribal Groups by allocating separate funds out of its state plan funds.

There are 10 Residential Schools for P.T.G.s and two for Yanadis. Two of ten schools are for girls. Just as in Girls Residential schools, 85 out of 90 seats are reserved for Primitive Tribal Groups only. However, till recently, non-P.T.G tribals are admitted as a matter of routine on the plea that Primitive Tribal Group students are available.

The entry point in these schools is class III as against Class VI in Residential Schools for Scheduled Tribes-General. The admission is restricted to P.T.G of the district only and seats are allocated among various P.T.G.s as per their population, if there are more than on P.T.G. group in the district.

The proportion of non-PTG in P.T.G. Residential schools is high in higher classes due to the reasons explained earlier and thus focus was lost. However, in the years 2004-05 and 2005-06, the focus for P.T.G. has been re-established due to strict instructions issued for admitting P.T.G. children only.

iv) Residential Junior Colleges:

There are five independent Residential Junior Colleges. The admissions to Upgraded Residential Junior College portions are made on the same lines as Residential Junior Colleges.

There are 40 seats in each group namely MPC, Bi PC, CEC and HEC. Of them, 36 are reserved for Scheduled Tribes and one each to Scheduled Caste, Backward Classes, Open Category and to children of employees working in Scheduled Areas. The reservation for P.T.Gs with in Scheduled Tribe Quota of 36 seats is same as is being done in Residential Schools. In 2005-06, while all 38 Junior Colleges offered MPC and BiPC groups. CEC is available only in 21 Junior Colleges and HEC in 18 Junior Colleges.

Normally unit of admission is district but in districts where there are no Residential Junior Colleges, certain seats are created for the students from these districts. The basis for selection into Class XI is based on the marks obtained in the class X. It is open to Scheduled Tribes students passing from Ashram Schools and other Government schools etc. However, for students opting for MPC and Bi PC, a minimum of 50% marks in Class X in Mathematics and Science subjects is insisted. The selection committee headed by PO, ITDA / DTWO will select the candidates.

The medium of instruction is Telugu only in these Junior Colleges.

v) Vocational Courses :

Vocational Courses were introduced in Nine junior

Colleges with intention of improving their employment opportunities. The Vocational Courses include office apprenticeship, construction technology, House electric wiring and Servicing and Medical Lab Technician.

vi) Mini Gurukulams:

As already mentioned, Mini Gurukulams were started at 41 places with entry point at Class I with one section of 30 students. All the schools are meant for girls only as this scheme is sanctioned by Government of India to improve female literacy in low female literacy areas;

vii) Ekalavya Model Residential Schools :

This is a scheme evolved by Government of India taking examples of successful running of Residential Schools in Andhra Pradesh for adoption in all states with tribal population. As part of this national program, schools were sanctioned to Andhra Pradesh. These schools are run on the same lines as Residential Schools already being run by Government of Andhra Pradesh.

viii) English Medium Schools :

The medium of instruction in all Residential Schools is Telugu only. However, the demand for English medium schools is growing among tribals. Keeping in view the changing trends, four English medium schools were started at Hyderabad (presently being run at Narsapur (2003-04), Warangal (2003-04), Tirupathi (2003-04) and Visakhapatnam (2004-05).

ix) Schools of Excellence :

In order to improve the chances of tribal children

getting admissions in previous Institutions like it is and reputed Engineering colleges, three residential Schools of Excellence were started in Vizianagaram, Khammam and Kurnool Districts with intake capacity of 270 students each while three residential junior colleges were started in Visakhapatnam, Warangal and Chittoor districts with intake capacity of 80 students. There are reservations for PTG in these schools also. (Annexure-IX)

Thus, the Residential School concept which was started in 1975 with opening of one school has expanded to 123 schools and a variety of institutions called Mini Gurukulams, English Medium Schools, Schools and Colleges of Excellence and Upgraded Junior Colleges came into existence by 2005-06.

Staff position:

The following is the teaching staff position at the beginning of 2005-06.

SI. No.	Post	Sanctioned	Filled regularly	Vacant
1.	Principal, RJC	5	4	1
2.	Principal, Res. School	67	56	11
3.	Junior Lecturers	428	198	235
1.	Post Graduate Teachers	584	241	343
5.	Trained Graduate Teachers	429	155	274
5.	Physical Education Teacher	100	54	46

Almost all the vacant posts are filled by Teachers on contract, the advantages and disadvantages of which are already explained. In case of non-teaching posts, 315 out of 1003 posts are vacant.

The successes of Gurukulam schools has to be there-

fore understood in the background all the disadvantages of infrastructure, incentives, lack of regular teachers etc. The efforts being made in providing quality education will now be discussed.

Enrolment increased :

The following statement shows the year wise enrolment from 1999-2000 to 2003-04.

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Class	1999-2000			2000-2001			2001-20	02		2002-2003		
	B	G	Т	В	G	Т	В	G	Т	В	G	7
111	284	99	383	315	165	480	361	103	464	412	103	515
IV	278	37	315	340	113	453	328	140	468	430	90	520
V	334	10	344	278	102	380	359	109	468	416	116	532
VI	1625	859	2484	2483	1358	3841	2469 ′	1663	4132	3075	1794	4869
VII	1423	898	2321	1664	792	2456	2299	1612	3911	2319	1609	3928
VIII	1493	534	2027	1753	925	2678	1879	1086	2965	3024	1758	4782
IX	1487	530	2017	1488	472	1960	1656	993	2649	1849	1053	2902
х	1447	460	1907	1349	488	1837	1413	454	1867	1548	940	2488
XI	1478	215	1693	1526	577	2103	1821	583	2404	2472	989	3461
XII	316	40	356	1478	215	1693	1322	491	1813	1495	532	2027
Total:	10165	3682	13847	12674	5207	17881	13907	7234	21141	17040	8984	26024

Class	2003-	2004		2004-0	25		2005-0	6		296
	В	G	Т	В	G	Т	В	G	T	6
111	384	91	475	394	180	574	705	180	885	
IV	438	105	543	415	91	506	772	180	952	
V	669	91	760	674	91	765	708	110	818	
VI	3611	1873	5484	3658	2156	5814	3632	1988	5620	
VII	3066	1804	4870	3518	1862	5380	3697	2092	5789	
VIII	3342	1839	5181	3350	2105	5455	3792	2039	5831	
IX	3183	1794	4977	3288	1828	5116	3378	2097	3475	
x	1794	1033	2827	3054	1740	4794	3236	1814	3050	
XI	2703	1297	3400	3640	1915	5555	3586	2287	5873	Q
XII	2191	1107	3298	2515	1314	3829	3224	1819	5043	Changing
Fotal:	21381	11034	32415	24506	13282	37788	26730	14606	41336	8in

As can be seen from the statement, the total enrolment has increased from 13847 in the year 1999-2000 to 32,415 in 2003-04. It is also pertinent to note that the girls who were only 3682 in 1999-2000 increased to 11034 by 2003-04.

The proportion of girls to total enrolment in 1999-2000 was nearly 26% while it increased to 34% of the total enrolment by 2003-04. Further there were only 40 girls in Class XII in 1999-2000 while there were 1107 girls in Class XII during 2003-04. This shows the special efforts made by Gurukulam for girls education as well as the good response from girls for 10+2 education due to increase in awareness among them.

The proportion of girl students in Class XII during 1999-2000 to total girl students in Gurukulam institutions was 1.00% which is increased to 10% by 2003-04 which is a substantial growth in five years. The same trend is maintained in 2004-05 also as can be seen from the following statement.

Class	Boys	Enrolment 2 Girls	004-05 Total				
111	394	180	574				
IV	415	91	506				
v	674	91	765				
VI	3658	2156	5814				
VII	3518	1862	5380				
VIII	3350	2105	5455				
x	3288	1828	5166				
K	3054	1740	4794				
(I	3640	1915	5555				
(1)	2515	1314	3829				
OTAL	24,506	13,282	37,788				

It can be observed from the above statement that from Class VI onwards the number of students is almost equal. This shows that the dropout ratio is almost negligible. We find dropout only in case of a few students who had perpetual health problems. The co-hart of Boys from 1999-2000 to 2004-05 also shows that there is no drop in their number.

Canada and	Numbe	Number of Boys in Class						
YEAR	VI	VII	VIII	IX	х	XI		
1999-2000	1625							
2000-2001		1664						
2001-2002			1879					
2002-2003				1849				
2003-2004					1974			
2004-2005						1915		
	1999-2000 2000-2001 2001-2002 2002-2003 2003-2004	YEAR VI 1999-2000 1625 2000-2001 2001-2002 2002-2003 2003-2004	YEAR VI VII 1999-2000 1625 2000-2001 1664 2001-2002 2002-2003 2003-2004 .	YEAR VI VII VIII 1999-2000 1625 2000-2001 1664 2001-2002 1879 2002-2003 2003-2004	YEAR VI VII VIII IX 1999-2000 1625 2000-2001 1664 2001-2002 1879 2002-2003 1849 2003-2004 1849 1849	YEAR VI VII VIII IX X 1999-2000 1625		

Note : The increase is due to filling up of carry forward vacancies also.

In case of girls also the number also remained same from Class VI to Class XI between 1999-2000 to 2004-05.

		Numbe	er of Girls	in class				
SI.No.	Year	VI	VII	VIII	IX	х	XI	
1.	1999-2000	859						
2.	2000-2001		792					
3.	2001-2002			1086				
4.	2002-2003				1053			
5.	2003-2004					1033		
6.	2004-2005					1055	1915	

Note : The increase from 2001-02 is due to filling up of carry forward vacancies also.

Another interesting feature is that the enrolment started increasing substantially from 2000-01 after the formation of separate Society for managing tribal school in 1999. Even though schools existed much before, there used to be large proportion of vacancies of students and the pro-

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portion of vacancies was reduced substantially after the formation of Society. However, there were variations in General, Girls and P.T.G with regard to filling up of vacancies.

In the general Residential Schools, the competition is high with a waiting list of candidates. When the students from P.T.G are not available against their quota, after all the efforts are made to admit them, the students from Non-PTG category from waiting list will be admitted.

In case of Girls and P.T.G., the entrance test is a formality. Generally PTG students are 'brought' from GVVK schools and girl students are 'brought' from Ashram School to fill up vacancies as there are no sufficient candidates. Further, quite a sizeable among the students find it convenient to get admitted in Ashram Schools located near their habitations than to go to Residential Schools located at relatively far-off places.

In P.T.G. Residential Schools, the proportion of non-P.TG is high in higher classes as no serious effort was made to fill up these vacancies by P.T.G in earlier years. These vacancies are filled by non P.T.G. students. The situation improved over the years.

