

IMPACT OF MINES AND RESPONSE OF TRIBES TOWARDS MINING IN TRIBAL AREAS: THE CASE OF KOLAM AND LAMBADA UNDER SINGARENI COLLIERIES IN ADILABAD DISTRICT, TELANGANA STATE

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**DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN
ANTHROPOLOGY**

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DECLARATION

I, K. Ranjith Babu, hereby declare that the work embodied in this thesis entitled **“Impact of Mines and Responses of Tribes towards Mining in Tribal Areas: The Case of Kolam and Lambada under Singareni Collieries in Adilabad District, Telangana State”** is carried out by me under the supervision of Prof. N. Sudhakar Rao, Department of Anthropology, University of Hyderabad, and is original. This thesis has not been submitted for any other degree at this university or at any University. I hereby agree that my thesis can be deposited in Shodhganga/ INFLIBNET.

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This thesis is free from plagiarism and has not been submitted previously in part or in full to this or any other University or Institution for award of any degree or diploma.

Parts of the thesis has been

A. Published in the following Journals

1. **“SCCL Coal Mining and its Impact on Socio-Economic Conditions of Lambada and Kolams of Telangana State”** is yet to publish in the International Journal of Social Sciences and Economic Research (IJSSER) in Volume 3 No. 8 August 2018 (forthcoming).
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B. Presented in the following conferences

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2. Presented a paper titled '**Impact of Coal Mining and Response of Kolam and Lambada towards SCCL Mining in Komaram Bheem Asifabad District of Telangana State**' at National Seminar organized on "Tribal Identity and Tribal Integration: Issues of Nation Building" held during 31st July – 1st August, 2018 at University of Hyderabad, Hyderabad.

Further, the student has passed the following courses towards fulfillment of coursework requirement for Ph.D. and was exempted from doing coursework (recommended by Doctoral Committee) on the basis of the following courses passed during his M.Phil program and the Degree was awarded.

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Abbreviations

R and R	Resettlement and Rehabilitation
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
PAFs	Project Affected Families
PDFs	Project Displaced Families
SCCL	Singareni Collieries Company Limited
AAL	AnRak Aluminium Limited
CPI	Communist Party of India
MP	Member of Parliament
UG	Under Ground
OC	Open Cast
OCP	Open Cast Project
GM	General Manager
AGM	Assistant General Manager
ST	Scheduled Tribe
SC	Scheduled Caste
PA & W	Personnel Administration & Welfare
CGM	Chief General Manager
PA	Personal Assistant
RTI	Right to Information
ID	Identity
DGM	Deputy General Manager
UoH	University of Hyderabad
B.Tech	Bachelor of Technology
PG	Post Graduation
UPSC	Union Public Service Commission
TSPSC	Telangana State Public Service Commission
IAS	Indian Administrative Service
MPP	Mandal Praja Parishad
DSW	Dean Students Welfare
MT	Million Tonnes
KM	Kilo meter
CE	Common Era
CCM	Cross-Cousin Marriage
TDP	Telugu Desam Party
TRS	Telangana Rashtra Samithi
MLA	Member of Legislative Assembly
BJP	Bharatiya Janata Party
INC	Indian National Congress
YSRCP	YSR Congress Party
PVTGs	Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups
MFP	Minor Forest Produce
C&MD	Chairman cum Managing Director
E&M	Electrical and Mechanical
HRD	Human Resource Development
CIL	Coal India Limited
SLP	Serviced Linked Promotion
SLU	Serviced Linked Up Gradation
RoR	Rule of Reservation

S&PC	Security and Protection Cops
OT	Over Time
Dy.CMO	Deputy Chief Medical Officer
CMO	Chief Medical Officer
ECG	Electrocardiogram
PME	Periodical Medical Examination
LPG	Liquefied Petroleum Gas
WPS&GA	Working People's Sports and Games Association
SSS	Singareni Seva Samithi
GSHS	Golden Shake Hand Scheme
BFR	Battle Field Removal
AITUC	All India Trade Union Congress
CM	Chief Minister
VRS	Voluntary Retirement Scheme
MW	Megawatt
TGBKS	Telangana Boggu Karmika Sangham
INTUC	Indian National Trade Union Congress
CITU	Centre of Indian Trade Unions
JBCCI	Joint Bipartite Committee for Coal Industry
HMS	Hind Mazdoor Sabha
JCC	Joint Consultative Committee
TB	Tuberculosis
TTC	Technical Training Centre
TA	Travelling Allowances
DA	Daily Allowances
VTC	Vocational Training Centre
TSRTC	Telangana State Road Transport Corporation
NA	Not Applicable
DNK	Do not know
ITI	Industrial Training Institute
MGNREGA	Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act
OB	Over Burden
LAO	Land Acquisition Officer
GO	Government Order
AP	Andhra Pradesh
VRO	Village Revenue Officer
MRO	Mandal Revenue Office
RDO	Revenue Divisional Officer
GCC	Girijan Cooperative Corporation
KK	Kariskatha
IAY	Indira Awaas Yojana
ITDA	Integrated Tribal Development Agency
ZPTC	Zilla Parishad Territorial Constituency
MPTC	Mandal Parishad Territorial Constituencies
PO	Project Officer
RI	Revenue Inspector
R and B	Roads and Buildings
PHC	Primary Health Centre
RCC	Reinforced Cement Concrete
DY.M.S	Deputy Medical Superintendent

VV	Vidya Volunteer
EMI	Equated Monthly Installment
3G	Third Generation
4G	Fourth Generation
PHC	Primary Health Centre
OC	Other Category
BC	Backward Class
SSC	Secondary School Certificate
UG	Under graduation
PG	Post graduation
Ph.D.	Doctor of Philosophy
SBI	State Bank of India
DWCRA	Development of Women and Children in Rural Areas
SHGs	Self Help Groups
IRDP	Integrated Rural Development Programme
VO	Village Organizer
CA	Community Activist
DGB	Deccan Grameena Bank
ATM	Automated Teller Machine
CMO	Chief Medical Officer
TV	Television
MBBS	Bachelor of Medicine and Bachelor of Surgery
BP	Blood Pressure
PESA	Panchayats Extension to Scheduled Areas Act
PH	Physically Handicapped
KDO	Kolam Development Officer
KVW	Kolam Village Worker
SI	Sub-Inspector
SES	Socio Economic Survey

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

“I am most unhappy that development projects displace tribal people from their habitat, especially as project authorities do not always take care to properly rehabilitate the affected population. But sometimes there is no alternative, and we have to go ahead in the larger interest.....”

Indira Gandhi, 1984¹

“Whenever we take up a big task, some people are bound to suffer some losses. The poor farmers in the region were displaced. They have all been resettled elsewhere but it is not a nice thing to be evicted out of your house. I understand that”.

Jawaharlal Nehru²
Speech at the Inauguration of the Hirakud Dam
Orissa, January 13, 1957

India has already completed six decades of its existence as an independent state and has made rapid strides in the fields of education, food production, industrial development, information and space technology etc., registering a growth rate of nine percent. While it is very satisfying for the state as a whole, the poor condition in which many tribal and marginalized groups still live remains as a paradox. In this context, the involuntary displacement of tribal communities due to establishment of mines, dams, industries and wild life sanctuaries in the tribal areas has been one of the important concerns of the development planners of the government and social scientists. About 1, 38, 75,000 tribes were affected during 1951-1990 under various categories of the projects. The exact figure of this displacement is not available. According to some estimation it is more than 5,00,00,00 (Saxena, 1999). The misery of the tribals due to their displacement from the original habitation and the problems associated with resettlement and rehabilitation (R and R) led to a number of protests by the tribes, NGO activists, human rights activists and so on. It is not only in India but also everywhere the indigenous populations have been greatly suffering from involuntary displacement and rehabilitation. Considering the plight of the displaced tribes Beteille

¹ Mushirul Hasan (ed.) Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru. (2005:19).

² Letter from Indira Gandhi to Baba Amte, August 30, 1984. Cited in Edward Goldsmith and Nicholas Hildyard (eds), The Social and Environmental Effects of Large Dams, Vol 11, p 245.

observed, 'It is an area which is relatively unexplored not only in Indian anthropology but also in anthropology anywhere' (1990: 12).

In fact Indian anthropologists have been attracted to study various aspects of displacement of tribes for a long time, i.e., since 1950. A number of studies such as Behura and Mishra (1988), Behura (1989), Sudarsen and Kalam (1990), Baboo (1992), Baviskar (1995), Scudder (1973), Beteille (1990), Burman (1961), Karve and Nimbker (1969), Mahapatra (1991), Fernandes and Chaterji (1995), Saxena (1999), Mishra and Bondla (2007) have indicated that the situation of tribes after rehabilitation has come to be worse than the life in their original habitations. One of the reasons for the predicament of the tribe is that the government of India did not have a clear policy about the resettlement and rehabilitation (R and R) till 2003. The Department of Land Resources, Ministry of Rural Development, Government of India had formulated a National Policy on Resettlement and Rehabilitation for Project Affected Families, 2003 with the objectives to: minimize displacement and to identify non-displacing or least-displacing alternatives; plan the resettlement and rehabilitation of Project Affected Families (PAFs) including special needs of tribals and vulnerable sections; provide better standard of living to PAFs; and facilitate harmonious relationship between the requiring body and PAFs through mutual cooperation. The department has replaced the Resettlement and Rehabilitation policy of 2003 by a new National Policy on Rehabilitation and Resettlement 2007, which was announced in 2007. Till 2003 the plans for resettlement and rehabilitation varied from time to time and from project to project (Reddy, 2006). The government of Andhra Pradesh was able to bring out a comprehensive resettlement and rehabilitation (R and R) policy only in 2005. The studies also reveal the fact that the responses of the tribes have not always been the same besides undergoing socio-cultural changes. While some reacted in visible and open protests and sometimes violently, some other reacted in invisible and everyday forms of protest. Some other had never shown any signs of protest. Further, some adapted and integrated themselves to the mining situation but some other did not adapt to the mining situation. In fact the tribal unrest due to their displacement has drawn attention of international forums also for protection of the rights of indigenous populations.

In this regard there are two aspects which need attention. One is to find out whether this new policy has made any positive impact on the tribes or the tribes resettled and rehabilitated in a better manner. The other is the differential response of the tribal communities for the same stimulus i.e., mining establishment.

Statement of the Problem

In the above background it may be noted that the government of Andhra Pradesh has started coal mining through Singareni Collieries Company Limited (SCCL) in the tribal area of Adilabad district. In a place called Goleti nine villages of Kolams and one village of Lambada tribes are affected by the SCCL. The proposed study in this regards attempts to address the questions whether the new policy of the government has provided adequate resettlement and rehabilitation (R and R) programmes for the tribes affected by the coal mining. What is the impact of the coal mining on the socio-cultural life of these tribes? It is pertinent to ask if there is any differential response of Kolams and Lambadas through the establishment of coal mining in their areas. If there is any difference it is necessary to enquiry into why there is a difference.

Review of literature

In the light of above discussion a brief review of literature available on the subject has been undertaken. It is divided into following areas: migration, socio-cultural change, environment and tribal rights.

Migration

The tribal community usually has moved away from the original habitation or rehabilitated in a nearby locality when the land inhabited by the tribal community is acquired for the purpose of mining. This kind of arrangement has been made by the government with a view that the affected families continue to remain in the same ecological environment which will not affect their original pattern of life and rhythm very drastically. This helps continuing the traditional life with little impact by the mining establishment. Further, they can also avail the opportunity of the new livelihood provided by the mining industry. In such situations it has been noted that the tribes continue to depend on agriculture which is their traditional occupation, and some could in fact invest more on the land. While this is a positive note, the negative aspect has been that Ho tribe shows low level of commitment to industrial work (Dasgupta, 1978).

Some other studies show that the tribes gradually pushed out of mining location due to immigration of non-tribal populations as in case of Santhal of Jharia-Ranigunge coal field areas. It has been observed that, being not very assertive, the Santals not only failed to secure

various advantages but they were deprived of a comfortable footing in the industrial sector. Under such unfavourable situation, the Santals were not in a position to decide about the steps to be taken to retrieve their position (Banerjee, 1981).

The immigrant non-tribal population in the tribal areas started undermining the tribal population who used to be the dominant population. This created social tensions and the tribes became aliens in their own land being defrauded for their traditional authority (Areeparampil, 1996).

The tribes working at Pathakhera coal mines and Satpura Thermal Power Station of Madhya Pradesh are more laborious than non-tribals in earth-work. However, the tribes generally remain unskilled workers and the labourers from outside the state are having skilled and technical work which gave edge over in the preference of employment. Absenteeism among the tribals is high in earlier years but it has now considerably reduced. Many tribal workers who work with contractors are paid the wages at a low rate. Medical facilities are also not properly available to the tribal workers coming from distant villages (Sharma, 1980).

Studies show that the forced migration has left them in uncomfortable and difficult environment in many ways. The industrial employment, first of all is very new for the tribes, they are totally unfamiliar with the work. There is a wide range of industrial employment and different working conditions that the Bhil and Mina tribes had to face (Kabra, 1987). In some cases the tribal families migrated to place like Bombay seeking work as construction labourers from the rehabilitation centres for various reasons (Parasuraman, 1996). In several cases of rehabilitation, the tribal farmers had been forced to migrate to nearby urban centres in search of employment and ended up as rickshaw-pullers, construction workers or wage labourers (Srinivasan, 1996 et.al). The consequences of the displacement as listed by Cernea, M (1997) and termed as risks include landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, marginalization, increased morbidity and mortality, food insecurity, loss of access to common property and social disarticulation. Syam Kumar (2009) adds one more disadvantage - loss of livestock.

Socio-cultural Change

In South America the commodity based exchange system resulting from mining has changed the belief system of the indigenous people with inclusion of “devil” after the establishment of

mines in the tribal areas. In their folk belief the gods were never evil and their pre-capitalist mode of production and economy based on reciprocal exchange well integrated in human relationships. The capitalist economy that focussed on commodities defrauding the human relationships turned the commodities as fetish, and as a consequence, the money generated through capital became “evil”. The peasants are struggling against the forces of capitalism that are changing their societies. It is not because they are unscientific, lack of knowledge or are fearful of change but because they seem to have a natural sense and have experienced that the commodity driven market economy is alienating them from the product. It will not contribute to their 'happiness'. They project evil on the fetishised 'devil objects' and 'things' such as the cane which is symbol of evil. They perceive devil in the 'unnatural' economy imposed upon them (Taussig, 1980).

Such strong impact of capitalist economy has not been observed in Indian situation. It may be due to the fact that the tribes in India have a long association with the monetized economy of the non-tribes. However changes in the socio-cultural life of the tribe are due to their contact with the industry and non-tribes as several anthropologists note. Vidyarthi (1970) in his pioneering work about the tribal migrants in the slums of Hatia industrial complex in Bihar on the impact of mining industry shows the changes in the socio-cultural patterns of tribes. Similar studies also show serious economic, social and cultural disruption in the lives of tribes. The displacement and resettlement have drastically affected the kinship systems and other tightly knit social networks (Srinivasan, 1996). When the social support networks and arrangements are dismantled, a multifaceted resource is lost. Social disarticulation also resulted from the breaking up of authority systems and loss of leadership (Parasuram, 1996). The Ho of Odisha became very individualistic with the breaking of close knitted social relations after the displacement (Mishra, 2012). Indigenous people are traditionally self-sufficient, relying on products from forests, and with distinct cultural identities. Their culture and livelihood are intrinsically linked with the land and forests. As a result, any threat to land and forests is not merely an economic issue but also constitutes an attack on their identity (Shimray and Ramana, 2007). Rehabilitation created the problem of anger of ancestors and heavy toll of human and cattle life. Prior to rehabilitation, every tribal village had a number of stone images of their ancestors. On account of displacement, the tribal displaced the stone images of their ancestors from the old villages and placed them in rehabilitation centres. By this act they believed that they had committed a blunder and a sin and they had become the

victims of their ancestors, anger. They attributed the numerous deaths of their community members and cattle to the anger of ancestors. To pacify the ancestors, they created new temples to the gods and goddesses (Sekhar, 1995).

In the case of Santhal girls of Chota Nagpur frequent tensions appeared in their traditional Panchayats due to introduction of factory in which these girls were given jobs and where they interacted with the outsiders eventually married against their traditional customs. This has resulted in some changes in family life, food habits and cultural composition (Dasgupta, 1964). There has been increase of nuclear families among the Mundas, besides violation of clan exogamy (Das and Banerjee, 1962). These tribal industrial workers are with oscillating mind for land on one-side and factory money on the other side. Rigid routine work at the industry has taken away most of the time has affected the agriculture resulting in less output. Younger generation prefer the industry along with contrasting desire for land by the older generations (Das and Banerjee, 1962). Those who are failed to adapt to the new environment in which they were resettled they went on to the extent to breach the moral grounds. For example, the Lambadas of Devarakonda in Nalgonda, Andhra Pradesh turned vulnerable as their economic conditions forced them to sell off their children in order to cope up with the poverty. Interestingly, 90 percent of the child selling cases was reported from the 11 villages and 60 hamlets where those displaced by the construction of Nagarjunasagar dam were rehabilitated (Indian Express 10th April, 1999).

The large scale industrialization among the tribal societies in and around Hatia and Jamshedpur, Bihar had resulted in the appearance of such maladies as beggary and prostitution hitherto unknown to tribal society and the rising tide of juvenile delinquency and criminal propensities. A new tribal society is emerging from the present situation. This is a tribute to the resilience of tribal society in the face of new challenges. All this is the product of the clash of values between the tribal peasant social structure and the emergent industrial ethos. However, there are signs that out of this disorganization a new tribal society is rising. Every social disorganization leads to a re-organization. This evidence is to show that even after this metamorphosis, something tribal still remains (Sachidananda and Mandal, 1985).

Sridhar (1994) in his study socio-economic impact of industrial complexes in tribal areas has understood the impact of establishment of an SCCL coal mining industry on the Banjara tribals in Khammam district of erstwhile Andhra Pradesh. He has made an attempt to study

the difference among two Banjara villages that is Ramavaram and Hemachandrapuram the former is an agricultural village and the latter having mostly industrial workers. The shift in occupation among industrial workers of Hemachandrapuram has gradually brought considerable changes in socio-economic, cultural and religious aspects in comparison with the other village i.e., Ramavaram.

The group solidarity is declining gradually and individualistic attitude is rising with the growing urban and impact of industry in the Hemachandrapuram village. With the regular contact of urban life has affected the material culture and life style of the people of Ramavaram village. The use of illegal liquor and playing cards for gambling is growing among industrial workers, and increase in crime in general can be accredited to urban impact. Industrial and urban impacts are slowly dislocating the tribal values to new values which are obtained from the towns in Hemachandrapuram village. In the village Ramavaram, it is also observed that a convincing approach to industrial jobs can be credited to the not so good profits from agriculture.

Studies reveal that apart from migration and displacement, resettlement and rehabilitation is other important cause for social cultural changes among the tribes. The displacement deprived off the people the main source of living that is land. Land is an asset that provides food and livelihood to the people. It enables them to utilize the major and sometimes the only skill that a tribe possess is working on the land. It can be passed on to the next generation and hence provides security to several generations and lastly, it is marketable and at times of distress and serves as collateral. The only economic opportunity the landless have in rural India is to work on other people's land. Displacement results in more wage conflict and the process is filled with uncertainty and greater vulnerability. They do not know where to invest the capital so that it produces, and an income stream for them was at least comparable to what they got earlier. Cash compensation is seen leading them to unproductive expenditure and tragically to feminization of poverty. Hence, cash compensation is a complete lack of understanding of the livelihood relations that people have with their land (Venkateswaran, 2007). The very object of establishing large industrial projects for the development of backward tribal areas will be achieved only when the uprooted people are properly resettled; otherwise the very purpose of development through industrialization is lost (Reddy, 1993).

Displacement and rehabilitation of tribals have broken down their beliefs, culture and the self-sufficiency of their economic system. Precisely, to say, displacement causes a radical change in the tribal way of living (Patwardhan, 2003). Generally, tribal people living in the forests have their clan Gods who are believed to be the true owner of the land and when this tribal population was displaced from that part of the land for them it is not only losing their habitation but breaking the bond with their clan God as the ownership of the land which is not transferable. Therefore the tribal people in rehabilitation could not own the land on clan basis. This causes them to be disappointed and frustrated (Colchester, 1986).

Environment

The mining has caused a wide range of environmental problems such as land degradation, air, water, and noise pollution etc. It is reported that coal India is planning a massive expansion programme of its coal mining operations in the Jharkhand and adjoining areas. All these will have a tremendous adverse impact on the ecology and on the people of Jharkhand. While the multinationals and the commercial and industrial sectors will amass huge profits, a large number of indigenous people of Jharkhand will be driven out of their homelands and deprived of their sources of livelihood (Areeparampil, 1996). Introduction of the coal mining in Odisha (Ib valley coalfield) has a negative impact on tribal population in the form of water, air, and noise pollution, degradation in health and loss in agricultural production and displacement. This is because the communities are not being taken into account (Mishra, 2009).

The way in which the environmental externalities have occurred can mainly be attributed to three important failures: policy failure, institutional failure and market failure. However, compensation means giving the right to pollute. Besides, if the compensation doesn't reflect the real costs (including health effects) then there is no incentive to internalise the externalities. On the contrary, the incentive is to pollute more. Looking at the health impact of the pollution any amount of compensation less than the actual costs would not suffice to address the problem. A close look at the economics of pollution-mitigating technologies will help arriving at the right amount of compensation, which will work as an incentive to adopt the technologies. Another popular option is shifting of the industries, which is only a short-run solution. Therefore, strict regulation of industries to adopt pollution-mitigating

technologies fostered by a compensation package would go a long way in cleaning up the mess (Behera and Reddy, 2002).

The minerals will also be depleted in future depending on the rate at which they are being exploited. What will be the situation when the mineral resources in the region get exhausted is the question to be addressed? Hence a futuristic plan for both utilization of minerals resources and rehabilitation of tribals should be prepared (Saxena, 1994).

There is an issue of sustainable livelihood and development connected to compensation paid, changed environment and new livelihood patterns. Project-affected tribal people do not have a sustainable livelihood. Though they are rich with some capital, they are lagging behind in other forms of capital. However, they are trying their best to make a living out of their agricultural land, forest and labour. Once mining or a refinery starts, they will be deprived off from all these assets. The households in the project areas are not rich in any other form of capital except natural capital. As income from agriculture is not enough, they work as wage labourers. In spite of that, they do not have food security for most of the year. The compensation principle is mostly in terms of money and the amount given to the affected families may not strengthen sustainable livelihood of the displaced families (Mishra and Reddy, 2010).

Hilson (2002) argues that environmental improvements can only be achieved in the Ghanaian society, West African, by small-scale gold-mining industry if a number of initiatives are undertaken. The most important ones are: (1) the implementation of improved environmental management practices; (2) inputs from both academia and other relevant governmental bodies; (3) concerted effort to find out deposits suitable for small-scale gold mining, a key to preventing unnecessary exploration; and (4) commissioning of a nation-wide industrial mercury study, and a implementation of mercury retorting programme (Hilson, 2002).

Tribal Rights

The corporate interests backed by state's support are trampling on tribal livelihoods and threatening the ecologically rich and important regions. The case of Niyamgiri hills in Orissa is a good example of ignoring the importance of the socio-cultural and environment aspects and violation of fundamental rights of the people (Sahu, 2008). The NGOs and the activists, in the case of Polavaram Dam (Indira Sagar) in Andhra Pradesh, were successful to some

extent in bringing up the awareness about their rights among tribal population Koya, Konda Reddis and other weaker sections living in and around the project area (Rao, 2005).

However, the struggle of the local tribal population against the construction of the Polavaram dam has not been very successful. The movement is unable to generate a strong leadership. The tribal resistance is fragmented and hence the movement has not been taken the issue to any logical conclusion (Bondla and Rao, 2010).

The close support AnRak Aluminium Limited (AAL) in Andhra Pradesh has received attentions from leading state-level politicians; sections of the central government have expressed concern about the consequences of mining. Union Tribal Welfare Minister and Visakhapatnam MP Kishore Chandra Deo oppose the project and have asked the Andhra Pradesh governor to cancel the mining leases. The CPI and CPI (M) along with the many non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and other groups are also protesting against the unpopular bauxite mining project. In fact, the state government has disregarded the huge environmental and social impact and popular protests against mining bauxite in the Jerrela Hills, inhabited almost exclusively by tribes who will be displaced, to safeguard private gain (Oskarsson, 2012).

It seems apparently as the studies indicate the rights and privileges of the tribes are taken away for larger betterment of the society. But it should be done only by creating informed public opinion. Unfortunately ever since the national forest policy has been enunciated and promulgated, very little has been done to educate the victims, the tribes. This lapse on the part of the administration coupled with the harassment and exploitation of the tribals by forest officials, revenue officials and private contractors have created a sense of dismay, frustration and alienation among the affected tribes (Hasnain, 1983).

The above review of literature makes it clear that to the issues raised before about the implementation of the National Policy on Rehabilitation and Resettlement 2007 including the Comprehensive Resettlement and Rehabilitation (R and R) Policy 2005 of Government of Andhra Pradesh are not dealt with so far in any of the studies. Also there is no study to examine and understand the situation of differential response of the tribes to the adversary, the mining establishment. As stated before, this proposal is to study the situation of Kolams and Lambadas due to the establishment of the Singareni Colliers Company Limited (SCCL)

at Goleti village located in Adilabad district of Andhra Pradesh in the light of the above two issues. The following are the objectives of the study in this regard.

Objectives

1. To study the socio-economic profiles and livelihood patterns of Lambada and Kolam who are affected by the coal mining before after the establishment of SCCL.
2. To study the changing cultural patterns of these tribes in a diachronic perspective.
3. To understand the strategies and responses of these tribes in dealing with the SCCL for getting benefits, the success and their failures.
4. To study the R and R new policy implementation and the impact of measures taken by the SCCL on the two tribes.

Theoretical frame work

Given the nature and scope of the research study, the proposed study would mainly depend on comparative perspectives. One comparison involves in gaining an understanding of the situation of the past and present, a typical social research design of $T_2 - T_1 = T_3$ (Impact). In this design the socio-economic and patterns of livelihood are compared using the secondary data as well as primary data using recollect method. With regard to the effectiveness of the new policy of R and R, comparison between the situation at Goleti and some other site would have been ideal. But then it may be difficult to find similar situation wherein new policy was not implemented suitable for comparison. Therefore the effectiveness of the policy would be examined in terms of the satisfaction of the beneficiaries according to new policy.

The other kind of comparison is with reference to cultural patterns between Kolam and Lambada, and their response to the establishment of SCCL. It is proposed to adopt one of the models that Peel (1987) has identified. Peel summarises the anthropological comparative methods as five distinct modes. They are as follows:

1. A single, universal, ideal history or 'natural history of society'
2. A branching, concrete history, on the model of comparative philology
3. Where history is denied or ignored, as comparison is used to derive sociological universals or general laws
4. Where a degree of common history is presumed, as in regional comparative studies
5. Where it is histories, not societies that are compared.

Out of these modes he finds the fifth model is very useful to understand why has the course of religious change in the twentieth century been so different between two very comparable peoples of West Africa, the Akan of southern Ghana and the Yoruba of south western Nigeria? In the mode five of the comparative method, he says comparison is between histories or 'societies-in-change' rather than just 'societies'. Its aim is to explain historical particulars through applying to them general statements, which are theories or models, rather than to move from particulars to empirical generalizations or laws. By comparing histories or societies-in-change, mode five offers a clear path to the explanation of social phenomena without misrepresenting the general way in which they are brought about. The histories of Akan in Ghana in West coast of Africa are compared with another tribe called Yoruba. The point is here that the Akan were slow in receiving the other religions compared to Yoruba, though Akan society, particularly Asanti, was not religiously static. Yoruba were much more open to religious change. To know this why one tribe is slow and one is fast, in change of religion we have to look in to the histories of both tribes. Peel argued that the relative denial of the Akan, particularly Asante, to embrace the world religions had much to do with their sense that the integrity of their society, as they had known it, depended on sanctions bound in with the old religion. Asante's society was not religiously static; but the world religions could not be subjected to local chiefly control as other imported cults were. The Asante knew their political community founded by human agreement, though also given spiritual sanction by the Golden Stool.

McCaskie brilliantly conveys the Asante sense of the fragility of their achievement, speaking of their 'abiding fear that without unremitting application and effort, the fragile defensible space called culture would simply be overwhelmed or reclaimed by an irruptive and anarchic nature' (1981:28). But the most distinctive component of Yoruba traditional religion is undoubtedly, the oracular cult called Ifa, whose priest-diviners (babalawo) have great prestige as religious professionals. Peel raises the questions why could Ifa, a key element in the 'traditional' religion, thus sponsor major religious change? The Yoruba were organised in a congeries of kingdoms, large and small, and never enjoyed political unity or a common ethnic designation till the twentieth century; but they recognized their affinity through the claim of all their kings to descent from Oduduwa, a god who had control over Ile-Ife. Ife's sacred prestige in later centuries was especially conveyed in the cult of Ifa. Ifa is, therefore a vast mass of coded messages about the past. Ifa, by contrast, is less concerned with time than

with the past, specifically with ‘the Glory that was Ife’. But it is quite opposite with the case of Akan. Ifa presents to its adherents the refracted image of a past great civilization, and it is here that for the Yoruba the essential order lies, an ideal order. It is moreover a divinely given not a humanly constructed order. The flexibility of Yoruba society, its openness to change, is thus conditioned by the belief that the ultimate order is eternally guaranteed by how things began.

So, finally the mode five of the comparisons explains that culture is less a reflection of society, than a reflexion on history. So here I would like to adopt the fifth model which is suitable for my present research work. In this context the present proposal is to study the cultural patterns of Kolam and Lambada in a diachronic perspective. From this it would be possible to explain the responses of the tribes which are different in dealing with SCCL. The impact of mining is more on Kolam when compared to the Lambada. The Lambada actually are partially affected of mining but more number of them is employed in the mines and utilizes the compensation paid more meaningfully than the Kolams. Though Kolams are greatly affected by coal mining but they lag behind in all aspects with their dealings with the SCCL compared to the Lambada. Therefore, the study will compare and contrast both the tribes in relation to the mining industry taking cultural formation independently in historical perspective.

While the above comparative perspective envisages cultural formation in a historical background it is also important to consider the contemporary events, circumstances and experiences to which the culture responds and reacts and even develops counter culture. To this I shall turn to the recent developments about the concept of subjectivity in social and critical anthropological theory. Though there has been great deal of discussion on the roles of social beings – the person, subject, actor or agent in society and history, they are not brought into social theory. Ortner (2005) in a paper ‘subjectivity and cultural critique’ attempts to underline the significance of subjectivity as a major dimension of human existence and she says, “To ignore it theoretically is to impoverish the sense of the human in the so called human science”. She further says, “In particular I see subjectivity as the basis of “agency,” a necessary part of understanding how people (try to) act on the world even as they are acted” (41). I think it is very important for the research work proposed here to consider the notion of subjectivity among the Kolam and Lambada for accounting to their differential responses to the establishing mining in their territories.

For Ortner subjectivity means a specifically cultural and historical consciousness at the individual as well as cultural level. The consciousness does not exclude dynamics of unconsciousness in the psychological sense, and it is in the sense of “knowing subjects” with a degree of reflexivity about themselves and their desires. Ortner finds Clifford Geertz as forerunner to deal with the subjectivity in his conceptualization of culture and methodology adopted by him. For him cultures are public systems of symbols and meanings, texts and practices that both represent a world and shape subjects in ways that fit the world as represented. In this context pointing out Geertz’s interpretation of the subjectivity in Balinese cultural formation Ortner notes the significance of anxieties as in case of Max Weber’s religious anxieties in Protestantism. Thus she finds the subjectivity on the core human anxieties and orientation as part of the generic human condition grounded in the human dependency on symbolic orders to function within the world. She finds further support for argument from the cultural critique writings of postmodern consciousness, corporate culture of late capitalism. In these writings she says “there is in a sense more fundamental need for conceptual, cognitive, symbolic tools for reorienting and reconstructing the self within this new regime”. (58). Finally, she states that ‘subjectivity, both as states of mind of real actors embedded in the social world, and as cultural formations that (at least partially) express, shape and constitute those states of mind (61-62).

Methodology

The affected Kolam habitations and the Lambada Thanda are spread out in a radius of ten to twenty kilometres. Therefore, the Lambada Thanda and one Kolam village (Danthanpally) has selected for the intensive study. For the socio-economic life and livelihood patterns, a household survey based on a sample, is planned. A structured schedule has been developed for this purpose (see Annexure III). And for understanding, the cultural patterns of these tribe’s data is collected through oral narratives and in-depth interviews, besides using the secondary sources. The participant observation which is the traditional anthropological approach is adopted besides structured schedules by living in these villages and maintaining good rapport with the people. Interviews are held with the officials of SCCL for the data on the implementation of new R and R policy and the measures taken up by SCCL towards the tribal development. Group discussions and detailed unstructured interviews are held to cover the impact of mining and different responses of tribes towards mining.

Field work experience

To identify a site for the field work different districts like Khammam, Warangal and Adilabad were toured in 2012-13. Several workers of Singareni Collieries Company Limited (SCCL) and officials were met, at the mine sites both underground (UG) and opencast (OC) mine in Yellandu, Manuguru in Khammam some other in Bellampally area. Manchiryal, Srirampur and Mandamari were also toured. It was learnt tribes were mostly affected in Goleti area the mines at Goleti Khairagura, Dorli-1, Dorli-2 and Goleti-1 A had displaced 50 Lambadas households working in the SCCL mines at the Goleti village. It was learnt that a Kolam hamlet called Chopidi was also affected due to SCCL opencast mining. There were 56 Kolam households in the village.

With this experience of meeting people and the research interest as detailed above it was decided to study the Impact of mines and responses of tribes towards mining in tribals areas: the case of Kolam and Lambada under Singareni Collieries Company Limited in Adilabad District. Though the title was initially approved by the school board meeting as “Impact of Mines and Response of Tribes towards Mining in Tribal Areas: The Case of Kolam and Lambada under Singareni Collieries in Adilabad District, Telangana State”. However, after the formation of Telangana State in 2014 the districts have been categorised and reorganised from 10 to 31 in 2016. Presently, Adilabad district has been divided into four districts namely Adilabad, Kumaram Bheem Asifabad, Mancherla and Nirmal for administrative purpose therefore my field area falls into the Kumaram Bheem Asifabad district. After preparing for the field work and data collection related it was decided to initiate the field work at Goleti village.

Then the researcher first approached the General Manager, SCCL, to provide accommodation at Goleti for one month. After staying a month in the SCCL accommodation he wanted to move to Goleti Thanda, so he met the Tribal Welfare Officer, and sought permission in one of the rooms of the residential school at Goleti. But the Tribal Welfare Officer refused his request. Finally the researcher shifted to Goleti Lambada Thanda. He met the village Naik and introduced himself and explained about the purpose of the stay in the village. Since his son has also completed Ph.D. in Pharmacy from Kakatiya University he was appreciative of my work. The village Naik finally gave permission to carry out the work in the village. He

then also spoke with the other elders of the village for extending their cooperation to the researcher for collecting information from the villagers.

After having settled at Goleti some R and R centres like Ontimamidi, Dorli, Chirrakunta, Kesllapur and Indiranagar were visited to study the R and R schemes. For an intensive study it was decided to stay at Ontimamidi for sometime. One of the important problems faced during field work was the transport in both the villages. Initially in Goleti he commuted from the SCCL guest house. The regular schedule of the researcher during the field was as followed. After the breakfast he had formal and informal interactions with the villagers till noon and returned to room to have his lunch. After a short break he stayed in the village till 7pm. The rest of the time was spent in writing the field notes before going to the sleep. One of the villagers by name Rajendar Naik of the Goleti village showed pity on the researcher for visiting the village daily on foot, and asked if he can use his old cycle. The researcher repaired it and used it for some days.

There was no language problem as both Lambada and Kolam people were bilingual. They spoke Telugu with rapport established the villagers maintained friendly relationship with the researcher. The household census collection has helped to take a round of the village and meeting households and introduced himself. Initially many suspected the researcher as an informer to police but when UoH ID was showed some began to trust him. There were some cat calls also. Women were not free to give the information but this problem could be overcome in course of time.

The Ontimamidi village is situated at a distance of 25 kilometres from the Goleti Township. There is no transport facility to that village from the Goleti Township. Generally, there is a pick and drop facility available daily for the SCCL employees who are working at different opencast mines. The researcher used to catch the SCCL employee's bus at 6 am from the Goleti General Manager office to the Dorli-1 opencast mine. It took one hour to reach the mine. Then he walked from the Dorli-1 mine for two kilometres to reach the R and R centre at Ontimamidi collected information in the village till afternoon and comes back to the same Dorli-1 mine for lunch. Then he returned to R and R centre and stayed there till 3:30 pm and then returned in the same SCCL bus to reach the Goleti Township. This is the regular schedule of the researcher during his visit to the R and R Ontimamidi village. Since there are no proper facilities to stay in the village he undertook these journeys. But whenever there

were any rituals and ceremonies he stayed back in the village as a guest to Athram Raju who provided food and shelter.

However, later he managed to stay in Ontimamidi R and R centre for a period of four months. In the month of August-2014, the researcher started his field work at the Ontimamidi R and R centre. The Kolams were surprised for the first time when the researcher entered the village. He then went directly to the village Patel's house but he was not there at home on that particular day. The researcher met some other people and said about the purpose of the study. They did not give any response. He then on the next day met the village Patel and explained the purpose of the study. The villagers sitting at the Patel house said many people have come to the village and did surveys but they did not benefit much from it. The researcher clearly explained about the study and said that he does not belong to SCCL Company or any government institutions. Finally, the researcher got permission from the village Patel for the data collection. The next day, there was an Independence Day celebrated by the villagers. The village Patel, Ex MPP, Ex Sarpanch and school teacher etc participated in the ceremony. The researcher also participated in the celebration. All the school children and villagers gathered in the village. Then the flag hoisting is done by the Ex MPP (Athram Laxman). There was a national anthem played while hoisting the flag. Everyone who participated saluted the national flag by singing the National anthem. Then the coconuts are offered at the flag pole. The mixture of coconut and sugar are distributed to everyone. Though the researcher got permission from the village Patel but the villagers did not respond properly in the initial days.

Athram Raju (38) a resident of Ontimamidi R and R centre understood invited the researcher to his house and offered tea to the researcher. He showed the village site and explained situation of their village before and after displacement. The researcher got some idea after discussing with him about their village. As the researcher participated in the village activities, rituals and ceremonies then the villagers become friendly and co-operative. He was later identified as Kolam sir. Suppose, one day the researcher did not come to the village there was a talk among the villagers that the Kolam sir did not visit the village that day.

Chapterisation

The organization of the thesis is as follows. It is divided into eight chapters. First chapter is an introduction which includes the details of general information about tribes and displacement that took place due to development projects, research problem, and literature available which is divided into different themes such as migration, socio-cultural change, environment and tribal rights. It is then followed by the objectives of the study, theoretical frame work used in the study, tools and techniques employed for collection of data. The second and third chapter are about the socio-cultural profiles of the Lambadas and Kolams with the discussion on the history of both the tribes-their migration, settlement pattern, physical appearance, dress, food, kinship, marriage practices, political organization, life cycle rituals and finally religion in general. Therefore, it gives a brief understanding of both the tribal societies, before an attempt is made to understand the changes that have taken place due to the establishment of SCCL mining. The fourth chapter deals with the history and process of establishment of SCCL in the study area. It describes the employee's recruitment process, their work culture, income, preventive measures taken up by the SCCL for the SCCL permanent employees and the project displaced families (PDFs). The fifth chapter aims at the description of land acquisition with reference to Goleti and Dhantanpally (R and R Ontimamidi) villages. It also discusses the process of displacement, SCCL R and R policy and achievements made so far and whether the SCCL has taken any proper measures for the project affected families (PAFs) and project displaced families (PDFs) who are affected and displaced due to coal mining. The sixth chapter discusses the profiles of the villages under study called Goleti and Dhantanpally in order to understand the socio-economic differences between the tribes after the establishment of SCCL. The seventh chapter discusses the changes that have taken place due to the impact of SCCL coal mining on Lambada and Kolams communities. It explains the existing livelihoods pattern of the affected families after the displacement. It also deals with the mining and tribal responses towards it that one tribe i.e., Lambada got benefitted with the development intervention whereas the other tribe Kolam could not. These kinds of behaviours can be understood with the help of subjectivity. And the final chapter gives the summary and conclusion with the major findings of the research.

Singareni Collieries Company Limited (SCCL)

Singareni Collieries is the sole company mining the extensive coal deposits of the Godavari valley in the Telangana area of northern Andhra Pradesh. The Singareni Collieries Company Limited (SCCL) is a government coal mining company jointly owned by the Government of Andhra Pradesh and Government of India on a 51:49 equity basis till 2014, and later it came under the Telangana state government with the division of AP into two states. It is the only coal mining company of South India. SCCL's coal reserves stretch across 350 Km of the Pranahitha-Godavari Valley of Andhra Pradesh with proven geological reserves of 8791 Million Tonnes (MT). It is currently operating in 30 under ground (UG) and 17 opencast (OC) mines in 4 districts of Andhra Pradesh viz. Adilabad, Karimnagar, Khammam and Warangal with manpower around 56,658 (as on 31.01.2017). (cf: <http://scclmines.com>)

The Government of Andhra Pradesh earned 1,676 crore in the years of 2007 to 2010 from Singareni royalty payments. But before 1996 Singareni was running significant losses almost leading to bankruptcy. This changed with Government of India intervention and since 1997 the company has been profitable. The turnaround in performance appears connected to the increasing use of open cast mining. Between 1997 and 2002 almost all open cast mines were economically profitable while the opposite was true for the underground mines. The mines which are the most expensive for local livelihoods and the environment are thus the most profitable for Singareni Collieries. Singareni Collieries Company Limited (SCCL) is the main source for supply of coal to the southern region. The coal extracted by SCCL in the Godavari valley coalfield up to the year 2009-10 was about 929.12 million tonnes. The company produced 53.19 million tonnes of coal during 2012-13 as against 52.21 million tonnes during the corresponding period last year. (cf: <http://www.coal.nic.in>)

Chapter 2

SOCIO-CULTURAL PROFILE OF LAMBADAS

This chapter provides a brief ethnographic account of Lambada tribe in Telangana state. It deals with the historical background, migrations, sedentary life, dress and ornaments, social structure, kinship and marriage, rituals and religious life of Lambada in general. In this backdrop the changes occurred and response to the coal mining, focussing on Goleti village will be presented in the ensuing chapter.

The Lambada of Adilabad district is an immigrant population from the North India. The Gonds and Kolams have been in logger-head recently with the immigrant Lambada who started sharing the natural resources. Often they had conflicts over the control of land in the past. While the farmer lived even in deep forest areas, the latter generally lived on the fringes of the forest and close to the non-tribal populations. Compared to the Gonds and Kolams, the Lambadas have been maintaining closer social relations with the non-tribal populations of the area. Further, they have also been enjoying the benefits of the State extended to the scheduled tribe communities better than the Gonds and Kolams, since they are listed as Scheduled tribe in 1976.

Life in the past

The Lambadas of Adilabad district when asked about their past say that their ancestors in the past roamed the areas like Bastar, Jagannath Puri and Pandarpur etc., as part of their activity of salt trade in their nomadic life. They called themselves Lako Banjara. After moving here and there they finally settled here for they found it a hospitable forest area for grazing their cattle and availability of enough land for cultivation. They discontinued salt trading and shifted to agriculture and settled life for about 400 years or so. They used to have large herds of cattle, each family had more than 100 cows, and they depended on forest for grazing the cattle. They sold milk to peasants or land lords of neighbouring Kapu community and engaged themselves in cattle trading also. Subsequently, they learned the agricultural techniques from the land lords. When Sevalal temples came into existence they completely stopped the salt business and cultivation became main occupation.

Story of origin

The story narrated by the Lambada about their origin is as follows. The people who do the pottery works were first born on the earth followed by the carpenter, goldsmith and the Lambadas who sold salt, sugar and jaggery. There was a man who had two wives; after the death of his first wife, he married a Lambada woman. He had three sons. The first two sons Marwadi and Mathura were born to his first wife. The third son (Lambada) was born to his second wife. These three brothers got separated from their parents. One day all the elders gathered for the distribution of property. They made three parts of the whole property: silver pots; cow dung paste and jaggery paste. The three sons were asked to choose any one of them. The younger son was given the first preference. He (Lambada) took the jaggery paste then Mathura selected the cow dung paste and then finally Marwadi selected a pot. The Marwadi who selected a pot are settled as *pujari* by offering the *puja*. The Mathura who selected the cow dung paste remained as pastoral. The Lambada who selected the jaggery paste settled as agriculturalist and engaged in liquor making. Within 30- 40 years, they started doing the liquor preparations.

Other recorded stories are as follows. One of the old stories on the origin of Lambada is very ancient which goes like this. Lambadas claim that they are the descendants of Mola and Mota. These two are brothers who used to work at the court of Lord Krishna. They maintained close relations with Lord Krishna. One fine day, Lord Krishna decided to leave this universe permanently and to give one Gopika to each of his servants. While giving a Gopika, he asked the receiver to take care of her and have a wonderful family life. Mola was not there with him when this took place because he was out of station on that particular day, and he came to know about allotment of Gopikas when he came back. He was furious for he was not allotted anyone. He directly approached Lord Krishna and asked him angrily why he was not given any Gopika. Lord Krishna replied saying that he kept aside Radha for him who is the most valued and favourite of Krishna. He took an oath from him that they should not involve in sex because he liked her very much. Then later on, Mola and Radha started living as husband and wife. Mola trained Radha in acrobats because he was skilled in it and they lived with this occupation. Since they did not have children they decided to adopt three male children from other community. One day they gave acrobatic performance at the court of Ramghad. The King was very much pleased with their performance and asked them for a wish. Without second thoughts they asked his son for adoption. The King gave his son who

was named as Rathod. Similarly, they also adopted two boys from Chowghad and Pamghad and named them as Chowhan and Pamar respectively. After some years, when these children had grown up, Mola thought of arranging marriage for his sons. There was a poor Brahmin family who had three unmarried daughters. In the past, there was a custom that the girls should get married before they attained puberty. Because of poverty the Brahmin parents could not get their daughters married. They could not withstand the social ostracism and decided to abandon their daughters in the forest. Mola met the Brahmin who was on his way to the forest with his daughters and enquired about the purpose of his visit to the forest. The Brahmin revealed the secret to Mola without any hesitation. Then Mola said to him that he was looking for three girls for his sons. The Brahmin readily agreed to give his three daughters in marriage to Mola's adopted sons. Lambadas claim that they are the descendants of Mola's three son's i.e., Rathod, Chowhan and Pamar who are the descendents of Rajput and Brahim parentage³. Hassan (1920) says that the Lambada clans were the off-springs of three adopted sons of Mola. Rao (1950) also states that the Banjaras were the descendants of three adopted sons of Radha and Mola. The same story is narrated even today by Bhats and Dhadis who are the story tellers of Lambada community.

There is another myth according to which Lambadas are the descendants of Sugriva who got married to Thida and Tara. Mola who works at the court of Lord Krishna was the son of Thida⁴. Thurston (1975) opined that the Lambadas are the descendants of Vali and Sugriva who were the two monkey chiefs in the Ramayana. The Lambada names are also associated with the names of Vali and Sugriva for instance Valya, Vali, Sakru and Sakriya etc. There is another instance in Ramayana that when Vali died his wife married Sugriva. This custom of marrying the deceased brother's wife is also seen among the Lambadas. It is clear that from these two instances that the Lambada are the descendants of Vali and Sugriva. These mythological stories of the Lambada ancestors about the origin of Lambadas referred by different scholars do not give any clue on the history of Lambadas.

³ Census of India. 1961. Ibid. op. cit. pp. 2-3.

⁴ Census of India. 1961. Ibid op. cit. p. 3.

Historical background of Lambadas

According to the available sources, the origin of Lambadas can be traced to incidents after the death of Prithviraj Chowhan from the medieval period i.e., the battle of Tarain (1192 CE). Lambadas are not the original inhabitants of the Deccan. Iyer and Nanjundayya (1928) mention that their homeland is North India, especially Marwar region in Rajputan of present Rajasthan. Lambada claims of belonging to Rajput clans and participation of their ancestors in wars with the Mahammad Ghori under the leadership of Prithviraj Chowhan may have some validity.

Prithviraj Chowhan, a Hindu king of Chauhan dynasty was born in 1168 C.E. at Ajmer, to the couple of King Someshvara Chowhan and Kamala Devi. He was very brave from his childhood and killed Bhimdev, the King of Gujarat at the age of thirteen. His maternal grandfather when observed his bravery and courage appointed him as the King of Delhi. Prithviraj Chowhan had a love story with Samyukta, who was the daughter of the King Gahadwala Jayachandra Rathod. When he came to know about their secret love he arranged a marriage ceremony (*swayamvaram*) to his daughter with some one else. Then Prithviraj after knowing the news came and took her to his kingdom while the Jayachandra's army chased him. Meanwhile Shahabuddin Muhammad Ghori an invader from Afghanistan captured Prithviraj's border castle of Bhatinda and threw a challenge from east Punjab province. Jayachandra did not help his son-in-law when Ghori came to attack Prithviraj Chowhan. He then with his soldiers moved to Bhatinda and defeated his enemy Ghori. In 1191 C.E, he defeated Shahabuddin Muhammad Ghori in the first battle of Tarrain but left Ghori unharmed showing sympathy on him. But Ghori did not change his evil mind and he took revenge on Prithviraj Chowhan by joining hands with Jayachandra. Ghori defeated Prithviraj Chowhan and won the battle of Tarrain II in 1192 C.E. As a fall out of these battles it is believed that the army of Prithviraj Chowhan got divided into three parts. One group stayed back in Rajasthan and claimed themselves as *kshatriyas*. While the second group, went into the forest by changing their dress and third became gipsy or Banjara (Cheenya, 1998). According to Crooke (1974), there are evidences of arms in possession of Lambada houses till today which clearly tell that they were the soldiers in the ancient times. After the death of Prithviraj Chowhan i.e., in 12th century his soldiers were forced to adapt the profession of trade.

Migration of Lambadas to South

The migration of Lambadas to south took place in two phases. The first phase of Delhi Sultanate when Malik Kafur invaded southern kingdoms during 1310-1311 and Mohammad Tughlak after that, while the second phase was during the raid of Mughal on Deccan. Ethnographers of Deccan mention that Banjaras migrated to the Deccan along with the Mohammedans especially the Moghul armies early in the seventeenth century (Pratap, 1972). Lambadas as the food carriers came to south during the invasions of Mughals (Krishna Reddy, 1991). Crooke writes that the first mention of Banjaras in Mohammedan history was made in Sikandar's attack on Dholpur in the year 1504 C.E⁵. Thurston (1975) states that "the Lambadas of Bellary had first come to Deccan with Mughal armies as commissariat's carriers. They were the people who supplied grains to the English armies during the war with the great Tipu Sultan of Mysore"⁶. Aiyer (1935) believes that the Lambadas might have come to Deccan around 1639 C.E with Asafjah who undertook a huge raid against Bijapur. Cumberledge, a British historian, states that Banjaras first came to the Deccan with Asaf Khan in the Campaign which closed with the annexation of Ahmednagar and Berar by the Emperor Shah Jahan about 1630 C.E. He further mentions that "the immigration which settled the Banjaras upon Deccan soil took place when these grain carriers came down with the Mughal armies early in the seventeenth century"⁷.

Hassan believes that the Banjaras came to the Deccan with the armies of Asaf Jah, the Vazir of Shahjahan⁸. Haimendorf (1988) also expresses the same view that the Banjaras as grain carriers served the Mughal armies and moved along with them to the Deccan in the vans of Aurangazeb's armies. But, General Briggs gives a longer period of migration spread over more than 400 years. In addition he tells that as grain carriers for Mohammadan armies, the Banjaras figured in the history from the day of Mohammad-bin-Tuglak (1340 C.E) to those of Aurangazeb (1658-1707 C.E)⁹. Kaul (1979) also supports Brigg's views and says that the Banjaras came to the south with the Mohammadan armies during the fourteenth century. Both the scholars, Briggs and Kaul consider that the Lambadas came to the Deccan before the advent of Mughals. They were with the army of Khilji under the leadership of Malik Kafur at

⁵ Pratap, D.R. 1972. Ibid. Op. Cit. Pp. 3.

⁶ Thurston, E. 1975. Ibid. Op. Cit. Pp.212.

⁷ Pratap, D.R. 1972. Ibid. Op. Cit. Pp. 2-3.

⁸ Hassan, S. 1920. Ibid. Op. Cit. Pp. 20.

⁹ Pratap, D.R. 1972. Ibid. Op. Cit. Pp. 4.

the time of their attack on Devagiri in 1307 C.E. During the time of war they were the only source to supply food grains to the armies.

Then Mohammad-bin-Tuglak attacked the south i.e., Warangal in 1323 C.E. It was the capital of the Kakatiya rulers. At that time they faced several problems in crossing the thick forest and mountains. Lambadas were the ones who helped the armies in carrying the required commodities from one place to the other. Mohammad-bin-Tuglak defeated Prataparudra also known as Rudradeva II, who was the last ruler of the Kakatiya dynasty (Warangal) of India¹⁰. Then after the defeat at Warangal, most of the Lambadas stayed back at the same place because it was not mandatory to go back with the armies. Their services were utilized only at the time of war and the remaining time they were busy with their trade. This may be one of the reasons why Lambadas are more in Warangal district than in other parts of Telangana. Finally, the Lambada migration to south was connected with the Mohammad-bin-Tuglak.

There is also evidence of migration of Banjaras before the arrival of Mughals. According to Mohammad Khasim Ferista a large convoy of Banjara bullocks was seized by Khan Khanan who rebelled against Feroz Sha Bahamani to occupy the throne of Gulbarga¹¹. It is also mentioned in the Gazetteer of the Vizagpatnam District that “during the 15th century, Vinayka Deo the then ruler of Jeypore crushed the revolution in his dominion and regained his throne with the help of a Banjara leader”¹².

The migration of Banjaras to the Deccan was also linked with the Asaf Jah (1630 C.E) which took place during the period of Shahjahan. Lambadas not only accompanied the Mughal armies but also they were benefitted from the Royals by the exemption of taxes. It is said that in the year 1630 C.E the Bangi and Jhangi Naiks followed the Mughal army with the 1,80,000 bullocks and while Bhagavandas the Vadiya Naik had only 52,000 bullocks. These Banjaras accompanied Asaf Jah by carrying his provisions during his raid on the Deccan against Bijapur. Iyer (1928) reveals that Asaf Jah wanted to keep the Banjara bullocks with his army for safety. He then gave *farmana* to those bullocks of Bhangi and Jhangi Naiks. Banjaras are also served as the main messengers for the army chiefs (Shyamala Devi, 1989). They were also given some land at the present Banjara Hills, Hyderabad for staying at the

¹⁰ <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Prataparudra>

¹¹ Iyer, L. A. 1935. Ibid. Op. Cit. P. 138.

¹² Thurston, E. 1975. Ibid. Op. Cit. Pp.214.

time of their visit to Hyderabad with different facilities¹³. The Banjaras of Telangana were always in the picture during the time of Nizam providing commissionerate services to the Nizam armies¹⁴. Banjara services were utilized at the time of wars by supplying food grains to the armies and when there are no wars they were permitted to do trade in the Deccan.

The Banjaras lost their trade with the introduction of rails and roads during the advent of the British rule. As a result, they got affected of their livelihood and thus suffered a lot. Then later on, they have adopted different occupations like agriculture and cattle breeding. They are now scattered and settled in Thandas usually away from the main village.

Lambadas in Contemporary Period

Scholars like Iyer, Thurston, Hassan and Russel etc., had different opinions about the term Lambada. Russel and Hiralal (1916) argue that Lambada is the synonym of Wanjari and Banjara. Hassan (1920) thinks that this word is derived from the Persian word *Berinjarind* meaning dealer in salt and from the Sanskrit word *Lavana* which means salt¹⁵. Iyer (1935) says that Banjaras are also called as Lambadis, Lambanis and Sugalis¹⁶. Thruston (1987) thinks that Lambada are the synonyms of Sugali or Sukali, Brinjari or Banjari. According to him Banjara is derived from the Sanskrit word *vanijyakarakas* which means merchant whereas the same in Prakrit *vanijjaarao* means a trader¹⁷. He further opines that some people traded betel-nut (*supari*) called as Sugali. According to Census of India (1961), the terms Lambada, Banjara and Sugali are one and the same and they belong to Charan Banjaras. The word Banjara is derived from the Vanachara (wanderers in the jungle). *Vana* meaning forest and *Chara* means mover or wanderer. Singh (1998, 2003) states that the word is derived from *Bajjika* which means trade or business. All the above scholars express their opinions that their nomenclature has been derived from their traditional occupation, trading of different goods like salt, rice and betel-nut etc. And in due course of time their services were also utilized by the rulers i.e., in supplying food grains to the military forces at the time of wars.

¹³ Hassan, S. 1920. Ibid. Op. Cit. Pp. 21.

¹⁴ Census of India. 1961. Ibid. Op. Cit. Pp. 3.

¹⁵ Hassan, S. 1920. Ibid. Op. Cit. Pp. 15-16.

¹⁶ Iyer, L.K.A. 1935. Ibid. Op. Cit. Pp. 135.

¹⁷ Thurston, E. 1975. Ibid. Op. Cit. Pp.207.

They are known with different names in different states of India. For instance in Andhra Pradesh and Telangana they are called as Lambadas, Banjara and Sugalis. In Maharashtra they are called as Banjara, Vanjara, Goar, and Lamabara etc. Similarly, in other states like Karnataka and Madhya Pradesh they are called as Lambani and Mathura Labhan respectively. But we have to consider that all the different names represent the same community throughout India and all the names are synonyms of this tribe. Therefore, it does not matter for Lambadas how others call them but they address themselves as *Goar mati*. The meaning of *Goar* is the protector of cattle.

The Lambadas are the major dominant scheduled tribe inhabiting throughout the Telangana State. They are also known as Banjara. Their population according to 2011 census is 20,46,117¹⁸. In Telangana and Andhra Pradesh states they are seen mostly in different districts which include Adilabad, Warangal, Khammam, Ananthapur, Cuddapah and Krishna. In fact, the Lambadas today are found living in twenty one states including union territories in India from Kashmir to Kanyakumari except in the North Eastern states (Ruplanaik, 1998). The erstwhile Hyderabad state comprised of both the aboriginal and immigrant tribal groups. Lambadas are one among the immigrant tribes who have migrated from the Northern part of India. There is no clear information about the exact place from where this tribe had migrated. The mythological stories and historical records have mentioned that their native land was from North-western India and more likely in the Marwar region of Rajasthan. Then they spread to different directions to Kashmir in the North, Deccan and beyond in the South and in the East to eastern Uttar Pradesh¹⁹.

According to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes lists modification order of 1956, the Sugali is declared as scheduled tribe in Andhra area comprising the districts of Anantapur, Kadapa, Kurnool, Guntur, Nellore, Visakhapatnam, Srikakulam, Krishna, East and west Godavari. While Banjara or Lambada is stated as Denotified Tribe in Telangana region of Andhra Pradesh which included Adilabad, Warangal, Khammam, Karimnagar, Mahabubnagar, Nizambad, Medak, Nalgonda and Hyderabad²⁰. Now, they are notified as Scheduled Tribes in Telangana, Andhra Pradesh, Orissa and Bihar while Scheduled Castes in

¹⁸ <http://twd.telangana.gov.in/tribal-profile/>

¹⁹ Iyer and Nanjundayya. 1928. Ibid. Op. Cit. Pp. 128-136.

²⁰ Census of India. 1961. Ibid. Op. Cit. Pp. 1.

other states like Karnataka, Himachal Pradesh, Haryana and Union Territory of Delhi since 1976.

Dress pattern and ornaments

The traditional dress of Lambada woman consists of *kanchili* and *ghagaro*. The *kanchili* is a blouse decorated with different embroidery works and mirrors which cover only the breast and is open at the back having cords. *Tukri* is decorated with different types of beads and mirror glasses stitched with coins which cover the head and back of the body. This dress pattern of Lambadas looks very much like that of Rajasthanis. However, the modernity has impacted the women; most of them have given up their traditional dress except some of the old women. Men wear shirt, *dhothi* and a turban on the head. But, the youth and employees wear modern trousers and shirts, while women wear *sarees* and blouses. Young girls wear frocks, *chudidars* and *langa* and *voni*, while boys prefer t-shirts, knickers and jeans pants. The traditional ornaments include: *gugri* and *topli* (hair ornaments), *buriya* (nose ornament), *kaass* and *kunicha* (anklets), *haslo*, *harr* and *vanke* (necklaces). Some of the elderly men also wear ear rings and silver bracelets (*kolda*).

Food

The traditional foods of Lambadas include *ragi*, *jowar* roti, *dal* and rice. They usually eat *jowar* roti with different combinations like dal, vegetarian and non-vegetarian curries. Since they were cattle herders in the past they used to prepare milk products at home and use the same liberally. All vegetables and fruits available to them are consumed. They are basically non-vegetarians but not beef eaters, for cow is their sacred animal and killing cow is believed to invite god's wrath. They prepare a special dish with the flesh of a sacrificed goat which is called as *solai*. They prepare it with the *jowar* flour, blood of the sacrificed and intestines of animal by adding salt and other items.

The Lambadas consume *daru*, an alcoholic beverage made in their homes or outside secretly. Some of the Lambada women survive in the Thanda by brewing and selling of *gudumba*, another intoxicant beverage. Generally, a woman feels shy to drink alcohol in front of her son-in-law and father-in-law. Smoking is also common among the Lambadas. Lambadas are physically strong due to their nomadic life and the food they consumed in the past. Since

Lambadas are very strong they are ready to do any kind of laborious work, unlike other neighbouring tribes.

Language

Lambadas have their own language Lambadi which is also known as *goarboli*. It is derived from the western Rajasthani and it belongs to Indo-Aryan group of languages, and it has no script. It is an inclusive language for if they want to share any secret or personal matters in public they converse in their own language so that others will not be able to understand it. It may vary from one region to another, depending upon the local or regional languages. They are mostly bilingual and in Telangana they speak Telugu fluently with the non-tribals.

Dwelling

Generally, Lambada Thanda is situated on the outskirts of the main village where all castes live. They do not live with any other community. They built their houses with the locally available materials like non-tribes. The dwellings usually consist of single or double rooms and bathing place remained outside the house. The cattle enclosures are erected next to the residential locality.

Subgroups

The Lambada society is divided into endogamous groups like Bhat, Dhaliya and Dhadi. The main occupation of these groups is begging by playing different musical instruments. The Bhat and Dhadi sing songs by playing an instrument called *kinjri*. Dhaliyas play *dappu*. There is also traditional group of barbers to Lambadas called Navi Lambada.

Clans

There are different clans found among the Lambadas with surnames like Ajmeera, Bukya, Jerupulla, Lavidiya, Banoath, Rathod, Powar, Eslavath, Nagavath, Kunsoath, Guguloath, Jathoath, Lakavath, Dharavath, Bilavath, Chowhan, Palthiya, Jadav, Badavath, Mudh, Tejavath, Sapavath, Maloath, Malavath etc. These clans are grouped under different phratries like Jadav (52), Chowhan (6), Rathod (27), Povar (12) and Ade (13) respectively. The clan is exogamous as such one cannot marry within the phratry. This means to say that a man of one phratry can marry a girl from the other phratry.

Table: 2.1. Distribution of clans by phratry

Sl.no	Phratry	Clan names	Households	Percent
1	Jadav	Ajmeera	29	13.8
2	Jadav	Badavath	2	0.9
3	Ade	Banoath	22	10.4
4	Rathod	Bhukya	16	7.6
5	Jadav	Dharavath	4	1.9
6	Jadav	Guguloath	18	8.6
7	Jadav	Jadav	1	0.5
8	Povar	Jerupulla	30	14.3
9	Jadav	Kunsoath	3	1.4
10	Chowhan	Lavidiya	24	11.4
11	Jadav	Maloath	3	1.4
12	Rathod	Mudh	7	3.3
13	Jadav	Nagavath	6	2.9
14	Chowhan	Palthiya	4	1.9
15	Povar	Povar	1	0.5
Others			40	19.0
Total			210	100 percent

Source: Field study

In Goleti Lambada Thanda, out of 210 household schedules, 29 (13.8 percent) and 30 (14.3 percent) households belongs to Ajmeera and Jerupulla clan names respectively. Similarly, 22 (10.4 percent) and 23 (10.9 percent) households belongs to Banoath and Lavidiya clan names which is then followed by the remaining clans. The Ajmeera clan was the first settlers in the village. They first settled down in the village and informed the other clans that this place is a good and suitable for them. Then the other clans like Jerupulla and Lavidiya also joined with them later on. Then the son of one clan married to the daughter of another clan as a result there was an alliance with different clans which later on led to the increase of families. Actually some of these people do not have any idea about from where they have migrated but they have been in the Goleti village for many years.

Lambada marriage types

The following are the different types of marriages noticed among the Lambada community: cross-cousin marriage (CCM), polygyny, levirate, sororate, avunculate and exchange marriages.

Life cycle rituals

Pregnancy and child birth

In the past, the Lambada women used to give birth at their husbands' home. The practice was that once a woman is married to someone she was never used to return to her natal family. She hardly used to meet their parents. But now it is not the case. It is not mandatory for the pregnant woman to go to parent's house for delivery like the non-tribes. If she desires to be with the parents, the parents of the pregnant woman take her to the natal family in the seventh month for the first delivery. Then, for the second and third delivery, she is not sent to her paternal house; rather, the deliveries take place at the husband's house. She is taken care of and given proper diet for few months with certain proscriptions. In the past, the delivery used to take place in a small hut or cattle shed but now it is taking place inside the house. When she gets labour pains, her mother or mother-in-law or other elder women relatives in the family are informed. The Thanda people generally do not consult the doctors. An old woman of the Thanda acts as a mid-wife who takes care of the pregnant woman at the time of delivery.

When a girl child was born in the family, they used to express their happiness by beating the brass plate, and if a boy child, there was drumming the *doll*. Immediately after the birth of the child, they give a bath to the child with warm water on the same spot by adding some *neem* leaves to the water. Before the bath, they apply cow dung to the child's body which helps removal of the hair on the body of the child and also reduces the heat as well. They also apply coconut oil to the child's body before the bath. The sickle which is used in cutting the umbilical cord of the child is put near the child's head during its sleep. They believe that by doing this, the evil spirits will not approach the child. They offer prayers to their clan goddess on the day of child's birth by breaking a coconut. They offer *prasadam* at the cooking place by adding the coconut pieces and ghee to the burning hearth.

The mother and child are kept in a separate room, completely isolated from each other. The birth pollution among the Lambadas is observed for three days since the mother and her child are brought to the home. After three days of the delivery, they perform a ceremony called *jalva dhokeyero* to end the pollution. The mother and infant are given bath with warm water mixed with the *neem* leaves. A black thread is tied to the ankle of mother and child. The

elders in the family break a coconut and offer prayer to their ancestors and deities. They offer prayer to the *jallmatha*.

The rice mixed with turmeric is served to the delivered woman on the first day. The woman is not allowed to eat too much chillies or spicy food after the delivery. Instead, she is given to eat the food which contains ingredients of medicinal value such as *ajmo*, clove, black pepper, dried ginger, roots of *tulasi* mixed with the jaggery and ghee. She is also served with the non-vegetarian food. The feeding to the child continues till the child is habituated to eat the solid or liquid foods. The weaning of infant forcefully takes place if necessary by using the paste of *neem* leaves to the nipples.

The Lambadas prefer boy child than the girl child, because the boy contributes to the family and takes care of the parents when they become old, whereas the female child has to leave the parents to join her husband's house. The socialization process of girl differs from that of the boy; the girl is given less freedom compared to that of the boy. The mother trains the girls how to behave in front of the elders and other strangers. She is given proper training in the art of cooking and other domestic activities. She also learns the agricultural works by going along with her mother to the agricultural field.

Christening ceremony (*janmo dokhano*)

On the third day or twenty first day of the birth of the child the naming ceremony takes place. The child is washed and put on new clothes. On this ceremony, special prayers are made to their clan deity to protect the child and mother from all the problems such as small pox. They perform *godhi guggri* ceremony at the natal family in which all the women in the Thanda are invited. First, five or seven or nine varieties or mixture of peas or grains is boiled and some are put along with red ants in a swing where the infant is placed. The ants bite child and he/she also will cry. But there is a reason behind in doing so. It is an expression of the desire to have more and more children in the family like the army of ants. The women who attend the ceremony sing songs related to their deities, Sevalal and Meramma. Thereafter, the boiled grains are distributed to all the people who have attended the ceremony. The Lambadas also do *jollironoktha* on the day of naming ceremony. If a child is sick, a needle is heated on the earthen lamp then a plus symbol is branded at the child's navel which is known as *dhagdhero*. They believe that by doing this, the digestive system of the child functions well.

Name of the child is decided by the elderly person usually the grandfather or grandmother of the child. But, nowadays for naming the child people are taking the help of a Brahmin who checks the almanac and finds out the stars of the child at the time of birth so as to select a suitable name. Generally, children are named after their ancestors. If the parents have any vow to fulfil for a god, they name the child after that particular god. Sometimes if the child is born on Dasara festival, he is named as Dasru. If the child is born on Monday, he is named as Somla or Tuesday, he is named as Mangilal. Now-a-days boys are named as Shathwik, Rahul and Mahesh and girls like Soumya, Mounika and Pallavi etc., which shows the influence of the neighbouring non-tribes, and cinemas.

Tonsure ceremony

Tonsure ceremony is called *latta khader*. It is a customary practice among the Lambadas to remove the hair of a child for the first time in a ceremony. The tonsure ceremony is performed when a girl or a boy attains the age of nine or ten. In the past, they did not celebrate this ceremony. But in the recent past, this has been adopted from the non-tribes. In some cases, they meet the Brahmin to fix a date and time for the occasion. Even if the child cries continuously after the birth, a vow is made to the deities. Later, the child is taken to the temple and gets a tuft of hair cut in the name of the deity for the first time.

Initially, an elder of the clan cuts the locks for seven times at the time of *puja* organized for the clan deity. There should be at least two children from the family during the hair cut ceremony to undergo this ceremony together. The children could be brother or sister also. An elder who cuts the locks sings a song in praise of Saathi goddess and also asks her to take care of the children born in the clan. He also offers a coconut, one rupee coin and some rice in a towel and it is closed tightly. It is then kept in the *muta* (bundle) of the deity. In the past, mother's brother was not given much importance during the hair cut ceremony. But now they are giving importance to the brother of the mother which is a common practice among the non-tribes. Now they also perform the hair cut ceremony at the shrine of the Hindu deities like Lord Balaji or Rajarajeshwara swamy or Hanuman besides Sevalal. The parents along with the child and other relatives visit the temple. The child is asked to sit on a small stool facing the east at the temple and the maternal uncle cuts few locks of the child. Later on the remaining hairs are removed by a barber with a blade. The barber is paid some cash for the service rendered. The parents of the child present new clothes to the maternal uncle. In return,

the maternal uncle presents new clothes to the child. The child is given bath and put on new clothes. All the family members take bath and offer *puja* to the deity. They stay overnight at the temple and return home on the following day. When they return home the remaining hairs are offered to their clan deity Bhavani or Saathi when *puja* is performed for this deity.

Ear piercing

Generally, at the age of seven, piercing of ears is done for a girl child. On an auspicious day, the father brings a gold smith to the house and gets the ears pierced. It depends upon the financial status of the family to celebrate the ceremony. People who are financially sound celebrate it in a grand manner. They inform their close relatives and arrange non-vegetarian food for them. People who attend the ceremony present gifts of cash or kind. This ear piercing ceremony has been also adapted from the neighbouring castes in the recent past.

Puberty

In the beginning Lambadas used to celebrate a ceremony called *kanchili/choli pyarayaro* which means wearing the traditional dress which included *kanchilli* (jacket), *peteya* and *topli*. When the Lambada girls attain puberty between 12 and 14 years the news is not circulated among the men of the family but shared among the women only. They do not tell or share it openly but the girl is not allowed to go out of her house. She is not allowed to touch any materials or utensils in the house. One day all the women relatives of the girl fix a date to perform the ceremony without letting her know about it. On that particular day, the items like coconuts, sugar and jaggery are brought to the girl's house. The girl finding all women relatives goes out of the house and hides in her relative's house. Then the women try to find her by searching different houses. When they find the girl, she tries to escape from them but they chase her and finally catch her, and bring her home. A new jacket and voni (*tukri*) are kept ready for her at home. She is given bath and dressed up with the jacket and *tukri* by her sister-in-laws. She is then brought outside the house and is asked to sit on a chair. She is presented with coconuts, sugar or jaggery. The women who come to attend the ceremony present gifts to her in the form of either cash or kind. Once the ceremony is over, the girl is taken inside the house. The coconuts presented to her are cut into pieces and crushed into paste. It is then mixed by adding the jaggery. The sweet prepared is then distributed to all the members. In the past, others used to come to know about the girl's attainment of puberty when

the ceremony is organized. But now a day, some of the Lambadas are not continuing this tradition.

Engagement (*gooll kayaro*)

The itinerant Bhat Lambadas who visit different Thandas for alms used to provide the service of arranging matches for the Lambadas in the past. A Lambada family finds out from the Bhat about availability of a suitable boy or girl for their daughter or son for marriage in another Thanda and then initiate negotiations through him only. When the other family agrees for the match, the family visits the girl's house with a proposal. But now matches are fixed by the mediators or relatives and friends. The negotiation for marriage is generally proceeded from the boy's family.

First the bridegroom's family members visit the bride's family to know their opinion. If the bridegroom's party is happy with the manners exhibited towards the guests by the girl's family, and others, they continue further negotiations. If the bride's parents are interested to give their daughter then they talk about the dowry that they can afford. Then when both the parties are happy about the match, bridegroom's parents ask the bride's family to visit their house on an auspicious day and accordingly the bride's side elders visit the bridegroom's family and express their interest in fixing the match. Then the bridegroom's parents fix up with the girl's family and they inform the Thanda headman, Naik. Then, they identify a date and time for visiting the bride's house. This information is communicated to the bride's parents. Once the latter confirm the bridegroom's side people including the Naik of the Thanda visit the house of the bride. When both the groups agree for the marriage they identify a suitable date and time for engagement with the consultation of both the Naiks of the Thandas and return to the Thanda. These days they are consulting a Brahmin priest for finding an auspicious time and date.

Along with the Naik, the bridegroom's parents and other elders of the Thanda visit the bride's house on the date. Relatives from both the groups also attend the ceremony. This is held at the bride's house. Once they reach the Thanda a message is passed on to the girl's house about the arrival of the bridegroom's party. Then the bride's side relatives go and receive the bridegroom's party. The bride's father cordially invites and greets them and welcomes them into the house by saying *ram-ram*. Then they are given water to wash the feet and requested to take rest for some time on mats, cots or chairs arranged in the bride's house. The

bridegroom's party must have brought with them are a *saree*, a blouse, dozens of bangles, vermilion, turmeric powder, fruits, puffed rice, matchbox, oil and flowers etc. The engagement expenditure has to be borne by both the parties; the bride's side bears sixty percent and the bridegroom side bears the remaining forty percent of the total expenditure. After the arrival of the bridegroom's group, the bride's father sends a message to the Thanda Naik and requests him to participate in the ceremony.

The men from both groups sit on the mat arranged in the bride's house while the women sit around. The bridegroom's party gives an amount of Rs. 500 to the bride's side Naik who arranges five coconuts, sweet, incense sticks, betel nuts, sugar, jaggery, vermilion, turmeric powder and beedis with the amount given to him. In the mean time, lemon juice is prepared and distributed to all the members who have attended the ceremony. Once the items are brought these are put in a tray and kept at the gods' place in the house. The bride's parents offer *puja* and break a coconut in front of the god's photograph. The bridegroom gets ready with new clothes wearing a traditional turban. He sits on the mat arranged and his elder brother-in-law sits next to him. The bride's side Naik asks the father of the bridegroom whether he is agreed for the alliance or not. The bridegroom's side Naik also asks the father of the bride whether he is agreed for the alliance or not. The bridegroom is also asked whether he likes the girl or not. Similarly, the bride has to confirm about her liking the boy or not. The bride's side Naik asks both the parents about the dowry and other things which are discussed earlier. He listens to both the groups and asks them whether both the groups agree for the deal or not. If both the groups agree they proceed further.

Then, one member of the bride's party brings water in a glass placed in a tray and asks one of the elders of the bridegroom's party to take water, he says *lo-pani*. Then others are also given water. After giving a glass of water for all elders of the bridegroom, a person carries a tray which contains two coconuts and gives these to an elder saying, as said before for water, *lo-nariel*. The same is repeated for the bride's side elders also. The sweets brought by the bridegroom's side are distributed to all the members. The Naiks of both the groups are given *sakhya*, an amount of Rs. 11 each from the remaining after purchase of the items mentioned above. Then the bride's brother is given an amount of Rs. 11 which is called *rangh* for the service he provided to the bridegroom at the time of marriage negotiations. Then an amount of Rs. 25 is wrapped tightly in a white hand kerchief or towel and given to the bride side elder which is known as *kothili*. Then 1/4 kilogram of jaggery is first given to the elders who

should be from the Rathod clan from the either side which is known as *bangh*.²¹ Then the remaining jaggery is distributed to all the members who have attended the ceremony by saying *lo-goll*. Then there will be an exchange of items between both the groups. The women from the bride's side bring a tray which contains an earthen lamp, sugar, vermilion and turmeric powder and place it in front of the bridegroom. They also bring the bridegroom's new clothes and half of the dowry amount in a tray which is put in the bridegroom's cupped hands. Then brothers from the bride side, who are sitting on wooden planks which are arranged on the mat first, garland the bridegroom and his brother-in-law with a new towel by placing it on his shoulders. Then they apply vermilion to their foreheads and vice-versa. The same is continued with the other cousins of bride side afterwards.

The sisters-in-law from bride's side bring new dress to the bridegroom, along with some fruits and puffed rice in a bowl. They first apply vermilion to the forehead of the bridegroom and his brother-in-law. The bridegroom and his brother-in-law stretch out a towel separately by holding with the hands to receive presents. Then they put some fruits and puffed rice in fives in each of the towel. Then they bless the bridegroom and his brother-in-law by sprinkling the turmeric rice on their head. A little amount of sugar is put in their mouths. The same is done to women also afterwards. Now the bride and her sister take the seat of bridegroom and bridegroom's brother-in-law and the bridegroom's sisters bring a tray which contains a *saree*, bangles, vermilion and flowers. Then they apply vermilion to the forehead of bride and her sister. Thereafter, they bless the bride and her sister by sprinkling the turmeric rice on their heads. A little sugar is put in their mouths. All the relatives from both the groups shower rice mixed with turmeric powder to mark their blessings. After this all the elders of both the groups are offered liquor in the bride's house. This follows a vegetarian food for all. After having food, all of them leave to their respective houses, the bridegroom with his parents and relatives return to their Thandas.

Lambada marriage in the earlier days

Before 1970's, there used to be the practice of giving bride price in the form of calf on which both giver and receiver used to take pride and boast for a long time. There were also different rituals like *saadi* and *tello* which are celebrated at the bridegroom's house. And the rituals

²¹ The reason for giving *bhang* to the Rathod clan is that there were wars in Rana Pratap Singh's regime. Rathod clan had won the battle in those days for which they were given *bhang* as a reward. Since then it has become a custom to give *bhang* to the Rathod clan by saying *Rathod ko bhang dedo*.

like *gotta*, *vaaya* and *goot* were celebrated at the bride's house. They used to celebrate each event for 10-15 days or one week. On the whole, it used to take at least three months to complete the marriage rituals among the Lambadas in the past. At present, the duration of marriage celebration is only for three days. The bridegroom has to bear the total wedding expenditure.

Before wedding ceremony, the bridegroom had to face different challenges from the bride's family members. They used to beat him with the *Calotropis gigantea* and *modugu* tree branches while he is taking bath. The brothers-in-law used to beat him with a folded skirt of women. With this they used to test his patience and character, whether he was capable of taking care of his wife or not. If he faced all the challenges, then the bride's family used to agree for the marriage. Bridegroom had to stand up and respect the elders who come for the marriage until they had taken seats. The traditional marriage rituals among the Lambadas were performed by the Thanda elders. In the past, once the marriage was over the bride had less chance to meet her parents. Thereafter, her life was completely dedicated to her husband and her in-laws. She had to adjust with them and had to begin a new life.²²

Marriage

When both the families agree for the marriage, the date and time is fixed after consulting with the local astrologer or a Brahmin priest. Then the head of the household invites each and every member of the Thanda and also the relatives from the other Thandas. Marriage within the same clan is prohibited. Marrying one's own sister's daughter i.e., maternal uncle and niece is also permitted among the Lambadas. Sororate and Levirate marriages are allowed or practised.

Marriage celebrations start one day before at the bride's house. The branches of *palla porka* tree with leaves are brought on four or five bullock carts ceremonially to the house and a marriage *pandal* is erected with them in front of the house. The marriage rituals used to take place at the shrine of their ancestors and at the natural locations like trees and stones etc., in the past.

²² It was so because they were *nomadic* and they did not have any communication among themselves once they went in different directions.

Saadi ceremony at the bridegroom's house

One day before the marriage this *saadi* ceremony is performed at the bridegroom's house. The bridegroom puts on the wedding dress, wears the marriage cap and holds the *katari*²³ in his hand. He and his brother sit on the mat spread on the ground in front of the house, and the latter greets who come for the wedding. A tent is erected and chairs are arranged in front of the house for the guests. The relatives from the bridegroom's side lit a fire outside the house and prepare sweet with the mixture of rice, ghee and jaggery and a little amount of it is put in a plate and kept in front of the bridegroom. Then it is put in the fire by adding ghee as an offering to the ancestors²⁴ what is called *vadhaye*. Then all the elderly women from the bridegroom's side sing different songs remembering their ancestors and taking their names. After the ritual of songs, the bridegroom and his companions are given the sweets prepared especially for this occasion. Then the sweets prepared are distributed to all those who have attended the ceremony. Then the *rotis* mixed with jaggery and groundnut powder which are made by hands, are roasted on the fire.

Once the sweets get ready, the bridegroom and his brother again sit on the mat. Then elderly women from the bridegroom's side first clean the area by sprinkling water and then draw a circle and also a horizontal and vertical line in the circle with the *jowar* or maize powder. A small pot is put in the middle of the circle. A thread with a piece of rolled mango leaf, applied with turmeric and vermilion paste called *kankanam* is tied to the pot. In front of the pot, an earthen lamp is placed. A stool is arranged beside the pot which is covered with a white cloth. A sharpened needle is put on the white cloth. The Thanda Naik gives one rupee from the *sakhya* to the bridegroom in the *saadi* ritual. The *sakhya* amount is given to him from amount given to the bride's group at the time of engagement. The Thanda Naik puts one rupee coin and betel nut inside a small earthen pot. A red cloth with embroidery works called *gonlo* covers the pot. Now the Naik and the other elders repeat the *saadi mantra* for seven times. The *mantra* goes like this:

²³ It is a small knife or iron material with handle which is covered with a white or red cloth. It is held by the bridegroom in his hand at the time of marriage.

²⁴ It is *bhog* to the ancestors.

Kwali ahvo kwali javo kwali ma jaghsomvaar
Dwalla godo haamslowpathalya samhaar
Mayej puja mayej pathi mayej pujan haar
Chande ahvdi chandini jammi avda rott
Mungge avda moogra thalli avda dayelo
Mala bheema ekkekar gosaibava sodar sodar

This is a prayer seeking help from the deities for the smooth conduct of the marriage ceremony. While reciting the *mantra* the sharpened needle is put on the lightened lamp and when the recitation is done for seven times, the elderly man sitting next to the bridegroom whispers the *mantra* in the bridegroom's ear. Then he brands bridegroom's left hand with a hot needle. The sweet prepared is distributed to all the males who have attended the ceremony. Women are prohibited to eat this sweet.

The next day, the bridegroom visits the temples in the Thanda in wedding clothes holding the *katari* in his hand. A family member of the bridegroom picks the one rupee from the pot which was dropped in it and ties it to the bridegroom's dress which is not to be removed till the marriage ceremony is over. An unmarried girl who may be the bridegroom's sister has to carry a small brass pot with *kankanam* on her head which is filled with water. The bridegroom takes blessings of the elders of the community and sets out to visit the temples under the ceremonial canopy²⁵. Then all the bridegroom's relatives and friends go in procession to the temples accompanied by music. They first visit the Hanuman followed by the Sevalal and Durga Matha temples. After reaching the temple the bridegroom offers *puja* to the god after going round the temple.

After returning home from the temple, the bridegroom accompanied by the brothers-in-law stands on the mat placed on the ground. The rice mixed with turmeric powder in a tray are distributed to all who attended the ceremony who shower these on bridegroom's shoulders. Then non-vegetarian food is served first to men and later for women. This is the reception (*thello*) at the bridegroom's house and those who attended the reception present gifts in the form of either cash or kind to the bridegroom.

²⁵ The bridegroom's elder brothers-in-law holds a white towel lifting it up from both the ends, while the bridegroom stands in the middle of the towel while one person holds a stick lifting the towel further up in the middle so as to give enough height for the bridegroom to walk erect.

On the day of wedding, the bridegroom comes out of the house after offering prayer to the god in the house. The white cloth put on him at the time of visiting different temples in the Thanda is spread on the ground. He then takes out the one rupee coin which is tied to the cloth while the women who accompanied him sing songs in the name of the god. He holds *katari* in his hand which is then put on the coin and brings it to the four corners of the towel from the centre. He again ties the one rupee coin to his dress. It should remain with him till the marriage is over. When the bridegroom comes into his house after the wedding ceremony, they purchase jaggery with the same one rupee adding some more money to it. Then, the jaggery purchased is distributed to all the family members and relatives.

The marriage ceremony takes place at the bride's house. On the day of wedding the bridegroom and his relatives reach the bride's Thanda but they go to the temple in the Thanda and send a message to the bride's parents about their arrival. Then the bride's people bring some water in a pot with *kankanam* and serve all. The elders of the bridegroom's side meet the bride's side Naik and Karobari as per their tradition. They give *beedi*, soump and betel nut pieces to the bride side elders saying *ram-ram* which is known as *hakka bukka*. The bride's parents and relatives come together in a procession with the music to receive the bridegroom's party.