There is another inter-management problem. Even though Ashram Schools and Residential Schools belong to Tribal Welfare Department, the managements vary. The Ashram Schools which are government schools are managed by District Tribal Welfare Officers (DTWO) concerned while Residential Schools are managed by Society with little or no participation of DTWO. When brighter among the students from Ashram Schools are taken away for admission into Residential Schools keeping in view the higher order academic inputs available there, the Head Masters of Ashram Schools argued that performance of their schools in X Class examinations goes down as the cream are taken away to Residential Schools. In such a case, they argue that, there should not be a comparison of performance between Ashram Schools and Residential Schools. They further argue that their lower performance with left out students with lesser facilities should be appreciated. When the comparisons are still made in spite of their demands and some punishments are proposed by administration for lower performance in S.S.C. examinations, they tend to discourage bright students from their schools going to Residential Schools. Therefore, it is necessary to have a holistic view of assessment of schools as both the schools belong to one department and stake-holder tribal groups are same.

Management of studies :

In the ordinary official parlance, this is called Annual Calendar of Events in the institutions, but I would prefer to use the word 'Management of Studies' as it is more specially planned for these institutions. The following is the sequence of events.

i) When the schools reopen in June every year, the first task for Principal was to hold a meeting of teachers as is done in all schools for allotment of subjects and classes to them, allotment of additional duties for day study, night study and during holidays. However, the most important task assigned for the teachers is to analyze the results of each and every student with more stress on assessment of quality. How did the student answer? Does not he know the subject or was he not able to express properly even after knowing the subject? Is there any language barrier? Are some of the questions for which answers are searched in their answer sheets. In some of these meeting this author while working as founder Joint Secretary of the Society

participated and suggested for integrated approach to the problem of student. If there is a communication problem, the Telugu Pundit could help as the students have to answer in Telugu medium. If there is a problem in drawing diagrams, the Drawing Teacher can help in improving the presentation. It should not be left to single teacher, as a combination of teachers could help in improving personality of student and through it the improvement in performance.

- After analysis of the performance student wise, the strengths and weaknesses are discussed student wise showing the papers and they are counseled for improvements. Once the slow learners are identified, special attention is paid to them by "adoption" of these students by teachers.
- iii) Brighter among the students are identified for preparing them for inter-school competitions like elocution contests, General Knowledge tests, Mathematics Olympiad, Science fairs etc.
- iv) Students with aptitude and stamina for sports and games are identified for coaching them to participate in individual and team events in the inter school sports at district level and inter-district sports at state level;
- v) Students with talents in fine arts are also encouraged similarly;
- vi) For the students who join for the first time in Class VI, their weaknesses are identified by holding tests in subjects of Class V. Then bridge courses are organized to enable them to cope with class VI standards within one or two months.Students are en-

couraged to participate in hostel management, especially in Mess management and they are also encouraged to participate in interacting sessions with teachers;

- vii) Parents Committee are formed and these Committees meet at least once in three months to appraise them of students performance and seek their feed back and guidance in the management of schools. The parents who are not part of these committees are appraised of the performance of their children as and when they visit schools. Generally parents visit schools on weekly market days as these schools are generally located in those villages. Parents also take food along with their children on those days, even though such an arrangement is not provided for, as per Rules.
- viii) As the students and teachers settle down to routine by the end of July, it is time for holding first unit test in all subjects in the 1st week of August. After the answer sheets are evaluated and analyzed, the teachers will compare the performance of students with entry level tests to arrive at the future course of action for taking up remedial studies.
- ix) The second unit test is also conducted at the end of August to give sufficient time before quarterly examinations in the last week of September.
- x) Every day, there would be night studies under the supervision of the teachers as the teachers in the Residential Schools remain in campus for supervisory studies. On Sundays and public holidays also, there would be study periods leaving time for sports and games in the evenings and also during afternoons during holidays.

xi) While the question papers are set and valuation done at school level, the question papers for quarterly, half/yearly and annual examinations are set at society level in Hyderabad and sent in confidential covers before examinations. The answer sheets were being sent to another Residential school within the district or Residential Schools located outside the districts till 2004-05. However, it was decided that from 2005-06, the answer sheets will be evaluated within the school so that teachers can assess the student continuously to provide necessary guidance.

- xii) In case of 10+2 students, the coaching for Common Entrance Test for Engineering and Medicine (EAMCET) will be held from Class XI onwards so that a crash course after Class XII will enable them to get good rank. Now as the tribal candidates qualifying for EMCET are few in number, all of them get seats in Engineering colleges in Andhra Pradesh but coaching would enable them to get admission in reputed Engineering colleges when they secure better ranks.
- xiii) The routine of Unit test, terminal examinations etc will continue till the end of December by which time half yearly examinations will be completed. From January onwards, it is time for preparing the students especially Class VII, Classes X, XI and XII for common examinations being held by Government in March. They have to answer examination papers set by teachers selected by Education Department specially for the purpose. That means, they have to compete with students from general population. Students in other classes will however, have to write examinations in April for which the

question papers are set at state level by Society at Hyderabad.

- xiv) Preparations for facing the annual examinations to be held by S.S.C .Board or Intermediate Board include answering questions from question bank, previous year's question papers etc. It was a continuous affair. No sports and games meets after January. It was all studies without any fun. Special Tests (Jan-Feb) and pre-final tests (March) are also held during this period.
- xv) Clear-cut instructions were given to principals on all these issues and review meetings are held quarterly to discuss various academic and administrative issues and to provide clarifications and guidance. Officers from ITDA and State level also visit these institutions periodically to provide guidance and inspect the institutions.
- xvi) Altogether, all the students face four unit tests, one quarterly and half yearly tests, special tests in January and February and pre-final examination before facing the final examinations in March/April.

Results:

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In spite of difficulties in providing complete physical infrastructure, adequate incentives to students, filling up of all teacher vacancies on regular basis, teaching first generation learners most of whom have their own mother tongues etc., the performance of the tribal students vis-aformance is measured not only in terms of pass percentage achievements in co-curricular and extra curricular activities ie; over all personality of the student.

i) X Class Examinations :

The following statement shows the performance in X Class examinations in the last five years.

Year			Pass %		
	Boys	Girls	PTG	Total	STATE AVG
1999	69.00	53.10	63.10	63.90	52.00
2000	70.50	71.90	73.90	71. 50	54.00
2001	86.04	70.67	85.89	82.23	65.00
2002	89.28	85.97	84.94	85.97	67.89
2003	92.91	85.75	89.96	89.81	75.00
2004	96.89	87.11	89.21	92.07	80.40

Compared to state average, the results of Boys, Girls and P.T.G. schools are also high consistently in the last five years which shows that the tribal students will be on par with of even better in performance, if proper environment for education are provided. It is also pertinent to note that persons passing in 1st class are more than others.

ii) Intermediate final :

The Class XII (Intermediate final) examination results though started at low level has slowly picked up over the last 5 years.

(% of marks)

SI.No.	Year	Boys	Girls	PTG	Total	State average
1.	2001	24.27	18.73	13.33	23.33	Not available
2.	2002	26.79	21.95	18.28	25.45	Not available
3.	2003	39.94.	48.30	31.00	42.38	46.60
4.	2004	53.41	53.91	46.31	53.56	46.60

As the pass percentage of Boys doubled over the five years, the pass percentage of Girls increased by three times while that of PTG by nearly five times. This also shows that the Tribal Residential Schools in Andhra Pradesh are able to perform better than general schools.

iii) Co-Curricular and Extra Curricular activities :

Tribal children excel every year in district level and state level competitions by competing with general population. Be it a science fair, elocution competition, General Knowledge tests etc., the tribal students are able to perform well.

In case of Sports and Games, because of natural stamina and talents, they are able to perform well. In archery championships, Kabadi, Volleyball, Shot put or disc or Javelin throw, the tribal children always get first or second place. In the long distance running also, they are in the first place in many competitions. In song and dance competitions also, they excel.

Overall Impact: The overall impact of all these institutions can be measured by the ability of the tribal students from these institutions to compete in examinations held commonly along with general category, if students all over the state and the performance of students from these schools compared to the general students.

SI. No	Year	Pass Pe State as a whole	rcentage-C Ashram Schools	Reside-	State as a	ercentage-Class XII Ashram Residen Schools Schools	tial
1	2001-02	68	69	86	47	No Class XII	25
2	2002-03	75	72	90	47	No Class XII	42
3	2003-04	80	83	92	53	No Class XII	54

Over all impact :

The overall impact can be measured in terms of growth in literacy especially after 1980s when large numbers of schools were started.

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Tribal Education

Increase in Enrolment (in Lakhs)								
-			Upper Primary					
B	G	Т	B	G	T	В	G	Т
0.51	0.27	0.78	0.03	0.006	0.04	0.02	0.003	0.02
0.73	0.40	1.11	0.05	0.01	0.06	0.04	0.01	0.05
2.32	1.30	3.62	0.29	0.11	0.40	0.21	0.07	0.28
3.38	2.19	5.57	0.47	0.18	0.65	0.41	0.13	0.54
4.72	4.29	9.01	0.88	0.55	1.43	2.11	1.21	3.33
	B 0.51 0.73 2.32 3.38	0.51 0.27 0.73 0.40 2.32 1.30 3.38 2.19	B G T 0.51 0.27 0.78 0.73 0.40 1.11 2.32 1.30 3.62 3.38 2.19 5.57	Primary Uppe B G T B 0.51 0.27 0.78 0.03 0.73 0.40 1.11 0.05 2.32 1.30 3.62 0.29 3.38 2.19 5.57 0.47	Primary Upper Primary B G T B G 0.51 0.27 0.78 0.03 0.006 0.73 0.40 1.11 0.05 0.01 2.32 1.30 3.62 0.29 0.11 3.38 2.19 5.57 0.47 0.18	Primary Upper Primary B G T B G T 0.51 0.27 0.78 0.03 0.006 0.04 0.73 0.40 1.11 0.05 0.01 0.06 2.32 1.30 3.62 0.29 0.11 0.40 3.38 2.19 5.57 0.47 0.18 0.65	Primary Upper Primary High B G T B G T B 0.51 0.27 0.78 0.03 0.006 0.04 0.02 0.73 0.40 1.11 0.05 0.01 0.06 0.04 2.32 1.30 3.62 0.29 0.11 0.40 0.21 3.38 2.19 5.57 0.47 0.18 0.65 0.41	B G T B G T B G T B G 0.51 0.27 0.78 0.03 0.006 0.04 0.02 0.003 0.73 0.40 1.11 0.05 0.01 0.06 0.04 0.01 2.32 1.30 3.62 0.29 0.11 0.40 0.21 0.07 3.38 2.19 5.57 0.47 0.18 0.65 0.41 0.13

(Source : Director of Economics and Statistics)

There is a substantial increase in enrolment at high school level from mere 2000 in 1964-65 to 3,33,000 in 2003-04. In the same period, the enrolment of tribal girls increased from 600 to 1,21,000. But the drop out rate is very high at this stage resulting large number of boys and girls going home as semi educated and become a burden to the society as they are not conversant with traditional economic operations and not eligible for jobs outside.