The bride's brothers give some money to the bridegroom which may be Rs. 51 or 116 or 516 etc., and then lift the bridegroom physically on to their shoulders and bring him to the vehicle and make him sit inside. Then, all the relatives from both the groups go in procession to the bride's house with the music band. Once the bridegroom reaches the bride's house, the barber puts a stool in front of the bridegroom on which the latter stands. He then washes the feet of the bridegroom with water and removes evil eye by lighting the camphor in a small tray. The bridegroom then puts some cash in the tray. The bridegroom is taken inside the bride's house. The bride is now at her paternal uncle's house. After sometime, the bride's parents bring her to their house. The brothers-in-law of bridegroom give cash to the bride which should be more than the amount given by bride's brothers to bridegroom at the temple. Then there will be the ritual of *juttu nelu thagadam*.

Both bride and bridegroom take ritual head bath with the turmeric water and get ready with the wedding dress and ornaments. The bride's brother hides the shoes belonging to the bridegroom for fun and demand money from the bridegroom as a gift. Both the bride and

bridegroom are brought to the *PELLI mandapam*. Earlier the marriage rituals were organized by the Thanda priest or headman. But now-a-days, they have adopted the non-tribal and urban Hindu customs. Both the bride and bridegroom sit side by side surrounded by all the relatives. The bride sits to the right side of the bridegroom. The bridegroom holds the *katari* knife in his hand. A Brahmin priest solemnizes the wedding at the bride's home according to Hindu traditions.

Then all the people who have attended the marriage will have non-vegetarian food and return to their houses. Later at the end, both bride and bridegroom will have lunch. All the relatives and friends who have attended the ceremony present gifts to the couple in the form of cash or kind. Generally, these are noted on a piece of paper by both the groups separately so that both the groups can return the same or in different forms to them at a suitable time. In the evening, there is a ceremony called *appaginthallu* when the bride is sent to the bridegroom's house. Some of the women relatives from the bride's side also go with the bride. The same day the married couple returns to the bridegroom's house.

As the couple leave, the women relatives of the bride sing songs and the bride weeps till their vehicle crossed the Thanda. When they reach the bridegroom's house at the threshold of the house washer man or barber arranges a new stool for the newly married couple to place their feet so that he washes their feet with water. He removes the evil eye with a rite of cooked rice, eggs, lemon, and *jeediginja*. Then both the bride and bridegroom are taken inside the house. The new couple stays one day at the bridegroom's house and on the next day they again visit the bride's house. They stay one or two days at the bride's house and return to the husband's house for permanent stay.

Death

When there is a death, the body is first taken out of the house and placed outside on the ground on a mat. An earthen oil lamp is lit besides the head of the dead body. The news is circulated among the relatives and friends. The elders of the Thanda visit the house of the dead person. Performing various rituals depends on the financial status of the family. If the family has enough money to perform the rituals, they do on their own, and if the family is poor; the Thanda residents contribute money for the rituals. Generally, married ones are cremated while the unmarried are buried. The items brought for the funeral are: white cloth, incense sticks, cotton and coconut thread, vermilion, coconuts and new clothes like *dhoti*.

Before washing the dead person, his wife removes the vermilion, marriage badge, toe rings and breaks the glass bangles. She comes in front of the dead body and the deceased person's elder or younger brother removes all the ornaments. Then, the deceased person is washed with turmeric powder and covered in a white cloth, and made to sit on a chair. The people who visit the deceased person first apply vermilion to forehead and salute. A little amount of sugar or ghee is poured in the mouth of the deceased person with a spoon. The deceased person is garlanded with the flowers. Meanwhile, some members of the Thanda prepare a carrier with bamboos and thatches which is known as *khat*. Before lifting the dead body, a one rupee coin is tied at a corner of the white cloth spread on the corpse. After paying the last homage to the deceased person by the relatives and friends, the dead body is placed on the carrier on which are spread the leaves of *neem*, *jilledu* and *modugu*.

Four relatives lift the carrier at four corners holding the ends of the poles. These four persons would be sons or brothers or sons-in-law of the dead person. The chief mourner is mostly the oldest son if the deceased person is father. Likewise, if it is mother, the chief mourner is the youngest son. The chief mourner walks in front of the body carrying an empty pot in one hand and an axe in the other hand. He has to wear new baniyan, *pancha* and puts a towel on his shoulder. All the relatives and friends follow the dead body. After reaching the outskirts of the Thanda, the dead body is kept on the ground and the coin tied to the cloth is taken and placed at the root of a tree. Then the dead body's position is changed. If there is no separate burial or cremation ground own agricultural land is used for this purpose. Once everyone reaches the spot the dead body is taken three times round the place where the dead body is going to be cremated or buried. Then the dead body is placed on it. The head of the deceased person should face towards the north. The remaining bamboos are covered on the dead person. First, the Thanda Naik places the coconut on the deceased person which is then followed by the other people. The chief mourner lights the fire at the head side to the firewood heaped on the dead person. A piece of small sandalwood is also placed on the deceased person and a little amount of oil or ghee is poured in the fire. The people who have come to the burial ground walk around the fire by throwing a piece of wood or hay into the fire. The empty pot carried by the chief mourner is broken into pieces using the axe. The handle of the axe is removed from the axe and it is thrown in the fire to be burnt and perish while the axe is thrown twice into the fire and removed from the fire. It is brought back home when cooled and washed with water. Every one waits at the burial ground till the body is

completely burnt to ashes. Those who accompanied the dead body take bath in the nearby river or stream and return to the house without looking back. While returning, they do not go to the house through the same route by which they had come. When they return from the burial ground if find a berry tree on the way they worship it and its leaves are plucked and chewed as part of their tradition. After reaching the house they bring two *modugu* leaves which are rolled into cone shape. Some amount of wheat or *maida* flour is put in one and some water in the other. These are placed at some distance from the house of the deceased. The axe which is brought to the burial ground is placed in front of a drawing of seven lines. The relatives and friends, who attend the ritual, sit at one place and leave after some time. In the past, the pollution was observed for three days but now it is not practiced.

Those who could not attend the funeral try to attend the *sorobharo* on the third day. Those who visit the deceased person's house to condole the death contribute some money to the family according to their status. The items like ghee, wheat, flour and jaggery are purchased with this contribution. They prepare *laddus* with the wheat *rotis* and jaggery known as *churm*, which is offered to the deceased person. The chief mourner and relatives of the deceased person visit the burial ground on that day. The people who visit the burial ground will have food before they visit the burial ground as they should not go with an empty stomach. The food prepared for them separately is known as *kandemuche*. The people who carried the dead body and who are going to the burial ground eat this food with the left hand. The bones and ashes of the dead are gathered at one place with the *jilledu* tree branches which is known as *sorobharo*. The items like milk, curd, coconut, incense sticks, vermilion and alcohol along with the most liked items in his lifetime are carried to the burial ground. These food items are then placed on a leaf plate as an offering to the deceased person. They will wait for a moment till a bird or animal touches the food item. All of them take bath at the nearby river and return to the Thanda with the ashes, not directly to the deceased person's house; instead they sit at some distance of the deceased person's house²⁶. The women at the house prepare *rotis* which are then mixed with jaggery. One large size *roti* on which sweets are put is given to those who go for *sorobharo* and they place it at some distance of the house and return to the house.

²⁶ L.A.K Aiyer (1928) observes that "the Lambadas conduct some tests to see whether the deceased has gone to heaven or is reborn somewhere. According to him, when the elders go to the cremation ground on the third day, they examine the ashes. If there are no foot marks they presume that the deceased has gone to heaven; if they see any foot mark, they presume that he has been reborn and if the foot marks belong to animals, they believe that he has taken birth as an animal. If the marks are indistinguishable, they presume that he has turned into a ghost" (pp: 190-191).

The rest of the sweet prepared is distributed to all the members. The women are prohibited to eat the sweet.

Depending upon the status of the deceased person's family they arrange lunch to all the relatives and friends on the ninth day. On that day a vegetarian food is prepared in front of the house of the deceased person, and while doing so a little sweet by mixing ghee is put in fire as an offering to the deceased person which is known as *dhapkar*. Then they offer *puja* in the house to the deceased person called *bhelero*, meaning, and incorporation of the dead person in the body of ancestors. Some families do *thervi* on the same day which is generally done on the 13th day. On that day, they arrange non-vegetarian food for all their relatives. At night, there is *bhajana* programme organised in the name of the deceased person. A day before i.e. on 12th day, the family members of the deceased person go to the Ganga River and take sacred dip in it. The bones and ashes of the deceased person are taken to the river in a new pot for immersion. The Brahmin priest performs *shanti puja* in the name of deceased person following Hindu tradition. An earthen lamp is lit in front of the deceased person's photo in the house. It is garlanded with flowers. The food prepared with rice and jaggery on the 13th day is put in fire mixed with ghee in the name of the deceased person. Non-vegetarian food is arranged for all the relatives and friends. In case of children they perform only *bheloro* while the *thervi* is not compulsory.

The family members of the deceased person should not attend any ceremony and ritual in the Thanda for thirteen days from the day of death. On fourteenth day, the relatives take the deceased person's family members for sleep over in their house and serve them with the non-vegetarian food and liquor. If the dead person is a male, the brothers of the widow take them for a few days to stay in their house. They are also presented with new clothes. They will return after one or two days. If they are interested to construct a tomb for the deceased person they may do so. Generally poor families do not bother constructing a tomb.

Political organisation

Every Lambada Thanda has its own traditional council which can be considered as a political institution. It is headed by Naik or Nayak who gets assistance from Karobari, Davo and Vichari. All these four positions are hereditary but the phratry or clan that established the Thanda or that settled first in the location usually provides the Naik, and the Karobari is from numerically dominant clan and other two positions are from any resident. The traditional

Naik often gets elected as ward member of the village *panchayath* or gets elected as Sarpanch of the village *panchayath* if the Thanda is a ward of the village *panchayath* that includes non-tribes as also. Thus, traditional and constitutional institutions coexist though the former has not been recognized by the state. However, it is not necessary that the traditional leader, Naik should be elected as ward member or Sarpanch as these positions are filled by election exercising adult franchise of democratic electoral system.

The traditional leader, Naik enjoys respect and privilege in the Thanda on various occasions like engagement, marriage, death and various festivals. No ritual or ceremony can be organized without him. He is responsible for maintaining law and order in the Thanda. When a goat is sacrificed for the gods, the head and legs of the goat shall be given to him as a sign of respect and also it is his prerogative. Similarly, liquor and non-vegetarian food are served to him first on occasions of marriages or any function. The other representatives of the respective clans assist the Naik in decision making while resolving disputes of the residents of the Thanda. Karobari and Vichari assist him in each and every issue. In the absence of Naik, Karobari and Vichari look after all the matters of the Thanda. Davo is an elder who advises the Thanda council based on his experience. If the Naik did not have a son to succeed the position or the residents do not like his son(s) to succeed him, then they can select someone from the same clan or any other clan also by consensus. The same method is adopted in case of Karobari and Vichari. In the past, Lambadas used to organize a programme called as *pagay* for the institution of new headman ship. The Naiks of other nearby Thandas are informed to take part in this programme. The selected headman is garlanded and a new red or white turban is put on his head by the elders of the Thanda in the presence of the other Thanda Naiks. Then everyone who attended the ceremony greets the newly elected Naik by saying *ram-ram*. Then the newly elected Naik arranges non-vegetarian food and alcohol to the elders of the Thanda and other Naiks who have participated in the investiture ceremony.

The presence of the Naik and the office bearers of the village council are necessary in all wedding ceremonies as they decide the days and dates for all religious ceremonies which are collectively organised in the Thanda. The life cycle ceremonies are organised by the active involvement of the office bearers of the Thanda council even though they may be affairs of individual families. The individual families bear all the expenditure but the activities are carried out collectively.

The village council is presided by the Naik and he summons accused on receiving a complaint through a washer man or a barber if they are in the village in the Thanda. They ensure that all their issues are settled in their traditional *panchayath* only. After listening to both the groups the Naik gives the final verdict taking the opinions of Karobari, Vichari and Davo. In the meeting, if guilt of a person is established the social control is exercised in the form of imposing fine or seeking forgiveness by touching the feet of the elders. Then the elders also try to establish friendly relations between the parties.

The involvement of the Sarpanch depends upon the type of the case. If there is any law and order situation, then the involvement of the Sarpanch takes place otherwise the elders of the Thanda settle the issue with the help of Naik. If there is any dispute with any non-tribal, they all join hands to fight it out. The Lambadas are well known for their unity and solidarity. They do not tolerate any violence against them by non-tribal. Rarely do we find a Lambada lodging a complaint against a fellow Lambada in the police or moving a civil or criminal court for justice. The following are considered offences which are dealt by the traditional panchayath of the Thanda: adultery, sexual relationship among the forbidden members, divorce, elopement, land issues, crimes, property distribution, committing thefts within the community and any other economic disputes within and outside the clan members. Any issue pertaining to the above is first brought to the notice of the council members. In a formal meeting these issues are solved. If the issues are not solved in the Thanda, the victims can approach the elders of other Thanda. Then all the elders and Naiks from different Thandas discuss and settle the issue.

An Example: The elders from the Goleti Thanda were invited for a meeting of traditional council at the Dayegam which is 80 kilometres away from Goleti. The petitioner was from Telgupalli Thanda of Dayegam Mandal, approached the elders of Goleti Thanda for justice. He got married on 15th May 2014. The bride was from Nanella Mandal which is 100 kilometers away from the bridegroom's Thanda. After 15 days of their marriage he noticed that his wife has bulged stomach. He suspected that she might be pregnant and took her to the hospital. The doctor conducted the pregnancy test and said that she was pregnant with a five month old fetus. The woman blamed husband for her pregnancy but the man did not accept it. The husband has argued that she had another boy friend before the marriage and suspected him to be responsible for her pregnancy. His family members also blamed the woman for the illegal pregnancy and everyone scolded the woman and sent her back to her natal family. The

elders from different Thandas came together to resolve the difficult issue. After a thorough probing by the elders into the issue it has been found that the man has falsely accused the woman as they had intimate relations before marriage and he finally confessed and accepted his fault and touched the feet of the elders for the false accusation. The man had to bear the travel expenditure of the Goleti elders.

Lambadas also actively participate in the local and state politics unlike other tribes in the area in exercising their vote. They have membership in different local political parties such as Congress, Telugu Desam Party (TDP) and Telangana Rashtra Samithi (TRS). The men also read the political news in the news papers and watch the television with great interest. However, most of them say they are not involved in the local politics as they have no time in these as they spend most of the time in earning their livelihood and attending to the domestic works. The non-tribals are afraid of Lambadas, and therefore they don't interfere in the matters of the latter as they know very well that Lambadas are solidly united and they are also physically strong to fight with others. Due to the SCCL, the impact of modern politics has increased in the area. They use the political network for their development in terms of getting various facilities, for example drinking water, house, road and school etc. Education and urbanization has brought changes among the Lambadas' way of life particularly in Goleti. Before 1980's the Thanda Naik played a very significant role during the elections. But now the situation is different. There is division among the people in the name of different parties during elections, and thus individual transcends the group. But when there are Thanda rituals and ceremonies everyone participates irrespective of their political party affiliations.

In the year 1976-77, the Lambadas were notified as a scheduled tribe and also earlier they were not aware of the politics due to their nomadic life. But when they settled here and there they slowly came to know about the politics and its importance, and their privileges as scheduled tribe. Now, they are quite aware of their rights and try to exercise them by participating in politics. The well-off Lambadas are contesting for the positions of MLA, MP and so on. However, women are not active in the modern politics except a few. If a position is reserved for scheduled tribe woman then they do not have other option except participation. In such situation her husband looks after her duties or if she is not married her male family members take care of her duties. But there is a change. The following were/are some of the Lambada women who got elected as MLAs in the Telangana state from various

parties. (1) Satyavathi Rathod (TDP) of Dornakal Constituency, (2). Maloath Kavitha (INC) of Mahabubabad Constituency, (3) Ajmeera Rekha Naik from (TRS) of Khanapur Constituency (4) and Banoath Chandravathi was the youngest women to be elected as MLA in 2009. She was then appointed as the first female member of TSPSC on 18th Dec-2014. Some of the men MLAs from Lambada community were/are: (1). D.S. Reddya Naik (INC), (2) Banoath Shankar Naik (TRS), (3) Rathod Bapurao (TRS), (4) Banoath (YSRCP), (5) Suman Rathod (TDP), (6) Ravindra Kumar Ramavath (TRS), and (7) Ajmeera Chandulal (TRS) Mulug Constituency was honoured with the tribal welfare tourism and culture minister post by the Telangana government. There are also MPs from the Lambada community, currently like Ajmeera Seetharam Naik (TRS), Ravinder Naik, Rathod Ramesh (TDP), and Balram Naik (INC). One of their demands has been granting separate Gram Panchayat for Lambada Thandas delinking from the non-tribal villages. They believe that this helps full utilization of political power without the interference of non-tribes in their affairs and for the development of Thanda.

Ceremonies and Festivals of Lambada

The pantheon of Lambada includes Balaji (Lord Venkateswara), Shiva, Durga, Tulja Bhavani, who are basically worshipped by non-tribes also, and they are part of the Sanskritic Hindu religion. However, Maremma and Pochamma whom they worship are non-sanskritic Hindu deities. They also conduct *puja* for Bhimanna who is the deity of Kolams and Gonds. Lambada also have clan/phratry deities such as Bhavani (Rathod and Jadhav) and Saathi (Chowan). Apart from these they worship ancestors and saints such as Sevalal, Hathiram Baba, and Linga Masandh. They also organize *puja* for *rain*, *guru* (teacher), cow/buffalo and so on. They observe all Hindu festival and the important ones are Nagula Panchami, Dasara, Diwali, Shivrathri, Holi, Sriramnavami, and Ugadi. However, the Lambada religion is more identified with the worship of Samnak and Seethala. They celebrate or organize about 13 festivals or *pujas* in a year as shown in Table 2.2. These are described briefly in a chronological order.

Table No: 2.2. Lambada Festival Calendar

S.No	Festival/ <i>puja</i>	Month
1	Seethala	June
2	Samanaker <i>puja</i>	June-July
3	Teej	July-August
4	Polala panduga	August-September
5	Nagulla (nagar) panchami	July or August
6	Motto Dev (Balaji) <i>puja</i>	August or September
7	Dashera	October
8	Diwali	November
9	Sankranthi	January
10	Shivarathri	February
11	Holi	March
12	Sriramanavami	April
13	Ugadi	April

Source: Field Study

Seethala Devi *puja*

Generally, it is performed on Tuesday in the month of *ashada* (June), the beginning of a rainy season. Seethala is said to be the eldest of the seven sister deities who is believed to control endemic diseases alone. This *puja* is organized in her honour for the well being of the people and also their cattle from the attacks of the evil spirits.

On the day, the Naik with some of the elders go to the outskirts of the Thanda and selects a spot and in the afternoon all the Thanda residents irrespective of age and sex gather at the place, under a *neem* tree, to perform the ritual. The women from the house carry the *puja* items. A stone represents Seethala Devi. The Lambada priest initiates the *puja* by cleaning and sprinkling water. First they prepare *chako purnam* which is a circular cow dung cake. A circle is drawn on it with the maize or *jowar* flour and within that a horizontal and vertical line drawn with *jowar* flour, vermilion and turmeric powder. A goat is brought in front of the *chako purnam*, and applying turmeric powder and vermilion on the forehead of the goat, water is pours in its mouth and ears. Then it is left free and the moment the goat shakes its head and the body it is beheaded. Few blood drops are dropped at the *chako purnam*, and the

head of the goat is also put at that place. Then the intestines of the goat are brought out and dragged to some distance till they break. A stone is placed at the other end on the intestine on which vermilion and turmeric spots are put. Then all the cattle of the Thanda are driven to cross on the goat's intestine. When the cattle cross over the stretched out intestine of the goat they sacrifice a hen and throw it on the cattle in the name of goddess Seethala Devi. Then the goat's meat is cut in to pieces for making curry and the liver of the goat is roasted on the fire. Then they cook rice and the *naivedyam* is offered to the goddess. The priest pours water *dara* in front of the *chako purnam*, three times towards the left and two times towards the right. He then sprinkles water in the air in all directions, salutes and offers prayer to the goddess Seethala Devi. Then all of them pray the goddess to protect them and their cattle. After cooking food with the goat's meat all of them enjoy food and return to respective houses.

Samnak (Thanda deity) *puja*

The Samnak goddess is worshipped on a Sunday or Tuesday before the onset of monsoon for timely rains and good harvest. The shrine for the deity is located on the outskirts of the Thanda. They believe that the deity protects them from evil spirits and other disasters which come from other Thandas. The village council and elders of the Thanda fix the day and collect contributions in cash from every household. The agricultural activities start after this *puja*. On that particular day, they replace the old flags flown at the shrine with new ones: the white flag is of the goddess Durga and the pink flag is of Sevalal. They bring seven goats out of which six are females and one is male. As the male goat is sacrificed for the goddess Durga by the Lambada men, the other six goats are killed for the Thanda residents by a Muslim at the shrine. The head and legs of the male goat are placed in front of the white flag. The main parts are taken out from the goat and *solai* is prepared by adding salt and turmeric powder. They also prepare *kadavo* sweet for Sevalal which is mix of wheat flour, ghee and jaggery and made into round balls, *laddu*. After distribution of meat and *laddu*, the *puja* begins.

The priest first lights an earthen lamp and incense sticks in front of the goddess Durga and Sevalal, and shows camphor flames. The *kadavo* sweet is offered to the goddess Durga and Sevalal adding ghee to burning coals. He then salutes and makes a silent prayer to Durga Matha and Sevalal. Then the Naik and Karobari offer *puja* to the goddess Durga. Naik says *ahvoni pancho meramar hadkachadava* which means, "Shall I offer *prasadam* to the

goddess?” Then all the people say *chadavo chadavo* means ‘yes’. The *solai* is taken in a separate plate and placed in front of the goddess Durga and camphor and incense are added to the burning coals. He then pours liquor three times in front of the goddess. Then the Karobari offers *prasadam* to Sevalal who is placed beside the goddess Durga. He then salutes with a prayer to the god and takes the blessings of the mother earth.

Then they light the fire of the *homam*²⁷ which is at the centre of the temple. The *homam* is already decorated with turmeric and vermilion lines and spots. A swasthik symbol is drawn on a coconut using vermilion and turmeric powder. Five elders together drop the coconut in the *homam*. Then the Karobari puts the *kadavo* five times in the *homam* by adding ghee to it. He then sprinkles water in front of the *homam* and also in the air in the four directions. Then all the gathering offers prayer to both Sevalal and goddess Durga by singing songs. The Vichari sings a song in the name of the deities. Then all of them take the blessings of the mother Earth. The women of the Thanda do not participate in this *puja*. The *solai* is first given to the elders of each clan residing in the Thanda and then the remaining *solai* and sweets are distributed to all. The heads and legs of goats are given to the Naik. There ends the Samnak *puja*.

Teej festival

This festival is celebrated in the beginning of the monsoon (July-August)²⁸ at the house of Naik or Karobari for nine days with ritual dances to the melodious tunes of religious songs sung by unmarried girls. This is an occasion where girls get an opportunity to learn songs and dance which are required on certain occasions and festivals. The unmarried girls in the Thanda participate but not married men and women. In fact the barren women are forbidden even to approach the place. The most important rites are performed on the first and last day while the rituals in between are given less importance. The unmarried girls purchase a small basket from the basket weavers. The elders of the Thanda purchase 10 kilograms of wheat grains and a day before these are soaked in water. The next day, some amount of the soaked wheat grains are distributed to the girls in the Thanda who collect mud from anthills in the baskets in which the wheat are sown and take care of them, every day by watering twice

²⁷ It is a ritual carried out mostly by the Brahmins in temples and homes where offerings like ghee and other herbs are offered to the Agni god by uttering Sanskrit mantras.

²⁸ This is equal to the Bathukamma festival as celebrated by the Hindus in Telangana state.

while singing songs for the healthy growth of the plants, worship the plants and light a lamp in front of the basket. Within nine days the plants grow and in all these days the girls dance and sing folk songs in the night. On the tenth day, the plants grown are immersed in the nearby river or stream. It is called as *teej veraa yero*. All the women who participate in this festival have to be on fast, and eat only leafy vegetables avoiding spicy foods, chillies, salt and turmeric in their diet. On the final day after the immersion, they prepare sweet and sacrifice a goat in the name of Sevalal and goddess Durga Matha.

Polala panduga²⁹

This festival is celebrated in August – September i.e., on the day of new moon. The families whose major occupation is agriculture and own cows or oxen organise this festival. That day all the family members wake up early in the morning, women clean the house and sprinkle the front yard with cow dung water and decorate it with different colours of *rangoli*³⁰. Everyone in the family wash head on that particular day, and men and women in the family offer *puja* to their gods and goddesses by lighting an earthen lamp and incense sticks in front of the deities. The head of the family fasts on that day and women prepare different food items like *garelu* and *bachalu* whereas the men take their oxen or cows to the nearby river or stream for a though wash. Then they are left free to eat the grass in their own agricultural fields for some time and are brought back home and given rest for that day. The oxen and cows are decorated with different flowers and mango leaves. The noose of the nose and ropes are replaced with new ones on this day. The oil extracted from the sesame seeds is applied to the horns of the oxen and are painted with different colors. Turmeric and vermilion powder is sprinkled on them. Then new bells are tied in their necks and for forelegs. The tongues of the oxen are cleaned with the salt. Thus the decorated animals are taken to the nearby Hanuman or Shiva temple for *puja* in the evening. After reaching the temple, they take the animals for *pradakshana*³¹ five times. Then the oxen are tied outside the temple. The family members go inside the temple and offer *puja* to the god. They offer prayer and break coconut in front of the idol. The food items which are taken from the home are placed in front of the idol. Then

²⁹ This is one of the most famous festivals celebrated by the Schedule Caste people. They celebrate this festival in a grand manner. There is a famous saying in the past that *poranni amme polala panduga chesarata* which means that even when people are in financial crisis they did not hesitate to sell a boy for getting some cash in order to celebrate the festival. The Lambadas have adopted this festival from the Scheduled Caste people of the region.

³⁰ It is a traditional design or art form made on the ground which represents by different colours during festive occasions.

³¹ Ritual walk from right to left around the temple.

the family members salute the god and offer prayer once again to the god. They come out of the temple and apply the vermilion powder to the horns of the oxen. Then everyone returns home with the animals.

Upon reaching home, the women first wash the legs of the oxen with water and break a coconut in front of the animals apply sesame oil and turmeric powder to the horns, offer camphor flames to the oxen. The remaining *prasadam* which is brought from the temple is fed to the oxen. The *jowar* flour mixed with salt is served to the oxen in a winnowing fan. Then husband and wife take the blessings of the oxen by touching their feet. They believe that the Lord Shiva appears in front of the oxen in the night and enquires whether the head of the family is taking care of them or not. The head of the household keeps the agricultural implements outside the house and offers *puja* to them.

The next day, in the morning men go to the forest to bring some of leaves by saying *hara hara mahadeva*. The leaves brought from the forest are tied in front of the *pandal* of the house. They believe that these leaves prevent any disease entering the house. On the next day they celebrate *badaga*³².

Motto Dev (Balaji) puja

It starts from the Krishnastami festival in August - September. On the full moon night the Lambadas break a coconut after seeing the full moon. Sweet made from broken wheat and jaggery with coconut pieces roasted on hot coals, ghee and sugar. This is known as *bhog*. The *Shravana masam* begins from that day and it as a very auspicious month and everyone maintains purity for a period of forty days, by not eating non-vegetarian food till the *Polala amavasya* festival is celebrated and by sleeping on the floor. One of the elders of a clan fasts for eleven days. Some of the Lambada families do visit the Tirupathi Balaji temple in Tirumala. On the next day, they do *navami puja*. Every clan celebrates this *puja* separately in an open space in the Thanda. In the initial days, they used to celebrate this by constructing a small hut which is known as *ellari*. There they used to erect white and pink colour flags in the names of Lord Balaji and Sevalal. Some clans celebrate it at an elder's house.

Since this *puja* is jointly organised the senior most of the clan assisted by other people organizes this *puja*. The area at the *ellari* is cleaned; the organizer first places a wooden plank

³² On this occasion the clan members contribute some cash to purchase a goat whose meat is distributed to all the families.

at the selected place, and then covers it with a white cloth and places the Motto Dev *muta*³³ on it. The old rice is taken out from the *muta* which is used preparing *prasadam* (*kheer*) adding milk and jaggery. The new rice brought is poured on the white cloth and tied to be used next time. The photographs of gods and goddesses Lord Krishna, Balalji, Srirama, Ramrao Maharaj, Sevalal, and Satyanarayana are placed on the wooden plank. The old coins which are taken from the *muta* are also placed in front of the pictures. He then lights an earthen lamp and incense sticks in front of the deities. He then takes the *rudraksha malas* from the *muta* and garlands the male members of the clan.

Two pits are dug with a small iron rod adjacent to the *ellari* which are known as *charrie*. On one they prepare *kheer* sweet, rice, dal and *rotis* and on the other they prepare *kadavo* for Lord Vemulavada Rajanna. The rice and *toor dal* are cooked separately on the first *charrie*. *Rotis* are prepared for god Hanuman by adding ghee and these are crushed and mixed with jaggery and thus *churnnam* is prepared. At the end, a huge *roti* is also prepared. The *churnnam* is put on this *roti* and offered to the god. Women are not engaged in preparing the sweet and other food items.

The senior most of the clan offers *naivedyam* to the deities by crying out *sallo samulu bala gopal sangath vein pangath kaynoor baiyya* which means let everyone come here as the food for the deities is ready. Five paper plates are placed at the first *charrie* in the name of Balaji, Srirama, Laxmi, Hathiram baba and Hanuman. A copper vessel of water and a glass of ghee are placed at the first *charrie*. He then and puts a little amount of food in each of the plates. The *kheer* is put in the name of Balaji. The big *roti* with *churnnam* is put in the name of Lord Hanuman, whereas the cooked rice, *kheer*, *kadavo* and *dal* are put in the name of deities like Srirama, Laxmi and Hathiram Baba. Then one paper plate is placed at the second *charrie* in the name of Vemulavada Raja Rajeshwara swamy. Separate sweets are prepared and offered to him. Then the senior most first offers *kheer* to Balaji five times in the fire or on hot charcoals by adding sugar or ghee to it. He then washes his hand in a small vessel, and pours water *dara* in front of it; three times towards his left and two times his right. He then salutes and offers prayer to lord Balaji. Then the same process of offering is continued for Srirama and Hathiram Baba afterwards. But there is a slight difference of offering to the goddess Laxmi and Hanuman; *naivedyam* is not put in the fire instead they mix five times ghee to the

³³ Each clan has Motto Dev *muta* which contains *chantiya* (a red cloth), *jolle* (white bag), *rudraksha malas*, old coins, rice, *nagara*, musical bells, *chandanam* (sandal wood), and *chandanam bottu* (white) etc.

naivedyam. Then it is offered to the goddess Laxmi and Hanuman. The senior then washes his hand in the *jari* and pours water *dara* in front of it, and then salutes and prays to goddess Laxmi and Hanuman. Thereafter, the same kind of offering is made to the Lord Vemulavada Raja Rajeshwara Swamy at the second *charrie*. While offering *naivedyam* to the deities, the senior most of the clan says, ‘*ahvoni balajir bhog laghava*’ then all the members of the clan say together, *laga laga*. The same is continued with the other deities afterwards like *ahvoni ramer bhog laghava*, *ahvoni laxmier bhog laghava*, *ahvoni hathirramer bhog laghava*, *ahvoni vemulavada rakeshwar bhog lagava* then all the members of the clan say *laga laga*. But when he offers *roti* to the lord Hanuman he says, ‘*ahvoni hanumaner rotti chadav*’ then everyone replies to him saying, *chadava*. Once after offering *naivedyam* to the deities, he collects the water at two *charries* and mixes it in one *jari*. He then sprinkles water in four directions in the air, and offers prayer to the deities and seeks the blessings of the mother earth.

Then all the families individually offer prayer to the deities and take the blessings by touching the mother earth. Then the *prasadam* is distributed to all the members of the clan. Vegetarian food is prepared and served to all the family members. The two pits are closed after the *puja*. There ends the Motto Dev *puja*.

Festivals - Sankranthi, Holi, Ugadi, Srirama navami, Naga panchami, Sivarathri, Ganesh chaturdi, Diwali and Dasara

Apart from their own festivals the Lambada also celebrate the non-tribal Hindu festivals as mentioned above like the caste Hindus. The male youth of the Thanda form an association whenever they want to organize a festival in a grand manner. But more actively engage themselves in the event of the procession of Ganesh Chaturthi and arrange different cultural programmes. In the past, most of the festivals like Sankranthi, Diwali, Ugadi and Dasara used to be celebrated at the house of the Naik. But now these are celebrated individually or at clan level. Earlier, all the residents used to contribute some cash and celebrated the festival collectively. At the time of some important festivals, the Thanda members used to sacrifice a goat or sheep at Naik’s house and distribute the meat to every family in the Thanda. There is a conventional obligation that a goat is sacrificed in the Thanda to pacify their deities. The head and legs of the sacrificed animal are presented to the Naik as a mark of respect.

Diwali

Of all the above mentioned festivals, Diwali is special for the Lambadas. They start the celebration of Diwali a day before at their respective houses. Early morning the unmarried girls wash their head's and prepare cow dung balls called Gobbemmalu and keep them on decorated *rangoli*. Then in the afternoon, they collect the flowers of *tangedu* (*cassia auriculata*) and decorate the Gobbemmalu. Today the senior most member of the clan brands the cows and oxen on ears or on body with a hot iron piece. They believe that this helps not only the animals do not suffer from any kind of disease but also gives an identity to the animals. The head of the household also marks on their children's wrist with burning cotton cloth, and belief around is that the children will not fall sick if it is marked on their body.

The next day i.e., on Diwali, the girls once again make Gobbemmalu and decorate them. The elders offer rice to their ancestors or deceased persons known as *peddamanushullaku biyyam evvadam* (*thapakaar dero*). At least in the family fasts and the new rice is brought from a nearby shop and prepare sweet of two types: one for male and the other for female ancestors separately. These two sweets are arranged separately in two leafy plates. The elders of the family first put the sweet five times in the fire by adding ghee. The same is repeated with the other sweet afterwards. This is called as offering of *bhog* to the ancestors. If the son has offered rice to his deceased father, the *prasadam* which is prepared is not served to his mother for she is forbidden to eat it. But it is not the case with his father; he can eat the food prepared for his deceased wife. Similarly, if the grandfather who offered rice to his grandson, the *prasadam* prepared is not served to the deceased person's parents. They light up lamps and candles inside and outside the house. All the family members offer *puja* to the goddess Laxmi³⁴. The unmarried girls after performing Laxmi *puja* come out of their respective houses with a tray with camphor flames and gather at a place and sing songs. They visit every house singing songs and show the tray to the oxen/cows and take the blessings of them by touching their feet. Every household contributes some money to them. Later on, everyone returns to their respective houses and take the blessings of the elders by touching their feet. The next day, after Diwali festival they celebrate *badaga*. All the clan members contribute some cash and purchase a goat which is killed in the name of the deity of Thanda and the meat is distributed to all households. There ends the Diwali festival.

³⁴ Goddess of fertility and wealth.

Inti Devara *puja* – Worship of Gods of Clans

The Rathod and Jadhav phratries worship goddess Bhavani whereas Chowan phratry worships goddess Saathi as their clan deities. The Povar phratry worships both the goddesses Bhavani and Saathi. Ajmeera clan worships the goddess Huna Saathi. Similarly, the Lavidiya clan worships Sona Saathi and likewise the other clans. But not all clans under these phratries worship these deities. It depends upon the tradition which is followed by their ancestors. Apart from these deities, everyone worships goddess Durga/Meramma, Sevalal and the deceased persons or ancestors.

Saathi *puja*

This *puja* is performed every year or once in three years but not beyond this, one day before the *puja* of goddess Tulja Bhavani either on Monday or Thursday. But organization of this is absolutely necessary for the clan if there is marriage of a man in the clan. The goddess Saathi is one of the seven sister deities. The senior most of the clan, the organizer, who keeps the sacred objects in his house, initiates the *puja*. The selected place, usually courtyard, is first cleaned and sprinkled with water and *chako purnam* is prepared with cow dung. The Saathi *muta* containing old coins, idol of the goddess, coconuts and hairs of children etc., which are kept in a bag called *thangidi* is brought out from the house. The *chantiya*, red cloth, is replaced with a new piece of cloth. The organizer then pours five handfuls of rice on the red cloth and washes the idol of the goddess and old coins and places them on the rice along with betel nuts, dry dates, coconuts, coins etc. The idol and one rupee coin is sported with the vermilion and turmeric powder spots.

They prepare two types sweet with the old rice collected from the *muta* in the name of the deity. The first sweet i.e., *khadai* is prepared with the mixture of old rice and jaggery while the other is prepared with the broken wheat and jaggery. The elderly women who are fasting sing songs in the name of goddess Saathi for one to two hours. Once the sweet of 21 balls called *kwali* is made by adding ghee these are placed in front of the idol in a plate. Then some hot charcoals are put in front of the idol on which some amount of incense powder or camphor are added and offered to the goddess Saathi which is called *bhog*. A copper vessel of water and a glass of ghee are placed in front of the idol.

Then the organizer offers *naivedyam* to the goddess with the permission from all. He first offers *naivedyam* seven times in the fire or hot charcoals by adding sugar or ghee, and then washes his hand in the *jari* and pours water *dara* three times on the left and two times on the right. He sprinkles the water in the air in all four directions, and then salutes and offers prayer to the goddess Saathi. Then the families individually do prayer to goddess Saathi and take the blessings by touching the mother earth. The clan members worshipping of *Inti devara* is known as *vinthi*. Then the *prasadam* is distributed to all the members of the clan. This Saathi *puja* gets over within two to three hours.

Tulja Bhavani

The goddess Tulja Bhavani is considered a benevolent deity and is believed to have power over crops and the people. As said above she is worshipped by Rathod and Jadhav clans. The *puja* is organised every year or once in three years on any Tuesday. If there is a marriage of man in these clans the *puja* should be undertaken before the marriage ceremony is taken place. The *muta* of Tulja Bhavani goddess contains rice, betel nuts (5), dry dates (5), old and new coins, coconuts, *chantiya* (red cloth), and an idol made of copper and a wooden plank or stool etc.

The senior most of the clan initiates the *puja* by fasting on that day. First *chako purnam* is prepared with the cow dung paste. For every *puja*, the old red cloth *chantiya* is to be replaced with a new piece of cloth and same preparations are made as in the worship of Motto Dev. Two types of sweets are made for the goddess Bhavani. The first *kheer* and then followed by the *khadai*. Then a goat is sacrificed to the goddess Bhavani and *solai* is prepared with the mixture of salt and turmeric powder and intestines of the goat. After preparing the *kheer* and *khadai* seven *laddus* are prepared separately with the two sweet varieties. Similarly, seven pieces of liver and joint pieces are taken out from the *solai*. The elder comes outside his house and cries out *ahvoni pancho Bhavanier kwari hadkachadava* means ‘shall I offer *prasadam* to the goddess?’ Then all reply saying *chadavo chadavo* means ‘yes’. He then places the sweet and *solai* separately in front of the deity and offers prayer to the deity. The *solai* prepared is first distributed to the elders of different clans in the Thanda. Then the remaining *solai* and sweets are distributed to all the members of the Thanda. There ends the *puja*. The males of the clan spend all night by *bhajana*, singing different songs in the name of deities by playing the *nagara*, a musical instrument.

The next day, all of them gather once again, and the senior most offers camphor flames to the goddess Bhavani early in the morning. He then sings songs in the name of the goddess. Later, the sweets and *solai* prepared the day before are distributed to everyone who attends the *puja*. The Lambadas consider this as an important *prasadam*, and it is believed that the childless couple get children if they consume this *prasadam*. Then the items which are kept at the *chako purnam* are kept back in the *muta* and placed in the *puja* room of the organizer of the *puja*. Next, *puja* for goddess Durga/Meramma, Sevalal and ancestors is performed after the *puja* of Tulja Bhavani.

Durga/Meramma Bakra puja

Once again *chako purnam* is organized at the house of the senior most of the clan as done before. If there is no photograph of the goddess Durga, a one rupee coin is placed on a wooden plank. Water brought in a copper vessel is placed at the *chako purnam* and add *neem* leaves to the water. A separate goat is sacrificed to goddess Meramma and the rest of the *puja* is as in case of the worship of Tulja Bhavani.

Sevalal puja

This *puja* is organized simultaneously with the *puja* of goddess Meramma. Since there is no exact picture of Sevalal they keep a photograph of Ramrao Maharaj and begin the *puja*. The person who has not touched meat has to initiate the Sevalal *puja* and separate utensils are used for this *puja* and he must also be fasting. A *charrie* is dug which is purified with cow urine. It is then filled with firewood sticks. On this hearth *khadavo* is prepared with separate water. Once the sweet is ready, it is kept separately in a plate in front of the *charrie*. The senior most of the clan breaks coconut and drops one piece of coconut piece in fire. Then a little amount of sweet is offered three times to the fire on which small amount of ghee is also added. He then washes his hand with water contained in a small vessel, and pours water *dara* in front of the *charrie* three times on his left and two times on his right. Then he sprinkles the water in the air in four directions, salutes and offers prayer to the god Sevalal. There ends the Sevalal *puja*.

Ancestral worship (dokrar bakra puja)

It is performed along with the *puja* of goddess Durga/Meramma. Once again *chako purnam* is repeated here as it is done for the goddess Bhavani *puja*. The photographs of deceased

persons are placed on the wooden plank. If there is no picture of the dead person his turban can substitute it. The deceased person's son lights an earthen lamp on the centre of the *chako purnam*. He also lights incense sticks and places in front of the deceased person's picture. A separate goat is sacrificed in the name of the deceased person. The goat is brought in front of the *chako purnam* and a little of water is sprinkled on it and then it is beheaded. Then they prepare *solai* with the main parts of the goat. The rest of the worship is as in case of deities described above.

Once the *pujas* of Meramma, Sevalal and ancestors are over, they clean the *chako purnam* and purify it by sprinkling the cow urine. A pit is dug for Sevalal, filled with waste, closed and purified. After this the elders of the clan taste the *prasadam*, *solai* and thus end their fast. The *prasadam* prepared for the deceased person is not served to his wife. She is forbidden to eat it. Later on, the sweet and *solai* is distributed to all the family members. Then all clan members and their families enjoy non-vegetarian food.

Story of Saathi

The story of the goddess Saathi goes like this. There were seven sisters viz., Sony Saathi, Huna Saathi, Seetha Saathi, Kesa Saathi, Ummy Saathi, Dasma Saathi and Baga Saathi. There was a man by name Lakma Saatha who wanted to marry Dasma and Baga, and after his marriage he wanted to bring them home with him. So, he asked his mother in which of the two ways he might go, whether short or long way, to the house of the seven sisters. His mother advised him to go by the long way though it takes long time as it is safe, and his mother also said that she would also accompany him till he reaches the place. But he lent deaf ear to his mother's advice and took the short rout for he thought he could reach the place quickly. On the way to the girls' house, there was a big river and when Lakma reached the river a tiger came from the forest to the river to drink water. The tiger noticed him while he was crossing the river, and at once pounced up on him attacked and killed him. He in fact left his house wearing the traditional wedding dress with turban and shoes. When the tiger attacked him his ornaments fell apart and the blood soaked clothes of Lakma Saatha were thrown away helter and skelter by the river.

The waiting bride's people for the arrival of the bridegroom were perplexed to notice some bad omens such as their hairs automatically fell free. The brides who had gone to the river saw blood flowing in the river. Surprised over these they informed bad omens to their

mother. In such a situation, they had to abandon proceedings of the marriage on that day. Then their mother carried their fears to the elders in the family, who along with the mother and her daughters went to the river where they found the disarrayed clothes and ornaments of Lakma Saatha at the river and they could also find the tiger's pugs at that place. With these evidences they came to the conclusion that he was killed by a tiger and accordingly they informed his mother. The latter's relatives cremated Lakma Saatha along with his belongings found at the river. After the cremation when everyone went to take head bath in the river, the two sisters (brides) were unable to control their emotions and overcome by passion for able to live, without him jumped into the fire and died along with their supposed to be husband. As a result of this incident, the remaining sisters of Dasma and Baga decided to remain unmarried. Since then the ancestors of different clans of the Lambada community who dreamt Saathi started the tradition of worshipping them.

Another Story of Saathi

Another story of the goddess Saathi which is in circulation goes like this. Once upon a time there was one Bhukya Meetu, a Naik, in a Thanda of Bastar who had a daughter by name Samal Devi. Esra Sapavath, a Lambada king had friendly relationship with a Gond king. He informed the latter that he was going to marry Meetu Naik's daughter. Then the Gond king invited Sapavath for a dinner and after that he asked Sapavath to meet him on his return journey for which Sapavath had agreed. The latter on his return journey went to the Gond king's house along with his wife. The oxen of Sapavath's bullock cart did not move forward after travelling some distance which was a kind of bad omen. He was then thinking what might befall him. Lariya, his security guard, forced the oxen to move forward from that place. The Gond king was observing all this from a hill top wondering if Sapavath would meet him or not. When Sapavath came to Gond king's house, he received him and took them inside the house and served food and water. After a small talk for some time the Gond king said that since Sapavath had food at his house before Sapavath set off for his marriage so he will have food that night at Sapavath's house. Then, Sapavath sent Lariya to his wife to find out whether she would prepare food for them or not. Laria returns quickly and informs that Sapavath's wife will be able to prepare food for them. Then Gond king went to Sapavath's house for food. While eating food the Gond king gave a nice complement to Sapavath's wife for preparing delicious food. All of a sudden the Gond king held Sapavath's hand and asked him to do a favour. He wanted Sapavath to make promise of helping him. Upon an assurance

given by Sapavath the Gond king said that the Sapavath could take his wife whom he liked the most of the seven wives in exchange of Sapavath's new wife. The flat refusal of Sapavath led to a serious quarrel between them and others. While the Gond king escaped from a brutal attack, Sapavath ran to his house for a weapon and got his sword and went back to attack the Gond king and kill him.

The Gond king also wanted to take on Sapavath's the offensive stand and thus alerted his men. The incident turned into a battle killing each other. The Gond king fell down on the ground while fighting with Sapavath and at this point the later left him pitying and returned to his house after killing some people. He was terribly tired and was wounded. So his wife applied ghee to his hand which had cuts. But the Gond king came back to Sapavath house after some time with renewed energy and attacked Sapavath and killed him in his house.

The Gond king then asked Sapavath's wife to go with him for her husband was no more. Then Samal Devi said that the vermilion put on the forehead by her husband has not disappeared as yet, and she promised that she would oblige him after completing the death ritual of her husband. Then the Gond king arranged everything for the cremation of Sapavath. As the dead body was placed on the firewood she poured little amount of ghee on the dead person and lit the fire. While the dead body was engulfed with huge flames she started 'walking of seven times' round it. After the seventh round she suddenly jumped into the fire and died by self-immolating herself along with her husband. Later on, the wives of the Gond king scolded him for killing the young innocent couple. Finally, the dead persons became Huna Saathi and Ramjee Saatha. Since that day, some of the clans of Lambada community treated them as deities and started praying to them. In the past these were not clan deities; those who dreamt the goddess Saathi a worshipping the goddess.

Ajmeera clan and worship of goddess Saathi

In the past, a bride from Bhukya clan was married to a bridegroom from Ajmeera clan. After marriage when they were on the way to the bridegroom's house, sixty thieves attacked the couple on their way. The bride requested every thief holding their hand to leave them alone. She prayed the goddess Saathi to help them from the thieves. She also promised the goddess that if they were saved from the thieves she would offer *puja* to the same goddess at her husband's house. The thieves became emotional after watching the crying bride and left the couple giving them some money. The bride after coming to her husband's house made the

goddess Saathi's idol with the money given by the thieves, and then she started worshipping the goddess. As a result, the tradition of worshipping goddess Saathi started in the Ajmeera clan of Lambada community.

Akadi (Pochamma) puja

Individuals perform this *puja* at the shrine of goddess Pochamma once a year after the *tholi ekadashi*³⁵ festival within two or three weeks on any Sunday. This *puja* is for the well being of the family members to be free from sickness and attacks from the evil spirits and also to get good yield in agriculture. The family members light an earthen lamp and incense sticks in front of the goddess Pochamma and place the food items brought from home and break the coconut. The head of the household pours a handful of pulse in front of the goddess and then kills a chicken. Everyone prays to the goddess. The right leg and the left wing of the hen are tied to the *neem* tree at the temple. The liver of the hen is burnt on hot coals as an offering to the goddess Pochamma. Then all of them return home and prepare non-vegetarian food. Some families cook food at the temple and eat collectively before returning home.

Puja at Bhimanna temple

The Lambadas worship god Bhimanna, who actually is the principal deity of Gonds and Kolams³⁶, before sowing the seeds in their respective agricultural fields. Generally, they visit the temple on Sunday or Tuesday. Most of the people prefer to visit on Sunday. The items like incense sticks, sugar, coconut, vermilion, turmeric powder, and small quantities of all types of seeds are carried to the temple, besides a chicken while going to the temple. After washing their hands and legs, they purify themselves by sprinkling water on their heads. First they apply vermilion and turmeric powder to the god. Then they light incense sticks in front of the god. Then the seeds brought from home are placed in front of the god. Then a little amount of vermilion and turmeric powder is sprinkled on the seeds. They break the coconut by applying water and vermilion spots on it. The head of the household pours a handful of rice or pulse or *jowar* grains in front of the god. Then the chicken brought from home is left there to touch the grains. If it touches the grains they sacrifice the chicken in the name of

³⁵ It is observed in the *Ashada Masam* which is considered as a sacred day for farmers. Generally, they sow the seeds after the first rainfall on *tholi ekadasi*. In Telugu *tholi* means first which means first festival after the first rain fall.

³⁶ Goleti Bhimanna is an important deity who is worshipped by Kolams and Gonds. The Lambadas of Goleti village also worship the same deity.

Bhimanna god. The blood drops of the sacrificed hen are sprinkled on the seeds placed in front of the god. The liver of the hen is burnt on the fire is offered to the god Bhimanna. Some of the families belonging to same clan together participate and sacrifice a goat for the *puja*. Then they salute and offer prayer to the god to accept their offering. They request the god to forgive their mistakes, if any. Some families cook the sacrificed animal at the temple and eat it collectively and return home. After ritual offerings, the seeds placed in front of the god are brought home and mixed with the other seeds. Later on, the seeds are sowed in their respective agricultural fields.

Puja on every pournami (full-moon day)

In every full-moon day, there is a *puja* organized for the goddess Durga and Sevalal in the Thanda by a family in rotation so that every family gets an opportunity for organising the *puja*. The family informs in advance the Naik and the priest. The family members take all the items required for the *puja* and prepare the sweet and all members of the Thanda council and other elders will attend the *puja*. Then the priest offers *bhog* to the goddess Durga Matha. The same is continued at the Sevalal god afterwards. The women who bring coconuts are also placed in front of the *homam*. Then Naik offers a prayer silently to the deities and breaks a coconut in front of the *homam* and puts a piece of coconut in the *homam* adding sugar to it. They pray to Ramrao Maharaj and Premsingh Maharaj also. The women who are sitting on one side covering one end of their *sarees* on their heads pray silently to the deities. Then the sweet is distributed to all.

Guru Pournami puja

In the past, the Lambadas had no idea about *pournami*. But Ramrao Maharaj and Premsingh Maharaj, their *gurus* brought awareness about these days. Once a year, they organize *pournami* in honour of *gurus* which is termed as *guru pournami*. This is the same *puja* as done on any full-moon day. They prepare *khadavo* and *kheer* sweets. The priest lights an earthen lamp and incense sticks in front of the goddess Durga Matha and Sevalal and offers *bhog* following the normal ritual procedure. Then the Naik first offers prayer followed by the members of the council. Then they pray to Ramrao Maharaj and Premsingh Maharaj also. Other men and women also pray to the deities by saluting. All this is done with the musical beats of *nagara*, *thali* and *janz* outside the temple. They take the blessings by touching the mother earth. The *prasadam* is distributed to all the members.

In 1979 Ramrao Maharaj visited Goleti and inaugurated the Sevalal temple in the Thanda. On this occasion he advised the gathering that there should not be any child marriage and divorce and remarriages among the Lambadas. He said that education is important which brings phenomenal change in every aspect of the individual's life. He suggested everyone to make use of the government loans and schemes. He advised them desist from the consumption of alcohol and becoming slaves of bad habits. He said there would be SCCL recruitment in the future and surprisingly, after few days of the *guruji's* statement, more than 150 members from Goleti Thanda and nearby Thands got selected in SCCL through running test. Thereafter the development started in the Goleti Thanda.

The next day of *guru pournami* some of the elders visit Powra village in Maharashtra to meet their *guru* Ramrao Maharaj. According to *puranas* the sage Sandipani was the great *guru* of Lord Krishna. Similarly, the Lambadas have accepted Ramrao Maharaj and Prem Singh Maharaj as their *gurus*. They believe that everything in their life goes well if they take the blessings of *guru* on the day of *guru pournami*. People who do not visit the Powra on this particular day they attend the *puja* at the Thanda.

Side pilla puja

This is also known as *rahadari bali*. After the Samnak or Bhimanna *puja* it is organized mostly on a Sunday, for safe return to the house when people go out of the Thanda. The families normally live in separate streets in a Thanda and each household contributes some money for the purchase of a goat. All males of the clan participate and the senior most of the clan initiates the *puja*. The big stone erected at the corner of each street in the Thanda forms the venue. The stone is sported with vermilion and turmeric powder. The organizer applies vermilion to the forehead of all those assembled there and lights the incense sticks in front of the stone. He then breaks a coconut by applying to it water and vermilion spots. He then pours water *dara* in front of the stone three times towards the left and two times towards the right and in the air at all directions as done in other *pujas*. He salutes and offers prayer to the deity to protect them from all problems when they go out. Then the goat set apart for this purpose is brought and killed following the routine ritual procedure.

Rain puja

In the year 2015, there was no rainfall in the area and people noticed that for the last two years there was very scanty rainfall. They thought that it might be due to the wrath of god for

no *puja* was performed for the rain god for a long time. The popular belief is that unless the rain god is pleased there would be no rainfall. The women in Goleti Thanda made all the arrangements to perform *puja* for the rain god by visiting the temples of Hanuman, Sevalal, Durga Matha and Pochamma. The Naik's wife first started the *puja* by lighting an earthen lamp and incense sticks for the Hanuman. It was followed by the breaking up of coconut and applying vermilion to the forehead of all women. The women brought five to six pots of water from the nearby open well and bore well and poured water on some of the stone idols which are there at the Hanuman temple. Then they applied vermilion and turmeric powder to these stones and sung songs in the name of the god Hanuman to shower rain. After finishing the *puja* at the Hanuman temple, all the women went in a procession to the Sevalal and goddess Durga Matha temple by singing songs. Then they brought water again from the nearby bore well for offering *puja* to Sevalal and goddess Durga by lighting an earthen lamp and incense sticks in front of the idols. Then the water is sprinkled on the idols, at the entrance of the temple and at the flags of Sevalal and goddess Durga with the *neem* branches. Then they broke coconuts in front of the Sevalal and goddess Durga idols by offering prayers to the deities. Coming out of the temple they danced together by forming a circle. The dance was very erotic one with their systematic steps combined along with singing of songs in the name of Sevalal and goddess Durga. The same was repeated at the Pochamma temple afterwards.

Linga Masandh

The oral history of Linga goes like this. He was born in Jerupulla clan of Lambada community. He and his brother Mallu when became orphans they were brought up by their father's younger brother. But after a few years he lost his brother Mallu also and became alone. Daily he used to go to the forest to graze his uncle's cattle. One day when he was collecting the cattle in the forest, a tiger appeared and killed a cow. Returning home in the evening, when he broke the news his uncle and aunt beat him with a stick. He then went back to the forest with a rope and caught the tiger that killed the cow in the forest and brought the tiger home and tied in front of the house. He then said to his uncle that the tiger that killed the cow was there and now he could punish the tiger. When the Thanda people saw the tiger in the Thanda they were so scared that they did not come out of the houses and pleaded with Linga to take away the tiger back to the forest. He then obliged them.

Again there was no rainfall around Linga's Thanda for a year and as a result everyone suffered a lot due to non-availability of water. One day twelve men from the Thanda set out to Haridhwar for meeting their *guru* seeking a solution for the water crisis and they asked Linga to accompany them to take care of their horses. He readily agreed as his uncle was not looking after him properly. As they rode respective horses Linga followed them on barefoot. Finally, they reached the destination after a few days. The twelve men waited for the audience of *guru* Govind for twelve months chanting and praying but Linga used to take care of their horses and worshipped the *guru* from outside the temple. After twelve months, the *guru* sent three fish to each of them to eat and on the next day, he gave permission to meet him. They cooked the fish and ate them leaving out useless pieces for Linga to eat.

The next day, all the twelve went to meet the *guru* for his blessings, but the *guru* asked them to show the three fish given to them so as to obtain his grace. Then everyone tried to vomit the fish but in vain. Then the *guru* sent a word if there is anyone still left out among them who had eaten the food last night along with them. They informed that there was a young man who came along with them and he also ate the food at the end. Then the *guru* sent a word telling them to call him and when Linga went and stood in front of him the *guru* said "If you show those fish which you have eaten last night I will show my beneficence to you". Then when Linga just whistled putting his finger in his mouth all the fish came out from his stomach. The *guru* asked Linga to come next day for his blessings, but the rest were greatly annoyed because Linga was going to take the blessings from the *guru* for they did not get the chance of meeting the *guru* Govind though they were praying for twelve months. Linga's father's elder brother's son was also there in the group who came to meet the *guru*. His name was Loka Masandh who belonged to Bukya clan. He tried to impersonate Linga Masandh as they were having identical physical features, so he went to meet the *guru*, and the latter gave him certain magical powers. After some time Linga Masandh also went to meet the *guru*, but the *guru* asked why he came again as he had already gave magical powers. Then Masandh quarrelled with the *guru* for giving magical powers to an imposter. The *guru* then realised his mistake and gave all the magical items and a horse also to Linga Masandh which he gave earlier to Loka Masandh and said he would perform wonders in the future.

On their return journey the Lambadas tried to kill Linga Masandh by throwing him in a well of 63 feet depth and take away the magical items and the horse. When they attacked, put him in a bag and threw in the well so that he can not come out of the bag and took the magical

items but they did not work and the horse also disappeared from the sight. So, they fled away fast leaving the magical items fearing some misfortune befall them. After some time the bag floated in water and Linga came out of the well, got back his magical items and the horse gifted by the *guru*.

Now, Linga Masandh started lone journey riding the magic horse. On his way he reached Harinunavath Thanda, the families in the Thanda belonged to Bhukya clan. Since he did not take bath from three days, he stopped there to take bath and wash his clothes. But he did not find water anywhere near the Thanda. He got so angry that he kicked a stone with his right leg, then water gushed out there at once. He started bathing and washing his clothes in that water. Many cows in the Thanda which did not have water for a long time, and one of the male buffalos that smelt water ran out of the Thanda to drink water for he was almost fainted. Quenched his thirst he became very active and returned to the Thanda. Then he brought other cattle also to the same place. The cattle herder who found the cattle leaving the Thanda went behind them and saw the water flowing abundantly. He then informed all Thanda people, and then they came with pots and vessels to take water home. Finding the new source of water, some women came to wash clothes also, and one woman among the group saw Linga Masandh taking bath at some distance from them. So the women got angry and abused Linga Masandh. Hearing this Linga prayed his *guru* to stop water flowing in that area and using his magical wand he restricted water flow. Disappointed by this the women with the new development went back to the Thanda with empty pots. They were shocked to find that even the vessels with water in their houses also got empty. The elders of Harinunavath Thanda understood that Linga Masandh was responsible for stopping the water flow. Then all of them went in a procession with the music holding a green flag. Linga Masandh was drying his clothes at that time. They apologised for the mistake committed by them and pleaded with him to forgive the women and requested him to release the water for the Thanda. Linga Masandh obliged them and released the water. Then the elders invited him to the Thanda for overnight stay and requested him to resume his journey early in the morning. Accordingly he then reached Hyderabad after some days.

There was a king in Hyderabad at that time by name Osman Bashya who had an elephant which was worth of nine lakh rupees but he lay dead. The king came to know about the Linga Masandh *guru's* magical power and sent his guards to bring him. Then they took Linga Masandh to the king. The king garlanded the *guru* and gave a seat to him and requested him

to bring the elephant back to life if he was a real *guru* or else he would be hanged at the main gate of the palace. Linga Masandh then prayed to his *guru* in his mind and asked the king to get nine bullock cart loads of bamboo sticks and nine quintals of camphor or frankincense. The king got whatever he wanted. Then he asked them to make a fire with the bamboo sticks and pour nine quintals of camphor in the fire. Linga Masandh then prayed to *Guru* Govind who asked Linga Masandh to beat the elephant three times with his magical wand. When he did so, third time the elephant stood up and then started walking after some time. The king wondered and appreciated the Linga Masandh and asked him to ask for anything. Then Linga Masandh replied that he did not want any material pleasure or wealth, saluted the king and started to leave the place. When the elephant saw Linga Masandh he tried to break all the chains to go along with Linga Masandh. But Linga Masandh asked the elephant not to go with him. Then the elephant stopped at the king's palace.

Linga Masandh temporarily settled down at one of the Lambada Thanda at Beebi Nagar which is near Hyderabad. He erected a small hut and lived there far away from others and spent his time praying to his *guru* Govind. One day he went along with the Lambada cattle herders. They asked him to bring hot coals so as to cook food. He then went to bring charcoal pieces from the nearby Thanda. When he reached there he saw a woman taking bath outside the house. He then came back and sat under a tree for some time. He went to the same house after some time and asked for charcoal pieces and the woman gave him charcoal pieces which he brought back and gave to the herders. They asked him why he took so much of time to bring the charcoal pieces. When he explained the situation they did not believe him and they thought that he was watching the bathing woman. So, they decided to kill him when he was sleeping at night. Then Linga Masandh dreamt that someone was coming to kill him. So he shouted in the sleep when they tried to kill him. When he shouted the nearby Jerupulla Lambada families rushed to him but they could not find anyone there. They did not believe Linga Masandh's words. The same people made another attempt to kill him but the same thing happened. They tried third time, and this time it was a success. They cut his head with a sword and ran away. The killers belonged to Banoath clan. The people of adjacent Thanda woke up early in the morning and left that place for they were nomadic in those days. They did not enquire about Linga Masandh. He then stood up and walked to some distance to inform people in the Thanda. When he walked some distance his head got completely cut off from the body and fell down on the ground. Even then he made a few steps without the head

and sat under a fig (*ravvi*) tree. This tree is situated at Padamati Somaram Thanda near Beebi Nagar of Hyderabad.

A man of Golla caste who was herding cattle in the nearby place saw someone lying under the tree without the head. He understood that someone had killed this *guru* and brought the people of nearby Thanda, so he cremated the *guru*'s body under the tree. The cattle herder then prayed to Linga Masandh *guru* if he would give hundred goats he was going to construct a tomb for him and offer him daily goat milk. Very soon he got one hundred goats. There lies the tomb of Linga Masandh *guru* and *puja* is performed even today.

Hathiram Baba

He is also called as Bhavaji who belonged to the Jerupulla clan of Lambada tribe which comes under Powar phratry. He was a great devotee of Lord Venkateshwara, and once he went to Tirumala which is considered as one of the holiest Hindu pilgrim centres and decided to remain in Tirumala forever to worship the Lord all the time. He lived in an *ashram*³⁷ and every day he used to visit the temple for the worship of Lord Venkateshwara. This continued for many years. During his leisure, he used to play dice assuming that the Lord Venkateshwara was playing with him sitting on the other side. Pleased with this devotion one day Lord Venkateshwara approached him in a dream, when Bhavaji opened his eyes he saw the Lord Venkateshwara standing in front of him. He could not believe it to be a dream. The Lord said that he had come there to play dice with him. He felt very happy after seeing the Lord and playing with him as the Lord played dice with Bhavaji. Interestingly Bhavaji won the game against the Lord Venkateshwara. Likewise, he played many games with Lord Venkateshwara. The Lord started giving his ornaments one after the other to Bhavaji for his victory over him. At the end of the day, Bhavaji didn't take any of them from the Lord Venkateshwara, but returned all the ornaments to the Lord. Accidentally, Lord Venkateshwara left one necklace at Bhavaji's place and left that place. When Bhavaji found the ornament he went to meet Lord Venkateshwara at the temple to return the ornament. In the meantime, the priests informed the temple authorities about missing of one ornament of Lord Venkateshwara. The temple authorities started searching for the lost necklace. When Bhavaji went to the temple to return the ornament, the temple authorities asked him how it had come to him. He then replied that last night the Lord Venkateshwara came to him and

³⁷ The place where all the saints lived together near the temple.

played dice with him. While leaving the place the Lord had left his ornament accidentally. The temple authorities didn't believe the explanation given by Bhavaji and suspected him to have stolen the ornament. None of them listened to him, and he was then pushed out of the temple and locked in a separate small room where there was no electricity. They decided to test Bhavaji to prove his innocence. Then a huge load of sugar canes were thrown in that room and he was asked to eat all of that by morning if he was a true devotee of Lord Venkateshwara. They warned if it did not happen, he would be hanged in front of the temple. The authorities locked the room and went away from the place. Then Bhavaji closed his eyes and prayed to Lord Venkateshwara. He then left his problem to the god and slowly slipped into a deep sleep. In the midnight when Bhavaji slept a white elephant came to his room and ate all the sugar canes. The next day, in the morning, when the temple authorities opened the door they were surprised to find that there is no sugarcane left in the room. Then they realised that Bhavaji is a true devotee of Lord Venkateshwara. They believed that god had come in the form of an elephant and ate all the sugar canes. Then the temple authorities understood that the Lord Venkateshwara saved Bhavaji in the form of an elephant (*hathi*) when he was in danger. He was then later named as Hathiram Baba. He continued his life and served the Lord Venkateshwara for many years.

Story of Sevalal

There were seven sisters called sath Bhavanis in Satyalokam or Bramhalokam³⁸ viz., Tulja Bhavani, Jagadamba, Kanaka Durga, Hingla, Mathra, Mahankali and Dandi Bhavani respectively. Among them, six sisters had devotees on earth but the youngest sister i.e., Dandi Bhavani did not have any devotees. These six sisters used to go down to earth to receive offerings made to them by their devotees and after receiving the offerings they ascended back to the Satyalokam. But the youngest sister was not fortunate enough to have any devotee on earth so that she could receive some offerings. She was hence upset very much for it and sat alone disappointed alone in Satyalokam. Observing her sitting alone dejected, the other sisters went up to her and asked as to what has happened to her. She said she was unhappy because they went down to the earth leaving her alone in the Satyalokam. She further said that, she was not lucky enough to have any devotee like them. She would have been happy had there been any devotee for her also and she would have enjoyed her visit to the earth.

³⁸ It is the place where Lord Brahma resides.

Then all the six sisters after listening to her distress pondered over the issue to find a solution for their sister's problem. In the past, the life of Lambadas was not very systematic. So, the Bhavanis understanding the plight of the Lambadas thought that they badly needed a leader to handle their situation and who would also solve their sister's problem by begetting a child who should become a devotee to her i.e., Dandi Bhavani. Then they approached Lord Brahma, the creator of the universe, and explained to him everything about Dandi Bhavani. He also agreed to the idea of creating someone to be a devotee for Dandi Bhavani. He then asked the seven Bhavanis to find out a barren parent among the Lambadas who was trustworthy.

So they met one Banoath Bhrugaraju, a Lambada, who became devotee of the seven Bhavanis by offering prayers, explained to him everything about the goddess Dandi Bhavani and asked him to find out a barren parent in his community. They appealed him not to leak the information to anyone and even warned him that the plan would not work if it was known to others. Then they took bath at a small pond while returning to their place. The water in the pond was very transparent for it was formed by a natural spring. From the washings of their bodies and with the dirt or impurity of their bodies they made a small capsule and decided to give it to the barren couple so that they may have a child. After a few days, Banoath Bhrugaraju informed seven Bhavanis that there was a couple by name Bheema Naik and Dharminimatha who did not have children and they were from Rathod clan. If they get a child they would name of their Thanda as Bhavan Barada. Bheema Naik had two brothers viz., Hemma Naik and Keema Naik and their father's name was Ghamsiya Naik.

Then Tulja Bhavani, the eldest sister among the Bhavani sisters went to Bheema Naik's house in the disguise of a fortuneteller. After seeing her, the latter said "I don't know who you are and from where you have come but you are looking like a goddess to me". He further told her that they did not have children and asked her to find out whether they would be fortunate enough to have a child or not. She then looked into the horoscope of both the couple. Then she gave a capsule to him and advised him to give it to his wife. She instructed him that his wife had to consume it so that they could have a child, and promised him that they would be blessed with a boy child who should be named Seva Bhai. Further, she said that she will take birth in their community to serve the people. She also revealed the fact that Seva Bhai will be with his parents till he attained the age of twelve and later on, he would dedicate himself to the service of goddess Durga i.e., Dandi Bhavani. Bheema Naik and

Dharnimatha were so poor that at that time they had only a cupful of *jowar* grains at home. Receiving the capsule, Bheema Naik gave away half of the *jowar* grains that they had to the fortuneteller. When he gave the grains to her he noticed that automatically it got increased at his house. He was surprised seeing it and asked her the reason. She told him that he would come to know about it in future. He then saluted the goddess for the help. The moment Bheema Naik blinked his eyes the goddess disappeared from the sight.

Dandi Bhavani when came to know that Sevalal was going to be born in the Lambada community, she came down to earth as a poor woman and started working as a servant in Bheema Naik's house. Then after a few months, Dharminimatha gave birth to Seva bhai without experiencing any delivery pains. He came out of his mother's womb after nine hours of taking the capsule. When he was born the trees in forest turned into green. Sevalal was born on 15th February 1739 with the grace of the goddess Durga. He was born in Ramji Naik Thanda near Gutti which was a *taluka* in the then Bellary District in Mysore province of the British Raj. After reorganization of state in post-independence period Gutti came under Anantapur district having been carved out from Bellary District. Ramji Naik was Sevalal's grandfather who came to this place with 300 families and about 3755 loaded cattle. Later on, Bheema Naik and Dharminimatha had three more sons viz., Hapa, Bhana and Bhaddu. Till the age of six, Sevalal was brought up in the hands of Dandi Bhavani who took the form of an old maid servant in the house of Bheema Naik as said before. She taught him different skills and activities. He went to the forest regularly with Dandi Bhavani and got him acquainted with the animals in the forest and grazed cattle in "*zandi zhol*" (forest of palms).

Since the parents of Sevalal were engaged in salt business he also helped his parents in the occupation as he grew. He was managing 13 Thandas and taking them along with his family to various places. They visited different places from Nagpur to Hyderabad. On the way, if they came across any river Sevalal used to stop the flowing river for a short time by the grace of the goddess Bhavani and the river flowed again as usual when they crossed it. The track that they trod from Nagpur to Hyderabad earlier has been turned into a Railway line.

One day, goddess Dandi Bhavani appeared in the dream of Dharminimatha and reminded her of the promise she made. She suddenly woke up from her sleep and got scared of giving back her son to the goddess. She thought it was just a dream and felt happy because it did not really happen. When this was narrated Sevalal could not understand it. When Banoath

Bhrugaraju explained everything to Sevalal about his birth he understood and said he did not have any objection to become a devotee for the goddess Dandi Bhavani. She said that he should perform all *pujas* and make offerings including animal sacrifices as done to her sisters. But Sevalal did not agree for the sacrifice of animals because he had close attachment with the animals from his childhood. Then Dandi Bhavani appeared there, and became furious over the denial of blood sacrifice. Finally, Sevalal said ‘I will kill myself and offer my blood to you but I will never kill the animals’. Then the goddess Dandi Bhavani got very angry and went back to her sisters and complained about it with them. Then they consoled her and requested her to wait for some time.

During the British regime, the Lambadas were in distress as they could not pay land and crop taxes. There were some people like Bhukya Metu, Jangi, Bangi, Laliyasath, Beliyasath and Changunasath who used to roam about in organized gangs engaged in dacoity and robbery. The money they got from different sources was spent on their personal use and for the welfare of small Thandas as well.

The goddess Dandi Bhavani came to Sevalal and told him that she would continue extending her help in all respects for another twelve years provided he did not leave her. Sevalal agreed to it. She wanted him to accept for animal sacrifice and become her devotee. She wanted to test him and find out whether he would stand by his statement or not regarding the sacrifice of animals. One day, Sevalal left his cattle in the nearby field for grazing. There was a king whose name was Osman Bhashya who lived at that place. His agricultural fields were located adjacent to his house where wheat crop was grown. The cows of Sevalal trespassed into the king’s farm and destroyed the crops, and this news was conveyed to the king who became furious and sent his men to punish the owner of the cows during the night when Sevalal and his group were in deep sleep. One man from Sevalal group saw them and informed Sevalal that some people were coming to attack them. Sevalal asked his brother to drum the *nagara* so that the people could wake up and get ready for the fight. When he prayed to the goddess Durga for help she arranged all the weapons needed. The king’s men went back and informed the king that they could not defeat Sevalal. Then they planned to kill Sevalal by giving him poison. When they sent poisoned sweet the goddess informed Sevalal the evil design and instructed him to offer the sweet first to their cattle. He first offered it to their cows and then it was distributed to all the members. None of the Sevalal group died due to poisoned sweet. Then, one day Sevalal group sacrificed a goat which belonged to the Nizam king and cooked

the meat and everyone ate it. When the king came to know about it he sent his men and again a fight took place. But, the goddess saved the Sevalal group from the Nizam's army. Finally, the king sent his men to Sevalal to apologize for the mistakes he committed. So, Sevalal went to meet the king on his horse (*tholaram*). But the king asked Sevalal to come through a small hole made at the compound. He went through the small hole by the grace of the goddess Durga. The king asked him to say sorry but Sevalal not only refused and he demanded the king instead apologize for making him to pass through a hole. The king was shocked at the Sevalal's audacity and thought there might be some supernatural power within Sevalal and therefore he sent him back. This incident took place at the Banjara hills. Then, they moved to Ruigad of Maharashtra.

The goddess Dandi Bhavani gave 7000 cows to Sevalal and she also distributed equal number of cows to different groups and sent them to different Lambada Thandas which were spread out in various directions of North, East, South and West. She instructed them to proclaim that there was Sevalal, chief for the community, and that one should not engage in criminal activities and live on their cattle only and honor the traditions and cultural practices. These groups visited different Thandas and motivated people for their overall development. Sevalal helped the people in every need.

It was now time for Sevalal to become devotee of goddess Dandi Bhavani. He arranged a meeting with the goddess and people of nearby Thandas. He also appealed the goddess to appear at the selected place. She then appeared and stood in front of Sevalal. She asked Sevalal whether he stood by the words he spoke before or not. He replied that except the animal sacrifice, he was ready for everything. Again the goddess was greatly unhappy with Sevalal, and she said so far he had achieved everything because of her help and support. He can be her devotee only if he accepts giving animal sacrifices. He again said "Instead I will kill myself but I will not sacrifice the animals". But the goddess did not accept this. So he took his sword and cut his head and held his head in his right hand and offered it to the goddess Dandi Bhavani. The moment he cut his head all the animals in the forest started running towards him. Got scared of the animals the Thanda people ran away from the place. Then other Bhavani goddesses also appeared and requested her sister not to impose so much pressure on Sevalal. They said he was a real devotee and he did not even think about to take his life for you. Then Dandi Bhavani realized her mistake and told that Sevalal had won the

fight and promised that she would help and protect him for another 12 years. Then all the goddesses again gave life to Sevalal. The head of Sevalal was again attached to his body.

There was one Jadugar Vaditiya who belonged to the Lambada community who sided with the Nizam and became an informer. Therefore, he was disliked by his community. One day, the Nizam sent the Jadugar Vaditiya to Sevalal to find out the truth about his glory and test whether he was a real *guru* or a fake one. He had a grandson whose name was Chingariya and he took his grandson in woman's dress to Sevalal in the night and said that she did not have children, so pleaded him to bless her with children. Then Sevalal blessed her and said that one day she would definitely become a mother. Then Jadugar Vaditiya removed the *saree* of his grandson and said that he was a male. Both the people then laughed at Sevalal and went away from the place. Then after returning home Changaria really turned into a woman. Since then, she was named Chingari. Then Jadugar Vadithiya realized that there was an unknown power within Sevalal. He then conveyed the glories and miracles of Sevalal to the Nizam king. Banoath Bhrugaraju who was the senior most in the Lambada community came to know about the activities of Jadugar Vadithiya but he did not take any action on him. He kept himself silent till Sevalal had taken a necessary action on him. The Nizam king wanted to know the reasons behind the spread of the Lambadas and their development. He appointed Jadugar vadithiya to get the information from the Sevalal group.

Sevalal visited different Thandas to spread the message of honesty, devotion to god and hardworking that will lead to their development. The Nizam king tested Sevalal to know whether he was a true saint or not. He was asked to walk in fire, come out of well using a thread etc. Sevalal cleared all the tests without facing any problem. Later on, the king realized that goddess Dandi Bhavani was behind Sevalal's glory. He decided to kill Sevalal and hence asked Jadugar Vadithiya to enquire about Sevalal's personal information and day to day activities. Jadugar Vadithiya collected the information through Sevalal's mother's sister by offering money. She confirmed that the reason behind his supernatural power was the presence of the goddess who followed him wherever he went. She said, "The goddess is visible only for him but not to others. While he is eating food also the goddess sits beside him and eats the food. The goddess is on his shoulder while he is walking. Similarly, she sits on his forehead while he is sleeping. She sits on the *neem* tree while he takes bath." Then Jadugar Vadithiya passed this information to Nizam king. Then they planned to kill Sevalal while he was taking bath because the goddess stayed away from him. As usual, early in the

morning he went to take bath in a small pond. The Nizam army surrounded the area much before Sevalal reached the pond. When he tried to enter into the pool, all the people got him very close but the goddess did not have chance to enter on his body. Then they took him along with them and put him in jail.

The Lambadas were annoyed with the Nizam king because he had taken away their leader from them. As a result, there was a war between the Nizam and the Sevalal group. Many people sacrificed their lives in the war. The important people from Sevalal group viz., Bhukya Metu, Jangi, Bangi, Laliyasath, Beliyasath and Changunasath lost their lives in the war. The goddess Bhavani did not know what to do during the war. She decided to kill everyone. Then the goddess as *adipara sakthi* (the primeval power) carried all the weapons and killed everyone. She then set Sevalal free from the Nizam. Then, when the days passed on, one day the goddess suggested him to marry someone so that he could have a family of his own. But, Sevalal said he had no interest in marriage, and remain single throughout his life. He refused to listen her. Then again, the goddess was angry with him and left the place.

She then tested him again various ways. She caused epidemic which took away Sevalal's brother. The Lambadas started experiencing different problems; they could not prosper in any field and Sevalal brothers fell into huge debts. When Sevalal took his cattle to the forest there was a heavy rain and thunderstorm that resulted in the death of several animals. The food grains stored did not remain for long. They lost everything within a short span of time. Then Sevalal realized that the goddess Bhavani was troubling him in different ways. The goddess Bhavani sent a woman to Sevalal whose name was Maroni. She went to his house and entreated him to marry her but he didn't even let her come close to him. He said that he was not interested in marriage and sent her out from his house. Thus, he succeeded all the tests of the goddess.

Sevalal questioned the goddess why was she causing him so many troubles. She said that she will continue to trouble till he gets married to someone. As he refused to marry she planned to take him to *satyalokam* to find out whether marriage was inscribed in his fate in this life or not. Then both decided to approach Brahma. Since, Sevalal is a human being he did not have a chance to go directly to *satyalokam*. So, the goddess Bhavani took his soul with her leaving his body on the earth. Before leaving for *satyalokam* Sevalal asked his mother, brothers and other Thanda people to pray for him by lighting 1000 lamps and performing *bhajana*. He then

slept on *neem* leaves spread out on the floor. He told everyone not to touch his body. Suppose, anyone touched his body, instinctively the soul could not enter again into his body. He then appealed the goddess to take his soul from the body. She then went to *satyalokam* with Sevalal's soul. The goddess asked Brahma about the marriage of Sevalal. Brahma after seeing his horoscope confirmed that he did not have marriage in his life. Then they both returned to the earth.

She decided to unite Sevalal in herself as she did not find any option other than doing this because he was created for her, to be her devotee. She helped him in many ways but, he did not become a devotee of her. She told Sevalal that she wanted to meet her sisters before they left for the earth. He then gave some time to meet her sisters. In the meanwhile, she alone returned to the earth and met the mother of Sevalal as a different person. She emotionally walked towards Sevalal's mother and said that her son was dead. His mother wept bitterly hearing the news. She came out of the house to see her son but the Thanda people did not allow her to touch Sevalal's body. She was forcibly pushed away aside but she touched the body of Sevalal.

At that time, all of a sudden there is a heavy blow of wind putting off all the lamps despite the people's best efforts to keep lamps burning. They even tried to light again but they could not do so due to gushing of wind. Sevalal could not come back to earth for two reasons. The first, his mother touched his body and second, the lamps were put off. Sevalal and the goddess did not return to the earth, instead they gave a message to the people. *Ah ke thaane ahye Ham ham....Dase thaane ki dhe kham kham* which means that 'we have come together and did many things. We have gone together. Remember us and be happy and prosperous.

Before his death Sevalal said, '*halalar bhoti math kavo*' which means 'one should not eat the meat which is half cut, head of the goat or hen.' He also said, '*labhari math karo*' which means 'one should not lie.' He said, '*garebene dandan math kavo*' which means 'one should not take the penalty (*dandana*) money from the poor people.' He said, '*chori math karo*' which means one should not involve in the robbery.' Finally, he said, '*saath pidima avathar liu garo garh ahyu angne ma bhog lagu gor mati ro khal dur kari u*' which means 'he will be born again after seven decades in the same clan i.e., Rathod.

Sevalal died in the Ruigad Thanda. Thereafter, there was an argument between Powragad and Ruigad people to perform his last rites. The elders from both the groups came to an understanding that whosoever was able to lift the coffin (*dolli*) should perform the last rites. First, the Ruigad Thanda people tried but in vain. Then, the Powragad people were able to lift the coffin very easily. So, they were allowed to carry the body of Sevalal for the last rites in the Powragad (Degrace Thanda) in Maharashtra. Then, they constructed a temple for Sevalal. There was no idol of Sevalal in the temple. When he was alive, he used to play a musical instrument called *nagara*. It was placed near his tomb in the memory of Sevalal. The goddess Durga Devi temple was also constructed beside the Sevalal temple.

Several years later, a person by name Parasuram Maharaj, who read the life story of Sevalal, went into penance for obtaining the grace of Sevalal for twelve years, three months and twelve days. He started the penance after two years of his marriage. He noted the time in a small book and then decided to show the same to Sevalal when he completes his penance. Unfortunately, he could not see Sevalal. So blaming Sevalal as a false saint he quit his penance.

Then one day, when Parasuram Maharaj was sleeping in his house, Sevalal appeared in his dream and said that he had not completed the penance for twelve years, three months and twelve days. He said, ‘if you had waited for few more minutes, then you would have seen me’. He added, ‘when I reached there, you had already left the place’. Sevalal was believed to have been possessing three horses viz., Tholaram, Chanakyasand and Garshasand. Out of these three horses, he liked Tholaram the most. He came to meet Parasuram Maharaj riding Tholaram. He then asked Parasuram Maharaj to revisit the place where he had carried out the penance. When he visited the place, he noticed some signs which indicated Sevalal’s visit of that place. When Sevalal did not find Parasuram Maharaj at that place he got angry and stamped forcefully on the earth. As a result, a huge pit was formed. All the relics exist till today. There he found three varieties of fruits under a tree. Sevalal asked Parasuram Maharaj to give them to his wife because they did not have any child. Parasuram Maharaj after going back home gave the fruits to his wife. He deeply regretted for his inability to see Sevalal after many years of penance. Then he killed himself with a sword. Later, Ramrao Maharaj was

born in Rathod clan to Parasuram Maharaj and Puthlayadi after seven decades of Sevalal's death in Powragad, Maharastra.³⁹

Ramarao Maharaj

When Ramrao Maharaj turned adult, his mother asked him to get married. He said, '*vayama kikel tho mundo padhjaye*' which means 'if you said it again you would become dumb for sure.' He then remained single in his life. He is 90 years old now and still alive. His staple food is milk and fruits. Till today, he looks healthy and he had hardly ever fallen sick in his life. He is a great devotee of the goddess Durga Bhavani and Sevalal. He also follows the path of Sevalal and plays an important role in the community development. He also visits different Thandas like Sevalal and striving hard to bring changes in the community.

Ramrao Maharaj once went to meet Indira Gandhi when she was Prime Minister of India. He met the security officials and requested them to inform Indira Gandhi about his arrival. She then gave an appointment to meet her. He introduced himself and informed his purpose of visit. She said that she had already heard about his story and the service he had rendered to the people. She then asked him to prove whether he was a real *guru* or not by drinking poison given to him. He took it but nothing had happened to him. She then believed that he was a real *guru* and took his blessings. He then discussed various problems experienced by the Lambadas in the country and requested her to extend support. Before his departure, he presented a *pithambari saree* to Indira Gandhi and blessed her. He has been preaching to give up bad habits and speak good words. Where there are no temples in the Lambada Thandas he is persuading the Lambadas to construct a temple one for Sevalal and another for Durga Matha in their respective Thandas. He also dissuades people from drifting to other religions. He strongly believes that the Lambadas have their own tradition which means everything for them. So, they are not to be influenced by any force, instead they should continue their traditions.

³⁹ It is interesting to know that all the devotees of Durga Devi like Sevalal and Ramrao Maharaj was born in Rathod clan. The Lambadas now believe that Ramrao Maharaj is the incarnation of Sevalal.

Religion of Lambada

The pantheon of the Lambada includes both tribal and non-tribal deities. While the deities Samnak, Seethala and Saathi, are claimed to be deities of Lambada tribe, Bhimanna, the deity of Kolams and Gonds, is also worshipped by the Lambada. As the deities Balaji, Shiva, Durga, Tulja Bhavani are the *sanskritic* deities, Maremma and Pochamma are non-sanskritic deities being worshipped by the neighboring non-tribes. Though Lambada celebrate the festivals of non-tribes such as Nagula Panchami, Dasara, Diwali, Sankranti, Shivarathri, Holi, Sriramnavami, Vinayaka Chathurthi and Ugadi, then their own festival is Teej. They also have their own saints such as Sevalal, Hathiram Baba and Linga Masandh who are profoundly venerated and worshipped. There is also a living saint called Ramarao Maharaj who visits the Goleti area though he has *ashram* in Maharashtra.

The religion of the Lambadas is concerned mainly with the mundane day today affairs rather than philosophical and other-worldly matters and issues or questions. Their world consists of the earth on which live humans, animals and plants while there is another world called *satyalokam* located beyond the sky or so where the Creator Brahma and other deities live, and temples and shrines are built for them on the earth by the humans where they are being worshipped by the latter. The deities keep travelling from one world to the other, while the human devotees remain only on the earth. The beliefs about rebirth, *karma*, fate etc., of Hindu are vaguely held by the Lambada. The deities are endowed with extraordinary power to shower rain, bless with bounty of crops and multiplication of cattle, heal sickness and diseases, control misfortunes and so on. They can also cause misfortunes when aggrieved. The ancestors are also powerful beings; they are more powerful than those living and less powerful than the gods and goddesses even though they have the same qualities of the deities. An ordinary ancestor attains divine status after the rituals of incorporation who will be of second order in divine hierarchy while a dead person who had lived a holy and virtuous life transforms himself /herself into a divine being and when it happens he/she becomes a deity and receives worship like that of a deity of first order. In this regard Sevalal is elevated to the status of a deity principally identified with the Lambadas.

Gender is the significant character of the deities, and their marital status is also considered important. One can find momentous role for unmarried female deities compared to the married female deities in the Lambada religious beliefs and practices. Hanuman, a bachelor,

is venerated among the male deities, and likewise Sevalal, Hathiram Baba and Ramarao Maharaj are divine beings who remained celibate. The ideas of concerning virginity and marriage get reflected in the fertility, growth of plants, crops and multiplication of animals. These are expressed in symbolic form in various ritual contexts. For instance, in the Teej festival the unmarried women engage in the growth of wheat grass and dance. Thus, there is a symbolic connection between the fertility of unmarried woman and the fertility of soil and growth of the plants.

Another important feature of the deities is the offering made and identification of deities with vegetarianism and non-vegetarianism. The unmarried female deities, Durga Devi, Shiva, Bhimanna, and Hanuman accept the sacrifices of goat or chicken while Balaji, and all Lambada saints accept only the vegetarian foods. Non-vegetarianism is though considered impure, it is powerful. The divine hierarchy though follows the lines of the kind of food or offering that the deities accept; vegetarianism is superior to non-vegetarianism, the latter is less powerful. It corresponds to the social hierarchy (Dumont Moffatt). Further, the hierarchy of Gods also corresponds with the hierarchy among the Lambada tribal society which is divided into upper Mathura Lambada who claim superior social status followed by....while at the lower end we find Bhat, Dhaliya, Dhadi and Navi Lambada.

The rite of *chako purnam*, made of cow dung, is found important in Seethala *puja*, Saathi *puja*, Tulja Bhavani *puja*, Durga/Maremma Bakra *puja* and ancestral worship. The *chako purnam* represents these deities; the cow's dung and urine are sacred as much as the cow herself who is divine. These excretions of the cow purify the ground and area also. These animals are worshiped on the day of *Polala panduga* and they are taken to the temples for they are to be blessed. We can find direct link between the economic value of cow and sacredness. Even though their dependence on cows or oxen has been greatly reduced their importance in the life of the Lambada continues.

Similar to *chako purnam*, the other common rites in the ritual structures include rites at the *homam* and *charrie* where fire is worshipped on the occasions of Samnak *puja*, Moto Dev *puja*, Saathi *puja*, Sevalal *puja* etc. Some offerings such as coconut pieces, ghee, sugar etc., are offered to the fire. This is followed by water *dara*, pouring of water, in a stylistic way. These rites resemble the *sanskritic* rituals where fire is worshipped. Even when animals are sacrificed again they can be seen part of the *yagna*, the ritual of *vedic* or post-*vedic* period.

Such practices are not usually found in the South Indian village rituals. These perhaps are the reminiscent practices of the age old traditions of the North Indian populations continued by the Lambada who once upon a time lived among them.

The offerings in the rituals predominantly include *rotis*, and apart from the *rotis* there are two food items: *solai* and *khadao*. First the baking of *rotis* on ritual occasions is not found in any South Indian rituals; rice is cooked in South Indian village rituals which are the staple food. The eating of *roti* is basically a North Indian practice. Similarly preparation and serving of *khadao*, a type of sweet and other kinds of sweet, or *rotis* with jiggery or sweet on ritual occasions is again not the South Indian tradition. Therefore, the Lambadas continue the traditions of North India. As *solai* which is made out of the intestines of goat is offered to the deities who accept the non-vegetarian food and sweets and or *rotis* are offered to the vegetarian deities. Thus, these practices reflect the Lambadas' combination of North and South Indian traditions and also juxtaposition of vegetarian and non-vegetarian deities that also represent the North and South India.

The ritual also reveals the Lambadas adaptation to the South Indian traditions as they have been in a nomadic state for a long time. They had been exposed to the various cultural practices with social interaction in course of the salt business. Further, they served the Muslim rulers as well as the British. But it is interesting that they are not influenced by the practices of these rulers rather with their fellow non-tribes or other tribes. They have adapted the principal deity of Kolam and Gond tribes i.e., Bhimmanna or Bhimayyak and follow the ritual practice of initiating the agriculture in the year. Similarly they worship the deities of non-tribes and follow rituals in a syncretic manner.

Like any human society Lambada has developed its own cultural ways of meeting the life crisis such as birth, death, fertility, barrenness, prosperity, poverty etc. Alongside they also had to encounter different social groups and rulers in course of their migrations and livelihoods. The internal conflicts and fissions and external pressures and experiences have had their influence on their adaptive nature and subjectivity. These are well reflected in the stories of Saathi, Linga Masandh, Hathiram Baba and Sevalal. In case of Saathi the conflict between the Lambada and Gonds is clear where the local Gonds get physical upper hand over the Lambada but the latter maintain their own identity eschewing exogamous relations with the other tribal group. The story of Linga Masandh reflects of the internal conflicts of the

community which could be resolved with spirituality which has been borrowed from the non-tribal dominant Hindu society. The latter is shown more powerful than the Islam which the Lambadas had encountered. Hathiram Baba's story unravels the assimilation process of Lambada with the larger society, and acceptance of the larger society. The story of Sevalal is more complex and it deals with the gender issue, vegetarianism and non-vegetarianism, internal conflicts, and external both in terms of religion as well as social conflicts. Here, the Lambadas overcome these issues taking recourse on religion or strength within the society, and they are able to sustain themselves among all odds.

Therefore, the Lambadas had to survive in the midst of the dominant groups which required different strategies to preserve their culture and identity. Here it is important to note their adaptability with building self-esteem and also leadership and maintaining solidarity and unity of the society. While the religion and ritual contribute preserving and maintain the social solidarity, cultural identity, and ideological force, it is imperative for them act tactfully whenever there is a problem. Though they do not have centralized traditional authority but poorly developed regional authority. However they are able to develop strong internal leadership in every Thanda which can be found in the life cycle rituals and village organization. This is nevertheless grafted into constitutional state political institutions more effectively than any other surrounding tribes.

Chapter 3

SOCIO-CULTURAL PROFILE OF KOLAMS

This chapter provides an ethnographic account of Kolams in general focusing on their socio-cultural life. In this context, it starts with ecological conditions, physical appearance, dress, and food habits, and language followed by a brief history of the community, and then goes into the details of social structure, kinship, marriage practices, political institution, life cycle rituals, and religious aspects and so on. Therefore, it gives a brief idea of Kolams society and culture, before an attempt is made to understand the changes that have occurred in the socio-cultural life of Kolams of Ontimamidi village where they are rehabilitated after being displaced by the SCCL and response of the Kolams to the coal mining in their area.

Kolam

Kolams are one of the indigenous populations inhabiting the Central India, and they are one of the 75 tribes classified as Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PVTGs)⁴⁰ out of about 500 listed Scheduled Tribes under the article 342 of the Constitution of India. They are mostly found in Yeotmal, Osmanabad, Chandrapur, Gadchiroli, Nagpur⁴¹ and Nanded⁴² districts of Maharashtra, and the Adilabad district of Telangana state. Their population is about 2, 19, 317 (1, 73,646 in Maharashtra and 45,671 in Andhra Pradesh) according to 2001 Census. In Telangana state they are spread in the northern part of Adilabad district. They usually live in independent hamlets or part of a village in plains and hills in association with Gonds and other tribes such as Naikpods, Pardhans and caste groups.

Kolams are said to have close racial affinity with Naikpods who are called fisher folk by the Gonds; Rao (1990: 80) feels perhaps there is a close link with the Naikpods and Kolams. Thomas Hislop, a senior British army officer in late eighteenth century, first excluded the Kolams from the Gond tribes but afterwards he included them because of close affinity between them. However, G. Grierson differs with Hislop saying that Kolami is different from

⁴⁰ In 2006 the government of India proposed to rename “Primitive tribal group” as Particularly Vulnerable tribal group. PTG has since been renamed *particularly vulnerable tribal group* by the government of India. As per the 2001 census, the 75 PVTGs have a total population of 32, 62,960.

(Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Particularly_vulnerable_tribal_group)

⁴¹ Singh (1998: 1767)

⁴² Kumar (2006: 283)

Gondi though in both the languages certain terms of Tamil, Kanarese and Telugu are found. On the basis of language Kolams are different from Gonds though they maintain similar social structure. Colonel Mackenzie says that Kolam's family name is similar to Maratha castes and their songs and ballads are borrowed from Marathas. Hiralal suggests that Kolams may be connected to a tribe akin to Todas of Nilgiri who regard Kolamallai as their original home. But Grierson feels that Kolami is close to the language of Naik Gonds of Chanda and therefore may be connected to Naik Gonds (Russel and Hiralal, 1916).⁴³

Historical background of Kolams

There is very little information about the history of Kolams or Gonds who have been the important tribal groups in this region. Though some information is available from the Mughal period with reference to Gonds with whom the Kolams had close contact, practically no information is available about the life of Kolams either in ancient or medieval period. The region where Kolams inhabiting was under the sway of Bhoja Kings whom the epics and Kautilya's Arthashastra of ancient period that locate in the Deccan.⁴⁴ The above areas where Kolams have inhabited were known as Gondwana and Berar in the medieval period and some areas which are now in Adilabad district were under the Kakatiya rulers. There is a clear historical evidence of Gond's rule of the region from 1240 to 1750 A.D. In 1323 A.D Gond kings came under the reign of the Sultan of Delhi Mohammed Bin - Taughlaq (1323 - 1351) who appointed Malik Maqbool as Governor of this region who administered the province from Warangal.⁴⁵ Later it came under the Bahmani rulers who ruled from Bijapur between 1347 and 1527 A.D. Among them Adil Shah (1510 – 1686) was the most popular sultan who renamed the village Edulapuram as Adilabad when it came under the sway of the Bahmani rulers of Bijapur Sultanate.⁴⁶

The Bear area came into the possession of the Mughals in 1596 when they had treaty with the Bahmanis. However, in 1687 A.D. Aurangzeb defeated the Bahmini Sultanate of Bijapur and Qutub Shahi ruler - Abul Hasan Tana Shah of Golkonda and extended his Kingdom merging the Bijapur and Golkonda sultanates. He later on gave the administrative responsibility of the region known as by then Deccan to the Viceroy. Taking advantage of the

⁴³ Russel, R.V and Hiralal, R.B. 1916. Ibid. Op. Cit. Pp. 519-522.

⁴⁴ http://www.nirmalcity.com/adilabad_history.htm?catid=3

⁴⁵ http://www.nirmalcity.com/adilabad_history.htm?catid=3

⁴⁶ Rao (1990:13)

wars, Gond kings attempted to regain their autonomy but failed and since 1724 the area came under the control of Nizam-e-Mulk and consequently by 1774 the Gond kingdoms came under the hands of Asif Jahi rulers. In 1853 the Nizam ceded the Berar to the East India Company, but retained with him the areas of Adilabad. In 1860 the Gonds made a vain attempt of revolt against the British. During the Nizam's rule Adilabad obtained the status of a district in 1905 when the Sub-District of Sirpur-Tandur was upgraded. Till the merger of the Nizam's princely state with the Indian Union in 1948, the Gond and Kolam villages in Berar remained with British, those of south Maharashtra under the Maratha rulers and Adilabad under the Nizam. After Independence, under the states' Reorganization Act 1956, the Maratha speaking areas came under Maharashtra whereas the Telugu speaking areas remained in Adilabad district of Andhra Pradesh.

The above discussion reveals the fact that the Kolam though have not been shown as actively engaged in the prevailing politics they closely associated themselves with the Gonds in their social and cultural life who have been the dominant tribe in the region. The Gond kings maintained relations with the Rajaput kings, Maratha rulers and even the Mughals with emergence of ruling class among the Gonds who became essentially peasants though they practiced hunting and gathering occasionally. They engaged in tax collection and increased revenue following the Rajaput kings and employed same tactics when dealing with Muslim rulers and so on. Gradually non-tribals also entered the hill tracts of the Gonds occupying lands and making merchandise with the tribes. The entry of Kunbi cultivators provided an opportunity for the Gond peasants to learn better farming methods from them. Kolams also along with the Gonds have been in contact with the non-tribal populations quite for some time.

Gonds and Kolams traditionally followed *podu* or shifting cultivation, and in that while the Gonds occupied the foothills, the Kolams occupied the ridges and hill slopes⁴⁷. The practice of shifting cultivation became very disadvantageous for the Gonds as the immigrant Kapus and Kunbis, the non-tribal peasants, occupied the land left fallow by the Gonds for returning to the lands on rotation basis in the shifting cycle at a later date. The non-tribes meanwhile obtained *patta* for these lands and thus Gonds lost their lands to the non-tribes which later

⁴⁷ Rao 1949:80-81

became a struggle to reclaim these lands.⁴⁸ The Kolams got pushed to the hills as the non-tribes occupied the lands at the foothills. Thus the Kolams have not been in isolation, they have had experience of living along with the Gonds and non-tribes often in conflicts but most of the time in harmony. It is believed that Gonds have accepted the Kolams as their *pujaris* for their familiarity with the hills, valleys, and the natural resources, and for their spiritual knowledge of worshiping gods and spirits.⁴⁹ Similar to Brahmins that provided priestly services to the Hindu castes, the Kolams served the Gonds as *pujaris*. Gonds have been the patrons of Kolams and both of them have the same pattern of social structure. No one has so far reported any conflict between Gonds and Kolams anywhere.

Gonds, Kolams and the State

While royal clans of Gonds had direct interaction with the Maratha kings and Muslim rulers, the common Gonds and Kolams had direct interaction with the village Hindu caste peasants, artisanal and service castes in their day to day activities as they lived with them either in the plains or at foothills. At least three Gond kingdoms are said to have existed, which were thrown out by Maratha Peshwas, Raghoji Bhonsle, Deccan Viceroy of Mughals, and later on, they came under the British. The 18th and 19th century witnessed several revolts of tribes in central India against the British, and in the same way with the direct intervention of state's power, the Gonds and Kolams of this region revolted against the Nizam's policy of renting land to the non-tribes, allowing the settlement of non-tribes in the tribal lands, giving away tribal area to the British.

Gonds along with Kolams who could not tolerate the atrocities of the Nizam's forest and police officials and the non-tribes being supported by the police they launched a struggle around 1920 against the Nizam's taxation of tribal land and other atrocities committed on them. Under the leadership of Komram Bhimu, a young Gond, they organized guerilla war against the Nizam in Jodeghat area near Asifabad. In one of the encounters in 1940 the Nizam's police fired at the agitating people for cultivating the forest lands at Babijheri defying the Nizam's Forest Rules. Komram Bhimu was killed along with other 14 of his associates. Kumram Suru of Jodeghat village near Asifabad was a Kolam young man who was an important associate of Komram Bhimu. He was injured in the firing but survived till

⁴⁸ Haimendorf 1981:54-55

⁴⁹ Rao 1990:83-85

1997 and died at Shaikengundi village. Kolams fondly remember Kumram Suru and venerate him by paying homage at the death anniversary organized in October of every year at different places in Adilabad district. Komram Bhimu gave the slogan “*Jal, Jungle Jameen*” (people living in forests should have the complete rights on all the resources of the forest). Thus, for both Gonds and Kolams the forest and land are close to their hearts and these are basic needs for their survival. They were against the Nizam’s largesse allowing the non-tribes to cultivate the lands of the tribes by settling down in the tribal areas.

The Nizam of Hyderabad appointed Prof. C. Von Furer Haimendorf, an anthropologist, as an Advisor on Tribal Affairs to H E H Nizam’s government due to the above mentioned unrest among the tribes. Further, W.V. Grigson was also appointed to deal with the tribal affairs. Thus, the Nizam’s state took sympathetic view of the tribal situation and enacted Tribal Area Regulation 1359 Fasli for protection of tribal lands from the usurpation or encroachment of non-tribes. Accordingly 537 villages were brought under the notified as tribal area wherein the non-tribes were prohibited from assignment of *patta* right in the tribal villages by the revenue officials of the Nizam government. The Agents appointed in the tribal areas were given special powers to protect the tribes from the atrocities committed by the officials or non-tribes. With the merger of the Nizam’s princely state of Hyderabad in Indian Union in 1948 these notified tribal areas as Scheduled Areas (Scheduled Areas Part – B States Order). And again after the formation of Andhra Pradesh under the State Reorganization Act 1956 the Adilabad district was reorganized by excluding the Marathi speaking taluks.

After Independence the tribal areas of Adilabad are included in Tribal Sub-Plan for the development of the scheduled tribes that was launched in 1975 during the Fifth Five Year Plan. At the same time considering the report of the Dhebar Commission (1960-61) that there existed inequality in the rate of development among the tribes, a sub-category called Primitive Tribal Groups was created and Kolam has been included under this category as mentioned above. The Integrated Tribal Development Agency, Utnoor, Adilabad district came to existence on 1st August 1975 providing development plans and implementation of development schemes for the scheduled tribes and the PTGS which are later on renamed as Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups. Thus, the benevolence shown by the Nizam’s state continued even after the independence towards the Kolams and other scheduled tribes, yet the tribes still face several problems, and therefore, yearn for their speedy development at par with others.

As mentioned below the Kolam and Gond habitations of the past as well as the present in Maharashtra and Telangana states have been endowed with rich flora and fauna. The forest has been known as Dandakarnya down the line of history from the hoary past. The British first brought The Madras Forest Act 1882 which was later on extended to the Dandakaranya also. In 1857 the Nizam government created first time the Forest Department and a Forest Policy was announced in 1890 and Forest Act was passed in 1900 and Forest Code was prepared in 1921 and working plan for forest management was implemented since 1938 (Negi, 1994:40). The effective forest management came in place after the formation of Andhra Pradesh. With reference to the relationships of inhabitants of the forest with the forest department of the Nizam government or the present government, Mohan Rao writes,

Forest-tribal relationship in Adilabad district has never been a happy one. This is partly due to increasing pressure of tribals' population on land; partly due to migration of non-tribals into the forested habitat of the tribal and the history of neglect in demarking the Reserve Forest boundaries (1990:20).

Despite the government efforts to create harmony between tribal inhabitants and forest officials by innovative schemes like Joint Forest Management, Community Forest Management etc., tribes often enter into conflicts with the officials. Even the Forest and Government Policies do not go entirely in the interest of the tribes, for example, allotment of forest lands to industries, establishment of sanctuaries, and mining industries have caused displacement of tribal hamlets and improper resettlement and rehabilitation resulting in untold miseries to the tribes. In the present case establishment of Kawal Wildlife Sanctuary in 1965,⁵⁰ and Singareni Collieries Company Limited, Goleti, in Adilabad in 2007 have affected the life of Kolams. The tribes have always been experiencing the domination of the state and its agents and they could hardly resist these forces.⁵¹

Physical features and dress pattern

The Kolams are dark brown in complexion having a short stature. It is said that earlier they had very scanty dress, which consisted of a piece of cloth around the waist. But now men

⁵⁰ See Mallavarapu, and Bikku (2013) Tiger Reserve in Kawal Wildlife Sanctuary: Issues and Concerns. *International Journal of Innovative Research & Practice (IJIRP)*: 19-32.

⁵¹ See for details Reddy, Anil Kumar, P T. Rao and Springate-Baginski (2010) *The Making of Andhra's Forest Underclass: An Historical Institutional Analysis of Forest Rights Deprivations*. IPPG Discussion Papers available at www.ippg.org.uk.

wear pant and shirt and the dress of an old man consists of a *dhoti* tied at the waist and extended up to the knees, shirt and turban, and this represents the traditional dress. Women wear *saree* that covers the body up to the knees and they wear blouse also. They tie half the *saree* at the waist with one end and the other end is taken between the two legs and tucked at the back, while the second end is put on the left shoulder. The traditional dress is seen among the Kolams on the festivals and other ceremonies. The traditional ornaments like *kada* (wrist bracelet), *kantay* (neck locket), *kalkadia* (anklets), *mangatikadia* (bangles), *mollpatti* (waist belt), *kammal* and *ungeralu* (ear rings), *mukkutarpa* or *mukku puduka* (nose ring) hair band (*peta*), toes ring (*ungeram*), bangles (*kharian*), finger rings (*ungeram*) etc., are quite common among the old Kolami women and men. There is a change among the Kolami youth these days in the clothing pattern. It is observed that the male youth have changed their style by imitating the fashion of non-tribals or film actors and actress. The young men wear jeans, t-shirts, pants, shirts and shoes while young girls wear frocks, modern *chudidars* nighty and other ornaments which are fashions of the day. They purchase new clothes once or twice in a year in the Asifabad market. They also go to the nearby town for purchasing goods and for watching movies. Certainly, this is an impact of modernity on Kolams' life style.

Food

Food habits of the Kolams have been changed. They used to collect different kinds of edible roots, fruits and tubers from the forest. When they do not have access to go out of the village to buy food stuff from nearby town during rainy season they used to eat *ippa puvvu* as supplementary diet. While some continued to grow *jowar* grains others are raising paddy wherever it is possible. Most of the families are purchasing rice from the market that has replaced the traditional *jowar*. Kolams eat vegetarian as well as non-vegetarian food. Their staple food consists of *jowar*, *roti* (*nippette*), dal and rice. They prepare curries with different vegetables⁵². On the festivals and other occasions they prepare different varieties of food like *garellu*, sweets items prepared with jaggery. They eat meat of chicken, goat, pig, buffalo, beef, wild boar, rabbit and other animals and birds including fish and crab. They used to eat all kinds of seasonal fruits and edible roots available to them but now they are not getting them from the forest. The Kolams are fond of taking black decoction of tea. After a day's work the men usually consume alcohol which is available in the village or outside the village.

⁵² Rao (134-136) notes seven varieties of roots and tubers, 16 varieties of fruits and nine varieties of leaves and flowers.

However, drinking alcohol, smoking beedi, chewing of tobacco and *gutka* is very common among the Kolam men. Both men and women have it at the time of rituals and festivals. Generally, they do not take nutritious food and the old people can't live without taking alcohol regularly.

Language

The Kolams have their own language known as Kolami (*kolavagotti*) which is similar to Gondi. The Kolams when speaking with the Pardhans or the Gonds talk in Gondi language. These are classed under Dravidian family of languages. The Kolams can also speak Telugu with the non-tribals of the locality. But majority of the Kolami women are not familiar with Telugu. The Telugu people call the Kolams *mannellu* which means people living in the forest and hilly areas.

Origin story of the Kolams

There was a war between Kauravas and Pandavas in the puranic story of Mahabharata. The Pandavas went for *vanavasam* (banished for forest dwelling) and they were terribly tired after a long journey. The members of the group pleaded with Bhima to get some water to quench thirst. He then went to the nearby place to get some water for them. The Hiranyakashipu who is known as demon king came to know about the arrival of the Pandavas. He had been ruling over the forest for many years so he could not accept their entry into the forest without his permission. So, he decided to drive out the Pandavas from the forest. He assigned that task to his sister Hidimbi. On the way, she saw Bhima and fell in love with him and requested him to marry her. Bhima told her that she was a *vanakanya* (tribal girl) so he could not marry her. Thereafter, some conversation went on between them for some time. Since she didn't return home soon, Hiranyakashipu came out in search of her. The moment he went out to find her, there he saw Bhima and Hidimbi talking to each other. He became furious with his sister as she didn't carry out the work assigned to her. He scared or frightened her that he would kill her also along with Bhima. Then Bhima interfered and quarreled with Hiranyakashipu and challenged to kill him first before killing Hidimbi. Then there was a big fight between Bhima and Hiranyakashipu. The Pandavas who were taking rest rushed to the spot hearing the sounds of fighting. Arjuna who was one of the brothers among the *panch* (5) Pandavas gave some power to Bhima. He then lifted the adjacent mountain to hit him by keeping on the head of Hiranyakashipu. Though the fight was over Hidimbi didn't

get any response from Bhima, so, she approached Bhima's mother Kunthidevi, and explained to her about the affair with Bhima and pleaded with her to accept her marriage with Bhima. Then the latter gave consent to her son for the marriage. Bhima agreed for the marriage with Hidimbi on certain conditions, that he would stay with her till the birth of the first child and after that he would go back to Hasthinapur. Hidimbi agreed to this condition and they got married. Later on, she gave birth to Ghatotkacha. When Bhimma was about to leave for Hasthinapur, he met his wife, and said, "Whenever there is any need or help you remember me and I will be in front of you". He then left for Hasthinapur with his brothers. Hidimbi took care of her child and continued her life staying in the forest. The tribals claim Ghatotkacha is the progenitor or ancestor of the tribal community. The Kolams narrate some other versions the mythological story asserting their claim of descence from Bhima who is the supreme god for them.

Kolams call themselves as Kolavar which is derived from the term *kola* which means bamboo in Kolami. Kolavar means those who make bamboo baskets. The Kolams make baskets, thatches and winnowing fans with bamboo. The name Kolam is given by outsiders but they identify themselves as *Kolavar*. Although agriculture constitutes the major economic activity of the Kolams, a few other non-agriculture activities like basket making, thatch making, and collection of Minor Forest Produce (MFP) include their economic activities. Therefore, working on bamboo which is not practiced by other tribes gives them a distinct identity. It also suggests that perhaps there has been an occupational shift from the original occupation of bamboo making to agriculture over a period of time.

Inter-tribal Relations

The Gonds usually refer Kolams as *pujaris* (priests). Kolam claim that they were the original inhabitants of the area and their ancestors were priests to Gonds. Kolams and Raj Gonds who enjoyed equal social status if not higher and maintain communal relations. It is significant to note that four tribe's viz., Gonds, Kolams, Pardhans and Thotis, have been maintaining symbiotic relations among themselves since time immemorial, and possessing identical clan systems and associated practices. The Gonds occupy important position among these tribal groups as they belonged to ruling class in the past. And the Pardhans and Thotis are traditional bards to Gonds. Kolams are considered as priests in view of their special skills in divination and the propitiation of local deities (Rao: 1990). Though each tribe has its own

distinct language and social organization they are interdependent in religion and economy. Thotis are the lowest in social hierarchy, a sort of untouchables for the rest. Thus, a prototype of caste system is found among these tribes.

Despite the difference in language, and economic status, Kolams and Gonds consider themselves related communities. Kolam eat freely in the houses of Gonds and many Gonds partake without hesitation in the feasts of the Kolam. With others, Kolams adopt a stricter view and emphasise their superior position, and, therefore, do not share food. Indeed the Gond tradition tells that at least one particular Kolam clan owes its origin to the chance encounter of a legendary Gond Raja with a Kolam maid (Haimendorf: 1979). Pardhan play musical instruments during marriage and death rituals of Gonds and Kolams. Kolams also assign them a low status. They are paid some money at the time of rituals. Thoti tell stories by playing a musical instrument called *kinkiri* at the time of death ritual. Once a year or for every five years there is a death ceremony called *munthal* which is part of past funeral rituals. Thoti community plays an important role in this event and they are paid some cash for telling the stories. Kolams serve them food and water from a distance. A Kolam does not enter the house of Thoti or Pardhan and they don't eat food in their houses.

Inter-ethnic relationships

The Kolams take help from other communities whenever it is required. They need *warna* (rope which is used to tie the oxen), *dhothellu* and *chappal* etc., from the Madiga community, so Kolams approach them whenever these items are required. In the past, they practised barter system, and used to get these items in advance from Madiga community and in return they paid *jowar* or maize grains once they got harvest. The Kolams treat Mala and Madiga as low castes and do not enter their houses. They are not allowed inside their houses but allowed to sit outside the houses.

In the past, pottery was extensively used for water collection and storage, cooking, storing grains etc., Hence they depended on potter caste for pots. They also depended on carpenter and black smith for different types of items like *mullu katte*, *kodavali*, *palugu* and *karru*. Kolams used to get these items in advance and in return they used to give *jowar* or maize grains once a year at the harvest. Kolams depend on barber community at the time of death as they have to give a hair cut in a ritual.

Settlement pattern

Generally, the Kolams habitations are situated in the interior forest and thus they are relatively isolated. According to Haimendorf (1982: 52) the Kolams were probably the original population in Adilabad area. In 1940 he writes, in one site there were not more than 12 small houses, and the families cultivated small patches of land by slash and burn method using very primitive technology and they shifted their houses as they shifted cultivating their land. Often only two or three houses were scattered as a cluster over the hills at points convenient for *podu* cultivation, and this situation prevailed before reservation of forest (1982: 85). As of now a Kolam village consists of about 72 houses.

They believe that the village is guarded by their deities and all these deities protect them from the entry of evil spirits that attack humans and their cattle and cause illness and misfortunes to the residents and occurrence of natural disasters. There will be more discussions later on this subject. These deities are pacified every year by sacrificing a goat or chicken. They are housed at the entrance of the village. At the centre of the village which is called *chavdi*, there is a shrine of Burri (*Nadidamma*) goddess who is symbolized by few stones. They leave some space around the *chavdi* for conducting different gatherings. Every Kolam village has *ooru kattu* which is considered the village boundary.

Dwelling

They construct their houses around *chavdi* in rows or circles. During construction or foundation of the house, first the Kolams perform a *puja* at the *sankradi mulla* or *dayyalla mula* which is the north-eastern corner of the house and dig a pit to fix a wooden post. Then a small amount of *jowar*, dried turmeric rhizome and *jeedi ginja* (*semecarpus anacardium*) are put in a white cloth and tied to the centre of the wooden post. This wooden post is erected placing it in the pit. Then they put one rupee coin and *dari belly* (mixture of sugar and green gram pulses) in the pit and later it is covered with sand. They light perfume sticks, apply vermilion and turmeric powder to the wooden post. They break a coconut while erecting the wooden post in the pit. The main entrance of house is called *thalli boyeda* (*simha dwaram*) whereas the exit of the house is called as *dhoonga boyeda*. The hall is called as *osara* which is used for visitors and guests and also for sleeping. Next to this place is *dayyalla mula*, it is the place where the pictures of gods and goddesses are kept at the corner. The stones on which the utensils are placed for cooking the food are called as *phokoonllu*. This is called as

gondi which is exclusively used for cooking. The items like grinding stones (*esuru rai/sowli*), and pestle (roll/thirga) are placed at one corner of the house. There is a place adjacent to the exit of the house called *mala mulla* which is a corner of the house towards the west, where women stay during the menstrual cycle of three days as they are polluted.

Kolams serve the polluted woman in separate plate and glass; she is not allowed to walk in the house during the period. The clothes and utensils used by her are put at the corner of the area. On the fourth day she takes bath at *malabodi*, washes the clothes in the nearby stream and returns home and thus becomes free from pollution. Upon her return she is given coconut oil which she applies to her body, and again it is cleaned with the water. The clothes after washing should be dried under the sun on the earth. The utensils and clothes used by her are kept at one corner of the house for one or two more days. They are again washed and kept along with other garments. The place where the women stayed is cleaned and plastered with the cow dung after completion of the pollution period.

Kolams construct houses with a variety of wood but mostly with bamboo and other locally available materials in the forest. The houses are constructed in such a way that the habitat can adjust itself to different geographical and climatic conditions. They have their own way and also have particular meaning for constructing the houses. The houses are constructed next to one another in a line forming parallel rows facing each other in a narrow street. The housing pattern varies with each house, but the most commonly every house has two rooms a kitchen, and a *pandal* (*pandiri*) or porch in front of the house. They use dried Palmyra leaves for roofing the house and also for the *pandal*, and the walls are made of the traditional houses of Kolams used to be circular. But now they are rectangular or square with one or two rooms having a living space in the middle, which is used conducting rituals and ceremonies.

The adults go for defecation in the forest while the children of below 5-8 years ease themselves adjacent to the house. Everywhere, in the village one can notice clothes and utensils are kept outside in front of the house. Waste water is found everywhere and there is a chance for mosquitoes to breed that cause malaria. The government has introduced schemes of *pucca* houses and some of them are now building *pucca* houses of their own with the support of the government.

In some Kolam villages there are open wells, but they also use streams and ponds for drinking water and washing clothes. Sometime, if there are any heavy rains some villages

also get marooned of the water. Then they also face transport problems to get out of the village. There are several Kolam habitations in the district which are not connected by road. They walk down to the bus point or availability of transport by three wheelers to visit big village or town for market purpose. Generally, the Kolams live separately from the other neighboring villages. But often they do live in a cluster close to a multi-ethnic village as a part of the village. Since most of the villages are situated in the interior areas the modern facilities are not yet reached them.

Social Structure

The Kolam society is divided into four sections which they call as *kher*⁵³ which are equated with phratries (Rao 1990: 99-103). The phratries among the Kolams are based on the number of gods that they worship: *nail dayalkher* (worshippers of four gods), *idu dayalkher* (worshippers of five gods), *aru dayalkher* (worshippers of six gods) and *yedu dayalkher* (worshippers of seven gods). These are known by named clans such as Athram, Kodapa (*aru dayalkher*), Tekkam (*nail dayalkher*), Madavi (*edu dayalkher*) and Kumram (*eidu dayalkher*). The names are used as surnames and marriage is prohibited within group and marriage within the same phratry is incestuous.

Each of the clans has several surnames. For example, in Madavi clan the surnames include Khandadar, Tiryankar, and Jheriya etc. However, there is one clan called Kudmetha or Visurigundi where if men from Kudmetha clan bring any women from the other clans of other *kher* by force, the latter don't ask or complain against the *Kudmetha* clan. She is left with that clan only and her clan members don't bring that woman back to their clan from the *Kudmetha* clan. They don't even take any fine from the *Kudimetha* clan. The land belongs to the *Kudmetha* clan is not used or leased in by the other clans of the *kher*. Suppose, the other clans give land or lease out to *Kudmetha* clan, they won't ask that land again from them. It is left to that clan permanently. They don't even purchase the land from them. They are considered as lower in the hierarchy so they are given exception in any case. The clans are totemic and observe taboo with certain species. For example Madavi do not kill or eat a fish called Ched. Tiger is the totem of Kumra and Tortoise is totem for Tekkam (Rao: 102-103). Kolam marry cross-cousins, and practice polygyny, usually two women in a man's life at a time, and levirate also. In cross-cousin marriage father's sister's daughter is avoided.

⁵³ Devgaonakar and Devgaonkar-Baxi (2003:15) report another phratry with two and half phratry in Yavatmal district of Maharashtra state. The phratries are called *kulgat*.

Livelihoods

Basically Kolams depend on agriculture, wage labour and bamboo weaving. Geographically, the Kolams in Maharashtra are agriculturists and wage earners while those in Adilabad are bamboo weavers; the latter are called 'Burud' Kolam, *burud* in Marathi means bamboo and the agriculturists are Bhil Kolam and these rarely intermarry though there are no cultural differences between the two.⁵⁴ In Adilabad district though there is a substantial number of families of bamboo weaving families, there are also agriculturists. The Kolams appear to have been originally food gathering and hunting for their livelihood. They used to depend on their habitat for food and also for constructing their houses. Forest is not only their livelihood but also they worship it. They used to collect minor forest produce whenever they found time or during seasons. Women engaged more in collecting the forest produce than the men and included edible roots and fruits in different seasons available in the forest. With bamboo they make baskets, grain bins and wattles, winnowing fans, shades of shapes and sizes. They give up bamboo weaving if they do not find bamboo near the habitation and adopt wage labour.

With the passage of time, they adapted shifting cultivation and then became the settled agriculturalist. Athram Bheem Rao (38) said that earlier, the state government helped the Kolams in many ways for the settled agriculture. The government gave rights over lands in the forest and were provided with bullocks on subsidy through variety of sources. This might be one of the reasons for their permanent settlement. Their contacts with the other surrounding tribes especially Gonds has also brought many changes in the cultivation methods and the usage of agricultural implements.

They used different techniques and methods for cultivation though there was no water facility; they had to depend on rainfall. The major crops grown were paddy, maize, *jowar* and cotton etc. All the family members and relatives help each other and take part together in the agricultural activities. Asifabad town was the main marketing centre for the Kolams. Cotton is one of the major crops which fetch cash among the other crops. The yield of the crop depends upon the land and the rainfall. Kolams do not worry about the investment on agriculture because they take help of their relatives during the agricultural activities. Generally, they preserve the seeds for the next year. If they do not have the seeds, they borrow cash from the moneylenders to buy the seeds in the market and it is returned after the

⁵⁴ Kumar (2006:284-285)

harvest. Kolams are also known for herbal treatment and magico-religious healing practices. Gonds and other tribal communities obtain the services of Kolams in this regard.

The wage labour includes construction of houses, road laying, digging, etc., within or outside the village or nearby town. It is individual employment some men and woman have become casual workers. They seek wage employment in the absence of agriculture and bamboo available. In fact since the availability of bamboo has been declined greatly in the recent past and they depend on the wage labour during the off season of agriculture.

Life cycle rituals

Elements of ritual process: The following is a description of various activities that are invariably undertaken in any religious ritual or ceremony. These are repeated without any change in contents and each of the activities is identified as an element of the ritual as a phoneme in linguistic structure. Each of the elements is endowed with certain symbolic action which is meaningful to the actors, and a violation of this invites the wrath of the deity.

Punnji: The priest Dhelak/Khatodak first initiates any *puja* by offering incense (*dhoop*) to the deity by adding camphor on the hot charcoals. The *sooryak-daryak* stand in a semi-circle or a line in front of the deity after washing their hands and legs and wear turban to their heads. The priest prays to the deity silently and then takes the blessings by touching the ground. Then he sprinkles water on the people who are standing in the line as mentioned above and goes to each person with the censer. When they take the offerings of the incense, the priest placed it in front of the deity and then takes two hands full of rice or *jowar* flour from a bowl and shows it to the incense and then it is poured again in the same bowl. The same is repeated for five times and the sixth time he takes two hands full of rice or *jowar* flour and pours little amount in the hands of *sooryak-daryak* and others who are standing in the line. Then the priest joins with them and pray to the deity silently. All of them take the blessings by touching the mother earth with their head while squatting on the ground. Then the priest collects the rice or *jowar* flour from every one and pours the same in the same bowl. This is followed by greeting of each other saying *ram-ram* and they get dispersed from the place. Then the priest draws a design called *pattu* with the rice or *jowar* flour in front of the deity and also in the name of deity. The design is drawn in squares. The left over rice or *jowar* flour is mixed with the remaining rice or *jowar* and prepare *naivedyam*.

Naivedyam, Owth and Prasadam: *Naivedyam* includes different items of food offered to the deity. After cooking rice or *jowar* collected during the *punnji* a small amount of food is separated and made into round balls. Liver of the animal or bird sacrificed which is burnt on charcoal is brought to the site. Then other snacks and eatables prepared at the house of Patel or priests or villager's house are also brought. This collectivity of food offered to the deity is called *naivedyam*. However, the *naivedyam* is distributed on few *modugu* leaves, each leaf containing a small portion of cooked food, liver and snacks. After the worship of the deity the *modugu* leaves containing the *naivedyam* are distributed to the *sooryak-daryak* standing in the line and this is called *owth* or *prasadam*.

Seeg yeer: The water which is brought from a nearby well or bore well before no one draws the water from the source is called *seeg yeer*.

Dari belly: It is the mixture of sugar and green gram pulses. It is offered along with *naivedyam*. It is often sprinkled during the ritual process. Those who possess and go in trance also throw up *dari belly* into the air.

Saysa: This is the contribution of residents of the villages it includes rice, *jowar* flour, *dari belly*, oil, salt and chilli etc., which are necessary items for organizing any ritual by the Kolams. These are brought in a white cloth. However, the households where women are in menstrual pollution do not contribute *saysa*.

Pathi : The priest, elders, *sooryak-daryak* when sit in a circle in front of the *puja* after offering *naivedyam* to the deity they are served with the *naivedyam* put on the *modugu* leaves at the deity. This is called as *pathi*. At least, one member from each clan of the village has to participate in the *pathi*. Afterwards they are also served with the non-vegetarian food. When they had food a person goes to *sooryak-daryak* with water and an empty bowl for washing their hands. Then the water is poured at a distance where people don't walk. Then they stand up and take the offering of incense sticks and a pinch of turmeric powder which is applied to their foreheads. Then they greet each other saying *ram-ram*. Women are not allowed to participate in the *pathi*. In some *pathis* strangers are not allowed to participate.

Panigellu: It is a cake prepared with the *jowar* or maize flour. First the *jowar* or maize paste is put in one palm and it is pressed hard between the palms. Then it is placed between two *modugu* leaves and burnt on the fire for which dried cow dung cakes are used.

Bentil or bentilekad: It is a stylized embrace that takes place among men and women separately and cross-sex, when there is a huge gathering in the village at the time of Dandari or Bhimanna *puja*. In this process both the members bend their bodies left and right side while greeting each other and salute each other by saying *ram-ram* and then touch each other's feet. First it is done among the men and then it is followed by women. However, if the woman who is related to a man as sister in any means, she does not touch the feet of that person. She is also forbidden to touch the feet of elder brother-in-law. She wishes him saying *ram-ram* from a distance by touching the mother earth. It is because the bride receiver is superior to bride giver in marriage.

Sacrifice: Kolams propitiate or appease their deities by sacrificing cock, hen, goat, sheep, buffalo, cow, ox, calf and pig. The elders decide the animal or bird to be sacrificed on each ritual and ceremony. They follow different procedure before sacrificing the animal or bird for the deities.

Fowl: First the hen or cock is brought in front of the *pattu*; the priest applies water and vermilion to the forehead of the hen. Then the hen is allowed to eat the rice grains of the *pattu*. If it eats, they believe that the deity has accepted their offering and then it is decapitated.

Goat: The priest applies a mixture of turmeric and saffron powder to the forehead and forelegs. He then sprinkles some water on the goat. If the goat nods its head and also shakes the entire body shedding the water off then it is understood that the deity has accepted the offering and has given permission to sacrifice the goat. If the goat does not nod its head, it implies that the deity is not pleased with the offering. In such a case they replace it with the other goat.

Pig/cow/calf: The priest first sprinkle water on the forehead and applies turmeric or *gulval* (pink) color to it. Then he mixes the *jowar* powder and water; it is then put before the pig or cow or calf on a *modugu* leaf. If the animal eats the *jowar* paste then it is decapitated.

Priests: There are two priests: Dhelak and Khatodak. As the former performs all the village rituals and ceremonies, the latter attends to all rituals of Bhimanna *puja*. Both the positions are inherited.

Suryak-daryak: who are equivalent as brother-in-laws and who are also considered as fathers-in-laws and sons-in-law.

Gajj: Gajj is the symbolic representation of Bhimayyak. There are seven Gajj of Bhimayyak in the temple at the Dhantanpally. Each Gajj's carved out of a log of three feet length in rectangular shape with four sides. As the top a tuft of peacock feathers is arranged as crown, the bottom is chiseled into a small handle which is covered by brass plate such that the Gajj can be fixed on the ground. A band of brass small jingle bells is tied in the middle. Above the handle there is a brass plate that covers all the side on which is engraved sun and moon, animals, men and woman.

Abhisekam to god: *Abhisekam* is a ritual which may be treated as anointment and this is carried out at the time of Bhimayyak *puja* or *jathara*. The priest Khatodak first collects the *sesame* and turmeric powder from the villagers. He then mixes the *sesame* oil⁵⁵ with the turmeric powder and applies the same to every Gajj by dipping it in cotton. He also applies the oil to the brass horses and other sacred symbols which are kept besides the Gajj. This process is carried on with the musical beats of *dhol* and *nagara*.

Water dara: It is a sign of welcoming and send off.

Trance and Possession: In almost all rituals of Kolam, some people get possessed of deities who go in trance. Usually, while incense is offered to god while *dhol* and *nagara* are played, men and women who are standing in front of the god or nearby automatically get into trance. In every village among those who get possessed one man is identified as the chief of those who get into trance, he is called *supari*. Those possessed by gods start shirking, shivering and shaking their body and head violently, and even fall down on the ground and roll around. After a while, they stand up and walk in front of the god to take the *zanverol*⁵⁶ and *nevari*⁵⁷ and tie to their bodies. A person who is not in trance stands aside holding turmeric powder in one hand and *dari belly* in the other. The people who are in trance take a little amount of turmeric and *dari belly* and throw up in the air. The *sattllu*⁵⁸ are distributed to the men who are standing there and they wear turban to their heads and form a circle. Now, the musicians

⁵⁵ It is extracted from traditional milling (see Plate 39.)

⁵⁶ A band made of brass musical bells which are tied around body.

⁵⁷ Brass anklet with bracelet and jingle bells.

⁵⁸ Whip or *koradaa*, a musical bell is tied at the end of it for holding.

also put on turban, and play three different varieties of musical beats. One variety is played in the name of the Bhimanna god and others in the name of goddess Pochamma and ancestors respectively. The people who are in trance stand in the centre of the circle and each one of them goes to the one standing in the circle holding *satt* and receive the *satt* beats by stretching out the right hand in the name of the deities by saying *kho-kho*. Then they are given *beedi* (to smoke) and walking sticks of ancestors when musical beats are played in the name of the ancestors. Once again they receive the *sattlu* and greet each with *bentil*. Those who used the *sattlu* take the blessings from those who went in trance by touching their feet or the mother earth. Then the people who are in trance surrender falling on the ground in front of the god. Then the elder of the village surround them and ask different questions related to season, rainfall, crops grown and profits etc. The *supari* responds to each and every question and also gives solution for different problems by holding a *satt* in his hand. Then he comes out from the trance after answering the questions. The materials like *zanverol*, *nevari* and *sattllu* are placed again next to the god. The people who were in trance greet every one by saying *ram-ram* and get disperse.

Allupattadam: It is one of the traditional methods where the priest or Supari asks the god to find out the solution for a problem. There are different methods to find out the cause for a problem using these traditional techniques which are explained in the glossary.

Pattu: It is a design drawn with the rice or *jowar* flour in the name of the deities. It is also drawn with the vermilion, turmeric and other powders. The *pattu* drawn is not fixed, it varies depending upon the deities worshipped and the Kolams were unable to explain the importance of the *pattu*.

Pregnancy and child birth

The first delivery normally takes place at the parents' home. There are some elderly women in the village who assist the pregnant woman at the time of delivery. They are called *dai* or *manthrasani* or *manthrasanulu*. Two or three of them join in the delivery that takes place at the *mala mula* in the house. In the past, when the hospital was not accessible and transport facilities were unavailable the Kolams had no option but to have delivery at home. But now-a-days people go to the hospitals located in the nearby towns if the *manthrasanullu* cannot handle the case. However, 70 percent of the Kolams prefer home delivery.

The pollution is observed for eight days, so all these days the mother has to take bath at the same place called *malabodi*. Later the *manthrasani* also takes bath in the same house. After taking bath they are given coconut oil which is applied to their head and body. Again it is cleaned with water. Later *suryak-daryak* performs purification by sprinkling water and cow urine and sacrifice of hen. When the mother, infant and *manthrasani* go out of the house they sacrifice a hen and apply the blood of the hen to the forehead of the new mother and *manthrasani*. They also sprinkles cow urine on them and invite them inside the house. There is *dhivalolak* ceremony on the same day or next day. The pregnant woman is served with light food like gruel (*ambali*) and it is continued for few days. Later on, she is served with the usual food (which is prepared without oil and chilli powder) but no special dishe is served to her. The mixture of garlic, ginger and pepper paste is also given to her.

The family members light an earthen lamp at the *dayyala mula* and prepare boiled red gram and rice called *kundi ambel*. The cooked rice and red gram powder is mixed and distributed to the women in *modugu leaves*. The mother comes out of the house by placing a lightened lamp on rice in a winnowing fan. The other women accompany her by holding the other winnowing fan which contains coconut, sesame, jaggery and puffed rice. She shows the lightened lamp to all the members who are sitting outside the house and then the lamp is given to one of the elderly men who is sitting in the group. This lightened lamp symbolizes birth of a child the elder places the lamp at one corner outside the house. He then offers a little *prasadam* to the god on behalf of the child. Then the remaining *prasadam* left in the winnowing fan is mixed with rice and distributed to all the people in *modugu leaves*. Then everyone eats the food and returns to their houses.

Naming ceremony (*peryedekad*)

Kolams believe that the soul of a dead persons or ancestors rests in heaven and comes back to earth through rebirth. The man, who acts as *supari* or the priest, Dhelak, is called to the house requested to name the child. He asks the god by performing *allu pattadam* and suggests the parents the name of their ancestor or god or goddess to name the child as revealed to him in *allu*. Generally, children are named after their ancestors. On an auspicious day they christen the child generally in a ceremony called *peryedekad* which is arranged on the fifth or eighth day after the child's birth. The family members may suggest alternative names. For instance, if the grandfather's name is given to the child, the child's mother cannot use his name. So, in

such case they call the child with other name. Kolami typical names are: Bhimu, Pavuga, Gangu, Maru for males and Paggubai, Pochubai, Chinnubai for females. The elder person in the family or the priest first calls the child with that name, and from that day onwards the family members start calling the child with that name.

Tonsure ceremony (*gosikdimpekad/thalunkirekad*)

The parents pray or make a promise, usually in case the woman remained childless for a long time or she has experienced serial mis-carriages or still births, to the god Bhimanna that if they are given a child, the hairs of child will be offered to the god after the child's birth. They may also make such owe with other gods, visit the temples and offer prayers to them for blessing with a child. When the wish is fulfilled they name the child after this god. The hair cut ceremony is organized when the child is two or three months old in the name of god or goddess. The maternal uncle sits on a white cloth spread on the floor, and holds the child on his lap, keeping its face to the east, and cuts locks of the child for five times. The barber presents at the temple shaves the remaining hair. He is paid cash for his service. Then all the family members take head bath in the pond of the temple and offer prayer to the god and goddess. The child's parents present new clothes to the maternal uncle, priest and other elders in the family. They perform *puja* at the temple by sacrificing a hen or goat to the god or goddess. All those gathered on the occasion enjoy the non-vegetarian food arranged by the parents and return to their homes. The child's parents present a cock or hen to the maternal uncle as a payment (*katnam*). Some Kolams will have the tonsure and naming ceremony on the same day by inviting all their relatives and friends. Those who attend the ceremony put vermilion on the child's forehead and present some money to the child. The parents of the child also give presents to their near relatives with new clothes.

Puberty

When a girl observes the menses for the first time, she informs her mother first or any other female members of the family. The Kolams consider her being in a state of pollution; if she menstruates outside the village it is believed that it is a good sign for the family as well as for the village. In reverse if it happens at home or inside the village it is a bad sign for the family as well as the village. There is a difference in the offerings made to god and goddess when it takes place within the village and outside the village. Then the village members do not visit the Bhimanna temple till they perform *shudhi* in the village as it is *ooru muttu*. Similarly, if

the pollution takes place outside the *ooru kattu* the deities outside the village are performed of *shudhi* with cow urine. The girl in pollution has to stay outside the *ooru kattu* till the period of pollution gets completed. In the past if the girl attained puberty at home the cooking bowls, winnowing fan and spoons were thrown out of the house. But now the elders have found some trees for the removal of such pollution. The leaves of these trees are mixed with cow urine and sprinkled in the house and also in the village with the branch of *ahre* tree. The head of the household when informs some of the elders in the village, one of the two *suryak-daryak* visits the house and perform the *shudhi* in the village by sprinkling water and cow urine and latter on both of them do the same on every house. Two chicks, black and white, are sacrificed in front of the Burri deity. The blood drops of the chicks are mixed in the cow urine and they perform purification ritual at Burri deity by sprinkling with *ahre chettu* branches. They also visit the shrines of Pochamma, Mundel and Gabureg deities which are outside the village and perform purification rituals. Then the girl is taken out of the village followed by her mother by sprinkling the cow dung water with *ahre chettu* branches. A small hut is built for her outside the *ooru kattu* with thatches and bamboos. She then stays inside the hut in the company of elderly women of the village. Some elderly women from the village bring some *jowar* food for her, and serve her on *modugu* leaves. She has to stay in the hut for one night and the next day she is taken to the home. The next day they perform the ritual called *kardhatipekad*.

The priest first cleans the area adjacent to the hut and sprinkles water on the selected place. He prays to deities and performs a ritual and then pours *pattu* and sacrifices a hen. After that she proceeds to dismantle the hut. The priest purifies each and every deity with water and cow urine. An elderly woman gives bath to the girl at some distance away from the village. After giving bath she is given coconut oil and water. She applies it to her body; then again she washes herself with water. Then the girl is taken home, and the girl's family arranges food for all the villagers.

Engagement - ritual of *chai-pani*

The Kolams arrange marriage for the girl around eighteen years and for the boy around twenty one years. They practice serial monogamy, polygyny, and levirate. Though cross-cousin marriage, mother's brother son/daughter is found, the marriage of father's sister's son/daughter is rare. As mentioned above, the positive marriage rule is that one can marry

from any phratry, they avoid a marriage that makes the couple in brother or sister relation or father's sister's children or father's sister.⁵⁹

Generally, marriage proposal goes from the boy's side. Once the parents find a suitable person they try to know the opinion of the members of family through their friends and relatives. When the girl's family is willing to entertain the marriage proposal the mediator passes on this news to the boy's parents. When both the parties are interested in the match the boy's parents first visit the girls' house on an auspicious day.

The boy's parents while starting from the village look for signs till they reach the bride's house. When the good signs are sighted they proceed or else they postpone the visit for some other day. They directly go to the girl's house; her family arranges food and lodging for them. Then the boy's parents may visit their relatives in the village if there are any and inform them about their purpose of coming to the village. On the next day, in the morning after having food while leaving the village the boy's parents disclose the purpose of visiting their house. If the girl's parents reply that they don't have any objection to give their daughter in marriage if they have approached them with the sight of good signs. The boy's parents return home after knowing the opinion of the girl's parents. After returning home they inform the elders of the village. The girl's parents also take the opinion of the elders of their village. The elders of the respective villages sit and discuss the chances or probability of giving girl or taking from or to that particular clan and village. They also look into the past events if they had any unpleasant experiences with members of that village. Generally, they won't prefer match with some clans and village if they had any bitter experiences in the past. The village elders look into these issues before finalizing their decision. If the village elders also agree with the proposal the elders of the boy's village fix an auspicious day for the next visit of elders of the boy's village. Once the date is fixed by the boy's party then the girl's parents are informed. Then the girl's parents inform about the suitability of that particular day by taking consent of the elders in the village. On that particular day, the elders from the boy's side go to the bride's house to engage themselves in *chai-pani*.

The boy's family members prepare *panigellu* with the *jowar* powder and serve to the elder's on *modugu* leaves. Then, the elders eat food at the boy's house before they set out to the girl's house. The bridegroom's parents and village elders accompanied by their wives follow and

⁵⁹ The Dravidian kinship divided the relatives into marriageable and non-marriageable, but here some of the marriageable are not married according to this positive rule.

observe the signs till they reach the bride's house. They carry with them the *kolla*, bamboo staffs, according to the number of deities of the clans. At least one of these staffs is held by the head of the household or any other elder from the clan. Then, he has to lead the procession by holding the bamboo staff in his hand. Also they carry with them *rotis* equal to the number of the deities of their clan, *jowar*, sugar, tea powder, *beedi*, soump and *bagallu* etc., in a white cloth, what is together called *sidori*.

When they reach the house of the girl, after cordial welcome and customary offering of water to wash feet and face, and making arrangements for relaxing, the girl's family offers *beedis* to the guests to smoke and serve tea. By then the girl's family would have already informed their relatives that on so and so date the boy's parents would be visiting with the *sidori*. Now they invite them to participate in *chai-pani*. Actual business begins after the exchange of pleasantries between the elders of both the parties who are called as *panchullu*. The initial general small talk about crops and village affairs leads slowly to the marriage talk. The elders of the girl's side get confirmation from the boy's elders through the signs that they have encountered on their way of coming to the village. When they are satisfied with the signs, the elders from both the groups ask parents of the boy and girl whether they are interested in the alliance. When both the groups agree for the alliance then they give their approval. Then there will be some casual and jovial conversation between the elders of both the groups.

The items brought from boy's house are handed over by the boy's mother to the girl's parents which are checked if the items are in order or not. The *beedis* are taken out and distributed to all the elders of both the groups and all are served with tea. The women relatives from the girl's side bring the girl from inside the house. The boy's mother keep's a saree in the girl's hands and does *bentil* with her by saying *ram-ram*. Then the elderly women and men from the boy's side also do the same afterwards. She then sits on the mat spread on the floor, and she is presented with some money by the boy's party followed by the girl's relatives and villagers. Then the boy's mother comes to the girl and pulls her up to stand by holding her hand. While doing so she says *enetana ane korra*, which means from today she is my daughter-in-law. She then greets everyone by saying *ram-ram*. Then the people from boy's side prepare tea with the ingredients brought by them and all the relatives of both the groups are served with the tea followed by giving *beedis* to smoke. Once the *chai-pani* ritual is performed then everyone in the village and relatives know that particular girl has been engaged to a particular boy.

The elders, parents of both the groups sit together after food and discuss the convenient date for the wedding besides sharing of expenditure, gifts to the couple, bride price (*katttekavli*), and others. It concludes with the payment of bride price to the priest of the bride's village. There is another traditional way of organizing the *chai-pani* ritual i.e., the boy's side members can bring the bride along with them after the *chai-pani* in the girl's house without the wedding ceremony. Then the boy's elder brother goes to the place where the girl is sitting, first puts a white towel on her shoulders and lifts her up by offering his right to hand's little finger by saying *Tekkam pilla- Athram korra kurray*, if the boy belongs to Athram and the girl is from Tekkam clan. Then the all the relatives from the boy's side also say the same. She is then brought outside the house and the same is repeated when they come outside of the house with the bride. The girl's side women stop them at some distance of the house and ask them to contribute some money by singing songs, and holding a towel from both the ends. This is demand as they are taking the girl from their village. Then the boy's party gives some money which would be in even number i.e., Rs 50 or 100. This custom is called as *pavad*.

All of them return to the bridegroom's house along with the girl. The members from the boy's side once again observe the signs while returning to the village. When they enter the boy's village everyone says *Tekkam pilla- Athram korra kurray*. A woman from the boy's side comes with water pot and washes everyone's feet by arranging a small plank. Then the girl is taken inside the house. She places right leg first in the house. When they go inside the house everyone again says *Tekkam pilla- Athram korra kurray*. The girl is first taken *dayyala mula* and asked to sit there. The head of household lights an earthen lamp put on the *jowar* grains at the *dayyala mula*, the *kolla* staffs which are taken to the girl's house are kept at the corner, the boy's parents and elders offer *poggu* (tobacco) and *panigellu* to the deities. The relatives follow them. A feast is arranged for all including the villagers at the house of the boy; they all sit together and eat. It is called *badga kudupe*, *badga* means *kolla* staff and *kudupe* means food. After the food everyone returns to their homes. The marriage is concluded with this.

Marriage

Marriage among the Kolams is celebrated for three days. First, the wedding day is fixed on a mutually agreed date by the elders of both the villages and parents of the bridegroom and bride. The news is circulated among the relatives of both the groups separately with printed invitation cards. A few days before the wedding, the bridegroom's parents approach the

village elders to visit their house to verify if all the required items are brought by them for the marriage are in order or not.

The village elders discuss the venue of the wedding and accommodation for the bride's relatives called *janasa*. Generally, the marriage is held in front of the bridegroom's house. If there is no enough space it is held at the village Patel's house. The bridegroom's party identifies two persons known as *soorver thakar*, who belong to two different clans, to go to bride's village two or three days before the actual day of wedding to escort the bride's group. On that day the bridegroom's parents light an earthen lamp at the *dayyala mula* conduct *puja* along with *soorver thakur* offering *panigellu* to the deities. Then the bridegroom's parents apply vermilion to the forehead, and garland the *soorver thakar* with new towels, bentil with them saying *ram-ram*. The latter set out to the bride's village with two *kolla* staffs which was kept in the *dayyala mula* of the bridegroom. The bride's relatives receive them cordially. They get ready to leave for the marriage. The bride sits on a plank or a mat and women of the house welcome her with the waving of light put in a tray that contains *jowar* grains, vermilion, incense sticks, turmeric paste, coconut oil, coconut pieces, sugar and *jowar* balls. After singing different songs she is applied turmeric paste to her body and dropping of few drops of coconut oil in her ears. Her head is washed and she is then presented with the new clothes. The family members remove evil eye with rite of *jowar* grains by dropping a few of them on her shoulders. They bentil and greet her by saying *ram-ram*. She then takes their blessings by touching the feet. The bride puts on new dress and wears ornaments. After having food all of them pack their luggage's and leaves for the bridegroom's village. When the bride comes out of the house, women bring water in pots and pour water *dara* in front of the bride. The people who stay-back in the village give send off to the bride by blessing her. She then takes blessings from them by touching their feet. The bride first gets into the vehicle followed by other relatives. Finally the *soorver thakar* also get into the vehicle after checking everything. It is the responsibility of the *soorver thakar* to bring the bride and her relatives safely to the bridegroom's house.

When the bride's party reaches the village they stop at the outskirts and send one of the *soorver thakars* to bridegroom's house informing the arrival of the bride's party. Then the relatives from bridegroom's side carry a water pot to give water to the bride's party and after the greetings the latter asks for *pentabapadh* money which may range between Rs. 500 and Rs.1000. Then the important relatives of bridegroom go and receive and bring the bride's

party with music and take it to the *janasa* where the bride's party stays till the completion of the wedding. The women of bridegroom's side wash the feet of the bride and take blessings of the bride's parents and others by touching their feet. Later on the bridegroom's elder brother goes to *janasa* where the bride is sitting, first puts a white towel on the bride's shoulders and lifts her up by holding her right hand's little finger. If the bride is from Tekkam clan and the bridegroom is from Athram clan, he says *Tekkam pillai- Athram korra kurray* while lifting the bride. Then all the relatives from the bridegroom side also say the same for five times.

The bride along with others follows bridegroom's brother, and when they reach the bridegroom's house the women wash the feet of the bride with the water and take her inside the house by saying *Tekkam pillai- Athram korra kurray* for five times. The bridegroom's parents light an earthen lamp at the *dayyala mula* along with Patel and priest and offer tobacco and *panigellu* to the deities. After *puja* to the deities the bride is sent back to the *janasa*. Later on the relatives of both the parties accompanied by the parents of bridegroom and bride visit the deity Pochamma with the wedding clothes in a tray to offer a prayer. The priest after routine *puja* preliminaries places the clothes in front of the goddess and breaks a coconut and then shows the wedding clothes and other materials to the goddess. He applies vermilion and turmeric powder to an earthen lamp and then sprinkles water, vermilion and turmeric powder on the wedding dress and other materials. Then a hen and a cock which are brought by bride and bridegroom respectively are sacrificed following the routine procedure and offers *naivedyam* to the goddess. Then elders and relatives from both the parties do the same. The *naivedyam* brought from home and the curry prepared with the meat is served to the people. As they return to the bridegroom's house by singing marriage songs with the musical beats the women wash the feet of the relatives and place the wedding clothes at the *dayyala mula*.

Both the bride and bridegroom are given bath with the turmeric water and ceremonially made bride (*PELLI KUTHURU/nouri*) and bridegroom as (*PELLIKODUKU/norak*). As the parents of bridegroom and their relative's first stand in a line followed by the bride's parents and their relatives the bridegroom's elder sister-in-law i.e., brother's wife holds the bridegroom's hand and brings him from the house. The bridegroom first takes the blessing of his parents and other people who stand in the line by touching their feet bending before them. Similarly, the bride's elder sister-in-law brings the bride by holding her hand. The bride also takes the

blessings of everyone and *bentil* with them afterwards. Then both the bride and bridegroom go to the place where the food is cooked and there also they take blessings of the people who cook the food. The bride goes to the *janasa* while the bridegroom goes to his house.

Then bride and bridegroom take ceremonial bath called *ellajivun* in their respective places. Now *aleporka* branches are brought on two or four bullock carts and kept at a distance outside the village which is called *nagelibatti*, a sacred place where cattle of the village are gathered before taking to the forest or fields. The *soorver thakar* gathers all the people at this place and the bride and bridegroom's elder sisters-in-law carries two trays containing an earthen lamp on *jowar* grains, incense sticks, *jowar* balls in the ceremonial procession. The priest follows the routine procedure for *puja*; he also applies vermilion to the forehead of the oxen's and also to the bullock cart. As the priest presents new towels to those who brought the *aleporka* and applies vermilion to forehead of all and pours little amount of sugar in their mouths and, all of them come to the house of bridegroom in a procession with the bullock carts. Then the bride's side group goes to the *janasa*. The *aleporka* are spread on the *pandal* which is erected in front of the courtyard of the bridegroom's house where the wedding ceremony takes place. The *pandal* is decorated with the mango leaves and different colored papers.

Now the maternal uncles of the bride and bridegroom are called upon to the *pandal*, and when they reach there the priest applies the vermilion to their forehead, garlands with new towels and gives a hand axe to bring *mundem* tree branch from the forest. After some time they return from forest with the *mundem* and stand at the *nagelibatti*. After *puja* the maternal uncles of bride and bridegroom carry *mundem* to the *pandal* with the musical beats and it is placed in a pit already dug at the centre pole of the *pandal*. The centre pole of the *pandal* is erected in the name of the bridegroom while the *mundem* is placed in the name of the bride by the priest after the *puja*.

A procession goes from the bridegroom's house to maternal uncle's house in ceremonial way and the family pours *jowar* grains in a white cloth after the formalities. The bridegroom's party takes the maternal uncle, his face being covered with a white cloth, and aunt on a bullock cart or the bridegroom's brother carries him on his shoulders to the bridegroom's house. They wash the feet of uncle and aunt and the bridegroom applies vermilion to the forehead of his maternal uncle and aunt. The bridegroom garlands his maternal aunt and

uncle with a white *saree* and *dhoti* or towel and then *bentil* with them. They are given a special welcome through a rite.

After that there is a *puja* at the cooking place by which the ancestors and deities are offered the wedding feast first. The *thermak*, the person in-charge of cooking, brings one medium size earthen pot and five small earthen pots which are decorated with different designs on them. These are put on *jowar* grains in a basket along with a cotton thread. The bridegroom's mother goes to that place in the ceremonial way and brings the basket and places it at the *dayyala mula*. Then bridegroom's mother pours a little *jowar* grains in a white cloth and ties it to the waist of bridegroom's maternal aunt who takes the basket from the *dayyala mula* goes to the *nagelibatti* in a procession along with other in the ceremonial way. The maternal uncle and aunt sit together at that place with the medium size earthen pot which contains water whose mouth is covered with the *aleporka* branches. The priest starts *puja* by sprinkling the water in front of the medium size earthen pot. He takes the five small earthen pots from the basket and places them in front of the medium size earthen pot in a row and rolls the thread around the five small earthen pots and medium earthen pot for five times connecting them all. Then he draws *pattu* and sacrifices two hens and few blood drops of the blood are dropped in the medium size earthen pot and mixed it thoroughly. Then he takes one small glass of water from the medium earthen pot and pours in the five small earthen pots. Afterwards he offers *naivedyam* in front of the earthen pots. The first pot is given to the bridegroom's maternal aunt while the remaining four are given to the bridegroom's elder sisters-in-law. The bridegroom's maternal uncle who brought the *mundem* carries the medium earthen pot on his head while the bride's maternal uncle accompanies him by putting a hand on it. Then all of them return to the *pandal* in a procession. The area under the *pandal* is plastered with mud in square shape under the *pandal* at the *mundem* what is called as *bolla*. The bridegroom's maternal uncle places the medium size earthen pot on the top of the *pandal*.

The priest draws *pattu* on the *bolla*. The bridegroom's maternal uncle pours two handfull of *jowar* grains at the four corners of the *pattu*. The priest places a small brass pot in the middle of the front line of the *bolla*, and takes the remaining earthen pots from the women and places them at the four corners of the *bolla* on the *jowar* grains. He then places the earthen shells on the top of the five small pots. The priest and the other elders take a white thread and roll the reel around the five small earthen pots at the four corners of the design for five times

connecting them all. In the meantime, the bridegroom's mother goes to the *janasa* and gives the wedding clothes (clothes dyed in turmeric water), ornaments and make up kit to the bride in the ceremonial procession.

The bridegroom comes out of the house by covering his face with a cloth and offers a prayer to the god and breaks a coconut at the main entrance of his house. The bride also does the same at the *janasa*. Then all the relatives of bridegroom gather at his house while the bride's relatives gather at the *janasa*. The bridegroom along with his relatives first goes in procession to the *nagelibatti* along with women carrying two trays having earthen lamp on *jowar* grains etc. He is actually now-a-days taken on a two wheeler as the youth, children, men and women dance to the tunes of different musical beats in front of the procession. The bride's group follows behind the bridegroom's group by doing the same. The bride and bridegroom's faces are covered with a blanket so that others cannot see them.

At the *nagelibatti* the bride stands towards the east while bridegroom stands towards the west such that they do not face each other. A white cloth or curtain is placed between the bride and bridegroom so that they cannot see each other's face. The bridegroom's parents first wash the feet of the bride's parents by placing a small plank on the ground. The same is repeated with the other relatives from both the groups. Similarly, the bride's parents wash the feet of the bridegroom afterwards. The bridegroom then touches the bride's feet with his feet and vice-versa. Then the bridegroom holds the bride's little finger and tries to pull or drag her towards him. She then goes to him after two to three trials. The bridegroom and bride hold the *katari*⁶⁰ in their hands. The bridegroom and bride stand opposite to each other on the two planks. The priest gives turmeric rice to both bridegroom and bride and the bridegroom puts his hands on the bride's head. Similarly, the bride also puts her hands on the bridegroom's head. The priest or an elder who is familiar with *PELLI MANTRALLU* reads or renders in front of the couple. All the relatives and friends shower *AKSHANTHALU*⁶¹ to mark their blessings on the couple the moment he completes the first phrase. The priest ties a knot at one end of bride's *saree* with one end of the bridegroom's towel. The bridegroom then holds her hand and moves forward. The bride and bridegroom with their relatives go to the Hanuman temple in the village and do

⁶⁰ It is a small knife or iron material with handle which is covered with a white or red cloth. It is held by bridegroom and or bride in hand at the time of his marriage.

⁶¹ Rice mixed with turmeric powder is used to bless others by showering on them. It is used for different occasions for offering prayers and also for giving blessings.

*pradakshinalu*⁶² and offer prayer to the god and break coconuts in front of the deity. Then the bride and bridegroom with their relatives come to the *pandal* in a procession with the musical beats.

After reaching the *pandal*, the bride and bridegroom's feet are cleaned with water in a brass tray and then they are taken in to the *pandal*. There will be *bolla thirgek dhol* which means the bride and bridegroom with their relatives walks five times around the *bolla*. The Kolam youth, elders both men and women, also dances around the *bolla* by singing songs to the different musical beats. Here the same *puja* performed at *nagelibatti* is repeated. The bride stands towards the east while the bridegroom stands towards the west facing each other. There is showering of *akshanthalu*. Then two wooden planks are arranged on the *bolla* at the bride and bridegroom *mundem*. The bridegroom's elder sister-in-law first joins her hands together on a plank by leaving a gap in the middle of the hands. Then the bridegroom pours a little *jowar* grains in the gap of two hands. She repeats the same for the bride. The elder sister-in-law takes the bride and the bridegroom towards the plank and the couple sits on the plank, the bridegroom sits on the right side while the bride sits on his left.

After this, the bride and bridegroom change their dresses and wear old dresses. Then they engage in *bukka kurdhekad* and *yeer peyekad* in which the medium size earthen pot which is put earlier on the top of the *pandal* is brought down and the elder sisters-in-law of bride and bridegroom pours this water on the couple. Then the bridegroom and bride take fresh drinking water into their mouths and spit on each other's face for four or five times. Then they go to respective places and take bath.

All the relatives and friends gather at the *pandal* as the bride and bridegroom come back and sit on the plank in the *pandal*. The bridegroom's mother brings a tray with marriage badge (*potthi*), toe rings, vermilion and turmeric powder keeping on *jowar* grains under the cover of a white cloth and is placed in front of the couple. The priest removes evil eye for the bride and bridegroom with the water and turmeric paste. Then the priest offers prayer to the god and sprinkles *jowar* grains on marriage badge. Then the bridegroom's mother takes the marriage badge from the tray and gives it to the bridegroom's elder brother who shows it to all the people who have gathered at the ceremony. He then gives it to the bridegroom. As the bridegroom's brother removes the cloth covering the head and face of the bride, she takes his

⁶² It is a form of worship followed by every devotee by walking around the deities in a temple.

blessings by touching his feet. After the marriage she is not supposed to touch him. Then the bridegroom ties the marriage badge around the bride's neck. All the relatives and friends shower *akshanthalu* to mark their blessings on the couple. Then everyone is served with the tea and *beedi* by saying *ram-ram*.

The relatives of bridegroom prepare *rotis* with *jowar* flour inside the house according to the number of their clan deities. The *soorver thakar* gathers the relatives for *kode-korri*⁶³ and it is followed by *deva-devik*⁶⁴ gathering at the *nagelibatti* which means the bride and bridegroom offer prayer to the god and goddess. The priest teaches the bride and bridegroom about the *puja* and the bride and bridegroom do the *puja* separately at the *nagelibatti*. Then a hen is sacrificed and *naivedyam* is offered to god. The *naivedyam* which is put in *modugu* leaves is eaten by the bride and bridegroom.

On the final day, all the people get ready in the morning and eat food and spend some time in dancing. The bride and bridegroom come out of the house and sit on a blanket or mat spread on the ground. Later, they sit on a plank on which *jowar* is put as before. Then they are removed of the evil eye. The parents of the couple first bless them followed by the relatives. They give them gifts with sprinkling of *akshanthalu*. The bride and bridegroom's mother and elder sister-in-law give separate gifts to the couple. After the presentation, the brothers-in-law of bride and bridegroom carry the couple on their waist and dance under the *pandal* to different musical beats.

⁶³ The elder brother-in-law of bridegroom carries a cock and the brother-in-law of bride carries a hen while going to the *nagelibatti* place. The bridegroom's mother carries *rotis* which are distributed to everyone after reaching the place. The relative's who participated dances to the different beats are by holding *roti*'s in their hands saying *kai-kai*. The elder sisters-in-law's of bride and bridegroom tries to pull the *rotis* from others. The brothers-in-law's of the bride and bridegroom dances by holding the cock and hen in their hands. The bride's sister-in-law takes a cock by force from the bridegroom's brother-in-law. Similarly, the bridegroom's sister-in-law also takes a hen from the bride's brother-in-law. The hen and cock which are given to them for foster are not sacrificed.

⁶⁴ The bride and bridegroom sit on a mat or blanket arranged at the *nagelibatti* place. The bridegroom sits at the right hand side of the bride while the relatives of the couple sit around them. The bride and bridegroom perform the *puja* separately to gods and goddess at the *nagelibatti* directed by the priest *Dhelak*. The bridegroom first cleans the area in front of him and sprinkles water. He then plasters with the cow dung paste and draws a *pattu* with rice or *jowar* flour. He pours *pattu* with the rice or *jowar* flour. He then lights the incense sticks followed by the sacrifice of a hen. Now, *naivedyam* is offered to the deities followed by the *dari belly* and liquid jaggery beverage (*sakkam*). The *naivedyam* which is put on *modugu* leaves is eaten by the bride and bridegroom. The bride and bridegroom first taste the liquid jaggery beverage then both the glasses are exchanged for a second sip. The people who participated are also distributed with *naivedyam* in *modugu* leaves.

Then there will be *yeerunserekadh* gathering which means going to the river Ganga for water. The elderly women take the bride to the nearby bore well or open well or river by singing songs and fetch the water. In the evening the bridegroom's relatives prepare *rotis* with *jowar* flour inside the house and the cooks of the wedding prepare *chakna* with a mixture of mutton pieces, *jowar* flour, chilli, salt and turmeric etc. The bridegroom and bride distribute the *roti* and *chakna* to the relatives. Then the bride and bridegroom offer *puja* to the *kobari dhaya* means coconut god at *nagelibatti*. Finally, all the marriage rituals come to an end at the bridegroom's house. The bride's relatives pack their luggage and gather at the bridegroom's house. Then there will be *bentilekad* and departure of bride's relatives.

Yeer: In Kolam tribe the second marriage that takes place after divorce or death of spouse is called *yeer* in a simplified version. The priest performs *puja* with *punji* when the bridegroom, bride and others gather at the temple of Pochamma. Then there will be *yeerpeyekad* ceremony.

Pat: Having marriage in late age is called as *pat*; it can happen between a widow and widower or between widower and an unmarried woman. This is a simple remarriage ceremony based on consent and convenience. The Kolam priest performs the marriage ceremony at the bridegroom's house.

Death

When there is a death among Kolams, the death news is first conveyed to the elders of the village especially the Patel and priests (Dhelak and Khatodak) and later on to others, friends and relatives. The body is placed on a mat spread out on the ground in the living room covering it with a new white cloth. The villagers should not cook food in their homes. If there is any food left in the house after knowing the news, it is given to the animals or thrown out and they keep an iron material at the hearth. Incense sticks, earthen lamp, alcohol, tobacco, black tea etc., are kept next to the dead body. There will be playing of musical instruments with interminant breaks till the body is taken to the burial ground. The visitors bring a new white cloth and place it on the dead body and some present cash also. Some men go to the forest on bullock carts to bring the bamboos. When all the expected relatives arrive the preparation for the funeral begins.

Generally, if the deceased person's family has agricultural land then the body is cremated or buried in their land otherwise it is done in the forest. Before the dead body is taken to the

burial ground the elderly men and women are served with a glass of alcohol and one *beedi*. A coffin, dome shaped structure, is made with split bamboo on a cot of cotton-stripes lacing. The dead body is made to stand on a plank arranged for washing it with water and is placed in the coffin. Four members, two from the deceased person's clan and two from the other clan carry the coffin. Generally, the elder son will be the chief mourner if the deceased person is father; it will be the younger son if the deceased is mother. He wears new baniyan, *pancha* and puts a towel on the shoulder and carries a pot in hand. They proceed towards the burial or cremation site followed by relatives and friends and the direction of the coffin is reversed after crossing the village at some place. The *jowar* grains tied in a white cloth and alcohol, and black tea kept in the coffin are poured at that particular place. The waist thread and ornaments like ear rings in case of females etc., are removed from the deceased person after reaching the site. They then proceed to the site of cremation. The body is again reversed and placed on the bamboos and some bamboos are placed covering on the dead body. Then the deceased person's son lit the fire and keeps the water pot on his shoulder and goes around the fire and at each round, a hole is made to the pot so that the water fall down. When he completes the last round the pot is placed on the ground and goes forward without looking back. Those present there walk around the fire and throw a piece of stick into it. Two persons from the deceased person's clan will have to stand facing against each other on either side of the burning corpse. The man at one end throws an axe to the other end so that it is caught by the man at the other end. It is repeated from to the other end. Each person has to do it for two times, so total four times the axe is thrown over the burning dead body.

Then later on, the axe is brought home along with them. Cow dung water is sprinkled on the heads of everyone with an *ahre* branch which is kept in a broken piece of the pot. They apply themselves with castor oil to their hands and wash their hands, legs and face with the water. Kolams do not observe the death pollution. After this all of them enter the village, and sit in a row on the ground in front of the deceased person's house. The first person who is sitting in the row has to light a *beedi*, take a puff and then pass the *beedi* on to the next person. If the *beedi* is finished in the middle, another *beedi* is lit and the smoking is continued to the last person. Then they disperse. However the four persons who carried the corpse sacrifice a goat in the name of the dead person in the house in front of the axe taken to cremation ground. Then four or five elders from the deceased person's clan sit in front of the lamp placed in the *puja*. The other people also sit around the elders by forming a circle. One person holds the

modugu leaf that contains castor oil and applies little amount of oil to the hands of the people sitting at that place. He continuously keeps on applying the oil to the people's hands till the soul of the deceased person enters into any one of the elders. The person who gets possessed falls down on the ground and he is lifted to sit in front of the lamp. Then the men and women gather around him and question him about the reasons for the death etc.

On the seventh day, post-funeral ceremony called *dinam* is organized. On that day a tent and chairs are arranged in front of the dead person's house. The items which are to be taken to the burial ground are cooked and placed in a small basket, and it also contains tobacco, liquor, black tea, fruits like bananas, grapes, water, etc. All the relatives of the deceased person go in procession to the burial ground. After reaching there the dead person's ash is gathered to a place and stones are placed around or cover it. The items brought are placed there and an elderly person organizes *puja* and offers *naivedyam* to the dead person. When they return home, and the same formalities are observed as in funeral. Now *puja* is initiated by an elder who belongs to the clan of the dead person. The priest continues it and if they want to sacrifice hens, he draws *pattu* and sacrifices them. As before possession of an elder takes place once again and those around him ask questions. He then responds to each and every question and also tries to give solutions for all problems.

Munthal

This ritual is organized usually on the 21st day after the death to incorporate the dead person into the company of ancestors. Later on this *munthal* is observed for two days after five years. The *puja* starts first in the name of the deceased person's family, and maternal uncle goes to the nearby stream along with the priest and elders of the clan. The priest first lights the incense sticks at the bank of the stream and starts the *puja*. The *suryak-daryak* stands in a semi circle after washing their hands and feet. He organizes *punnji* followed by drawing of *pattu* with the sacrifice of a hen. They collect sand and water in a new pot while returning to the village. It is then placed in front of the house on the sand, and it is covered with *bael* tree leaves. The priest applies vermilion and turmeric powder to the pot and lights an earthen lamp with sesame oil in front of the pot. He pours the *pattu* with the *jowar* or pounded rice in front of the pot. The number of elders would be according to the number of deities of their clan, sit in front of the pot while *supari* sits in front of the pot. Half of them would be women, and the elders include the maternal uncle of the deceased person put their fingers in the pot.

The *supari* may belong to any clan and he gets into trance and falls down on the ground. The other members who are sitting there lift him up and keep him in front of the pot. Then all the men and women gather around him and question him like what is your name? Where did you come from? What is the name of your village? Are you happy at your place? He then responds to each and every question. The *supari* puts his hand again in the pot so that the dead ancestor leaves his body. The same kind of process is repeated with the other families of the dead person. This is continued till the mid night. In the night Thoti community people are invited to tell stories in the name of deceased person. This is continued till the morning. The next day morning they organize *palamuntha* ritual in the house of the deceased.

Ceremonies and Festivals of Kolams

The Table 3.1 shows the list of festivals observed, and religious rituals and ceremonies performed on various occasions. An attempt has been made here to discuss religion of Kolams by describing these festivals, rituals and ceremonies which also reflects their beliefs and practices⁶⁵.

Table No: 3.1. Kolam Calendar

Month	Rituals/Festivals
Jan (<i>Pusi</i>)	Bhimanna <i>puja</i>
February (<i>Bhima rasi</i>)	Bandar, Thirdam kovve(Jathara pillallu)
March (<i>Duradi</i>)	Pokekotha, Duradi (Holi), Maandos (Ugadi- First Festival: Kotha Dinam)
April (<i>Saitha</i>)	Burri Devudu/Pollakamma: on the day of full moon (Pournami)
May (<i>Bave</i>)	Marriages
June (<i>Budu bave</i>)	Devuniki vithanallu pettadam, Muhurthallu
July (<i>Akkadi</i>)	Pasuvullu, Akkadi, Akkadi amavasya, Nagulla Panchami/Chavithi, Dorka Dhayal (on the day of chukkala amavasya)
August (<i>Pora</i>)	Bhajana, Sivabodi, Karrgu, Samakotha, Pollalla, Pora (amavasya), Badhga, Putha kattu (once in five years)
September (<i>Paythalla</i>)	Chithaki (Kotha panta <i>puja</i>)
October (<i>Diwala</i>)	Dasara, Dandari and Diwali
November (<i>Kondka diwala</i>)	Diwali, Karthika pournami (Munthal)
December (<i>Satti</i>)	Bhimanna <i>Puja</i>

Source: Field Study

⁶⁵ Durkheim (1912) considers religion is constituted by beliefs and practices.

Bhimanna / Bhimayyak *puja*

Bhimanna or Bhimayyak is the chief deity of Kolams. The temples⁶⁶ of Bhimanna are found in different villages like Dantanpally, Goleti, Pangidi Madaram, Sirsgam and Sungapur. Kolams believe that these five places are the sacred centers of Bhimanna. He is represented as Gajj. Though Bhimanna is conceptualized as a single individual, he is refracted into multiple persons, and as such there are several Bhimanna's. In Dantanpally there are seven Gajj of Bhimayyak in the temple viz., Kalli Mallak, Dantanpally Ayyak, Madara Ayyak, Chinna Ayyak, Boda Ayyak, Chilkalla Ayyak, Gantalla Ayyak and Goleti Ayyak. The Bhimanna temple also houses small brass or earthen horses which resemble Terra Cotta figurines. Near the temple of Bhimanna there may be long wooden bamboo poles, wooden structures and huge stones that represent ancestors and these are known as *mundel*. In front of the temple they also erect a white flag with the symbols of sun and moon.

In December, Kolams organize *puja* for Bhimanna. Once Bhimanna *puja* starts the devotees have to be bare footed till the end of *puja* which may take three days. The priest and elders from the village visit temple in the night. They prepare *panigellu* and the priest Khatodak initiates the *puja* by sprinkling the water in front of the god and applies the turmeric powder to each Gajj. He lights an earthen lamp and incense sticks in front of the deity. Then he breaks a coconut in the name of the god and offers *naivedyam* like cooked rice or *jowar* flour and *panigellu* followed by the sprinkling of *dari belly*. The same offering is made to other deities: Gabureg, Pochamma and *mundel*. Then *pathi* is organized. After having the *naivedyam* everyone dances in front of the god to the tunes of *nagara*, *dappu*, *pempre*, *kalli kommu* and *vanchu* musical instruments. They spend the night in the forest and return to the village on the following day. Some elders stay at the temple for two days till the god i.e., Gajj is lifted from the place.

After two days i.e., Wednesday the god is brought to the village. The priest Khatodak offers incense to the god. Now the *supari* and others get possessed and after violent shrieks they surrender finally to the god by falling in front of god. Then the elders surround them and ask different questions. They seek permission from the deity to carry the Gajj to the Ganga for a sacred dip and they make plea to the god to take care of them. The *supari* replies to every question of the elders. The priest takes the materials *zanverol*, *nevani*, *sattllu*, horse figurines

⁶⁶ The temple may be a structure of bamboo or asbestos.

and Gajj one after the other and hands over to the youth who are purified with cow urine. They must have turban and put on *zanverol* on their bodies to do this job. All the items are placed in new baskets. As those who are holding the Bhimanna Gajj and baskets stand in a circle outside the temple, the elders also join them by holding sticks and knives, the symbols of ancestors and the flag. A person carrying cow urine leads the way by sprinkling it on ground with *ahre* branches. On the way, they visit the goddess Pochamma. The priest places the two main Gajj in front of Pochamma and offers prayer to the goddess by sprinkling *dari belly* and turmeric powder. Then everyone returns to the village in procession with the musical beats of *dappu*, *dhol*, *nagara* and *vanchu*.