Year	Drop out rate at Class V	Class VII	
1971	75.30	93.91	
1981	68.10	78.01	
1991	65.20	78.01	
2001	65.80	80.82	
2005	54.04	75.34	

The overall impact in terms of literacy is substantial.

SI. No	Census	Malc	Female	Total
1	1961			4.41
2	1971	9.47	2.12	5.34
3	1981	12.02	3.46	7.83
4	1991	25.25	8.68	17.16
5	2001	47.66	26.10	37.03

The female literacy has increased from mere 2.12% in 1971 to 26.10% by 2001 census even though it is less

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SI. N	No District	1971	1981	1991	2001
1	Srikakulam	1.05	4.65	10.41	30.60
2	Vijayanagaram	Not a Separate	4.00 Dist.	8.79	26.20
3	Visakhapatnam	1.08	2.02	7.83	22.70
4	East Godavari	3.55	2.58	16.48	38.90
5	West Godavari	3.72	8.46	19.02	46.00
6	Khammam	0.95	2.49	8.02	27.60
7	Warangal	0.59	1.31	4.90	22.40
8	Adilabad	0.61	1.62	7.55	26.90
	State Average	2.12	3.46	8.68	26.10

than then general female literacy. The increase in female literary in Scheduled areas is also encouraging.

However the female literacy has not shown this much of progress in many non-scheduled areas which is against the common belief that plains living tribes ,especially in Telengana are more advanced.

S.No	District	1971	1981	1991	2001
1	Krishna	8.05	8.85	13.28	35.80
2	Guntur	4.59	7.46	11.49	27.60
3	Prakasam	4.37	8.42	11.90	29.00
4	Nellore	3.29	5.16	11.66	32.80
5	Kadapa	1.76	3.95	12.31	30.10
6	Kurnool	3.79	6.15	12.02	26.70
7	Chittoor	2.10	3.90	13.19	35.80
8	Ananthapur	1.52	5.22	14.09	30.90
9	Hyderabad	13.52	20.03	7.88	45.70
10	Ranga Reddy	Not a Separate	2.53 2 Dist	32.29	22.10
11	Medak	1.75	1.31	2.92	14.30
13	Nalgonda	3.66	1.02	4.21	20,19
14	Mehboobnagar	2.29	1.19	3.10	13.30
15	Nizamabad	3.14	0.73	3.64	16.50

Conclusions:

The tribal education in Andhra Pradesh has met with so many challenges. From Zero literacy areas in 1970s, a stage has come after 30 years of struggle, the government is finding it difficult to cater to the ever growing demand for admissions in to Ashram Schools and Residential Schools and for Post Matric education. The first generation school drop outs that are classified as part of Wastage in Education concepts are not actually wastage in real terms as they are active participants in development programmes and leadership in statutory and non-statutory bodies in these villages even though a few of them have joined left wing extremist movement. They are the first to admit their children in schools and continuous attendance to ensure that their children do not miss the bus in this generation.

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Chapter - 10

Health and Nutritional Status of Tribes

Health is a prerequisite for human development and is an essential component for the well being of the mankind. The health problems of any community are influenced by interplay of various factors including social, economic and political ones. The common beliefs, customs, practices related to health and disease in turn influence the health seeking behavior of the community. There is a consensus agreement that the health status of the tribal population is very poor and worst among the primitive tribes because of their isolation, remoteness and being largely unaffected by the developmental processes going on in the country. Good health is an important contributory factor to productivity and over all economic growth. It is fundamental to every man, woman and child, not only for their well being but also for their survival. It is the duty of the state to protect people from illness and pre mortality.

Tribals in India as elsewhere in the world are known for their unique ways of living and distinct culture, which provide them a distinct identity on the national scene. However, their peculiar life style, crude and primitive technologies and their tendency to inhabit the sedulded and isolated areas have led them to economic misery, underdevelopment and seclusion for the mainstream of national life. Therefore, after independence special policy initiative were taken towards the improvement of their all round development.

Health is an essential human resource which is a prerequisite for the development of the economy. In spite of good personal hygienic conditions among tribal population health conditions found to be deteriorating due to inaccessibility of medical and health facilities. In modern times the traditional herbal medicines are being discouraged by agents of change and allopathic medicines and services are not available to them as these primary health centers are not catering to the needs of tribals living in interior hilly tracts. The tribals scantily dressed up because of their grinding poverty. Some of the primitive tribal groups do not possess second dress for change. As they are not able to change their clothes regularly they are likely to be afflicted with skin. Diseases. In view of scarcity of water, the tribals are not able to take bath regularly. They sleep on the floor without any kind of mats during nights, sometimes sharing the space with goats, sheep which are considered as immovable property to them

Most of the earlier studies identified that health re-

quirements of different regions differing depend upon the stage of development. Also even in the same region we can find inter-tribe variations among the tribals, particularly among the tribals living in the interior hill tracts (primitive tribes) and tribals living in plains.

Andhra Pradesh Government estimates of nutritional deficiency amongst school-aged children were as follows: iron deficiency (10.4%), vitamin A deficiency (6%), other vitamin deficiency (15%). Other estimates included disease of teeth and gums (6.4%) and upper respiratory tract infections (6.7% at any one time).

The health of Scheduled Tribe (S.T.) population in AP is better than all India average of ST population. The expectation of life in AP among STs is 60.9 years as against 58.6 years at the all India level in 1991. In the recent years the thrust of the government is more on the curative aspects of health care system and state has been consistently concentrating on the establishment and expansion of health facilities in terms of quality, quantity and distribution and integration so as to serve the disadvantaged. ST population is major group among the disadvantaged. Since they are the major group among the disadvantaged. Thus health care system in AP became a corner stone in providing facilities to ST population and providing vertical linkages with referred services that lead to reduction in morbidity ad mortality.

The source of water availability is an important determinant of health. 27 per cent of the households are getting water from hand pump and 32 per cent from wells. The infant mortality rate is 85.4 among STs as against 68 in others. The neonatal mortality is 56.4 among STs as against 42.5 among others. Children dying below 5 years is 134 among STs as against 89.1 among others. Morbidity is lower among ST as compared to general population, but infant and child mortality is much higher among STs as compared to the general population of Andhra Pradesh. 8 per cent of the respondents reported a death in their house during last one year. About 10 per cent of the deaths are due to complications associated with pregnancy and delivery. As per the present survey 67 per cent of the respondents reported that they would take the people to the hospital when ever their family member fell sick. 89 per cent of the women reported that their deliveries were normal. 81 per cent of the children were born healthy.

Population stabilization is on the Concurrent List. The expenditure on health comprises 6.2 per cent of GDP with public health investment at 0.9 per cent. Improvement in the health status of the population is a major thrust area under the social development programmes being undertaken in the country. This is sought to be achieved through improvement in the access to and utilization of health services in the country with special focus on under served and under privileged segments of the population. Availability of sanitary facilities are very poor in AP. Only 11.7 per cent of the household have a flush toilet , 8 per cent have pit toilet and 76 per cent have no facility at all. 92 per cent of the rural people do not have toilets. Although the country has been able to eliminate nutritional deficiency syndrome like pellagra, beriberi, scurvy etc., yet chronic energy deficiency among adults , under-nutrition among children and micro nutrient deficiencies such as goiter, blindness due to vitamin- A deficiency and anemia are still prevalent across all sections of the population in the country. As food and nutrition security is of vital importance for the survival and good health of tribals especially the primitive tribal groups, the annual plan 2002-03 has laid emphasis on expansion of the programmes of Special Nutrition Programme through ICDS, mid day meal programme and Targeted Public Dis-

tribution system

The weight and height measures which will help to know the nutritional level of the children. 18.4 per cent of the children are below the standard deviation as against 15.4 per cent in other categories. There have, indeed been large gains in health status since independence. But the disparities between the rich and the marginalized groups is widening. Poor carry large burden of disease. A NCAER study reveals that richest 20 per cent enjoy 3 times the share of the public subsidy for health as compared with the poorest. The IMR and under five mortality is double among the poorest a compared to the rich. The poor spend 12 per cent on health as against 2 per cent by the rich. The barriers such as lack of information, financial capacity, unreliable and inadequate health infrastructure are the major hurdles. The mortality and morbidity is very high among STs. The neonatal mortality was 54.6 in STs as against 42.5 among others. The corresponding figures for post neonatal mortality are 29.1 and 25.4, IMR 84.4 and 68.0, child mortality 53.5 and 22.7 and under 5 mortality 134.4 and 89.1 respectively as per the NFHS 92-93. As per NHFS-2 the neo natal mortality is 53.3, PNM is 30.9. IMR is 84.2 and mortality under five is 126.6 a s against 40.7 , 21.1, 61.8 , and 82.2 respectively among others. 71 per cent were vaccinated for BCG among STs as against 75.8 per cent in others.44.4 per cent did not have Tetanus Toxic vaccine as against 16.5 per cent in others. 53.2 per cent did not take iron folic tablets as against 78.6 per cent in others. Among STs only 7.3 per cent deliveries are in the public hospitals as against 36.3 per cent in others. Thus both mortality and morbidity is high among ST population needing for vertical linkages that will lead to reduction both in mortality and morbidity.

As per NFHS -- 1/3 of women did not receive any antenatal care. The delivery in the hospitals occurs among

just 7 per cent of births. About 45 per cent of the women did not take Tetanus vaccination. Child birth is affected by low birth weight which is due to nutritional deficiency among mothers. Only 53 per cent of mothers received Folic acid tablets as against 79 among others. Malnutrition leading to low weight among children is wide spread and 54 per cent of children are under nourished. 3. 4per cent of the women only received 6 serious vaccine preventable diseases and 19 per cent did not receive none of the six. Infant mortality is very high among STs. It is 26 per cent higher than the general population. Also child deaths are 51 per cent higher than the general population. Sterilization among STs is not as popular as it is among general population. According to NFHS -1, sterilization among STs is one child later than others. This has led to higher fertility among STs 51 per cent of the STs are using family planning methods as against 48 per cent in the general population. 67 per cent of the STs have immunized their children as against 75 per cent in the general population.

There is a general need for undertaking extensive work and research on the health status of tribals. This necessitates that the national policy should accord recognition to the subject explicitly, specially and pointedly as a matter of that principle. Simultaneously, special attention should be devoted to tribal women and children in the field of implementation. The Government of India have admitted in different forum that though a huge infrastructure have been create in the country for the purpose of providing a wide range of health and family welfare services, the performance and outreach is indifferent. The concept of Integrated Child Development, Scheme is unexceptionable. The scheme can be of immense benefit in tribal areas, provided it is implemented in the right letter and spirit.