On their way they offer prayer at the Mundel, and Gabureg and finally they come and stand in a line at Burri deity in the village. The male youth welcome them by pouring five pots of water *dara* in front of the group followed by the wife of Khatodak priest who removes evil eye by water *dara*, *jowar* grains and *jowar* balls. The earthen lamp which is brought is taken back and placed inside the house at the *dayyala mula*. The other women wash the handle of each Gajj one after the other by placing a tray at the bottom of the Gajj. Then they take the blessings of the Gajj and also the person who is holding the Gajj by touching feet. The water collected in tray is not thrown instead the women drink it. Then the women wash the feet of entire group one after the other by arranging a small wooden plank and take the blessings by touching their feet.

The Bhimanna gods i.e., Gajj who are brought to the village are temporarily installed in front of the Burri deity on a rectangular shape plastering with mud called *bolla*. The materials which are there in the baskets – horses, symbols of ancestors, *zanverol*, *nevari* and *sattllu* etc., are also placed besides the Gajj on *bolla*. The white flag of Bhimanna temple is also erected beside the *bolla*. The priest along with the other elders fasts on that day. They prepare *naivedyam* with the pounded rice and the priest offers *naivedyam* to the god afterwards. Then the *naivedyam* which is placed at the god is distributed to the priest and elders as *prasadam* and with this they end the fasting. This is known as *upparam puja*. Now, the *bolla* is covered from four sides with a new *saree* as a screen with the support of four bamboo staffs at four corners. After having their meals everyone gathers in front of the god and dances to the different musical tunes till midnight and the elders sleep on the ground besides the *bolla*. On the next day in the evening i.e., on Thursday they perform the *udul kovel puja*. A hen and a buffalo are sacrificed in the name of the village and Burri deity. The priest offers *naivedyam*

to the god which is then followed by the sprinkling of *dari belly*. The same offering of *naivedyam* is made to *nagaras*.

The next day i.e., Friday in the noon, the Khatodak priest's wife visits the god with a tray containing jowar grains and incense sticks. The priest or *supari* takes an earthen lamp in front of the god and put it in the tray. Now the tray is taken home accompanied by the musical beats of *dappu*⁶⁷ and *vanchu*⁶⁸. The lamp is placed inside the house at the *dayyala mula* on *jowar* grains. The priest or *supari* offer prayer to the god and breaks a coconut in front of the lamp. Then after having meal both men and women offer their salutations to the god and dance forming two circles. The women form the inner circle and the men form the outer circle accompanied by the musical beats of *dhol*, *nagara* and *kallikommu*. The men dance by holding the symbols of ancestors while the women dance to different musical beats by holding the Gajj, brass horses, *zanverol*, *nevari* and *sattllu*. This dancing goes till the noon. This follows the visit of god to different houses.

The woman from each house visits the temporary Bhimanna shrine with a tray which contains an earthen lamp on the *jowar* grains and incense sticks. The priest lights the earthen lamp and incense sticks and places it in the same tray. They all go in a procession accompanied by music to the house. At the *dayyala mula* the priest lights incense sticks and *punnji* is performed. He draws a *pattu* with the rice or *jowar* flour followed by sacrifice of a hen. Then *naivedyam* is offered to the god followed by the sprinkling of *dari belly* and liquor. The same offering of *naivedyam* is repeated by the family members and elders afterwards. Then the *supari* sits in front of the deity by holding a *satt* in his hand and gets into possession accompanied by the musical beats. He then responds to different questions asked by the family members. Then the *naivedyam* is served to the elders followed by a glass of liquor. After having the *prasadam* everyone is served with a beedi. Then the priest lifts the Gajj hands over to the *supari* and another person who carries it back to the shrine with the musical beats of *dappu* and *vanchu*. When they come out of the house, those holding the Gajj place the handle of a Gajj on the back of women and as some fall on the ground they walk on them. It is believed that this is a blessing by which they will have good health.

⁶⁷ It is an instrument made with a goat skin and is used in different rituals for creating a rhythmic sound by beating with sticks.

⁶⁸ It is a musical instrument (flute) made of stick or metal which comprise of a series of finger holes and it is blown at one end of a hole by holding it in a slanting direction.

Then in the evening, the Bhimanna gods is shifted to the other locality within the village from centre of the village and entire process is repeated in the new location. This is to enable everyone to receive god and his blessing. The final activity is bathing of god in Ganga River⁶⁹. The priest Khatodak and elders that carried Gajj offer *puja* to the goddess Ganga on the bank of the river by breaking a coconut, sprinkles the turmeric powder and *dari belly* in the water and then all the Gajj are immersed in the water. They also take a sacred dip in the water along with the Gajj and then take the *satt* beats in the name of god by saying *kho-kho*. Then they organize *puja*. That night they all sleep at the nearby place and in the early morning they return to the village and the Bhimanna Gajj and other materials are again placed at the temple.

Bandar

This is celebrated in the month of *Bhima rasi* (February) on the full moon day. It is organized to find out who is not a permanent resident of the village for it is obligatory on every permanent resident to contribute for organizing the Bandar *puja*. Those who have been in the village for a short stay they need not contribute, but at the time of their departure they are required to pay some cash to the Patel. When the priest fixes the date, cash and *saysa* are collected from every household and buy the animal to be sacrificed on that particular day. The villagers gather in the evening at the deity Nadidiamma/Burri after having their meals.

The priest initiates the *puja* by sprinkling water on the Burri stones and lights an earthen lamp and incense sticks in front of the deity. He then pours a handful of *jowar* flour on the Burri stone which is then followed by drawing a *pattu*, a circle around it with the turmeric powder. It is observed on the following day whether the *pattu* around the Burri stone has been disturbed. If it is disturbed due to air, any insect and house fly etc., they believe that it is a bad sign for the village and there can be ill health, loss in agriculture, financial crisis and deaths etc., for the village. Then the priest organizes *punnji*. It is followed by the sacrifice of a hen or sheep or pig. Now *naivedyam* is prepared and offered to the Burri god on *modugu* leaves. At the same time the *pindivantalu*/pastry are prepared at the house of Patel or priest and at this time these items are also brought and put along with *naivedyam*. The priest offers the *dari belly* and an elder repeats the same offering who is a *sooryak-daryak*. The *naivedyam* is distributed as *prasadam* of the deity to those present and the *pathi* members sit

⁶⁹ Godavari or any stream

who are served with the non-vegetarian food. The relatives from other villages are not allowed to participate in the *pathi*.

Thirtham kovve (*Jathara pillalu*)

This is celebrated in the month of *Bhima rasi* (February) in connection with the Kolam participants in the *nagoba jatharas*⁷⁰ of Keslapur⁷¹ and *Gangapur jathara*⁷² which are celebrated in January. When the participants of the village return from the *jatharas* they should not come along with any evil spirit. In order to rid off such evil spirits and also other disasters the deity is worshipped. The elders of the village, Patel and priests fix the date; cash and *saysa* are collected from every household by which groceries and the animal to be sacrificed on that particular day are purchased. This *puja* is organized at the outskirts of the village where the two roads meet. The priest Dhelak initiates the *puja* by drawing *pattu*. He then offers incense and *punnji*. He sacrifices a hen and offers *naivedyam* to the god. Then the elders worship the deity. Then the *pathi* is organized. Later on, the other members will also have non-vegetarian food.

Pokke kotha

The *pokke kotha* means crop of *ippa puvvu* in the forest. This festival is celebrated in March (*duradi*) when *ippa* flowers bloom. One shouldn't eat *ippa* flower without organizing *puja* to the forest deity and other deities associated with forest. The elder, Patel and priests fix the day. One day before the *pokke kotha puja*, the elders of the village do *sikatti sumekad* in the forest. At the selected site the priest Dhelak collects six small stones and arranges them in a row and collects the *jowar* powder in a cloth which is brought from respective houses. The priest initiates the *puja* by lighting the incense sticks in front of the stones and then organizes the *punnji*. It is followed by the sacrifice of a hen. He then offers *naivedyam* to the god which is then followed with sprinkling of the *dari belly*. The elders repeat the offering of *naivedyam*. Then the *pathi* is organized.

On the next day, the priest and elders again go to the same place to conduct *veta sulpekad puja* for the forest deity as it was done the day before. Then the six stones are removed to some distance where people don't walk and all of them visit the Bhimanna temple. They

⁷⁰ *Jathara* is a festival of honoring the deities. It attracts the largest number of devotees from different places.

⁷¹ Nagoba *jathara* is a Gond's festival celebrated by Mesaram clan at Keslapur.

⁷² Non-tribal *jathara* organized to honor Lord Venkateshwara.

collect some of the *ippa puvvu* buds on the way to the Bhimanna temple and prepare *naivedyam* with the left over rice grains or *jowar* powder at *veta sulpekad*. After placing few *ippa puvvu* buds in the *naivedyam* and some in front of the god in a row, the *naivedyam* is offered to the god on *syama* leaves. Then the *pathi* is organized. After eating the *prasadam* everyone returns to the village.

Holi (*Duradi*)

The Holi festival Kolam and non-Kolam do not match, Kolams celebrate it on the full moon day of March (*Duradi*) which is considered the last day of the year. In the evening, they prepare *panigellu* at the place where they cook food regularly and the head of the household performs *puja* at the same place. In this he breaks a coconut in the name of Hanuman god and offers a bit of coconut kernel, a bit of *panigellu* and the *dari belly*. Then he performs *puja* for fire (*Agni* god) and offers the same kind of *naivedyam*. He repeats the same at the *dayyala mula*. Then the coconut and *panigellu* is distributed as *prasadam* to all the family members and their relatives.

The male members of the village gather at the Patel's house and lead a procession towards the Burri deity singing songs accompanied by musical beats of *dulki* and *dhol*. The priest offers *puja* at the Burri deity and all of them return to the Patel's house. They collect grains, *jowar*, maize, *toor dal*, green gram and chickpeas from all the households starting from the Patel.

Then next day morning, five members of the village accompanied by priest offer *puja* at the *ippa chettu*. The mixture of *gudalu*⁷³ and *dari belly* is offered to the forest deity. These five people when sit in a circle around the *ippa* tree, the priest distributes the boiled grains to others. He offers prayers to the god silently by touching the mother earth and then everyone throws up the boiled grains saying '*ut ut poke golla dor varadth ene piradth jidivayathun*'. They believe that if they utter these words the *ippa* flowers will fall down early on the ground. Then they return to the village. The grains collected the day before are boiled and a small quantity of them is distributed to all households in the village. Then everyone plays holi and sing songs to the musical beats of *dulki* or *dhol*. They sing different songs at the Patel's house and the Patel's wife brings the *jowar* or maize grains and gives some cash also to the group. She then salutes by touching their feet. She also plays Holi with her younger or elder

⁷³ It is prepared by boiling the dry beans or grains along with little chilli powder, salt and onions.

brother-in-law who is there in the group. In the evening, the head of the household lights an earthen lamp on *jowar* grains at the *dayyalla mula* and offers *naivedyam* followed sprinkling of *dari belly*.

Manndos (Ugadi)

It is celebrated in March (*Duradi*) on the new moon day after the Holi and Ugadi is considered as the first day of the New Year as in case non-tribal Telugu populations. They start agricultural work from this day. Every household in the village prepares *panigellu* and organize *puja* in their respective agricultural fields. The *panigellu* brought from home is put on the *modugu* leaves; the head of the household breaks a coconut and offers *naivedyam* followed by *dari belly*. Then he prays to god for timely rains and good harvest and seek blessings from the mother earth. It is repeated by other members of the house. After eating the *prasadam*, the family members start doing little agricultural work such as preparing the land for cultivation by picking the thorns, removing stones, stone picking, cutting grass, cutting dried sticks and digging soil. Those who engage annual labour they appoint the labourer called *jithagadu* to work for that particular year with that family. Returning home they prepare *gudallu* with the mixed grains like *jowar*, maize, *toor dal*, green gram and chick peas and first offer the same to the oxen before distributing to all the family members. In the evening women prepare different varieties of food items. The head of the household lights an earthen lamp on *jowar* grains at the *dayyala mula* and performs *puja* to the agricultural implements as it is done at the agricultural field. Then the family members also repeat the offering of *naivedyam*.

Polakamma puja

This is celebrated in the month of *Saitha* (April) on the full moon day. Two or three days of organizing the *puja*, the villagers clear the boundary by the removing the thorny bushes and make the way for the people to reach *kattugundu*. There are four *kattugundus* around the village at four cardinal directions on the boundaries of the village. In Dhantanpally, the first *kattugudu* is known as *thumkon Rajulla kattu* which is located in the north; the second is known as *Pochamma kattu* in the east; the third is known as *Dhantanpally Bhimanna kattu* in the south; the fourth *kattugudu* is known as *bodka Bhimanna kattu* in the west. The elders of the village bring *zanverol*, *nevare* and *sattllu* from the Bhimanna temple and place them at the first *kattugundu*.

In the evening, villagers gather at the centre of the village with their *saysa*. The priest initiates the *puja* by sprinkling the water in front of the deity and then organizes the *punnji*. Later he draws a *pattu*⁷⁴ in the name of deity and pours a handful of *jowar* flour on the Burri stone which is then followed by another *pattu*, a circle around it with the turmeric powder. He then pours a handful of *jowar* in the squares of the *pattu*. With the left over *jowar* powder he prepares *naivedyam* by mixing the remaining rice. It is followed by the sacrifice of a hen.

They first perform *puja* at the cooking place in which the priest prays to the goddess and sacrifices a hen, this is called as *thatekovve*. The priest then drops few drops of blood at the hearth and starts preparing different food items for the *puja*. Then the stone which is at the shrine of the Nadidiamma is put aside and the area is cleaned. It is plastered with cow dung paste. Now a colorful *pattu* is drawn as shown in figure 3.1 with the help of a bamboo stick, *bodde badda*, using powders of coal, *jowar*, turmeric and vermillion.

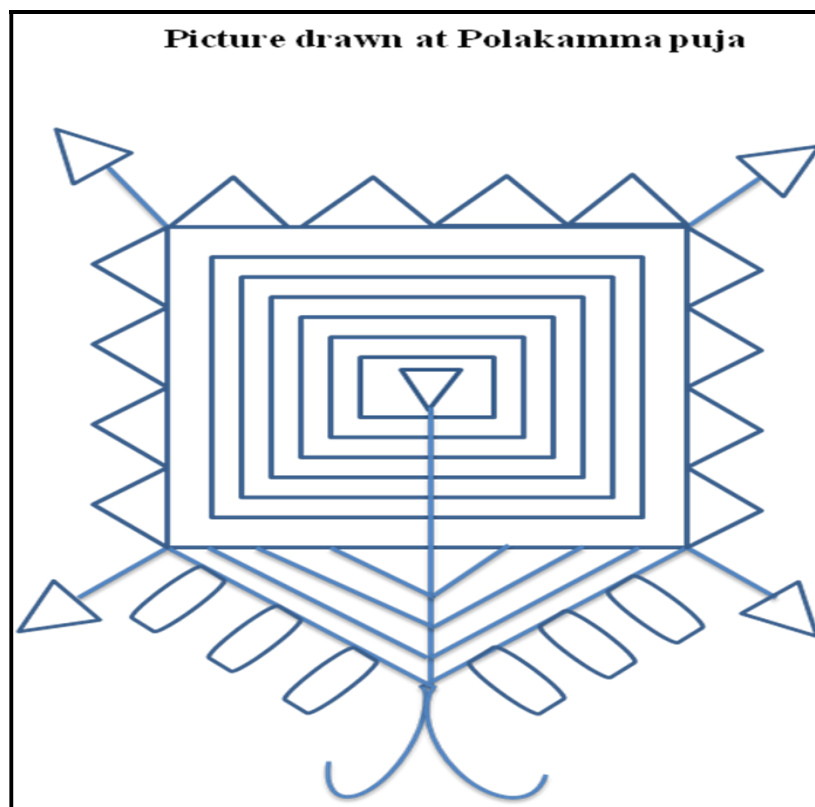


Figure 3.1 Picture drawn at Polakamma Puja

⁷⁴ Some elders who are specialized in drawing *pattu* are also involved.

Once the above *pattu* is ready, the elders and the priest go to the first *kattugundu* carrying two hens. They draw a *pattu* there also and sacrifice the hen known as *dhayavelugukalenkadh*. The materials which are placed at the first *kattugundu* are brought to the village after purification with the sprinkling cow urine. These materials are placed besides the *pattu*. The priest then calls everyone for the *punnji*, and then he organizes the *punnji* followed by drawing another *pattu*.

The worship the Polakamma deity takes place in the middle of the night by sacrificing of a pig. Before sacrificing it, the priest says ‘*ane thurarayed mara mayen thurayend*’ which means it is not my pig; rather it belongs to goddess Pochamma. He cries out three times by beating his open mouth with his right hand. Then the priest walks three times around the *pattu* drawn for Polakamma carrying the pig’s head. Then he drops few drops of blood falling from the head of the pig at the *pattu* and drops some more blood in some *jowar* flour to make a few round balls with it. The liver of the pig is burnt on the fire, and the *parra* (white layer) which is taken from the pig is tied to the *kille*⁷⁵ and placed in front of the egg that is kept at the *pattu*. The priest offers *naivedyam* to the goddess followed by the sprinkling of *dari belly*.

Then there will be *ooru kattu* which means that none should neither go out nor come into the village. On that particular day, the menstruating women shall stay outside the village. They shall park their bullock-cart, tractor, motor cycle and auto etc., outside the *ooru kattu*. The priests accompanied by some elders visit four *kattugundu* stones, along with few others wearing *zanverol* and *nevari* holding *sattllu* in their hands. Before leaving, everyone stands in a semi-circle and take the blessings of the goddess by touching the mother earth with their heads. Then all the members go in procession accompanied by musical beats of *dhol*, *nagara* and flute. The person who leads the procession purifies the way by sprinkling cow urine on the ground with an *ahre* tree branch. After reaching the first *kattugundu*, the priest places a stone aside and digs a pit under it using small iron bar. He then pours a handful of *jowar* flour in front of a stone. The chicken brought is left there to touch the *jowar* flour. If it touches the flour, then it is assumed that the deity is happy with their offering. He then places *jowar* gruel, water with *ippa* flower, turmeric powder and little cooked rice in the pit. The priest then wrenches the chick's head with his hand and places the head in the pit while the headless chicken is carried with them. Later on, he closes the pit with mud, puts the stone back in its place and closes the pit.

⁷⁵ A lotus shaped design prepared with bamboo stick.

He then places a whip around the stone in a circle by leaving gap. The ball of *jowar* flour made of mixing with chicken blood is placed on the stone and it is covered by turmeric powder. He pours *jowar* flour mixed with turmeric powder around the stone followed by cow dung ash. He then takes the whip out after drawing two circles of different powders round it. The priest then says ‘this is not my *kattu* it is *thumkon Rajulla kattu*. He cries the same for three times by beating his open mouth with his right hand making a peculiar sound. Then all of them go in procession with the musical beats to the second and the other *kattugundu* and repeat the *puja*. It is considered very important *puja* to protect the village from various evil spirits and diseases with the help of the deities.

They again go back to the first *kattugundu* set up small fire and burn the chicken livers which are sacrificed at four different places. The *naivedyam* carried from the village is offered to the deity which is then followed by the sprinkling of *dari belly*. Then the remaining food in the winnowing fan is distributed to everyone. The person who distributes it alone returns to the village by carrying a little food in the winnowing fan. The elders in the village observing his coming light an earthen lamp in front of the *pattu* and when he comes to the *pandal* and beats his open mouth with his right hand to produce a sound. This *pandal* roofed with *neredu* branches covers the entire *pattu*. While the *kille* is hung along with a *gare* from the centre of the *pandal* and four *garelu* are hung at the four corners of the *pandal*. The balloon shaped lung of the pig is tied to the *gare* which is tied in the centre of the *pandal*. The *bodde badda* (bamboo stick) and the *danti gona*⁷⁶ branch are placed on the top of the *pandal*. Then everyone who is sitting at the first *kattugundu* returns to the village in a procession with the music and form into a circle in front of the *pattu* and dance. Then *pathi* is organized. After that they again visit the four *kattugundus* in a procession with the music. The priest observes or checks the *pattu* drawn at four places whether it has been disturbed or not. If it is disturbed for any reason they believe that it is a bad sign for the village. Now villagers can go out of the village and others can also come into the village.

In the morning, all the villagers gather in front of the *pandal*. First the musical beats are played in the name of goddess Pochamma. Now, the *supari* and others get possessed and go into trance. The *supari* who is in trance takes the earthen lamp which is in front of the *pandal* and tries to touch the fire with his tongue. He then takes the pig's head and tries to eat the

⁷⁶ Branch of *danti* tree which comprises of thorns.

meat of it. The people who are standing there try to disturb him by making some sounds. Finally, he eats a little meat by his mouth and then drinks water. He again places the pig's head in front of the *pandal*. The Patel's wife garlands the *supari* with a new *saree*. Then, after some time the *supari* gets dispossessed of the goddess Pochamma. When different musical beats are played in the name of the deity the Dulapothu (itching deity) the *supari* gets possessed of the Dulapothu deity. Then he starts scratching his body and moving here and there. He also receives the whip beats in the name of the deity. A person who is standing in the group hides a young chick at his back. The *supari* finds⁷⁷ it and takes from him and wrenches its head with his hand and eats it and drinks, water. Then the itching deity leaves his body and then he stops scratching his body.

Then all the villagers consume liquor and eat non-vegetarian food together. After having food, both men and women dance to different musical beats by forming two circles; women form the inner circle and the men form the outer circle. The women also sing different songs while dancing. Then the priest's wife prepares turmeric water and distributes few drops as Pochamma water to all saying *ram-ram*. The priest then offers toddy and *ippapuvullu* mixed with water to the goddess Pochamma and then offers liquor to the elders. The elder sisters-in-law bring their younger brothers-in-law in front of the *pandal* and pours turmeric water on them with full of joy. Both men and women participate in dance accompanied with different musical beats.

Here they perform a skit in which the harvest of *babbera* and cow gram crops is enacted. Then the actors and audience dance together. After this, the women return to their respective houses and prepare food at home and again come to the *pandal* with a tray containing a little cooked rice, incense sticks and an earthen lamp. The priest collects the cooked rice from them and puts in a bowl. He then lights their earthen lamps with the burning lamp placed at the *pandal*. Then all the women return to their houses and place the lightened earthen lamp at the *dayyala mula*. Then the earthen lamp which is placed at the *pandal* is taken to the Patel's or priest's house and placed at the *dayyala mula*. The elders come back and cover the *pandal* with a new *saree* and put the *kumbam*⁷⁸ in a winnowing fan. It is made into two portions using *bodde badda* and *danti gona* branch. One portion is taken along with them to outside

⁷⁷ It is believed that he is able to find the chick due to supernatural powers.

⁷⁸ Cooked rice mixed with pig's meat.

the village in a winnowing fan and the other is put in another winnowing fan which is distributed to the villagers. This is followed by ceremonial cleaning of the area in front of Pochamma deity.

On the third day, in the morning they organize at the first *kattugundu veta sulpekadh* gathering which means hunting. After this they organize the *villarik* gathering in the village. This is an enactment of hunting, the grand-father and son-in-law who fail to get a hunt but with the help of the god of Naikpods, they are able to hunt. A Madiga buys the skin of the animal, but the police arrive and harass the Madiga for possessing the skin. The next day in the morning, the Kolam who acted as Madigas are purified by sacrificing hens. Then there will be *dayalla velgulkalekadh* event which means purification of the deities. The *zanverol*, *nevari* and *sattllu* which are brought from the Bhimanna temple are also purified by sprinkling the cow urine and the elder place them at the temple known as *dayal pavidekadh*.

God's blessing on seeds (Devuniki vithanalu pettadam)

This *puja* is organized in June (*Budu bave*) after the full moon on any Thursday. The elders start it with *bhoomi puja* secretly which is called *donga vithanala puja* and the participants are not supposed to talk to each other. It is done in the forest under an *ippa* tree by placing a big stone which is called as *pathi banda* on a hole at its base. The priest lights an earthen lamp by purifying the area and incense sticks in front of the *pathi banda*. Then he organizes the *punnji* which is followed by the sacrifice of a hen or pig and offers *naivedyam*. Sprinkling of *dari belly* follows it. The elders repeat the offering of *naivedyam* after the priest. Then *pathi* is organized. They spend the night in the forest and return to the village on the next morning.

In the morning women begin their daily domestic chorus only after the priest or Patel's wife starts her chorus round noon men and women go in a procession to the Bhimanna temple with music. The priest Khatodak prepares the temple for *puja*. He takes little amount of pounded rice or *jowar* powder from the *saysa* and sends the remaining for preparing food. After performing *abhisekam* to Bhimanna gods by mixing the *sesame* oil with the turmeric powder the priest organizes the *PELLI PUJA punnji*. It is followed by sacrifice of a hen and then offering of *naivedyam* and *dari belly*. The elders also offer *naivedyam* after the priest. Then *pathi* is organized.

In the evening the priest starts the *vithanala puja* by lighting an earthen lamp in front of Bhimanna. The *puja* performed earlier is repeated once again with the sacrifice of a hen or goat and offering *naivedyam*. Now *supari* and others go into trance. Then *pathi* is organized. Later on, the other members also will have non-vegetarian food. The priest then asks the *sooryak-daryak* to take the seeds which are put in front of the god. He in fact uses the bell fixed at the handle of the whip (*saat*) for transfer of seed to the *jolthis* or new towel held by *sooryak-daryak*.

Then a group walks five times round the temple accompanied by music. A few males act as if they are sowing seeds, while the others are ploughing the land. Two to three people are asked to sit in the west and sprinkle water by making the sounds of thunderstorm. While some *sesame* seeds are stored in a cone shaped bamboo called *gade*, the remaining are distributed to the people. While receiving the seeds people stretch out their hands cross-ways. They believe that the *sesame* branches will grow longer if they receive them this way. Then the priest distributes seeds with a *saat* bell. After *bentilekad* all of them return to the village. The children or youth play different kinds of games in the evening at the village wherein two teams are formed - one team as Patel or priest team and the other Patel's wife or priest's wife team. If men's team wins they believe that men will have heavy work during that year. Similarly, if women's team wins they believe that women will have heavy work during that year. If both the teams score the same points they believe that both men and women will have heavy work during that year.

Auspicious time of sowing Seeds (Vithanala *Muhurtham*/muhurthalu)

This *puja* is performed in July (*Budu bave*) and it is initially carried out in the priest's (Dhelak or Khatodak) agricultural field. The villagers cannot start agricultural work till this *puja* is organized at the priest's agricultural field. The priest's family carries different varieties of foods prepared, paraphernalia of *puja* and different kinds of seeds. The priest's wife holds on her shoulder a pot containing some *jowar* seeds on which a lightened earthen lamp is seated by covering a white cloth. The *puja* is carried out at the same place where their ancestors had worshiped earlier, at the *muhurtham* banda, which is under an *ahre* tree in the agricultural field. They prepare a small cone shaped bamboo object and a plough with the *thiruman* stick. The implements like sickle, hand axe, cone and plough shaped objects are placed at the stone. Then the priest sanctifies the area and the stone, and then organizes

punnji. He first distributes the seeds followed by rice. A hen or pig is sacrificed here. The priest and his wife offer *naivedyam* to the god which is then followed by the sprinkling of *daribelly*. The same offering of *naivedyam* is done by an elder of the village afterwards. Then *pathi* is organized. The priest carries a hand axe on his left shoulder, and acts as though ploughing the land with a *nagali*. He sows seeds and covers them with sand and sprinkles water on the ground. Then all the members return to the priest's house in procession by playing the musical beats of *dappu* and *vanchu*. When the group reaches the house, there will be few women standing at the house with water and an empty bowl. The lamp is taken out from the pot and placed inside the house at the *dayyala mula* on the *jowar* grains. The priest pours water *dara* in front of the lamp and offers *dari belly* to the god. He then prays to the god and takes blessings by touching the mother earth. The same is done by elders afterwards.

Worship of Cattle (Pasuvula puja)

This *puja* is performed in the forest in July (*Akkadi*) when the trees bring forth new leaves in the forest after the initial showers. The elders on the way to the forest pluck *dargu* branches, four sticks of *gonte* tree and three sticks of *thunki* tree. After walking into the forest they select a place, clean it and sprinkle water. The priest first places the *dargu* branches at the selected place and places the *gonte* sticks and *thunki* sticks below the *dargu* branches horizontally in a row. He lights the incense sticks and puts in front of it. The rice or *jowar* powder brought for the *puja* is collected in a bowl and organizes the *punnji*. The Dhelak while offering *punnji* asks the god in a silent prayer that the people and the animals should not face any kind of problem by the wild animals when they go into the forest as the forest has grown enormously with thick bushes. The priest then draws *pattu* with the rice or *jowar* flour, below the *gonte* and *thunki* sticks and sacrifices a hen. Then two persons act as tiger by squatting and holding the *dargu* branches under left shoulders. Out of the nine *owths*, two are given to them. The priest asks seven persons to hold sticks and stand behind these two people. These seven people, at a time say the word *woodh* and throw the sticks on the two people who are sitting in front of them. Then the two persons who are sitting, leap forward to some distance in the sitting position, and eat the *prasadam*. Then the remaining seven members also eat the *prasadam* together by sitting at one place separately. Then they return to the village. Then the heads of the households offer *naivedyam* at the *dayyala mula* in their respective houses. The Kolams eat newly grown vegetable only when the *pasuvulla puja* is performed.

Crossing over of Cattle – Worship of Ammavaru (Pasuvula Datudi - Ammavaru *puja*)

Kolams perform this *puja* in the month of *Akkadi* (July) mostly on Wednesday. The elders fix the date and collect cash and *saysa* from every household and buy the animal to be sacrificed on that particular day. It is performed for the well being of the cattle and protection of cattle as they move in the forest. They reach the Akkadi Rajula shrine along with their cattle. The priest first cleans the area and sprinkles water and then lights incense sticks in front of the god and organizes the *punnji*. They may sacrifice a hen or pig and drop few drops of blood that ooze out of the head of the animal sacrificed at the *pattu*. Then the priest offers *naivedyam* to the deity followed by sprinkling of *dari belly*. The same offering is repeated by the Patel and other elders. Then *pathi* is organized. Later on, they will have non-vegetarian food. After eating food, the cattle herders bring the cattle from the forest and fasten them at a distance. The priest then draws a straight line with a knife on the ground by touching one end of the square box drawn already at the *pattu* and pours turmeric powder on it. The cattle that are brought from the forest are driven to cross the line. Once the cattle cross the line they believe that their cattle will not suffer from any kind of problems.

Worship of Forest deity (Akkadi *puja*)

On the following day of *Pasuvula datudi Ammavaru puja* the Akkadi *puja* is performed. Elders gather adjacent to the Akkadi Rajula shrine with items of *puja* and the cattle. The priest initiates the *puja* in the routine manner but also prepares idols of tiger, snake and other wild animals with *jowar* paste and places them in front of the stones set at the shrine. He then organizes the *punnji*. The priest followed by the elders prays to the deity for protecting their cattle from all the wild animals. He draws *pattu* and offers *naivedyam* prepared by adding milk and sugar or jaggery to cooked rice. After this he sacrifices a goat in the name of the Akkadi Rajulu and later offers *naivedyam* followed by the *dari belly*. The elders repeat the same afterwards.

Then some people call the cattle herders by blowing *thura kommu* (buffalo horn). The cattle herders come there and tie the cattle at a distance and sit after washing hands and legs along with the *pathi* group. The *naivedyam* offered to the deity is served to the cattle herders along with the priest and others; a cloth screen is arranged so that other may not watch them eating the *prasadam*. Later on, others will also have the non-vegetarian food. Then the priest

draws a straight line with a knife by touching one end of the *pattu*. He then pours turmeric powder on the line drawn in the name of the *Akkadi Rajula* deity. The cattle are brought and driven to pass or cross over the line and as they do so the priest throws a live chicken called *jeevdan pilla* over the cattle. He then sprinkles the *dari belly* and turmeric powder on the cattle until the cattle cross the line. Then all of them return to the village. Everyone celebrates *Akkadi puja* at their respective homes. The head of the household lights an earthen lamp on *jowar* grains at the *dayyalla mula* and offers *naivedyam* followed by sprinkling of *dari belly*.

On the same day, they start the Dandari which is called as Dandari *lepadam* (rising up of Dandari). The elders approach the head of the Dandari troupe and discuss initiation of the Dandari program for the year. The woman of the Dandari head's family prepares *naivedyam* with five measures of pounded rice, *garelu* of green gram and *roti* while singing Kolami songs. All the Dandari materials are brought from the community hall and placed at the Burri deity. The priest first sprinkles water and cow urine on them and lights the incense sticks in front of the deity. Then the Dandari head offers prayer to the goddess and breaks a coconut. He then offers a bit of coconut kernel and *naivedyam* followed by sprinkling of *dari belly*. The same is repeated by the elders, Gussadi⁷⁹, and Mav⁸⁰ and Pori⁸¹ pairs. The the Dandari head, Gussadi, Mav and Pori pairs sit for the *pathi*. Then the Mav and Pori pairs accompanied by the Gussadi also dance to the different tunes of *dappu* and flute played by the elders. All the sanctified Dandari materials are taken back to the community hall. Now on they can regularly practice the dance in the village.

Akkadi amavasya

For Kolams this is an individual *puja* celebrated at their respective houses as in case of non-tribal Telugu populations; it is *chukkala amavasya*. The villagers who possess cattle perform the *dhoodi kovve* (Pochamma) *puja* at their respective cattle sheds. In the evening, the cattle are brought early from the forest and the head of the household offers *puja* at the cattle shed. He first initiates the *puja* by sprinkling water in front of the cattle shed and applies *chandram* (pink color) at the two poles of the cattle shed. Pouring a handful of rice or *jowar pattu* in front of the shed he sacrifices a hen. Then *naivedyam* is offered to the goddess which is followed by sprinkling of the *dari belly*. He prays to the goddess that his cattle shouldn't

⁷⁹ Half naked male member's carrying a Gussadi topi on their head

⁸⁰ Male youth

⁸¹ The male youth who act like female members

suffer from any kind of problems. The head of the household and his family members also offer the *naivedyam* at the *dayyala mula* by lighting an earthen lamp on *jowar* grains.

Worship of Snake God (Nagula Panchami or Chavithi)

It is celebrated five days after Chukalla Amavasya. The temple/shrine premises of the Burri deity and others in the village are cleaned sprinkled with cow dung water and their entrances are decorated with drawing of beautiful colour designs on the ground. Women prepare maize or *jowar* flakes in a pot shred. The *naivedyam* prepared with a mixture of *garelu* and *jaggery* is carried in a tray covered by a cloth to an anthill. After reaching the place first water and then pink and turmeric powder are sprinkled on it. Placing some lighted incense sticks in front of it they break a coconut and pour water in the holes of the anthill which is then followed by *seeg yeer* and milk. They place flakes of maize or *jowar*, and sprinkle *dari belly*. Both the spouses walk five times round the anthill with silent prayer and folded palms. They come to the village and offer the same *puja* at the shrine of Burri deity.

The head of the household lights an earthen lamp at the *dayyala mula* and organizes *puja*. He keeps five small heaps of maize or *jowar* flakes on a white cloth and after saluting, he takes one heap and gives to the family members and they all eat sitting together at one place. Some family members fast that day according to their wish. If there are elders who know medicine for the snake or scorpion bite they can share the knowledge with others on this day. If anyone wants to know about the use of medicinal plants, that person approaches the knowledgeable person and offers him liquor to get such information.

Worship of Cattle God (Doorka Dayyal)

In Kolam dialect, the word *door* means cow and *doorkak* is a cow herder. In every Kolam village there are few *doorkaks* depending upon the number of cattle. Once a year all the herders in the village perform *puja* to the *doorka dayyal* (god of animals) mainly for the protection of cattle herders and the cattle. All the herders inform the respective cattle owners about the *puja*. Based on the budget, they purchase a hen or goat and other *puja* items. The elders select a place under a tree in the forest, the priest initiates the *puja* by sprinkling water and lighting an earthen lamp and incense. Breaking a coconut he prays silently to the god and then organizes the *punnji*. They behead a hen or goat and few drops of the blood of the sacrificed animal are dropped at the *pattu* and its head is placed before it. The priest then offers *naivedyam* to the god followed by the sprinkling of *dari belly*. The same is repeated by

the elders and the cattle herders. Then the *pathi* is organized. Later on, the herders and others will have the non-vegetarian food and return to the village.

Worship of Hanuman (*Bhajana*)

This is performed in the month of *Pora* (August). Generally, the venue is village community hall. The priest initiates the *puja* placing the portraits of Hanuman god and other deities in one or two winnowing fans. The priest cleans the portraits with *seeg yeer* (water) and applies vermilion to it and then keeps an earthen lamp on a small pot which is filled with the *seeg yeer*. He then lights the earthen lamp and incense sticks placing them in front of the portraits. He garlands the portraits with different kinds of flowers. The main male singers sit at one place and start the singing songs while other joins them repeating the song till afternoon. After having the evening meals people gather and sing songs for the deities using musical instruments of *dulki* and *thalalu*. This *bhajana* is continued for six days. On the final day each household contributes items for *puja*. All the villagers, men, women and children gather at the site of *bhajana*. The priest puts stringed *belpathri* leaves in the necks of some men as garland and decorates the pot and winnowing fans with *belpathri* leaves.

After prayer to the gods and taking the blessings of the mother earth with his head the priest lifts the portraits and lamp and hands over to the men to keep them on their shoulders. All of them go in a procession by singing songs and playing the musical instruments of *dulki* and *thalalu*. The people who hold the portraits and lamp lead the procession and the priest sprinkles the *dari belly* on them. After performing *puja* at the Burri, Mundel, Pochamma and Gabureg deities finally the procession reaches the Hanuman temple where *puja* is performed once again. At the Hanuman temple they walk around for five times with the portraits and lamp then all of them go inside the temple and perform *puja* to the god Hanuman. There ends the *bhajana puja*.

Sivabodi and Kargulla Puja

The Sivabodi *puja* is performed in the month of August (*Pora*); it is carried out in the day time followed by the Kargulla *puja* in the night. The priest first cleans the area where two roads meet outside the village and sprinkles water and then initiates the *puja* by lighting the incense sticks. He then draws *pattu* and organizes the *punnji*. They may sacrifice a hen or goat and then the priest offers *naivedyam* to the deity followed by sprinkling of *dari belly*.

The same offering is repeated by the other elders afterwards. Then *pathi* is organized. Later on, other members also will join to have non-vegetarian food. After having the food everyone returns to the village. On the way to the village the priest places a big stone on a branch of *reguchettu* (*Ziziphus*) at one place and he spit's on it and walks from the place. If anyone in the group is smoking at that time he has to stop and throw the *beedi* on it. The meaning behind is that they consider *reguchettu* branch symbolizing an evil spirit. A heavy stone is hang on it to hold it down to the ground so as to prevent it following them while they return to the village.

Kargu: The villagers bring a few teak (*Tectona grandis*) leaves from the forest on the same day of Sivabodi or a day before. The priest takes five leaves and folds each leaf into a cone shape and places them in front of the Burri deity. Then two other are kept opposite at some distance. The priest first cleans the area and sprinkles water at the Burri deity and then lights the incense sticks. Meanwhile, some children go in a procession to each and every household and collect little amount of *elkal ambel* (food for rats) in winnowing fans; this food has been kept in front of the gods in the house. The collected food is mixed in a bowl and offered as *naivedyam* to goddess Nadidiamma. They may sacrifice a hen or pig or sheep outside the *ooru kattu*. The priest carries some *naivedyam* in a *modugu* leafs and walks out of the village boundary with the other elders. They select a place outside the *ooru kattu* which is called as *nagara* and organizes *puja* and *pathi*. Later on, they will have non-vegetarian food. Then they return to the village. This *puja* is performed for protecting from rats and rabbits that damages their crops.

Then among the two *suryak-daryak*, one of them from Athram clan holding a pestle in one hand while the other person of other clan holding a winnowing fan go to the priest's or Patel's house. The person holding the pestle beats the ground with it by crying *uccho-dome*. This way they visit other houses also. The women in every house put food separately in a *modugu* leaf in the name of mosquito (*domal ambel*) and give this food to the *surayak-daryak*. The food thus collected from every household in the name of mosquitoes is mixed in a bowl and offered as *naivedyam* to the goddess Nadidiamma. This *puja* is performed for protecting themselves from any mosquito caused diseases.

Eating New Grains (*Samakotha*)

On the next day of *Kargula* Kolams organize *Samakotha* festival. They do not eat the new harvest till they offer to the god. The words *Sama Kotha* represent crops like *samalu*, *korralu*, *pesara*, *babbera* etc. The priest Khatodak carries with him the items of *puja* and other groceries required for conducting *puja* at the Bhimanna temple and collects the contributions of pounded rice or *jowar* powder *saysa*. Now *naivedyam* is prepared with the pounded rice or *jowar* by mixing milk and some grains of *samalu*, *korralu*, *pesara* and *babbera* etc., in it. They also place grains of five newly grown raw crops like *samalu*, *koralu*, *maize* and *jowar* etc., in front of the god. The priest then organizes the *punnji*. After sacrificing an animal or hen the priest offers *naivedyam* to the Bhimanna god followed by the sprinkling of *dari belly*. The extra *owths* placed in front of the god are distributed to every household in the village. These *owths* are placed at the *dayyala mula* at their respective houses. In the evening the head of the household lights an earthen lamp at the *dayyala mula* and offers *naivedyam* which is then followed by the sprinkling of *dari belly* at the *dayyala mula*.

Polala Amavasya and Badaga

This is celebrated in the month of *Pora* (August) on the day of new moon day and on the next day *badaga* is celebrated. The oxen are washed in the nearby stream or pond then taken to the agricultural field and are left free to eat anything for some time and then brought home after grazing. Later they are decorated and old threads of nose and neck are replaced with new ones. Both the husbands and wives of the village go to the Hanuman temple along with their oxen in a procession. While the woman leads the procession holding a tray containing an earthen lamp placed on the *jowar* grains, vermilion, turmeric powder, incense sticks and *dari belly* etc., and the man holding man nose thread of the oxen that follow him. After reaching the temple they walk five rounds around the temple with music and singing songs followed by the oxen. They organize *puja* and sprinkle *dari belly*. They apply the *chandram*⁸² to their forehead and also to the oxen's forehead. The women feed the oxen with food items brought from home. The earthen lamp taken to the temple is placed inside the house at the *dayyala mula* on *jowar* grains. The head of the household and other family members offer *naivedyam* to the god at the *dayyala mula*.

⁸² It is of a pink color.

Badaga: In the evening, every household places at the main door a bamboo stick which is brought from the forest on the day of Nagula Chavithi. The next day, in the early morning people cry loudly *jagai matha...jagai matha*. After taking bath they bring the stick inside the house and place it at the *dayyala mula*. Then *puja* is performed and after sometime people gather at the Burri goddess. The priest first offers *naivedyam* and then sprinkles *dari belly*, *sooryak-daryak* and other elders also offer the *naivedyam* afterwards. Then all men go Shivam temple in a procession crying *jagai matha...jagai matha*. Some children walk on bamboo sticks to the Shivam doing balancing acts. The men place the bamboo sticks under a tree and walk around a tree by crying *jagai matha...jagai matha*. Then they pray silently to the goddess to take away all the diseases of the villagers along with her. The *naivedyam* brought from the home is placed in *modugu* leaves in front of the Shivam god. Then *prasadam* is distributed to all. The elder who has knowledge about herbal medicine picks up different medicinal plants and branches of trees go home and take head bath by placing the branches under his feet. After the bath, he places the branches on the top of the *pandal*. These branches and leaves are used when a person in the family falls sick.

In the evening the women at the house prepare different varieties of food including non-vegetarian and the head of the household offers *naivedyam* to gods which is then followed by the sprinkling of *dari belly* at the *dayyala mula*. The same is repeated with the family members afterwards.

Boy's Initiation Ceremony (*Puthakatekad*)

Kolams organize this *puthakatekad* ones in five years in the name of Rajulla god. Boys who are between three to seven years shall participate in it or at least before marriage. Otherwise, they are eligible neither for the marriage nor receiving *naivedyam*, the sacred food offered to the deities during the festivals and rituals. First the priest, few elders and fathers with their sons arrive at a hill or mountain area and the priest selects the place under a tree, cleans it and sprinkles water and initiates the *puja* at a stone that represents Rajulla god. The *puja* is performed separately for each boy, one after the other. A new towel brought is placed in front of the god and a white flag is tied to a tree in the name of the boy. The priest then draws the *pattu* with the *jowar* or rice grains brought by each individual and sacrifices hens brought by the boys. The meat collected from everyone is mixed with the *jowar* flour and prepared *kanduri* in a new pot. After preparing the food they offer *naivedyam* to the god. They separate little amount of food and offer it to the god in *modugu* leaves and sprinkle *dari belly*. The

same offering of *naivedyam* is repeated by the elders afterwards. The children who have attended the *puthakatekad puja* will have to eat this *kanduri*, and they are considered adult or *samurtha* (major) from that day. After organizing *pathi* they will have non-vegetarian food and return home.

Chithaki (Kothapanta puja)

This *puja* is performed in the month of *Paythalla* (September) after two or three days of organizing the Sama Kotha *puja* by those who possess agricultural lands. It is initially carried out at the Patel's or priest's agricultural field, and the villagers cannot start till it is organized by the Patel or priest. The priest along with the elders of the village goes to his agricultural field and offer *puja* at the *muhurtham banda*. They may sacrifice a hen or break a coconut. The new crops grown in this or other agricultural field are collected and a small amount of them is placed in front of the god. They also mix a little amount of newly grown crops in the food prepared for eating there. The priest breaks a coconut in front of the god and offers a bit of coconut kernel followed by the sprinkling of *dari belly*. Then *pathi* is organized. Later on, the other members also will have non-vegetarian food. After having the food everyone return to the village and distribute the newly grown crops or vegetables to their relatives. The news of having organized *Chithaki puja* is circulated to other villagers so that they can also do the same in their respective fields. Once this *puja* is performed at their respective agricultural fields they can eat the food of the newly grown crops.

Dasara

This festival is celebrated in the month of *Diwala* (October), either before or after the non-tribal Dasara festival. The *puja* is organized at the Bhimanna temple mostly on Thursday which is considered an auspicious day for the god Bhimanna. Everyone stands in a semi-circle or a line in front of the deity after washing their hands and feet and men put on turban and salute the god by touching the mother earth with their head. One by one go to the god and takes a pinch of turmeric powder and offers silent prayer to god by touching the mother earth. They turn around touch the earth and apply the turmeric powder to their forehead and then disperse.

The priest now performs *abhisekam* to the Bhimanna gods by mixing sesame oil with the turmeric powder and then organizes the *punnji*. They sacrifice hen and goat for this *puja*. Few

blood drops of head of the animal sacrificed are dropped at the *pattu*. A pumpkin is brought in and made a buffalo by fixing sticks to it to look like fore-legs, hind-legs, horns and tail. The priest Khatodak then breaks it into pieces with a sword. The seeds in it are sprinkled on the god and also on the other materials which are placed besides the god. It is then cut into pieces and distributed to those gathered there. The priest offers *naivedyam* to the god in *syama* leaves which is then followed by the sprinkling of *dari belly*. The *naivedyam* is also offered at the shrines of Mundel, Pochamma and Gabureg. Now *supari* and others go into trance. Then *pathi* is organized. Later on, the other members also will have non-vegetarian food. Everyone spends that night at the Bhimanna temple. In the morning, after getting refreshed the *prasadam* is made into round balls and distributed to all members. This is called *kotha panta prasadam*. Then some people engage in dances accompanied by the play of musical instruments such as *dhol*, *nagara* and *pempre*. After *bentilekad* everyone returns to their homes.

In the noon or evening there will be *puja* at the Mundel and old flag is replaced with a new white flag. Hen or goat is sacrificed, *naivedyam* is offered to the god which is then followed by the sprinkling of *dari belly*. It is repeated by the elders of the village afterwards. Then *pathi* is organized. In the evening the agricultural equipments are washed and placed at the *dayyala mula*. The head of the household lights an earthen lamp of sesame oil and keeps it on *jowar* grains at the *dayyala mula*. He offers *puja* and may even offer a hen as a sacrifice.

Diwali (*Diwala*)

It is celebrated in the month of *Diwala* (November). The priest first initiates *puja* at the Burri deity (*Nadidiamma*) routinely collects contributions from all households. Two men from different clans together draw a *pattu*. The oxen that are washed in the nearby stream and decorated with different kinds of flowers and mango leaves are brought and made to stand on one side of the *pattu* drawn. A woman holding a tray containing an earthen lamp, incense sticks, water in a small brass pot, vermilion, *jowar* grains, and balls of *jowar* paste stands on the other side of the *pattu* drawn for a while. She then puts down the tray and shows camphor flames to the oxen. Then water brought from the house is sprinkled at the mouth of the oxen. They remove eye evil with the balls of *jowar* paste. Then the oxen are fed with *naivedyam* and *garelu* prepared with sesame oil. After this, the oxen are taken back to their respective houses. The women also return to their homes with tray and place the earthen lamp at the

dayyala mula. The left over *prasadam* is collected from all the winnowing fans and distributed among all the men who sit in a circle in front of the Burri deity and eat together and they greet each other saying *ram-ram* and get dispersed.

The head of the household performs *puja* at the *dayyala mula* and offers *naivedyam* to god which is then followed by the sprinkling of *dari belly*. After the worship of god the *prasadam* is offered to the ancestors at the corner outside the house. The ancestors are worshipped in the same manner of worshipping gods. He ends the worship of ancestors with oblation of liquor to the ancestors, and family members follow after him. Lastly, they collect little amount of dung from the place where the *puja* is offered for the oxen, and it is made into round balls and placed on the roof of the house. This dried cow dung cakes are used to light fire at the *muhurthallu puja* which is held in the month of July. They believe that if they do this they will get more yield and they mix this dried dung in water and sprinkle in their agricultural fields for the same result.

Dandari

Bhogi Puja: This is organized generally before the Diwali festival (October) at the centre of the village where the goddess Nadidiamma is situated. Only after performing the *bhogi puja* in the village, the Dandari group of other village is allowed to visit the village and vice-versa. The *puja* is organized at the shrine of Nadidiamma in the village keeping the paraphernalia to be used in Dandari.

Puja at the Bhimanna temple: The Dandari group before it visits the other villages the participants will have to do *puja* at the Bhimanna temple. After performing the *puja* and making the musical instruments ready, youth and children form a circle at the centre of the village and play the *dappu* with different musical beats accompanied by the beats of *nagara*. The young man transverses as woman called Pori whereas a man is called Mav and these act as couple. There will be three or four such pairs in a Dandari group. These pairs dance in front of the Burri deity to the tunes of *dappu* and flute played by the elders. There will be a few half naked men wearing peacock feathered caps on their heads, carrying deer skin behind and a small staff in hand. These are called Gussadi. Later on, the Gussadis also join the Mav and Pori and dance with them. After this all of them go in a procession accompanied by

music to Bhimanna temple. There the priest organizes worship in the routine manner and then the troupe goes to Gabureg, Pochamma and Mundel and the worship is repeated at all the shrines.

Dandari troupe of Dhantanpally visits Bugga village: The Danthanpally troupe has passed on the information of its visit in advance to the Patel of Bugga village. The Chelmela Bugga villagers also welcomed the Dhantanpally Dandari with the musical beats; the women poured five pots of water *dara* in front of the guest Dandari. The Patel's wife brought a tray that consisted of an earthen lamp, incense sticks, water, *jowar* grains and *jowar* balls etc. The Mav and Pori pairs danced to the beats of *dappu* and stand in a line. The Patel's wife first removed the evil eye by pouring water from one end to the other end followed by the *jowar* grains and pieces of *jowar* balls. After this, the Mav and Pori pairs went in a procession and danced to the beats of *dappu* and flute. The Mav and Pori lighted an earthen lamp and incense sticks in front of the goddess and sprinkled the *jowar* grains in front of the lamp and offer prayers by touching the mother earth.

The host village has arranged separate rooms for the Dantanpally Dandari group to take rest during their stay in the village. Then after some time the Mav and Pori pairs dance to the five varieties of tunes played with *dappu* and flute. Then Gussadis followed them dancing to the tunes of *dappu*, *nagara*, flute, and *kallikommu*. Then the Bugga Gussadis also danced to the same tunes. Both the troupes tried to show their expertise in dancing and playing the musical instruments.

Then there is a *baytic*⁸³ between the Gussadis of both the villages. They exchanged incense sticks, *beedi* and greetings. Later on, Gussadis of both the villages danced to the different beats played by both the villages and then they relaxed by sitting at a distance. Meanwhile, the *kolattam* troupe from the Dhantanpally village got ready and played *kolattam*. Then dance continued. The next day morning, the Dandari did not take bath till the ritual is completed. They took a short break in the middle for breakfast, and resumed dancing and had lunch. The Dandari of both the villages resumed the dancing according to different musical beats and it is continued till in the evening.

⁸³ It is a kind of formal meet.

Puja: In the evening, there is a *puja* to the Burri goddess. The area in front of the Burri stone is cleaned and plastered with mud by the women of host village. The Dandari materials and musical instruments of both the villages are placed besides the Burri deity and worshipped. Then the chiefs of the Dandari drew two types of *pattu* with the rice in the name of the Dandari and Bhimanna god. The difference is that in the first *pattu* there are seven handfuls of rice and in the second there are five only. The chiefs offered *naivedyam* to the deities and ancestors with the sacrifice of a hen and a goat. A few drops of blood of goat's head are dropped at the second *pattu*. The elders, Gussadis, Mav and Pori pairs followed by women of the village offered the *naivedyam* after the chiefs. Then *pathi* is organized in which the Dandari heads, elders, Gussadis, Mav and Pori pairs participated.

On the third day, the Patel's wife came out of the house with a tray that contained an earthen lamp, incense sticks and *jowar* grains and she also carried water in a small brass pot. A white cloth is covered over her shoulders. The Mav and Pori pairs went towards her by dancing. She first poured water *dara* in front of the Mav and Pori pairs and then removed evil eye with the *jowar* grains which are then thrown aside. She then applied vermilion to the forehead of the Mav and Pori pairs and, elders who are playing the instruments washed the legs of the Mav and Pori pairs one after the other by arranging a small wooden plank. The Pori first took a handful of *jowar* grains from the tray, and the remaining *jowar* grains left in the tray are poured in the bag carried by him. Then the handful *jowar* grains taken by the Pori earlier are again poured in the tray. The earthen lamp is then placed on the *jowar* grains and it is taken inside the house by the woman, Mav and Pori pair holding it together accompanied with the beats of *dappu* and flute. The lamp is then taken out from the tray and placed besides the already lightened earthen lamp at the *dayyalla mula*. Then the Dandari heads, elders, Mav and Pori pairs offered prayer to the deities by sprinkling the *dari belly* in front of the lamp. After that Mav and Pori pairs stood in a line. The host village Dandari head along with Patel's family members greet the Dandari group. Then the Patel's side relatives also invite the Dandari group to their houses. This is considered visit of gods and the Gussadis act like a bodyguards to the Dandari group and provide protection to them when they move from one village to the other village.

Bhojara and Bentilekad: The host village arranges two mats at the centre of the village. The first mat is arranged in the name of village of guests and the latter in the name of the

Gussadis. These two mats are again covered with a bed sheets. Every household in the village contributes *jowar* and maize grains to the visiting Dandari group.

Boonda: After the *bentilekad*, the visiting Dandari group packed their luggage and walked in a procession from the host village. Before they left the village, the women brought water in pots and poured water *dara* in front of the group as a mark of farewell.

Dandari group back to the village: The returned Dandari group stopped outside the village and sent message of their arrival to the village. The women welcomed them by pouring water *dara* in front of them. When the Mav and Pori, Gussadis and the elders stood in a line in front of the Burri deity the Patel's wife brought a tray containing an earthen lamp, incense sticks, water, *jowar* grains and *jowar* balls etc. She then removed evil eye by pouring the water followed by *jowar* grains and *jowar* balls putting vermilion spot to the forehead she washed the feet of the entire Dandari group one after the other. All of them came to the house of Patel. As Mav and Pori held together the tray Patel's wife went inside the house and placed the lamp on *jowar* grains at the *dayyalla mula*. Then the Dandari head offered silent prayer by breaking a coconut at the *dayyalla mula*. The same offerings are repeated by the Mav and Pori pairs and other elders accompanied by music. Then there is *bentil* between the Dandari group and the Patel's family members and relatives. Later on, the *bhojara* and *bentilekad* which was taken place at the host villages was repeated in their own village. Then the musical instruments and Dandari materials were placed besides the Burri. It is followed by the prayer of the priest to the deity by breaking a coconut. It is concluded with the sprinkling of *dari belly*.

Kolla Bhodi: The Kolams end the Dandari celebrations with the *kolla bhodi*. They prepare *gatka* with the collected *jowar* and maize grains from different villages. Then they offer *puja* to the Burri deity. The priest initiates the *puja* by sprinkling water on the Burri stones and Dandari materials. He then applies the vermilion to the Dandari materials and lights an earthen lamp and incense sticks in front of the deity. He then organizes the *punnji*. The priest then draws *pattu* with the *jowar* flour in front of the Burri deity in the name of Dandari and Bhimanna god. Then six hens are sacrificed in the name of the Gussadis, the village, Mav and Pori pairs. Now *naivedyam* is prepared and offered to the Burri deity. Then the *pathi* is organized. Later on, the others also will have non-vegetarian food and return to their houses.

The Dandari materials considered as sacred objects which are again stored carefully in the house of the Patel or in the village community hall.

Religion of Kolams

The above description reveals that Kolams worship various gods and goddess such Bhimayyak or Bhimanna, Nadidiamma who is also called Burri, Pochamma, Maisamma, Gabureg, Polakamma, Potharaju, Rajula, Sulepkad, Agni, Dulopothu, Hanuman and other Hindu gods. However, Kolams say their chief deity is Bhimayyak, the term *ayyak* in Kolam's kinship terminology is father, and therefore, he is father-head. He does not have any human or any other form. Recently the SCCL has presented a statue of human form of Bhimayyak to the Kolams of Dhantanpally, but actually the representation of Bhimayyak is a quadrangular wooden post that has no semblance with any human or non-human form which is called Gajj as described above. In fact, most of the gods are stone representations only though they are conceptualized in anthropomorphic terms. The Hindu god Hanuman has an idol, but the other Hindu gods who are worshipped in idol forms by all the Hindus are not worshipped by Kolams in the village. They, of course, visit other Hindu temples located in other villages and offer their worship and participate in the *pūja*. Actually, they do not differentiate gods of them and others, and it is difficult to separate the deities of Kolams and of caste Hindus. For example, Pochamma, Maisamma, Polakamma, Burri, Potharaju and Agni are worshipped by caste Hindus, and the deities such as Bhimayyak, Nadidiamma, Gabureg, Rajullu, Sulepkad, and Dulopothu are not worshipped by the local caste Hindus. While some of the deities are associated with the villages others are not: Bhimayyak is believed to guard the Kolam villages and similarly Pochamma, Nadidiamma, Gabureg, Polakamma are supposed to protect the Kolam villagers from the attack of evil spirits. Rajullu and Sulepkad are the forest deities. Though the former deities are in stone form or wood, shrines are built for some of them. The latter do not have shrines, and they are worshipped under trees or some make-shift arrangement in stone forms. Dulopothu is a goddess who causes itching and there is no idol of her nor is there a particular location where she is worshipped.

Anthill is worshipped on Nagula chavithi festival, which is the worship of snake. In fact Nagoba is cobra deity that is worshipped in *jathara* organized by the Gonds, and Kolams do participate in it. *Ippa* tree is also worshipped by Kolams on Holi festival and *ippa puvvu puja* is organized before the use of *ippa* harvest. Bhimayyak is often believed to be taking the form

of tiger, and the visit of tiger is believed to be the visit of Bhimayyak. Bhimayyak's Gajj is put on peacock feathers as a crown or head-gear, and different animals are engraved on the Gajj besides sun and moon. The sun and moon are also printed on the flag of Kolams and *Mundel*. Any river is treated as Ganga deity, even river Godavari is called as Ganga where bathing of Bhimanna god/Gajj takes place. Kolam boys' initiation ceremony takes place on a hillock in the forest and the hillock is considered sacred. Earth is a divine being and therefore, on several ritual occasions Kolams worship by touching the ground either by hand or head.

The Kolam pantheon includes ancestors also. After the death, the soul of the person becomes a sort of divine being of course less powerful than gods and goddess. The living descendents of that person are required to facilitate this transformation through a ritual after the death, and this divine ancestor is revered on Munthal every five years. His walking stick or knife is placed in the temple of Bhimayyak, and he is represented as a stone at the *Mundel* which is worshipped on various occasions.

The gods and goddesses are powerful spiritual beings, and Kolams believe that they manifest in objects such as stones, trees, animals, musical instruments, fire or lamp, water, incense container, and even in agricultural implements etc., which are worshipped or revered as sacred objects. Oxen are worshipped during Pasuvula *puja* and *puja* is performed at the cattle shed also on Akkadi Amavasya and god is present in them also. Gods make their presence in human beings also and therefore they are worshipped. The above description of life cycle ceremonies, various religious rites and festivals amply make it clear that human beings are worshipped as divine beings at that moment. Those who carry the Gajj, who participated in Bhimayyak *puja* or *jathara*, and those who attended Nagoba *jathara*, and those possess gods and *Supari* who goes in trance become medium of divine being. The Gussadis, Mav and Pori, and those who participated in Dandari dance are treated as divine at that time. Therefore, their feet are washed and saluted. In Kolam's world man cannot be separated from nature. Thus, essentially Kolams worship the nature as god or goddess.

The idea of gods and goddesses, as conceptualized by Kolams, can be understood as extant invisible formless and shapeless powerful beings endowed with specific personality and character and always intervene in the daily lives of Kolams. Though these beings give freedom to the Kolams to worship them, they can coerce the latter to do so by inflicting with diseases and causing miseries if the former are neglected. These invisible spiritual beings are

known by visible signs and these can be understood in the semiotics of Charles Peirce (1991) as signs of index and symbol. There are no iconic signs i.e., that have physical resemblance of gods or goddess. However, these deities have sensory features i.e., indexical, in that pugs of tiger in the village indicate visit of Bhimayyak, and similarly, outbreak of disease or any sickness to people is also considered the visit of the god or goddess indicating displeasure for the behavior of the people. But they are in symbolic form i.e., represented conventionally that provide meaning to the people. Gajj is symbolic form of Bhimayyak and similarly other deities are symbolized in stones either permanently or temporarily.

They pray to and supplicate gods for timely rains, good yield and good forest produce, and exhibit their gratitude by organizing ceremonies and festivals in honoring the deities and offering sacrifices of chicken, goat, sheep, cow, goat and pig. They depend on forest for everything, and therefore if forest is not honored there will be threat for their survival. Their cattle are dependent on forest foliage, but the forest is host of benign and malign spiritual being and therefore, their cattle besides themselves are to be protected by Rajullu, Sulepkad and Akkadi, the forest gods. While cattle and men return to village the evil spirits also come along with them. Therefore, the gods Bhimayyak, ancestors, Potharaju, and village boundary gods that guard the village from the entry of evil spirits and drive away the evil spirits that attempt to enter the village. Similarly the goddess, Pochamma, Maisamma, and Gabureg also keep vigil on the evil spirits and prevent their entry into the village lest they cause illnesses, diseases and deaths. The evil spirits even attack cattle and crops, and therefore, the gods and goddesses have to protect the Kolams from the misdeeds of evil spirits.

The Kolam perceive *dishti*, casting of evil eye, is an important affliction. The casting of evil causes sickness and other miseries. Its removal is necessary, and therefore, as described above, the Kolams perform a rite to remove or nullify the effect of evil eye. The source of evil eye is human jealous. The evil eye is cast even on gods, musical instruments, crops, cattle and so on. Not only that it causes sickness but also it pollutes people and the later must be removed. Similarly the affliction due to evil spirits also pollutes people. The evil spirits always follow human beings wherever they are even at the time of performing *puja* to gods, and even they get attracted to the foods and sacrifices.

Gods get annoyed if sacredness or purity is not maintained by the Kolams, and the idea of sacredness is predominant in the rituals of the Kolams. This impurity is more pronounced in case of menstruation. Not only that the menstruating woman not to enter the house, participate in any ritual or contribute to a ritual and also not even any member of her house either male or female participate in the ritual or accept *prasadam*. They can be spectators only. The villagers who have organized festival of Ippa puvvu *puja*, Pokka Kotha, Akkadi, Pasuvula *puja*, Polakamma *puja*, Polala Amavasya, Chithaki, and Dandari etc., when visit a village where such festival is not yet organized, they are polluted and therefore get purified with cow urine lest the gods cause sickness or some misfortune to the host villagers. The pollution caused by external agencies or self created require removal of it. That is why cow urine is sprinkled when people touch sacred objects including the belt of bells and anklets, whips and so on.

The *puja* or worship to gods is organized at several places apart from the temples and shrines such as in house at *dayyala mula*, at the cattle shed, in agricultural field at *muhurthala banda*, under a tree in the forest, on the river bank, boundary of the village and where two roads meet etc. Inside the village it is mostly conducted in the centre of the village where the stone of Nadidiamma is located. However, the most important one and sacred space in the house is *dayyala mula* where photographs of gods, earthen lamp, and incense container are placed, and *puja* is performed. It is here the gods including the ancestors manifest and it is believed that they are always present but invoked when there is a need. Of all the objects in which god manifests is the lighted earthen lamp. No ritual anywhere can be conducted without the lighted earthen lamp. In this connection it is important to note that Kolams maintain the divine contact with the help of earthen lamp. During the Polakamma festival the women bring *bonam* along with an earthen lamp to the Nadidiamma where the priest has already lit an earthen lamp. In their return, the priest lights the earthen lamps of the women who carry it back to their homes and place it at the *dayyala mula*. Similarly, at the end of Vithanala *Muhurtham* festival the *puja* performed in the agricultural field with the lighted earthen lamp the women bring the lighted earthen lamp to the house and place it at the *dayyala mula*. And, there are several such occasions.

Either in life cycle ceremonies or in religious rituals the apparent motives as expressed in symbolic objects and symbolic actions are related to two aspects: sustenance of life – fertility and threat to life. Neither these rituals nor the folklore of the Kolams do contain any great

ideas of religion or philosophy. They are concerned with mundane issues of life and death. At the birth of a child, the life is indicated with the symbols of lighted lamp sitting on *jowar* grains which are handed over to the elders. In puberty, the girl is taken to the female deities that symbolize fertility and *puja* is performed seeking the blessing. The boys' initiation ceremony the feeding of boys with *kanduri*, sacrificed chicken mixed with *jowar* flour, on a hillock is the symbolic expression of manhood. In the engagement ceremonies food – *panegallu*, *roties*, *chai-pani* etc., and exchanges are important symbols and symbolic actions that bring people together through marriage and nurture of body is significant. The marriage process begins with the *puja* at *dayalla mula* by lightening lamp and offering *panegalu* to the deities. The wedding dress is taken to Pochamma deity for her blessing, and hen and cock are sacrificed in the name of the deity. Several rituals of the wedding as described above consist of lighted lamp and *jowar* grains and sacrifice of cock and hen. The earthen pots containing *jowar* or rice, pouring of *jowar* into the hands etc., reveals the symbolization of fertility. Several other activities of bride and bridegroom indicate initiation of the bride and groom to the family life. In death also an earthen lamp is put next to the dead person, and the dead body is buried in the agricultural land of the dead person. A person carrying a pot containing water and that hole is made to it so that water flows slowly and moves around the dead person symbolizes the departure of life from the body leaving. In the post funeral ritual the *puja* is organized in front of a new pot that symbolizes the dead person.

The religious rituals worshipping different gods and goddess as described above also focus on the fertility, prosperity and well-being of individual, family, clan and Kolam society. While getting rid or throwing away of evil spirits and their harmful effect on health of individual, family members, crops and animals is one aspect, praying gods to protect them from the attack of evil spirits and to provide them with food for humans and animals is another aspect. The expression of gratitude for meeting these needs through ritual is another aspect though related with the latter. While the *pujas* of Thirtham Kovva, Polakamma, Dandari and Bhimayyak *jathara*, Pochamma, Maisamma, Nadidiamma or Burri or Gabureg essentially aim towards warding off evil spirits, the other rituals such as Ippa Puvvu *puja*, Polala Amavasya, Durali, Manndos, and Vithanala *Muhurtham* are for bounty of crops. The festivals like Pokke Kotha and Chithaki are organized for thanking gods. However, the festivals of Pasuvula *puja*, Akkadi *puja*, Akkadi Amavasya, Nagulapanchami, Doorka Dayal and Sivabodi and Kargu are meant basically protect the animals and cattle herders in the

forest and villages from the attacks of animals, snake bites etc. The *jathara* of Bhimayyak is celebrated for all purposes of thanks giving; protection from evil spirits and expels the evil spirits and granting for happy life as mentioned in connection with various *pujas* and festivals.

In all the rituals and festival described above what is very important aspect is the trance and getting possessed by people. It has two functions: providing solutions to the problems of the people and presence of the god. *Supari* is a religious functionary meant for the purpose of possession besides others who get possessed, and he is the chief in a way. He conducts divination when some become sick and does not recover quickly to find out the cause. Most of the times when people get possessed two things happen: people ask the possessors the questions about why they are facing certain problem? And whether their plans or endeavors will be success or not? The god or goddess possess them answer these questions and when the problems are solved, they will have to fulfill the vows made or meet the demands of the gods. With regard to the presence of god, trance is the manifestation of god among the people and it assures and provides psychological satisfaction that their *pujas* are accepted by gods, and that the gods are actually taking care of them and the existence of gods and evil spirits is as real as they are. It builds confidence in them that they continue trusting the gods and performing *pujas* and organizes festivals in honor of these deities.

In the context of above it is important to note that whenever the people get possessed, they receive whippings (*sattlu*). The possessors not only mediums but they also represent the Kolam society and individual members of the society. The whippings are reprimands or punishments of the gods for the mistakes committed by the society and individuals knowingly and unknowingly. This ritual activity of whipping undertaken in the name of god's marks obedience of the people to the authority of the gods which implies continuous support of gods for the well being of Kolams. The whippings and sprinkling of cow urine signify sustained sacredness and purity of the people. The sprinkling or throwing up of *dari belly* symbolizes the showering of blessings of the gods upon the people. Thus, a constant interaction between the man and god takes place.

Bhimayyak is the supreme deity of Kolam while others being subordinates to him. He is not represented in human form he rather symbolizes the universe – sun, moon, animals, plants which are engraved on the Gajj and the crown is made of peacock feathers that represent

birds. Every year bathing is done for him in Ganga (Godavari) river. However, there is not only one Bhimayyak, but they are legion, the mythology (see Annexure -1) unravels the fact Bhimayyak was in human form once upon a time, and all of them. Bhimayyak lived in one place and moved to another places, there was a quarrel among the Bhimayyak over the control of a region etc. Thus, it seems Bhimayyak was a chieftain or king and the horse figurines that stand before Gajj also support the idea. The other Bhimayyaks were his associates and they used to interact with the Kolams who were in the forest in the hoary past. Further, it also appears that Bhimayyak represents non-tribal king. The visit of king of tribal territory or village is represented in the visit of Bhimayyak in the puja of Bhimayyak to Kolla village and households. It appears to be the same in case of Dandari and in Polakkamma *puja*; in Dandari, it is the visit of Gussadi and in Polakkamma *puja*, it is the visit of priest to the houses. The relations of Kolams with the villagers are enacted in Polakamma *puja* in a *villarik* – meeting of *ayyak-marrge* (grandfather and son-in-law) with Naikpod, Madiga animals taking animal hides and arrival police that confiscate hides and thus harass the Kolams - is an interesting episode of Kolam – Naikpod – Non-tribes and police or forest officials. Further, the forest gods are called Rajullu which means kings. Polamma *puja* and Bhimayyak *jathara* contain several similarities with the village rituals of south India. For example, Elmore (1915) Dumont (1986) Dirks (1987) Rao (1998) Rao and Ravikumar (2017). The influence of non-tribal religious concepts and practices cannot be ruled out, particularly the concept of sacred or purity, cow urine is used as sacred water that purifies people, place and objects despite the fact that Kolams are beef eaters.

The rituals and ceremonies described also strongly signify the social solidarity which in fact was suggested by Radcliffe-Brown (1922) in the beginning of anthropological research itself. In the life cycle rituals the unity of consanguines and affines that constitute kinship of Kolam this is represented through the participation of brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law. The ceremonies also require the participation of all *sagas*/clans through their representatives. In the rituals, the *punnji* and *pathi* shall have the representation of all clans. *Sooryak-daryak*, a group, is required to participate in almost all the religious rituals.

As mentioned earlier the exclusive habitation of Kolams in Kolami is called *pod* with a small population in relation to a multi-caste habitation called *oor* where Kolams and others also are living; an extension of it where Kolams inhabit is *pod*. But exclusive Kolam habitation which is big enough in size can be an independent hamlet and it can also be called *oor*. Most of the

Kolam habitations located in the interior forest area are known as *oor*, and the present research focus is on such villages only. However, each habitation of Kolam is a distinct physical and geographical entity with its boundary called *oorusivar*. This boundary separates a village from the forest or another village. The village is under the moral, political, and administrative control of the village Patel. Entry is not free for everyone, for instance, at the time of marriage, bride's family remains at the village *sivar* of the bridegroom and obtains permission from the Patel of the bridegroom's village before entering the village. The goddess Pochamma is enshrined at this place; she guards the village from the entry of any evil spirit. From this perspective, the ceremonies and rituals of Kolam not only reflect the perception of their world and village being a microcosm of it, but also function to build solidarity of the group.

In the above perspective, the social solidarity is built within the village but also across the village. The Danadari *puja*, symbolic visit of gods, Gussadi represent the god Bhimayyak, Mav and Pori represent male and female i.e., creation, reproduction and nature, connects several villages through harmonious relations. The gods are coercive if they do not celebrate rituals and visit the village rituals of other villagers who have already celebrated or otherwise they become unwelcome and treated as polluted people. Also, among Kolams to use footwear or sandals for assaulting anyone is a crime or sin, and the expiation is by shaving the head, a way of shaming a person, and immersion in river or bathing in Ganga by both the offender and the victim. The crime rate among the Kolams is extremely rare and do they rarely fight. Women enjoy equal rights with men with regard to marriage and divorce.⁸⁴

Political organisation

Every Kolam village has a traditional village council called *panchayath* that consists of a leader called Patel or Naikun, two priests called Dhelak and Khatodak and a Havaladar; these positions are hereditary but when they are unwilling to continue in the position due to old age or for any reason and their sons are not interested, someone will be elected or selected by the villagers. Women are not entitled to take these positions. The position of Patel is powerful as he enjoys authority and respect as his decision is final in all matters of the village. He directs his subordinates in assigning different works and plays a very important role in the village

⁸⁴ Pushpesh Kumar (2006) observes that society tolerates even if a woman develops sexual relations with non-tribes; she will not be forced to discontinue such social proscription.

activities which may be organising the festivals, rituals and ceremonies. His presence is essential in all matters of village whether religious or non-religious and even the strangers visiting the village will have to obtain his permission to enter the village. He is assisted by Dhelak and Khatodak who are called *devari*. The Dhelak looks after all the religious activities carried out in the village whereas the Khatodak acts as a priest for the Bhimanna god. The Havaladar is appointed as messenger, and his duty is to circulate information, collect contributions from all households and run errands.

The meetings of the council are held at the centre of the village called *chavidi* or at the Patel's house. The village council solves various issues which are brought to its notice. The problems like domestic violence, divorce, elopement, land issues, any inter or intra village disputes, theft etc., are resolved by the traditional *panchayat*. The Patel chairs every meeting and discusses with the other elders besides the priests who give their valuable suggestions during the deliberations in the meeting. The final decision rests upon the village headman. It is also his responsibility to implement the decisions which may be imposition of a fine or social boycott etc. The fine collected is distributed to some of the elders called *panchbapadh* and also spend on alcohol or tea. Most of the cases are solved in the traditional village *panchayat* and they do not go to police station or courts under normal circumstances.

Most of the Kolams are not aware of the modern political institutions, voting and leadership. They have no idea of State Assembly or Parliament, the need for casting votes and whom to cast vote and why etc. They generally avoid the voting unless the local leaders pressurise them to cast their votes. They think that by casting vote they do not gain anything, rather they think that when they cast vote they lose a day's work. They strongly believe that political leaders, those who win the elections look for their own benefit rather than helping people. There are very few people in Kolam community who served as Sarpanch in the modern village *panchayat*. There are no proper local leaders who can represent the whole community or safeguard their interest. They do not even have associations with the other tribal groups. They hardly take their grievances to any politician or official.

Chapter 4

WORK IN SINGARENI COLLIERIES COMPANY LIMITED (SCCL)

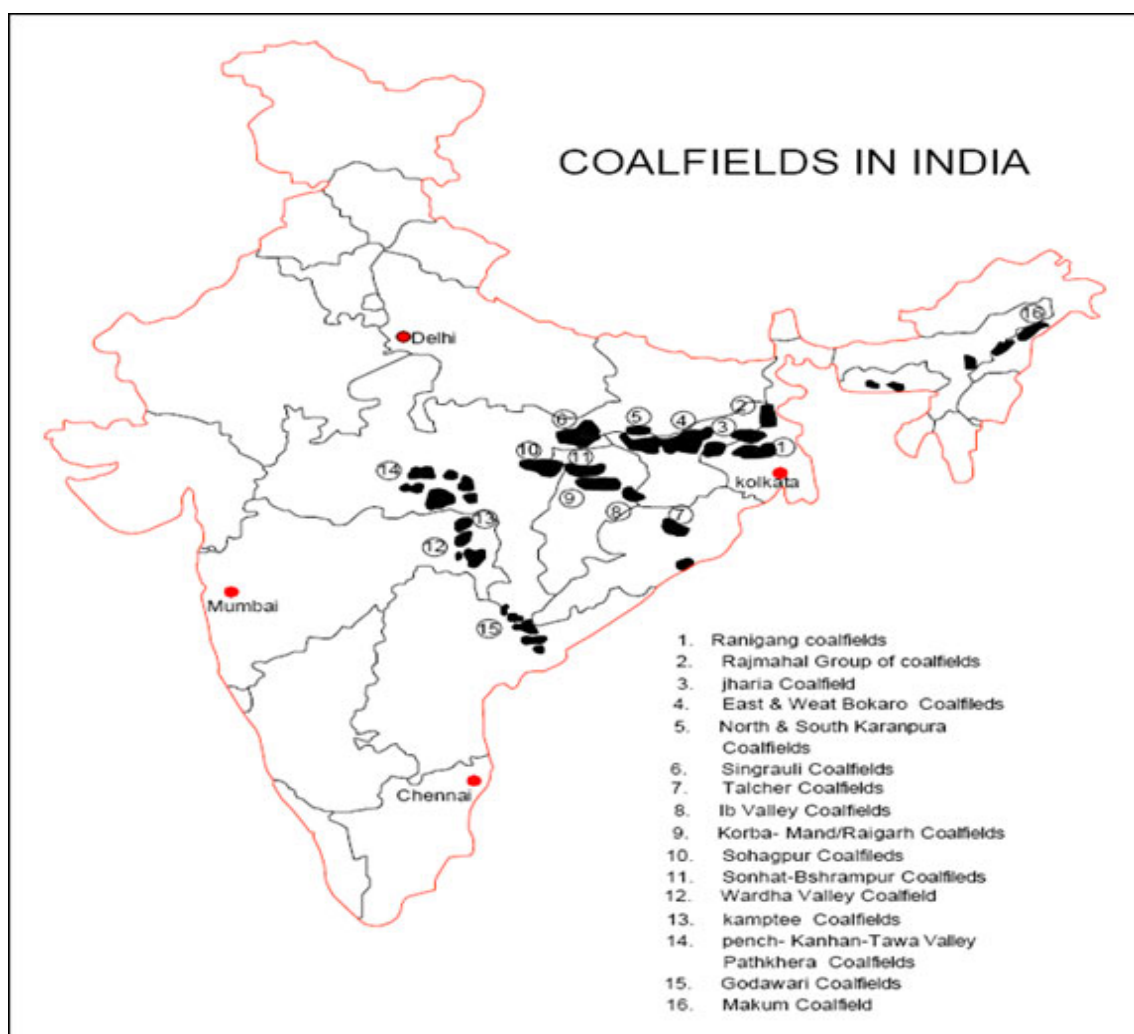
This chapter begins with a brief history of SCCL and then moves on describing the recruitment process of workers from local communities in the past and present. It also discusses the work culture and working conditions, income of the workers, and the welfare and preventive measures for accidents in the mines taken up by the SCCL. The chapter attempts to describe the changes that have occurred among the SCCL permanent employees also after their joining the SCCL. The analysis is based on a survey conducted drawing a sample of 81 out of which 47 are permanent workers while 34 are contract workers from a total of 210 tribal workers, and also 72 households of a rehabilitation centre. The implementation of Resettlement and Rehabilitation Policy (R and R) and achievements made so far and also the welfare measures of SCCL for the project displaced families (PDFs) are discussed in the following chapter.

History of Coal Mining in India

India is the fifth largest coal producing country in the world as on March 31, 2016. It exports coal to different countries like Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Myanmar, Japan, Pakistan, Hongkong and Malaysia. Coal mining has a long history in India though it started much late compared to European countries. The coal mining operation started in India as early as when Sumner and Heatly of the East India Company in the Raniganj Coalfield along the Western bank of Damodar river (Source: Wikipedia). The availability of coal reserves in India is classified into different names based on its grade: anthracite coal (good quality), bituminous (widely used), lignite (low grade) and peat (has low heating value). The coal deposits are mainly found in the eastern and south-central India. The following are the main coal producing states in the country: Jharkhand, Odisha, Chhattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh, West Bengal, Maharashtra and Telangana (which is included in the erstwhile Andhra Pradesh). The major coal fields in India are: Raniganj coal fields (West Bengal), Rajmahal group of coal fields (Jharkhand), Jharia coal field (Jharkhand), East and West Bokaro coal fields (Jharkhand), North and South Karanpura coal fields (Jharkhand), Singrauli coal fields (Madhya Pradesh), Talcher coal fields (Odisha), Ib valley coal fields (Odisha), Korba-mand/Raigarh coal fields

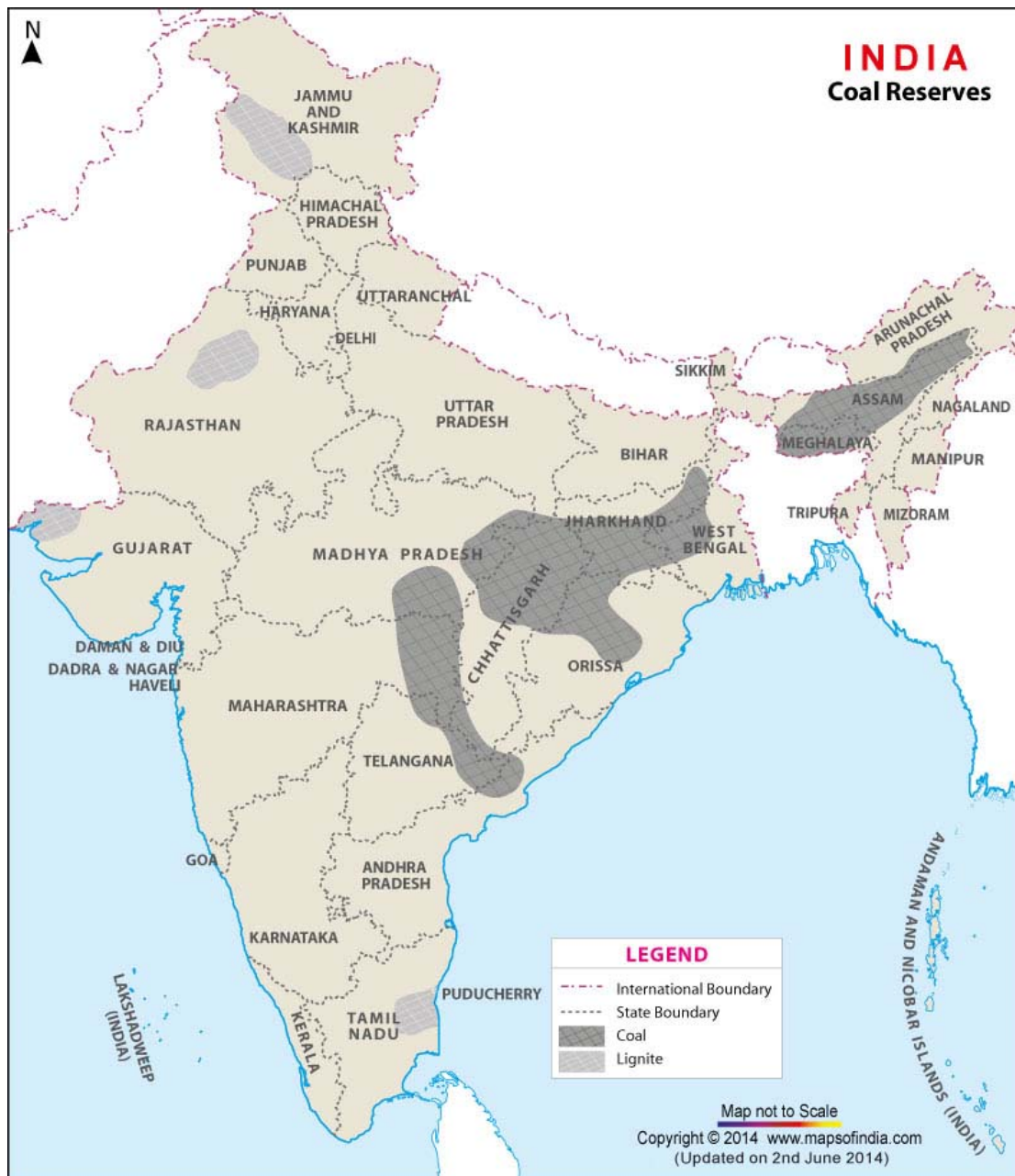
(Chhattisgarh), Sohagpur coal fields (Madhya Pradesh), Sonhat- Bishrampur coal fields (Chhattisgarh), Wardha valley coal fields (Maharashtra), Kamptee coal fields (Maharashtra), Pench-Kanhan-Tawa valley Pathkhera coal fields (Madhya Pradesh), Godavari coal fields (Telangana) and Makun coal fields (Assam) etc (See Map: 4.1). The following is the state wise coal reserves in India as on 01.04.2015 according to the Mahanadi Coalfields Limited: Jharkhand (26 percent), Odisha (25 percent), Chhattisgarh (18 percent), West Bengal (10 percent), Madhya Pradesh (9 percent), Telangana (7 percent), Maharashtra (4 percent) and others (1 percent) (See Map: 4.2).

Map: 4.1. Coal fields in India



Source: <https://www.google.co.in/search?q=coal+fields+in+india&source>

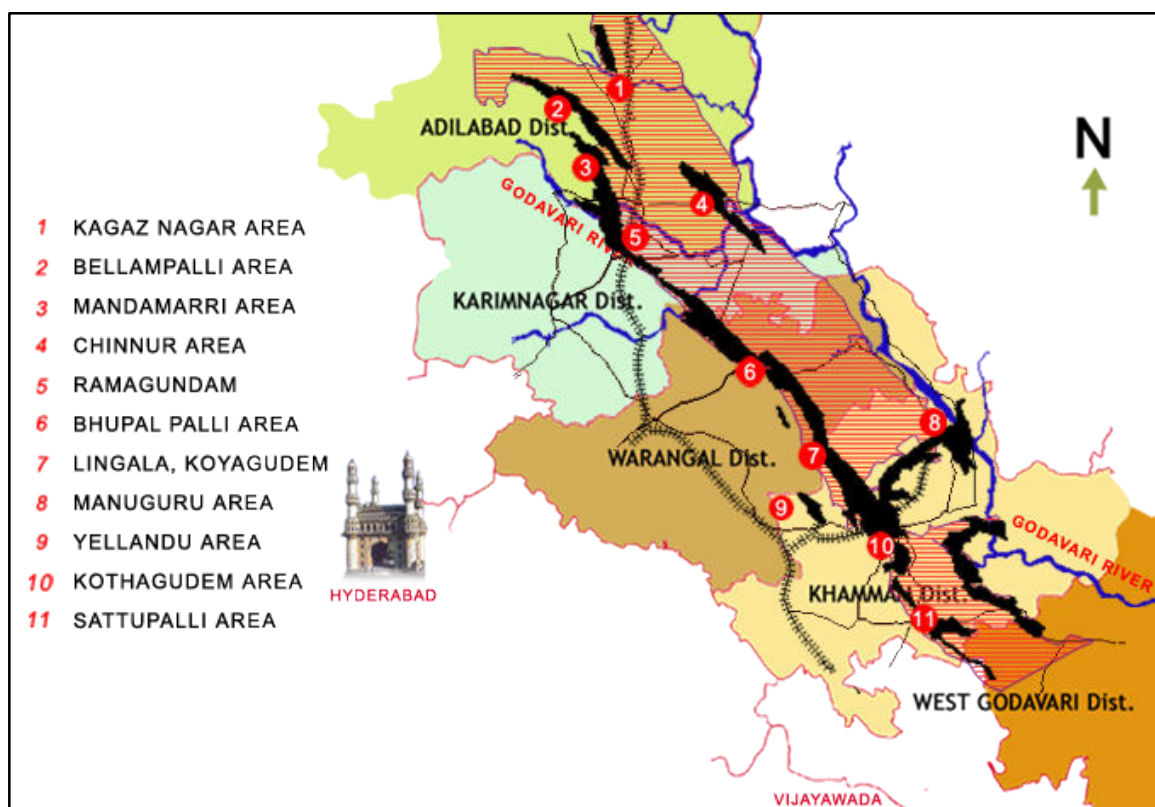
Map: 4.2. Coal reserves in India



Source: <https://www.google.co.in/search?q=coal+fields+in+india&source>

It may be observed from the map that the important coal fields located in the Godavari valley in the Telangana. The mining activities of Singareni Collieries Company Limited (SCCL) are extended in the districts of Adilabad, Karimnagar, Warangal and Khammam. The Singareni coal mines are the largest coal mines of south India. The major coal field areas of SCCL are: Kothagudem, Yellandu, Manuguru, Bhupalpally, Ramagundem, Bellampally and Mandamari (See Map: 4.3).

Map: 4.3. Coal belts of Godavari valley coal field



Source: <https://www.google.co.in/search?q=coal+belts+of+godavari+valley+coal+field>

Tribes and coal mining

The coal mines in India are generally located in forests and studies clearly show that tribes are the most affected populations in this regard. Since the mines are located in the areas of tribal habitations, there has been displacement of the tribes and an influx of non-tribal populations as officials, skilled and unskilled workers of mine and their families into the tribal area. Thus, multi-ethnic environment has been created transforming the demographic profile of areas. This in some cases brought urbanization and industrialization where tribes have to meet new challenges resulting in changes in livelihood patterns of tribes. Further, basic facilities such as roads, schools, clubs, hospitals, markets etc., have reached some areas which connected the tribal hamlets and thus broke geographical isolation, but these also caused different new problems for the tribes that include new types of exploitation.

The negative impact of coal mines has been more than the positive impact as the studies indicate. The coal mines have adversely affected not only ecology but also archaeological, historical sites, and rock paintings in Jharkhand (Areeparampil, 1996). The mines have

caused pollution of water, air, soil and noise (Singh, 2015). The non-tribal immigrant's populations have encroached upon the lands and displaced the indigenous people and started exploiting the tribes. Though jobs are created (Mishra, 2009) but the major beneficiaries have been the non-tribes but not the local tribes. It has been noted that though tribes were initially employed in the coal mines, but they failed to move up in the scale of the mining employment and were gradually pushed out of the mining situation (Banerjee, 1978). High rate of absenteeism was also noticed among the tribes (Sharma, 1980), however, some of them were able to gradually adapt to the new situations. The local tribes had to take up jobs with which they were totally unfamiliar and in fact the tribes became dependent who were actually independent earlier (Sahoo, 2005). Several of tribes started working as casual labour for the contractors rather than the coal mine companies, in brick kilns etc., (Areeparampil, 1996). In some case, the local tribes had to migrate to other places leaving their homeland due to decline of farming yield and pollution. The involuntary displaced has disrupted the kinship ties and social networks (Singh, 2015). The resettlement and rehabilitation has not been proper (Somayaji, 2008). In the light of these findings the present study attempts to examine the situation of SCCL in Goleti area, erstwhile Adilabad district.

Coal Mines in Bellampally area

The present study located in and around Goleti village comes under Bellampally area currently under Mancherla district which was started in 1928. The SCCL extended its operations to Madaram and Goleti areas in 1970s. Earlier, Bellampally area had 14 underground (UG) and one open cast (OC) mines, but underground (UG) mines like MVK1, MVK2, MVK3, MVK5, MVK6, Goleti 1 incline and Goleti 2 incline got closed for various reasons. The mines in operations were affected due to the regular *bandhs* or strikes called by the workers' unions. Some mines like Margon swift and 65 Dip were closed due to the exhaustion of mineral reserves some other mines like MVK1, MVK2, MVK3, MVK5, MVK6 and Goleti 2 incline were closed down due to some technical issues and geological conditions of the mines. The Shanti Gani underground mine was later included under the Mandamari division.

While some mines are closed down, it is also true that new initiatives are taken by the SCCL, and thus the mining operations continue. Further, the trend has been that underground mines are gradually closed down and there are few in operations for various reasons and open cast

mines are increasing. When these underground (UG) mines in Bellampally area are closed down, the coal mine workers are shifted to other places like Mandamari, Godavarikhani and Srirampur.

In 2005, the company came up with a Khairagura open cast (OC) mine in the Bellampally area which was followed by the Dorli-1 and Dorli-2 open cast projects in the year 2007 and 2008 respectively. The SCCL planned these three projects from the very beginning but there was a delay due to the forest clearance and permission from the tribal living in those surroundings. There was also another reason for the delay, the problem of land acquisition from the tribals for the latter were not ready to part with their lands as the experience of displaced villagers in other areas showed that the tribes are no way benefitted of the mines, rather they are put to innumerable problems. The land acquisition from the tribes for the project as discussed in the following paragraphs would reveal that it was finally made possible due to the understanding reached between the SCCL Company and the tribes. This took place without violation of the tribal rights and also keeping in mind the benefit of the company as well. They were paid one lakh for one acre as compensation. When these three projects came into existence, some of the workers shifted to other places earlier but came back to their original place and started working in these mines.

Goleti Coal Mines

Both underground and open cast mines are in operation in Goleti. The first one is the underground mine named as Goleti 1A which is located at about five kilometres away from Goleti village. In fact there were a few of them when the mining started here but they were closed down for several reasons, but for the moment only one underground mine is in operation. The three open cast mines, namely, Khairagura, Dorli-1 and Dorli-2 are situated at a distance of 15 to 30 kilometres away from the Goleti Township.

There are three open cast and one underground mine operating at Goleti - Bellampally area. The total number of SCCL employees working at Goleti 1A is 1200. The total number of SCCL employees working at the Khairagura open cast mine is about 600. Similarly, the total number of SCCL employees working at the Dorli-1 and Dorli-2 is 300 and 200 respectively. In the recent times the company has closed mining operations at the Dorli-2 due to the end of coal reserves. The company has restarted a new open cast mine by the name BPOC-2 in 2016 near Abbapur village. It was the former mine but was closed earlier because of the burnt

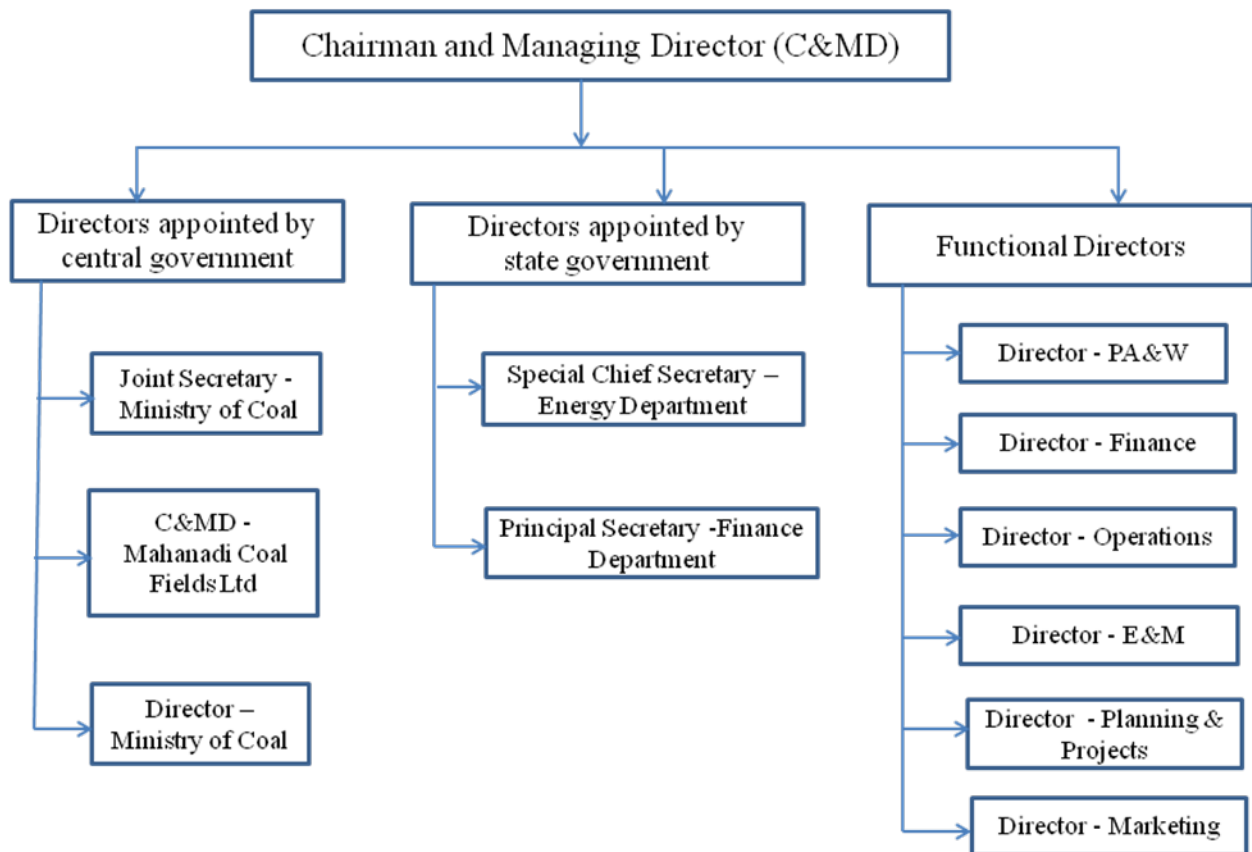
down of dumpers (vehicles which carry heavy materials) by the Naxalites. Now, the SCCL employees who had worked earlier at the Dorli-2 were shifted to the BPOC-2 mine. The SCCL employees working in other departments at the Goleti include Workshop (150), SCCL stores (15), Dispensary (16), Area hospital (150) and GM office (100). Currently, the total number of SCCL employees in the Goleti - Bellampally areas is about 2,000.

Management hierarchy in SCCL

The Singareni Collieries Company Limited has its registered head office at Bhadrachalam, Kothagudem District while the Hyderabad office i.e., Singareni Bhavan is located at the Khairatabad. The Chairman and Managing Director (C&MD) is the head of the company and he is responsible for the overall functioning or performance of the company. He is a senior Indian Administrative Service (IAS) officer appointed by the state government. The structure of the company is classified into three different levels. The first is at the corporate level while the second and third are at the area and mine level respectively.

The following is the management structure of SCCL. The C&MD is the head of the organization. He is assisted by six functional directors; two other directors nominated by the state government while the other three by the central government. The functional directors consist of Director - Personal administration and welfare (PA&W), Director - Finance, Director - Operations, Director - Electrical and Mechanical (E&M), Director - Planning and Director - Marketing. The functions of these directors are as follows: 1. Director (PA&W) - deals with the personal administration, human resource development, industrial relations, health, education and other welfare activities. 2. Director (Finance) - deals with the accounts and audits. 3. Director (Operations) - is in charge of mines located in different areas. 4. Director (E&M) - is in charge of electrical and mechanical related activities. 5. Director (Planning) - is in charge of planning different projects and taking proper safety measures. 6. Director (Marketing) - is in charge of marketing. The Directors appointed by state government include Special Chief Secretary - Energy Department and Principal Secretary - Finance Department whereas the Directors appointed by the central government are Joint Secretary - Ministry of Coal, C&MD - Mahanadi Coal Fields Limited and Director - Ministry of Coal (Source: HRD Manual of SCCL).

Diagram: 4.1. Structure of Management in SCCL



Generally, the company for its easy management has been divided into three regions namely, Kothagudem, Bellampally and Ramagundam. Then these three are again divided into 11 areas namely: Kothagudem, Yellandu, Manuguru, Bellampally, Srirampur, Ramagundam-1, Ramagundam-2, Ramagundam-3, Ramagundam-4 Mandamari and Bhupalapally. The General Manager (GM) is the head at the area level. He is also responsible for the targets to be achieved in a stipulated time.

The decision taken at the area level completely rests upon the General Manager. There are different departments working under the supervision of the General Manager. There are agents working for underground mines and project officers (POs) working for open cast mines, work under the General Manager. The Managers at the underground and open cast mines work under the supervision of the agents (in charge of group of mines) and project officers. They report to area general manager. The Manager is the head of every mine. He is assisted by different officials like safety officer (in charge of safety regulations), surveyor, under managers (in charge of each shift) and other engineers related to mechanical and electrical. These engineers who are assisted by foremen play a very important role if there are

any problems or breakdowns at the mines. Similarly, the under Managers, there are Ore Men, sardars and below them are Supervisors who supervise the Engineers. There will be a ventilation officer in general shift who is responsible for providing proper ventilation in the mines. Ventilation is a very serious problem at the underground mines; in order to overcome this they fix the exhaust fans at the mines. The welfare officer is appointed based on the strength of the workers at the mines and he is responsible for taking care of the welfare of the employees. The workers are at the lower level of the hierarchy. Earlier, the General Manager had much power to take any kind of decision. But now every issue like materials required, promotions, welfare measures and schemes etc., have been linked up with the corporate level (head office) decision. As a result, the General Manager at the area level alone can't take any decision on his own. In fact, there is no proper system of communication between the General Manager and the workers which is a serious issue.

The following are the different departmental functions or activities for the company namely, coal exploration, planning, estate, survey, marketing, civil and personal departments. All these departments are headed by the deputy general manager (DGM).

- Coal exploration department - prepares reports related to the geological information by the experts related to different fields.
- Planning department - plans different projects for underground and open cast mines as suggested by different experts.
- Survey department - organizes surveys and prepares mine plans under the supervision of surveyors.
- Estate department - deals with the land acquisition for the different projects and resettlement and rehabilitation (R and R) policies.
- Marketing department - this department deals with the marketing and supply of coal.
- Civil department - undertakes the construction of houses, quarters, hospitals, schools, community halls, supply of water to mines and quarters, laying roads and other mine related works.
- Personal department - recruitment of staff and implementing the welfare measures taken up by the SCCL management.

Rules and Regulations

The working culture and conduct of the employees depends on the prescribed and formal rules, traditions, conventions and informal expected behaviour of the employees and officials in the working environment. If an employee finds it difficult to follow or adapt to the rules or working environment quits the job. The following are some of the rules framed for the workers: one should attend the work regularly, should obey his superiors, should not bring any loss to the assets of the company, and should not be negligent in duty. The employee can redress the grievance if there is any as per the company's norms. Likewise, the company issues a charge sheet if an employee commits any mistake repeatedly or brings loss to the company or if any one violates its norms. The company first of all enquires whether the mistake occurred because of his negligence or not. Thereafter, the company asks for an explanation from the worker by giving him a certain time. But sometimes the employee however takes the matter to the union leaders, if it is necessary. They sit and discuss with the management and sort the matter out. The company listens to the worker and views of the union leaders and takes the necessary action against the worker according to the company's norms.

Salary

The SCCL employees work for five to six days a week and each day they work for eight hours in a shift. Sometimes the works gets suspended at open cast mines due to the heavy rain fall. However, the wages are paid even when they do not work in the rainy seasons. The wages paid by the SCCL to its employees is higher when compared with the wages of the Coal India Limited (CIL). Apart from that, the company also gives little share to the employees from the annual profits of the company. They are paid arrears and festival bonus from time to time. There will be also hike in salaries for the SCCL employees for every five years. The salaries paid to the SCCL employees depend upon their positions and the number of days they work in a month. The majority (22 out of 47) of Lambada SCCL underground and open cast employees of Goleti village are earning between Rs. 5,00,000 and Rs. 6,00,000, and 14 out of 47 are earning between Rs. 4,00,000 and Rs. 5,00,000 per annum respectively. Only two of them earn more than Rs. 6, 00,000 per annum nine of them earn between Rs. 2, 00,000 and Rs. 4, 00,000 respectively. These incomes are fairly high when compared to the agricultural workers in the surrounding villages.

Promotions, Transfers and Retirement

Promotions

The Company follows its norms and regulations for promoting various categories of employees. It is completely based on the seniority. There are two categories in the company, namely, executive and non-executive cadre. The time required promotion for executive cadre to move to the next level is five years whereas for the non-executive cadre it is seven years. At present, the promotion in the workers cadre is more i.e., 90.70 percent of them is promoted when compared with the official cadre as it is only 90.30⁸⁵. The promotion procedure of one category of employees varies from the other. There are some categories of employees in the SCCL for instance, general *mazdoors*, who do not have promotions, instead move to the other level or grade. An underground mine worker has to have at least seven years of service to get the higher grade of the next level. Similarly, a surface worker has to have eight years of service to the higher grade of the next level. This process is called Serviced Linked Promotion (SLP) which was earlier called serviced linked up gradation (SLU). The unions fought against the SLU and got it removed. Later on, SLU was replaced with the SLP. The SCCL employees do not get any monetary benefit if upgraded to the next level under the SLU. But in SLP, the SCCL employees get one increment additionally when promoted to the next level.

Generally, the operators and mining staffs get recruited under the D category. They should have three years of experience to get promoted to the C category. The same is also followed in the B and A categories. On the other hand, the vacancies and promotions in the company are to be made on the basis of the company's norms. The company states that every mine should have a fixed number of fitters, electricians, coal cutters and timber men. The posts like mining *sardars*, Ore Men, electricians, fitters and surveyors etc., are recruited in SCCL by advertising notifications for these posts. The selection process for the notified posts is based on the result of the written test. The applicants should have a certificate in the concerned course or field. The promotion for these posts is given in every five-seven years, based on the written test. The employees who do not have a certificate in the concerned fields like, coal cutting, *aler* operating, *trammig* and pump operating etc., can also have the job undergoing a written test, provided there are vacancies. But, they are recruited as acting or temporary

⁸⁵Source: SCCL office

employees in some years and later on they are made permanent for that particular job. The company also considers the Rule of Reservation (RoR) for scheduled tribes and scheduled castes in its recruitment process. Generally, it is very common among every employee to look for promotion to the next level after working some years in the present position.

About 91.1 percent of the Lambadas said that they got promotion to the various ranks or positions in the company. Whereas 8.9 percent are newly recruited in the company as trainees, therefore, they are yet to get promoted. In the past, the recruitment of an SCCL employee at the initial stage has to work as *badli* worker. The *badli* worker is appointed in the position of a permanent employee who is provisionally not present. He becomes regular once he finished a period of one year service. Then later on, through experience they get promoted to the next level as coal filler, coal cutter, general *mazdoor*, fitter, *trammer*, *aler* operator, pump operator and timber men etc. There are some people from the village worked as *badli* workers in the initial days and later on, moved to the Security and Protection Cops (S & PC) department. It also depends upon the vacancies notified and their personal interest to shift to the other departments. Therefore, it is very important to bring clear cut regulations with respect to promotion for every cadre in the company. The SCCL employees expressed their 100 percent satisfaction towards the promotion, recruitment policy, wages, shift timings, working relation with their superiors and co-workers.

Transfers

Generally, the company does not transfer its employees frequently, unless it is required. Suppose, an employee wants to shift to the other mine, he has to make a request to the company to transfer him to that particular area. Similarly, if a person working there at the same mine also willing to shift to another mine, then the company transfers both the people of same category on the mutual exchange basis. Mutual transfers are normally allowed between the staff members belonging to the same category or position. The entire process of this kind of mutual transfers takes place within one or two months. If there are excess number of employees working under the same category, then in such cases the company shifts some of them to other places where it is required. The open cast mines in the Goleti area are situated in tribal areas. The work places are far away from the Goleti town which are situated in the interior forest. As a result, the employees have to travel long regularly to come to their workplaces. There are no proper transport and food facilities for the employees working at

the Goleti area. Suppose, an employee misses the company bus, he has to catch a truck, which is not a scheduled one, to reach the workplace. The frequency of these vehicles is very less during the working hours. Therefore, the employees' working at those places normally tries to shift to the other mines where they can avail themselves of better facilities. The employees who are unwilling to work at the Goleti mines apply for transfer to a desired place. Based on the vacancies, promotion and mutual exchange, the company shifts the employees at an appropriate time to their desired places. During the process of transfers, the senior members in the list of transfer are given preference over the juniors. In some cases, the newly recruited employees are posted in the place of the senior employees of the same category. Then the senior employees who have applied for transfers can move to their desired places.

Retirement

The retirement age of an SCCL employee is 60 years as per rules of the company. The company informs him one year before his retirement. The company plans accordingly and provides all the benefits on the day of his retirement. On that particular day, the employee is felicitated at the mine in the presence of the Manager and workers. The family members of the retiree also participate in the retirement function. The family members, colleagues and personal friends share their opinions or views about the retiree, who generally appreciate the dedicated service of the employee. The retiree also shares different views and his association with the company during his service period. The benefit in the form of cheque or cash is handed over to the employee for his service to the company. The people who attend the retirement ceremony, offer gifts to the retiree. This plays as an important part which will be reminiscent of the retiree's career.

Health care facilities

The SCCL has been providing free medical facilities to the employees and their family members since the beginning. Depending upon the SCCL population at the area level, the doctors and medical staff are employed in the hospitals. The hospital superintendent is responsible for the management of hospital and dispensaries at the SCCL areal level. There is a male and female medical officer assisted by three to four Staff Nurses at the dispensary level. There is provision for only out-patient treatment in these dispensaries. They attend to contract labourers or their families if there is any emergency and attend to the non-SCCL

families on humanitarian basis. There are no lab facilities at the dispensary. These dispensaries are referral hospitals and they cannot do operations also. There is one major hospital at the area level known as Area Hospital where operations are undertaken. If the facilities are not available at the dispensary level the cases are referred to the area hospital at the Bellampally. There is a deputy chief medical officer (Dy.CMO) and other specialist doctors at the area level. The area hospitals are equipped with beds, X-ray and lab facilities. It also has physiotherapy, ECG and pharmacy services. If a case is not dealt at the area hospital it is referred to the main hospital at the Kothagudem. The chief medical officer (CMO) is the head of all medical units at the company level. The chief medical officer (CMO) is responsible for the management of dispensaries and hospitals located at various areas in the SCCL. Apart from that, he is also responsible for conducting different health programmes in and around the SCCL areas. The CMO is assisted by the other deputy chief medical officer and other staff. If the patient or their family member's condition is critical they are also referred to the corporate hospitals in Hyderabad. The expenditure of such cases is totally borne by the company. There are about 35 dispensaries, six area hospitals, one main hospital, that is, at Kothagudem and ten multi-speciality hospitals spread over in four districts of SCCL. At present, there are about nearly 1000 beds and 30 ambulance services in all the medical units. All these hospitals take care of the employees and their dependants with proper care and attention. Once a year the company organises health camps with the help of Super speciality hospitals at the area level. The SCCL Company organises mobile medical facilities for the project displaced families (PDFs) at the R and R centres. They also arrange health camps at the R and R centres for every six months or one year by sending the doctors from the area level. The SCCL workers, contract labourers and their families can make use of these health care facilities free of cost.

Every SCCL employee who is below 45 years shall undergo periodical medical examination (PME) once in five years. After the complete diagnostic tests if anyone is found with problem, the hospital authorities provide him medicines and give proper treatment. If any special treatment is required for the employee or his family members they also refer such employee to any of the eighteen corporate hospitals outside the SCCL colliery areas or at the Hyderabad. The SCCL bears the total expenditure. The employee, who is above 45, shall undergo a physical examination in every three years. The company also conducts a medical test for all the employees at the time of their recruitment or initial employment. As stated

earlier, there are two mining sites, namely, Madaram and Goleti which come under the Bellampally area. There are dispensaries at the Goleti and Madaram.

Preventive measures for SCCL workers

The company takes all kinds of safety measures for its employees particularly who work at the site of mining either under the ground or open cast. It provides the required materials and removes any inconvenience to the employees at the workplace. Every mine has a safety officer who guides the workers to carry out certain works carefully without getting hurt and also suggests the preventive measures to be followed at the workplace. Generally, there is more heat inside the underground mine. This heat is balanced by sending sufficient air into the mine at different workplaces. A person working in underground mine requires proper ventilation at the workplace. So, the safety officer ensures proper ventilation to the workers of the underground mines.

SCCL welfare measures

As mentioned before there are different departments such as exploration, survey, planning, civil, personal and marketing, and there is a separate department in the company to look after the welfare of the employees which is headed by a welfare officer whose responsibility is to improve the standard of living of workers. Generally, the areas where open cast mining takes place there is need to provide basic amenities. In order to overcome such problems the company provides some of the following facilities: free residential quarters, electricity, water, laying of roads, medical facilities, education to their children, consumer cooperative stores (known as Singareni super bazar), sports etc.

It also provides subsidised food in canteens and rest shelters at workplace i.e., at every mine. Every SCCL underground and opencast mine has a canteen that provides hot and hygienic food for the employees at subsidised or low price when compared with other hotels outside the mine area. They maintain the canteen clean and free of bacteria. The company provides the infrastructure facilities and building to the canteen and supermarket. The workmen at canteens and supermarket are the employees of SCCL. The company purchases different items and other provisions from the budget of SCCL for running the supermarket and canteens. Generally, the SCCL men employees do not show interest to work in the canteen because they have to cook food which is generally the job of women. They should wash the

plates and other cooking utensils. They should also maintain the canteen clean and neat. In such circumstances, the company hires the local project affected people as contract labourers for working in canteens. The head cook will be employed by the SCCL and the contract labourers are engaged in cleaning and washing of utensils. The welfare officer at each mine is in-charge of these canteens who generally looks after the supplying of necessary goods to the canteens and maintenance of hygienic conditions.

The company canteen provides different items like *idli, vada, puri, upma, laddu, bonda*, sweets, rice, tea and coffee at subsidised prices. It starts working from morning 6 am to 10 am and from 12 noon to 2 pm. In the evening there will be snacks and tea from 3:30 pm to 4:30 pm and in the night from 7:30 pm to 9 pm. The food items available at the SCCL canteen are relatively very low priced when compared with the other canteens outside the mine area. The price for one piece of *idli, vada, puri, laddu, bonda, mysorepak, badusha* is one rupee at SCCL canteen and the cost for 400 grams of rice is Rs 15 whereas the same at other canteens are five and Rs 30 respectively. The rate of a cup of tea and coffee is one and two rupees. The rates of the same are six and eight rupees respectively at other places. Therefore, we can note the substantial price variation at the SCCL canteens and other places.

SCCL quarters, roads, electricity and water supply

The Company has constructed houses called quarters for the employees at each area of operations. The civil and electric departments of the company take care of these facilities. In each department there is an engineer and other staff to carry out or maintain these works. The company floats tenders to the outside contractors if there are any major works to carry out like renovation of quarters and repair of doors and windows etc. The company deducts two percent from the basic pay of an employee for the company quarters and one percent for the electricity. The company provides house rent allowance to those employees who have not been provided with the residential accommodation.

The company also provides petrol allowances to the employees; every year, the worker has to submit the documents of the vehicle and license to the Manager at the mine level. Every year the employee has to renew it. This transport allowance of Rs 50 per day is paid to the SCCL employees if he mark his attendance at the mine otherwise he is not paid. Generally, the work place of an employee should be located within five kilometres from the employee's quarters i.e., township, otherwise the company shall arrange the conveyance facility for the employee.

The open cast mines are situated at a distance of 30 km from the Goleti Township, so the company is arranging bus facility to the employees. Consequently, the company deducts Rs 30 per month from the employee's salary towards conveyance. Apart, from the conveyance facility the employees are also benefitted by the transport allowances.

The SCCL Company is providing free supply of Liquefied Petroleum Gas (LPG) to its employees. Every month, the LPG bill is also paid to the employees upon the submission of the bills. The gas bill details are entered in the pay sheet of an employee. The company has made it mandatory for all employees to use LPG connection for their daily use. This prohibits the use of coal for cooking and other purposes.

The company also conducts different both indoor and outdoor games and sports for the employees in different areas as per the sports calendar. It encourages and extends its support to employees for participating in sports and games to keep them fit for work and wellbeing. The SCCL employees from different districts participate in the district and state level tournaments which are conducted by the sports authority of Telangana as per the sports calendar. They also participate in the all India coal field competitions. The SCCL employees have won some medals. There is a sports stadium at the Goleti Township called as Bhimanna stadium which is located besides the Bhimanna temple of the local tribal communities. The company has also provided various sports kits to the employees by appointing coaches for various games and sports. There are tennis, basketball and volley ball courts at the Goleti Bhimanna stadium.

There is Working People's Sports and Games Association (WPS&GA) in each coal mining area which is under the direct supervision of the General Manager (GM). The company nominates an honorary secretary to look after all the activities of sports and games. The coordinators for various games are elected from the workmen. The honorary secretary and the coordinators prepare a sports calendar for every year. There are sports supervisors at the area level to look after the sports requirements headed by the sports officer at the company level. Teams of different games are formed at area level and each team is headed by a captain. From these teams a new team is formed based on the performance when the SCCL has to be represented in state or national level games. Otherwise, the teams at the area level play with the nearby other areas teams when competitions are held only among the SCCL employees. Then later on, two to three areas form a team and plays with the other area group of teams.

Finally, one team in different categories of games is selected at the company level. This selected team is allowed to participate in the all India coal field tournaments. The Singareni Collieries Company Ltd participates in the Inter Company Tournaments under the banner of Coal India Limited. As of now, there are approximately nine play grounds, eight stadium and 17 swimming pools in the SCCL. Every year the SCCL Company allocates some budget for the sports and games.

There are about 14 SCCL educational institutions located at various areas like Kothagudem, Yellandu, Manuguru, Goleti, Ramakrishnapur, Godavarikhani and Bhupalapally. Out of which some are partly aided and some are un-aided. There are Primary, High school, Junior, Degree and Polytechnic institutions with well qualified staff and proper facilities. The fee structure varies accordingly for the company employee's children and other than company employees' children. They are also given exemption from paying the tuition fee and also given fee concession if they excel in the studies. The company also gives financial assistance to the SCCL employee's children if they qualify for the UPSC exams. The company also provides financial assistance for the employee's children's to enroll in the scouts and guides. And their services are used at the time of blood donation camps organized by the company or in the District level or to control the devotees at the temples i.e., at the time of religious festivals like Shivarathri and Srirama Navami etc.

The company also grants some merit scholarships for the employees' children taking admission in professional courses such as engineering and medicine. It arranges training in skill development to the unemployed youth (SCCL workers children's) for the recruitment in the police, railways, navy and army. As per the SCCL company records it is stated that nearly 450-500 SCCL employee's children are recruited for the above mentioned jobs. It also organises *yoga* and meditation camps for the SCCL families at the community hall. These are some of the different activities and training programmes organised by the Singareni Seva Samithi (SSS) which is a separate registered society in the year 2000 to address the culture of Singareni. The company allocates some budget to the SSS to organize certain developmental activities. They conduct different meetings, programmes and events at different mining areas or places to bring awareness among the workers and their family as well. There is mobile van (audio and video) named as *singareni karmika mithra* which is operated from the head office at Khammam and visits different mining areas and encourages the employees to give up the bad habits like smoking, consuming alcohol and *gutkka*. It also campaigns different health

issues and preventive measures to overcome addiction to bad habits. There is a separate communication cell in the SCCL which brings awareness among the employees about the safety measures to be followed at the mines. The company also runs a monthly magazine by name *singareni vartha* which publishes the news related to the company. There is a famous programme called *singareni sravanthi* which is telecast in the T-News channel. There is another programme related to the SCCL called *singareni tharangalu* which is telecast in the local city cable channel. The company celebrates its formation day every year on December 23 as Singareni Formation Day where the information related to the company and new technologies used in mining are displayed by installing stalls at the mines. Apart from this, there are many other schemes taken up for the welfare of the SCCL employees. These are the major welfare measures taken up by the SCCL to its employees in different fields.

Provision of Leave from Work

There are different types of leave that an employee can avail like casual, sick, half pay, study, earned, privileged and maternity leave. Every year, one can avail twelve days of casual leave. Similarly, the company grants sick leave for a period of fifteen days on the health grounds. The medical certificate issued by the chief medical officer is submitted at the time of applying for sick leave. If an employee can't utilise the sick leave in a particular year, it can be utilized in the next year. There are twenty days of half-pay leave in a year and one can avail 10 days of this leave for every six months. If an underground employee works 192 days and an open cast employee work 240 days in a year, then they are eligible for the with-pay leave. For instance, an open cast employee gets one day leave if he works for twenty days, and on the whole, he gets twelve days of leave in a year. Similarly, an underground employee gets one day leave if he works for sixteen days. The company pays the salary for those twelve days if these twelve days of leave are returned to the company. The study leave is granted to the SCCL employees on the condition that he/she must have completed five years of service in the company. Then after completing the study he/she has to work again minimum for a period of five years for the company. Similarly, there are earned and privilege leave and they can be used based on the attendance of an employee. Likewise, the company also grants maternity leave for a period of three to six months for the women.

Golden shake hand

Earlier the company introduced the Golden Shake Hand Scheme (GSHS) for one or two years. Under this scheme, if an SCCL employee does not attend the work regularly, he and his family members are counselled properly by the company. This counselling is done separately for all the family members. Then the worker is given one more chance to work in the company. The company may also counsels repeatedly for two to three times. If the worker repeats the same mistake, the company suggests him to go on voluntary retirement rather than suspending him. In such case, the company will pay Rs. 4,000 every month for ten years under the GSHS.

The SCCL Company has introduced the GSHS in 1999. Then later on, the company did not notify any jobs for a long time. Earlier this scheme was in place for the employees but now there is no such scheme. When there were 1, 60,000 employees working in the SCCL, the coal production was very less from the underground mining. The company had more man-power with less production. Salary was given on time even though there was less production of coal. As a result, the company fell into crisis. Then SCCL is referred to battle field removal (BFR). The government companies which are under crisis for two or three years are generally regarded as the BFR. Soon after, all the SCCL workers had fought against this issue and got the BFR tag removed. Everyone worked hard for the company and finally turned it into a profitable company which ultimately led to more production.

The trade unions like AITUC played a very important role at that time and brought awareness among the workers that if the company has gone into the hands of BFR, they cannot fight for their rights, and there wouldn't be any promotion and benefits. This would ultimately put the employees in trouble. The unions sought everyone's cooperation to come out from this trauma. The then AITUC president M. Komuraiah had actively participated in this movement and educated many employees by visiting different mines. Later on, the entire credit of bringing the company out from the BFR was given to him only. The SCCL is the only company which has come out from the BFR after being labelled.

There was more man-power in the SCCL when the company came out from the BFR. The company could not lay off the surplus employees under any circumstances. The then CM of united Andhra Pradesh, Shri Chandra Babu Naidu launched the Golden Shake Hand Scheme for the employees. This voluntary retirement scheme was a method used by companies to

reduce the extra staff or man-power. The company applied it only to the workers but the official categories were spared as they were essential to run the company. The company paid some amount to the beneficiaries according to the number of months' service left for an employee, and in fact it implemented this scheme only for a short period. The majority of employees left the company on VRS, specially that belonged to the categories of coal fillers, coal cutters, timber men, linemen and general *mazdoors*, and also these came under absenteeism category. If an employee attends less than 100 days consecutively for every two or three years, he should be dismissed as per the rules of the company. Such of them who have been regularly falling short of attendance made use of the opportunity of GSHS instead of getting dismissed from the company. Nonetheless, even after the exit of substantial number of employees under the GSHS, the company was still left with surplus workers in different categories. These extra workers were accommodated later in some areas where the mining operations were newly established. As a result, the man-power in the company has considerably reduced from 1, 09,419 (1998-99) to 69,043 (2009-10) after the introduction of this scheme (Source: SCCL office).

At present, the total number of employees in the SCCL is 56, 658 (as on 31.01.2017). With the mechanization of open cast mines, the coal production of the company has considerably increased resulting in the rise in profits year after year. However, the company has not stopped dismissing the employees due to their absenteeism. It is trying its best to prevent such cases by counselling them. The Singareni Seva Samithi under the supervision of the General Manager is carrying out social service for the SCCL workers and PAF/PDFs as well. The services include: arranging medical camps, offering training programmes in R and R centres in such trades as making incense sticks, tailoring, and making of rexene bags etc. A separate department i.e., communication cell is also working under the aegis of the Samithi. In comparison to the past, the company is now able to provide some safety measures to the employees. The use of the machine mining technology, introduction of man riding systems or other modes of men transport have made the life of the employees easy and comfortable. The man riding system is safe for transporting workers faster in underground mines over long distances.

Unfit

If an employee has rendered service for 25-30 years, and one is unable to continue anymore due to health problems or having met with a major accident at the mine, one can take the opportunity of getting treated either in the company's hospital or private hospital. The company bears all the expenses. However, the company may trouble him by assigning a lighter job at the mine, if the problem is not so severe. If he is not capable of doing any job, and those who have been under treatment for several years together due to illness, they come under the medically unfit category. Then the SCCL Medical Board declares such people unfit for work and issues a certificate to that effect. In such cases, the employee's job is offered to his son or son-in-law based on the seniority. Every month, the company takes 25 members as substitutes from the list of the medically unfit category. In case of death of an employee in an accident at the site of mine, his job is offered to one of his family members besides a compensation of Rs. 5 lakh. Usually one of the sons of the deceased employee is offered employment immediately.

Awards and Rewards

Earlier, there were no incentives in the form of awards or rewards for the SCCL employees in recognition of their hard work. When the coal production in the SCCL had declined, the company thought about motivating its employees by giving them awards and rewards in order to increase the production. They introduced the best employee award at the area level. For this award, the General Manager at the area level selects two workers from every mine based on their performance. The parameters like behaviour and punctuality of the worker are also taken into account. These awards are presented every year on August 15, the Independence Day, and January 26, the Republic Day, in the presence of the area General Manager. In the next year, the company also selects one employee at the area level from the best employees in different districts. The best employee at the area level is felicitated at the Head office Kothagudem in the presence of Chairman and Managing Director (C&MD). The Manager at the mine level also gives rewards to the employees based on their performance. If an employee has got an innovative idea which helps in the production of the company, he is honoured at the mine level.

The Coal Mines in Bellampally in Broader Perspective

Before a detailed discussion is undertaken about the mining in Goleti area it is necessary to provide a brief scenario about the relationship or role of coal mines in this area with reference to tribal and general population in the state. After Hyderabad, Bellampally is an important industrial area where mines and thermal stations are located. This is the area where the tribes are most affected due to displacement and urbanization process. The SCCL has man power around 63,000. Based on the coal National Thermal Power Corporation has very important establishments, one of its unit at Ramagundam is one of the largest power stations in South India, similarly there are Kothagudem Thermal Power Stations and Singareni MW Power Generations. The employees in these establishments, particularly the workers of SCCL have been engaged in several *bandhs* and strikes etc. This area has been politically sensitive also as Left political party organizations are strong with wide spread ideology of Maoism and Naxalism particularly across the tribal populations. The people also actively have participated in the separate Telangana Movement recently, but more importantly earlier in Communist Movement against the Nizam's rule during the freedom struggle. In all the socio-political movements the workers had significant role to play. The politics in the coal mines in the form of workers' Unions are always influenced by the national political parties.

Workers' Unions, Agitations and Strikes in SCCL

In the light of the above the politics specific to SCCL Company shall be discussed with reference to workers' unions, agitations undertaken and involvement of various state and national political parties. Before 1998 there were about 72 different unions of the workers and each union used to separately call for a *bandh* while others opposed for the same and as a result of this it became extremely difficult to run the administration. For example, in 1998 there were 124 strikes organized by the SCCL workers' unions. Consequently the productivity suffered greatly as work was stopped every time. The strikes have been taking place for several reasons like insufficient salaries, lack of welfare measures, improper labour rights implementation, and improper facilities at the workplace. These agitations on various issues continued were mostly unorganized till 1998. The elections for the unions were conducted for every two years. In order to overcome this problem, the SCCL introduced the identity elections in 1998 which means that the SCCL union should have affiliation and identification with one of the national or state level registered unions. The voting system

based on the ballot was introduced though the elections continue to be hold in every two years. There are 11 areas in the SCCL namely Kothagudem, Yellandu, Manuguru, Bellampally, Srirampur, Ramagundam-1, Ramagundam-2, Ramagundam-3, Ramagundam-4 Mandamari and Bhupalapally as mentioned earlier. The union formed at the area level is considered as representative union. The union formed at the company (corporate) level is considered as 'recognised union'. After the year 2002, the company has changed the term of elections from two years to four years.

Now the following main politically affiliated unions are working in SCCL Telangana Boggu Gani Karmika Sangham (TBGKS) - TRS, All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC) - CPI and Indian National Trade Union Congress (INTUC) - CONGRESS. The elections for these unions are conducted in the SCCL at 11 areas. The SCCL employees cast their vote at their respective areas. The union which receives the highest number of votes represents the workers at the area level. The union which receives the highest lead across at all the areas represents at the company level. This recognised union at the company level has to participate in meetings and discuss the issues related to the workers at all the areas. The union formed at the area level has to participate in meetings with the area level General Manager and discuss the area level issues related to the workers.

The data available with the SCCL reveals the fact that maximum number of strikes had taken place during 1998-99 (124) which speaks about the unrest among the workers. But gradually the number of strikes are found reduced as the number of strikes recorded are 1999-2000 (98), 2000 – 2001 (47), 2001 – 2002 (54), 2002 - 2003 (35), 2003 – 2004 (15), 2004 – 2005 (14), 2005 -2006 (11), 2006 – 2007 (3), 2007 – 2008 (Nil), 2008 – 2009 (2) and 2009 -2010 (2). Thus, the gradual decrease of the number of strikes is due to the reason that the company brought some changes in the policies and formed separate departments for the welfare of the workers. The company took preventive measures to address and overcome all the problems of its workers. It provided certain welfare measures and better facilities. There was a sudden decline of strikes in the company from 1998-99 to 2001. Then, in the year 2001 there was a little rise and then continuously got declined. At present, there are no strikes in the SCCL Company which ultimately shows that there is a harmonious relationship between the management and the workers.

But, the agitations of small scale are still going on at different levels for the rights of the workers. In the coal industry, before nationalization, the wage structure was under the control of Central Wage Board for Coal Mining Industry. The Indian government has taken a firm decision to reconsider the wage structure on the constant demand of the workmen in the industry. As a result, joint bipartite wage negotiations committee for coal industry was started in the year 1973. Then later on, it is called Joint Bipartite Committee for Coal Industry (JBCCI). The SCCL Company has an association with the JBCCI at central level to take any kind of decision. The coal India which is a part of the JBCCI, undertakes discussions and debates from time to time in Kolkata and New Delhi with various unions regarding the issues like increase of wages, promotions, and increments etc. The representatives from different workers' unions at all India or state level like AITUC, INTUC, HMS, CITU and VMS are invited to take part in the meetings held at the central level to discuss various issues related to the workers.

The SCCL holds discussions every month with the structural committees at the area level. The mine committee and safety committee meetings are held at the mine level in which the workers discuss mine problems with the Manager. All problems of different mines are discussed every month at the area level in structural committee meetings with the General Manager and appropriate solutions are evolved. The three representatives of the union formed at the area level discuss with the General Manager concerning the area level issues. Similarly, in every six months there are structural committee meetings held with the Chairman and Managing Director (C&MD) and Director Personnel, Administration, and Welfare (PA& W) at the corporate level. Several representatives at the corporate level also participate in the meetings. Every three months, there will be Joint Consultative Committee (JCC) meetings held at the head office. One representative of union formed at the area level and the eight representatives of union formed at the corporate level participate in these meetings and discuss various issues of the SCCL. The various issues related to the company like production, safety and welfare measures etc., are discussed in the JCC meeting. The unions put pressure on the company when the norms are not implemented properly and the agreements made at the central level are not implemented at the state level. These bilateral decisions and reforms that took the workers into confidence have resulted in the decreasing unrest among the SCCL workers as noted above.

Working in Goleti Mines –Employment in the Early Days

As stated earlier Dasru Naik who assisted the geologists exploring the coal deposits in Goleti are was the one who first secured job in SCCL. Later on, after four or five years of his recruitment, some other people from the village also joined the company. Some were selected for the apprenticeship and they were paid Rs 3.00 per day for a period of 18 months and among them there were Kolams and Gonds who had parted away with their lands to the company. The recruitment of workers took place in a systematic way.

The SCCL identified the land owners whose lands were acquired and issued the employment card to them. Accordingly the officials also informed the village Sarpanch about those whose lands have been taken over by the company. With the letter issued by the Sarpanch those who lost lands had to register themselves at the Employment Office situated at Bellampally. Whenever the SCCL notified for recruitment the candidate reported themselves for interview with the employment card issued to them. The SCCL recruited its workers giving priority to the land losers on different criterion at different times. For example, in 1960s a number of people were recruited through weight lifting i.e., sand and cement bale (30 kg) lifting. The recruitment through weight lifting was done in the 1960s. Later from 1977-78 running was added to it. They had to run five kilometres from the I. B. Tandoor to Madaram after the doctors of the Company found them fit for running. Water was made available at every kilometre on the way. After the running test they had to undergo medical fitness test also to make sure that they are free from TB, heart disease and respiratory problems etc. The people who cleared the medical test and running were recruited.

Thereafter, they had to undergo a training programme for a period of 21 days which came after two-three months of their joining. Apart from that, the company trained them by conducting some practical works. It also provided them with different equipments required for a mine worker. The training office issued certificates to the employees who were trained. After the training, they were posted at different places like Madaram, Chennoor, Goleti and Srirampur underground mines. They were paid Rs. 270 per month in the beginning after being permanently recruited. Later, they were paid Rs. 1,000 per month.

Changing Recruitment Process

In the beginning there was a high demand for workers in the underground mines. The manpower resource for underground mining was human energy, and hence contingent of force was required. Later on, since the open cast mining came into operation, there is less need of human energy. The open cast mines involves in surface mining techniques for extracting coal from the earth by making open pits big enough for machines and trucks to move in. As a result, the coal production has greatly increased in the open cast mines with few workers. Accordingly the recruitment process in the coal mines also changed.

In the beginning people were scared to work in the coal mines because the conditions for working in underground mines were bad compared to any other industrial work in any other sector. There was little hope for an employee of coming back safe once he enters the underground mine. In the past, the families were not ready to give their daughters to a person working in the SCCL. Therefore, it was very difficult to get a bride for a groom in those days if he were working in an underground coal mine. The conditions in mines were the most unpleasant ones and almost no safety measures were taken. As a result, the company had to face serious problems in getting the manpower to work in the underground mines. In the initial days, the recruitment in the SCCL took place by inviting people from the nearby villages and jobs were offered to them based on the type or interest of work they liked to do in the SCCL. But the wages paid to them in those days were very less. Later on, when the company started taking the safety measures for the employees, the process of recruitment was changed. If there were more number of applicants for the available posts, the company had to recruit by conducting some kind of tests. The tests included: filling of coal *laddies* (tub), lifting of cement bags and running. By the year 1990, the running events were taking place. Voluntary retirement scheme (VRS) was also introduced by then. Usually an employee working in the company continues to service till he attained 60 years. Suppose, he took early retirement, i.e., before five years of his actual retirement, the company would give a chance of job to his son. This scheme was in place till 1991. Later, the scheme was abolished. Among the Lambadas of Goleti who are working in SCCL out of 48, 63.8 percent of them said that either father or brother has already in SCCL before they started working in SCCL. Further analysis showed that among the respondents who are SCCL employees, 36.2 percent of their fathers and 25.5 percent of their brothers had earlier worked with the SCCL. About 27.6 percent of the respondents said that the people who had worked earlier in SCCL at

Goleti had helped them to get the job in the SCCL. Majority of the Lambada respondents said that their grandfather's occupation was agriculture. Likewise, 36.2 percent of them said that their father's occupation is an SCCL employee whereas 63.8 percent said that their father's occupation is agriculture.

At present, the recruitments are taking place in SCCL by advertisement. The selection process for the notified posts is based on a written test and interview according to the company norms. It is carried out transparently. The candidates who successfully clear the written test are called for the personal interview. The selected candidates are offered employment in the company. The younger generation in the villages are also showing interest to join in the SCCL mining but many of them are unable to get the jobs due to the new recruitment pattern. The competition for the SCCL job has been increased due to the (a) attractive salaries, (b) reduction of manpower due to mechanization of mines, and (c) safety measures adopted in the mines. As per the SCCL rules women are not allowed to work in the mines. However they are employed in the office of SCCL General Manager or hospitals etc., but, these appointments are made mostly on compassionate ground if husband died of illness or accident occurred while in harness and so on.

In 1995, the SCCL adopted the policy of providing jobs to the dependents such as son or son-in-law. Only those, who have any medical issue or are found unfit to continue to work, are eligible for transfer of job to their heirs. However, this policy was withdrawn later on which was not liked by a large number of employees. But recently, the Telangana government has given permission for the dependent jobs in SCCL. The government took this decision after continuous discussions with the SCCL authorities. This was a long dream of SCCL workers which has come true after fifteen years. Now employees whose age is below 59 years can apply for the dependent jobs. The SCCL employee's son or son-in-law is eligible for the dependent jobs if they have not crossed 35 years. As a result, now there is a chance of more members of younger generation in the SCCL Company.

Training programmes to workers

There are different designations of employees in the SCCL based on different grades or categories. Generally, the training programmes are given to the technicians, operators and the maintenance staff who work on heavy machineries. They are trained at the Technical

Training Centre (TTC) at Godavarikhani in Karimnagar district. There is a VTC in every area for different kinds of training. Every year these centres conduct one day training programme for the SCCL employees. The company provides travelling allowances (TA) and daily allowances (DA) to the employees who attend the training programme. When an employee working in an underground or open cast mine goes for a change of job from one department to the other, he is given training at the VTC at the Bellampally area. The employees working in underground and open cast mines are also given training at the same VTC. It is mandatory for every SCCL employee to undergo training for six to seven days in a year. The issues like safety measures, rules and regulations and health awareness etc., are taught in the training. The newly recruited employees are given training for a period of six to twelve months. It depends upon the position since the training period varies from one post to the other. The people who are under probation work under the supervision of the senior employees and learn the work from them.

SCCL workers in Goleti and Working in the Goleti Mines

A sample (47) is drawn from the village Goleti who working in different mines and interviewed to study the working conditions in the Goleti mines. The sample drawn is underground (30), open cast (10), GM office (2), Security (4) and canteen (1). They are working in Goleti area but a few of them are working at different places outside Goleti like Srirampur, Bhupalapally, Ramakrishnapur, Kasipeta and Godavarikhani.

The majority of the SCCL employees (31 out of 47 i.e., 66 percent) of the Goleti village are using motor vehicles for commuting to the work place. Similarly, seven are using SCCL vehicle and Telangana State Road Transport Corporation (TSRTC) buses. There are only two persons who stay at the work place due to long distance from residence to the work place. It depends upon their personal interest whether to perform journey or to stay at the work place. In such cases, they generally visit home during the weekends.

The employees working in open cast have to leave one or two hours before their working hours because they have to travel long distance to reach the work place. The distance between the Goleti town and Khairagura open cast mine is 16.80 kilometres, similarly the distance for Dorli-1 and Dorli-2 open cast mine from Goleti town is 25.50 kilometres and 29.50 kilometres respectively. Those who work in the first shift have to get up early in the morning

to get ready for the job. The women in the house prepare food and pack the lunch box for them. But the employees working in underground mining can leave half an hour before the work hours by their own vehicles. The company has provided bus facility i.e., to pick and drop the workers who work in the open cast mines. There are three or four company buses which regularly run during all the three shifts. Bus timings for the open cast mining employees from Goleti gate are as follows. All the first shift open cast employees gather at Goleti to board the bus at 6:30 am. Similarly, the timings for second and third shift workers are from 2:30 pm and 10: 30 pm respectively. The company buses drop the first shift employees at the mine and pick up the night shift employees in return to Goleti. Likewise, the bus again drops the second shift employees and picks up the first shift employees in the return. The same process is continued in the night shift afterwards. Suppose, an employee wants to come home early he has to catch the company vehicles or trucks from the work place.

There are three working shifts. The first shift is between 7:30 am and 3:30 pm, second shift is between 3:30 pm and 11:30 pm and night shift is from 11:30pm to 7:30 am. For every week the shift gets changed. For instance, a person working in the first shift changes to night shift in the next week. Similarly, a person working in the night shift changes to second shift in the next week. Some other employees regularly work in general shift i.e. from 7:30 am to 3:30 pm as they do not work on the shift basis. The other employees working at General Manager (GM) office works from 9 am to 5 pm.

As soon as the employees get down from the company bus, some of them immediately rush to a counter at the office to register their attendance, while some of the workers go directly to the canteen to have their breakfast. Every SCCL employee has a company ID number issued under the signature of the General Manager. After giving the attendance, they go to the canteen to have the breakfast and tea. Some of the workers register their attendance after having the breakfast. It is observed that some of the workers carry their food box from home and have it in the canteen. The workers who want to have their lunch in the canteen they have to book in advance and pay for it.

Then the workers go to the waiting hall to change the dress at their respective desks. On the other hand, some of the employees come from home wearing the company uniform. There are separate dress codes for open cast mine and underground mines employees. For open cast

employees, it is a thick blue trousers and light blue shirt, whereas for the underground workers thick blue trousers and shirt. Each employee has his own trunk box in the room which contains his personal equipment and other belongings. After putting on the uniform, they carry their own equipments to the place where the work is allotted. The equipments include head cap, shoes and lamp/torch etc. Then, the Ore Man allots the day's work and fixes the targets to the employees. Similarly, the work distribution for technicians takes place under the engineers and supervisors. These Ore Men and other supervisors work under the supervision of the Under-Manager. As mentioned earlier, there is a Manager for each mine who is the head of all the employees and is assisted by a couple of Under-Managers. The officials prepare a list of works to be accomplished in the three shifts. The status of the work carried out in the first shift is recorded for the benefit of the other two shifts. The employees are allotted various places after the work is assigned to them. The manpower is divided depending upon the work they have to complete on that particular day. But there can be some delay in the work distribution to the employees at the underground mines due to the time taken for carrying the materials or equipment supplied to them inside the mine. Apart from that, it also depends upon the availability of the materials to get the work done. There is a tea break between 11 am and 11:30 am for the first shift employees and the same for the second shift employees is between 7 pm and 7:30 pm. Similarly, the tea break is between 3 am and 3:30 am for the night shift employees. The employees eat their food i.e., lunch or dinner during the break. But there is no such tea break for the employees working in underground mines. They go inside the mine and come out after finishing the work assigned to them. The underground workers eat the food before or after completing the work. It depends upon the individual's interest to take tea break or not at the open cast mines. But, some of the employees engage in the work without taking the tea break. So, they return early to eat their lunch/dinner. Sometimes, the employees have to work over time if the concerned person does not come in the next shift. They are paid extra money for the work of the other person undertaken.

The night shift employees wait until the first shift employees have arrived at the workplace. The first shift employees take the charge from the night shift employees and relieve them. Similarly, the same process continues for the second shift and night shift employees. After finishing their work they return and get refreshed. Then they go to the waiting room to change the dress or put the equipments back at their personal desks. They relax after having a

cup of tea in the canteen or gossips with other employees till the bus arrives. As soon as the bus arrives, all the employees get into the bus to get back to their homes. Most of the Lambadas after returning from the mine, engage in their own agricultural activities. Those of them, who do not have agricultural lands, take rest at home or go for a hang out with friends.

If an employee does not have any health problem or family tensions, attends his job regularly. But, if an employee has any problem, he may not go to the work regularly and ultimately remains absent frequently at the workplace. There may be various other reasons for the absenteeism like, addiction to alcohol which also makes them uninterested in the job. Generally, if an employee does not go to the work, he has to inform the higher officials well in advance. Any employee seeking permission to leave has to go through proper channels as per the norms set by the company. Majority i.e., 97.8 percent said that they are satisfied with the work they have taken up. Only 2.2 percent said that they are not satisfied with the work due to the working conditions at the work place and the pressure they have to face from the company. Almost all 95.7 percent said that they have work pressure from the SCCL officials.

Reasons for not working in SCCL

As stated earlier, the employees of SCCL belong to various social groups and a majority of them are regular while some others are temporary employees. It is observed that there are quite a few tribal people who are not made regular employees for various reasons. From a household of Goleti and Dhantanpally villages it is formed.

As the Table 4.1, reveals that 83.5 percent of Lambadas out of 170 and 97.2 percent of Kolams out of 72 are not employed in SCCL as regular employees. It is observed among the Lambadas that 4.1 percent took voluntary retirement and 12.4 percent of them come under the medically unfit category. The people of these categories generally transfer the job to their son or son-in-law by providing medically unfit certificate. Similarly, 1.4 percent of Kolams are not interested to work in SCCL due to ill health and lack of interest. One of the important finding is that 97.2 percent of Kolams have lost their land due to the establishment of the open cast mining but they were not employed in SCCL as permanent employees after the displacement.

Table: 4.1. Reasons for not working in the underground mines as permanent employees

Reasons for not working in the mines	Lambada	Kolam	Others	Total
NA	142	70	35	247
	83.50%	97.20%	87.50%	87.60%
Not interested	0	1	0	1
	0.00%	1.40%	0.00%	0.40%
Took Voluntary retirement	7	0	2	9
	4.10%	0.00%	5.00%	3.20%
Medical unfit	21	0	3	24
	12.40%	0.00%	7.50%	8.50%
Ill Health	0	1	0	1
	0.00%	1.40%	0.00%	0.40%
Total	170	72	40	282
	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

Source: Field Study

*NA= Not Applicable

Working in SCCL

To find out working conditions among the Lambada and Kolam tribal workers a small survey was conducted among those working at SCCL in Goleti. The total sample drawn is 81 out of 282 workers. Among them 47 (27.6 percent) of the Lambadas are working as permanent employees whereas 30 (41.7 percent) of Kolams are working as contract labours after the displacement. One of the important observations is that there are no permanent employees among the Kolams. Lambadas and others are working in SCCL as permanent employees whereas Kolams who are project affected families (PAFs) working as daily wage labours (contract labours) at open cast mines.

Education among the Workers

A majority of them i.e., 17 (36.2 percent) is illiterate 6 (12.8 percent) of them have primary education and 7 (14.9 percent) have upper primary education. Eleven (23.4 percent) have secondary and higher education, only three of them (6.3 percent) and another three of them have studied in Industrial Training Institute (ITI) at various training institutes. Thus the workers are mostly illiterate and a very few of them are trained in some trades in ITIs while others have general education beyond secondary high school education.

Health Condition

About 62.2 percent said that they do consume alcohol and 40.9 percent said that they consume it occasionally. About 13.3 percent and 8.9 percent said that they consume it daily and weekly. They said that they generally consume alcohol to get relief from the strenuous work.

About 10.6 percent said that they had faced some health problems after joining the company like joint pains (6.7 percent), fluid in the chest and asthma (2.2 percent). They have suffered from body pains for many years and spent huge amounts for the treatment in various private hospitals. The current health status of the workers shows that 4.4 percent of them got cured from certain illnesses and 6.2 percent are yet to recover from the health issues. Very few people i.e., 12.8 percent said that they had faced minor accidents at the work place. They said that they had received the complete financial support or assistance from the SCCL.

Bhukya Amar Singh, (52 years) who is a permanent employee said that one day, he met with an accident at the Goleti-1A mine. He suffered from some fractures in his body and was hospitalised for a month in a corporate hospital at Mancherial. The company met the total expenditure. When he recovered wrote a letter to the General Manager saying that he can't work in the underground mine as he met with an accident while he was working in the underground mine. He also submitted the entire hospital documents along with the application along with a certificate from the doctor that he was unfit to work in the underground mines. His appeal was then accepted by the General Manager and he was shifted to work at the surface level.

The other worker Ajmeera Chandu Naik (49) started to have suffered from asthma after joining the SCCL to work in the underground mine. He visited various hospitals for the treatment. He requested the General Manager to shift him to the other department but his requested was denied. But when he approached again through the ST association and made frequent requests the General Manager relented and transferred him to the surface area. He said he was happy now working in the surface areas. He said he would have suffered a lot if he had worked in the underground mine.

Politics among the Workers

There are different workers' unions like TBGKS (TRS), AITUC (CPI) and INTUC (CONGRESS) working for the welfare of the company workers at the Bellampally area. The membership of the workers at Goleti in these unions, according to the survey conducted among 81 samples, is as follows: TGBKS (22), AITUC (4), INTUC (5), and NA (16). Thus, majority (46.8 percent) have membership with the TGBKS. This time AITUC (CPI) has formed the union at the area level. The unions are supposed to discuss various issues and problems of the workers with the authorities and try to get them solved, as discussed earlier.

About 21 (44.7 percent) regularly attends the meetings conducted by their respective unions. And 11 (23.4 percent) rarely attend the meetings and 15 (31.9 percent) don't attend the meetings due to lack of time. Majority of the employees said that the unions in SCCL play an important role in solving the employees' problems. With regard to the political participation of the SCCL employees among the Lambada workers shows that 33 of them (70.2 percent) are members of different political parties. About 22 (46.8 percent) are members of TRS, Congress 6 (12.8 percent), CPI 3 (6.4 percent) and TDP 2 (4.3 percent). About 32 (68 percent) do participate in the various activities of the party.

Tribal Employees and Coal Mining

According to the SCCL records at the time of this study, there are about 100 employees belonging to schedule tribe's category working in the Bellampally area in different mines and offices like Goleti-1A, Khairagura OC, Dorli-1 and 2 OCs, S & PC, Area hospital and GM office. Their distribution is as follows: Gond (4), Koya (4), Lambada (76), Mannevar (2), Naikpod (5), Pardhan (3), Valmiki (5) and Yanadi (1). It is clear that majority of the tribal workers in the SCCL belong to the Lambada community. While some Kolams participated in the events of selection for employment in the SCCL some others did not show any interest. As mentioned earlier some of the Kolams, Mannevar, Pardhans and Gonds who were recruited did not continue for long but they quit the job. It is interesting to know some of them 'sold away' their jobs to others such as Lambadas and non-tribes. It means to say that they received money from someone who did not go through the selection process and the latter after paying money to them who has gone through the selection process already became the proxy of the person or became an imposter worker and thus became an employee through

illegal means. They were continuing and receiving the benefits from SCCL in the names of other persons. But this was not the case with the Lambadas, as none of them 'sold the job'. They continued the job because they were physically strong and thus able to withstand the hard labour. Kolams were very thin and weak and were not strong enough when compared with the Lambadas. So, not being able to withstand the hard work the Kolams 'sold the jobs' away to some others. In some other cases, the Kolam families who had lost their lands did not bother to ask for the employment in the company nor did they demand or receive even the compensation, they just left the village. The families which received the money did not show any interest in joining the service of SCCL. The state government did not also provide any compensation or alternate employment or extended any benefits to the Kolams in terms of agriculture development and distribution of cattle. It is important to note here that the many Lambadas worked hard in the initial days and they got adjusted to the new kinds of jobs and work environment and they continued their service in the SCCL. Later on, the company regularized the services of some of them. But the other tribes like Kolams and Gonds could not adapt to the harsh conditions and discontinued abruptly. A few of them did however continue for some time but they were not regular in their duties, one reason as attributed by others is their habit of drinking alcohol that made them indolent and slow in their work. As a result, their services were not regularized and some of them were removed from the job due to their irregularity and frequent absence from work. Disappointed over this some of them quit the jobs for ever. The following narrations provided by the Kolams living now in various R and R centres reveals the reasons why they could not work for the SCCL:

Yapalla Bapu (49) studied up to fifth class; he did not continue his education due to lack of interest and death of his father when he was young. He depended on agriculture and forest produce when his family was displaced due to mining. When he got an opportunity to work with the SCCL as a daily wage labourer in the 1970s, he worked as filler for twenty days but he quit the job as it was a hard work. He tried to adapt to the new situation but could not withstand the hardship for he used to get fever also frequently. But, now he regrets for losing the SCCL wage labour because the wages paid in SCCL are higher now than what he earns in agricultural and non-agricultural labour. He feels that had the company paid better wages to the workers at that time there was a little chance for anyone to leave the SCCL. The higher wages paid by the company now might be one reason for getting adjusted to the mining situation by the present workers. Further, he was not aware of the fact that those daily wage

labourer would be made permanent employee after some time, and had he known this he would have somehow continued to work. He blames his illiteracy and ignorance for this and regrets that there is no chance to get job again in the SCCL.

But Athram Borraiah (40) has another story to narrate for quitting his work in SCCL. He was not regular to his work because it was completely a new environment. One day his wife was hospitalized and he had to take care of her. So he sought leave from work and therefore requested the officials for the same but the officials did not allow him to go because they thought that he was bluffing to them. They did not understand his problem and scolded him for being irregular to the work. He then got angry and left the work place without informing his superiors once for all as his wife's health was more important than his work and his commitment to her was greater than to his employer. He had a bad opinion on the SCCL officials which made him to quit the job. Then later on, he helped his wife till she recovered.

He lost seven acres of land when the SCCL acquired land for open cast mining and received Rs. 8 lakh for the land as compensation and Rs. 2 lakh under the R and R package. Before displacement they were at Devaiguda village. The company has rehabilitated him at Keslapur R and R centre called Indira Nagar, near Asifabad town, which at a distance of 25 about kilometre from the old village. The money received from the company was spent away long back in various ways and now the family is in troubles. He purchased a new motor bike, two acres of land which is leased out for he did not possess oxen to cultivate. The money is also spent on different purposes like health and domestic consumption and repaid Rs. 50,000, the loan he had borrowed. He stayed with his relatives and worked as a daily wage labourer for three to four years. Then later on, he had shifted to the rehabilitated centre and now working as a daily wage labourer. His major occupation before displacement was agriculture and NREGA. But now he is not getting the work regularly at Indira Nagar. He is getting work twice or thrice a week and the NREGA works are also not available here due to the change of the Gram Panchayat.

Another respondent Athram Sanjeev (57) did not work in the SCCL for a long time, but only a few days and he quit the job for he could not bear the hard work. He drinks heavily and he is also a chain smoker. Whatever compensation he received from the SCCL he spent it on alcohol and as a result his health condition got spoiled. Yapalla Shankar (58) an illiterate, has also quit his job from the SCCL and 'sold' it to the other non-tribal which he did not want to

publicly admit. The main reason for quitting the job was that he was afraid of working in the mines due to the frequent accidents in the mines and other health hazards. He knew agriculture and non-agriculture activities and, therefore, he could not adjust to the new job in a different environment. The total amount he received from the company for the land loss and the R and R package was Rs. 6 lakh.

As mentioned above and the narrations unfold, one dominant reason for the Kolams not working in the SCCL is their inability to adapt to the mining situation. This is what an outsider can infer from the discussion with the Kolams. But the analysis of social and cultural life of Kolams and the Lambadas can provide another scenario which is not articulated. It is about the incompatibility and compatibility of the two tribes with regard to socio-cultural life which is needs to be understood. This critical aspect is dealt in another chapter. In the following chapter the issues related to the rehabilitation centres are discussed. It may be noted that though the Lambadas of Goleti villages were affected they are not rehabilitated, the village remains in its original place even after establishment of coal mines, whereas the Kolams are rehabilitated. The present study focuses on the Kolams' rehabilitation only.

Religion

At every mine either underground or open cast a Durga Matha temple has been constructed. This is done so according to religious beliefs and practices of both Kolams and Lambada tribes inhabiting this area to respect the religious sentiments of the local people. If there is any Brahmin worker at the mine, he regularly performs *puja* in the morning to the goddess Durga. If there is no Brahmin worker at the mine, the company hires a person from the local area to perform the *puja*. As described in the ethnographic note in earlier chapter, earth is considered as a female god and she is worshipped on various rites. There are several goddesses who are worshipped to protect them from various diseases and misfortunes. The goddesses are also identified with prosperity. So it make sense why they have Durga Matha temples; the goddess that blesses them with the wealth of coal, protects them from all kinds of dangers. Rituals are organized so that goddess will bless the new vehicles brought in there and other new machine. A *puja* to the goddess for nine days (*navarathri*) is carried out during the Dasara festival. The temple is painted with different colours before the festival. The company deducts some money from the employees' salary for organising the *puja* at their respective mines. The *puja* celebrations end on the tenth day.

It is interesting to observe the name of Kolam's god Bhimanna has been inscribed on the heavy vehicles of SCCL. According to the belief of the local tribes, the geographical area is under the control of god Bhimanna, and since the SCCL is digging coal in this area they also must trust god in order to get protection from him who wards off the evil powers that harm the humans. The company contributes for the celebration of *Jathara* of Bhimanna in the rehabilitated tribal village. He must be pleased so that he would protect the workers and bless the company.

Chapter 5

LAND ACQUISITION, RESETTLEMENT AND REHABILITATION UNDER SCCL

This chapter aims at the description of land acquisition in theory and practice with reference to Goleti and Dhantanpally villages. The land acquisition for SCCL projects was carried out in three phases. In the first phase few acres of land was acquired when the underground mine at Goleti was opened in 1971-72. At that time the land acquisition was done mainly for the construction of offices and quarters for the staff and there was no displacement of Goleti village. However, in the second phase when Khairagura project was undertaken for open cast mining in 2005, a large extent of land was acquired resulting in the displacement of villages. This was followed by another open cast mining at Dorli-1 and 2 in 2007 and 2008, again there was displacement of tribal villages.

Thus, while in Goleti only lands are acquired and houses are not affected, in Dhantanpally several lands and houses are affected due to land acquisition. There was some resistance from the villagers in the second and third phase of land acquisition yet the SCCL was able to overcome these resistances. The affected villages as of today in Goleti area are about 25 which are rehabilitated at 9 resettlement and rehabilitation centres. The chapter deals with the process of land acquisition, displacement in second and third phase, compensation paid, and rehabilitation of the displaced communities. As in several earlier cases in the country, the present situation is not very different. The promises made have not been completely fulfilled, and the initial enthusiasm shown by the displacing agency has not been displayed when the people moved out of their village, they became victims of the project though they are called Project Affected Persons or Families.

Procedure of Land Acquisition

Generally, a piece of land is acquired if it contains rich minerals in the form of coal, limestone, mica, granite and bauxite etc. The regions where the tribal people live are some of the richest sites in terms of natural bounties. They not only have vast forest wealth but also contain huge deposit of minerals. A company displaces original inhabitants when it acquires

land for the project and for dumping the soil or over burden (OB) at nearby place where the mining operations are going on. In the present case where an open cast mining of coal is taking place, the digging of coal starts from the ground level and the work proceeds downwards. The amount of dug is several times larger than the amount of coal taken out. It requires alternative land for storing this OB. The land selected for dumping the OB shouldn't be far away from the mine. In this particular case also the company displaced the villages and rehabilitated them in other areas.

The process of acquisition of land and displacement of villagers is as follows in case of coal mining. First, a team of geologists carries out an exploration through a survey about the quality and quantity of coal deposits available in different places and submits a report to the company or user agency. Then the company i.e., user agency gives a requisition to the District Collector about acquiring specific land for the mining operation. There are different types of land like, *patta* land, govt. land, assigned land and forest land etc. For acquiring the forest land, the company has to get permission from the Ministry of Environment and Forest, Government of India, and for the other land, the company approaches the state authority.

Almost all lands so far acquired for mining and for the rehabilitation of displaced families has been carried out as per Land Acquisition Act, 1894 and A.P., R and R policy 2005. The draft declaration about land acquisition is required published within one year according to 4(1) of the Act 1894 excluding stay period under section 6 of the said Act. Accordingly notification will be issued by the Land Acquisition Officer (L.A.O) who is the District Collector by publication in local/papers/Gazette, after conducting hearing of Grama Sabhas/Panchayats in scheduled area. Under section 9(3) 10 and 9(1) 10 notices to be issued and the statements of the Grama Sabha\Panchayat or affected persons are being recorded by the L.A.Os. Then all the Project Affected Families (PAFs)/Project Displaced Families (PDFs) are interacted with the District Collector or Land Acquisition Officers i.e., Asst. Collector, Sub-Collector, and RDOs and not below rank of Dy. Collectors concerned. After hearing claims and objections under section 5(A) through the enquiry almost all land losers of their claims and objections are settled by L.A.O concerned. After 15 days, award enquiry shall be conducted to fix market value and identify ownership of the land or duly ascertaining the persons interested and having alienable rights, by recording their statements before the L.A.O. For fixing compensation for lands, residential structures, trees and structures, 30 percent salutation, 12 percent additional market value and damages are considered. Face to face discussion takes

place between the L.A.O and the PAFs/PDFs and statements of the latter are recorded by the L.A.O i.e. Revenue official.

Once the negotiations between the company and the PAFs/PDFs go amicably then the user agency starts searching the R and R land for the project displaced families. The selection of the R and R land is done by the user agency taking into account the interest of the project affected families. In this process the company enquires about the land available from the Mandal office and whether it is a *patta* land or government land or government assigned land. After getting the details of the land, the agency informs the District Collector about the lands required for the R and R. Then the District Collector appoints Resettlement and Rehabilitation administrator (R and R administrator) for the purpose of R and R project who is an officer not below the rank of Sub-Collector or RDO of the state government, and the user agency is informed of the same. Generally, the user agency approaches the tribes or non-tribes of the villages and explains the importance of mining and the need for acquiring the land. It also informs them about the R and R package.⁸⁶ Then the R and R Administrator examines the land selected by the user agency. There are two types of processes for the acquisition of land: 1. General award, 2. Consent award. The same processes are adopted when the lands are acquired by the user agency for acquisition for operation of its activities.

General award

The government gives notices to the land owners about the acquisition of land for public purpose. The government officials conduct a meeting with the landowners and fix a rate for their lands by obtaining the details of the land from the concerned departments. The details include: the kind of crops grown in those lands in the last three to four years, quality of soil and the type of land etc. Further, the information about recent purchase of land or transactions in that particular area from the office of Land Registration. If it is purchased then the value of that land is also taken into consideration and on this information, the government fixes one rate for the lands and informs the landowners. General award is referred to which happened without the will or consent of the people. After meeting with the landowners, they are given one month of period to share their opinions. They could even approach the court if they did not agree with the government rates paid for their lands. They are to abide by the decision of the court and do as per the court order.

⁸⁶ The information is collected from SCCL office through RTI.

Consent award

If both the parties have to an agreement on the land deal, it is called consent award. The renegotiations held between both the parties after which they come to an understanding and fixed the rate of the land. Apart from the land value, the user agency also pays compensation for the standing crops in those fields after the acquisition of the land. It generally deposits the money in the RDO accounts. The RDO in turn gives the money in the form of cheques to the land owners. Then the government gives the charge certificate to the agency along with the survey numbers and the type of land. Once the certificate is given to the agency, the land belonged to it. Soon after that, the company starts works in the R and R lands. The civil department first starts the work by levelling the land and then mark the plots for each household. The company keeps 40 percent of land reserved at the R and R centres even after allotting the lands to every household.

Once the works in the R and R centres are completed the people are advised to shift from their original village. The allotment of plots is done based on the people's interest and choice. If there is any conflict in the selection of the plots then the agency allots the plots on lottery system. As per the policy the land allotted for project affected families are registered in the names of the head of the household. The agency bears the registration charges. The certificates of the *patta* lands are given to them with the signature of Revenue Divisional Officer (RDO) in the presence of R and R Administrator.

Land Acquisition in Goleti Village

According to the information gathered from the workers of the Goleti Mines, the SCCL explored the possibility of finding coal deposits with the help of some geologists in 1968. One Dasru Naik, 90 years, a native of Goleti village claims that he was the first one with the SCCL officials when they explored the deposits of coal in the area. The company started coal mining operation gradually at different places and by 1972, it started the underground mines at Goleti 1A and Madaram. In 1973, Mr. S.N. Murthy, the then chief engineer of the SCCL, visited the Goleti village and other nearby villages and met the old people of the village and asked the villagers for bullock carts to fetch water from the nearby water bodies since there was no transport facility in the area except bullock cart, so the company took help from the farmers. There were nearly twenty farmers who had bullock carts in the village and all of them agreed to provide water to the SCCL for Rs 5.00 per trip. In this way, they received Rs.

120-150 for a month. Later, 70 others from different villages joined them. These seventy people belonged to different social groups like, Lambada, Perka, Kapu, Padmasali, Madiga, Mala and Golla. There was no other tribal group found among them except Lambada.

The first mine established at the Goleti area was the Goleti - 1 Incline. At that time Lambadas have lost some of their agricultural lands for the establishment of SCCL at the Goleti village. The company has offered jobs to those project affected families who had lost three acres of land, but among them who did not show interest in jobs were paid compensation of Rs. 10,000 per one acre. The land acquisition took place under the supervision of the revenue department. The SCCL acted as a mediator between the people and government. The Lambadas did not oppose the SCCL because they thought that it will benefit them and their area also will be developed. In those days there was no public hearing for the establishment of mines but now the government is organizing the public hearing.

Lambadas are not displaced due to mining but some of their lands are acquired for the SCCL Company. When SCCL has started mining in the Goleti area, it first started discussions with the villagers to acquire the land for mining and also for constructing the basic amenities like General Manager's Office, employee's quarters, hospital, community hall and school etc. After continuous discussions with the people they have agreed to give their land for the company. The company paid the compensation depending upon the market value for the land. Some of the Lambadas opted for jobs in SCCL instead of compensation. At the time there were both options either employment or compensation to the PAFs. When there was fresh recruitment land losers in the SCCL were given priority. But now they are giving more compensation for the affected families instead of job to overcome the excess manpower in SCCL Company.

Khairagura Project

The company has followed the GO's 64, 68 and 134 for the displacement of tribes. Initially, it has followed the government orders according to the G.O.M.S. No. 64 for the first phase of Khairagura project. Accordingly the company gave five acres of land to the project affected families at the rehabilitation centre regardless of their lost lands in the project. Thus, 62 Kolams families of Bordham and Khairagura villages were benefited; the total land of 278 acres was distributed to these 62 families. If infertile or useless lands were given to the project affected people, they were given additional Rs. 4,408 per acre to resume cultivation.

If agricultural land was given to them, they were paid Rs. 5,000 for the investment in crops. This was about the people who were displaced due to Khairagura project. Then later on, the land acquisition for the PAF's who lost land has become a major problem for other SCCL projects so the company has followed the GO's 68 and 134 according to which land is not given but compensation is paid for the land lost.

Land Acquisition for Dorli - 1 and 2 in Dhantanpally and process of displacement

Life before displacement: Till 2004-05 the life in Dhantanpally village was quite normal like any other village. The villagers had a very harmonious life. The entire village was inhabited by no other communities except the Kolams who had been living there for ages. There were about 45 houses and they mostly lived in joint families, married brothers usually lived together and the girls were married out. Brothers' children lived in the same house as a single family, and the grand children had been taken care of by the grand parents when their parents were away either in the fields or forest. They lived mainly as agriculturists and Minor Forest Produce (MFP). Interaction with the forest almost on daily basis was a way of life for them. The forests not only provided them food to eat, materials to build houses, fuel for cooking and fodder for their cattle, but also with medicinal plants for treating minor diseases. The collection of MFP was the most important economic activity for the Kolams. Those few of them who did not have agricultural lands engaged themselves as agricultural and non-agricultural labourers. The families who depended on agriculture had nearly 5-10 acres of farming land. These lands that they possessed were inherited from their ancestors. They used to grow various crops in different seasons like *jowar*, maize, *kandi* (red gram), *pesara* (green gram), *anumullu* and *amudallu* (castor) etc., by using the natural fertility without having used any chemical fertilizers. The yield they obtained from different crops had remained round the year for their consumption. The surplus yield they used to sell to the Girijan Cooperative Corporation (GCC) and at the nearby market in Asifabad. The main income was derived from agriculture only. At the same time, non-farming employment also provided a major source of cash income to many households. There were different types of non-farming activities practiced earlier by the Kolams like basket making, thatch making, hunting, fishing, honey collection, *ippa puvvu* collection, *ippa parka* collection, *kobbari verlu* (used as tea powder), *tuniki akku* (used in beedi manufacture) and lacquer collection etc. They used to sell the minor forest produce to the GCC and earn some money from it. The sale of non-timber minor forest produce provided subsidiary income. They were eating a variety of fruits available in

the forest during various seasons. During the months of June- December they depended on agriculture and during off-season they used to make baskets, thatches and winnowing fans. They collected the bamboo, which is also called *veduru*, from the forest and split them in to required sizes for making different items. They used to make handles for axe (*golli*), sickle (*kodava*), knife (*rusi*), and small knife with bamboo and sell these products at nearby weekly markets. Both men and women participated in it, while the men engaged selling these in the nearby villages by hawking around the houses. Whenever they had leisure, they preferred to go for hunting. A group of people were involved in this activity including friends and relatives. Usually they went for hunting in the morning, when there was sun light. Game was an unpredictable food source as they may or may not find game, and if they were successful they brought meat of the animal. If they found big game like deer or wild pigs, they would come back home and if they found small hunt like rabbit or peacock, they usually tried for a big one. Hunting was carried mostly by chasing the animals with the help of dogs. So, dogs played a very important role in hunting. Hunting was done mostly in summer as the animals could not run long distances due to heat and non-availability of water. During the months of June- July, they found deer, and during the months of April-May, they found wild pigs and peacocks. They never sold the meat of these animals and birds in markets but they distributed the meat among themselves. Equipment used for hunting included axe (*golli*) and sickle (*kodava*). They also used spears as darting objects when they had to hit animals, sometimes nets were also used. The animals were driven towards the net in which the animals got caught.

Awareness of Mining: The Dhantanpally villagers were aware of the fact the SCCL has been operating coal mines in Goleti for some years. They were also aware that some 40 years ago i.e., in 1970s a survey was undertaken by the SCCL in collaboration with the Geological Survey of India towards the west Goleti village. The company dug bore wells in and around Khairagura village exploring availability of coal deposits. But then in few years, the following revenue villages were affected due to coal mining under Khaiguda open cast (OC): Chopidi, Areguda, Pedakunta, Bordham, Devaiguda, Lingiguda, Ullipitta Dorli (partly) of Tiryani Mandal, Sonapur (land acquired for road purpose) and Goleti (Land acquired for road and for the construction of SCCL quarters purpose) of Rebbena Mandal. Since the Dhantanpally village was approximately 10 kilometres away from Khairagura village, they thought that they will have no problems of evacuation. They came to know that the people at

Khairagura villages who had lost their lands in the mining were compensated with Rs. 30,000 for one acre to the people who had lost their land for the mining. They were also provided with land for land and cash for loss of house. The amount of compensation paid was depended on the type of land possessed by the PAFs. They were also supplied with 50 kilograms to one quintal of rice for the time being. The company had also provided other benefits to the PAF/PDFs which come under the R and R policy. It first targeted the weak villagers that did not raise their voice against the mining. Then they evacuated villages one after the other under the Khairagura project by making different promises. The Dhantanpally villagers thought that whatever be the compensation paid and support extended by the company to the project affected families was totally inadequate. They actually thought that the company will not extend the mining in their own lands or area therefore they can continue their pleasant life by doing agriculture. However, there was a lurking fear of SCCL displacing them, at some point of time.

But soon their imaginations found to be not true. In the beginning the Kolams of Dhantanpally did not have any clue why the company officials were visiting their areas. They then asked the officials about the purpose of their frequent visits. They told some elders that they were estimating the coal resources available in these areas under the ground. After a few years, i.e., 2003 the company slowly initiated the Dorli-1 project close to the Dhantanpally village by testing the air pollution with the help of a few private employees. They placed a heavy machine on a school building, and that consisted of a white sheet which was removed after 15days or a month and sent to the laboratory for testing the air pollution. After two or three months the location of the machine was shifted to other place. At that time, the villagers asked about the machine and why they were doing so. Then they were told that the SCCL Company was going to start the mining in this area which would benefit the villagers in many ways. Then only the villagers came to know that the SCCL's new initiative.

Then, the Dhantanpally villagers thought that the same R and R policy would be followed if they were displaced though it was very attractive, they had no option but fall in line with any other village. In the year 2003, the SCCL officials visited the Dhantanpally village on their own work and interacted with some of the villagers and in course of their conversation they informed that coal was found in that area and the company would shift them to other area once it starts the mining. The villagers thought that the company would go for the underground mining as in Goleti and Bellampally area, and that they do not have to worry

about it much. They did not know or think about the open cast mining. The company officials said that the area would be developed once the mining is started and they would also provide employment and extend other benefits under the R and R package to the PAFs. The secret behind the visit of the SCCL officials was to find out the awareness of people about mining and their opinion on it like whether they were ready for the mining plans or not or whether there will be any resistance.