Tribals should be called upon to serve on the com-

munities and take active part. Mature consideration has to be given to the norms for establishment of health institutions in tribal areas. The population threshold as a yard stick is not very relevant in tribal areas on account of the rough topography and scattered nature of population. In stead, travel time would be a more relevant factor on which to establish health institutions. For instance, a sub-centre should not be located more than two or three hours trave time form a tribal habitation; Primary Health Centre should not be more than 5 hours distance. It needs to be given careful thought and consideration.

The National Policy seeks to promote the modern health care system and also a synthesis of the India systems of medicine like Ayurveda and Siddha with the tribal system. The National Policy seeks to: Strengthen are allopath system of medicine in tribal areas with the extension of the three-tier system of village health workers, auxiliary nurse mid-wife and primary health centers. Expand the number of hospitals in tune with tribal population. Validate identified tribal remedies (folk claims) used in different tribal areas. Encourage, document and patent tribals traditional medicines. Promote cultivation of medicinal plants related value addition strategies through imparting training to youth. Encourage qualified doctors from tribal communities to serve tribal areas. Promote the formation of a strong force of tribal village health guides through regular training-cum-orientation courses. Formulate area-specific strategies to improve access to and utilization of health services. Strengthen research into diseases affecting tribals and initiate action programmes. Eradicate endemic diseases on a war footing.

The above analysis reveal that improvement in the quality of life and health levels of tribals are sought to be examined in terms of endogenous and exogenous factors. At low levels of growth or stagnation, traditionalism perpetuates itself and internal growth impulses are very weak or non-existence. Hence in tribal societies extraneous (noneconomic) factors play a significant role. Social change was the consequence of non-economic factors, but over a period of time in causation with the other proximate causes the internal growth impulses may be internalized in the tribal economy. All these factors works as prime movers of change in the matrix of analysis as part of the process of cumulative causation. The analyses reveal that the improvement in the education and health conditions in the tribal areas is having the complexity of process. The improvement in socio-economic conditions may occur out of the simultaneous efforts of all the exogenous (non-economic) and endogenous (economic) factors.

Health Conditions in Tribal Areas of North Coastal Andhra Pradesh:

Eastern Ghats region is inhabited by large number of tribal communities. They are at different levels of socioeconomic conditions. An attempt is made to explore the existing Health Status of Primitive Tribes of north coastal districts of Andhra Pradesh to assess the interventions needed to eliminate poverty and ill health of tribes. In spite of remarkable worldwide progress in the field of diagnostics and curative and preventive health, still there are people living in isolation in natural and unpolluted surroundings far away from civilization with their traditional values, customs, beliefs and myth intact.

Participatory and Household Survey methods are adopted to assess the health status of tribes of north coastal districts of Andhra Pradesh. In 2008, using Participatory Situational Analysis of health was carried. A team of 10 Community Coordinators and 132 Animators are participated in a month long period. A sample household survey

was carried out in the three districts of north coastal Andh Pradesh. We have collected the information from 9 Adivasi members on the diseases affecting them accordin to seasonality.

The Health seeking behavior of tribes

As far as health-seeking behavior is concerned es pecially in respect of primitive tribes , in large extent i.e.4 per cent relied on Folk healer, 30 per cent relied on PHC and 30 per cent relied on private doctors. Because 70 pe cent tribal people do not know about free medical 'reat ment at the PHCs and rest of the tribal people are won believe on PHC treatments. 60 per cent of people are not willing to do family planning operations and 10 per cent people are having doubts on family planning operations. In the case of delivery system, maximum delivery takes place at home around 92 per cent and 8 per cent deliveries at the PHCs. In the case of fever and Malaria Treatment more than 50 per cent patients go to folk healer and 20 per cent patients go to PHCs, 30 per cent patients go to private doctors. For treatment of cough, cold, headache and vomiting, 60 per cent patients go to Folk healer 20 per cent go to PHCs, 20 per cent go to private doctors. 70 per cent of tribal people using pull flows water 30 per cent using plain water with clay for washing hand after defecation. Minimum 30 per cent people do not take bath daily. Most of tribal people clean their teeth daily with a piece of Neem, Babul wood and Banicapulla every morning.

As far as health conditions of primitive tribes, the selected primitive tribes sample households have been interviewed to find out health conditions. There are 40 per cent respondents defined a healthy person as one who can perform his daily routine work properly. 40 per cent respondents define the person as one who is not suffering from fever, cough, cold weakness, headache etc. 10 per cent were expressed that unable to give reasons for causing diseases. 10 per cent were of the opinion that living in unhygienic conditions leads to sickness. Most of the population is illiterate and very poor. They are not adequately served by PHCs nor do they utilize the facilities available at the existing PHC or Sub-Centre due to Economic Constraints or lack of faith. Some misconceptions or practices regarding ante-natal care, natal and post natal care including immunization are prevailing in the tribes which are likely to be associated with high mortality and are required to be dispelled with. There is an urgent need, therefore, to educate, motivate the tribal people and to undertake intervention programmes to increase their faith and acceptance of the available health services including family planning.

Reproductive and Child Health (RCH) in keeping with the evolution of an integrated approach to the programmes aimed at improving the health status of young women and children which has been going on the country but this is not worked out properly in their tribal areas. This program incorporates the components covered under the child survival and safe motherhood and universal immunization program. It includes two additional compo-nents, one related to Sexually Transmitted Diseases and the other relating to Reproductive track infection. In short the program integrates all interventions of fertility regula-tion, maternal and child health with reproductive health of both men and women. The services to be provided is client centered, demand driven high quality and based on the target free approach. However the infant and under five mortality are found very high among tribes. The vacci-nation of children against six serious but preventable diseases, namely, Tuberculosis (TB), Diphtheria, Pertussis, Tetanus, Poliomyelitis and Measles has been taken a decisive role in reducing Morbidity, mortality and disabilities among children. Unfortunately among tribes do not receive

any vaccination properly in study area.

Specific Health Problems facing by the Tribes :

Health status of tribes has deteriorated rapidly over the past 59 years of Independence. Health problems ar direct outcome of poverty, government policies that hav adversely affected the tribes livelihoods, land alienation threatened traditional agricultural practices, absence o rights over land, water and forest and growing indebted ness. The poor health of tribes is further compounded by a woefully inadequate and inaccessible government health care delivery system, along with concomitant break down and erosion of traditional herbal medical practice.

They warning banyan leaves to bandage the affected part of cuts and for bone setting and for fractures the leaves of Dodonaea viscose linn. And for inflammation before applying any medicine they wash the affected area with their own urine. The tribals give fomentation (heat therapy) to the affected area for relief using hot water rinsing or steam or fomentation with fried salt along with topical application of Castor oil for any pain and in the case of owned pain they boil red soil and use it for treatment.

They resort to mantras and magic before giving herbal treatment for snakebite victim is given the roots of Aristotle Chaplin or bark of Alangivm Salvii folium. The indigenous people believe that man and nature are interdependent. The medicines given during the treatment and the food regimen they follow are marvelous and give quick relief. The belief that the misuse of nature results in punishment and curse becomes a boon to preserve the snakes. and other minor animals. During epidemics the tribals resort to many magics-religious practices and combined herbal treatment and strict food regimen. In this aspect they use honey on the affected area and some kind of herbal leave juice. They burn at affected area or bitten area and use herbal leaves juice and also they use some time Jaggery and dried pieces of Alangivm Solviforum root mixed wit piper nigrum (black pepper).Liquid Leaf extract of mixed juice applied on the bitten part and they use kerosene and mix with a kind of root powder and apply it on the bitten surface.They use a kind of leaves juice or mortem cooper drops are slipped on the bitten surface and after 10 minutes it automatically take out the poison from the body.

Many of the Infectious and parasitic diseases can be prevented with timely intervention, health awareness and IEC activities. Some of the intervention programmes can be included in the national programme also. The noncommunicable diseases like diabetes and hypertension are conspicuously absent indicating that the primitive tribal communities are still far away from the modern civilization and developments. In spite of the tremendous advancement in the field of preventive and curative medicine, the health care delivery services in these primitive tribal people are still poor and need to be strengthened in order to achieve the goal of Health for all in the country.

Major health issues :

Acute, fatal and chronic health problems are common. The overall morbidity was 60%. Common acute health problems include fevers (30%), Malaria (25%), diarrhoea (10%), cerebral malaria (2%), skin diseases (2%), arthritis or body pains and joint pains (6.5%). Anemia, Skin Infections, Dysmenorrhoea, Leucorrhoea, Infertility, Chest and Heart pain are also prevalent among the Adivasis of north coastal districts of Andhra Pradesh.

Situation analysis :

Health status of Adivasis has deteriorated rapidly

over the past 59 years of Independence. Health problems are direct outcome of poverty, government policies that have adversely affected the Adivasis livelihoods, land alienation, threatened traditional agricultural practices, absence of rights over land, water and forest and growing indebtedness. The poor health of Adivasis is further compounded by a woefully inadequate and inaccessible government health care delivery system, along with concomitant break down and erosion of traditional herbal medical practice.

Studies undertaken in the tribal areas indicate that the primitive tribes have distinct health problems, mainly governed by multi dimensional factors like habitat, difficult terrain, illiteracy, poverty, isolation, superstition and deforestation. Hence, we have adopted an integrated multi disciplinary approach to study the tribal health problems in Andhra Pradesh. Vision 2020 of Andhra has advocated for improving the health status of tribals by reducing mortality and morbidity. It indicates that the tribals suffer disproportionately from malaria, tuberculosis, and genetic disorders like sickle cell anemia, nutritional deficiency diseases and sexually transmitted diseases. These are some of the special health problems attributed to these communities. Anemia was more common in females than males. primitive tribes are suffering from different grades of anemia. Microcytic hypo chromic blood picture is suggestive of iron deficiency. The study revealed a positive correlation between hookworm infestation and anemia possibly due to indiscriminate defecation, bare foot and lack of health awareness. An appropriate intervention resulted in the reduction of worm infestation and improvement of anemia status. The demographic status of the primitive tribes has shown a declining or static trend.

A study carried out recently amongst four tribes of north coastal districts of Andhra Pradesh revealed an infant mortality rate (per 1000 live birth) of 130.5 in Savara, 129.1 in Gadaba, 126.4 in Konda Dora and 120.6 in Plain tribes (Kondha or Kutia); a maternal mortality rate (per 1000 female population) of 10 in Savara, 9.8 in Gadaba, 9.5 in Konda Dora and 9.2 in Plain tribes (Kondha or Kutia); the life expectancy of 50.5 years in Savara, 53.4 years in Gadaba, 50.6 years in Konda Dora and 49.7 years in Plain tribes (Kondha or Kutia).