Knowledge about Displacement: Later the SCCL in collaboration with the Revenue officials carried out a survey in the area. The Revenue officials visited the village and conducted a survey regarding the land holding details of the villagers. In fact, the villagers did not have any idea about the purpose for which the survey was conducted. They suggested the villagers to registrar their names in respect of the land holdings under different survey numbers. These lands were inherited from their ancestors and they had been cultivating them for many years. But in fact, most of the lands (60 percent) did not have any *pakka patta* certificates. There were *patta* certificates in case of five land owners for about 100 acres. These *pattas* were given to them during the Nizam rule. The remaining lands had *lavani patta* and *porampoku* or *kariskatha* (KK) which cannot entitle ownership to the landowner and they can neither sell nor mortgage the land. But the villagers thought that all these lands had the *pakka pattas*. During the survey, the villagers came to know that those lands did not have *pakka pattas*. Therefore, all the villagers spoke to the Revenue officials and registered their names for those lands who had been cultivating them for years. But the Revenue officials refused to give them the original *pattas*. That means that they would not entitle for compensation for they were not the original owners.

At the same time, the District Collector also refused to give permission for the purchase of land, land registrations, permanent house constructions and Indira Awaas Yojana (IAY) constructions in the SCCL project affected areas. Then the villagers thought that they are in real trouble if they lost their lands. Actually the IAY houses were sanctioned much earlier to the Dhantanpally villagers from the ITDA. They dismantled their semi-*pucca* houses for the construction of new houses since they have already been sanctioned IAY houses. But, the housing department did not give permission for the construction of new houses in the village. The District Collector issued a notification not to construct the IAY houses in the village. He also stated that the SCCL was going to start the mining in the tribal areas which has national importance. The PAFs would be shifted to other places by providing them better standard of

living. So, all the villagers went to meet the Project Officer, ITDA at Utnoor, Adilabad district. They also began a protest against the stopping of the construction of the IAY houses in the village. They questioned the officials about where they would live without the house or shelter in the rainy season. The Project Officer promised them to provide plastic covers or sheets for the time being to construct the temporary houses till the end of rainy season. The villagers were not ready for it and came back to the village. They resumed their stay in the old houses constructing them again. The villagers were not at all in a mood to leave the village, saying let what may come.

Persuasion of officials for displacement: Since then SCCL officials used to visit the village frequently to read the minds of the people whether they were in the positive mood of shifting or not. Particularly, two persons from the company namely Thirupati and Venkateshwarllu were regularly in touch with the villagers interacting with the villagers and informing them about the benefits of SCCL's mining project and displacement. They maintained a close and friendly relationship with some of the villagers so as to develop a positive opinion about the SCCL by their frequent visits to the village. One day, the SCCL officials invited Dhantanpally villagers to the Bellampally SCCL guest house for a casual trip. Initially, the villagers did not accept their proposal and asked about the purpose of making them assemble at the guest house. The company officials said that it was not for discussing the displacement of the village but for an informal visit. They also said that there should be balanced reciprocity between both the groups for a strong relationship. They kept on reminding the same for two to three months by making friendship with the villagers. Then one day, the elders of the village decided to accept the invitation and visit the guest house to test the SCCL members. The company provided two jeeps for travel to the guest house. The SCCL extended the villagers good hospitality at the guest house. They were initially served with tea and coffee and in the afternoon, a delicious lunch with different items. They were also served *paan* and *beedi* after the food. It was clear for the villagers that the SCCL was trying to wooing them for parting with their lands and giving up their village. The SCCL members tempted the tribals showing at the guest house some drawings about the new location with park and swimming pool etc., where they would be shifted to if they were willing to shift. In fact, they demonstrated them a luxurious way of life that how an individual desires to have if he has more money. For the tribal people who lived in the interior forests who were not exposed to the urban lifestyle it was a completely new and happy experience when they

visited the Bellampally guest house. The villagers spent sometime in the guest house and returned to the village in the evening and shared their experience with others in the village. However, the villagers discussed among themselves and took a vow that they should oppose the mining around Dhantanpally.

The company closely observed the tribal people and thought that it would be better if a well known tribal leader or person was brought into picture to act as a mediator who could inform and convince the Dhantanpally villagers about the benefits that the SCCL would extend to them. The tribal people should give their consent and concede to the proposals of the SCCL and give away their lands for the project. They might not agree if the proposal goes from non-tribals as the tribal people might be under the impression that they would definitely cheat them. It is not only illiteracy and their lack of knowledge about their basic rights but also they cannot even speak Telugu language properly and therefore they cannot articulate their point of view. For example, Athram Laxman who was a Kolam who got elected as Sarpanch did not know about his duties and how to spend the funds of the Grama Panchayat. He had somehow learned the skills by attending the government training programmes. But there was no better person than Laxman, hence the SCCL officials visited the village and met Athram Laxman and explained to him about the support that the company would extend to them if they give up the lands and village. Then the villagers came to know that the SCCL was going to occupy their lands for the mining operations for sure. However, they were not happy that they were going to lose their lands to the mining project. They also thought that the compensation paid to them would not replace or compensate with their original settlement forever. They discussed among themselves and came to the conclusion that there would be no help from anywhere and they had to give up. The community fabric would be torn into pieces, and people move helter-skelter and they would become individualistic; their kinship network would break and social relationships among them would become weak once the displacement takes place. They also thought that they would be property-less when the assets belonged to them were given to the SCCL Company.

The SCCL and Revenue officials organized a meeting and collected the opinions of the villagers regarding the mining. Then, the SCCL officials discussed personally with some of the village leaders and other members about the benefits of the mining if it was established in their area. They suggested the villagers to obtain original *patta* for the lands that they have been cultivating over the years. Then there would be no trouble if the land acquisition takes

place for the mining. The area would be developed once the mining starts and there would not be any problems for them. This way they were able to convince some of the villagers and divided them into two camps, one for disposing off lands and the other for not disposing off the lands. This tactic of dividing the villagers breaking their unity was used by the SCCL in other villages also. As a result, some of the villagers supported the mining while some of them opposed it. Then the SCCL had targeted the people who opposed the project and tried to negotiate with them. They brought the local tribal leaders, gave them money, who in turn tried to convince the non-cooperative villagers for accepting the project. They had also tried to weaken the relationship among the tribals those who opposed the project.

The SCCL also used traditional strategies of winning the favour of the tribes. Generally, the tribal people gather at a place when a stranger enters the village and when they gather they also have the habit of distributing *beedi* among themselves. The SCCL people also followed the same technique and distributed *beedi* to the villagers whenever they visited the village. They also started greeting the villagers by saying *ram-ram*. In this way, the SCCL members tried and built a good rapport with the people who were active members of the village. They also participated in some of the tribal rituals and ceremonies by capturing them in the camera or handy cam. They used to take the photographs with the villagers. The tribal people were not aware of these technical devices and they became attracted to them. The villagers also showed interest in taking photographs with the SCCL officials who observed each and every activity in the village. They supplied medicines to the villagers from the SCCL primary health centre, if anyone in the village was found sick. At times, they also distributed sweets and attracted the villagers' attention towards the SCCL. They also offered alcohol to some of the tribal leaders by taking them to the bars and restaurants in Adilabad and Bellampally. They also introduced some of the tribal people to the higher SCCL officials and the company also appointed some of their employees as mediators to look after needs of the tribal people though they may be small but they ought to be seen as important matters for the time being. In this way, the SCCL was able to win the hearts of tribal people and maintained good relationship with them for two years.

Meeting at Dorli: In the year 2004-05, there was a *praja abhipraya sekarana* conducted by the SCCL and the revenue department, the erstwhile A.P. government, at the Dorli village on the displacement due to mining. The government had initially issued a notification to the Sarpanch's of the project affected villages to participate in the meeting. The Ullipitta-Dorli

Gram Panchayat consisted of ten villages namely, Dorli, Ullipitta, Jandaguda, Gummadiloddi, Ippaguda, Rajaguda, Thadvaguda, Dhantanpally, Patha Dhantanpally and Ontimamidi. The villages like Dhantanpally, Dorli and Ullipitta were the revenue villages coming under the Gram Panchayat whereas the other villages were the hamlets. The elders and representatives from different villages, officials of SCCL Company and political leaders like MLA, MP, MPTC, ZPTC, President of Mandal Praja Parishad and other local leaders from the district participated in the meeting. Athram Laxman who was the Sarpanch of the Dhantanpally village then also participated in the meeting at Dorli. The then RDO, Utnoor, presided over the meeting and the SCCL officials first mooted the proposal of the mining and displacement of the tribal villages in this regard. The issues like affected villages, land acquisition, R and R benefits, welfare measures, place of mining area and dump yard etc. were discussed in the meeting. The SCCL officials said that the quality of coal available in these areas was good and mining was important for the national cause. They said that the area would be developed once the mining starts there. Apart from that, the officials promised that without disturbing the environment much, proper measures like tree plantations and water sprinkling etc. would be undertaken once the mining starts in the area in order to control the pollution due to mining operations. Some of the villages affected in the Dorli-1 project were: Dorli, Jandaguda, Thadvaguda, Rajaguda, Gummadiloddi and Ippaguda. The villagers who participated in the meeting had also raised their voices against the mining. They had agreed for the underground mining instead of open cast mining. The villagers said that the dead bodies of their ancestors would have to be exhumed from their own land, if they go for an open cast mining. This will result in the permanent rupture of bond between the living and their clan gods after displacement. Some of them said that they did not have *pakka patta* for most of their lands. So, they requested the government officials first to provide the *pakka patta* to the villagers.

The non-tribals were also living in the project affected villages. They also requested the officials to provide them *pattas* for the lands cultivated by them though it is not legal for them to possess land in the Fifth Schedule area. This will help them claiming compensation for their lands which were part of the agency area. Others had also raised different questions to the SCCL and government officials which were also taken into consideration. The RDO promised that the government would take proper measures for the project affected villagers. Furthermore, the SCCL officials also made several promises. They also said that if anyone

had problem either before or after the displacement they could directly approach the SCCL officials or government officials to get their problems resolved. The political leaders who participated in the meeting also expressed their views about the merits and demerits of the mining and displacement of villages. They requested the government to provide an alternative source of livelihood to the project affected families.

Meeting at Dhantanpally: In the second phase for the Dorli-2 projects, the SCCL Company and government officials had conducted a meeting at the Dhantanpally village after three months. A day before the meeting, the Dhantanpally villagers reviewed the meeting conducted at the Dorli-1 and decided to boycott the meeting. Athram Laxman who was the Sarpanch of Dhantanpally village strongly opposed the establishment of mining i.e., Dorli-2 project. They discussed that the promises made by the SCCL and government officials would not benefit the tribal people. Then the next day, the SCCL had arranged the vehicles and brought the people from various villages for the meeting. The other villagers who came for the meeting were also not allowed to participate in the meeting by the Dhantanpally villagers. Then the SCCL officials like Mr. Ramullu, Assistant General Manager and others went to the people and appealed them to attend the meeting. But the Dhantanpally villagers and others did not listen and told the officials that they would boycott the meeting. The media and press representatives from different channels were also present on that day.

Then the SCCL officials sent one Vishwa Prasad to negotiate with the tribal people and the latter was a Congress party leader from Asifabad working as a contractor for the SCCL at the Khairagura project. He had good relations with the tribal people and the company as well. He was sent as a mediator to interact with the Dhantanpally villagers, and he talked with the tribal people about the reasons for not attending the meeting. He suggested them to place their demands before the SCCL and government officials, and it would not be of any use if they did not attend the meeting. He tried to convince and make them understand that the project was being undertaken for a national cause, so one should not oppose it without knowing the advantages of it. He assured them that the Company would not take the lands from them without proper alternate arrangements. Since Athram Laxman also belonged to the Congress party Vishwa Prasad persuaded him to attend the meeting, but he was not in favour of the mining. Therefore, he argued against establishing the mine. But the tribal camp that was for the establishment of mine that attended the meeting questioned him why he was trying to hinder the meeting. Then Athram Laxman, the Sarpanch, then made it clear that he

would not be responsible for the unfulfilled promises of the SCCL and he will not fight for them if they agreed to the proposals of the SCCL and sign the papers. Finally the dissent villagers discussed well among themselves and they also agreed finally to attend the meeting. Then the SCCL officials felt happy to know that the tribals were ready to take part in the meeting. The RDO and other political leaders also welcomed the tribal people for the meeting. The Company officials promised that they would take care of all their issues, if they suffer any loss due to mining due compensation will be made. The government officials and political leaders like RDO, MLA, local tribal leaders, MPP, and ZPTC etc. who attended the meeting also promised to extend their support to the project affected families.

The SCCL officials first revealed their plan of action for the Dorli-2 mining project. Subsequently, the government officials and political leaders individually expressed their views on the mining and displacement. Sidem Arju who belongs to the Gond community was a senior Congress leader and who worked as an ITDA Chairman opined that the project affected families should be given employment in the SCCL and five acres of land for the land loss. He also appealed the government to provide proper compensation and resettlement as he did not oppose the project. Then the tribal people also understood that he was also in favour of the SCCL. However, Athram Katti, the Patel of Dhantanpally, stood and raised his voice against the project and demanded that the mining should be stopped in the tribal areas forthwith, or else he said, “Let the SCCL officials first take their lives out.” He also stated that whatever benefits they were promised would not benefit them, and he also made it clear that they were happy with whatever they had with themselves right now. He said that Bhimanna god is Kolams chief deity. The place where the Bhimanna god situated is considered as a holy place. They believe that he will protect them from each and every problem that they might face. They should not take this place for mining in this area. They are helpless because the government, political leaders and others are supporting for mining. Katti said that they are prepared to die but will not vacate their villages. Soon after, Sridevi, the MLA from Bellampally also spoke in favour of the SCCL because her husband was an SCCL employee. She read everything from a paper, without looking at the people.

Impressive Speech of Athram Laxman: Then Athram Laxman, the Sarpanch, became very emotional and spoke against the mining in the tribal areas. He questioned the SCCL and other officials about their sincerity on fulfilling the promises made reminding them what has happened after the meeting held earlier at the Dorli village, and expressed his unhappiness

over the attitude of the officials. He recounted what followed the meeting of Dorli-1 saying that the officials and other political leaders who had come for the meeting expressed their views on mining and its benefits. Actually the tribal people at the meeting did not agree for the project and also did not come forward to give their lands for the Dorli-1 project. But, the next day there was an item in the newspaper stating that all the people had agreed for the mining project which was absolutely false.

He also pointed out the negative attitude of the officials with reference to IAY scheme for the villagers of Dhantanpally. Here though there was permission from the government to construct the IAY houses, the officials did not allow them to construct the houses due to the proposed mining project, the government to stop the construction of the IAY houses and provision of other basic amenities in the village. They compelled to protest in front of the PO, ITDA, Utnoor, for resuming the construction of houses. At that protest none of the officials either supported or helped them. While this is so, Athram Laxman argued, there might be delay in initiation of the project as there was no particular time frame decided for it. So, he raised this point that while there will be delay of starting the project, they have to live without proper houses. So he requested the officials to first provide the facilities in that area where they are going to be shifted or rehabilitated instead of shifting them immediately without proper facilities. It is because the government officials informed that at the moment there were no permanent constructions in that area.

Further, he informed the officials that their shrine of Bhimanna god was permanent where sacred hymns were chanted. Their ancestors who inhabit the same place along with them who receive their worship periodically cannot be worshipped at the new location. This will surely incur the displeasure of their ancestors that inflict upon them with diseases and misfortunes. He also argued that if the open cast mining becomes reality, they would lose their gods and goddess and their wrath befall on them for sure. Their worship in another place would seriously impact their traditional ceremonies and rituals. He said that there were no *mantras* available or given by their ancestors to shift it to any other place. He also challenged if there were any such *mantras* known to the SCCL they could move the shrine. But the SCCL had to face the consequences if they would do it without the consent of the god. If the mining does not take place in this area, the SCCL Company would have to leave that place because it was considered as a sacred place. Finally, he said that the company had to make a promise to

protect the sentiments associated with the tribal land. He then ended his speech by raising some of the important points in front of the officials. There ended the *praja abhipraya sekarana* meeting conducted by the SCCL at the Dhantanpally village for the Dorli-2 project.

Then, the government also had conducted a survey of the lands in the affected tribal areas. The following are the list of revenue villages affected due to coal mining under Dorli-1 and Dorli-2 OCs are:

Dorli OCP 1

Ullipitta dorli (partly), Tiryani Mandal

Dhampur H/O Chirrakunta village for R and R centre purpose, Asifabad Mandal

Ontimamidi H/O Dantanpally (partly), Tiryani Mandal

Chirrakunta village, Asifabad Mandal

Bordam village (partly), Tiryani Mandal

Dantanpally village (partly), Tiryani Mandal

Devadurgam, Asifabad Mandal

Lingiguda (partly), Tiryani Mandal

Dorli OCP 2

Dantanpally (partly), Tiryani Mandal

Ontimamidi H/O Dantanpally (partly), Tiryani Mandal

The divisional surveyor enquired into the details of land possessed by the inhabitants in the project affected area as per the survey conducted. The details included in the survey were: type of land, land holding pattern and whether the land holders had the *pakka* document or not. The names included in the survey list were almost of the deceased persons and while some others did not have their names in the list. The team then enquired and included the heirs in the place of the deceased persons. The other unnecessary names in the list were struck off and some more names were included after due verification. The people came forward and get their names registered in the list for further use.

Failure of Pressure Tactics: After some days, the Sarpanch of Dhantanpally gathered the villagers and conducted a Gram Panchayat meeting and made an appeal that no one should sign on any of the SCCL papers without the consent of the Gram Panchayat. The next day, the RDO sent a letter to the Dhantanpally Sarpanch for his signature on it. The letter said that

the project affected villages had agreed for the mining project. But the Sarpanch refused sign on the papers and said instead he would sign on it in the presence of the RDO and the villagers. The RDO, as a result, had to come on the following day. The villagers also arranged a Grama Sabha after getting to know about his arrival and the Sarpanch informed the villagers about the RDO's letter to him and told them that had he signed on it, it would mean that all the lands were handed over to the SCCL project. The Sarpanch argued that he alone could not take the decision without the consent of all the villagers. The villagers urged the Sarpanch not to sign the papers. The next day, when the RDO and SCCL officials attended the Grama Sabha meeting the Sarpanch raised the same point in the meeting that he could not sign on the papers without the consent of the villagers. The RDO got furious and yelled that he would sue the Sarpanch and the Sarpanch would be jailed for not signing the papers. With this the aggrieved villagers boycotted the meeting and left the place. After a few days, the RDO sent a lawyer, by name Gopi and other officials to the Sarpanch for negotiation but these were in vain. The lawyer told him that he was asked to bring the Sarpanch to Uttoor for the negotiations with the RDO. But the Sarpanch refused to meet the RDO for the latter had accused him as a criminal for not signing on the papers. Finally, they were successful in convincing the Sarpanch and took him to the RDO's office at Uttoor. After reaching there, the RDO requested him again to sign on the papers but again the Sarpanch did not agree to sign. Even after a long discussion the Sarpanch did not yield to the pressures and threats but returned to the village without signing the papers. The RDO directed the lawyer and SCCL officials to somehow get the signature of the Sarpanch, if not the project would be delayed. The RDO was helpless even though the Collector was pressing the RDO to send the consent of Gram Panchayat for finalising the SCCL project.

In the meantime, the SCCL officials watched the tribal people who had been resisting the pressures for vacating their villages and started negotiations with them through the other persons who could convince them as it became an arduous responsibility to somehow convince the tribal villagers to agree for the establishment of the mining project. Among others most importantly, the lawyer who belonged to Gond community was carefully working towards the mission of convincing the tribal people. He was familiar with tribal issues like forest rights, mining laws etc., and he associated himself with various organizations of tribes in the area. He also attended the *praja abhipraya sekarana* meeting conducted by the SCCL at the Dhantanpally village for the Dorli-2 project. So, he also

continued his mission to convince the tribal people, and therefore he visited the village again, but people were not sure of his motives for he was not a tribal man. He began to tell them that everyone should fight against the mining project, but if there was no alternative except to accept the project, then they should fight for the benefits like employment, compensation and land. He gradually became a friend of the tribal people by his frequent visits to the village and also by offering *beedi* and alcohol to the villagers.

He fabricated many stories and tried very hard to convince the tribal people about the positive aspects of the mining project. But, the villagers continued to insist that the company would not take care of their needs. However, he assured them that on their behalf he would make demands to the company for more R and R benefits in comparison with the Khairagura project. He promised that he would demand five acres of land for each irrespective of any extent of land loss. He said that a person could have five acres of land and out of which two acres could be given to his son-in-law for temporary cultivation, even though both would get five acres of land each for the land loss even if it was less than five acres or no land at all. The tribal people slowly started believing that the people who did not have land also could get five acres each from the company. But they did not know that he was working on behalf of the Company for enticing to a deal.

Then the Company later sent the lawyer to the tribal people officially for negotiations with them. At this moment the tribal people thought now the lawyer, who was their friend, could strike a better deal with the Company on their behalf. The SCCL officials made separate negotiations with the villagers as second line of persuasion. The lawyer also promised the tribal people that if anything went wrong from the Company's side, he would file a case against the Company in the court of law for justice. He convinced everyone with his words and successfully persuaded those agreeing for the project, and arranged a separate share deal with different villagers for getting things done in their favour. They trusted the lawyer that he will not deceive them. Then all the elders in the village asked a meeting with the officials and decided to go with him.

Meanwhile the people of two other villages, Devaiguda and Ullipitta discussed among themselves and formed a *bhu porata samithi*, fight relating to land or a committee to fight against the SCCL project. This committee was constituted of fifteen members and each of them was given separate positions as office bearers. The committee met the SCCL officials

and lawyer separately for finding an amicable solution for the stalemate. The tribal leaders thought the lawyer and the SCCL officials were two different agencies and therefore the committee members were divided into two camps, one meeting with the SCCL officials and another with the lawyer but actually these were one and the same working in favour of the SCCL. While the former was in favour of the mining project, the latter were against the project with the present terms and condition, but actually they wanted higher compensation. Finally, everyone appeared to have been working together for the welfare of the project affected families. The government organized another Grama Sabha for the SCCL projects which was attended by the District Collector and other SCCL officials. The elders from Dhantanpally village and other people from different villages who had agreed for the project requested the Sarpanch of Dhantanpally to sign the papers. He felt that if everyone was interested for the project why he should oppose it so he signed the papers by taking public opinion into consideration.

Fixing Compensation and Cheating by Lawyer: In 2005-06, the Collector fixed a date and informed the company to attend a meeting with the project affected families for fixing a rate for the land. The lawyer Gopi then took some of the tribal people to Utnoor and discussed with the RDO along with the officials of Estate Department of SCCL. The lawyer met the travel and food expenditures of all the tribal leaders in that visit to the RDO's office. The RDO informed that the government had paid Rs. 35,000 for the Khairagura project and proposed that the government now can fix the rate around Rs. 45,000 for each acre of the land loss at the Dorli-1 and 2 projects. After the haggling and negotiations the RDO assured that Rs. 50,000 per acre can be fixed. If there is any disagreement, he told them that they should approach the District Collector for the final amount. The lawyer Gopi raised his voice demanded for rupees one lakh rupee instead of fifty thousand for the tribal people, the RDO did not accept this demand. They did not get the appointment to meet the Collector so everyone returned to the village being disappointed.

After several visits, the Collector finally fixed the rate for the land at Rs. 86,000 per acre for the land that had official land *patta* and Rs. 80,000 for the unofficial land. After the fixation of compensation, the government conducted a survey of the project affected areas. Then the compensation was paid to the people according to their land loss. Later, the government passed the award to the Gram Panchayats for the establishment of SCCL projects. The company/government notified a list of the PAFs before displacement in the notice board of

the Gram panchayats and also published the same in the daily newspapers. The compensation was then distributed to the project affected families in the presence of the RDO.

The lawyer Gopi played a very important role as the above narration reveals in negotiating with the government about the land rate. However, he made an agreement privately with the villagers to get his share from their benefits but he did not reveal what would be his share and after the payments made to the tribal people he told them that without his efforts they would not have gotten such huge amounts for the land. The villagers also agreed to pay 15 percent to him from the total amount that they received. But he demanded 20 percent from every household. Then there was a conflict between both the groups. He deposited the total amount in the accounts of the PAFs; however, he kept passbooks with him only, and later helped them withdrawing the amounts whenever they wanted. But the tribal people were not aware of the fact how much money did they actually got and what transactions did he make etc. He sometimes, it is talked not in public though, withdrew more money than he was told by the PAFs. In this way, he made enough money out of the compensation paid to the poor tribal families due to his good terms with the bank officials. Almost all the Dhantanpally affected families under Dorli-1 and 2 projects have almost received the land compensation except 20-25 families who are yet to receive the compensation for the left over land of 175 acres.

Compensation and R and R Policy

After the fixing the compensation for the loss of agricultural land and making the payment, the SCCL had to compensate the losses of houses, house sites, wells, tree etc., which is according to the Resettlement and Rehabilitation policy. But the Kolams were not aware of the R and R policy. The project officials held meeting with the villagers regarding R and R policy and its implementation. After one year of receiving the compensation for agricultural land, the Estate Department of SCCL took a video of the affected village of Dhantanpally and other villages as well. Later on, they collected the details of every household of the entire affected village. Then the Administrator of R and R notified the details of PAFs in the Gram Panchayat for objections and suggestions. The survey report was then submitted to the Estate Department of SCCL. The SCCL then enquired and deposited the total money in the RDO's account which was then given to the PAFs in the form of cheques. The lawyer Gopi again tried to intervene and fight with the company for the increase of compensation of house valuation. But the villagers did not entertain him anymore for the R and R package because it

was not a fair deal; he made money out of the compensation by having undue share which he did not disclose about the percentage or exact amount that they should pay for his help before taking up the mediation. The tribal people thought that he was their well-wisher and helping them on humanitarian grounds. The distribution of cheques to the PAFs was done in the presence of the RDO, SCCL officials and other government officials like MRO, RI, VRO. The company also gave the major son grant to the eligible PAFs.

After receiving the cheques, the PAFs deposited the entire money in their individual bank accounts. Then, they started spending the money for different purposes. By then, they had a luxurious life but when the money was finished they were in trouble. When they had money they did not show interest for working as daily wage labourers, but now they are turned up as daily wage labourers. The situation of PAFs has become the worst after displacement. The Dhantanpally PAFs stayed back at the same old village for two years after being paid the compensation. Generally, they had to leave the village after receiving the compensation. The company had also instructed them to shift to the new R and R centre as soon as possible. The money given to them was expended for various purposes at the old village. It took nearly one year for the PAFs to shift to the new village.

The details of compensation paid and balance amount not paid as yet are discussed later. In the following section the Resettlement and Rehabilitation is discussed. It must be noted here that Goleti village was not displaced and hence the resettlement and rehabilitation is applicable in case of Dhantanpally only.

Resettlement and Rehabilitation (R and R) Policy 2005

The main objectives of the R and R policy in general are the following: (1) to minimize displacement and to identify non-displacing or least displacing alternatives, (2) to plan the resettlement and rehabilitation of project affected and displaced families (PAFs/PDFs) including special needs of tribals and vulnerable sections, (3) to provide better standard of living to PAFs and PDFs, and (4) to facilitate harmonious relationship between the requiring body and PAFs through mutual cooperation.

R and R Package

The Table 5.1 shows the financial allocations in case of Resettlement and Rehabilitation after land acquisition and displacement of people according to the AP state R and R policy 2005 (implemented by the SCCL in Goleti area).

Table: 5.1. R and R financial allocation and achievements

S.No	Prescribed item/issue	AP State R and R policy 2005
1	Free house site	Rural: 202 sq.mts and Urban: 75 sq.mts
2	House construction grant	Rs (50000+3000)
3	Subsistence allowance	240 days minimum agricultural wages
4	PAF (land less) - in lieu of acquired land and no land is allotted	750 days minimum agricultural wages
5	PAF (marginal farmers) - in lieu of acquired land and no land is allotted	500 days minimum agricultural wages
6	PAF (small farmers) - in lieu of acquired land and no land is allotted	373 days minimum agricultural wages
7	Agricultural labour/non-agriculture labour	625 days minimum agricultural wages
8	Transportation charges	Rs 5000
9	Financial assistance for cattle shed/petty shop	Rs 15000
10	Financial assistance to artisan and small traders	Rs 25000

At the time of shifting from the original village to the R and R centre, the user agency has to provide a grant of Rs. 5,000 to the project affected families for transporting the materials. Generally, if the user agency provides the vehicles at the time of shifting the materials from the original village to the R and R centres, the grant for transporting materials i.e. Rs. 5,000, is not paid. The user agency has to grant an amount of Rs. 3,000 for cattle shed to each project affected family who have cattle. In addition, they are given Rs. 3,000 for the construction of toilets.

The Roads and Buildings (R & B) Department of the State government has to undertake a survey and census of project affected families like type of house, materials used for constructing the house etc. They shall fix the rate of the house after estimating the value of

the house. The user agency also shall provide a grant of Rs. 50,000 for house construction for project displaced families whose houses are acquired for the project and white ration cards.

Once the people are shifted to the R and R centre, they engage in constructing the new houses so they will not have any work during that period. Generally, the displaced people are divided into three types: small, marginal and big farmers. The user agency has to pay the minimum agricultural wages to project affected families coming under the categories of agricultural or non-agricultural labours. After the acquisition of the land, if the land owner becomes landless the agency has to provide financial assistance equivalent to 750 days of minimum agricultural wages for the loss of livelihood if no land is allotted in place of the acquired land. Similarly, if the land owner became a marginal or small farmer, the company has to provide financial assistance for 500 and 350 days of minimum agricultural wages if no land was allotted in place of the acquired land. If the project affected families belonged to the category of agricultural or non-agricultural labours, they were given one-time financial assistance equivalent to 625 days of the minimum agricultural wages. The user agency has to provide subsistence allowance equivalent to 240 days of minimum agricultural wages to each PAF who was also a project displaced household. There is an additional R and R benefits for the project affected families, if they are scheduled tribes. They are given preference in allotment of land and 500 days of minimum agricultural wages are paid for the loss of usage of forest produce.

The agency has to pay financial assistance of Rs. 25,000 to each project affected family of rural artisans/small traders and self-employed persons under Income Generating Scheme Grant. If there is any un-married son whose age is above 18, has to grant the major son-package scheme. Even after marriage, if he doesn't have a separate house or staying with the parents, he will be given a plot in the R and R centre and also a grant of Rs. 50,000 for constructing a new house in the R and R centre. They are also to be paid the minimum agricultural wages based on their previous occupation. Likewise, the company has to pay separate packages for the unmarried daughters, physically challenged people and small traders or self-employed people (i.e. Rs. 25,000).

This R and R package is applicable to the people who have been staying in the affected zone since three years. Before leaving the place, the company should pay the compensation to the project displaced families (PDFs). The list of PDF/PAFs is prepared by the user agency and

later it is discussed in the Grama Sabha. The objections and suggestions received by the project affected families are also taken into consideration and then it is finalised and implemented.

SCCL Project Affected area of Goleti and R and R Centres

As can be noted from the Table 5.2, 21 villages of Goleti area are affected by the coal mining of SCCL and these villagers of the villages are resettled and rehabilitated in 9 centres. Most the population affected in this process are tribes belonging to Kolam, followed by Gonds. Among the castes scheduled castes and castes under Backward Class category who are affected. As mentioned earlier it is important to note that though Kolams are most affected, it is Lambada who are most benefited through employment in the SCCL in Goleti area.

About 742 families are displaced from 18 villages (data not available for three) of the three sites of SCCL in Goleti area. Most affected villages are due to Khairagura open cast mining site. Also most affected community belongs to Kolams. However, not all the displaced are resettled at the rehabilitation centres, only 641 are distributed in the nine rehabilitation centres. Not all of them have constructed their houses at the time of the present study and 518 have built the houses.

Table: 5.2. Project wise affected villages and SCCL R and R centres

SCCL mining Projects	Villages affected		Approx. number of households based on the Caste/tribe	SCCL R and R centres
Khairagura Open cast (OC) mine	Bordham - Gram Panchayat	1.Bordham	Kolam (75)	1.Keslapur 2.Indiranagar 3.Chirrakunta 4.Rambaiguda 5.Ginnedari 6.Saleguda 7.Chopidi
		2.Khairaguda	Kolam (60)	
		3.Chanduguda	BC, Gonds Kolams (105)	
		4.S.C. Colony	SC (100)	
		5.Lingiguda	Kolam (25)	
		6.Arjuguda	Kolam (11)	
		7.Chopidi	Kolam (35)	
		8.Nambaiah colony	BC (20)	
		9.New Bordham and 10.Devaiguda	Gonds, Kolams, SC and BC (100)	
		11.Areguda	Kolam (20)	
		12.Pedakunta	Kolam (11)	
Dorli -1 Open cast	Ullipitta - Dorli Gram Panchayat	13.Dorli	Kolam (25)	8.Chirrakunta 9. Dhampur and Ontimamidi
		14.New Dhantanpally	Kolam (60)	
		15.Tadvaguda	Kolam (15)	
		16.Gummadilodhi	Kolam	
		17.Ippaguda	Kolam	
		18.Mesramguda	Kolam	
		19.Jandaguda	Kolam (50)	
		20.Dorli New colony	Kolam and BCs	
Dorli – 2 Open cast	Ullipitta - Dorli Gram Panchayat	21.Old/Patha Dhantanpally	Kolam (30)	Ontimamidi

Source: Field Study

R and R Centres of SCCL in Goleti area and the People Displaced

The SCCL has allotted plots to the project displaced families at different R and R centres like Rambaiguda, Chirrakunta, Indiranagar, Ginnedhari, Saleguda, Keslapur, Chopidi, Dampur and Ontimamidi. It can be noted that maximum number is rehabilitated at Dampur while the least at Saleguda. Ontimamidi is second largest centre, and it is inhabited by Kolam tribe. It is said that out of 121 plots at Ontimamidi R and R centre, only 72 families have constructed houses while the remaining families are yet to construct. Similarly, out of 157 plots at Dampur R and R centre, 127 families have constructed houses. The same is also followed with the other R and R centres. The project affected families displaced at Indira Nagar and Keslapur R and R centre are near Asifabad. It is observed from the Table 5.3 that 20 percent of families are yet to construct the houses at R and R centres. This may be due to various reasons like some families are not interested to stay at the R and R centres so, they have settled at their relatives' places while some of the families have settled permanently at the places where they own agricultural lands.

Table: 5.3. List of PDF/PAFs and plots at R and R centres

S:No	Name of the R and R centre	Name of the tribe/caste	Number of PAF/PDFs allotted plots	Number of Families constructed houses
1	Rambaiguda, Tiryani Mandal	Kolam	30	19
2	Chirrakunta, Asifabad Mandal	Gond, Kolam and BCs	35	27
3	Indiranagar, Rebbena Mandal	SC	87	77
4	Ginnedhari, Tiryani Mandal	Kolam	43	29
5	Saleguda, Tiryani Mandal	Kolam	25	19
6	Keslapur, Asifabad Mandal	Kolam	53	19
7	Chopidi (Aregudem), Tiryani Mandal	Kolam	90	80
8	Dampur, Asifabad Mandal	Kolam and BCs	157	127
9	Ontimamidi, Tiryani Mandal	Kolam	121	72
Total			641	518

Source: Field Study

The company promised to provide whatever facilities existed in the original village in the rehabilitation colonies. The R and R colonies shall be provided with the basic facilities of drinking water, internal roads, drainage, electricity, primary school building, playground, community hall, *anganwadi* building, overhead water tank, temples and access road to the

resettlement site. Generally, the tribes chose the land near to the forest because everyday activities of them revolved around the forest.

The PAF/PDFs appealed the company to install a water purifying plant at the Ontimamidi R and R centre. Initially, the company had sanctioned it but later due to shortage of power they were not able to establish it at the resettlement zone. The SCCL Company has provided the water facilities at all the R and R centres. Though they have provided bore wells at the R and R centres very few are working. The same thing is happening with the street lights. There are syntax water tanks at some of the R and R centres but there is no filtering system. Therefore, the villagers are not happy and they fetch water from the bore wells also. The water they had at the old village was very sweet. But the PAFs complain falling sick by drinking the hard and polluted water at the R and R centres. The amenities like *anganwadi* building, upper primary school, and hostel building, primary health centre (PHC), RCC water tank and construction of shrines for deities are yet to be done at the Ontimamidi new colony. The displaced villagers are worshiping various idols kept under the *neem* trees at various places. The PAFs at Keslapur and Indira Nagar are not happy there and they requested the SCCL to resettle them at the other places but due to the non-availability of land their request could not be accepted. The SCCL Company has also failed in constructing the bus shelters at these R and R centers. Except at R and R Ontimamidi centre, almost half of the works are pending at the remaining R and R centers. The following Table 5.4 shows the facilities provided by the SCCL at the R and R centers.

About 70 (97.2 percent) of the people are unsatisfied with the rehabilitation packages. They feel that the package is not implemented properly by the project authorities. The frequent transfer of General Managers also has created a problem for the development of R and R centres. The main focus of the SCCL management is on the coal production, rather than fulfilling the promises made to the project affected families. The villagers opine that a separate team from the company should work for the R and R otherwise the PAF/PDFs will suffer.

Table: 5.4. Project wise amenities completed in R and R centres

Sl.No	R and R centre	Extent of land acquired for R and R centre	No: of PAF/PAF	Roads	Drains	Electrical	Bore well	Community hall	School building	Anganwadi	Over head water tank	Temple
Dorli OCP 1 and 2												
1	Ontimamidi	8-16	121	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes (5)	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No
2	Dhampur	9	157	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes (11)	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No
Khairagura OCP												
3	Chopidi	6-8	65	Yes	Yes	No	Yes (7)	Yes	No	No	No	No
4	Rambaiguda	2-13	30	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes (5)	Yes	Yes	No	No	No
5	Saleguda	2-6	25	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes (5)	No	No	No	No	No
6	Ginnedari	4-14	43	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes (5)	No	No	No	No	No
7	Chirrakunta	3-18	40	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes (6)	Yes	Yes	No	No	No
8	Keslapur	8	53	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes (5)	No	No	No	Yes	No
9	Indira Nagar	7-20	87	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes (11)	No	No	No	No	No

Source: Field Study

The tribal people sometimes stop the SCCL vehicles by blocking the road when their demands are not fulfilled completely. Sometimes the project affected families approach the SCCL officials to get their needs of the R and R centre to be fulfilled on personal relationships. When people agitate the officials visit the place and calm down them by making some promises which are again delayed afterwards. The PAFs say that the company did not fulfill the promises made before displacement. The company is not showing interest towards the PAFs once the company got what they wanted i.e., lands of the PAFs. The compensation and development schemes which the company is providing to the project affected families are not going to benefit them for a longer time. Whatever the company does, they say it cannot give their original culture or livelihood. It will take some years for them to adjust to the new environment, but in the meantime, the management officials get transferred to other places and the mines also get closed. Finally, it is the tribal PAFs who have to suffer.

But if the company provides employment to the PAF/PDFs, they can always have good relationship with the company.

The Singareni Seva Samithi has taken up welfare measures for the project affected families like motor driving training, tailoring, rexene bag making and incense sticks making. As per the SCCL records so far the beneficiaries include motor driving course (60), tailoring course (139), incense making course (64), rexene bag making course (77) and contract for hired vehicles (20). Though the company has provided different training programmes to the project affected families, ultimately, they are not getting benefitted out of any of them. For instance, the Kolam women who are trained in tailoring do not have money to purchase the machine. The company should provide all the raw materials or articles after giving training to them for their survival. Actually the women who participated in different training programmes are not able to get employment further due to lack of financial support. Even though the company has given training to the families, it has not supported them financially to establish their own small scale enterprises. The SCCL has taken various welfare measures but then there is no change observed among the Kolams economic life. At this juncture the SCCL has to make an attempt to understand the social and ecological resources they had in the past and then they have to develop new avenues for livelihoods in tune with the past activities or skills already available. The PAF/PDFs appeal the company to provide employment or alternative land for cultivation instead of the welfare programmes. The company also has a policy that when there are any contract jobs or vehicles tenders in the company, the PAFs will be given preference over others. However, the company is giving preference to the tribes who have lost their land for the company. But, the non-tribals are beneficiaries of it.

The company has also constructed playgrounds in the R and R centres to play different kinds of games like cricket, volleyball and badminton etc. It claims that they have provided kits for the above mentioned games to the children residing in the R and R centres. But the PAF/PDFs say that the company did not provide any playing kits to them. Since the R and R location is not well connected the SCCL administration provides transport which is absolutely free of cost for the project displaced families. The company has also provided the hospital facility to the inhabitants and issued health cards. For minor health problems, the company sends them to the SCCL hospital i.e., Goleti dispensary, but for major health issues they are sent to the area hospital at Bellampally. And sometimes the company does not hesitate to send them to corporate hospitals if the case turns out to be serious. The company

provides medical facilities to the PAF/PDFs through mobile medical vans whenever there are any serious problems and when a patient needs to be hospitalised. The PAF/PDFs are treated as the SCCL employees and provided all the good medical facilities. If the company refers to any other private hospitals, it bears all the expenses.

The chairman and managing director (CMD) of the SCCL has introduced the *spandana* mobile van at the R and R centres in order to provide better healthcare facilities to the PAF/PDFs. The main aim behind this is to provide comprehensive healthcare services to the project affected villages. The company tries to reach out to these R and R villages which are cut off from the common health facilities. The services provided in these vans include: ECG, X-ray, BP examination, First Aid, and other Lab facilities etc. Apart from that, treatment provided for basic illnesses like cough, cold, fever, and infections etc. whereas for complicated or major cases, the patients are referred to the Goleti dispensary or Area hospital. They visit the R and R centres once or twice in a week. The DY.M.S⁸⁷, says, "In the initial days people did not show much interest towards the SCCL mobile van treatment, but now they have started accepting the modern healthcare system. They are also able to understand the importance and effectiveness of it".

Similarly, if there is any water problem at any of the R and R centre, the company supplies water by tankers till the problem gets sorted out. The company has also employed the Vidya Volunteers (VV) in the schools at the R and R centres. These VVs belong to the same village. They are paid monthly Rs 5,000. It claims that they are giving admission into SCCL schools for PAF/PDFs just like how they do for their own employees. But such PAF/PDF beneficiaries are not found in Ontimamidi R and R centre who are sending their children to SCCL schools at Goleti Township. The company provides vehicles for PAFs during marriage ceremonies, if the distance between the bride's villages is relatively far from the groom's village.

Resettlement and Rehabilitation in Goleti Area

The SCCL Company has followed the R and R policy 2005 of AP state according to the government orders as mentioned above. Once both the groups come to an understanding the process of R and R starts. As per the rules and regulations the government should conduct a

⁸⁷ Interviewed Prem Vijayanand during the field study, he is a Deputy Medical Superintendent at the Area Hospital, Bellampally.

survey of the affected villages by appointing some of the Mandal officers. But here, the company has conducted the survey of the affected villages with the help of SCCL's Estate and Survey departments. The survey included the total number of households in the village, the house types, details of the family members, occupation, income, land and health etc.

The SCCL authorities approached the village Sarpanch or elders of the villages and informed them about mining and displacement. Then the company conducted a public meeting in the village to collect the opinions of the people. The local and political leaders also participated in the meeting. This meeting was held in the presence of the R and R administrator. He listened to the public opinion as well as the promises made by the company. The villagers' major demands on mining and R and R package were taken into consideration while considering the new resettlements and rehabilitation centres.

The company now-a-days acquires land for the purpose of OC mining. So, whenever they go for OC projects, they go for land acquisition and acquire land just the optimal amount of land required and whenever they acquire land they pay timely compensation according to the prescribed government norms. Apart from that, they have a clear policy of R and R and because of that they take up a several schemes for the people who lost their land because of the open cast projects undertaken. In this particular case of Goleti area, the company initiated the process of land acquisition first for Khairagura and later on for Dorli-1 and Dorli-2 projects. They selected the various affected villages and implemented the R and R policy under various mining projects.

R and R at Dhantanpally

In the year 2009, the Dhantanpally villagers had shifted from the old village. The site at the new village was selected by the villagers and the SCCL Company established the R and R centre at the same place. They would not have accepted if the company had provided them a roadside or sub-urban land as they would generally prefer the place near a stream in the forest. Therefore, the PAFs chose the land close to their natural habitat of their choice to the extent possible so that they could retain their ethnic, linguistic and cultural identity. Initially, they visited four or five places near Asifabad and Chirrakunta but rejected them due to long distance and lack of natural resources. Thus, finally they decided to live nearby their Bhimanna god and selected a place near to the old habitation. The direct fall of sun rays on the village in the morning is also taken into consideration while selecting the place. They

followed the traditional procedure in the selection of site for village as described in the second chapter. The village Patel and other elders first lighted an earthen lamp on *jowar* grains at the selected place. The priest prayed to the gods and drew a *pattu* with the powder of *jowar*, *jowar* grains and turmeric. They slept that night at that place. The next day morning they observed the *jowar* grains and lamp. The *jowar* grains which were poured into the *pattu* were found to be undisturbed and the earthen lamp was also not put off. They did not also experience any bad dreams during the sleep. The priest went in trance also consulted gods who had affirmed the choice. Then the PAFs informed the SCCL Company about the selection of the site near Ontimamidi village. The company resettled the PAFs close to their natural habitat of their choice (in case of ST category). The tribals who were resettled outside a tribal area had received 25 percent higher R and R benefits in monetary terms. But the Kolams of Dhantanpally did not get this benefit because they chose to live close to the old village in the forest. In the same manner the SCCL took the views of the displaced people into account while constructing the rehabilitation colonies.

The distance between the old and new settlement is two kilometers. This resettlement land belonged to a person from the Golla community of Chirrakunta village. The company has purchased the land from him and given for the resettlement of the PAFs. The land has been made into 120 plots in seven acres of land for rehabilitating the old Dhantanpally villagers and gave free house site. It granted Rs, 50,000 to the PDFs whose houses were acquired for the project. The land allotted to them was registered jointly in the names of husband and wife. The land *patta* or documents belonged to the PAFs are retained with the company. The company has also allotted some of the plots to the Keraloddi/Patha Dhantanpally village at the Ontimamidi rehabilitation colony. But some of them (25 families) were not constructed houses at the R and R centre. They have built houses adjacent to their left over agricultural lands.

The company developed the R and R centre with the basic amenities and infrastructural facilities of drinking water (bore well and water tank), internal roads, drainage, electricity, primary school building, playground, community centre and access road to the resettlement site before the villagers moved in. Due to some technical problems, the company could not finish some works promised earlier at the R and R centres. Then the PAFs were advised to shift to the new R and R centre. The company granted an amount of Rs. 5,000 R and R

package for transporting or shifting of the building materials, belongings and cattle etc., from the affected sites to the resettlement zones. However, the company also provided trucks to PAFs to shift the materials. The villagers discussed among themselves while selecting the plots at the R and R centre and made choices. The village Patel's family members chose to reside at the centre of the village whereas the other people settled at various places depending upon their interest. Then the PAFs started constructing the houses at the new R and R centre with the help of their relatives. The PAFs also paid daily wages to the relatives involved in constructing their houses. Since the PAFs lost everything at their original village, they requested the District Collector and RDO to provide them the IAY houses at the displaced village which were already sanctioned for 60 families at the original village, but the construction of IAY houses at the original village was stopped earlier. Accordingly the District Collector granted permission to construct the IAY houses at the R and R centre.

The following are the R and R package given to the project affected families at Ontimamidi R and R centre. Cattle shed of Rs. 3,000 to 50 (69.4 percent) of PAFs besides the houses as mentioned above. Under rural artisan/small trade and self-employed towards income generating scheme Rs. 25,000 was granted to PAFs who are eligible. Further minimum agricultural wages for 750 days for 'loss of livelihood' to 44 (61.1 percent) was paid to PAFs who had become landless, and likewise for 500 days to 4 (5.6 percent), 375 days to 2 (2.8 percent), for 625 days to 20 (27.8 percent), for 240 days to 71 (98.6 percent). Thus the majority of them were paid minimum wages for about eight months i.e., 240 days. The company has paid minimum wages for 500 for each family for the loss of customary rights/usages of forest produce in case of ST category. The major son or daughter (whose age is above 18) in a joint family was treated as separate families and was allowed for the R and R benefits. About 14 (19.4 percent) of households were eligible for the major son grant at the R and R Ontimamidi centre. They were allotted a plot at the R and R centre and also provided with a package of Rs 60,000 to 70,000.

Thus, the majority i.e., 30 (41.7 percent) of project affected families received the compensation between Rs. 1,00,001 to Rs. 1,50,000, whereas 25 (34.7 percent) of them received between Rs 1,50,001-2,00,000. Further, very few i.e., 8 (11.1 percent) and 5 (6.9 percent) of the project affected families received the compensation between Rs. 2,00,001-2,50,000 and above 3,00,000 respectively. The project affected families expended the amount

received from the company for different purposes like clearing debts (8.3 percent), marriage (12.5 percent), Health (29.2 percent), construction of house (47.2), domestic purpose (75 percent), purchase of land (8.3 percent) and purchase of auto or bike (9.7 percent). Here, we can observe that most of them have spent money on their daily expenses which is followed by construction of house and health. Only a few families have utilized the compensation money for purchasing agricultural lands. It is interesting to know from one of the respondents that they did not see such a huge amount of money earlier so when they received all of a sudden such an amount at a time, they spent it carelessly and lavishly with their relatives consuming alcohol. Some said that some of them had lent the money to other people on high interest to non-tribes but finally they were cheated.

Compensation

Since most of the tribal people are illiterates they were not aware of the R and R policy and they did not know how much amount the SCCL has paid under each category. The company had paid a total amount of Rs, 9,43,00,000 (R and R package) to the PDF/PAFs in the presence of the RDO under Khairagura OC. Similarly, the company has paid an amount of Rs. 3,89,000 (R and R package) to the PDF/PAFs under Dorli-1 and 2 open cast project. Here the compensation paid to the villagers of Goleti and Dhantanpally that include both the tribes varies from time to time over a period of time. The compensation paid to Lambadas for the lands acquired for the underground mines and for the other purposes was in 1970s. The compensation paid to Kolams for the lands and houses acquired for the opencast mines was in 2004-05. This is reason why the compensation money paid to them is different.

The Table 5.5 shows compensation details for the loss of land in Goleti and Dhantanpally villages. It reveals that out of 11 Lambada households who got affected of SCCL, 10 households (90.9 percent) were compensated below 2,00,000 whereas one household was paid in between 2,00,001 to 4,00,000. Also 18 (10.6 percent) Lambada households were given job initially without paying the compensation i.e. after acquiring their land for the SCCL. Similarly, 20 (28.2 percent) of Kolams received compensation below 2,00,000 from SCCL for the loss of land. About 15 (20.8 percent) and 16 (22.5 percent) received compensation between 2,00,001 to 4,00,000 and 4,00,001 to 6,00,000 respectively. The following Table 5.5 shows that some of the Kolams have received compensation above 10 lakh (15.4 percent) and 20 lakh (2.8 percent) respectively.

Table: 5.5. Compensation received from SCCL for land in rupees

Compensated for the loss of land	Village		Total
	Goleti	Dhantanpally	
0 to 200000	10	20	30
	90.9%	28.2%	36.6%
200001 to 400000	1	15	16
	9.1%	20.8%	19.3%
400001 to 600000	0	16	16
	0.0%	22.5%	19.5%
600001 to 800000	0	5	5
	0.0%	7.0%	6.1%
800001 to 1000000	0	3	3
	0.0%	4.2%	3.7%
1000001 to 1200000	0	3	3
	0.0%	4.2%	3.7%
1200001 to 1400000	0	1	1
	0.0%	1.4%	1.2%
1400001 to 1600000	0	1	1
	0.0%	1.4%	1.2%
1600001 to 1800000	0	3	3
	0.0%	4.2%	3.7%
1800001 to 2000000	0	3	3
	0.0%	4.2%	3.7%
2000001 to 2200000	0	2	2
	0.0%	2.8%	2.4%
Total	11	72	83
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Field Study**Pending Compensation**

In Dhantanpally out of 72 families, 51 (70.8 percent) families have lost both agricultural land and house while 21(29.2 percent) lost only houses but not the agricultural land. However, till now only 54 (75 percent) have received the compensation in full and the remaining 18 families (25 percent) are partially compensated. It is to be noted here that compensation was not paid to the entire land acquired for the mining project, but to the extent used for the project. So the land acquired but not used for project was not compensated. Suppose a person who had 10 acres of land and out of it say eight acres were acquired for the mining project and the remaining two acres are considered as left over lands. This left over piece of land is

useless for cultivation at present and some of these lands are used by the company for dumping the over burden. But no compensation was paid to these two acres of land. The PAFs did a protest for couple of times regarding the compensation to be paid for the left over lands. The company promised to pay but they have been delaying. The Table 5.6 shows that the balance amount pending for the PAFs from the company. It varies from Rs 80,000-10.00,000.

Table: 5.6. Balance amounts (pending)

Balance in Rs.	Frequency	Percent
10,00,000	2	2.8
2,40,000	5	6.9
2,49,000	2	2.8
4,00,000	4	5.6
7,80,000	1	1.4
80,000	1	1.4
DNK	3	4.2
NA	54	75
Total	72	100

Source: Field Study

DNK = Do not know NA = Not applicable

Spending the Compensation

Some of the local tribal leaders requested the bank manager to keep some of their money under fixed deposits from their savings accounts. They said that if the money was fixed they could survive for next two to three years with it; otherwise, they would spend away the money for various purposes. The manager did the same as requested by the local leaders but the tribal people did not know that they would get the interest for the fixed deposits in the bank. Later on, some of them borrowed from the bank for various purposes like purchasing auto rickshaws and bikes, especially the youth showed interest in auto driving which was an emerging occupation at that the time. Earlier the tribal people used to depend on the barter system; they had not seen so much cash at a time. Further, they knew only how to carry out transactions with small amounts, but had no idea how to deal with huge amounts. But now having been exposed to the world outside they were influenced by the societies and markets, they spent money lavishly on purchasing these vehicles and other wasteful items. But, they were unable to repay the loan borrowed from the bank. As a result, those who borrowed

money from the bank sold away their vehicles in some cases and thus they were not benefitted much from it.

The project affected families in both Goleti and Dhantanpally villages spent the amount for different purposes. Most of the people used the money for domestic needs followed by health needs, construction of house, rituals and ceremonies. About 69 (24.5 percent) of families utilized money for domestic needs and 24 (8.5 percent) of families utilized money for health needs. Expenditure on rituals and house construction of household members was also important reason for spending money. Kolams may go on without food sometime but they never fail to do the rituals and ceremonies. About 22 (7.8 percent) of families used money for rituals and ceremonies and 23 (8.2 percent) of families used money for house construction. About 29 (10.3 percent) of them shared the compensation money among the family members. Very few of them utilized the money for purchase of lands 18 (6.4 percent), deposited in banks 8 (2.8 percent) clearing debts 5 (1.8 percent), purchase of vehicles 3 (1.1 percent), animal husbandry 3 (1.1 percent), and agriculture 1 (0.4 percent).

SCCL vehicle tenders

The SCCL has a scheme of welfare measure of extending financial support to the tribal PAFs who won vehicles. It is with reference to the four wheelers or heavy vehicles that the company requires for transportation of men and material. Usually the company hires these vehicles from private owners through tender for a specific period. The time period of tender is normally one or two years and it may also be extended further. The owners have to provide or lease in the vehicle to the company for which the company will pay an amount of Rs 50,000-70,000 per month. The vehicle owner pays salary to the driver and bears the cost of the fuel and maintenance of the vehicle. Deducting all the expenditure from the monthly remuneration, the owner will be getting a profit of approximately Rs 25,000/-.

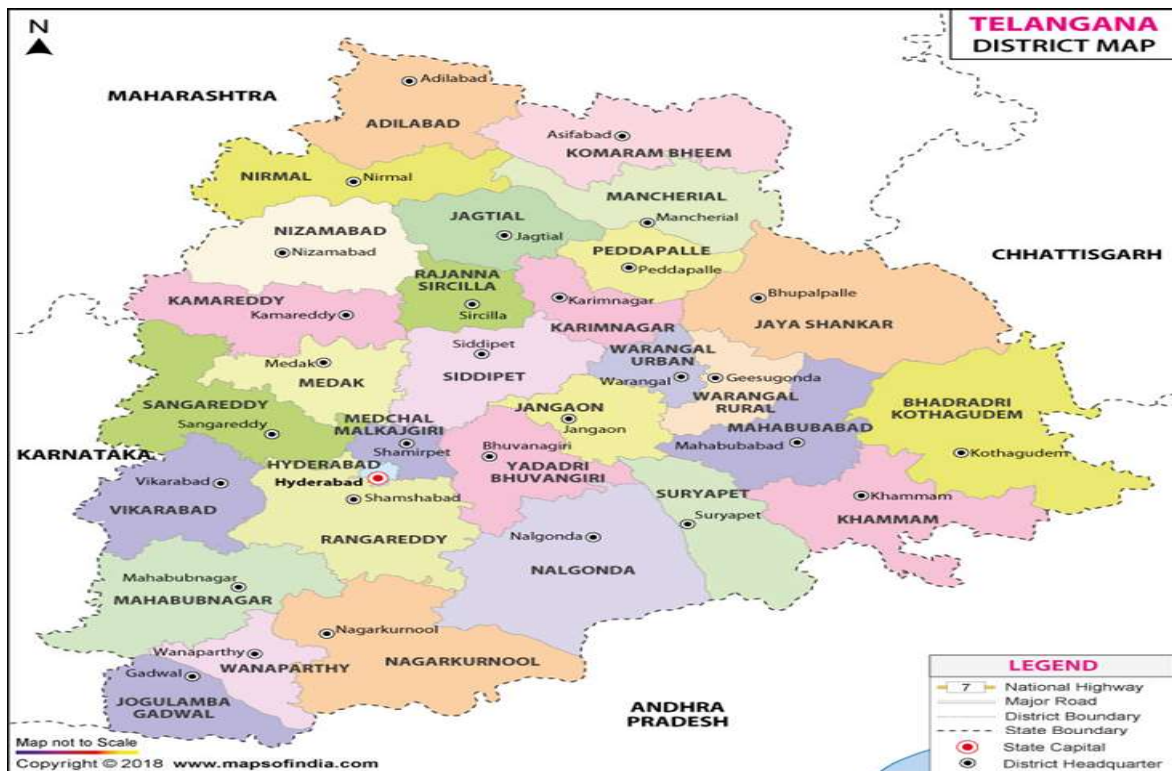
The Kolams residing in surrounding villages of the mining area do not know about the procedures of participating in the tenders of vehicles in the SCCL from time to time. Only a few educated people among the Kolams are aware of it. This is a kind of employment provided by the company to the tribal people who have lost their land or displaced due to mining. Those who are interested shall submit the documents like project displaced family (PDF's) certificate, Aadhaar card, ration card and ID proof etc., along with the application for

the tenders and with a fee of Rs 525/-. The company opens the tenders after ten-fifteen days from the date of application. The selection is made on the basis of a lottery system.

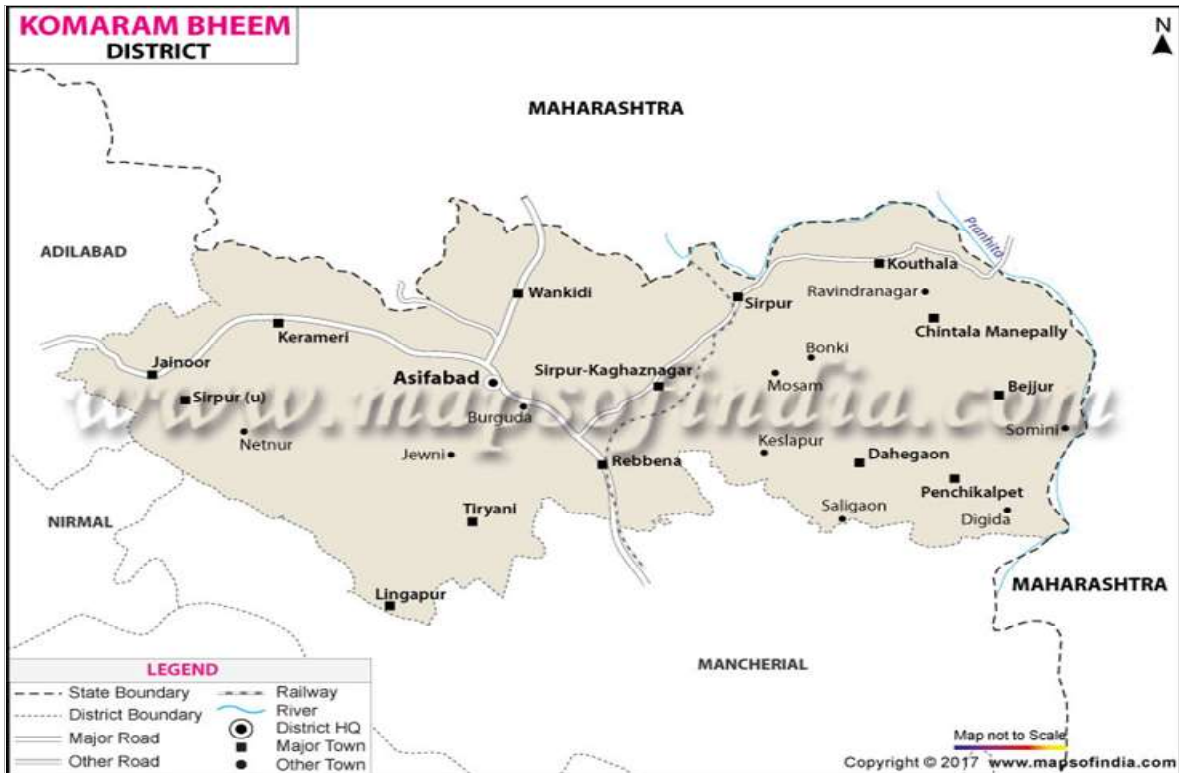
Though it is intended to benefit the tribes it is not benefitting much in reality as the non-tribal people are applying for tenders in the name of Kolams. The non-tribal people who own vehicles are not eligible because the scheme is meant only for the tribal PDFs. So they collect the required documents from the tribal PAFs and apply for the tenders though vehicles of the PDFs are not used, the non-tribes use their own vehicles with the documents of the PDFs. They fix the deal or agreement with the tribals before applying for the tender. Each of them submits nearly 10 to 15 applications in the name of PDFs. The tribals, who get selected in the tender, do not participate or have awareness about the process of vehicle tenders. The non-tribals pay only Rs 10,000 to Rs. 15,000/- to the tribals who are selected in the lottery system. These non-tribals approach the tribal people and get signature, finishes other formalities from them and give some amount at the initial stage only and nothing is given if the tender is extended. Since the tribes or Kolams are financially weak, illiterate and unable to purchase the vehicle the non-tribes misuse the opportunities extended to the tribes by the SCCL through vehicle tenders. In this way, the non-tribals are making use of the vehicle tenders in the company.

A tribal man can borrow money from a bank and purchase a vehicle repays the amount in several installments. But they are not making use of the scheme and the tribals are not benefitted from this scheme in any way. The company knows that the non-tribals are running the vehicles in the name of PDFs. But they do not take any action against them. The tribals who got selected in the tender list can demand the non-tribals to pay monthly at least Rs 5,000, but they do not. Once the name of one person is selected for this tender, the next time he is ineligible to apply for it because the company keeps the PDF certificate with it. Non-tribals approach the village Patel or other local leaders in the village and thus manage to get them ready for applying for the vehicle tenders. The SCCL officials do not object to this kind of manipulation in the company. They should come out with strict rules and regulations for the vehicle tender scheme for the benefit the tribal people.

6.1: Map of Telangana State



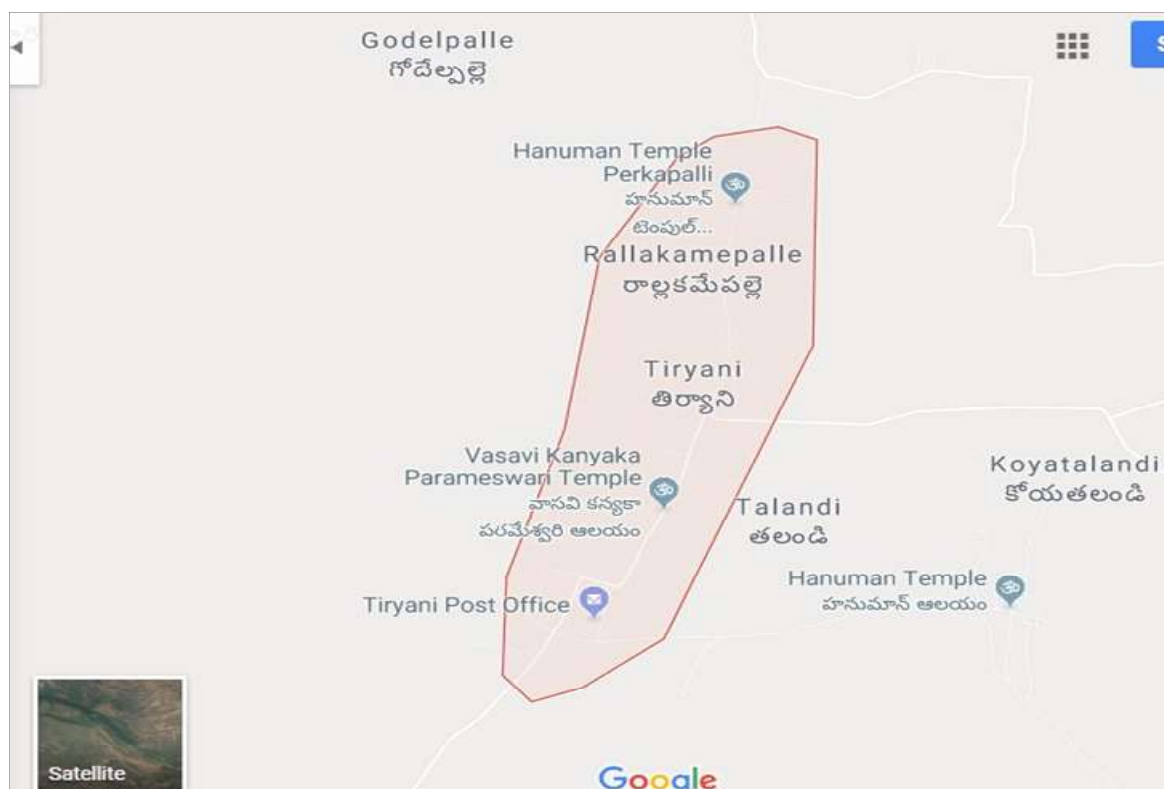
6.2: Map of Komaram Bheem Asifabad District



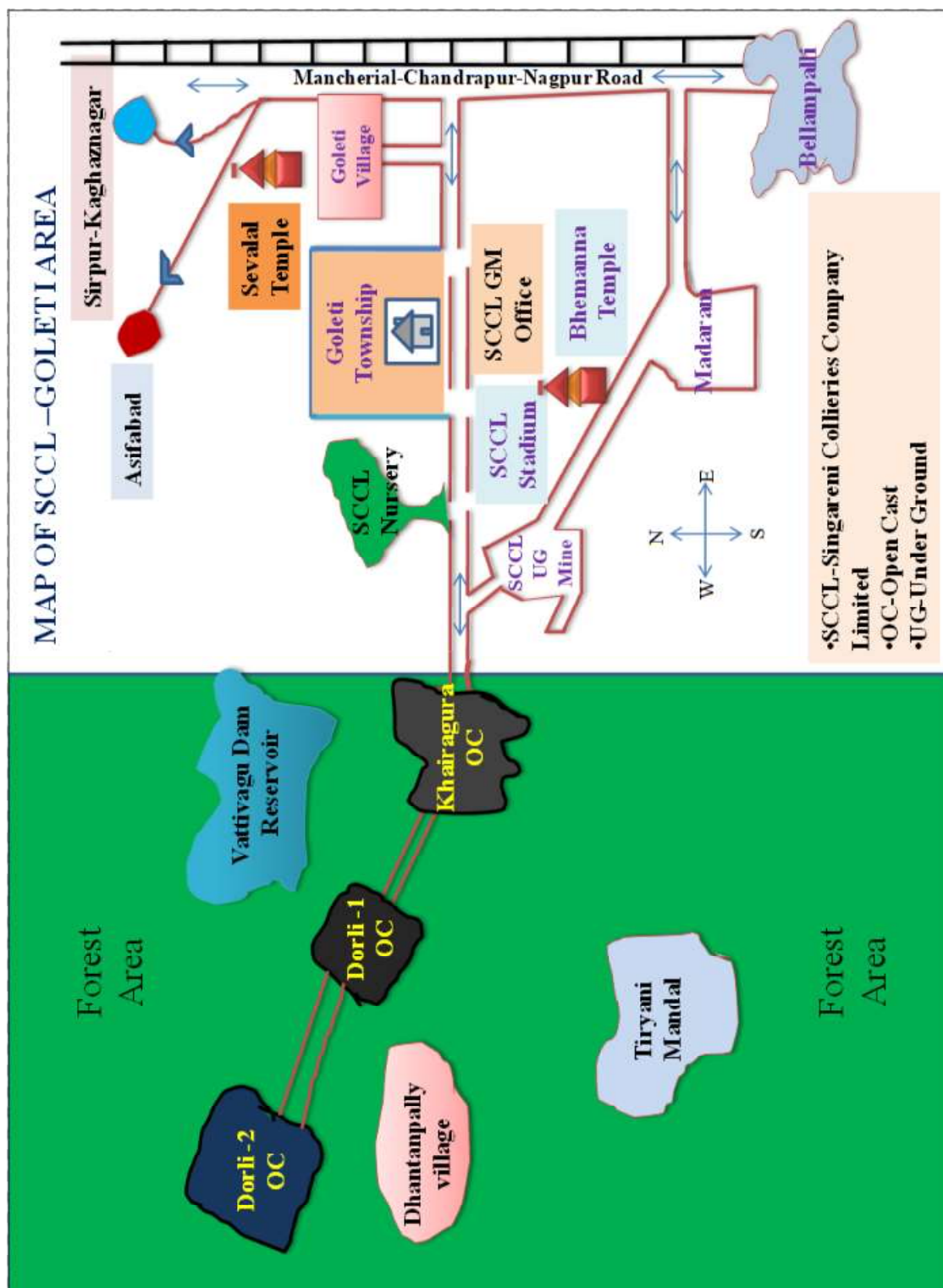
6.3: Map of Rebbena Mandal



6.4: Map of Tiryani Mandal



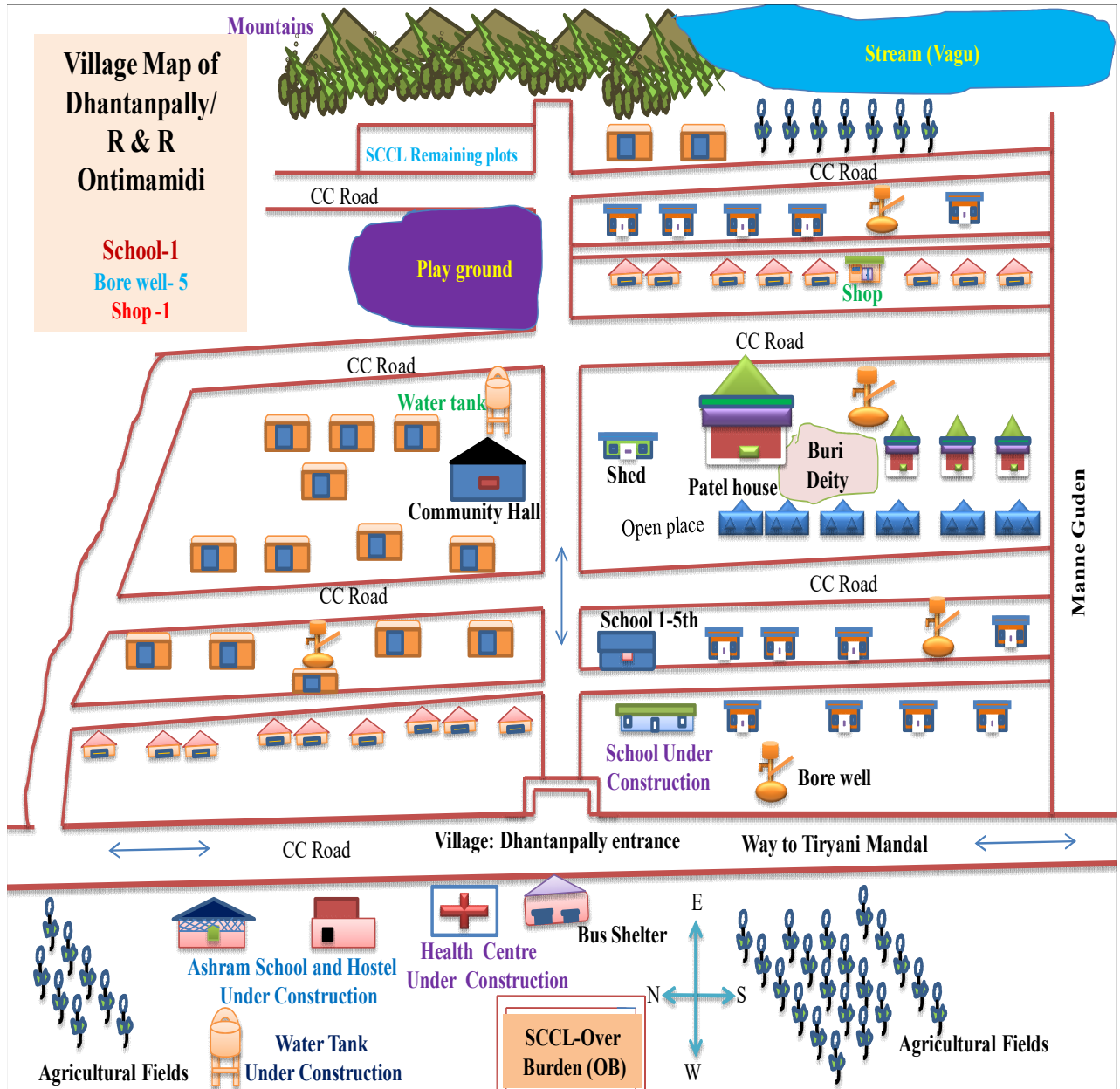
6.5: Map of SCCL – Goleti area



6.6: Map of Goleti village



6.7: Map of Dhantanpally/ R and R Ontimamidi Centre



Chapter - 6

THE VILLAGES - GOLETI AND DHANTANPALLY

This chapter discusses profiles of the villages under study called Goleti and Dhantanpally (R and R Ontimamidi) in order to understand the socio-economic differences between the tribes after the establishment of SCCL. The previous two chapters have foregrounded the challenges that the two villages faced along with few others in the area for few years due to the operations of coal mining undertaken by the SCCL. These villages are taken with the aim of understanding the changes that have taken place in the lives of tribes particularly the Lambada and Kolams which are the two dominant communities in this area. While the Chapters 2 and 3 provide the general backdrop and historical background of the two tribal communities in general, the present chapter deals with the specific village communities in particular in order to understand the contemporary challenges that these two communities are encountering and their adaptation to the situations and the changes occurred which are felt and those that remain incognito.

Goleti Village - Lambada Thanda

Goleti is located in Rebbena Mandal⁸⁸ of Adilabad District of Telangana which is located at 19°15'24"N 79°24'53"E (see Map 6.6). There are 12 Gram Panchayats with a total of 59 villages that come under the Rebbena Mandal and Goleti is one of the Gram Panchayat. The village is situated at a distance of five kilometers from Rebbena and 30 kilometers from Asifabad and Khagaznagar town and 150 kilometers from Adilabad, the district head quarter. The nearby towns to Rebbena are Khagaznagar, Asifabad, Bellampally, Mandamarri and Mancherla. The Goleti village⁸⁹ is mostly inhabited by the Lambadas.

Dhantanpally - Kolam guda

Dhantanpally village which was situated earlier in the forest area is now a Resettled and Rehabilitated Center near Ontimamidi village due to the establishment of SCCL open cast

⁸⁸ Mandal is an administrative unit, which comprises a few villages, and few Mandals, constitutes the District in Telangana.

⁸⁹ A village is a clustered human settlements or community of larger than a hamlet with the population ranging from a few hundred to a few thousands (sometimes tens of thousands). It may be of single caste or multiple castes.

mines in the area. Even after shifting to new location it is continued to be called Dhantanpally but officially it is known as R and R Ontimamidi village. This new village is situated at a distance of 2-3 kilometers from the old village. The entire village is inhabited by Kolam tribe. Dhantanpally is located in Tiryani Mandal of Adilabad District of Telangana which is at 19°10'55"N 79°16'17"E (see Map 6.7). The village is situated at a distance of 25 kilometers from Tiryani, 20 kilometers from Asifabad, 40 kilometers from Khagaznagar town and 150 kilometers from Adilabad, the district head quarter. The nearby towns to Tiryani are Asifabad, Khagaznagar, Bellampally, Mandamarri and Mancherial.

Transport and communication Facility

The Goleti village is close to the main road that connects Asifabad, Khagaznagar and Mancherial towns. The TSRTC buses that run from Asifabad and Khagaznagar pass through Rebbena and Goleti X road to reach Mancherial. The nearest Railway stations to the village are Asifabad X road, Khagaznagar and Bellampally. Since the village is close to the towns the villagers have easy access to newspaper, and other media. Younger generation does watch movies regularly in the cinema theaters in Mancherial, or Asifabad or Khagaznagar, which is their favorite time pass activity. Majority of the people in the village possess 3G/4G smart phones.

The other village Dhantanpally is 20 kilometer far away from the nearest town Asifabad. The TSRTC buses that run between Asifabad and Rompally pass through the village. Buses do not ply frequently in this route. The villagers can travel to Asifabad by auto rickshaw also. Since the village is not close to the town the people don't have easy access to newspaper, and television. Every Saturday a weekly market is organized in Asifabad town. Younger generation watches movies rarely in the cinema theaters at Mancherial or Asifabad or Khagaznagar. Majority of the households in the village do not possess mobile telephones.

Contrasts and Similarities

Thus, the features of these two villages in several ways contrast each other but similar in terms of establishment of coal mines. The Goleti village is close to the main road and the Lambadas remain always in contact with non-tribes. It is not surrounded by the forest like Dhantanpally at present; before the establishment of SCCL Goleti and other villages were surrounded by forest, but the SCCL Company and the immigrant population have deforested

the area. The new Dhantanpally like the old village remains within the deep forest and relatively isolated and the Kolams of the village are not in regular contact with the non-tribes. The inhabitants of the two villages as mentioned belong to the category of scheduled tribes but they are culturally different.

Changes in Goleti area

There have been certain government administrative changes with regard to Goleti village before and after the establishment of SCCL. Before the establishment of SCCL, the Goleti Thanda was a hamlet like Dubbaguda and Khairagura of Goleti village. But now Goleti is a Gram Panchayat with the following hamlets: Goleti village, Goleti Township, Dubbaguda, Bhagathsingh Nagar, Gowtham Nagar, Ramanareddy Nagar, Rekullagudem, Khairagura, Sonapur, Devullaguda, Duggapur, Gondugudem, Ameenguda, Gollaguda and Bheemguda. This area was completely covered with a thick forest before the establishment of SCCL and Goleti was known famously for the location of the shrine of God Bhimanna who is known as Goleti Bhimanna, as mentioned before, there are several Bhimanna, the Bhimanna God is identified with different locations. The shrine of Bhimanna God at the Goleti is located towards north-west of a Kolam village called Chopidi R and R centre, and towards its south east there was Goleti Thanda. An annual festival used to be organized here in the honor of Goleti Bhimanna god in which Kolams, Gonds and Lambada also participated though the farmer claim their god. Now the SCCL is located Township near the temple of Goleti Bhimanna. It has already been stated the SCCL vehicles bear the name of the Bhimanna as a mark of respect and honor to the deity besides seeking constant blessing of him. This Bhimanna shrine is situated on the western side of the Goleti Thanda which is focus of the present study. This area got developed due to the establishment of SCCL mines at the Goleti area. After the establishment of SCCL at Goleti area it has become a centre and non-tribals have come and settled here.

The Goleti - Township and Thanda

The SCCL Company has constructed the quarters for its employees, GM office, dispensary, school, temple, park, library, nursery, super bazaar and stadium (tennis and basket ball court). A market with shops with consumable goods, vegetables, eateries, Tiffin Centers, hotels etc., have sprung up. Some buses come from the main road and go back to drop and pick up passengers whereas earlier people had to go walk to the main road to take public transport.

Now some auto rickshaws also ply between the Goleti Township and Goleti X Roads. Thus, Goleti Township has come into existence and it has also provided basic facilities like proper roads and electricity to this area.

This Goleti Township is towards the west side of the Goleti Thanda at a distance of half kilometer. It is located on the right side of the road leading to Khairagura from Goleti Township. The SCCL underground mine is located at the south-west of the village while the open cast mines are located at the north-west side of the village. Asifabad is in the northern direction while Sirpur-Khagaznagar and Mancherial are towards the east and south direction respectively. Madaram is located in the south-west of the village and Bellampally is situated in the south-east direction of the village.

Initially, this village was small with only few Lambada households but in due course of time it has grown into a large settlement. Now this village is a multi-ethnic village where majority of them belong to the Lambada community. There are altogether 210 houses in the village out of which 170 households belong to Lambada. The Lambada Thanda is not displaced due to coal mining as mentioned earlier. The Telugu Manne households are situated in front of the Goleti village. There is also a Gond hamlet called Duggapur beside the village.

If one takes an TSRTC bus at Asifabad or Mancherial to go to Goleti, the bus travels for two hours and it leaves the main road at Goleti X Road and takes the approach road of Goleti and gets down at the bus stop for Goleti village. The bus proceeds further to stop at the Goleti Township as final destination and returns on the same road to the main road. If one travels by train, has to get off the train at Bellampally and take a bus bound to Asifabad or Khagaznagar that goes via Goleti or any bus going towards Khagaznagar and get down at the Goleti X Road. One can also take an auto rickshaw bound to Goleti or Goleti X Road. From the Goleti X Road one hires another auto rickshaw individually or can be a passenger in shared auto rickshaw and get down at the auto stand at the Goleti village. One shall walk from the bus stop to the Goleti Thanda.

Opposite to the bus stop there is a village community hall. As one passes by it there is a Gorka Training Centre on the left side at the entrance of the Goleti village or Thanda. The road that leads to the Goleti Thanda or village divides agricultural fields and then bifurcates. Thus one enters the village from the south. The road of left side leads to the primary school. In front of the school there are few houses in a row. As the road goes further down there are

houses on both sides of the road facing each other till it leads to the centre of the village. From the point of bifurcation the right side road runs parallel to the left side road keeping some distance. In the gap between the left and right side road there lie an agricultural land. On the left of the right side i.e., towards the east also there lies an agricultural field. Both the right side and left side roads are connected at the end of the village by a path towards the north of the village. However, in between there is a way also connecting both the roads at the centre of the village and that goes across the agricultural field. In the middle, close to the left side road there is a temple of Lord Shiva on the right side that cuts into the agricultural land. On the same road there are village Gram Panchayat office and Hanuman temple also on the left side. Adjacent to this temple there is an Ashram high school (Tribal Residential School). The houses built are continued till the end of the village with small streets inside at the left side of a road. Further down the road there is an Anganwadi school. There are houses facing each other on either side of the right side also. At the far end of this road, a small road towards east leads to Sevalal temple and Durga Matha temple. The main right side road leads further north to the end of the village. Both the left and right side roads are again connected by a path or way as mentioned before. There are agricultural fields and tombs of ancestors beyond the village.

The first Lambada settlers, Ajmeera clan members, occupied the centre of the village and constructed the houses facing each other. The next settlers, Jerupulla and Lavidiya clans, occupied the eastern and western part of the village. The members of each clan have a strong sense of solidarity among themselves than with the other clans. This is one of the reasons why the people belonging to one clan have constructed their houses at one place as they like to be physically close to each other. All the Lambada villagers had small houses of identical structures in the earlier days. But now it is changed due to the changes in their social and economic status. They have constructed spacious houses with RCC roof.

There are two schools in the Goleti village, one is a primary school run by the Education Department and the other is Ashram high school run by the Tribal Welfare Department of the Government of Telangana. There is also one Anganwadi school. There are nine petty shops and four temples in the village: Sevalal, Durgamatha, Hanuman and Lord Shiva. There are nine bore wells and four open wells in the village but few are in working condition. The village did not have the basic facilities like cement roads and electricity earlier, these are new

developments. Thus the area around the village is fully covered by agricultural fields (see Map 6.6).

Dhantanpally village

Most of the Kolams live in the Adilabad district which seems to be the place of their origin. As mentioned earlier generally, Kolam habitations are found in the interior forest near the mountains and valleys or near their agricultural fields. They live in exclusive hamlets called *gudems* of their own which are different from the other tribes. In general in each *gudem* of the Kolams there may not be more than 30-40 households. The village Dhantanpally is exclusively inhabited by the Kolams. It is very difficult to say about the origin of the original village. The Kolams living at the Dhantanpally, as said earlier, are rehabilitated near Ontimamidi village which is called the R and R Ontimamidi centre.

As stated before, the location of this R and R centre followed the traditional method in 2008-09. There are 72 households in the R and R centre of Ontimamidi village. The village Ontimamidi is at a distance of a half kilometre inhabited by Telugu Manne community which is not a scheduled tribe. The R and R Centre or new Dhantanpally village is surrounded by forest as stated earlier. The agricultural lands, mountains and a stream are on the eastern side of the village. There is an SCCL over burden close to the village. This R and R Ontimamidi is situated at a distance of two kilometers from the Dorli-1 OC mine which has displaced the Dhantanpally. The old Dhantanpally is situated at a distance of three kilometers from the resettled village. The local Bhimanna shrine of the village is located in the west at a distance of five kilometers and it is surrounded by a thick forest. The deities outside the village are located at the northern side of the village.

There is a bus stop close to the village and the buses run between Rompally and Asifabad. As one enters the village finds a primary school at the right side of the village. There is a straight road into the village. The houses are constructed in a row on both sides of the road facing each other. The same is continued in other lanes at the right and left side of the village. The SCCL has provided electricity and concrete roads for this R and R Centre.

The houses are congested which are constructed in a square or rectangular space by leaving some gap between the houses. The Kolams follow a culturally driven procedure of their own while constructing a house which is clearly explained in the earlier chapter. While

constructing a house the main door of the house should face the village deity i.e. Nadidiamma. They construct their house with bamboos available in the forest. The thatched walls are plastered with the cow dung or mud. Unlike other tribes Kolam do not construct a boundary or fence around their houses. They lacked proper basic amenities at the original village such as drainage, lights and medical facilities. But the amenities like primary health centre PHC, Anganwadi School and Ashram High school cum residence and water tank are yet to be provided in the new village. There is a community hall at the centre of the village and also a play ground besides it. There are two petty shops in the village and there is one primary school run by the state government. There are five bore wells provided by the SCCL but very few of them are working. However, during the rainy season the resettled village gets submerged under water which creates transport problem to the villagers (see Map 6.7).

Population Composition Caste and Tribes in the villages

In the past, the village Goleti was inhabited by the Lambada households only. But when the SCCL has established coal mines at the Goleti area slowly the non-tribals have migrated to this place in search of employment opportunities. As a result the village Goleti has become a multi-ethnic village. Now there are four households (1.4 percent) each from Reddy, Naidu and Vaishya, 35 (12.4 percent) households of the Backward class (BC) that includes Padmasali, Goud, Golla, Chakali, Mangali, Yadav and one Muslim household also lives in Goleti village.

Table: 6.1. Composition of households by village

Category	Village name		Total
	Goleti	Dhantanpally	
Lambada	170	0	170
	81.0%	0.0%	60.3%
Kolam	0	72	72
	0.0%	100.0%	25.5%
*Others	40	0	40
	19.0%	0.0%	14.2%
Total	210	72	282
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Field Study

The schedule tribe households form 85.8 percent to the total number of households in both the villages. Among the ST Lambada and Kolam their composition in the respective villages is shown in Table 6.1.

***Others include:** Golla (0.4 percent), Mangali (2.8 percent), Chakali (2.5 percent), Perika (0.4 percent), Goud (1.1 percent), Padmasali (1.8 percent), Jangam (0.4 percent), Kapu (0.7 percent), Barollu (0.7 percent), Katika (0.4 percent), Reddies (0.4 percent), Vaishyas (1.1 percent), Muslims (0.4 percent), Tenega (0.4 percent), Methara (0.7 percent), Pusala (0.4 percent).

House Types

The type of house or structure of the house reflects the financial condition of the owner of the house. Traditionally the local materials available such as bamboo, wood and earthen tiles were used in constructing the physical structure keeping the cultural paradigm in the background. Now as the financial status improved, the physical structures are changed with modern and industrial material accommodating the cultural values. The poor families continued the traditional structures while those could improve their economic conditions changed to brick walls, cement roofs etc., the traditional structures made of perishable materials can be called *kutcha* house. The structures in transition from *kutcha* to modern houses can be called semi-*pucca*, the *pucca* house or RCC houses being the modern structure with cemented brick walls, cemented roof and cemented floor etc. The semi-*pucca* structures would have brick walls but thatched roof or cement or tin sheet as roof. Thus, the house structures reflect the financial status of the house owner.

Out of 170 houses 97 (57.1 percent) of Lambadas are living in RCC houses, while 71 (41.8 percent) are living in semi-*pucca* houses and very few that is, two (1.2 percent) are living in *kutcha* houses (see Table 6.2). It is clear that majority of Lambadas possess the RCC houses. It is known that for constructing the RCC house one has to invest maximum of Rs. 5 to Rs.10 lakhs. Lambadas have saved some money and constructed the RCC houses after getting employed in the SCCL Company. In the recent times, construction of RCC houses has become common in the Lambada villages.

Whereas in Dhantanpally 61 (84.7 percent) Kolams are living in semi-*pucca* houses, while eight (11.1 percent) are living in *kutcha* house and very few i.e., three (4.2 percent) are living in RCC houses. Thus, the majority of Kolams are possessing semi-*pucca* houses. They are

poorer than the Lambadas. They do not have aspirations like Lambadas to construct attractive and fashionable modern houses. Kolams are happy, living in the semi-*pucca* houses. They live close to the forest area. They generally construct their houses with the different bamboos, wood and materials which are available in the forest. These houses do not have even proper ventilation. Kolams living in *kutchu* houses with flattened mud floor; the walls and roof are of thatched.

One important reason why Kolam preferred to live in semi-*pucca* houses is that they give more importance to traditional houses following their ancestors. They believe that if they go for RCC constructions they may suffer from some kind of unforeseen problems. This clearly shows that their values play important role to retain the traditional structures with some little modifications. However, slow change can be noticed in this regard. But it is also true that Kolams are relatively poor in terms of their incomes compared to the Lambadas.

But this is not the case with the Lambadas, they are more ambitious to become modern or look like any non-tribal. They feel that if their houses are old type they will be treated inferior to others. Since they have money they go for RCC construction. They do not like to be inferior to others. They feel that living in RCC is comfortable for them and this gives them higher social status as well. This is the reason why most of the Lambadas are going for RCC constructions with heavy investments even borrowing from banks. Majority i.e., 274 (97.2 percent) of them have their own houses while very few of them stay in the rented, five (1.8 percent) and rent free three (1.1 percent) houses. Two (0.7 percent) pay a rent between Rs. 250 to Rs. 500 and between Rs. 500 to Rs. 750 per month respectively and however about one (0.4 percent) of the renters pay the rent between Rs. 750 and Rs. 1000 per month. The Lambadas who had constructed RCC houses are renting out their semi *pucca* houses in which they lived earlier. Here the people who are renting the houses of Lambadas are OCs and BCs. They have come to village for their survival and some have set up self employment activities in different occupations like general stores, tailoring and mechanic shop etc. The rent free houses are mostly occupied by the tenants or hired labors (*jithagadu*) who work for the Lambadas in their agricultural fields.

Among the Lambadas 65 (38.2 percent) of the houses are having two room, 49 (28.8 percent) of the houses are having four rooms, 24 (14.1 percent) are of three room houses and only 19 (11.2 percent) are of single rooms. And nine houses are having more than five rooms (5.3

percent), two (1.2 percent) are of six rooms and one (0.6 percent) is of seven rooms. The floor in most of the Lambada houses is of tiles and cement spread. The number of rooms in the house is also indicative of economic strength of the owner of house. In this regard also Lambadas are economically far ahead of the Kolams.

Table: 6.2. Type of house by Social Category

Category	Type of house			Total
	RCC	Semi-pucca	Kutcha	
Lambada	97	71	2	170
	57.1%	41.8%	1.2%	100.0%
Kolam	3	61	8	72
	4.2%	84.7%	11.1%	100.0%
Others	12	27	1	40
	30.0%	67.5%	2.5%	100.0%
Total	112	159	11	282
	39.7%	56.4%	3.9%	100.0%

Source: Field Study

Like anyone else, the Lambada houses did not have toilet, and they used to go out into the fields. But now while 93 (54.7 percent) of households of them has toilet facility while none of the Kolam houses has the toilet facility. It speaks of the urbanization, conscious of health and availability of resources. The Kolams continue to live in the rural environment. It is observed that, majority 255 (90.4 percent) of households of Lambadas and Kolams is electrified for the rest could not afford to have electricity. Within the electrified houses only 202 (71.6 percent) possess meters and 80 (28.4 percent) of houses do not possess any meters which means they depend on illegal connection; they draw electricity directly from the electrical pole.

Population

The total population in these two villages is 1,310 of which males are 676 (51.6 percent) and females are 634 (48.4 percent). The total population of Lambada is 830 out of which 431 (51.9 percent) are male and 399 (48.1 percent) are female. The Kolam population is 313 out of which 156 (49.8 percent) are male and 157 (50.2 percent) are female. The others population is 167 out of which 89 (53.3 percent) are male and 78 (46.7 percent) are female. Thus, Lambadas are numerically stronger than the rest (see Table 6.3). The preference for male child among the Lambada is well reflected here; in fact in the recent past news papers

have been reporting selling of girl children by poor Lambada families in Nalgonda and neighboring districts. It is interesting to note the male preference and male domination is more among others than the tribes. In Kolams the sex ratio is more balanced than others; male and female population is almost equal.

Table: 6.3. Population by sex

Sex	Tribe			Total
	Lambada	Kolam	Others	
Male	431	156	89	676
	51.9%	49.8%	53.3%	51.6%
Female	399	157	78	634
	48.1%	50.2%	46.7%	48.4%
Total	830	313	167	1310
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Field Study

Demography

The Table 6.4 shows the age structure of the two communities. The percentage of infants (less than five years) is almost equal among the two different communities whereas the percentage of school going children (6-15 years) is high 72 (i.e., 23.0 percent) among Kolam community when compared to Lambada 138 (16.6 percent) community. It also observed that the percentage of younger population (16-25 years) among two communities differs slightly. The working generation among the two communities (26-55 years) is relatively equal. Among the Lambadas the aged (above 66) population is high 18 (2.2 percent) when compared with the Kolams i.e., four (1.3 percent). The birth rate seems to increase from non-tribal others to Kolams; it is highest among the Kolams.

Table: 6.4. Demographic details

Age Group	Tribe			Total
	Lambada	Kolam	Others	
Below 5	78	32	7	117
	9.4%	10.2%	4.2%	8.9%
6-15	138	72	21	231
	16.6%	23.0%	12.6%	17.6%
16-25	210	72	48	330
	25.3%	23.0%	28.7%	25.2%
26-35	168	61	32	261
	20.2%	19.5%	19.2%	19.9%
36-45	104	28	21	153
	12.5%	8.9%	12.6%	11.7%
46-55	72	23	21	116
	8.7%	7.3%	12.6%	8.9%
56-65	42	21	14	77
	5.1%	6.7%	8.4%	5.9%
Above 66	18	4	3	25
	2.2%	1.3%	1.8%	1.9%
Total	830	313	167	1310
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Field Study

Family

The predominant type of family in these two tribal groups is nuclear family with 161 (57.1 percent). It is more prevalent among the Lambada followed by Kolam and others. It is interesting to note that joint family type is found highest among the Lambadas 24 (14.1 percent) than Kolams three (4.2 percent). Lambadas show interest to live together under one roof like the non-tribes which is an ideal type of family rather than practical one. They say one of the benefits of staying together is that they can help and support each other whenever there is any crisis or problems in the family. In fact, there is economic uncertainty; the son who is married though he does not have steady income to maintain his own family, he remains with the parents. But when he gets a job or able to live independently he prefers to live separately. In some cases, the son is working in the nearby place or mine and he commutes to his work either by cycle or motorbike or whatever means for it is not feasible to live at the work place separately. After nuclear family, extended nuclear family type is

predominant with 65 (23.0 percent). The nuclear family is extended by either of spouse's parents or relatives living in the same house are called as extended nuclear family.

The reason for extended nuclear family among the Kolams is that the parents are living with their married sons after the death of either of them. If the son is younger in the family it is the responsibility to take care of his parent. The additional elder family member will take care of the children if their parents go out for any work. In fact, the elders in the family play a pivotal role in passing the culture to the younger generations. They also play a vital role in maintaining the unity of the family. They are not seen as burden rather the adults feel the parents help in decision making in the family and they give priority for the first collective discussion among the family members. As discussed earlier also social solidarity and bonding is very significant in Kolam society. Therefore extended family relationships build the social relationships. The broken family is found highest among the category of others with eight (20.0 percent) than Lambada and Kolam. Since there is the practice of remarriage among these two tribal communities either after the death of spouse or divorce the broken family status is usually temporary. The presence of single person family is found more among the Kolams. Single member houses are those where one of the surviving members is living alone in the house after the demise of the spouse and do not like to join the married children. (see Table 6.5).

Table: 6.5. Family types

Category	Family type					Total
	Nuclear family	Joint family	Extended family	Broken family	Single person family	
Lambada	103	24	34	9	0	170
	60.6%	14.1%	20.0%	5.3%	0.0%	100.0%
Kolam	41	3	21	4	3	72
	56.9%	4.2%	29.2%	5.6%	4.2%	100.0%
Others	17	3	10	8	2	40
	42.5%	7.5%	25.0%	20.0%	5.0%	100.0%
Total	161	30	65	21	5	282
	57.1%	10.6%	23.0%	7.4%	1.8%	100.0%

Source: Field Study

Marital status

Lambadas and Kolam are endogamous communities, marrying outside the community is an exception and such cases are found to be rare. If a Lambada woman happens to marry a non-tribal, she is boycotted from the community. But if a Lambada man marries a woman of non-tribal community she is included into community after performing a ceremony of incorporation in which the Naik heats up a gold ring on fire and puts it on the tongue of the woman. However, not even a single such case is found among Lambada and Kolam in these villages. Both the communities follow cross-cousin marriage. In the past, among Lambadas there used to be the practice of giving bride price but now, they have given up this practice and instead taking the dowry. There is no practice of dowry among the Kolams. With regard to marital status of the population, 631 (48.2 percent) out of 1310 are married, the number is more than the unmarried population of 599 (45.7 percent). The widows are in considerable number i.e., 61 (4.7 percent). The widowers are 14 (1.1 percent) and the broken family population is five (0.4 percent) (see Table: 6.6).

Table: 6.6. Marital status

Category	Marital status					Total
	Married	Un-married	Widow	Widower	Broken	
Lambada	412	385	30	2	1	830
	49.6%	46.4%	3.6%	.2%	.1%	100.0%
Kolam	148	138	14	11	2	313
	47.3%	44.1%	4.5%	3.5%	.6%	100.0%
Others	71	76	17	1	2	167
	42.5%	45.5%	10.2%	.6%	1.2%	100.0%
Total	631	599	61	14	5	1310
	48.2%	45.7%	4.7%	1.1%	.4%	100.0%

Source: Field Study

Education

There is higher literacy among the Lambada compared to the Kolam; 218 (26.3 percent) is illiterate among Lambada community while it is 120 (38.3 percent) among the Kolam. About 142 (17.1 percent) of Lambada community has formal education i.e., up to 5th class. The lower percentage of upper primary and secondary education 72 (8.7 percent) and 121 (14.6 percent) are observed among the Lambada community which speaks of higher drop outs in

the primary education and secondary education. There are a few pursuing under-graduation, post-graduation, Ph.D. programme and professional courses among the Lambada (see Table 6.7).

Table: 6.7. Educational status

Educational status	Tribe			Total
	Lambada	Kolam	Others	
Illiterate	218	120	47	385
	26.30%	38.30%	28.10%	29.40%
Primary	142	115	27	284
	17.10%	36.70%	16.20%	21.70%
Upper Primary	72	30	8	110
	8.70%	9.60%	4.80%	8.40%
Secondary	121	23	30	174
	14.60%	7.30%	18.00%	13.30%
Inter	75	3	19	97
	9.00%	1.00%	11.40%	7.40%
Engineering	10	0	2	12
	1.20%	0.00%	1.20%	0.90%
UG	99	0	26	125
	11.90%	0.00%	15.60%	9.50%
PG	23	0	2	25
	2.80%	0.00%	1.20%	1.90%
Ph.D.	1	0	0	1
	0.10%	0.00%	0.00%	0.10%
Diploma	10	0	2	12
	1.20%	0.00%	1.20%	0.90%
NA	59	22	4	85
	7.10%	7.00%	2.40%	6.50%
Total	830	313	167	1310
	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

Source: Field Study

The situation is quite different among the Kolam as a large population has no formal education and only 115 (36.7 percent) of Kolam community has primary education i.e., up to 5th class. About 30 (9.6 percent) and 23 (7.3 percent) of Kolam community has upper primary and secondary education respectively which speaks higher rate of drop outs in primary school itself. Only one percent of Kolam community has Intermediate education. There is none who has studied beyond intermediate among the Kolam. From this it is clear that the Lambadas in

Goleti village are more progressive in education compared to the Kolams. Some of the reasons for this are the socialization process, interest towards education and the expectation of parents from their children's to excel in their studies.

It has been discussed earlier that the Lambada saints like Ramrao Maharaj and Premsingh Maharaj visit the village once or twice a year. They preach the community members that they should not get addicted to alcoholic and other bad habits. They should excel in education by making use of the reservations so that they can be employed in the government and private sectors. They also tell that the services of Sevalal saint were immortal and he was a role model to the Lambada community. The government has introduced several schemes for the welfare or uplift of Lambada community. They urge to utilize the government schemes to uplift their economic status. The Lambadas believe that these saints are the supreme role models. They get motivated by their speeches and try to put them in practice.

Before displacement there were a Primary and an Upper Primary Ashram School in Dhantanpally. But after the Upper Primary school the children were admitted in the Ashram High School at Asifabad and after that they continued the secondary education in the same town. The government has provided scholarships and other incentives like clothes, food and books free of cost to the Kolams besides accommodation. The government maintained these schools and also implemented different schemes for the welfare of the backward tribes.

But after displacement, the Upper Primary Ashram School and Anganwadi centers are not established; instead a Primary school has been instituted at the R and R centre. A teacher of the Lambada community is appointed as a teacher in this school. Since he has to come from a long distance to attend the school, sometimes he comes late or absent himself to the school. However, a Vidya Volunteer (VV) appointed by the SCCL at the Ontimamidi R and R centre, looks after the school. He belongs to Kolam community and is a resident of the same village. The children going to the primary school are not regular to the school due to various health reasons. Their parents also give exception and did not force them to go to the school. They do not know the importance of education because the majority of them are illiterate. But for some reasons the majority of the Kolams are not showing interest in formal education. They have developed a negative attitude towards the formal education which they consider it a boring activity. Though the government is providing different incentives for the tribal education, primarily the negative approach towards the formal education is making them to

stay away from the school. They always wanted to stay with the parents by engaging themselves in their economic activities. They learn informally through practical experience by imitating their parents. As described earlier dancing and singing are the integral part of the Kolam culture which are acquired through informal education by the Kolam children. The activities like hunting an animal, fishing and collection of honey are an informal learning for the Kolams. They use different techniques which the other people may not know. It is also important for them to have an extensive knowledge on the forest because their culture and economy that revolves around the forest. In fact, they are experts in identifying different types of edible fruits and tubers available in different seasons. They are aware of different types of bamboo and know different medicinal plants available in the forest. They pass this knowledge and skills which constitute the practical education down the generations. Learning process begins when a child is born and grows in the society not as organized as in the formal form of education. This kind of informal education is necessary for their survival because it is intrinsic part of their culture. This is a distinct culture that differs from that of the Lambadas. Now, the Kolams have lost their informal way of learning as they are introduced to formal education and also when SCCL has started the mining in the tribal territory. They are now forced to leave their place because of the major development project and some of them even gone away from the forest.

Kolam as a primitive tribe has not gained sufficient skills to adapt to the new environment of the SCCL or for that matter non-tribal world. To put it in other words, Kolam informal education has been replaced with the formal education enforced by the external agencies. So, it is imperative that learning the formal education will brings awareness about new ways of life and adaptive skills which could help them to deal with the SCCL for their own development and protection.

Generally, the government officials hardly supervise the primary schools which are situated in the interior or agency or tribal areas. As a result, the teachers who are appointed in such schools have not been regular and their absence is holiday for the children. Even if the teachers attend schools they do not spend regular hours rather they come late and leave early and do not care to complete the syllabus on time. Even if the children do not perform well there is no one to question the teacher because the parents of the children are illiterate, and moreover he is more educated or an official and therefore the social etiquette prevent them questioning the teacher. The Mid-day meal programme is not benefiting the poor tribal

population because it is not properly implemented in some of the schools which are situated in the interior areas. All these are the factors leading the children to dropout from the school early. These are some of the reasons why Kolams are showing no interest in formal education.

After the resettlement of Dhantanpally near Ontimamidi village the SCCL did not provide the building for Upper Primary school at the new location. As a result, some of the children who moved to the next level i.e., from Primary to Upper Primary are getting the education at the Asifabad town. The distance to schools has also become one of the major problems for the Kolam children. Some of them have dropped out from the school due to the difficulty in travelling the distance. There is none from the Kolam community of Dhantanpally who completed graduation or post graduation. In fact, there is no one from the village who can motivate the children for the formal education. The parents don't put pressure on their children to go to the schools. They also have a notion that the Kolams who have studied upto secondary or intermediate are not leading a happy life and they are as good as an illiterate Kolam because they are not getting jobs. As a result, the Kolam children do not show interest towards the formal education. Instead of giving time to formal education they show considerable interest in informal education which they feel is really exciting and challenging for them. It is observed that a Kolam child knows very well how to beat a drum or play the *dappu* or other musical instruments during their rituals and ceremonies. They also dance like elders systematically to different beats of drums played by them. Generally, they observe keenly their elders dancing, singing and playing musical instruments and try the same when the elders take rest. The adults find it easy to train their children who show natural instinct to learn and by the time when the latter become adults they will be experts in the art. They enjoy learning the same because the adult do not show anger or punish them if they commit any mistake which is not the case in the formal education. The language of different subjects in formal education is also a barrier for the Kolams for the disinterest towards the formal education. It will be easy for them to learn in their own language i.e., mother tongue.

In Goleti Lambada Thanda there is a Primary and an Upper Primary School. There is also an Anganwadi centre in the village. The Lambada children show interest towards the formal education than the informal learning. The Lambadas who have come into contact with the urban life due to the establishment of mining in Goleti area are in a transitional phase. They are now replacing the traditional values with the modern ones that have nothing to do with

the informal education. They are now very much interested in the formal education than the informal education. The parents question the teachers if their children do not show progress in their studies. They are quite aware that higher education help them securing good job that ensure comfortable life. So they also put pressure on their children to work hard. They join them in the coaching institutes so that the children secure admission in professional courses.

It is observed that when two Lambada youth meet they generally discuss employment opportunities or notifications in the news paper etc., Ajmeera Srikanth (26) said that these days there is heavy competition for jobs due to the increased number of educated youth among the tribal populations. He said that earlier there was no eligibility criterion for a clerical post but at present the minimum qualification is degree. There are many well educated people in the Goleti village who have completed their Bachelor's Degree in Engineering, PG and Ph.D. Degrees and diplomas. Some of them got jobs and settled in the government and private sectors. In fact all these people are the real inspirations for the younger generation. Generally, whenever there is any conversation about these well qualified people in the village or outside the village the older generation feel it a great honor for their family members and also for the Goleti village. Earlier people were not aware of the opportunities for the qualified graduates. Today they understand the importance of education and value of the jobs. As a result, now they are showing interest; they are pushing their children's towards higher education making use of the reservation policy.

Discontinued studies

The dropouts are highest among the Kolams 32 (44.4 percent) when compared with the Lambadas 38 (22.4 percent). Dropping out of school is commonly observed among the Kolam girls than the boys. The parents have a notion that there is no use if the girl is educated because after marriage she has to go to her husband's house. But this is not the case with the male child for parents stay with the male child after his marriage and he will look after the parents. Poverty is an important reason for dropping out of school; about 11 (6.5 percent) of Lambadas and 17 (23.6 percent) of Kolams have discontinued their education due to financial or economic reasons. About 27 (15.9 percent) of Lambadas and 27 (37.5 percent) of Kolams have discontinued school due to lack of interest towards the education. About 21 (29.20 percent) and 23 (31.90 percent) of Kolams have discontinued school due to lack of parents' motivation and need to support parents in economic activity which is not the case among the

Lambadas. The distance or location of the school and ill health are other reasons for dropping out of the school among the Lambadas and Kolams.

The Kolams do not show much interest towards the children's education as discussed earlier. They do not spend on the education of their children, partly because they are freed from this burden as everything is taken care off by the tribal welfare department as it provides free education, hostel accommodation, free food, books and clothing.

Table: 6.8. Reasons for Discontinuing the Studies

Reasons for discontinuing the studies	Category			Total
	Lambada	Kolam	Others	
Poor economic condition	11	17	7	35
	6.50%	23.60%	17.50%	12.40%
School is not available in nearby village	1	2	1	4
	0.60%	2.80%	2.50%	1.40%
Lack of interest towards education	27	27	3	57
	15.90%	37.50%	7.50%	20.20%
Lack of parents motivation towards education	1	21	0	22
	0.60%	29.20%	0.00%	7.80%
Supporting parents in economic activity	6	23	6	35
	3.50%	31.90%	15.00%	12.40%
ill health	4	3	2	9
	2.40%	4.20%	5.00%	3.20%

Source: Field Study **N = 170** **N=72** **N=40** **N=282**

Apart from the reason stated earlier about negative attitude of Kolam's education, there is the factor of cultural insensitivity in formal education. There is lack of practical learning in the formal education. The school curriculum and syllabus has no semblance with the environment that they live in. They have to learn through the medium of Telugu which is not their mother tongue. In order to overcome this problem, the government should frame the curriculum keeping the Kolams' cultural practices. When it comes to the syllabus it is common for everyone all over the state but the Kolams' children find it very difficult to learn. The syllabus should be relevant for them and learning should be in their natural setting.

Economic activities

Lambada

The Lambadas of Goleti who are engaged in mining also practice agriculture as the secondary occupation. This is a kind of adoptive nature that the Lambadas possess because they can diversify into different occupations like cultivators, agricultural laborers, employees of coal mines, workers in private and public sectors, wage labour etc. However, there are very few people who are engaged in petty business like running shops and brewing liquor.

The Lambadas who are involved in agriculture also engage in agricultural labor during the off seasons. Those people who possess less land engage in secondary occupation as agricultural laborers. But those who do not have any land earn livelihood as agricultural labourers; it is the primary occupation for them. They do not hesitate to work in other villages if the wages are high. The agricultural and non-agricultural wages depend on the season and demand of labor. When there is shortage of labor in the agriculture the wage rates also go up. Again SCCL Lambadas also revise the daily wage according to its own norms independently but this creates a tension among the non-SCCL farmers when the labors demand them on par with the SCCL Lambada wages.

Generally, men make ready the agricultural field by plowing with a pair of bullocks before they actually sow the seeds. Initially, the family members remove the waste of the previous year. The families who don't possess the bullocks hire from others in the village or outside the village. Women are engaged in sowing seeds, weeding and harvesting. The sowing of seeds is generally done by the women. A woman carries agricultural seeds in the folding of her *saree* and then takes a handful of them from her folding of the *saree* and sows them one after the other on the ploughed land or ground. Men do more hard work than the women which includes ploughing and leveling the land. The adult children in the family also help their parents in the agricultural activities. Hiring of labour in agricultural activities is commonly seen everywhere. The wages paid to them depends on the work and as well as the gender. They also help their relatives in the weeding and harvest operations besides engaging in their own agricultural works. Ajmeera Ravinder (34) says that there is no gender discrimination in Lambada society; both the genders are given equal status. The Lambada women are considered huge asset in the economy because they do agricultural, non-agricultural works and also the domestic work. Since, most of the lands of the Lambadas do

not have irrigation facility they have to cultivate the dry lands and grow dry crops. They expect more yield if there are enough rains otherwise they have to face tough situations. In order to overcome the problem of water scarcity they dug bore wells at their respective fields. There are many cases where farmers have spent huge money on bore wells because there are no alternative options for the farmers.

Agriculture is one of the main sources of livelihood to the majority of the people in the Goleti village. The farmers and other agricultural labors are involved in different works round the year in the process of agricultural production. Over the generations Lambadas have been depended on the agriculture for their livelihood. Generally, the agricultural works begin in the month of April-May. The different kinds of major crops that they cultivate are cotton, maize, paddy and green gram, red gram and groundnut etc., and Table 6.9 shows the sowing and harvesting of different crops. As can be seen the grams are sown soon after the rains and the duration of the crops generally is three to four months. The others are sown a little later. By January the agriculture comes to an end, they have no agricultural work from February to May or June. Then they look for non-agricultural daily wage work.

Table: 6.9. Crop wise sowing and harvesting months

S. No	Crop	Sowing month	Harvesting month
1	Cotton (annual crop)	June	June
2	Green gram	July	October
3	Red gram (<i>kandi</i>)	July	January
4	Ground nut	October	January
5	Maize	October	January
6	Paddy (<i>vari</i>)	August	January

Source: Field Study

Some of the Lambadas who are engaged in mining work do not have enough time to spend on their agricultural fields. So, they hire servants for one year on payment of a fixed amount as annual salary or wage based on the skill one possesses; the wage is paid at the end of the harvest, after deducting the wages for the days one was absent from work from the salary. Besides, engaging in the agricultural works the servant also attends to the household errands of the land owner. Mostly, the servants are from the Mannevar community and non-tribals who live in the nearby Lambada Thanda.

In the beginning, the income for the SCCL employee was very less which was more or less equal to the agricultural labor. But now, the salaries are fairly good, so, they are economically well settled when compared to the other non-SCCL families. The expenditure among the Lambadas differs from family to family which is based on their economic status. Due to the high income there is a change among the SCCL families in terms of food, dress pattern and the life style. The changes which have taken place among them are clearly explained in the previous chapter. The landowning Lambada families also borrow from banks which are spent for productive purposes, so obviously the standard of living is higher from that of the non-SCCL Lambada families.

Kolam

They used to depend on their habitat for food and also for constructing their houses. The food was procured by gathering and hunting besides agriculture. Forest was not only their source of livelihood but it was abode of their deities and ancestors who were regularly worshipped. The forest also provided the minor forest produce which they used to collect whenever they found leisure or during off seasons. Women engaged more in collecting minor forest produce than the men and they also collected the firewood from the forest for the domestic consumption. Kolams depended on forest for edible roots and fruits available in different seasons. They collected *ippa puvvu* (*mohva* flower) during the month of March. It was used for preparing liquor and also used for consumption.

The Kolams say that now the availability of traditional food from the forest has become scarce or unavailable due to the introduction of mining in the tribal areas. Consequently, they have changed their food habits in the changed situation. The animals that they used to hunt have now disappeared due to SCCL mining. The traditional occupation of making baskets and other thatched objects has not been practiced in the resettled centers due to unavailability of wood or bamboo in the forest and thus they lost their employment. Their sentiments are hurt; suffer from emotional disturbance due to loss of attachment with the forest. This is more than their economic loss.

With the passage of time, their course of development shows that they have changed from the traditional practice of shifting cultivation to the settled agriculturalist. Athram Bheem Rao (38) says that in the earlier times, the state government has helped the Kolams in many ways. The government had given rights over lands that they had been cultivating through ages.

Further they were also provided with the bullocks on the subsidy through various sources. This is one of the reasons for their permanent settlement. Their contacts with the other surrounding tribals especially Gonds has also brought many changes in the cultivation methods and the usage of agricultural implements.

Agriculture was the main occupation for the Kolams before displacement, wherein in they used different techniques and methods for cultivation. Since there was no water facility for them, they had to depend on the rainfall. If there was plentiful of rainfall then they could get some returns from the agriculture otherwise they had to face difficult situation. The major crops grown were: paddy, maize, *jowar* and cotton etc., all the family members and relatives helped each other and took part together in the agricultural activities. Asifabad town was the main marketing centre for the Kolams. Cotton was one of the major crops which brought them the cash among the other crops. The yield of the crops depended upon the land and the rainfall. They did not worry about the investment that has to go into the agriculture because they took the help of their relatives during the agricultural activities. Generally, they preserved the seeds for the next year. In case, they did not have seed they got them from moneylenders with the promise to pay cash after the harvest and they sincerely paid after the harvest selling the crop in the market. But this kind of mutual help extended among Kolams during the agricultural activities has been lost after the displacement due to loss of land which resulted in becoming wage labour.

As the Kolams have lost their agricultural lands in the SCCL mining very few families are found depending on agriculture after the displacement. It is observed that the families who do not have bullocks depend on others on hire or exchange basis at the time of agricultural work. They get them from their own people or other non-tribals of Ontimamidi or other village. Most of the people have now turned as wage laborers after the displacement. The income earned through it is not sufficient for the food and also to fulfill the basic needs. The compensation received from the SCCL was spent for different purposes as explained in the previous chapter.

In the earlier days, there was barter system and now it has been replaced with the cash economy. There was difference between the old economy and the new economy introduced in the tribal societies. Now, everything is related to the individual's purchasing capacity from the market. Thus, collective activity has given way to the individual activity. The life was

peaceful and happy in the earlier times but with the introduction of cash system it has brought tensions in the life. The money paid as compensation to the Kolams has spoiled the tribes in many ways. The money they received from the SCCL was spent away lavishly.

Primary occupation

If we divide occupation into primary and secondary occupation, a majority of the Lambada population in the Goleti village is dependent on agriculture for the livelihood with reference to primary occupation. Apart from the SCCL employment or agriculture, or for that matter other than the primary occupation, they also depend on the other sources of livelihood like daily wage labors, petty business, driving, and employment in private and government offices. It can be seen from the Table 6.10 that primary occupation of 48 (5.8 percent) Lambadas to be the employment in SCCL, 92 (11.1 percent) of them depend on agriculture and 38 (4.6 percent) are daily wage laborers. About 23 (2.8 percent) of Lambadas are working in government organizations, 20 (2.4 percent) are working in private institutions and 27 (3.3 percent) are self employed and among them five run petty shops in Goleti village. In fact almost half of the Lambada population 43.8 percent is non-workers constituted by students, children and aged men and women. Among the workers, one finds the majority depend on the agriculture, followed by SCCL employment and daily wage labour.

In case of Kolams of Dhantanpally also among different primary occupations agriculture is the major primary occupation for 35 (11.2 percent) of them. Most of their agricultural land was lost in the SCCL mining. Some of them are depended on agriculture by cultivating the leased-in lands located in the nearby area that belonged to the non-tribal households. About 51 (16.3 percent), 5 (1.6 percent) and 31 (9.9 percent) among Kolams are engaged as daily wage labors, self employment and SCCL contract labors respectively. In the Dhantanpally village there are two petty shops (self employed) run by the Kolam. They sell different items like basic domestic consumables, *beedis*, biscuits and chocolates etc. The owner of the shop bring the items twice or thrice in a month from Asifabad town.

Table: 6.10. Primary Occupations

Primary occupation	Tribe			Total
	Lambada	Kolam	Others	
SCCL Employee	48	0	4	52
	5.8%	0.0%	2.4%	4.0%
Agriculture	92	35	5	132
	11.1%	11.2%	3.0%	10.1%
Daily wage labour	38	51	6	95
	4.6%	16.3%	3.6%	7.3%
House Wife	215	76	38	329
	25.9%	24.3%	22.8%	25.1%
Student	260	77	46	383
	31.3%	24.6%	27.5%	29.2%
Private employee	20	0	8	28
	2.4%	0.0%	4.8%	2.1%
Govt. Employee	23	2	1	26
	2.8%	.6%	.6%	2.0%
SCCL contract labour	0	31	0	31
	0.0%	9.9%	0.0%	2.4%
Self Employment	27	5	35	67
	3.3%	1.6%	21.0%	5.1%
Others	3	1	1	5
	.4%	.3%	.6%	.4%
NA	104	35	23	162
	12.5 %	11.2 %	13.8%	12.4 %
Total	830	313	167	1310
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Field Study

*Others include: Anganwadi ayya, ZPTC member, Sakshara Barathi, Vidya Volunteer (VV). Here non-workers come under the not applicable (NA) category include are old aged people (whose age is above 60) and children's (whose age is below 3).

It is clear that from the Table 6.10 there are no SCCL employees and employees of private institutions among the Kolams. There is no much difference between the two communities regarding the agricultural as the primary occupation. The number of daily wage laborers is high 51 (16.3 percent) among the Kolams when compared to Lambada 38 (4.6 percent). There are no SCCL contract laborers among the Lambadas whereas 31 (9.9 percent) of the Kolams are SCCL contract labors. Among the Kolams the non-workers constitute 41.3

percent; it means there is marginally less number of non-workers compared to the Lambada which means that there are more workers among the Kolams compared to the Lambada. It is only due to SCCL employees whose dependents do not work for a living.

It is observed from the Table 6.10 that about 31 (9.9 percent) of Kolams are working as casual labour in the SCCL whereas there are no Lambadas working in the SCCL Company as casual labour. The reason being there are no other jobs except SCCL as contract labor around their habitation for their lands were taken away by the SCCL. It is also very difficult for them to find other works relating to non-agricultural labour in the nearby areas. The Lambadas do not show interest to work in the SCCL as casual laborers because the wages paid are very less. The educational status of Lambadas is very high when compared with the Kolams so they can join in any private institution and earn good income instead of joining SCCL as casual laborers.

Generally, the company gives priority to the project affected families to work as casual labourers in the SCCL. This category is followed by former or retired employee's family members. There is no educational criterion for working as a casual labourer in the SCCL Company. Majority of the Kolams who are PAFs are illiterate so they are employed in the SCCL as casual laborers like sweepers of roads, cleaners of plates in canteens and levelers of coal on lorries etc., whereas the former employee's family members who are educated are working as assistants in the SCCL offices. The project affected families who are working as a casual laborers works under the direction of a supervisor. The wages paid to the casual laborers varies according to the gender and the type of work they do. So far, the company did not take any measures in regularization of the services of these casual employees. It ofcourse increases the salaries of these casual laborers for every two to three years.

Now it may be noted here that among the Lambada there is a transition from nomadic - trade - agriculture - employment in SCCL, private and public sectors, but among the Kolams there is no such change. They remain as agriculturalists; in fact they are down-graded to wage laborers from agriculturist status. If there is a transition it is from hunting-gathering to agriculture.

Secondary occupation

It is seen from the Table 6.11 that 93 (11.2 percent) of Lambadas are engaged in agriculture as their secondary occupation and 170 (20.5 percent) are daily wage laborers. Only two (2.2 percent) are self- employed among the Lambada community. About 15 (4.8 percent) of Kolams are chosen agriculture as their secondary occupation and 84 (26. 8 percent) are daily wage laborers. Only two (0.6 percent) of Kolams are working as SCCL contract labors. It can be seen from Table 6.11 that none of the Lambadas are engaged as SCCL contract laborers and there are no self- employed people among the Kolams. Thus, more number of Lambadas is engaged in agriculture along with SCCL employment, while majority of the Kolams are engaged in daily wage or contract labour work. Thus, the economic status of the Kolams has been deteriorated after the establishment of SCCL.

Table: 6.11. Secondary Occupations

Secondary occupation	Tribe			Total
	Lambada	Kolam	Others	
Agriculture	93	15	3	111
	11.2%	4.8%	1.8%	8.5%
Daily wage labor	170	84	16	270
	20.5%	26.8%	9.6%	20.6%
SCCL contract labor	0	2	0	2
	0.0%	.6%	0.0%	.2%
Old age/Children/Students	565	209	143	917
	68.1%	66.8%	85.6%	70.0%
Others	0	3	0	3
	0.0%	1.0%	0.0%	.2%
Self-employment	2	0	5	7
	.2%	0.0%	3.0%	.5%
Total	830	313	167	1310
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Field Study

It is observed that the Lambadas who are working in SCCL as permanent employees, government and private institutions also have agriculture as secondary occupation. They engage in agriculture whenever they get free time or the land is leased-out. The income they get from both the sources is very high when compared with the families who are depending on agriculture and daily wage labor. The Lambadas whose primary occupation is agriculture

are also depending on non-agricultural daily wage labor. With the availability of agricultural and non-agricultural works besides the SCCL employment the income that the Lambadas get is substantial when compared with the incomes of Kolams. It is observed that the Kolams who are depending on agriculture are also depending on the daily wage labor and the income they get from both the sources is low. The availability of less agricultural land and the non-availability of agricultural works are considered as the reasons for it. Kolams who do not possess agricultural land are depending on the daily wage labor as the main source of their livelihood. The wages paid to them also differ from both the tribes because of the location of the village.

Unlike Lambadas, Kolam were not benefitted from the MGNREGA scheme. After displacement they did not get new job cards due to the change of the village or Gram Panchayat. Kolams who are working in SCCL as contract laborers are also paid less wages. They are paid Rs. 150-200 per day. Here contract/casual labor work is from the company on contract basis and it may be extended further. The wages or salary is paid to them for every month while it is not the same with the daily wage labour. The daily wage laborers of the agricultural or non-agricultural activities get their wages on the same day after finishing the work. In some of the works like MGNREGA the wages are paid on regular basis for every 15 days. There is a high demand for the daily wage laborers during the peak seasons. Generally, the agricultural laborers are from their own village but when there is non-availability of laborers during peak seasons they are hired from outside village also. The members who do not possess agricultural land work as agricultural labors in the village, they work for eight hours per day carrying out different agricultural activities. Unlike Lambadas, Kolams do not have enough money and also do not show interest to invest money on self-employment activities. It is observed that about 29 (3.5 percent) of Lambadas are engaged in the self-employed occupations whereas five (1.6 percent) of Kolams are depending on self-employment. Education is one of the major drawbacks among the Kolams why they could not access to either public or private employment.

Income

The data about the annual incomes of the two tribes show that the majority of the high income households are from Lambada; 46 (27.1 percent) households of the Lambada earn above three lakh rupees per annum. About 37 (21.8 percent) and 32 (18.8 percent) of the

Lambada households earn between Rs. 50,001-1,00,000 and Rs. 1,00,001-1,50,000 respectively. While about 25 (14.7 percent) earn less than Rs. 50,000 annually. About 18 (10.6 percent), eight (4.7 percent) and four (2.4 percent) of the Lambada households earn income between Rs. 1,50,001-2,00,000, Rs. 2,00,001-2,50,000 and Rs. 2,50,001-3,00,000 respectively.

It can be seen from the Table 6.12 that 38 (52.8 percent) of the Kolam households earn Rs. 50,001-1,00,000 and 22 (30.6 percent) households earn Rs. 1,00,001-1,50,000 per annum. Three (4.2 percent), two (2.8 percent) and one (1.4 percent) household are earning between Rs. 1,50,001-2,00,000, Rs. 2,50,001-3,00,000 and Rs. 2,00,001-2,50,000 respectively. The Table 6.12 shows that five (6.9 percent) of Kolam households are earning below Rs. 50,000 and one (1.4 percent) household is earning above Rs. 3,00,000 which is very less when compared with the Lambadas 46 (27.1 percent). Thus, there is a clear difference of income between these two tribes. This can be explained in terms of primary and secondary occupations pursued by these two groups as discussed above.

Table: 6.12. Income details

Annual Income in Rs.	Tribe			Total
	Lambada	Kolam	Others	
Below 50,000	25	5	7	37
	14.7%	6.9%	17.5%	13.1%
50,001-1,00,000	37	38	12	87
	21.8%	52.8%	30.0%	30.9%
1,00,001-1,50,000	32	22	4	58
	18.8%	30.6%	10.0%	20.6%
1,50,001-2,00,000	18	3	7	28
	10.6%	4.2%	17.5%	9.9%
2,00,001-2,50,000	8	1	3	12
	4.7%	1.4%	7.5%	4.3%
2,50,001-3,00,000	4	2	3	9
	2.4%	2.8%	7.5%	3.2%
Above 3,00,000	46	1	4	51
	27.1%	1.4%	10.0%	18.1%
Total	170	72	40	282
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Field Study

*Minimum income per annum is 12000

The average annual income of Lambada is Rs. 2, 38,038.33 whereas the average annual income of Kolam is 1, 02,374.30. Thus Kolams' average income is less than half of the average income of the Lambadas. Thus it can be said that Kolams are worse affected by the establishment of SCCL when compared with the Lambadas of Goleti village.

Debts

Out of 172 households, 144 (84.7 percent) of Lambadas are having the debts. But it is interesting to find that the majority 65 (90.3 percent) of Kolams do not have the debts and only seven (9.7 percent) of Kolams have reported debts. It is clear that the difference in the debts between the Lambadas and Kolams is huge. The Lambada tribe has more debts when compared to the Kolams due to the reason that they want to raise the present standard of living in relation to their aspirations. They generally go for loans at the time of agriculture season. They have certain immovable assets such as agricultural land and house which helps them to get loans easily from the money lenders or banks as these can be mortgaged. Kolams do not show any interest towards fulfilling aspirations as most of them are poor; they meet their basic needs through daily wages. They do not care much about savings except for the purpose of rituals and ceremonies. Generally, the Kolams spend whatever they earn through different sources or livelihoods on the same day to meet their daily needs. They are content with whatever they have at the present and it is interesting to observe that most of them do not have any high aspirations which are quite opposite to that of Lambadas. They believe in living a happy life by spending most of the money earned without saving them for tomorrow. The spending includes not only toward fulfilling the basic needs but also for drinking country liquor and smoking. The family and relatives among the Kolams are mostly poor and of equal in standard of living so there is no reciprocity of debts among them. Since they are poor and lack any assets to get loans either from the bank or money lenders. There is no practice of dowry among the Kolams, but Lambadas give dowry to their daughters which often lead to borrowing. The desire to be like non-tribes in terms of having *pucca* houses, good education for children which include sending children to professional course and coaching institutions require more money than their earnings at one point of time.

Table: 6.13. Extent of Debt

Extent of debt in Rs.	Tribe			Total
	Lambada	Kolam	Others	
Below 50,000	30	4	7	41
	20.8%	57.1%	33.3%	23.8%
50,001 to 1,00,000	43	2	8	53
	29.9%	28.6%	38.1%	30.8%
1,00,001 to 1,50,000	9	0	1	10
	6.3%	0.0%	4.8%	5.8%
1,50,001 to 2,00,000	24	0	3	27
	16.7%	0.0%	14.3%	15.7%
2,00,001 to 2,50,000	1	0	0	1
	.7%	0.0%	0.0%	.6%
2,50,001 to 3,00,000	15	1	1	17
	10.4%	14.3%	4.8%	9.9%
Above 3,00,000	22	0	1	23
	15.3%	0.0%	4.8%	13.4%
Total	144	7	21	172
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Field Study

As to the extent of loans, about 30 (20.8 percent) households of Lambadas and four (57.1 percent) of Kolams have debt below Rs. 50,000. About 43 (29.9 percent) households of Lambadas and two (28.6 percent) of Kolams have debt between Rs. 50,001 to Rs. 1,00,000. Similarly, 34 (23.7 percent) of Lambadas have debts between Rs. 1,00,001 to Rs. 2,50,000. About 15 (10.4 percent) households of Lambadas and one (14.3 percent) of Kolams are having debt between Rs. 2,50,001 to Rs. 3,00,000. About 22 (15.3 percent) households of Lambadas have debts above Rs. 3,00,000. One of the interesting point is that majority of the Lambadas have debts in the range of Rs. 50,001 to rupees 3 lakh whereas Kolams two (28.6 percent) have debts between Rs. 50,001 to Rs. 1,00,000.

Jangu Naik (Pseudo name), 51 years is a Lambada, studied up to fifth class and a resident of Goleti village. He is having two sons and a daughter while his wife is a home maker. At present, he is working as an SCCL employee in the open cast mine at Khairagura. He has purchased 10 acres of agricultural land about 20-30 years ago. Since he is an SCCL employee he does not get time to look after his agricultural lands. So, half of the land has been leased out to his community members while the remaining land is cultivated by him with the help of his family members.

His income per month is Rs. 50, 000 and it will be even more if he works over time. The amount which he earns is spent on the domestic needs, education of his children, health and agricultural investment. His two sons have completed their B.Tech courses and now they are in search of employment. His only daughter is pursuing graduation. Through his relatives when a good marriage proposal was come and she was married in 2014 by giving a dowry of Rs 15 lakhs to the bridegroom which is considered very huge for their standard. His son-in-law is a probationary officer in the State Bank of India (SBI). To meet the expenses of the marriage he has borrowed five lakh rupees from his non-tribal friends for this with the interest rate of three percent. Further, his wife's brother who is also working in the SCCL lent him another five lakh rupees without any interest. This shows how close relatives come to help each other at the needy hour. The remaining money was from his savings. It is observed that with the improved communication, kinship network and ties with the other people; they are able to meet their financial needs. Certainly, this kind of relations helps the individuals to get the work done on time especially during the shortage of money. He says "Whenever there is any need of money I get help from my SCCL non-tribal friends. Because of working in SCCL only I will be able to repay the debts borrowed from others as well as from relatives on installment basis."

The above mentioned case study shows the borrowing of money from friends and there are few other such cases found in the village. Ram Naik (Pseudo name), 46 years, is also a Lambada who is an illiterate and a resident of Goleti village. He is a farmer and has two sons who had completed Bachelor's degree at Mancherial Town. He has two wives who remain in house. Since the first wife did not have any children he got married to another woman. He is having five acres of dry agricultural land. Earlier his joint family had more than 15 acres of land but when it is distributed among the brothers he got five acres of land as his share. In the year 2013-14, he borrowed Rs. 50,000 crop loan which he spent on agriculture. With the influence of local leaders in the village he got the crop loans from the banks without any delay. He in fact had a problem of getting money from the Deccan Grammena Bank at Goleti Township but he was able to overcome this with the involvement of a leader. He has repaid entire amount on installment basis from the profit gained out of agriculture. He generally cultivates the crops whichever is of giving more profits. It is seen that most of the farmers cultivate cotton as one of the major crop. He said that he has incurred lots of investment on

digging a bore well in his agricultural field. Digging a bore well is a costly affair as it involves costly machinery and technical labors.

He borrowed Rs. 1, 00,000 from the village money lender who is a SCCL employee on an interest rate of two rupees for his children's career. His sons are taking coaching for the competitive exams in Hyderabad by staying in a hostel, and therefore he spends lot of money to meet their needs like paying mess bills, internet, books and other stationary items. He said, "I am not educated and I am struggling a lot to provide good education for my children. I have to spend money for the settlement of my children because I find a number of educated people in the village well settled by securing government jobs. They are having a better financial status as they get regular salary. So, I want my children also to get good educational I want them to get government jobs." He believes that once they get government jobs it will be easy to clear the debts and at the same time he is also having the social pressure for clearing debts. He said that he had more than one lakh rupees of debts so he has to work day and night in order to clear the debts. The above mentioned case study shows the borrowing of money from money lenders for the children's life settlement. They are not hesitating to borrow money for their children's education and career. There are several of such cases observed in the village.

Athram Raju, 36 years is a Kolam of R and R Ontimamidi centre. He is educated up to upper primary and working as a casual labour in the SCCL. He is having a son and a daughter who are studying second and seventh class and his wife is a house wife. He had five acres of land which was lost in the SCCL mining. The company paid compensation for the said land for about Rs. 80,000 per acre. After displacement he and his brother have purchased three acres of land at the Chirrakunta village with the compensation in 2011 and have been cultivating together since then. The net income earned is shared among themselves.

He has admitted his children in the Ashram school at Asifabad Town and wanted to provide them good education. He actually sends their children to a private school, as he feels it will be a heavy burden to meet the expenditure on food, clothing, books and hostel fee etc. Borrowing money for Kolams is a very difficult task because they do not have any assets like land or government job or permanent job in SCCL. Generally, money lenders will give money only based on the assets that they possess. Since Kolams are deprived of all these assets no money lender or banks is willing to extend loans to Kolams except in rare cases.

Even the life style of Kolams is very simple they do not have aspirations in life to have a better life and better financial status which enables higher and better standards of living.

Here Raju has approached a non-tribal friend who is a money lender by profession. Because of their long term friendship he could lend the money on faith and wanted Raju to repay the amount in installments. He borrowed Rs. 60,000 from the non-tribal friend for the purpose of agriculture at the rate of two percent interest. At some point of time he could not repay the money borrowed from his friend which has added some pressure because of increasing interest. But finally he could clear it in due course of time. He said he cannot borrow money from their own community members because they are also equally poor like him. In such, situations it is very difficult to borrow money from anyone in order to meet the needs. This case study reveals that it is common among the Kolams to be happy with whatever they are earning and do not have any high aspirations like Lambadas.

Borrowing money is common among the Lambadas for the reasons mentioned above. The sources of debts are like money lenders, banks, friends and relatives, co-operatives and chits. In some cases there is single source of borrowing, but in some other, there are multiple sources of borrowing. However, the Table 6.14 shows the main sources such as: banks, friends and relatives are the major source of debts among the Lambadas. About nine (5.30 percent) households of Lambadas and four (5.60 percent) households of Kolams took the loan from money lenders. Majority i.e., 121 (71.20 percent) of Lambada households and very few i.e., one (1.40 percent) of Kolam households borrowed from friends and relatives. About 64 (37.60 percent) households of Lambadas and two (2.80 percent) of Kolam households borrowed from banks whereas four (2.40 percent) and one (0.6 percent) of Lambada households borrowed from cooperative societies and chits respectively. In case of Lambadas the major source of borrowing is from friends and relatives who are relatively well off. The next important source in this regard is bank. In case of the Kolams the dependency on relatives for debts is very less, i.e., one (1.4 percent) because their relatives are also equally poor like them and unable to extend any help. The banks prefer giving loans to the Lambadas rather than Kolams because the repaying capacity among the Lambadas is higher whereas it is less among the Kolams.

Table: 6.14. Source of Debt

Source of debt	Tribe			Total
	Lambada	Kolam	Others	
Moneylenders	9	4	9	22
	5.30%	5.60%	22.50%	7.80%
Friends and relatives	121	1	14	136
	71.20%	1.40%	35.00%	48.20%
Banks	64	2	3	69
	37.60%	2.80%	7.50%	24.50%
Cooperative societies	4	0	0	4
	2.40%	0.00%	0.00%	1.40%
Chits	1	0	0	1
	0.60%	0.00%	0.00%	0.40%

Source: Field Study **N= 170** **N=72** **N=40** **N=282**

Out of 172 households who are in debts, 157 are paying interest to the amounts that they have borrowed. The rate of interest ranges from 0.25 percent to 5 percent that different sources charge. However, the majority of the borrowers are paying around three percent interest. The Table 6.15 shows the details about the purpose of borrowing money by the Lambadas and Kolams. Though money is borrowed mainly for one or two purposes, it may be spent for different purposes. These communities are borrowing money for various purposes like health, house construction, domestic needs, rituals and ceremonies etc. However, the Table 6.15 shows the major head of spending the borrowed money. It is said that 75 (44.1 percent), 36 (21.2 percent) and 26 (15.3 percent) of Lambadas are borrowing money for agriculture, marriage and health respectively. Similarly, 19 (11.2 percent) and 17 (10 percent) of Lambadas are using borrowed money for education, domestic goods and construction respectively.

Table: 6.15. Purpose of Borrowing Money

Purpose of taking debt	Tribe			Total
	Lambada	Kolam	Others	
Health	26	3	6	35
	15.3%	4.2%	15.0%	12.4%
House construction	17	0	4	21
	10.0%	0.0%	10.0%	7.4%
Marriage	36	2	6	44
	21.2%	2.8%	15.0%	15.6%
Religious ceremonies	0	2	0	2
	0.0%	2.8%	0.0%	.7%
Education	19	0	2	21
	11.2%	0.0%	5.0%	7.4%
Domestic goods	17	1	4	22
	10.0%	1.4%	10.0%	7.8%
Agriculture	75	1	4	80
	44.1%	1.4%	10.0%	28.4%
Land purchased	4	0	2	6
	2.4%	0.0%	5.0%	2.1%
Vehicle	1	2	0	3
	.6%	2.8%	0.0%	1.1%
Job	1	0	0	1
	.6%	0.0%	0.0%	.4%
Shop	2	0	1	3
	1.2%	0.0%	2.5%	1.1%
Total	198	11	29	238
	83.2%	4.6%	12.2 %	100%

Source: Field Study N= 170 N=72 N=40 N=282

Utilization of Government benefits

The most substantial benefit of the government from its affirmative action that the tribes have been enjoying is the reservation policy. They are able to secure employment, get admission into educational institutions and obtain loans from banks. Majority of the Goleti Lambadas are aware of the government schemes and programmes which are meant for the uplift of the tribal communities. But it is quite opposite in case of Kolams; they do not have much awareness about such schemes and programmes.

The Table 6.16 illustrate that various benefits availed by the two groups from the Government. About 98 households out of 170 (56.5 percent) of Lambadas and 39 households out of 72 (54.2 percent) of Kolams have used the reservation in getting admission into schools and colleges. About 55 households (32.4 percent) of Lambadas and 28 households (38.9 percent) of Kolams are benefitted by getting admission into hostels. It is observed that 36 households out of 170 (21.2 percent) of Lambadas and one household out of 72 (1.4 percent) of Kolams have availed pre-metric scholarships; thus it may be observed the Lambadas are able to take advantage of the pre-metric scholarships when compared to the Kolams. Only five out of 170 (2.9 percent) households of Lambadas are benefitted through post-metric scholarships but none of the Kolams is benefitted by it. About 55 (32.4 percent) households of Lambadas have made use of the housing scheme of the government while 65 (90.3 percent) households of Kolams have constructed houses with the money received from the SCCL. The government has provided housing sites to three (1.8 percent) households of Lambadas but 70 (97.2 percent) of Kolams obtained house sites through SCCL. This is quite understandable because, the Goleti village has not been displaced by the SCCL. While 51 (30 percent) households of Lambadas are beneficiaries of employment in government offices while only two (2.8 percent) of Kolams are employed in Government institutions. About two (1.2 percent) of Lambadas are benefitted by ST Corporation and 101 (59.4 percent) of them are benefitted through bank loans, only three (4.2 percent) of Kolams are benefitted through banking services.

Kolams accuse Lambadas for grabbing all the employment opportunities and benefits from the government for which they actually do not deserve because the Lambadas are not the real scheduled tribes; they had migrated from Rajasthan and getting all kinds of benefits from the government. Due to numerical strength the Lambadas have been enjoying all the advantages from the state government schemes whereas the Kolams who are few in numbers are lagging behind due to lack of political power and contact with the officials. But this is not the case with the Lambadas they have good relations with the political leaders, SCCL and government officials. The state government has been providing old-age pension of Rs. 1,000 per month for those who have crossed 60 years of age. Similarly, the physically challenged people are provided with Rs. 1500 pension every month. There are total 224 people in the Goleti village getting benefits under various welfare schemes such as old age, physically challenged and widow pensions.

Table: 6.16. Government benefits based on the category

Government Benefits	Tribe			Total
	Lambada	Kolam	Others	
Reservation in admission into school/college/education institution	96	39	20	155
	56.5%	54.2%	50.0%	55.0%
Admission into hostels	55	28	7	90
	32.4%	38.9%	17.5%	31.9%
Pre-metric scholarships	36	1	8	45
	21.2%	1.4%	20.0%	16.0%
Post-metric scholarships	5	0	1	6
	2.9%	0.0%	2.5%	2.1%
House	55	65	15	135
	32.4%	90.3%	37.5%	47.9%
House-site	3	70	0	73
	1.8%	97.2%	0.0%	25.9%
Employment	51	2	4	57
	30.0%	2.8%	10.0%	20.2%
ST Corporation	2	0	0	2
	1.2%	0.0%	0.0%	.7%
Bank Loans	101	3	14	118
	59.4%	4.2%	35.0%	41.8%

Source: Field Study N= 170 N=72 N=40 N=282

Development of Women and Children in Rural Areas (DWCRA)

The following is the list of Self Help Groups (SHGs) in the Goleti village: Ganesh, Ayyappa Swamy, Bhavani, Santhoshi matha, Dhanalaxmi, Sri Laxmi, Vinayaka, Baba, Jai Sai, Jai Seva, Saiseva, Shyanki matha, Anjaneya, Jai Sevalal, Jagadamba, Banjara Sevalal and Balunaik. Out of 17 SHGs in the village only eight groups are functioning while the remaining ones are stopped due to non-payment of money borrowed or contributions.

It is observed that wives of the SCCL workers are active participants of SHGs for they pay the monthly contributions without any delay but this is not the case with some of the non-SCCL families. As a result, some of the SHGs stopped functioning in the village. The main aim of the SHG scheme is to improve the economic status of the rural poor women by the creation of women groups for income-generating activities for supplementing their incomes. The participants in a group should be below the poverty line. Under the Integrated Rural

Development Programme (I.R.D.P) loans are given to the SHGs that are performing very well. This is one kind of self-employment for the SHGs. Each group consists of 15 members including one president and one secretary. These two office bearers are responsible for the activities of the group. The Village Organizer (VO) oversees the SHGs in the village and organizes meeting of the SHGs.

The Community Activist collects the contribution of Rs. 100/- from every member in every month, and the president of each group deposits the money in Deccan Grameena Bank in the account of the group. These groups borrow some money once a year from the Deccan Grameena Bank at Goleti Township which is distributed equally among the group members. This borrowed amount is repaid in a monthly installment of Rs. 100/- and the beneficiaries utilize it for various purposes based on their requirements such as investing on agriculture like buying seeds and pesticides etc.

Under the government's development schemes like DWCRA and crop loan only 181 (63.6 Percent) households got benefitted. The transactions of two tribe's shows that out of 131 households among the Lambadas 49 (37.4 percent) of them borrowed the loan less than Rs. 20,000. About 19 (14.5 percent) and 30 (22.9 percent) of Lambadas have borrowed between Rs. 20,001 and 40,000 and between Rs. 40,001 to 60,000 respectively. About 28 (21.3 percent) of Lambada have borrowed between Rs. 60,001 to 1,40,000 and only five (3.8 percent) have borrowed the money above Rs. 1,40,000. These 131 Lambada households have spent the borrowed amount largely on agriculture 91 (53.5 percent) and domestic needs 27 (15.9 percent) while little was spent on house construction five (2.9 percent), marriage three (1.8 percent), self employment three (1.8 percent), health two (1.2 percent) and education one (0.6 percent).

In case of Kolams, out of 22 households, 21 (95.5 percent) of them took loan less than Rs. 20,000. Fewer are Kolam households that borrowed more than Rs. 20,000. Unlike Lambadas the Kolams spent the borrowed amount on the domestic needs 12 (16.7 percent). Few spent on agriculture, seven (9.7 percent) and on animal husbandry six (8.3 percent).

Table: 6.17. Amount borrowed under government development scheme

Amount	Tribe			Total
	Lambada	Kolam	Others	
Below 20,000	49	21	19	89
	37.4%	95.5%	67.9%	49.2%
20,001 to 40,000	19	0	5	24
	14.5%	0.0%	17.9%	13.3%
40,001 to 60,000	30	0	1	31
	22.9%	0.0%	3.6%	17.1%
60,001 to 80,000	9	0	3	12
	6.9%	0.0%	10.7%	6.6%
80,001 to 1,00,000	5	1	0	6
	3.8%	4.5%	0.0%	3.3%
1,00,001 to 1,20,000	7	0	0	7
	5.3%	0.0%	0.0%	3.9%
1,20,001 to 1,40,000	7	0	0	7
	5.3%	0.0%	0.0%	3.9%
Above 1,40,000	5	0	0	5
	3.8%	0.0%	0.0%	2.8%
Total	131	22	28	181
	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

Source: Field Study

Material possessions

To understand the socio-economic status of the two tribal groups we may also examine the material possessions that they have. The Table 6.18 shows the details regarding the material possessions. About 77 (45.3 percent) of Lambada households possess bullock carts, 118 (69.5 percent) possess cattle which include bullocks, oxen and goats. About 26 (15.3 percent) of Lambada households possess bicycle, 73 (42.9 percent) possess motor bike and four (2.4 percent) possess four wheelers. About 101 (59.4 percent) of Lambadas possess furniture. About 145 (85.3 percent) of Lambadas possess television sets. About 58 (34.1 percent) of Lambada households possess refrigerators and coolers. About 12 (7.1 percent) of Lambadas households have music system. About 157 (92.4 percent) of Lambadas possess mobile phones. About 76 (44.7 percent) of Lambadas possess almarahs. Only eight (4.7 percent) of Lambadas own dressing table. Regarding the heavy vehicles like auto-rickshaw and tractor, four (2.4 percent) of Lambadas possess them.

Table: 6.18. Material possessions based on the category

Material Possessions	Category			Total
	Lambada	Kolam	Others	
Bullock cart	77	20	1	98
	45.3%	27.8%	2.5%	34.8%
Pair of bullocks	20	0	0	20
	11.8%	0.0%	0.0%	7.1%
Pair of oxen	80	33	1	114
	47.1%	45.8%	2.5%	40.4%
Goats	18	15	1	34
	10.6%	20.8%	2.5%	12.1%
Bicycle	26	0	10	36
	15.3%	0.0%	25.0%	12.8%
Motor bike	73	4	15	92
	42.9%	5.6%	37.5%	32.6%
Four wheeler	4	0	1	5
	2.4%	0.0%	2.5%	1.8%
Furniture	101	5	15	121
	59.4%	6.9%	37.5%	42.9%
Television	145	20	34	199
	85.3%	27.8%	85.0%	70.6%
Sewing machine	2	0	3	5
	1.2%	0.0%	7.5%	1.8%
Refrigerator	58	0	11	69
	34.1%	0.0%	27.5%	24.5%
Music system	12	2	0	14
	7.1%	2.8%	0.0%	5.0%
Mobile	157	31	37	225
	92.4%	43.1%	92.5%	79.8%
Cooler	58	0	17	75
	34.1%	0.0%	42.5%	26.6%
Almarah	76	2	17	95
	44.7%	2.8%	42.5%	33.7%
Dressing table	8	0	1	9
	4.7%	0.0%	2.5%	3.2%
Auto	4	1	1	6
	2.4%	1.4%	2.5%	2.1%
Tractor	0	3	0	3
	0.0%	4.2%	0.0%	1.1%
Total	919	136	165	1220
	75.3%	11.1%	13.5%	100%

About 20 (27.8 percent) of Kolam households possess bullock carts, 48 (66.6 percent) cattle which includes bullocks, oxen and goats. Only four (5.6 percent) possess motor bike, five (6.9 percent) of Kolams have furniture. About 20 (27.8 percent) of Kolams own television sets. Only two (2.8 percent) have music system. About 31 (43.1 percent) own the mobiles, two (2.8 percent) of Kolams possess almarah. Only one (1.4 percent) of Kolams own auto whereas three (4.2 percent) of Kolams possess tractor. On the whole, it is observed that the Lambadas possess more material assets than the Kolams. These material items no doubt indicate the Lambadas economic status.

Religion

There are three religious groups in these villages, and the majority is Hindu 280 (99.3 percent). There is one Christian (0.4 percent) and one Muslim (0.4 percent) household in Goleti village whereas in Dhantanpally all of them claim as Hindu.

Table: 6.19. Religion

Religion	Village name		Total
	Goleti	Dhantanpally	
Hindu	208	72	280
	99.0%	100.0%	99.3%
Christian	1	0	1
	.5%	0.0%	.4%
Muslims	1	0	1
	.5%	0.0%	.4%
Total	210	72	282
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Field Study

Chapter 7

IMPACT OF MINING AND RESPONSE OF LAMBADA AND KOLAM

This chapter discusses the impact of SCCL coal mining on the Lambada and Kolam tribal communities in detail. In the previous chapter the changes that have taken place in Goleti Lambada Thanda and Dhantanpally Kolam Gudem are analysed in the context of coal mining in the area. These changes point out the socio-economic conditions of the communities in these villages in the post mining period. This chapter attempts to describe impact of SCCL in Goleti area on community in general and the environment. This is followed by the responses of these communities, and it is clear that while the Lambadas' positive reaction and adaptability to the industrial environment has benefitted them, while the negative reaction of the Kolam and their withdrawal into the forest has not benefitted them. Now it is necessary to explain why there is difference in the responses of these two communities. This chapter tries to account for the responses of the tribes; these kinds of behaviour seem to have been developed through different historical experiences of these two communities.

Over the years the winds of change are blowing, though in a slower pace, owing to universal forces of modernization and globalization, across the country and state, Adilabad district has not been an exception despite of it being largely forested and rural in its background. The establishment of coal mines in the district however in certain respects has speeded up some of these changes. It is actually very difficult to separate these two factors of change - universal and establishment of coal mines. The changes due to the latter are considered impact of it on geography and families and individuals. Studying these changes could have been a separate project applying more sophisticated methodological strategies. But for the present it follows the assumption that as this area has been changing due to universal causes applicable to all within the state and country, thus these factors of change remain constant. Given this understanding, the differences between Goleti area and other areas can be taken as differential indicators of change. Ideally it would have been better strategy to have recorded the situations or conditions before the establishment of coal mines as bench mark data, and study the same after the establishment of the same. This would have given better assessment of change or the impact of the SCCL. But there was no such opportunity, neither is there any bench mark data available. The alternative strategy available is to rely upon the method of recollection; the respondents have to give information about the aspects of life before the

establishment of coal mines in comparison with the present situation. But in this verifiability of the information of the past remains as a problem. But this is the only method available for the present.

Impact of the SCCL

The Goleti area which comes under the administrative control of Komrambhim district in Telangana state, bordering Maharashtra state, was part of Dandakarnya in historical times. It has long stretch of hills, forests and rivers. Godavari River meanders through the district along with several of its tributaries. It is sparsely populated compared to plain areas of the district. More than fifty percent of the population comes under the category of scheduled tribe. This, in terms of socio-economic profile, is backward compared to other districts of the state. Given this background the coal mines of SCCL has impacted the geography, landscape and population. The chapter 4 has provided the details of the coal mines established in this area. As mentioned earlier 21 villages are affected in three mine areas - Goleti, Dorli - 1 and Dorli - 2 and about 742 families belonging to Kolam, Gond, BCs and Lambada are affected. Of the 21 villages affected 18 villages are resettled and rehabilitated in nine centres, and of the 742 families, 641 are rehabilitated. The previous chapter gives the socio-economic profiles indicating some important changes in the lives of one village i.e., Goleti which was not displaced and another village i.e., Dhantanpally which was resettled and rehabilitated. As Lambada of Goleti got some benefits of SCCL in contrast the Kolams of Dhantanpally did not get much benefit.

One visible impact of coal mines in the area is change of land scape and connectivity of Goleti with the rest of the world. The village Goleti is 25-30 kilometre away from the Bellampally and Asifabad towns and 5 kilometres away from the Rebbena mandal. The TSRTC buses ply thrice a day on this road to Mancherial. The buses from Goleti X road ply on this road to Asifabad, Mancherial, Khagaznagar and Hyderabad. The nearest railway station is Asifabad X road railway station which is 5 kilometre distance from the village. The other nearest railway stations near to the village are Sirpur Khagaznagar railway station and Bellampally railway station. The other transport facilities used by the village are cycles, motor vehicles and auto.

The establishment of coal mines brought in different types of facilities in the Goleti area and Rebbena Mandal such as shops, post office, ATM centres, bank, temple, library, markets and

function hall etc., thus urbanization has been set in motion. On every Thursday there is a weekly market (*shandies*) at the Goleti Township which is the main market for the people in the surrounding villages. People from different villages visit the market for getting the necessary commodities. This serves as one of the crucial platforms for interaction and contact of tribals with the non-tribals.

It may be noted here that as long as underground mining was done, there was no much disturbances as the land acquisition did not cause great problem, and the villages were not disturbed. However, the underground mining had seriously affected the health of the workers and it was also always a threat to lives. The open cast mining has badly affected the landscape in that the forest coverage has been lost, it resulted in acquisition of large extent of land consequently relocation of villages, breaking of families and so on. Further, it has been causing air pollution, water pollution and environmental degradation. The health of the employees as well as those not working in the mines has also been affected, causing deterioration of health.

Impact on Lambada

The establishment of SCCL in Bellampally area that includes Goleti and Madaram, in 1928 initiated quick changes in the surrounding villages around Rebbena and Thandur Mandal of Adilabad district. It has led to migration of various groups to the industrial areas and the settling of non-tribal populations who have occupied this area that had been earlier inhabited completely by tribes. The village Goleti came into existence more than hundred years ago. Informants say at that time this area was covered by forest with full of huge trees and bushes. When mining started in 1970s slowly the forest disappeared either by the SCCL or non-tribes. In the past, Goleti was a small tribal (Lambada) hamlet comprising of little more than fifty households. When they migrated to this village they slowly settled down one after the other by constructing semi-*pucca* and *kutchha* houses. At the time the Lambadas in the area primarily depended on minor forest produce and breeding of cows and selling milk. They gradually started clearing the forest and cultivation. But after the cultivation they moved from place to place in short distance grazing the cattle i.e., cows and bulls though few families at some place. Later one by one depended on agriculture and maintained less number of cattle. Some took up non-agricultural activities in the non-tribal villages also. Finally they permanently got settled down in the Thandas. As they lived for some years in close contact

with the non-tribal agriculturists, they learnt the agricultural techniques from them. Then later on, the main occupation for the Lambadas became the agriculture.

When mining has come into existence it is observed that there is a shift from the traditional occupation to the industrial labour. This is not a sudden shift for all of them, but it depended on the situation. Some slowly have got adapted to the mining. When coal mining started in the surrounding areas of Goleti some of the Lambadas showed interest to work with the SCCL when the SCCL officials had approached them. Then later on, the other Lambadas in the village also got jobs in SCCL. At that time there was heavy drought condition in Goleti village, so, many people have migrated to different places in search of employment. Though it was scary to work in the underground mine as accidents of caving in and chemical explosions, some Lambada took courage to work in the coal mine instead migrating to different places. Getting job in the SCCL was easy in the initial days but many people were afraid to work in the SCCL. Actually some accidents did take place resulting some deaths. However, several of the Lambada men did not hesitate to work in the coal mining for Lambadas maintained good physical strength. Their dependency on cow's milk and milk products perhaps has helped in this regard. But the other tribes especially Kolams from the surrounding villages were afraid to work in the mining industry. They are not strong like Lambadas to withstand the hardships of the mining.

The recruitment in the SCCL in the past was based on physical efficiency test like lifting the sand bags and continuous target sit-ups without taking a break, short running etc. There was no age limit. Later on, they have also changed the test with long run of two kilometres. The idea for changing the physical test was to avoid the candidates practising the same test. The company also introduced the need of being sponsored by the district employment exchange. Then they also demanded education and technical qualifications. Thus getting employment and promotion also in the SCCL became very competitive.

As mentioned earlier since 1970s the mining operations started in Goleti area and gradually the open mining spread across other villages leading to acquisition large extent of land and displacement of villages etc., and by 2004-05 including Dhantanpally nine rehabilitation centres came into existence. Thus, with the increased operations of mining the establishments at Goleti increased with the office of General Manager, employee's quarters, hospital, community hall and school etc., and Goleti grew into a township. The number of employees,

skilled, semi-skilled and daily wage workers also increased. The company provided training to the semi-skilled and changed their category to skilled that followed promotions and higher salaries. The daily wage workers also became permanent employees with more salary with paid holidays, health benefits, retirement benefits etc. The working in mines is no longer considered that hazardous due to safety taken by the company. Thus SCCL jobs are sought after, and they have become very competitive.

The company has paid the compensation depending upon the market value for the land. It also gave the option of employment in SCCL instead of paying the compensation. The Lambadas quickly realized that working in SCCL was much better than working elsewhere; they were ready to work even as daily wage workers as after sometime they can get regular employment. So several of them opted regular or daily wage employment instead of compensation to the lands. There was more intake of land losers in the SCCL from the affected villages who were both tribes and non-tribes. But later the situation changed as there are surplus numbers of employees. Then the company started giving more compensation to the affected families to overcome the excess man power in SCCL Company. The non-tribes who migrated to this place slowly got settled down at this place due to the establishment of different market business.

In the beginning the income of the daily wagers in the mines was very low when compared with the agricultural labourers. But the only benefit of working in the SCCL mines was they could get work round the year which is not the case with the agriculture. But later the income levels of the SCCL workers have increased when their basic pay was fixed or when the daily wager became regular employees. At present the SCCL employees are earning more than Rs. 40,000 to Rs. 50,000 per month. Among the SCCL workers there are different categories like skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled. The people who are educated are working as skilled employees whereas the people who are not educated are working as unskilled and semi-skilled. The wages are paid depending upon the category or nature of work assigned to them. The recruitment of Lambadas working in the SCCL mines has also increased from the past to the present. The Lambadas who are working in SCCL are economically in a better position when compared with the non-SCCL Lambada families.

Lambadas of Goleti village who had held agriculture as their main occupation improved their agriculture with tractors that they purchased with compensation by disposing off their

bullocks and bullock-carts. The Lambadas who possessed lands and also got employment in the SCCL the agriculture became secondary occupation, and carried out their cultivation engaging farm servant on annual wage. The women in the family have to attend the agricultural works and also engage in the household activities. This is one of the reasons why women are considered as the great assets in the economic activities. The Lambadas are also engaged in the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA) that provided employment for 100 days during the off seasons. So, apart from the SCCL workers, majority of the people in the village are depending upon the agriculture and non-agricultural activities for their survival. It is observed that the SCCL employees are not sending their wives to the daily wage labourers instead they work in their own agricultural works. The SCCL employees are earning more money so they don't want to send their wives as daily wage workers because it is a matter of their status. Getting labour for the agricultural activities has become a great problem for the Lambada because everyone is busy in that season. The SCCL Lambadas are paying high wages to the labour to get their work done which is affecting the other non-SCCL families. The average labour wage after the post mining phase is very high when compared in the pre-mining phase.

In Goleti area Lambadas are economically and politically dominant among the tribes, engaged as industrial workers, agriculturists, agricultural labour and non-agricultural labour. In terms of employment they are better off in the post SCCL era compared to others as they are employed in SCCL, in central and state government institutions and private organizations. Several of them live in the RCC or *pucca* houses with spacious rooms whereas the non-SCCL, without employed members in families is poor and live in the semi-*pucca* and *kutchha* houses. This difference is due to their improved economic condition as they are earning good income because of their permanent employment in the SCCL. The SCCL workers are earning more income when compared to the people who are depended only on agriculture and non-agricultural activities. The better off Lambadas bought motor bike, colour television set, refrigerator, gas stove, music system, furniture - chairs and cots, air cooler and smart phones etc. It seems most of these goods are acquired as their incomes and contacts with non-tribes are increased. These acquisitions reflect the influence of non-tribes on the Lambada. In the recent times, very few of them also bought tractors and renting them to others. It is the phenomenon of economic heterogeneity where poor tends to remain poor while some becoming rich. The income variation is high between those who are employees of SCCL and

the other of non-SCCL Lambada families. The latter are striving hard to deal with the situation. The category of the former is spending more on food, education, health and clothing etc. Thus, there is an emergence of a kind of class difference among them. This is visible in terms of the upper class Lambada are sending their children to reputed educational institutions and also spending huge money on the coaching centres in Hyderabad for getting a government job while the families of lower class are sending their children to the local schools and colleges.

There is also difference in terms of food habits and dress pattern. The dress pattern among the Lambada men and women has changed from the past to the present. In the past all used traditional dress, particularly the women but now the upper class women wear modern dress of non-tribes leaving their traditional life style while the lower class continue the traditional dress. In the past they used to eat *jowar roti* regularly but now it is replaced with the rice. Now the upper class Lambada is having different varieties of breakfast like *idli*, *sambar* and *dosa* in the morning. They also get parcel from the Goleti Township for their family members. They are having non-vegetarian twice or thrice a week. But it is not the case with the Lower class families they eat non-vegetarian once in a week but it depends on the money at hand. Generally, whenever there is any ritual or ceremony in the village they consume the alcohol. Apart from this, the majority of SCCL workers consume alcohol frequently because of the heavy work they do at the mines. They are also spending money lavishly on different festivals, rituals and ceremonies especially for marriage. But this kind of luxurious way of living is not seen among the majority of non-SCCL families except very few cases.

Some significant changes are observed among the Lambadas in respect of social and religious practices. Earlier the marriage celebration was to go for more than a month but now the period is reduced to a single day because they consider it as waste of time to spend days for the wedding. They used to get arranged marriages by the elders but now there is increased number of marriages where elders are not involved. In the joint family authority was vested in the head of the family and his decision was final while the others could give their opinions even in the selection of spouse in a marriage. But now the joint family is broken down, and individuals take decisions. Several marriages are now taking place by the choice of individuals among the SCCL employees. They are using different musical instruments and DJ sound boxes instead of traditional music. The women are not wearing their traditional dress and ornaments. There is also shift from the bride price to dowry among the Lambadas.

The dowry means not only cash but also jewellery, gold, furniture, vehicles etc., given by the bride's family to the bridegroom's family at the time of wedding. Now a deal has to be stricken between both the parties where the bridegroom's members demand or compel the bride's family members to give dowry as demanded otherwise the marriage will not take place simply on this count. The SCCL employees are giving more dowries to their daughters which have become a great burden on the other non-SCCL families. The dowry is demanded by the SCCL employees even the son is not employed either in the SCCL or elsewhere because there is a chance of getting his father's job (dependent job) in the SCCL. In some cases a job is given to the son of an employee if he is declared medically unfit. The bride's family also does not hesitate to give high dowry. As mentioned earlier it is not difficult for the SCCL employees to get loans.

After coming in contact with the non-tribal employees or general populations the Lambadas started celebrating festivals like Sankranthi, Holi, Ugadi, Srirama navami, Naga panchami, Sivarathri, Ganesh chaturdi, and Dasara etc., in a grand manner according to their status. However, their festival continues to be Holi. They have almost stopped celebrating *teej* festival. They are worshipping some of the Hindu deities such as Lord Venkateshwara and visit Thirupathi also at least once a year.

The political consciousness of the Lambadas has increased with the SCCL. There are different SCCL trade unions which are associated with different political parties such as TRS, TDP, BJP, INC and CPI (M) etc at the work place. They support different political parties and the traditional village panchayath also extends its support to different political parties based on their interest. Individuals are divided on the basis of their association. One group supports one political party whereas the other group supports another party. At the time of elections they often enter into clashes but later on they maintain good relations.

Impact on Kolams

The main occupation for the Kolams at that the time of their displacement was agriculture and minor forest produce. Before establishment of SCCL several of Kolams possessed 21-25 acres of land, in Dhantanpally about 15 percent of the household had this extent of land. But now most of them have turned into landlessness. There is an increased number of marginal land holders (1-5 acres). The situation in Dhantanpally is presented in Table 7.1. It is same in all the villages that are displaced. As can be noted from the Table there is a quantum jump in

the category of those possessed land between 1-5 and 6-10 acres of land. The landless has phenomenally increased from 8.3 percent to 31.9 percent. Thus, it is a reverse development wherein the landholders have become landless. This is not the case in case of Lambada as discussed before.

Table: 7.1. Kolam before/after displacement of total land

Land in acres	Before displacement total land		After displacement total land	
	Households	Percent	Households	Percent
1 – 5	22	30.5	34	47.2
6 – 10	22	30.5	13	18
11-15	8	11.1	0	0
16 – 20	2	2.7	1	1.3
21 – 25	11	15.2	0	0
26 – 30	0	0	0	0
31 – 35	0	0	1	1.3
36 – 40	0	0	0	0
41 – 45	0	0	0	0
46 – 50	1	1.3	0	0
NA	6	8.3	23	31.9
Total	72	100	72	100

Source: Field Study

With the loss of land the Kolams of Dhantanpally which was the major source of income, there is fall in the incomes of the households. The Table 7.2 shows the income differences between before and after the displacement. Similar is the situation in case of other villages.

As can be noted from the Table 7.2, income less than Rs. 20,000 per annum has grown for about five times after the displacement. Similarly, the income between Rs. 20,001 and Rs. 40,000 also increased considerably. Thus, the households of Dhantanpally have become poorer. The number of those in no income category has also increased for four times. Thus, the Kolams of Dhantanpally and other villages also are negatively affected by the SCCL.

Table: 7.2. Before/after displacement income per annum from agriculture

Income in Rs.	Before displacement		After displacement	
	Household	Percent	Household	Percent
0 to 20000	4	5.5	21	29.1
20001 to 40000	9	12.5	12	16.6
40001 to 60000	13	18	6	8.3
60001 to 80000	10	13.8	0	0
80001 to 100000	9	12.5	1	1.3
100001 to 120000	0	0	0	0
120001 to 140000	2	2.7	0	0
140001 to 160000	13	18	0	0
160001 to 180000	0	0	0	0
180001 to 200000	4	5.5	0	0
NA	8	11.1	32	44.4
Total	72	100	72	100

Source: Field Study

With the loss of land there is a major shift in the occupation of the Kolams of Dhantanpally from agriculture to daily wage labour. More than fifty percent of them have become depended on agriculture and daily wage.

Table: 7.3. Kolam: Occupation before and after displacement

Occupation	Before displacement		After displacement	
	Households	Percent	Households	Percent
Agriculture	68	94.4	3	4.16
Daily wage labour	4	5.5	30	41.6
Agriculture and daily wage labour	-	-	39	54.1
Total	72	100.0	72	100.0

Source: Field Study

Living in the forest was a way of life for them; the forest not only provided them food to eat, materials to build houses, fuel for cooking and fodder for their cattle, but also with medicinal plants for treating minor diseases. The collection of MFP was the most important economic activity of the Kolams. The majority of the Kolams had agricultural lands whereas the others

who did not have were engaged as agricultural and non-agricultural labourers. The families who depended on agriculture had nearly 5-10 acres of farming land. These lands they had inherited from their ancestors. They used to grow various crops in different seasons like *jowar* (sorghum), maize, *kandi* (redgram), *pesara* (greengram), *anumulu* and *amudalu* (castor) etc. These were grown with natural manure without using any chemical fertilizers. The yield they obtained from different crops was sufficient and it remained round the year for their consumption. The surplus yield they used to sell to the Girijan Cooperative Corporation (GCC) and at the nearby market in Asifabad. Agriculture was the main source of income for the majority of households among the Kolams before displacement. At the same time, non-farming employment also provided a major source of income to many households. There were different types of non-farming activities like basket making, thatch making, hunting, fishing, honey collection, *ippa puvvu* collection, *ippa parka* collection, *kobbari verlu*⁹⁰, *tuniki akku*⁹¹ and lacquer collection etc. They used to eat different varieties of fruits available in the forest during various seasons.

So, the loss of access to the forest has resulted in a livelihood crisis among the Kolams. The women now have become totally dependent on their husbands for household after the displacement. The coal mining displacement has forced the tribes to change their traditional occupation and shift to other occupations. There is a decline in the occupation of agriculture after the displacement. Now they are turned into meager daily wage laborers in agriculture and non-agricultural activities whereas some of them are employed in the SCCL as contract laborers. This kind of change in the occupation led them to face a number of problems in adjusting to the new environment, of the R and R centres.

Whenever they had time and urge, earlier they went for hunting small game which included deer, wild boar, rabbit, peacock etc. The hunting was carried out mostly by chasing the animals with help of dogs. It was done mostly in summer, June- July, for deer, and in April-May, they found wild bores and peacocks. They never sold this meat in markets but distributed it among themselves. Equipments used for hunting included axe (*golli*) and sickle (*kodava*). They also used spears when they had to catch animals using nets. But now either hunting disappeared or it has become a rare activity, due to destruction of forest or no forest near the R and R centres.

⁹⁰ Used as tea powder

⁹¹ Used in *beedi* making

But soon after when the SCCL initiated the project, the impact is great on the Kolams, with reference to physical space. Nowhere have they enough space for house, and cattle, and there is space for community activities also. They are unable to carry out different rituals and ceremonies in the village as described in Chapter 2. They have lost their common place in the new village for the social gatherings where they used to celebrate the ceremonies and festivals. There is water stagnation in the rainy season in some R and R centres. Their traditional housing pattern got changed, and thus damage has been caused to their value system and sentiment which affected the psychological health of the people.

The impact on education and economy has already been noted in the previous chapter regarding the R and R Center at Ontimamidi. There is an increase in the number of dropouts among the Kolam children due to the displacement, and as mentioned before there is no upper-primary school in the present village which was there in the old village. After the displacement, the company has constructed only a primary school building. As a result, some of the upper-primary school children are forced to move to Asifabad and since it is far away from the R and R centre, they have to stay in the hostel. There are also drop outs of children due to the transportation problem. Mahadhu (20) who is appointed as Vidya Volunteer (VV) by the SCCL at the R and R Centre, Ontimamidi, and teaching at the primary level children says he has studied up to 10th class. Before displacement he used to help his parents in their agriculture field. As a result, he could not continue his studies further. However, after the displacement, he got employment and earning Rs 5,000 per month. But now the children are not even studying up to 10th class due to displacement of the villages.