Upper Respiratory Tract Infection : The respiratory disease including upper respiratory tract infection was more commonly prevalent among 18% in Savara, 17% in Gadaba, 15.6% in Konda Dora and 10.5% in Plain tribes (Kondha or Kutia).

Malaria : More than 60% of tribal population of Andhra Pradesh lives in high-risk areas for malaria. Though the tribal communities constitute nearly 8% of the total population of the country, they contribute 25% of the total malaria cases and 15% of total Plasmodium falciparum cases. Plasmodium Falciparum Malaria is endemic and the foremost public health problem. It is contributing 23% of malaria cases. On the other hand 40% of Plasmodium Falciparum Malaria cases and 50% of malaria deaths in the country are occurring. Various epidemiological studies and malariometric surveys carried out in tribal areas reveal a high transmission of Plasmodium Falciparum in the forest regions of India. Malaria control in such settlements has always been unattainable due to technical and operational problems. In a specific study conducted in Srikakulam and Vizianagaram Districts of Andhra Pradesh, it was observed that the district is endemic for malaria and is hyper endemic in top hills where Savara tribes are residing.

Diarrhoeal Disorders : Water-borne communicable diseases like gastrointestinal disorders including acute di-

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arrhoea are responsible for a higher morbidity and mortality due to poor sanitation, unhygienic conditions and lack of safe drinking water in the tribal areas. In a cross sectional study conducted by the authors in Andhra Pradesh among four tribes noticed that the diarrhoeal diseases including cholera was found to occur throughout the year attaining its peak during the rainy season (From July to October). During 2004 to 2005, 15.5% of Savaras, 14.6% of Gadabas, 13.8% of Konda Doras and 12.5% of Plain tribes or Kondha or Kutia tribes suffered from cholera. The acute diarrhoeal problem was basically due to the poor environmental hygiene, lack of safe drinking water, improper disposal of human excreta which was further aggravated by low literacy, low socio-economic status coupled with blind cultural belief, lack of access to medical facilities leading to serious public health problem encouraging faeco-oral transmission of enteric pathogens.

Intestinal Parasitism : Intestinal protozoan and helminthic infestations are the major public health problems and were observed. Amongst helminthic infestation hookworm was most common Children (aged 0 -14 years) were more affected than the adults. A repeat stool examination after 4 months of antihelminthic and antiprotozoal treatment revealed significant reduction in the worm burden (from 38.9 to 18.9%). Most of these infections are due to indiscriminate defecation in the open field, bare foot walking and lack of health awareness and hygiene. These are preventable with repeated administration of antihelminthic and protozoal treatment at 4 months interval, which can be used effectively in national parasitic infection control programme.

Micronutrient Deficiency : Micronutrient deficiency is closely linked with nutritional disorders and diarrhoea. Deficiency of essential dietary components leads to malnutrition, protein calorie deficiency and micronutrient deficiencies like vitamin A, iron and iodine deficiency. Vitamin A deficiency in the form of Bitot's spot, conjunctival xerosis and night blindness was observed among the children of Savara, Gadaba, Konda Dora and Plain tribes or Khond or Kutia. However, other micronutrient deficiencies like iodine deficiency (goiter), vitamin B complex deficiency (in the form of angular stomatitis) were not encountered. Similarly, a high percentage of vitamin A deficiency was observed in the study area.

Skin Infection : Skin problems like scabies is a major health problem amongst the children because of unhygienic living conditions, close contacts with such children and lack of health awareness. We observed that 40% of Savara, 35% of Gadaba, 30% of Konda Dora and Plain tribes or Khond or Kutia tribal children studying in Tribal Welfare Ashram Patasalas, Welfare Hostels and Residential Schools were affected with scabies (both infective and non-infective). Other communicable diseases such as tuberculosis and venereal diseases, though have been described as significant health problems in several tribal areas, very few published reports are available concerning these diseases. In a prospective study undertaken in Srikakulam, the incidence of tuberculosis and leprosy was found to be 2.2% in Savara, 3.1% in Gadaba, 1.2% in Konda Dora and 1.8% in Plain tribes or Khonds or Kutia tribes.

Hereditary Haematological Disorders : Hereditary haematological disorders especially sickle cell disease, haemoglobinopathies and allied hemolytic disorders are important public health problems and occur in high frequencies among different tribal groups. These result in a high degree of morbidity and mortality due to haemolysis in vulnerable population. Sickle cell gene is widely prevalent among the tribal areas of India. There are many primi-

tive tribes who have been identified to be in high-risk group. Majority of the tribals of Andhra Pradesh and Orissa have a common gene pool that is relatively unmixed with other non-tribal population. High degree of inbreeding among some of the primitive tribes results in relatively high prevalence of genetically inherited diseases like sickle cell anemia and thalassaemia.

Maternal And Newborn Care For Tribals : Tribals are often the worst victims of an apathetic health system in India. Tribals, especially in Srikakulam, Vizianagaram, Visakhapatnam, East Godavari, West Godavari, Khammam, Warangal and Adilabad districts and areas bordering Orissa, Chattisgarh and Maharastra States will vouch for that. The situation of women and children, in particular, is worse. For instance, pregnant women have to walk, or be carried distances such as 20-22 kilometers to be able to deliver a child at the nearest Primary Health Center (PHC). The present health service delivery system in tribal areas is almost negligible. For every 3,000 people, there is only one sub-centre. For every 20,000 population, there is one PHC accessible only by foot due to lack of transport facilities. Most sub-centres do not function, the Mobile Medical Unit (MMUs) are not in place, poor infrastructure and lack of labour rooms make institutional deliveries impossible. No apparatus or equipment, large-scale absenteeism and vacancies, poorly trained and unmotivated manpower are the reasons for the near absence of health care services.

ITDA and ICDS are joining hands with NGO's working in the area of Mother and Child Health. To Improve Mother and Child Health through Quality Health Care Services, the program aims at ensuring that: 1. At least 60-70 per cent of the pregnant women receive complete ANC and Immunisation during their pregnancy. About 80% of the risk pregnancies are identified and referred to Emergency Obstetric Care. 60% of the deliveries are conducted under the supervision of trained personnel. Malaria morbidity is reduced among pregnant women and children. 75 per cent children are completely immunised by 12 months.

Under the initiative, ITDA and ICDS will generate awareness among the community on issues related to prevention and control of Malaria, Safe motherhood & Child Care aspects and different health services. It will activate the existing mobile medical units and fully equip them to meet emergencies. ITDA and ICDS will ensure convergence of the Health and Tribal Development Departments for timely interventions for strengthening of the infrastructure facilities and continuous supply of drugs. It will activate/ collaborate with the District Malaria Control Societies (DMCs) for prevention, detection and treatment of the disease. Though the interventions would address the problems of the entire population in the selected area, special focus would be laid on pregnant women and young children. ITDA will provide linkages with Women and Child Welfare Departments to take up corrective measures to address the issue of anemia/malnutrition in pregnant women and children through supplementary nutrition/ IFA supplementation etc. In view of high incidence of maternity and infant mortality in tribal areas full-fledged maternity hospitals with a minimum 30 beds have to be started in every I.T.D.A. districts of the State.

The collected data on adoption of family planning by heads of households show that family planning has not become more popular in the traditional and remote hilly tribal areas. It is noticed that all most all the tribes in plains use some kind of native medicine, which is derived from herbs to control their size of families. However there

is good feeling in the tribal plains regarding family planning. There are midwives and health workers posted in the villages who were trained to propagate the family planning programmes in the tribal areas. Though the family planning programmes are intensively campaigned in the tribal areas by ANMs and others, the tribals are not showing interest in the family planning. It indicates that though 90 percent of the family members are aware of family planning only 42.77 percent adopted it, 77 percent of the tribals in the hill tracts are still using a native medicine as a preventive alternative. The adoption is very limited among the Primitive tribes tribe and marginal farms. However nearly 40 percent of Plain tribes and major proportion of medium and large farms responded positively to the family planning programmes. There is need to strengthen the public health and family planning system particularly in the remote hill areas.

Specific Health Problems facing by the Primitive Tribal Women

Women's health status has a direct impact on the health of the child, who is the future citizen and worker of the nation. The consumption of a wide variety of nutritious of food is important for women's health. Adequate amounts of protein, fat, carbohydrates, vitamins, and minerals are required for a well balanced diet. Meat, fish, eggs and milk as well as pulses and nuts are rich in protein. Green, leafy vegetables are a rich source of iron, folic acid, vitamin C, carotene, riboflavin and calcium. Many fruits are also good source of vitamin C. Bananas are rich in carbohydrates. Papayas, mangoes and other yellow fruits carotene, which is converted to vitamin A. Vitamin A is also present in milk and milk products as well as egg yolks Information collected from ever- married age 15-49 was weighed using a solar powered digital scale with an accuracy of plus or minus 100 grams.

Α.

Anaemia is characterized by a low level of haemoglobin in blood. Haemoglobin is necessary for transporting oxygen from the lungs to other tissues and organs of the body. Anaemia uaually results from a nutritional deficiency of iron, folate, Vitam B12, or some other nutrients. This type of anaemia is commonly referred to as iron-deficiency anaemia. Irondeficiency is the most widespread form of nutrition in the world, affecting more than two billion people (Stolzfus and Drefyfuss, 1998). In India, anaemia affects an estimated 50 per cent of the population (Seshadri, 1998). Anaemia may have detrimental effects on the health of women children may become an underlying cause of maternal mortality and perinatal mortality and results in an increasedrisk of premature delivery and low birth weight . In India, under the Government's Child Survival and Safe Motherhood programme, iron and folic acid tablets are provided to pregnant women in order to prevent anaemia during pregnancy. Because anaemia is such a serious health problem in India. NFHS-2 undertook direct measurement of the haemoglobin levels of all ever-married women and their children under three years of age.

B. Iodine is an important micro nutrient. Lack of iodine in the diet can lead to Iodine Deficiency Disorders (IDD), which according to the WHO, can cause miscarriages brain disorders, cretinism and retarded Psychomotor development. It is the single most important and preventable cause of mental retardation worldwide. About one fifth of pregnant women are at considerable risk of giving birth to children who will not reach their optimum physical and mental potential because of maternal iodine deficiency.

lodine deficiency can be avoided by using salt the has been fortified with iodine. In 1983-84, the Go ernment of India adopted policy to achieve universal iodization of edible salt by 1992. In 1988, the Prevention of Food Adulteration Act was amended to fix the minimum iodine content of salt at 30 par per million (ppm) at the manufacturing level. The Government of India has advised all States an Union Territories to issue notifications banning the scale of edible salt that is not iodized. NFHS-2 with its representative sample households throughou Andhra Pradesh.and the rest of India is an idea vehicle for measuring the degree of salt iodization in the country.

The percentage distribution of households by degree of iodization of salt indicate that among primitive tribes households 18.2 per cent use cooking salt that is iodized at the recommended level of 15 ppm or more. These households use salt that is not iodized at all 44 per cent in STs use salt that inadequately iodized (less than 15ppm). The use of iodized salt is higher among ST households. To improve the promotion and protection of women's health and consumption of nutritious food, increase in employment, education opportunities, as ways to ensure women's own welfare and that of their families will be essential. Several studies have shown that better health status of women improves not only the health of the members of the whole family but also their children. Health must be treated as a human right and health care, which is effective, safe, accessible and affordable must be provided to women of ST The study recognizes the importance of female literacy particularly ST women, which influences every aspect of social, and economic way of life. Every effort has to be made to make all the ST women literate by a specified period say

by 2015.

The survey conducted about the existing health facilities in the tribal area indicate that the governmental and non-governmental agencies have been trying to intensify health facilities in the tribal areas during last few decades. In spite of the facilities the native doctor (desiguru) and medicine are still playing an important role in the health care of tribal people. Particularly tribals are prone to a variety of diseases due to their unhygienic living conditions. Drinking water is a serious problem in all-tribal villages. They have to drink highly contaminated water, which is with calcium deficiency and causes anemia and other chronic diseases. Many tribals in the hill tracts reported that they use herbs and leaves for their diseases. The Primary Health Centers (PHCs) in these areas are under utilized due to its distance from villages and also due to nonavailability of medicines in the centers. However 35 percent of the households in plains reported that they are taking medical care from government PHCs and at their village health camps. The village health camps are creating awareness about the medical care among the tribal.

Similarly immunization of children against TB, BCG and small pox diseases is also not following by the tribals in the hill tracts only (22 percent) responded positively for the immunizations care in these areas. The numbers of children vaccinated are found high in plain areas (43 percent) rather then hill areas. These ANMs are performing excellent job in immunization of children. ANMs and other medical staff are propagating about medical care for children and pregnant women in the tribal villages.

Use of Ethno Medicines by the tribes :

Tribal Medicine and Ethno Medicine are frequently used by the primitive tribes tribe for different ailments in

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north coastal districts. According to Herbal Folklore Research Centre Surveys in India there are immense wealth of about 45,000 species of wild plants of which there are only 7, 500 species using for Medicinal purposes. Where, in Andhra Pradesh there are only 500 medicinal plants using for various diseases treatment. In Andhra Pradesh particularly in hill areas of north coastal districts, the tribal people are the real custodians of medicinal plants. Hill tribes have faith in nature and their Medicine, therefore, they maintain their health seeking practices mostly through herbal plants treatment. The tribal people divide the diseases into two categories: Related to the Body and Related to mind and divine power: using herbal medicines, coupled with animal parts and psychosomatic diseases, using Magico religious practices coupled with herbal medicines, treats the bodily ailments. Let us now discuss some of the remedies for main ailments related to body. The tribes have many postnatal therapies. For newborn baby they rub with mother's milk on stomach and give it to baby to lick. This medicine is continued up to one year with gradual increase in dosage.

Nutritional Values of the food of The Tribals :

To examine the energy and proteins that are consumed by the tribals, consumption units are calculated for each group. Size class group - wise families are standardized into consumption units. Calories and proteins per consumption unit and tamily budgets for food and non - food items have been presented. A size class group - wise analysis of calories intake and protein consumption is examined. The unit of enquiry for this diet survey is family and the data were presented per consumption unit. Various consumption coefficients as stipulated by nutrition expert group of the Indian Council of Medical Research are adapted. Consumption co - efficient as per age groups as given by ICMR have been taken into consideration in order to standardized a family consisting of different age groups. Various coefficients are applied, to the different age and sex groups.

Diet surveys are carried out through various methods such as (a) oral questionnaire, (b) weighment of raw foods, (c) weighment of cooked foods and (d) checking of stock by inventory. Sukhatue refers to two methods of conducting such surveys under Indian conditions. (1) Inter viewing households on the quantities of foods obtained or consumed with the help of a recall list and (2) Weighing all food stuffs before preparation of meals. The first method is employed in this study by interviewing with the help of a recall list to collect data on different consumer items for the preceding day to the data of enquiry or for the proceeding week, because it is difficult to collect the data for a year or even for one month as there are the difficulties of recall of all sundry items, which the individual households normally consume. Whenever it is found home produced or collected items are consumed, the quantities are specified in terms of local measures such as 'Kunchem', 'Adda', 'Thavva', 'Sole', etc. Then by actual measurement the equivalence is worked out in standardized measures such as Kilos and Grams. This method is found to be necessary because the tribals are not conversant with standardized universally used measures of weighing. In effect at the operational level a slight variation the combination of the two methods

Generally we define under nutrition as the inadequacy in the quantity of the diet. It is understood to mean inadequacy in calories intake. Mal nutrition is defined as the inadequacy in the quality of the diet. Energy is required by the body for basal metabolize for performing essential functions such as respiration, circulation, excretion, etc.,

and an additional supply of energy to perform work lated to various types of work. The basal energy requir ment differ for different persons depending upon their a and sex, and these differences are eliminated by expres ing the energy requirements in terms of an average adu male with use of scale of coefficients. Different occupation require different degrees of activity, which can be class fied as sedentary, moderate and heavy. Normally the er ergy requirement or intake is expressed in the calories units For a reference man the calorie requirements vary from 2,800 calories per day for sedentary type of work to 4,400 calories per day for heavy work. The Indian Nutrition Advisory Committee had recommended different daily allowances of calories for men and women according to their weights and type of activity and for adolescents and children according to their ages. The calories requirements of 3,900 as stipulated for a balanced diet for an adult man (consumption unit) is adopted as the basis for calories intake of a tribal. In this study calories intake for heavy work (3900 calories) of an adult male is adopted.

The calorie value of various items of food per consumption unit is worked out on the basis of the calorie values given in recommended dietary intakes of Indians by the Indian Council of Medical Research, New Delhi and the results reveal that the percentage of gap in calorie intake and calorie intake per consumption unit is also shown in the same table. It is noticed that all the size class groups are deficient in their calorie intake indicating that all the tribals by this standard fall below the poverty line. Also it indicate that as the size-class group increased the deficiency in calorie intake has declined. But on an average there is deficiency in calorie intake. It is an indication of under nutrition and this is not uncommon feature of any size class group. The magnitude of the gap varies from group to group and this is greater for Marginal and small farmers of both the tribes.

A major proportion of the calorie intake is derived from cereals like Rice, Ragi, Sama, Uda, etc., The percentage deficiency in calorie intake for each item of food reveal the following. More than 80 per cent of the intake in marginal farmers of tribes is secured from cereals. More than 70 per cent of the calorie intake in the small farms is due to cereals like Rice, etc. About 60 per cent of the calorie intake in the remaining two farms is due to cereals. Calorie intake is further supplemented by items like pulses, oils, non-vegetarian food, etc. In the case of marginal farmers of both tribes pulses contribute very insignificant proportion of calories. Regarding Medium and large farmers more than 25 per cent of the calories are contributed by oils mutton & beef, chicken, pork and jaggery. About 5 per cent of the calories is secured by Intoxicants. Marginal farmers get 6 to 7 per cent of calories from non-vegetarian food and 6 per cent from intoxicants. Small farmers of both the tribes secured 10 to 15 per cent of calories from oils, mutton & beef, chicken, pork and jaggery. Broadly the calorie distribution patterns are varying among different farms across both the tribes.

An attempt is also made to examine the Protein intake of different farms. Protein is necessary to provide amino acids and nitrogen for the synthesis of body proteins and other biologically important nitrogenous constituents. Among adults dietary protein is needed to replace the endogenous loss consequent on passing of urine, excretion, body sweet, etc.. This endogenous loss is a minimum protein requirement for maintenance of the body is its normal condition. Growing children and pregnant women and need additional protein to meet their increased requirements. The I.C.M.R. nutrition expert group in had recom-

mended 1.0 grams protein/Kg body weight for an adul the protein being derived from mixed vegetable source. Th protein value of various items of food per consumption uni is worked out on the basis of the protein values given in "Recommended dietary intake for Indians" as recom mended by the Indian Council of Medical Research New Delhi.

All the groups consume proteins more than what they require. Besides the proteins the tribals get from cereals they are accustomed to eat beef and mutton, chicken, boar, pork etc., which supply a substantial proportion of more proteins. Marginal and small farmers of the tribes secured proteins in very insignificant more proteins from oil. There is an indication of variation in protein consumption across farms and tribes. Excessive consumption of protein i.e., found in the case of the top people consisting of medium and large farmers in comparison to the bottom layer consisting of marginal and small farmers.

The percentage intake of protein from each item of food reveal that about 40 to 50 per cent of protein intake is secured by cereals for all the groups except marginal farmers. In case of marginal farmers of more than 60 per cent of proteins is secured from cereals. For all the groups about 25 per cent of proteins is secured by non - vegetarian food i.e., mutton and beef, chicken and pork, etc. About 10 per cent of proteins is secured by pulses. In the case of medium and large farmers the percentage of proteins contributed by oils is more than 14 per cent. All the tribals get proteins mainly from cereals and non - vegetarian food. It is very interesting to note that the calorie intake of tribals by any size class group is far below that of non - tribals in the plains area.

Also it is proposed to find out the extent of imbal-

ance or main nutrition in the food habits of the tribals. By itemizing cereals, pulses, leafy vegetables, oils, etc, per consumption unit, in contrast with the various items under balanced diet as recommended by the Indian Council of Medical Research. The extent of imbalance can be specified. It reveals a frustrating picture for all the size class groups of both types of tribes. Malnutrition is very heavy among marginal farms of Primitive tribes mainly with reference to pulses, vegetables, oils, sugar and jaggery. The marginal farmer's of Plain tribes consumption of oils is very insufficient and in a lesser extent it is shown in pulses. The small farmer of both tribes are found to be having malnutrition in vegetables and non - vegetarian food. The position of medium farmers of both the tribes is not that worse in comparison to the other farms. The large farmers of both the tribes do not fare well under leafy vegetables and vegetables. In almost all the size class groups of both the tribes we find there is malnutrition in the intake of cereals. On the whole the imbalance is very grave and needs immediate attention of the Government.

Conclusions:

The tribes of Andhra-Orissa and their health scenario presents a kaleidoscopic mosaic of various communicable and non-communicable disease profile keeping in pace with their socio-economic development. Among these there are communities who still depend primarily on hunting and food gathering as primary source of livelihood. The wide spread poverty, illiteracy, malnutrition, absence of safe drinking water and sanitary conditions, poor maternal and child health services, ineffective coverage of national health and nutritional services, etc. have been found, as possible contributing factors of dismal health condition prevailing amongst the primitive tribal communities of the country. Many of the infectious and parasitic diseases can

be prevented with timely intervention, health awareness and IEC activities. Some of the intervention programmes can be included in the national programme also. The noncommunicable diseases like diabetes and hypertension are conspicuously absent indicating that the primitive tribal communities are still far away from the modern civilization and developments. In spite of the tremendous advancement in the field of preventive and curative medicine, the health care delivery services in these primitive tribal people are still poor and need to be strengthened in order to achieve the goal of Health for all in the country.

The overall picture regarding health and nutrition indicate that the health and nutrition rate is very high among medium and large farms of tribes those who are living in plain areas. At the same time the health conditions are comparatively low among marginal and small farms of tribes tribe who are living in hilly and remote areas. This is very important point on which the policy makers can give serious thought as part of overall improvement in the levels of living of the tribal people. The analysis of family planning practices of the tribal households reveal that still the Primitive tribes tribe and marginal farms needed more emphasis to promote family planning practices. Much emphasis may be given by the governmental and non-governmental agencies on providing more formal and informal learning facilities to Primitive tribes live in the hilly and remote areas to make more conversant with the health centers. The further promotion of health facilities will improve their levels of living.

Basic knowledge of health and hygiene have to be imparted to tribals through voluntary organisations in every village. As the tribal people including children and women suffer with a number of Nutritional deficiency diseases, ICDS schemes have to be introduced in all tribal villages / hamlets, settlements irrespective of their location, distance, size etc. The criteria and rules have to be relaxed in extending special nutrition programme to tribal children, pregnant and lactating mothers. The culinary habits and dietary pattern of all tribal communities have to be properly studied, analysed and items or areas of nutritional deficiencies have to be carefully identified. Local dietary patterns, availability of low cost food items have to be taken into consideration while recommending nutritious diets to tribal clients. It is to be hoped that with sincere implementation of the modified 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act. Based on Bhuria Committee recommendations, tribal people will get a fair deal. Perhaps, the alternative strategy for tribal area development which we are trying to evolve may be the one which Panchayat Raj may provide. These well intended steps does offer remedies for most of the ills that afflict balanced development of tribal areas and tribal communities without discrimination.

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Annexure

Annexure-I

District Wise Population of Scheduled Tribes of A.P. - 2001 Census

SI. No.	Name of the District	Total Population	ST Total	ST Male	ST Female	% of ST Total Population
00	ANDHRA PRADESH	76210007	5024104	2548295	2475809	6.59
01	Adilabad	2488003	416511	209586	206925	16.74
02	Nizamabad	2345685	165735	83135	82600	7.07
03	Karimnagar	3491822	90636	45807	44829	2.60
04	Medak	2670097	134533	68966	65567	5.04
05	Hyderabad	3829753	34560	17862	16698	0.90
06	Rangareddi	3575064	146057	75054	71003	4.09
07	Mahabubnagar	3513934	278702	143115	135587	7.93
08	Nalgonda	3247982	342076	178373	164303	10.55
09	Warangal	3246004	457679	235451	222228	14.10
10	Khammam	2578927	682617	344027	338590	26.47
11	Srikakulam	2537593	151249	75284	75965	5.96
12	Vizianagaram	2249254	214839	106079	108760	9.55
13	Visakhapatnam	3832336	557572	278399	279173	14.55
14	East Godavari	4901420	191561	95234	96327	3.91
15	West Godavari	3803517	96659	47887	48772	2.54
16	Krishna	4187841	107611	55201	52410	2.57
17	Guntur	4465144	208157	106101	102056	4,66
18	Prakasam	3059423	118241	60670	57571	3.86
19	Nellore	2668564	242257	123554	118703	9.08
20	Cuddapah	2601797	61371	31643	29728	2.36
21	Kurnool	3529494	69635	36097	33538	1.97
22	Anantapur	3640478	127161	65722	61439	3.49
23	Chittoor	3745875	128085	65048	63037	3.43

Annexure-11

District -wise rural and urban population of scheduled tribes (1991census)

SI. No.	District	Rural	Urban	Total	% of Urban to Total
1	SRIKAKULAM	131225	2842		
2	VIZIANAGARAM		2042	134067	2.12
	- HEITHING ARAIM	185759	-1-126	190185	2.33

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Annexure

	3 VISAKHAPATNA	M 460882	8004	468886	1.71	
	4 EAST GODAVARI	168137		176083		
5	5 WEST GODAVARI	77474	7174	84648	8.48	
6	KRISHNA	70767	21000	91767	22.88	
7	GUNTUR	144196	37392	181588	20.59	
8	PRAKASHAM	81324	17530	98854	17.73	
9	NELLORE	177459	36603	214062	17.10	
1	0 KURNOOL	45453	11002	56455	19.49	
17	1 ANANTAPUR	99131	12076	111207	10.86	
12	2 CUDDAPAH	40761	6653	47414	14.03	
13	CHITTOOR	93919	11019	104938	10.50	
14	RANGA REDDY	87517	21877	109394	20.00	
15	HYDERABAD		28946	28946	100.00	
16	NIZAMABAD	116439	4277	120716	3.54	
17	MEDAK	92098	2944	95042	3.10	
18	MAHABUBNAGAR	223671	3734	227405	1.64	
19	NALGONDA	266400	9238	275638	3.35	
20	WARANGAL	369655	15654	385309	4.06	
21	КНАММАМ	527089	31869	558958	5.70	
22	KARIMNAGAR	76885	6132	83017	7.39	
23	ADILABAD	344013	10889	354902	3.07	
	TOTAL	3880254	319227	4199481		

Annexure-III

Tribe - wise population in Andhra Pradesh from 1961 to 1991

-			POPUL	ATION	
S. No.	TRIBE	1961	1971	1981	1991
1	ANDH	1468	2,405	5,994	8228
2	BAGATA	55156	71,657	87,994	1,09,686
3	BHIL	83	560	260	312
) 	CHENCHU, CHENCHUWAR	17,609	24178	28,434	40,869
	GADABAS	21,840	25,108	27,732	33,127
	GOND, NAIKPOD, RAJGOND	1,43,680	1,57,489	1,69,477	2,12,058
	GOUDU (IN AGENCY TRACTS)	3,392	-	8,971	11,279

Changing Patterns in Tribal Societies

8	HILL REDDIS	3,894	4,306	398	432
9	JATAPU	62,794	74,310	86,506	1,04,804
10	KAMMARA	24,629	35,679	36,548	44,613
11	KATTUNAYAKAN	74	289	399	643
12	KOLAM, MANNERVARLU	16,731	26,498	21,842	41,254
13	KONDA DORAS	86,911	1.01,556	1,39,238	1,79,334
14	KONDA KAPUS	29,823	38,126	28,033	34,897
15	KONDAREDDIS	35,439	42,777	54,685	76,391
16	KONDHS, KODI, KODHU, DESAYA KONDHS, DONGRIA KONDHS, KUTTIYA KONDHS, TIKIRIA KONDHS, YENITY KONDHS.	21,754	34,375	39,408	66,629
17	KOTIA, BENTHO ORIYA, BARTIKA, DHULIA, HOLVA PAIKO, PUTIYA DHULIA, SANRONA, SIDHOP,	11,008 AIKO	17,888	31,466	41,591
18	KOYA, COUD, RAJAH, RASHA KOYAS LINGADHARI KOYA (ORDINARY) KO BHINE KOYA, RAJ KOYA.		2,85,226	3,59,799	4,56,496
19	KULIYA	85	188	412	51/
20	MALIS (excluding Adilabad, Hyderabad, Karimnagar, Khammam, Mahabubnagar, Medak, Nalgonda, Nizamabad, & Warangal Dist.)	1443	1,978	413 2,467	516 2,925
21	MANNA DHORA	8476			
22	MUKHA DHORA, NOOKA DHORA	9965	9,372	18,964	21,309
23	NAYAKS (in agency tracts)		13,235	17,456	29,680
24	PARDHAN	2902	3,971	6,532	23,564
25	PORJA, PARANGI PORJA	9701	11,407	16,023	20,387
26	REDDI DHORA	9350	12,357	16,479	24,154
27	RONA, RENA	3132	5,254	5,286	5,677
28	SAVARA, KAPU SAVARA,	23	12	233	361
	MULIYA SAVARA, KHUTTO SAVARA	68,185	81,227	82,101	1,05,465
29	SUGALIS, LAMBADIS	96,174	1 32 444		
30	THOTI (in Adilabad Hyderabad, Khammam, Mahabubnagar, Medak, Nakonda, Niaamula Hisamula (Medak,	546	1,32,464 1,785	11,58,342 1,416	16,41,897 3,654
31	Nalgonda, Nizamabad & Warangal Dist	ls.)			
32	VALMIKI (in agency tracts) YENADIS	22,354	28,967	42,944	55,836
33	YERUKULA	2,05,381	2,39,403	3,20,444	3.95,739
34	UNSPECIFIED	1,28,024	1,62,560	3,00,557	3,87,898
	TOTAL	2,198	11,050	59,160	17,776
		13,24,370	16,57,657	31,76,001	41,99,481
				-	

Annexure-IV

District - wise and sex wise literates and literacy rate of sts of Andhra Pradesh - 1991 census

SI. No	District	Total ST P			Nime	C. I. Structure	1.1	D . I . D/		
		(excluding Total	0-6 years, Male) Female	Total	f Literates Male	Literacy . Female	Kate % Total	Male	Female
1	Srikakulam	107152	53598	53554	21109	15532	5577	19.70	28.97	10.41
2	Vizianagaram	154278	77397	76881	24198	17437	6761	15.68	22.52	8.79
3	Visakhapatnam	373481	188499	184982	61949	47458	14491	16.58	25.17	7.83
4	East Godavari	138688	69553	69135	30568	19173	11395	22.04	28.97	10.41
5	West Godavari	67663	33794	33869	16280	9838	6442	24.06	29.11	19.02
6	Krishna	71563	36169	35394	15517	10815	4702	21.68	29.90	13.28
7	Guntur	144417	74065	70352	30181	22098	8083	20.89	29.83	11.48
8	Prakasam	80982	41931	39051	17145	12499	4646	21.17	29.80	11.89
9	Nellore	176361	90854	85507	28854	18880	9974	16.36	20.78	11.66
10	Chittoor	86840	44944	41896	18291	12765	5526	21.06	28.40	13.18
11	Cuddapah	38609	20154	18455	8838	6566	2272	22.89	32.57	12.31
12	Ananthapur	90883	47108	43775	24302	18136	6166	26.73	38.49	14.80
13	Kurnool	45783	23765	22018	11382	8736	2646	24.86	36.75	11.99
14	Mahabubnagar	18275	7 93220	89537	18400	15620	2780	10.06	16.75	3.10
15	Ranga Reddy	83868	43485	40383	14514	11332	3182	17.30	26.05	7.87
16	Hyderabad	23368	12249	11119	10496	6900	3590	44.91	56.38	32.28

	Total:	3336637	1706487	1630150	572411	430931	141480	17.15	25.25	8.68
23	Nalgonda	211882	111190	100692	30726	26491	4238	14.50	23.82	4.20
22	Khammam	444455	226315	21814	71828	54330	17498	15.80	22.99	8.02
21	Warangal	303088	157569	145519	40578	33441	7137	13.38	21.22	4.90
20	Karimnagar	66668	34303	32365	8209	6890	1319	12.31	20.08	4.07
19	Adilabad	281020	143335	137685	49660	39262	10398	17.67	27.39	7.55
18	Nizamabad	91791	46427	45364	11220	9569	1651	12.22	20.61	3.63
17	Medak	71040	36563	34477	8163	7157	1006	11.49	19.57	2.91

Annexure-V

TRIBE Total ST Population No. (excluding 0-6 years) Number of Literates Literacy Rate Total Male Female Total Male Female Total Male Female Andh 6244 3255 2989 1663 1211 452 26.63 37.20 15.12 Bagata 87861 44129 43732 19485 15109 4376 22.18 34.23 10.23 134 117 75 57 18 29.88 42.53 15.38 Bhil 251 15587 5651 4074 1577 17.68 24.90 10.11 Chenchu 31947 16360 22.92 9.02 27068 13665 13403 4349 3140 1209 16.06 Gadaba 19354 4763 14.15 22.52 5.64 Gond, Naikpod 170352 85947 84405 24117 6 17.78 25.53 9.91 9017 4547 4470 1604 1161 443 7 Goudu 34.42 94 63 31 26.62 18,23 353 183 170 8 Hill Reddi 42230 15176 10986 4190 17.51 26.01 9.81 84906 42676 9 Jatapu 11.14 1982 18.08 24.92 18067 17788 6486 4504 35855 10 Kammara 29.23 12.12 32 19.57 257 264 102 70 521 Kattunayakan 11 14.57 4.01 637 9.46 32763 16899 15864 3100 2463 Kolam Mannervarlu 12 14.96 22.13 7.61 21552 16137 5415 72895 71112 144007 13 Konda Dora 5187 2679 27.64 35.67 19.25 7866 14540 13910 28450 Konda Kapu 14 17.92 23.49 12.33 7009 3671 10680 29828 29770 59598 Konda Reddi 15

25263

51739

26576

Tribe - wise and sex wise literates and literacy rate of sts of A.P. - 1991 census

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5

Kondh

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552

2136

2688

8.06

2.18

17	Koya	367015	184931	182084	65443	46416	19027	17.83	25.10	10.45
18	Kotia	33637	16385	17252	7303	5515	1788	21.71	33.65	10.36
19	Kulia	408	221	187	119	90	29	29.16	40.72	15.50
20	Malí	2329	1168	1161	407	322	85	17.47	27.56	7.32
21	Mannedora	17208	8768	8440	3273	2350	923	19.02	26.80	10.93
22	Mukhadora	23373	11701	11672	2305	1791	514	9.86	15.30	4.40
23	Nayak	19059	9691	8368	2914	2085	829	15.28	21.51	8.84
24	Pardhan	16432	8221	8211	5527	3941	1586	33.63	47.93	19.31
25	Porja	19098	9438	9660	1655	1362	293	8.66	14.43	3.03
26	Reddy Dora	4612	2362	2250	1042	714	328	22.59	30.22	14.57
27	Rona, Rena	302	169	133	123	87	36	40.72	51.47	27.06
28	Savara	83166	41858	41308	11381	8488	2893	13.68	20.28	7.00
29	Sugali, Lambada	1276607	662717	613890	194403	159514	34889	15.22	24.07	5.68
30	Thoti	2924	1464	1460	862	631	231	29.48	43.10	15.82
31	Valmiki	45209	22832	22377	18026	12069	5937	39.87	52.94	26.53
32	Yanadi	322855	166623	156232	47718	32228	15490	14.78	19.34	9.91
33	Yerukula	317134	161095	156039	81649	58113	23536	25.74	36.07	15.08
34	Un-classified	14337	17431	6906	3573	2534	1039	24.92	34.10	15.04
		3336637	1706487	1630150	572411	430931	141480	17.15	25.25	8.68

Source : Census Hand Books - 1991

Changing Patterns in Tribal Societies

Annexure-VI

Primitive tribal groups and their areas of concentration population - 1991 census Kolam Gadaba Poria Thoti Khond/ Savara S District Chenchu Konda No. Reddy Khouds SRIKAKULAM -VIZIANAGARAM -VISAKHAPATNAM -E. GODAVARI -W. GODAVARI -. KRISHNA _ GUNTUR --PRAKASHAM -..... -NELLORE ---CHITTOOR _ . -CUDDAPAH -ANANTHAPUR ----KURNOOL --_ MAHABUBNAGAR RANGA REDDY --HYDERABAD MEDAK

	TOTAL	40869	76391	41254	33127	24154	3654	66629	105465.
23	NALGONDA	664	13	-	1	5	184	27	248
22	КНАММАМ	122	5690	13	1	13	1	249	75
21	WARANGAL	2043	18	110	1	7	270	55	23
20	KARIMNAGAR	849	8	25	1	4	482	31	22
19	ADILABAD	637	28	40310	6	84	1792	679	23
18	NIZAMABAD	1220	8	82	1	3	343	39	27

Annexure - VII

	Kesults in Class X (2004-05)											
SI. No	Name of the Institution	Category	Boys / Girls	Appea- red	Passed	Pass % 2004-05	1st Classes	2nd Classes	3rd Classes	Failed		
1	Balanagar	GEN	В	88	88	100.00	88	0	0	0		
2	Damaravoncha	GEN	В	87	87	100.00	86	1	0	0		
3	Itchoda	GEN	В	71	71	100.00	71	0	0	0		
1	G.Madugula	GEN	В	82	82	100.00	67	15	0	0		
5	Koyyuru	GEN	В	81	80	98.77	65	14	1	1		
,	Bhadragiri	GEN	В	77	76	98.70	68	8	0	1		
•	Utnoor	GEN	В	75	74	98.67	63	10	1	1		
;	Dammapeta	GEN	В	87	85	97.70	58	23	4	2		
•	Kulakacherla	GEN	В	41	40	97.56	31	7	2	1		
0	Mannanoor	PTG	В	88	85	96.59	82	3	0	3		
1	Somasila	PTG	В	29	28	96.55	19	5	4	1		
2	Jeelugumilli	GEN	В	39	37	94.87	26	8	3	2		
13	K.R.Puram	GEN	В	75	71	94.67	47	18	6	4		
14	K.S.D.Site	GEN	В	87	82	94.25	62	17	3	5		
5	Kerameri	PTG	В	52	49	94.23	34	13	2	3		
16	Komarada	GEN	в	82	77	93.90	53	21	3	5		
17	Maredumilli	PTG	В	81	76	93.83	47	20	9	5		
18	Miriyalaguda	GEN	В	64	60	93.75	40	18	2	4		

Results in Class X (2004-05)

19	Adilabad	GEN	Б	61	57	93.44	36	15	6	4
20	Gandhari	GEN	В	64	59	92.19	37	17	5	5
21	Nagarjunasagar	PTG	В	73	65	89.04	50	14	1	8
22	Kataram	GEN	В	79	70	88.61	41	20	9	,9
23	Ashoknagar	GEN	В	86	76	88.37	58	17	1	10
24	Addateegala	GEN	Б	85	75	88.24	42	23	10	10
25	Chintoor	PTG	в	80	70	87.50	40	23	7	10
26	Euturunagaram	GEN	В	75	65	86.67	31	28	6	10
27	Peddamadi	GEN	В	81	68	\$3.95	41	17	10	13
28	Narsapoor	GEN	В	85	71	83.53	62	6	3	14
29	Chittedu	PTG	В	57	47	82.46	14	17	16	10
30	Peddabailu	GEN	в	91	74	81.32	21	32	21	17
31	Seethampeta	GEN	Б	77	62	80.52	24	22	16	15
32	Gundala	GEN	В	84	59	70.24	26	21	12	25
33	Malli	PTG	В	80	54	67.50	36	15	3	26
34	Yerragondapalem	PTG	В	52	35	67.31	18	11	6	17
35	Srisailam	GEN	В	78	49	62.82	17	15	17	29
36	P.Konavalasa	GEN	В	85	42	49.41	12	14	16	43
37	Araku	PTG	В	84	39	46.43	15	18	6	45
38	R.C. Varam	GEN	В	79	35	44.30	14	11	10	44
39	Upper Sileru	GEN	В	75	28	37.33	10	9	9	47
55	BOYS TOTAL			2897	2448	84.50				
3	Bhadragiri	PTG	G	95	95	100.00	78	16	1	0

6	Y.Ramavaram	GEN	G	87	87	100.00	56	26	5	0	27
9	Itchoda	GEN	G	76	75	98.68	70	5	0	1	Απτελιτε
15	Kuravi	GEN	G	86	83	96.51	61	17	5	3	2.00
16	Kurupam	GEN	G	84	81	96.43	62	18	1	3	۲ ۲
22	Yellareddypeta	GEN	G	81	76	93.83	57	15	4	5	
26	Kothaguda	GEN	G	89	83	93.26	61	22	0	6	
27	Kunavaram	GEN	G	88	82	93.18	68	13	1	6	
29	Damaracherla	GEN	G	83	75	90.36	51	20	4	8	
30	Asifabad	GEN	G	111	100	90.09	65	26	9	11	
31	Buttaigudem	GEN	G	89	80	89.89	42	26	12	9	1.4
32	Rajavommangi	GEN	G	83	74	89.16	21	36	17	9.	
38	Sudimalla	GEN	G	87	76	87.36	58	16	2	-/11	
39	Paderu	GEN	G	91	79	86.81	35	35	9	12	
41	Wanaparthy	GEN	G	64	55	85.94	37	14	4	9	
42	Bhadrachalam	GEN	G	85	73	85.88	51	16	6	12 🦿	
48	Araku	GEN	G	87	68	78.16	31	29	8	194	
53	Srikalahasthi	GEN	G	43	25	58.14	19	3	3	18	Con I
54	Seethampeta	GEN	G	80	43	53.75	18	19	6	37	1.000
58	Mahanandi	PTG	G	52	21	40.38	7	4	10	31	
60	R.C.Varam	GEN	G	100	26	26.00		10	10	74	
	GIRLS TOTAL			1741	1457	83.69					
	TOTAL			4638	3905	84.20	2606	952	347	733	(



THE AUTHORS

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