Daily Wage Labour

After the displacement the Kolams are getting three kinds of wage labour. One is the one they used to have earlier also like daily wage labor either in agriculture or any other. The second is the daily wage labour available with the contractors of SCCL who are engaged for digging, filling etc. These include Mahalaxmi and Susitech companies that work at Dorli-1 and Dorli-2 open cast mining, and these companies are allotted works by SCCL on the basis of tender. This is contractor labour for which unskilled labourers are engaged on daily wage. The third category includes the casual labour hired by the SCCL from the PAF who are paid monthly for the number of days that they worked in a particular month.

The private companies employ the workers from different states like Orissa and Bihar to work in the open cast mines. Each company uses its manpower to remove the external soil and dump the over burden at a dumping ground located far away from the site where mining operations are carried out by the SCCL. It also provides shelter, canteen, food, adequate drinking water and other amenities to the workers working with them. However, the local workers working with these companies on daily wage, tribes and non-tribes from the displaced villages, attend to the work from the rehabilitation centres. The Kolams are unskilled workers while the labourers from other states are semi- skilled in comparison and therefore, for technical work, the workers from other states are given preference over the Kolams.

The SCCL engages its employees in the extraction of coal assisted by the casual labour (daily wage workers) following the prescribed scientific procedures after the removal of external soil by private companies as mentioned above. The mining operations are carried out throughout the year without taking any break. The casual daily wage labourers are assigned different works by their concerned supervisor after they reach the mine. Some work in leveling the coal dump on trucks and tie the plastic covers on the surface of the coal. Such type of work is assigned to them at least twice or thrice in a week. Some of the women casual workers are engaged in sweeping the coal dust fallen on roads. The SCCL also employs the casual labour to work in the canteens, sweeping roads, and to assist permanent employs in different sections or departments.

The daily wage workers or casual labour either in private companies and SCCL Company shall submit the documents like the certificates of project displaced family (PDFs) or project affected family (PAFs), Aadhaar card and passport size photo. They also should get a medical certificate from the chief medical officer (CMO) at the Bellampally area hospital stating that he/she is physically fit to work in the company. Every year they have to get the medical certificate from the hospital renewed so that the company resumes their contracts to continue further in the company.

The following is the village wise list of PAF/PDFs working as daily wage labourers at Dorli OCP-I: Dhantanpally (9), Dorli (3), Ullipitta (3) and Jandagudem (1). Similarly, at Dorli OCP-II: Dhantanpalli (4) and Dorli (2). There are 7 PAF/PDFs from Dhantanpalli, 4 (Dorli) and 2 (Ullipitta) working at Dorli-I as cleaning of roads labourers. Similarly at Khairapura

OCP: Chopidi (9) and Thoyaguda (5). It is observed that there are more number of non-tribal PDF/PAFs than tribal PDF/PAFs who are working with Mahalaxmi and BGR private companies which are associated with the SCCL.

The Kolams when join the SCCL, they generally work as unskilled casual workers on daily wages. They wake up early in the morning and get ready for the job. The women in their respective houses prepare food and pack the lunch in a box. They work from 8.00 am to 4 pm, in the week days Sunday being a holiday. In the afternoon, they take lunch break for half an hour or one hour and return to the work. The tribal people get tired after the work at the mines because most of them have to do heavy or laborious work. The tribal people working in SCCL mines engage completely in a non-traditional environment. The daily wage paid to them differs from the private companies which is Rs 300 per day whereas the SCCL pays Rs. 250 per day only. The Kolams earlier remained as hunters, food gatherers and primitive agriculturalists but after displacement, they are brought to the industrial setting. It is observed that though the Kolams come in contact with the other employees of different social background, they do not make friends with others nor do they talk with them at the workplace unless the others try to be friendly with them. They communicate their tribal fellows who are mostly belonging to their own or other villages.

Athram Raju (30) who is working as a casual labour in the SCCL says that they are not satisfied with their wages. Absenteeism among the tribals was high in previous years but it has now considerably reduced. The wages that they get hardly fulfil the daily requirements of the family. The monthly earning of the casual labourers is very meagre while that of the SCCL permanent employees is much higher. Before displacement, all the members used to contribute economically to the family. But after displacement, it has brought a new trend where the different members in the family go for daily wage work. The Kolams were relatively isolated not being in touch or they did not have access to the mainstream society as described earlier. They did not have money on hand or they did not show interest in keeping money in those days as they transactions were carried on barter system, and they used to grow different varieties of crops and vegetables in their own agricultural fields which met the needs of the family and the surplus was sold out in the market for the minimum need of cash. But after displacement they have become landless and they are now buying food items from the market, unlike in the past for which cash is badly need. Earlier, people used to ask 'how much crop have you grown?' but now people are asking 'how much money are you having'.

This is how the social and cultural transformation has taken place from the past to the present. When agricultural was the main occupation, they did not have any time restriction or limitation and could work whenever they wanted according to their convenience or task to be accomplished. But here in the SCCL Company they have to work according to the company's rules and regulations. Further if they commit any mistake the officials yell at them. Except on Sundays, they remain busy with work all the time. They hardly get time to spend with their family members. They work from morning to evening and after coming back home; they are busy with the regular household activities. They go to bed early and wake up again early in the morning.

Athram Bhoji Rao (25) is another casual laborer in the SCCL Company. He also said that he was unhappy working in the SCCL because they were not trained for undertaking any technical works as they were quite unfamiliar in dealing with those jobs. The new jobs created by the SCCL Company for them have become very difficult to adjust. In fact, they do not possess any skill to learn new methods of earning their livelihood. Hence those who were owners earlier have now become daily wage labourers. He says that SCCL is paying nominal wages to the daily wage labourers. As a result, some of them have gone to the construction works at the Goleti and Asifabad areas.

Apart from working in the SCCL, some of the Kolams have adopted an economic life of a rural non-tribal daily wage labourer. They get employed on daily basis on any work. The agricultural or construction works is mostly available in the nearby locality itself or within a radius of a 10-15 kilometres. During the months of June-December, most of them prefer to go for labour work because most of the labour work is available in that season. Every year, there is an increase of wages for both men and women depending upon the type of work. While men undertake hard work the women engage in light work. Generally, the daily wage paid for men and women is Rs 200 and Rs 150 respectively. But in some works like picking up cotton, women are paid more than men because women are more familiar with that work than men. Similarly, in some work like cutting trees, digging soil and removing stones men are paid more wage than women. People go to other villages for labour work when they do not find work in their own villages or rehabilitation centres. The government is not implementing NREGA scheme properly at the displaced R and R centres. This has led to migration, hunger and starvation among the Kolams. Some of the displaced villagers worked under NREGA before displacement, but due to the change of Gram Panchayath, their job cards have become

invalid after the displacement in the new Gram Panchayath. The names of PAFs are not listed at the new Gram Panchayath office.

Mining and Family

The post-displacement has brought vast changes in the family patterns among the Kolams. The joint family was the norm, but at the time of displacement the sons preferred to live in different places or R and R Centres. It is mainly they have lost their agricultural land and what they got by way of land to land in some case or what they bought with the compensation was not sufficient to hold together all the brothers. Some had problems in sharing the compensation also, and this juncture woman was given less importance or no importance. As mentioned earlier the women did enjoy some respect and privileges as they also used to contribute some amount to the family income but when compensation was paid the money was deposited only into the accounts of the male members of the family. As a result, there were conflicts within the family. They also got detached with their other kin.

However, the joint families have become nuclear families; they somehow manage to continue some rituals or ceremonies in which all the brothers or relatives take part. There is another reason which encouraged the Kolams to break the joint family because the R and R policy provided houses for individual families and therefore the major sons and unmarried daughters are considered as a separate family. For this reason they claimed individual plot or house for every son and daughter, and after that they also got money for construction of house. This led to separation of the parent-children. Gradually their social relations also changed due to physical distance in the same centre.

Before displacement the senior most member, i.e., father in a joint family was the head of the family and his decision was final in all matters. Other senior members helped the younger ones particularly women taking care of the children. But now the situation is different when they have turned into nuclear families. For example, Athram Pavuga (70) said that before the establishment of mining, he was living with his three sons. But when they were displaced all his sons have constructed their own separate houses at the R and R Ontimamidi centre. The compensation they got from the SCCL for the land was shared among themselves. Now, he is staying with his younger son. He said that before displacement he was head of the household and owner of his land but now he has no job. In the changed situations the children are taking independent decisions and hardly, they are consulting the elders.

Mining and agriculture

The villagers in the tribal areas used to practice agriculture in two seasons, namely, *khariif* and *rabi*. They did not have water resources so they had to depend on the rainfall for cultivation. It is observed that out of 72 households in R and R Centre Ontimamidi, very few households are practising agriculture. The SCCL Company has taken over majority of their agricultural lands and paid the compensation also but it did not give compensation for the left over lands where mining has not started so far. They are not able to cultivate the left over lands due to the emission of coal dust, pollution, over burden and problems of transportation of vehicles. Those who are cultivating some land say that they have some land near the mines but due to the pollution the yield is very poor.

Earlier at the time agricultural operations, all the family members and relatives used to help each other in the agricultural fields or participate in the process of production which helped building group or kinship solidarity. They used to share the work in the agricultural fields, like the men did the hard jobs while the women did the lighter jobs. When the man cut the tree with an axe while the woman gathered the branches and cut them into pieces into different sizes with a knife. They used also together go to the forest to collect the MFP. The man used to shake the tree or beat with the sticks the woman collected the fallen fruits. The same kind of sharing of work was done by the Kolams at the time of fishing, preparing baskets and thatches. Therefore, they used to maintain the solidarity and inter-dependence among themselves.

Though Kolam women are considered equally to that of man, they do not inherit property from her parents. Kolam woman now working in the SCCL as a contract laborer is considered an economic asset to the family, but she is busy with the domestic and other agricultural works. She also collects MFP from the forest whenever it is available and sells at the nearby weekly market. Thus she is overburdened. But above mentioned sharing of work or division of labor is missing after the displacement because majority of them do not have any agricultural land now and majority of them do not go for MFP. The SCCL wages in the villages around the R and R centers is less for women than the men.

The shift to other occupations like working in the SCCL and depending on other daily wages has broken the existing working environment by separating the family members and kinship group. The husband and wife are engaged as daily wage labourers in agriculture and non-

agricultural activities. The youth are engaged in SCCL as contract labourers and do other kinds of jobs. They lost their earlier agricultural occupation which had been practised since time immemorial and adapted to the other occupations which have resulted in low income. Many of the old people are sitting idle at their homes along with the children. The separation of the members of the family and kin group due to displacement resulted in weakening or loosening relations among themselves. About 51 (70.8 percent) persons in R and R Centre Ontimamidi are of the opinion that it has also affected their closely knitted kinship. The relatives residing in the other villages were also displaced to different places. As a result of it, 46 (63.9 percent) of them say that they have become individualistic and 50 (69.4 percent) said that they lost their social relations.

Kolams said that before displacement they used to frequently gather at one place whenever they get leisure time and share all their sorrows and happiness with each other. They used to spend time with their elders, family and kin group and discuss various aspects related to the village, Dandari festival, Bhimanna *jathara* etc. But after displacement this kind of interaction has been reduced and everyone prefers to watch TV at the R and R centre, the new village. Athram Raju (35) says that though the SCCL has arranged all the facilities at the R and R centre, the kind of mental peace they had at their original village is missing at the displaced village. He adds that they have lost their agricultural land which is treated as the mother goddess because they used to survive with the yield they received from it. He also views that the happiness and enjoyment that they had at the original village cannot be expressed in words and no one can replace that kind of joy at the displaced village.

Food and fuel

The Kolams before mining used to depend on firewood and cow dung for cooking. But when mining has destroyed the forest they are now facing problems due to non-availability of fire wood. Some people shifted to the interior forest refusing to live in the R and R centre are able to manage the firewood problem due to the availability of natural resources. Before displacement, the Kolams used to depend on different varieties of foods available in the forest. But after displacement, there is a change observed among them in terms of the food habits. About 32 (44.4 percent) persons of R and R Ontimamidi said that there is a change in the food habits after the displacement. It is observed that most of the Kolam children look lean and thin due to malnutrition because most of the families do not take enough amounts of

proteins. At the time of displacement some of the affected families have undergone a kind of depression. The following are some of the cases in detail.

Athram Pavuga, 28 year is the resident of R and R centre, Ontimamidi, said about his land loss. He said that he had five acres of land before displacement and used to cultivate paddy and jowar and used to get good yield because it was a fertile land. His wife also helped him in agricultural works and his family members could sustain with the income earned from the agriculture. He had lost all five acres of land in the SCCL mining and the company did not give any alternative land instead provided them with the compensation. Before displacement his wife also earned some money with the collection of minor forest produce. But after displacement he says that they have lost the agriculture land and also income from the MFP. He is working now in SCCL as a wage labourer and earning meagre income whereas his wife is staying back at the home. The amount which he is earning now is not sufficient to meet both ends of the family. He said they are unable to celebrate their festivals and rituals like earlier due to less income.

He had a bitter experience at the time of displacement and rehabilitation. They have constructed their house again at the new place with the materials brought from the old village and from the forest. The SCCL Company has arranged trucks in shifting the materials to the new settlement. He said, “We had lost our home which we have been staying for generations. In the initial days, most of us could not adjust in the new houses. The memories we had at the old village used to revolve in our mind. The livestock also could not adjust initially, they used to go back to the old village and they are brought to the new village. But they again went back to the same place which is two kilometre away from the new settlement. Unable to put up with the situation I sold away the livestock to the non-tribals at a low price. And most of them also died because of they lacked fodder in the forest after the establishment of mining”.

He said his father died due to illness at the time of resettlement. His age was 19 years at the time. His father used to drink alcohol every day and quarrel with his mother, and he spent away all the compensation money on the alcohol, and later developed liver problem and died because of the liver problem. Then after his father's death he took the responsibility of running the family on his shoulders. He spent some of the compensation money for his father's death ritual and the remaining money he is used for different purposes. After displacement in the initial days they faced starvation. He said at the time it was a pathetic

situation. At the new colony they did not celebrate the festivals and rituals as the way they used to do earlier because they were missing the happiness that they had at the original village. But slowly, he added, “we are now getting adjusted to the new environment and the happiness that had in the original village can’t be compensated with any money”.

Athram Bheem, 30 years said that he had a bitter experience at the time of the displacement. At that time his wife was pregnant. The SCCL officials were pressurising them to vacate the village and shift to the R and R centre. There was great tension among the family members because his wife might deliver at any time. He asked the SCCL officials to give some more time till his wife’s delivery. But the SCCL people said that they had given enough time than what was required and suggested them to vacate the village as soon as possible. His wife came to know about the situation and the refusal of SCCL officials’ to stay and this added deep agony in her mind and started thinking too much about the incidence. Then they finally decided to vacate the village after a couple of days. The other families had constructed houses by then and when they reached the place it was their family which vacated the village at the last. She gave birth to a baby boy in the evening by taking the help of a few old women in the village. All the family members were happy but their happiness could not stay longer. The next day, in the morning the child was found dead for unknown reasons. All the family members were in a shock because they were unable to digest the news. He said, “Had we stayed back at the original village till the delivery, my son’s life would have got saved”. Thus, the displacement due to mining has caused immense mental pressure on them. Since they do not have burial ground at the resettlement area they had to bury the child at a nearby colony. The SCCL has also already made all the facilities in the location and they had no any other option but to leave for the new location. Then after the death, the post-funeral ritual of the child had to be organized. One day Athram Bheem invited the priest Dhelak and asked him to know the reason behind the child’s death. The priest revealed that the couple had sexual intercourse during Bhimanna *puja* for which god was annoyed and hence he had taken the child away from the couple. The priest then advised the couple to offer *puja* at the Bhimanna temple by sacrificing a goat for the mistake committed by them. They then offered the *puja* at the temple as suggested by the priest.

Athram Bheemrao, 30 years, said one of his relatives died at the new village due to snake bite. In the past, prior to displacement they had medicinal plants for different kinds of diseases. But now, they could not find a single medicinal plant around the new location due

to the establishment of coal mining in the tribal areas. The person who knew the snake bite *mantra* used to stay with them if not in the same village but in an adjacent village. But now neither is there natural environment where medicinal plants are found nor is there an expert for curing diseases or snake bite. He said that due to mining they had lost some of their relatives who stayed with them in the nearby villages of the original village. They are now shifted to different R and R centres and some of them had gone deep in to the forest.

Common property risks

Kolams lost forest land, burial ground, grazing land and herbal medicines. They consider that the burial ground is the land of ancestors because it is the place where they offer homage to the dead people. But after the displacement, the Kolams do not have a place for cremating the dead ones. Those who have agricultural land are cremating the deceased in their respective fields. But, the people who do not have any land are going through this trauma. About 64 (88.9 percent) of R and R Centre, Ontimamidi said that there is a great impact on traditional ceremonies and rituals due to the displacement. About 68 (94.4 percent) of them said that their belief system has been suffered due to breaking of bond between the people and clan gods after the displacement. They lost the idols of their gods and goddess and in transition.

Mining and Livestock

The oxen which were habituated in the old village are not willing to live in the new village Ontimamidi R and R centre after the displacement as mentioned before. They are going back to the old place where the mining operations are going on which is dangerous for them. Every day in the afternoon, at 3:30 pm, there will be blasting of coal at the mines. The cattle wandering around the mine area are affected of the huge and high sounding explosions. The oxen have become weak and thin due to the scarcity of food also. As a result, they are suffering from different kinds of diseases. The number of livestock like cow, buffalo, goat and sheep etc., got reduced due to the environmental pollution. Kolams are not showing interest to possess livestock due to problem of their maintenance and they have even limited to keep their cattle at the displaced village. During the pre-phase of mining the cattle rearing was considered as a livelihood source but in the post-phase of mining some say their cattle are dying due to pollution of air, water and noise and some are dying by falling in the pits dug by the company. According to rule the company has to close the pits after digging coal or over burden but they are not taking any measures to close the pits but instead they are leaving

them open. Hence, there is the risk of cattle falling in the pit, which can be death trap. There is no way of protecting the oxen and therefore some of them sold out their oxen to non-tribals or neighboring villages at a lower price.

Mining and Pollution

Environment: In the present scenario, all say, “It is better for everyone if the company operates the underground mines. First of all, these mines do not affect the environment and at the same time, there will be employment opportunities for the people at the locality. More people can depend on the underground mines for their survival”. Actually as mentioned before, the SCCL is not interested in underground mines not only for the reasons of high investment and less production but also for the factors like loss of life due to accidents, and health hazards. But the people say if mining is necessary for nation building, keeping good environment for their living is extremely important. The mines also should provide for living and simple ignoring this under the garb of national cause alone does not justify the mining in the tribal areas.

The exploitation of coal through open cast mines has caused a wide range of environmental problems like land degradation, and air, water and noise pollution. As a result, it has caused severe damage to the land resources, forest and agriculture lands belonging to Kolams. The tribals since centuries have been depending on the forest resources thus have built a close relationship with the forest and natural environment. They mainly inhabit nearby the water bodies present in the forest and developed close association with the nature. When mining was introduced in their lives, it affected their culture, livelihood, ecology, environment and health. They say that they had a pleasant and beautiful life before displacement with different types of greenery, shrubs, herbs and trees in the forest. But after the displacement, they had to live under open sky and there is no fresh air due to the loss of the forest coverage. The temperature in summer has gone extremely high because of the coal mines. The atmosphere is polluted due to the coal mining operations. Certainly, mining has an impact on the natural resources such as forest, land, water, air and other wild animals and minerals. These are briefly discussed below.

Air pollution: The mining activities like blasting drilling, loading and unloading of coal and overburden, and transportation etc., are the main reasons for the impact on the environment. The ignition of coal produces carbon dioxide (CO₂), sulphur dioxide (SO₂) and oxides of

nitrogen (NOx) which pollute the atmosphere and these are responsible for different kinds of diseases. The company officials are saying that there are no health hazards and no harm to the environment is taking place due to mining. They say that they are taking proper measures to control the pollution by sprinkling water on the roads and plantations etc., at the mining sites. However, it is observed that the sprinkling of water is not regularly taking place and most of the coal loaded trucks are not covered with the plastic sheets. As a result, the coal dust is accumulated on roads and trees as a thick layer which is ultimately causing severe pollution of air. Actually in the beginning the officials made a lot of promises which included complete protection of environment by covering the coal loaded vehicles with the plastic (tarpaulin) sheets at the time of transporting the coal and plantation of trees at the sites of over burden dumps. But the tribes and others assert that these promises are not kept as people in the villages situated near to the mines like R and R Ontimamidi and Chopidi etc., are suffering a lot due to this pollution and they are leading a perilous life.

Athram Paggu Bai (32) says that the company has not given any apparatus to those who swept the roads. Due to a lot of coal dust, they are facing different kinds of health problems like skin diseases and eye irritation. The women working at mine have to work without protection. They work handling toxic and hazardous substances without any protective kit or tools.

The SCCL's open cast mines which are shifting to high technology dependence have no scope of female participation. Even for men there is no employment because they are illiterate and lack technical skills. The wages paid for women is less than that of men. Before displacement women used to take care of their children even at the agricultural fields or in the forest produce collections but after displacement the children's are left at home. If they are carried to the mines or work site there is a chance of exposing them to high levels of dust and sound pollution. There is also a chance of children falling into the open pits dug there while playing. The SCCL has not made any provision for the child care for the working mothers.

Athram Bheem Bai (38) who is a resident of Ontimamidi R and R centre and working as a sweeper on daily wages at the Dorli-1 OCP mine says that while working she is inhaling coal dust regularly and the company did not give any safety apparatus like masks, caps and gloves. There is an overburden besides the residential locality and she is also facing dust problem after going home also. The emission of over burden and dust is making her sick, and

giving more work to wash her clothes and utensils again and again. It is very difficult for them to wear white clothes because they became dirty very quickly. In fact wearing white shirt and *dhoti* is the traditional dress of Kolam men and washing of clothes is the responsibility of woman in the house as the gender roles of the community. Thus it has become additional burden for women frequently washing the white dress.

It is worse situation so far as agricultural fields are concerned and as the productivity of the crops has been greatly fallen in the surrounding areas of the SCCL open cast mines. The agricultural fields receive the polluted air filled with the coal dust due to mining. It is ultimately affecting the yield, year by year the production has gone down when compared with the previous years. The different kinds of birds like *thirga* and *gorenka* etc., that used to feed on the insects in the agricultural fields, are no more seen due to the excessive air pollution and sound pollution. Thus natural pest control system has been damaged, resulting increased pests and less production.

Water pollution

Water is a very important component for all the humans and animals living on the earth next to air. But due to increased growth of industries and dumping of the wastage into the nearby water bodies the water is getting polluted. There is a Vattivagu Reservoir at the Dorli-1 open cast which is also getting polluted due to the flow in of waste water from the mines. These regular activities related to the coal mining are causing pollution to the water bodies not only Vattigavu but others as well in the coal mining areas. There will be definitely scarcity of water in future due to the regular drawing of water for the mining activities or operations. As a result, ultimately there will be decreased underground water level. The Kolams complain that the nearby water bodies like streams, ponds and lakes considered as the main source of water for drinking, bathing and washing are getting polluted with coal dusts and they are drying very soon. There are also no fishes in the streams or ponds after the establishment of coal mines. They are not only affected with the polluted water but also affected with different diseases. A stream near the R and R centre, Ontimamidi, is also getting polluted because it is surrounded by Dorli-1 and 2 OC mines.

The villagers are experience itching and skin allergies whenever they took bath at the nearby stream. It is said that most of the project affected villages are facing scarcity of water in the summer seasons because the drinking water facilities like bore well are getting dried. In such

case the company provides water tankers drawing water from the needy villages. But they do not supply water regularly. Therefore, the villagers are suffering from insufficient supply of water in the summer which was never the case before. Likewise, if there are any problems at the R and R centres people approach the SCCL officials for solution but they do not get proper and timely response.

Noise pollution: Noise pollution is yet another problem. There is noise of machines for about 24/7 hours continuously due to the blasting, drilling and transportation etc. Every day at 3:30 pm the blasting takes place as per a schedule at the respective open cast mines. But it is observed that the mine officials do not give any indication or alarm before they go for blasting. This has been affecting the local residents who go through that way as they were not aware of the incidents.

Athram Mahadu (45) a resident of R and R centre, Ontimamidi, said that one fine day his relative from other village was passing on his bike through the Dorli-1 open cast mine in the afternoon. He was not aware of the blast timings because he was new to this place. When blast took place he suddenly fell down from his motor bike due to severe vibration for he failed to balance his bike. He got injured and broke his right hand and thus hospitalised for some time. No compensation was paid to him. Due to these regular blasts some of the houses got damaged with the cracked walls. The villagers of R and R centre, Chopidi, which is near the road, are facing noisy sound due to the continuous moment of vehicles which is disturbing their sleep. The infants also sometimes cry if there is a huge noise due to blasting. The villagers brought these issues many times to the notice of the SCCL officials but they did not take any action so far. It clearly shows that they are playing with the lives of the innocent tribals.

Mining and Health: Certainly, coal mining has direct negative impact not only on the environment but also on the health of the local people. The impact of coal mining in respect of air, water and noise pollution is leading to various health problems. The coal mining requires passing through various phases for getting the final product and every phase is accountable for the release of numerous contaminated elements in to atmosphere. The combination of all these is responsible for the unending health risks. But the company officials are not taking proper measures to control the environmental risks which are pending till now.

The residents in the nearby mining area believe that they are exposed to the above mentioned pollutions and as a result they are suffering from different kinds of diseases which include asthma, tuberculosis (TB) and other dermatological diseases. In Ontimamidi R and R centre which is located close to Dorli-1 and 2 the residents are exposed to the continuous release of coal dust and movement of vehicles. The common problems faced by them are skin diseases, eye infection and sneezing etc.

During rainy seasons, the roads at the mines become muddy and slippery also, and water gets stagnated in the pits etc. This is one of the main reasons for malaria becoming endemic in mining areas. Singareni Seva Samithi, Bellampally had conducted a medical health camp in Dhantanpally village (Ontimamidi R and R centre) on 7-Nov-2014. Three MBBS doctors were the part of the camp, out of which two were men and one was woman. Apart from that, the other staff members included: staff nurses (2), Pharmacist (1), X-ray (1), Lab technician (1) and Helpers (4: 2M and 2F). The number of patients attended the medical camp from the R and R Ontimamidi village was more than 80. The blood test reports revealed that out of 16 members, 7 got malaria positive and most of them were children. The major problems found were fever, allergy, anemia, cold, cough, back pains and joint pains. The respiratory diseases are compounded due to the habit of smoking and consumption of alcohol. There are also other reasons like chewing tobacco and *gutka* which are also worsening their health condition day by day. In addition to this improper diet, malnutrition, poverty, lack of knowledge on health due to illiteracy is contributing to the poor health condition of the tribes. After the medical checkup, patients are given medicines and some are referred to the Area Hospital at Bellampally. Thus the tribes are introduced to the modern health care system. If the condition is severe the company does not hesitate to send them to nearby corporate hospitals and the total expenditure is borne by the SCCL Company.

Athram Raju (35) says that their condition was not this bad before displacement. There used to be fever, cold, cough headache and body pains etc., but after the displacement they are suffering from different diseases like TB, BP, eye allergy and other skin diseases. Coal mining has a negative impact on the health of the project affected families both economically and socially. Whenever the local residents of mining affected villages fall sick they approach the SCCL PHC or area hospital for treatment. However, they lose their working days and thereby wages and therefore, these health hazards hinder earning their livelihood. There is

also loss of emotional support from the kinsmen as the community ties are broken and kin members are separated, they are not at one place. Thus, even the mental health has received a setback.

Apprehensions of the Future

The project affected families said that at the time of SCCL initiation everyone has tried to oppose or stop it in different ways like organizing strikes, boycott and blocking the roads particularly by the Kolams. But finally everyone surrendered to the SCCL Company and to the state government. Though the company is trying to provide proper protective measures for the project affected people at the R and R centres but the people are expressing their dissatisfaction over the provisions made and retardation of their socio-economic development.

The establishment of mining has less positive and more negative impact on the Kolams livelihood. But it has more positive effect on the Lambadas' livelihoods. The increased income, improved standard of living, possession of household assets and improved social networks etc., are found among the Lambadas. It is quite different in case of Kolams; it has destroyed the natural resources, weakened the social relationships, lost livelihoods and alienated them from their traditional occupations.

The PAFs/PDFs are somehow depending upon the mining in the present situation but what will be the situation of the tribals if the company close down the mines. In case of Lambadas they are earning good income from the mining. They are transferred to other new mines if the mines are closed at the Goleti area. They do not have any problem they can survive because their children may also get jobs in the SCCL under the scheme of employment under medically unfit and dependantly. They can also adapt to any new situations. But here comes problems for the Kolams. The company may leave the place once the exploitation coal deposit in tribal areas comes to an end. According to some sources, the SCCL is going to stop the open cast mines at the Goleti area in three to five years. Then what will be the situation of these tribes working as daily wage labourers in the company and it is very difficult to predict their future and it will be worst condition for sure. In this regard the company has to provide a means of alternative or secure livelihood to the tribals. In order to protect the livelihood of the poor tribals the state government and the industries have to develop a helpful strategy towards the uplift of PAFs/PDFs.

The PAFs who were farmers before displacement, have now turned into daily wage labourers after displacement. In the recent 2010 GO, there is a proposal to provide employment to every PAF who has lost his land in the development projects. Some of the PAFs have appealed to the SCCL Company to implement the same for them so that they can survive till the mining continues in this area. Some of them informed that the money they received from the company was already spent for various purposes. They requested the company to provide an alternative piece of land to the project displaced families which would ultimately provide them food and also remain for the future generations in the event of closing the SCCL operations in the area. Currently, their demand is that the SCCL should provide regular employment for one member in a family, refilling of mined out areas and plantation of indigenous trees, minimizing pollution, complete the pending works at different R and R centres and instant distribution of compensation to the left over lands. Therefore, it is necessary that all the displaced people should be properly rehabilitated at the R and R centers with improved social, economic, cultural and environmental conditions.

Thirupathi (50) who is an SCCL employee and CPI leader at Goleti Township said that the company took the lands from the tribals for mining. But, the company has failed absolutely in providing proper compensation to the PAFs and PDFs. The promises made by the company for developing R and R centres have also not been materialized. There is no proper policy for project affected families. The project affected families fought with the company for providing employment for the loss of land. But the company has followed different R and R policies for different open cast projects. It has followed 64 GO land acquisition for the Khairagura open cast project. The policy states that tribals whose lands are acquired for the project should be given five acres of land. The total 63 families belonging to Kolams who are affected due to the Khairagura project were given five acres of land each. But then the company has followed 68 GO for the Dorli-1 and Dorli-2 projects. The company has paid money for the land loss and house to the project affected families without land. But, the government has failed to provide employment or land to the PAFs and PDFs. Now, the company is following the new R and R policy i.e. G.O 138. It declares that the people who have lost their land after 2010 are given employment in SCCL. The minimum eligibility for getting a job in the SCCL is SSC. The company identified 150 people under such category in different districts of Telangana. But, the process of recruitment has not taken place so far. The SCCL unions have

also given a representation to the company that irrespective of the castes/tribes, who have lost their land should be given employment and proper compensation.

Athram Bheem Rao (40) said that the Commission from R and R had recently visited the tribal areas and carried out a survey that could improve the standard of living of the project affected tribals. The committee enquired into the needs of the tribals by interviewing them. But so far, the project affected people have not received any help from the Commission. The State government has brought out several schemes for the uplift of tribes economically as well as socially and in this matter, the Kolams can also avail the additional facilities from the state government and ITDA. But, they are not getting such benefits because they are illiterate and do not show any interest to avail these benefits which can also in fact, improve their standard of living. The Lambadas are enjoying all kinds of government benefits because of their numerical strength and the contact with various people. But, it is not the case with the Kolams. Therefore, they are still lagging behind.

RESPONSE OF THE TRIBES TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF COAL MINES BY THE SCCL

The discussion of preceding chapter and the present chapter unfold the fact that the SCCL and government forced their decisions and will upon the tribes of Goleti area. The latter were to acquiesce the terms of the company. However, in this case the Lambadas cooperated with the government better than that of the Kolams, The Lambadas also appeared to have adapted well to the changing scenario when compared to the Kolams. They are more complacent with the situation, and they have relatively less complaints against the government or SCCL for they are more benefitted with the development interventions whereas the other tribe Kolam could not get these benefits. In fact the Lambadas have adapted well to a large scale immigration of non-tribes to Goleti area and pollution caused by the SCCL establishments. The Kolams are dislocated, resettled in the R and R centers where they find difficult to adapt to new situations and they are not happy with the facilities provided. They are facing a number of problems. The response to these constraints has been protests and resistance organized by the tribes. The Kolams first of all refused to part with their lands, and then they made certain demands. Finally they yielded to the pressures and tactics of the SCCL and the state government and finally surrendered themselves. They organized *dharna* and rallies though not in a great scale.

The Lambadas did protest but very mildly, and they were active in demanding employment of the kinsmen for the jobs fallen vacant after the voluntary retirement service (VRS) from 1997 to 2001 and also those who became medically unfit. Presently, there are 62,500 employees working in the SCCL as per the SCCL data. Out of which, there are 33,943 employees who have crossed 50 years of age. They are going to retire from the company in the next eight years. Similarly, there are 16,443 people who are between 40-45 years of age. It is clear that there are few youth in the SCCL from this total number of 43,886. There are 12,114 employees who are in the age group of 30-35. As mentioned earlier, there was provision for the employment of dependents but since 1996 the company discontinued this benefit. But now the demand was to reintroduce this benefit. Finally very recently, the state government took the decision resuming this provision.

Some of the Kolams are yet to receive the balance compensation from the SCCL and the SCCL is yet to provide the basic amenities promised at the R and R centers. Then, they generally approach the SCCL Estate officer and request him to solve their problem as soon as possible. The concerned department negotiates them by making some promises which are again delayed further. When they lose patience organize protest by stopping the trucks i.e., by blocking the road. The same had happened when the researcher was travelling to the Dhantanpally village from the Goleti Township in a SCCL bus. In the morning at 6:40 am, on 2015 there were approximately 20 to 30 Kolams who blocked the road at the R and R centre, Chopidi by sitting on the road. They were however polite and peaceful, not violent, and when the employees got down the bus to know the reason for stopping the vehicles. The Kolams poured their vows and the SCCL employees felt pity on them after knowing their problems. The demand was that they wanted the General Manager, DGM personal and others also to meet them. It is observed that they are unable to articulate properly as many of them do not know Telugu language, and there was one among them who could speak Telugu and he came forward and shared their problems. There is no electricity at the R and R centre, no school building, temple and *anganwadi* building. The SCCL officials somehow convinced that their demands will be conveyed to higher ups and get them solved within a short time. Then later on, the PAFs vacated the place. After few months the Bellampally area General Manager (GM) along with other officials DGM (Personnel), DGM (Civil), DGM (Workshop), Estate officer, President of AITUC Goleti branch and Security officer visited R and R centers at Dhampur, Chirrakunta and Keslapur on 15-09-14. The General Manager interacted with

some of the project affected families and enquired different problems faced by them. The project affected families appealed him to solve their problems as soon as possible. The PAFs residing at Dhampur requested the SCCL officials to construct an over head water tank at the R and R centre. They also said that they are facing problems during the night so requested them to supply electricity for street lights in the colony. The PAFs residing at Chirrakunta requested them to construct a bus shelter, Hanuman temple and primary school. Similarly, the PAFs at Keslapur appealed for constructing community hall and school building at the new colony. The General Manager promised all the PAFs at different centers that their problems will be solved in due course of time. He also assured them that whatever the basic facilities mentioned in the R and R policy will be provided for sure at the R and R centers. But till date the basic amenities at different R and R centers are pending.

Thus, it is clear that the behavioral patterns of Kolams and Lambada are different in some ways and they are same in some other way. While the Kolams showed protests and demands, the Lambadas did not. Several Lambadas got jobs in the SCCL and they are happy with the employment in SCCL, while almost no Kolam got job with the SCCL, a few of them are working as casual labour. Initially few who were employed left the SCCL, and now the casual laborers would like to be made permanent employees in the SCCL, but they are not being employed. The Kolams are the most disappointed and frustrated lot in the area. How do we explain this behavior of the tribes from anthropological perspective? Now an attempt is made to explain this differential behavior with the help framework of subjectivity.

Subjectivity

The concept 'subject' in social theory has a long history, but its significance has been recognized recently in anthropology. It is discussed often as an individual, person, actor, agent etc., as embedded concepts in social structure, social organization and social relations. Of late the agent is now coming to the forefront in social analysis as a dynamic being instrumental in social process. The role of such agent was submerged earlier under the group and structure that took central place in the analysis of social and cultural formations, and social organization as the dynamic form of the structure and functions of different parts of the social system. As the agent now, individual is the one who carries cultural rules and norms of the society; who manipulates and brings about change in the society and its structures. He/she relates himself/herself with others and to the world outside, and the subjective perception of

the objective world gives structure of the world thus conceived. He/she reacts to the world as the world acts upon him/her and accordingly becomes self-analytic and reflective. Thus, subject is the form of an existing being and subjectivity is the content of that being. The subjectivity is the process in which the subject gets meaning what it means to be a subject.

Ortner says,

I see subjectivity as the basis of “agency,” a necessary part of understanding how people (try to) act on the world even as they are acted upon. Agency is not some natural or originary will; it takes shape as specific desires and intensions within a matrix of subjectivity – of (culturally constituted) feelings, thoughts, and meanings... By subjectivity I will always mean a specifically cultural and historical consciousness. (2005:38).

She writes about the construction of subjectivity based on a set of anxieties in the cultural context besides historical experiences and consciousness resulting from modern and post-modern developments. In this paradigm the comparative historical experiences of these tribes is relevant. As stated in the introduction, a comparison of these tribes following Peel’s (1987) fifth model of historical comparison is attempted in order to develop the idea on the distinct consciousness of these tribes.

Lambada

First and foremost point to be noted here is that Lambada was a nomadic community as discussed in Chapter 3. Through folklore they connect themselves with a historical figure, the Hindu King Pruthviraj Chowhan of Rajasthan and his army that fought with Mohammad Ghorī, in the medieval times. They became traders of salt, condiments and carriers of goods as a means of living as disbanded army of the Hindu King. As itinerant small groups or bands they migrated from North West India to Deccan and South India. Oxen and cows were used as draught animals to carry the load as this was the only means of transport in those days trekking through hills and valleys. So they bred the draught animals and lived in exclusive camps outside the caste villages. However, the historical evidences as discussed earlier reveal their association with the Mughal armies and Sultan of Bijapur and later with the Nizams of Hyderabad. The East India Company also used their services before the establishment of road and railways. But these modern transportation facilities became major means of transport and it was a big blow on the Lambada to continue their profession. They gradually settled down where fodder was available for their cattle, i.e., forest areas and unoccupied land was available to start agriculture. So they quickly became agriculturists putting an end to the

nomadic life and also salt business. Thus, one can notice the adaptive nature of Lambadas to the local caste groups, and change of occupation and at the same time maintained their ethnic identity. Their solidarity as a distinct group living outside the multi-caste villages having their own political organization helped them to face the dominant local populations. They were largely self-reliant and never undertook the jobs considered menial by the caste people. They are ethnically different from the Deccan populations. As an itinerant community, they maintained good relations with the host community wherever they went. To keep themselves distinct they retained their language, traditional dress pattern particularly the women and leadership of Naik for dispute resolution and maintaining the social order.

The reflection of historical experiences of the Lambadas can be easily noted in their mythologies, fables, and stories. They also reveal their continuous interaction with the non-tribes and different kinds of problems that they encountered in the process at different periods. These will be discussed later. The Lambadas have adopted the local traditions while retaining some of their traditions. By maintaining their own traditions and abstaining beef they came closer to caste Hindus keeping away from the beef eating castes and tribes. They also refrained from all occupations which are considered low and polluting. Like castes they preferred boy to girl in the family and the society remained patriarchal.

The religious practices and various customs also in some ways different from the local tribes and communities. As the later follow the traditions of animal sacrifices, the Lambada traditions appear to be closely following Sanskrit traditions which are different. However, these are not entirely exclusive of each other or different, there are several overlaps, and the practices cut-cross the boundaries. The procedures and practice of life cycle rituals of birth, tonsure, puberty, wedding, funeral etc., are distinct though they adapted certain caste Hindu rituals, and invited Brahmin priest to organize their rituals which are described in detail in Chapter 3. They did practice levirate marriage as their legend reveals, their ancestor Vali married deceased Sugriva's wife, and claim descent from the latter's son Mola. So, their levirate marriage is justified, but in course of time they adapted, the Hindu practices. They had even given up the practice of bride-price and instead adapted the dowry like the Hindu.

Their pantheon also included all the deities of Hindus, especially Lord Venkateswara whom they call Balaji, became their principal deity. There is more number of female deities than the male deities. However, there are some heroic men who are deified which shall be discussed

later. The deities - Seethal Bhavani, Maremma, Durga etc., are very close to Hindu goddesses in their conceptualization. Seethala wards off diseases and evil spirits that attack them during rainy season. The Samnak goddess *puja* is organized along with the worship of Durga goddess and Sevalal god for timely rains, good harvest besides warding off evil spirits that come from other Thandas. Tulja Bhavani is also believed to have power over harvest. Durga and Maremma are one and the same who has powers over the evil or bad spirits that attack people.

All these female deities concerned with crops and evil spirits that cause disease and death. In other words, they represent fertility, reproduction, perpetuation of species and nurturance, food, health and wellbeing of human as well as animals particularly cows and oxen. On the other hand the evil spirits represent diseases to humans, animals and crops, death, famine, and destruction. When there is no timely rain, rain *puja* is organized praying to gods and goddesses at their shrines in the Thanda and also sprinkle water on the statues. Six pitcher-full of water drawn from well or bore-well are poured by women on the stones representing deities outside the shrines as well. This symbolizes the imminent rains in anticipation. There the deities also that control rains and thus facilitate regeneration. However, the *teej* festival in which girls nurture and worship the wheatgrass reveals the symbolic equation of women and regeneration and fertility. It is further supported by the observation of *polala panduga* which is the festival of fields in which there is worship of oxen and also gods and goddesses for taking care of oxen that contribute for the agriculture. Here it is important to note that oxen are males and they symbolize the male principle which is necessary for reproduction and regeneration. Further, reinforcement of idea can be noted from the worship of Bhimanna wherein cocks are sacrificed and blood of these birds is sprinkled on seeds which are mixed with other seeds and sowed. Thus, both male and female principles are recognized in the reproduction and regeneration and the gods represent the same. Akadi *puja*, the worship of Pochamma goddess, is for the well-being of family to be free from diseases, protection from the evil spirits and for good crops.

Thus the Lamabads are anxious over births, regeneration and prosperity which are ensured with the blessings of the deities. The female deities are protective, as they drive away the evil spirits that attack humans, animals and cause diseases to crops and affect production. These bad spirits hover around the village and some on the corners and some other on the road side.

In some cases, like the side *pilla puja*, a small goat is offered in sacrifice as a sort of freebie, so that the evil spirit does not trouble too much those who go out and come into the village. The deities are worshipped at the boundary of the village for they keep a watch and stop the entry of the bad spirits entering the village surreptitiously, some deities are worshipped at the centre of the village or at the house of the headman or Naik or senior most member of the clan which means they will have control over entire Thanda or village and keep watching the entry of bad spirits from any side.

Sathi is the goddess of Chowhan clan whereas Bhavani is the goddess of Rathod and Jadhav clan deities. In this case, there is mutual obligation between the clan members and the deities; the deities shall protect the clan members and the latter shall worship the deities every year or at least once in three years, lest the deity gets annoyed and inflict with diseases. Whenever there is a marriage of a man, it is mandatory to worship the deity before the marriage in that particular year. Therefore, the deities promote the growth of the clan by blessing them with more children and happy married life. From the above discussion it is clear that the Lambadas are anxious about the living and the means of living; birth, growth and reproduction among them, animals and nature particularly the plant species.

Moto⁹² Dev means Lord Venkateswara, and Balaji; all in one and the same. He is worshipped along with Sriram, Vemulavada Rajanna, Laxmi, Hathiram Baba, and Hanuman. It may be noted that this deity represents the collectivity of deities; there is Sriram, a form of Vishnu who is same as that of Lord Venkateswara, Laxmi is wife of Vishnu, Hathiram was a devotee of Lord Venkateswara, Hanuman was an ardent disciple of Lord Srirama, while Vemulavada Rajanna is Shiva. There is a combination of Vishnu and Shiva, male and female and also human and non-human. It represents the universe, holistic conception of the world. It is the *dharma* that balances all forces and powers keeping the evil at bay, the unitary principle brings all together. The humans have to live in harmony with all powers worshipping and submitting to them.

Each of the deities has an image or photograph which is wrapped in a cloth called *mutta* or *pangadi*; it is a bundle of god's image, a red cloth, about a kilogram of rice, few coins etc. This bundle remains in the possession of the chief or senior most member of the clan, who is

⁹² Means big or elder.

the custodian. It is his privilege to organize the *puja*, offer food to the deity and pray to the deity on behalf of every one. Thus, symbolically the deity represents the social authority in Durkheimian sense. The chief of the clan, headman - Naik and Kharobari are the most important persons in the village i.e., Thanda, whose presence is mandatory at the engagement, marriage, death and funeral. All the disputes related to marriage, property inheritance, inter-village conflicts etc., are resolved by the elders only. This internal solidarity of the clan and external solidarity of the Thanda is maintained by the village council headed by Naik. The *pujas* or worship of the deities indirectly endorses the authority of the elders. The council provides social security, justice and support to the individual besides correcting an individual if he deviates the social norms as much as the gods do.

The modes of worship vary from one occasion to another, but there are certain common rites which throw light on the difference of traditions. In the rituals of Lambadas there is preparation of *chako purnam* which is a cow-dung cake on which maize or *jowar* flour is put is the rite specific to Lambadas. The cow-dug is an object of worship in Bathukamma festival or Sankranti in the South India, but it is different in case of Lambada. Undoubtedly cow-dung symbolizes female deity but also other rites are exclusive to this community that is setting up of *homam* and water dara i.e., pouring of water. These refer to or worship of fire and water which are related to *Sanskritic* tradition. Throwing ghee, jaggery, coconut kernel etc., refers to *yagna* or *Vedic* tradition practiced by the sages. This practice is absent in rural South Indian tradition perhaps it is North Indian tradition. It is *Brahmanic* tradition usually practiced at the weddings. The preparation of a variety of sweet such as *laddu*, *kheer*, *khadaï*, and *kwali* and *solai*, a preparation of from the intestines of goat are again distinctive practices of Lambadas. Though there is the practice of sacrificing animals as in case of low castes and tribes, the Lambadas do not sacrifice buffalo which is not the case in the former. The sweets symbolically represent vegetarianism while the sacrifice the non-vegetarianism. This is a conflict in which vegetarianism symbolizing the purity wins over the latter impurity or pollution; it is more elaborated in the story of Sevalal, and at the same time it valorizes preeminence of male and male gods dominating the female deities.

The Lambadas give great reverence and even worship as deities to the dead ancestors of the Thandas and also the community places some high above the ancestors and even equal to gods or deified saints. These are Sevalal, Prem Singh, Linga Masandh, Hathirambaba. Saint

Rama Rao who lives in Maharashtra and visits the coal mine areas often is considered living *guru* of the Lambadas. The apotheosis of the farmer has taken place some years ago; people have no idea when these saints lived. However, people visit Rama Rao Maharaj on Guru Purnima *puja* day and show obeisance to him. He is the one who introduced social reforms among the Lambada including observance of *guru purnima*, worship of *gurus* (teachers or saints) which was not there earlier. And, he wants shrines or temples to be constructed for Sevalal in all Thandas besides great social and religious reformation. However, for the present the stories of the saints who lived earlier are important in the social context which shall be discussed briefly.

In the story of Linga Masandh, Lambadas visit Kasi to meet guru Govind who is not a Lambada. As the story unfolds Linga Masandh, an orphan an ill fated child obtains supernatural powers and his humble nature fetch him great power by the benevolence of *guru* Govind. Later, he subdues the mischievous relatives who were inimical and arrogant community that was capricious. Then he meets Nizam of Hyderabad and shows his supernatural power, however later on he was slain by his own community, but then a non-Lambada constructs a tomb. This story clearly demonstrates the Lambada's interaction with various kinds of people and valorizes the virtues of a humble, tolerant and an intelligent Lambada who is god fearing and saint.

The story of *saathi* reveals the heroism of Lambada man and sacrifice of a Lambada woman. In one version the Lambada bridegroom is killed by a tiger and in another version, the tiger can be seen symbolized in a Gond man who has killed the Lambada bridegroom. In both the cases the Lambada woman commits suicide. In the first version it is devotion of woman to man and in the second version it is devotion of wife to her husband when there is an adverse situation or coercion by a villain she does not hesitate to lay her life down. In this story also the Lambada encounter with a non-Lambada who is inimical and treacherous, but the virtuous Lambada do not yield rather sacrifice their lives.

In the story of Sevalal one can notice the contradictions relating to religious traditions, gender and marital status. However, there is also intervention of non-tribal and Muslim king. The religious traditions are about defying the hegemony of male deity. The female deity demands Sevalal who was born with her blessing to surrender her, but Sevalal was defiant. She also

demands animal sacrifices, but he refuses to sacrifice animals though he was ready to worship the female deity. The Muslim king tries to cause troubles to him but he overcomes all. Thus, the story exposes in the conflicts and contradiction that society faces. In case of gender isn't that woman is more important than man for she conceives, gives birth and natures? But the social reality is that man dominates over woman, which seems unjustifiable. But the story resolves in favour of man. Sevalal was compelled to marry, but he vehemently refuses to marry. In this case between marriage and celibacy which is better, the story resolves that it is celibacy which gives man spiritual supremacy. The female deity that demands animal sacrifice symbolizes Dravidian or South Indian traditions where female deities are venerated and animal sacrifices to these deities also are common. Sevalal's refusal to give animal sacrifice subscribing to the vegetarian form of worship keeps the brahmanical traditions in a superior status to the non-brahmanical traditions of animal sacrifices in inferior status. The historical context is significant here because saint Sevalal lived during the period of Muslim rulers in Deccan. It is the period where the Lambadas intensively interacted with the Muslim powers, but they kept the Hindu values intact, neither did they convert to Islam nor accepted any values from it, however they participated in the Moharram festival in a symbolic sense of social harmony.

From the above description one can draw the propensity and disposition of a Lambada highly adaptive to the situation. They have been encountering with different tribal and non-tribal populations and often time they had tough times to deal with them. They did not have the history of fighting with the rulers or dominant people. But when they got dragged into fight they did fight. Their anxieties are concerned with the survival and harmonious living with the nature and other fellow beings.

Kolams

The Kolams have no history but ethnological evidence shows they have been living closely with the dominant tribal community, Gonds whose history is known since 1240 BCE. The Raja Gonds ruled this part of the country during 1240 - 1750 BCE. They had to keep fighting with the Marathas and Peshwas and later on with Delhi Sultan and also Bahmani Sultan of Bijapur. The Raja Gonds maintained their kingdom until the Muslim rules of Delhi totally subdued them around 1750. The Nizam of Hyderabad ceded this part of his territory to the

British 1853, and after independence majority of Kolams and Gonds came under the administrative control of the state of Andhra Pradesh. Since this area has been the buffer zone of Maratha speaking and Telugu speaking populations, the tribal populations before independence had closer association with the Maratha speakers but after the states reorganization on language basis, the Gond and Kolam that remained in Andhra Pradesh developed more relations with the Telugu populations. In the villages Gonds and Kolams lived in interdependency as the former are patrons while the latter as clients. The Kolams act as priests or ritual specialists for the Gonds, for they seemed to have developed more spiritual knowledge even though they have their profession of working on bamboo and shifting cultivation. It seems as the non-tribes encroached upon the tribal lands, the Gonds searched for virgin lands but the Kolams were pushed to the hills and they lived in small groups on the hill slopes.

Thus the Gonds raised to the level establishing a state of their own, and have the history of resisting the domination of Maratha rulers and Muslim rulers. Of late, just before the independence they revolted against the Nizam of Hyderabad in 1940 for the atrocities committed by the forest and police officials. They did not like the Nizam government's accession of lands of the Gonds and Kolams located in the forest, besides encroachment of non-tribes and the government issuing certificate for these occupied lands. Thus, Kolams also participated in the insurrection. Therefore, the history of Kolams is marked by the conflict with the non-tribal state and harmonious relations between the politically and economically dominant Gonds.

The Kolams who continued to live in the forest or close to the forest interact with the forest and wild life every day more than that of non-tribes. Forest is everything for them as it provides food, shelter, protection and so on. It is their deity in letter and spirit as discussed in Chapter 2 as reflected in their rituals. Several rituals take place in the forest only. Raju(lu) and Sulepkad are the forest deities who are worshipped by them regularly. They worship *ippa* tree, anthill, rivers and hills. The visit of tiger is believed to be the visit of their god Bhimayyak. As the tiger lives in forest, Bhimayyak shrine is outside the habitation, he is brought to village when he is honored. Tiger does not visit the habitations frequently, and when visits he can harm, and Kolam do not harm the tiger. Bhimayyak's representation, Gajj is put on peacock feathers as a crown or head-gear, and different animals are engraved on the Gajj besides sun and moon. The sun and moon are also printed on the flag of Kolams and

Mundel. Any river is treated as Ganga deity; even river Godavari is called Ganga where bathing of Bhimanna god/Gajj takes place. Kolam boys' initiation ceremony takes place on a hillock in the forest and the hillock is considered sacred. Earth is a divine being and therefore, on several ritual occasions Kolams worship by touching the ground either by hand or head. The Kolam's pantheon includes ancestors also. Thus, the Kolams life is around the forest and nature and little interaction with non-tribes but with dependency with the Gond tribe.

Bhimayyak is believed to be the chief guardian deity of the Kolam villages and similarly Pochamma, Nadidiamma, Gabureg, Polakamma are supposed to protect the Kolam villagers from the attack of evil spirits. The gods and goddesses are powerful spiritual beings, and Kolams believe that they manifest in objects such as stones, trees, animals, musical instruments, fire or lamp, water, incense container, and even in agricultural implements etc., which are worshipped or revered as sacred objects. Oxen are worshipped during Pasuvula *puja* and *puja* is performed at the cattle shed also on Akkadi Amavasya and god is present in them also. Gods make their presence in human beings also and therefore they are worshipped. The above description of life cycle ceremonies, various religious rites and festivals amply make it clear that human beings are worshipped as divine beings at that moment.

They pray to and supplicate gods for timely rains, good yield and good forest produce, and exhibit their gratitude by organizing ceremonies and festival in honoring the deities and offering sacrifices of chicken, goat, sheep, cow, goat and pig. They depend on forest for everything, and therefore if forest is not honored there will be threat for their survival. Their cattle are dependent on forest foliage, but the forest is host of benign and malign spiritual being and therefore, their cattle besides themselves are to be protected by Rajulu and Akkadi, the forest gods. While cattle and men return to village the evil spirits also come along with them. Therefore, the gods Bhimayyak, ancestors, Potharaju, and village boundary gods that guard the village from the entry of evil spirits and drive away the evil spirits that attempt to enter the village. Similarly the goddess, Pochamma, Maisamma, and Gabureg also keep vigil on the evil spirits and prevent their entry into the village lest they cause illnesses, diseases and deaths. The evil spirits even attack cattle and crops, and therefore, the gods and goddesses have to protect the Kolams from the misdeeds of evil spirits. Dayyala mula is the most sacred place in the house where *puja* or worship to gods is organized.

Either in life cycle ceremonies or in religious rituals the apparent motives as expressed in symbolic objects and symbolic actions are related to two aspects: sustenance of life – fertility and threat to life. Neither these rituals nor the folklore of the Kolams does contain any great ideas of religion or philosophy. They are concerned with mundane issues of life and death. At the birth of a child, the life is indicated with the symbols of lighted lamp sitting on *jowar* grains which are handed over to the elders. In puberty, the girl is taken to the female deities that symbolize fertility and *puja* is performed seeking the blessing. The boys' initiation ceremony the feeding of boys with *kanduri*, sacrificed chicken mixed with *jowar* flour, on a hillock is the symbolic expression of manhood. In the engagement ceremonies food - *panegallu*, *roties*, *chai-pani* etc., and exchanges are important symbols and symbolic actions that bring people together through marriage and nurture of body is significant. The marriage process begins with the *puja* at *dayalla mula* by lightening lamp and offering *panegalu* to the deities. The wedding dress is taken to Pochamma deity for her blessing, and hen and cock are sacrificed in the name of the deity. Several rituals of the wedding as described above consist of lighted lamp and *jowar* grains and sacrifice of cock and hen. The earthen pots containing *jowar* or rice, pouring of *jowar* into the hands etc., reveals the symbolization of fertility. Several other activities of bride and bridegroom indicate initiation of the bride and groom to the family life. In death also an earthen lamp is put next to the dead person, and the dead body is buried in the agricultural land of the dead person. A person carrying a pot containing water and that hole is made to it so that water flows slowly and moves around the dead person symbolize the departure of life from the body. In the post funeral ritual the *puja* is organized in front of a new pot that symbolizes the dead person.

The religious rituals worshipping different gods and goddess as described above also focus on the fertility, prosperity and well-being of individual, family, clan and Kolam society. While getting rid or driving away of evil spirits and nullifying their harmful effect on health of individual, family members, crops and animals is one aspect, praying gods to protect them from the attack of evil spirits and to provide them with food for humans and animals is another aspect. The expression of gratitude for meeting these needs through ritual is another aspect though related with the latter. While the *pujas* of Thirtham Kovva, Polakamma, Dandari and Bhimayyak *jathara*, Pochamma, Maisamma, Nadidiamma or Burri or Gabureg essentially aim towards warding off evil spirits, the other rituals such as Ippa Puvvu *puja*, Polala Amavasya, Duradi, Manndos, and Vithanala *Muhurtham* are for bounty of crops. The

festivals like Pokke Kotha and Chithaki are organized for thanking gods. However, the festivals of Pasuvula *puja*, Akkadi *puja*, Akkadi Amavasya, Nagulapanchami, Doorka Dayal and Sivabodi and Kargu are meant basically protecting the animals and cattle herders in the forest and villages from the attacks of animals, snake bites etc. The *jathara* of Bhimayyak is celebrated for all purposes of thanks giving; protection from evil spirits and driving away the evil spirits and granting for happy life as mentioned in connection with various *pujas* and festivals. In all the rituals and festivals described above what is very important aspect is the trance and getting possessed by people. It has two functions: providing solutions to the problems of the people and presence of the god.

In the context of above it is important to note that whenever the people get possessed, they receive whippings (*sattlu*). The possessors are not only mediums but they also represent the Kolam society and individual members of the society. The whippings are reprimands or punishments of the gods for the mistakes committed by the society and individuals knowingly and unknowingly. This ritual activity of whipping undertaken in the name of god's marks obedience of the people to the authority of the gods which implies continuous support of gods for the well being of Kolams. The whippings and sprinkling of cow urine signify sustained sacredness and purity of the people. The sprinkling or throwing up of *dari belly* symbolizes the showering of blessings of the gods upon the people. Thus, a constant interaction between the man and god takes place.

As stated above Bhimayyak is the supreme deity of Kolam while others being subordinate to him. He is not represented in human form he rather symbolizes the universe - sun, moon, animals, plants which are engraved on the Gajj and the crown is made of peacock feathers that represent birds. Every year bathing is done for him in Ganga (Godavari) river. However, there is not only one Bhimayyak, but they are legion, the mythology (see Annexure -1) unravels the fact the Bhimayyak was in human form once upon a time, and all of them. Bhimayyak lived in one place and moved to another places, there was a quarrel among the Bhimayyak over the control of a region etc. Thus, it seems Bhimayyak was a chieftain or king and the horse figurines that stand before Gajj also support the idea. The other Bhimayyaks were his associates and they used to interact with the Kolams who were in the forest in the hoary past. Further, it also appears that Bhimayyak represents benevolent Gond tribal or non-tribal king. The visit of king of tribal territory or village is represented in the visit of Bhimayyak in the *puja* of Bhimayyak to Kolla village and households. It appears to

be the same in case of Dandari and in Polakkamma *puja*; in Dandari, it is the visit of Gussadi and in Polakkamma *puja*, it is the visit of priest to the houses. The relations of Kolams with the villagers are enacted in Polakamma *puja* in a *villarik* - meeting of *ayyak-marrge* (grandfather and son-in-law) with Naikpod, Madiga animals taking animal hides and arrival police that confiscate hides and thus harass the Kolams - is an interesting episode of Kolam – Naikpod - Non-tribes and police or forest officials. Further, the forest gods are called Rajulu which means kings. Polakamma *puja* and Bhimayyak *jathara* contain several similarities with the village rituals of south India⁹³. The influence of non-tribal religious concepts and practices cannot be ruled out, particularly the concept of sacred or purity, cow urine is used as sacred water that purifies people, place and objects despite the fact that Kolams beef eat.

The rituals and ceremonies described also strongly signify the social solidarity which in fact was suggested by Radcliffe-Brown (1922) in the beginning of anthropological research itself. In the life cycle rituals the unity of consanguine and affinity that constitute kinship of Kolam is represented through the participation of brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law etc. The ceremonies also require the participation of all sagas/clans through their representatives. In the rituals, the *punnji* and *pathi* shall have the representation of all clans. *Sooryak-daryak*, a group, is required to participate in almost all the religious rituals.

As mentioned earlier the exclusive habitation of Kolams in Kolami is called *pod* with a small population in relation to a multi-caste habitation called *oor* where Kolams and others also are living; an extension of it where Kolams inhabit is *pod*. But exclusive Kolam habitation which is big enough in size can be an independent hamlet and it can also be called *oor*. Most of the Kolam habitations located in the interior forest area are known as *oor*, and the present research focus is on such villages only. However, each habitation of Kolam is a distinct physical and geographical entity with its boundary called *oorusivar*. This boundary separates a village from the forest or another village. The village is under the moral, political, and administrative control of the village Patel. Entry is not free for everyone, for instance, at the time of marriage, bride's family remains at the village *sivar* of the bridegroom and obtains permission from the Patel of the bridegroom's village before entering the village. The goddess Pochamma is enshrined at this place; she guards the village from the entry of any evil spirit. From this perspective, the ceremonies and rituals of Kolam not only reflect the

⁹³ See Elmore (1915) Dumont (1986) Dirks (1987) Rao (1998) Rao and Ravi kumar (2017).

perception of their world and village being a microcosm of it, but also function to build solidarity of the group.

In the above perspective, the social solidarity is built within the village but also across the village. The Dandari *puja*, symbolical visit of gods, Gussadi represent the god Bhimayyak, Mav and Pori represent male and female i.e., creation, reproduction and nature, connects several villages through harmonious relations. The gods are coercive if they do not celebrate rituals and visit the village rituals are already celebrated or otherwise they become unwelcome and treated as polluted people. Also, among Kolams to use foot-ware or sandals for assaulting anyone is a crime or sin, and the expiation is by shaving the head, a way of shaming a person, and immersion in river or bathing in Ganga by both the offender and the victim. The crime rate among the Kolams is extremely low and then rarely fight. Women enjoy equal rights with men with regard to marriage and divorce.⁹⁴

Every Kolam village has a traditional village council called *panchayath* that consists of a leader called Patel or Naikun, two priests called Dhelak and Khatodak and a Havaladar; these positions are hereditary but when they are unwilling to continue in the position due to old age or for any reason and their sons are not interested, someone will be elected or selected by the villagers. Women are not entitled to take these positions. The village council solves various issues which are brought to its notice. The problems like domestic violence, divorce, elopement, land issues, any inter or intra village disputes, theft etc., are resolved by the traditional *panchayat*. The Patel chairs every meeting and discusses with the other elders besides the priests who give their valuable suggestions during the deliberations in the meeting. The final decision rests upon the village headman. Most of the Kolams are not aware of the modern political institutions, voting and leadership. They have no idea of State Assembly or Parliament, the need for casting votes and whom to cast vote and why etc. They generally avoid the voting unless the local leaders pressurise them to cast their votes. They think that by casting vote they do not gain anything, rather they think that when they cast vote they lose a day's work. They strongly believe that political leaders, those who win the elections look for their own benefit rather than helping people. There are very few people in Kolam community who served as Sarpanch in the modern village *panchayat*. There are no

⁹⁴ Pushpesh Kumar (2006) observes that society tolerates even a woman develops sexual relations with non-tribes; she will not be forced to discontinue such social proscription.

proper local leaders who can represent the whole community or safeguard their interest. They do not even have associations with the other tribal groups. They hardly take their grievances to any politician or official.

It is clear from the above description that the Kolams are more inward looking, it is an exclusive community concerned with its own wellbeing. It is more or less self reliant in harmonious relation with the dominant Gond community that in fact respects the Kolams who are ritual specialists for it. The Kolams depend on agriculture and forest and their livelihood are met with collective activities which require solidarity of the group and interdependencies. Their rituals are great means through which the solidarity gets reinforced in the society. They also depend on the gods and goddesses for meeting their daily need for survival, providing for their cattle and protecting them from diseases and evil spirits that threaten their life.

Subjectivity and Response of Lambada and Kolam to the SCCL

It seems these two tribes possess a contrasting cultural framework. The Lambadas are outward looking while the Kolams are inward looking. In their experiences the former has been in continuous interaction with the world outside their community, but the latter restricted itself with their own affair unmindful of interference from others. With the kind of dispositions that they are endowed with when the SCCL established mines taking their lands and displacing their villages, they reacted in different ways. For the Lambadas it is a new challenge and they considered it a new avenue to explore and make use of the opportunities for their common and individual benefit. Their adaptive nature and capabilities helped for using the resources of the SCCL for meeting their needs. They did not get into logger head with the SCCL; rather their strategy has been to have continuous dialogue through unions and other political representatives being members of the unions, associations and parties. They have been able to adjust well with the new situation.

The response of the Kolams has been different as explained earlier; it is entering into confrontation or withdrawing themselves from the conflict. As regards to the former they felt it is the infringement of the state and SCCL on their rights and it is an injustice which can be resisted. To some extent such reaction has been aided by the social solidarity that they are endowed with and mustered their strength but it was not enough without the support of Gonds. Ignorant of the statesmanship and means to fight out with the state while some

surrendered but some others withdrew themselves deep into the forest. In the case of the second strategy in the forest, they are struggling to recreate the community in the old environment as its fabric has been greatly disturbed. Those who are outside the forest and settled new in locations they are facing the same problem everyday encountering the non-tribes and getting buffeted in every respect. They are rebuilding their society in an entirely different environment physically and socially. The state and SCCL's apathy is adding to their frustration and throwing them to the ground as hapless beings that lacks means to fight. Some are trying to reconcile with the situation but unfortunately no help is coming from any quarter. The state is supposed to be benevolent as Bhimayyak, but it is more like a tiger and tyrannical. Their resistance has been rendering little help, in a way they are compelled to compromise.

Chapter 8

Summary and Conclusion

This being the final chapter, the salient points emerged from the present study are presented here very briefly. It is divided into two parts: summary or the major findings and the conclusion drawn from this study. The introduction begins with of the major contemporary problems of tribes in India i.e., involuntary displacement of tribal communities due to developmental projects. So far more than five millions have lost their homeland. This subject has drawn attention of social scientists and anthropologists as well for quite some time. There has not been even a policy of resettlement and rehabilitation of such project affected populations till 2003. A new national policy of rehabilitation and resettlement came into force in this regard in 2007. Therefore, the ad hoc, variant and sporadic administrative decision of various state governments have done lip service to the problems of involuntarily displaced tribal groups in the respective states leaving the hapless tribes to their own misery and destitution. Several studies vividly describe the sufferings of the displaced tribes in the rehabilitated colonies. The studies also reveal the fact that the responses of the tribes have not always been the same to their displacement besides undergoing socio-cultural changes. But, the review of literature on this subject shows that there has been no research done how do we explain the differential response of the communities to the displacement. However, the review reveals extensive work on migration, socio-cultural change, environmental impact and impingement on tribal rights etc. Further, in Indian context there is no study to show if the Rehabilitation and Resettlement Policy 2003 and 2007 of government of India has made any positive impact on the displaced tribes in India. So the extensive review of literature disclose that these two aspects i.e., response of the tribes to displacement and impact of R and R Policy of 2003 need our immediate attention.

The present study has focused on the displacement of tribes in Goleti area of Adilabad district, Telangana State in the context of coals mines established by the Singareni Collieries Company Limited (SCCL) since late 1960s. The extensive displacement has taken place after 1972 wherein the Kolams and Lambada tribes are disturbed and dislocated and these are subjects of the present study. The main objectives of the study include (1) To study the socio-economic profiles and livelihood patterns of Lambada and Kolam who are affected by the coal mining before after the establishment of SCCL, (2) To study the changing cultural

patterns of these tribes in a diachronic perspective, (3) To understand the strategies and responses of these tribes in dealing with the SCCL for getting benefits, the success and their failures and (4) To study the R and R new policy implementation and the impact of measures taken by the SCCL on the two tribes. The theoretical framework adopted for the study includes study of the communities in a historical perspective adopting one of the models that Peel (1987) has identified and also the concept of subjectivity of Sherry Ortner (2005). An anthropological fieldwork was carried out between May 2013 and August 2014 by staying in Rehabilitated Centre of Kolams at Dhantanpally and Goleti village of Lambada in Adilabad district for collecting the primary data for the study.

After providing a brief account of the Lambada society in terms of its structure and organization, and historical background (Chapter 2) and the same for Kolam society (Chapter 3), the dissertation has discussed the establishment of Singareni Collieries Company Limited (SCCL) in Goleti area. Further, the life in the coal mines also is presented (Chapter 4). It is followed by the process of rehabilitation and resettlement of Kolams and Lambada and the implementation of the R and R Policy (Chapter 5). Next, the life in the resettlements or new villages and the problems of adaptation are discussed (Chapter 6). The last but one, the major question of the impact of coal mining on the tribes and differential response are analyzed (Chapter 7). The conclusions drawn from this study are presented in the present chapter.

The Lambadas are migrant population from the northern part of the India, especially Marwar region in Rajputana of present Rajasthan. They connect themselves with Prithviraj Chowhan. When the king was defeated by Mohammad Ghorī in 1192 CE they were divided into three groups. One of these groups was believed to be migrated to Deccan area. There is a long history for them having connections with the British, Kakatiyas of Warangal, Mughals and Asaf Jahis of Hyderabad. They have adopted different occupations like agriculture and cattle breeding etc. They sold milk and milk products to non-tribal people and maintained good relations with them subsequently they have learned agriculture.

They are known with different names in different states of India. For instance, in Andhra Pradesh and Telangana they are called as Lambadas, Banjara and Sugalis. In Maharashtra they are called as Banjara, Vanjara, Goar, and Lamabara etc. Therefore, it does not matter for Lambadas how others call them but they address themselves as *Goar mati*. The meaning of *Goar* is the protector of cattle. They are identified as SCs in some states and as STs in other

states. Their population according to 2011 census is 20, 46,117. Though they speak Telugu in Telangana, they have their own language called *Goorboli*.

Lambadas are divided under different phratries like Jadav, Chowhan, Rathod, Povar and Ade respectively. Each of the phraties is divided into several clans. Both phratry and clan are exogamous. Lambada practice different types of marriage which include cross-cousin marriage (CCM), polygyny, levirate, sororate, avunculate and exchange marriages. Lambada society is changing due to the influences of modernity with reference to their traditional dress, not visiting wife's family after marriage and giving birth at husband's house etc. The life cycle ceremonies, festivals etc., are also undergoing change. For example, giving modern names to new born babies, not inviting the grandfather to name the new born baby etc., using the services of Brahmin for naming a child or solemnizing marriage are some of the noticeable changes.

Every Lambada Thanda has its own traditional council that deals with various issues of the Thanda residents. It is headed by Naik who gets assistance from Karobari, Davo and Vichari who inherit these positions. The traditional leader, Naik enjoys respect and privilege besides having roles and responsibilities in various occasions like engagement, marriage, death and various festivals. No ritual or ceremony can be organized without his presence. He is responsible for maintaining law and order in the Thanda. Rarely do we find a Lambada lodging a complaint against a fellow Lambada with the police or moving a civil or criminal court for justice. The following are considered offences which are dealt by the traditional *panchayath* of the Thanda: adultery, sexual relationship among the forbidden members, divorce, elopement, land issues, crimes, property distribution, committing thefts within the community and any other economic disputes within and outside the clan members. In the meeting, if guilt of a person is established the social control is exercised in the form of imposing fine or seeking forgiveness by touching the feet of the elders.

They perform Seethala Devi *puja* in order to please the deity so that she will protect them and their cattle alike. The shrine for the Samnak (Thanda deity) is located on the outskirts of the Thanda. She is believed to be protecting them from evil spirits and other disasters which come from other Thandas. The unmarried girls in the Thanda participate in the Teej festival for nine days. The Lambadas have adopted this Polala *panduga* festival from the Scheduled

Caste people of the region. The families whose main occupation is agriculture and own cows or oxen organize this festival. The leaves brought from the forest are tied in front of the *pandal* of the house as it is believed that these leaves prevent any disease gaining entry into the house. Apart from their own festivals the Lambada also celebrate the non-tribal Hindu festivals like Sankranthi, Holi, Ugadi, Srirama navami, Naga panchami, Sivarathri, Ganesh chaturdi, Diwali and Dasara. The Rathod and Jadhav phratries worship clan (Inti Devara *puja*) goddess Bhavani whereas Chowan phratry worships goddess Saathi as their clan deities. The Povar phratry worships both goddesses Bhavani and Saathi. Apart from these deities, everyone worships goddess Durga/Meramma, Sevalal and the deceased persons or ancestors.

The Lambadas also worship the god Bhimanna who is believed to be the principal deity of Gonds and Kolam tribes before sowing the seeds in their respective agricultural fields. The blood drops of the sacrificed hen are sprinkled on the seeds, placed in front of the god. After ritual offerings, the seeds placed in front of the god are brought home and mixed with the other seeds. Later on, the seeds are sowed in their respective agricultural fields. They also organize *puja* on every full moon day, *Guru pournami puja*, *Side pilla puja* and *Rain puja*. Apart from these they also worship ancestors and saints such as Sevalal, Hathiram Baba, and Linga Masandh, Ramrao Maharaj and Premsingh Maharaj.

Kolams are one of the indigenous populations classified as Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PVTGs). Their population according to 2001 Census is about 2, 19, 317 (together in Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh). In Telangana state they are spread in the northern part of Adilabad district and in southern part of Maharashtra. They live in independent hamlets or as part of a village in plains and hills in association with Gonds and other tribes such as Naikpods, Pardhans and caste groups. Though they are different from Gonds in terms of language they have similar social structure. The Kolams have their own language known as *kolavagotti* which is similar to Gondi.

Unlike Gonds, there is no information available about the history of Kolams either in ancient or medieval period. Several researchers have made it clear that the Kolams are historically associated themselves closely with the Gonds who were the dominant tribe of the region. Forest and land are close to the hearts of Kolams and Gonds as they provide them with the basic needs for survival. The Kolams who continued to live in the forest interact with the

forest and wild life every day more than that of the non-tribes, and as such their life style is heavily influenced by the forest environment.

The traditional dress of white shirt, dhoti and white turban can be noted among the Kolam men on the occasions of festivals and other ceremonies and women regularly wear sari in the style of Marashtrian women and blouse. The impact of modernity is also visible prominently in dressing patterns in younger generation. The consumption of rice instead of *Jowar* has been on the increase in the recent times. They are very religious people and perform *pujas* on certain occasions like before commencement of house construction, festivals, agricultural activities and several others. At the centre of the village called *chavdi* they enshrine a goddess called Nadidamma which is a manifestation of centrality of religion in their daily life and organization of Kolam society. The society is divided into phratries on the basis of the number of gods that they worship: *nail dayalkher* (worshippers of four gods), *aidu dayalkher* (worshippers of five gods), *aru dayalkher* (worshippers of six gods) and *yedu dayalkher* (worshippers of seven gods). Each of these phratries is further divided by named clans such as Athram, Kodapa (*aru dayalkher*), Tekkam (*nail dayalkher*), Madavi (*edu dayalkher*) and Kumram (*eidu dayalkher*). The names are used as surnames and marriage is prohibited within the group and marriage within the same phratry is also considered incestuous.

The Kolams appear to have been originally food gathering and hunting tribe, but later on they shifted to making bamboo baskets, mats and thatches. Some of them now are engaged in agriculture. In fact since the availability of bamboo has been declined greatly in the recent past they started depending on the wage labour during the off season of agriculture. They are herbalists and ethno-medical and magico-religious practices distinct identity. Despite the spread of bio-medical practitioners and accessibility of modern hospitals run by the state and private agencies, majority of the women give birth at home. The traditional mid-wife, *manthrasani*, who assist pregnant woman at the time of delivery. On the fifth or eight day after the child birth they organize naming ceremony (*peryedekad*). Generally, children are named after their ancestors. The *supari* or the priest, Dhelak, is called to the house and requested to name the child. When the woman's owe is fulfilled the hairs of child is offered to the god after the child's birth. The hair cut ceremony (*gosikdimpekad/thalunkirekad*) is organized when the child is two or three months old. The maternal uncle plays an important role in the ritual who is presented with a cock or hen as a payment (*katnam*).

A girl on her puberty remains in a secluded hut which is built for her outside the *ooru kattu*, and after certain rites she is taken into the house. The married woman abstains from cooking during the monthly cycle and is secluded within the house at a corner. Kolam practice serial monogamy, polygyny, and levirate marriage. Though cross-cousin marriage, mother's brother son/daughter is found, the marriage of father's sister's son/daughter is rare. Omen play very important place in fixing a match despite the liking of the both the parties. Marriage is celebrated for three days. It is the responsibility of the bride's side representative called *soorver thakar* to take care of all arrangements till the marriage gets over. If a person is dead then it is a taboo for them to cook food for a week. A post-funeral ceremony called *dinam* is performed. The *munthal* ritual is organized for two days after one year or five years to incorporate the dead person into the company of ancestors. The ancestors are worshipped in the same manner of worshipping gods. In the night Thoti community bards are invited to narrate the stories in the name of deceased persons.

Bhimanna or Bhimayyak is the chief deity of Kolams. He is represented as Gajj. Every year bathing takes place for him in the Ganga (Godavari) river. They perform different *pujas* for different purposes. For instance, the *pujas* of *thirtham kovve* (*Jathara pillalu*) are basically to protect the village from various evil spirits and the other rituals such as *vithanala muhurtham*/muhurthalu (auspicious time of sowing seeds) are organized for the bounty of crops. The festivals like *samakotha* (eating new grains) are organized for thanking gods. However, the festivals of *pasuvula puja* (worship of cattle) are conducted mostly for the protection of the animals and cattle herders in the forest and villages from the attacks of animals, snake bites etc. While the *bandar puja* is organized to ensure the number of permanent residents in the village and to know about the health, agriculture, financial status and deaths etc., related to the village with the indication of signs during this *puja*. However, the *kargulla puja* is organized for protecting from rodents such as rats and rabbits that damage the crops and protecting themselves from any disease caused by mosquito bite. *Badaga* is praying to the goddess to take away all the diseases of the villagers along with her.

On the whole it is understood that they pray to gods for timely rains, good yield and good forest produce, and show their gratitude by organizing ceremonies and festival in honoring the deities and offering sacrifices of chicken, goat, sheep, cow, goat and pig. They depend on forest for everything, and therefore if forest is not honored there will be threat to their

survival. They believe that goddess Pochamma one of the village boundary gods will protect them from evil spirits by not allowing them to enter into the village.

Every Kolam village has a traditional village council called *panchayath* that consists of a leader called Patel or Naikun, two priests called Dhelak and Khatodak and a Havaladar; these positions are hereditary. The position of Patel is powerful as he enjoys authority and respect as his decision is final in all matters of the village. He is assisted by Dhelak and Khatodak who are called *devari*. The Dhelak looks after all the religious activities carried out in the village whereas the Khatodak is the priest for Bhimanna god. The Havaladar is appointed as messenger, and his duty is to circulate information, and to collect contributions from all households.

The village is under the moral, political, and administrative control of the village Patel. Entry is not free for everyone, any stranger should meet him first and obtain his permission to get any information from the village and even at the time of marriage, bride's family remains at the village *sivar* of the bridegroom and obtains permission from the Patel of the bridegroom's village before entering the village. The meetings of the council are held at the centre of the village called *chavidi* or at the Patel's house. The problems like domestic violence, divorce, elopement, land issues, any inter or intra village disputes, theft etc., are resolved by the traditional *panchayat*. The final decision rests upon the village headman. Most of the cases are solved in the traditional village *panchayat* and they do not go to police station or courts under normal circumstances.

Most of the Kolams are not aware of the constitutional political institutions, voting and leadership. There are very few people in Kolam community who served as Sarpanch in the village *panchayat*. There are no proper local leaders who can represent the whole community or safeguard their interest even at any crisis to meet government officials. They do not even have associations with the other tribal groups, except with Gonds with reference to religious rites. They hardly take their grievances to any politician or official. However, they did join the Gonds in their struggle for forest lands during the Nizam's reign. Except this they are basically peace loving tribe.

The Singareni Collieries Company Limited (SCCL) has established 14 underground (UG) and one open cast (OC) mines in and around Goleti village which comes under Bellampally area but some underground (UG) mines got closed for various reasons. The mines in

operations were affected due to the regular *bandhs* or strikes called by the workers' unions. Some mines were closed due to the exhaustion of mineral reserves while some other mines were closed down due to some technical issues and geological conditions of the mines. When these UG mines in Bellampally area are closed down, the coal mine workers are shifted to other places like Mandamari, Godavarikhani and Srirampur. In 2005, the company came up with a Khairagura OC mine in the Bellampally area which was followed by the Dorli-1 and Dorli-2 open cast projects in the year 2007 and 2008 respectively. When these three projects came into existence, some of the workers shifted to other places earlier came back to their original place and started working in these mines. There are three open cast and one underground mines operating at Goleti - Bellampally area. The underground mine named as Goleti 1A which is located at about five kilometres away from Goleti village. The three open cast mines, namely, Khairagura, Dorli-1 and Dorli-2 are situated at a distance of 15 to 30 kilometres away from the Goleti Township.

The SCCL Company operates at three different levels. The first is the corporate level, while the second and third are area and mine level. The Chairman and Managing Director (C&MD) is the head of the company. The company for its easy management has divided its operations in three regions namely, Kothagudem, Bellampally and Ramagundam. Then these three are again divided into 11 areas namely: Kothagudem, Yellandu, Manuguru, Bellampally, Srirampur, Ramagundam-1, Ramagundam-2, Ramagundam-3, Ramagundam-4 Mandamari and Bhupalapally. The company has a long hierarchical structure with line of officers from General Manager to technical sub-ordinate staff. The manual workers are considered and placed at the lowest level of the hierarchy and obliged to work under strict rules and regulations of the company. The company also gives little share to the employees from the annual profits of the company. They are paid arrears and festival bonus from time to time. There will be also hike in salaries for the employees for every five years. The salaries paid to the SCCL employees depend upon their positions and the number of days they work in a month.

However, company has brought some significant benefits by improving health, safety and other aspects. This is partly due to the act of minimizing the presence of a number of unions among workers and number of strikes and *bandhs*. As a result not only the number of worker unions has been reduced but also the productivity is increased.

Initially, the recruitment in the company used to be on the basis of physical fitness. Due to the lack of proper safety measures people were not willing to work in the company. Because of this even it used to be difficult for the company workers to find an alliance in marriage for the girls' parents were not willing to give their daughters in marriage for the fear of danger for the mine workers. However, once the company started improving the conditions by adapting safety measures situation has changed. The majority of the tribal workers in the SCCL belong to the Lambada tribe. While some Kolams participated in the events of selection for employment in the SCCL some others did not show any interest at all. Some of the Kolams, Mannevar, Pardhans and Gonds who were recruited at that time did not continue for long but they quit the job. It is interesting to know some of them 'sold away' their jobs to Lambadas and non-tribes. But this was not the case with the Lambadas. It is said Kolams are very thin and weak and were not strong enough to undertake the arduous tasks of the SCCL while the Lambada continued in the service because they were physically strong and thus able to withstand the hard labour. There were also cases among Kolams who did not even take compensation for their lost lands and those who did receive some monetary help were uninterested to seek work in SCCL.

It is important to note here that the many Lambadas worked hard in the initial days and they got adjusted to the new kinds of jobs and work environment and they continued their service in the SCCL at the lowest level of the hierarchy. Later on, the company regularized the services of some of them. But the other tribes like Kolams and Gonds could not adapt to the harsh conditions and discontinued abruptly. A few of them did however continue for some time but they were not regular in their duties, one reason as attributed by others is their habit of drinking alcohol that made them indolent and slow in their work. As a result, their services were not regularized and some of them were removed from the job due to their irregularity and frequent absence from work. Disappointed over this some of them quit the jobs for ever.

One dominant reason for the Kolams not working in the SCCL is their inability to adapt to the mining situation. This is what an outsider can infer from the discussion with the Kolams. But the analysis of social and cultural life of Kolams and the Lambadas can provide another scenario which is not articulated. It is about the social and cultural incompatibility and compatibility of the two tribes with regard to the mining work of the SCCL which is needs to be understood.

The SCCL acquired the land for the establishment of coal mines through two different land acquisition processes i.e., general award and consent award, according to the land acquisition rules of the government. The initial land acquisition by SCCL was in Goleti village, to construct administrative buildings where the project affected were mostly from the Lambada families. It offered either job in SCCL or money as a compensation for the land lost families. Lambadas did not oppose the SCCL because they thought that it will benefit them and their area also will be developed. In those days there was no public hearing for the establishment of mines but now the government is organizing the public hearing. The second phase of land acquisition happened in 2005, 2007 and 2008 which let SCCL to acquire a large extent of land and this resulted in displacing the villagers of Khairagura and Dorli 1 & 2. In this respect the company faced a lot of resistance from the villagers.

Hence, in case of Dorli, the company has used different tactics to convince the villagers for their dispossession of land and displacement of their habitations. First, they set up a team whose aim was to build rapport with the villagers to convince them, and accordingly the team was successful in building good rapport with the villagers. Secondly, they appointed a lawyer who belonged to a tribal community (Gond) to work for the company while still maintaining good relations with the villagers. The poor villagers did not know that this tribal man was working for the company and agreed with him to part with their lands at the rate of Rs. 86,000 per acre for *patta* land and Rs. 80,000 per acre for non-*patta* land. While surveying the lands the company had breached the rules of the government by using company's employees instead of using Mandal officers for the survey of the affected villages.

The SCCL has conducted meeting in the village with R and R administrator, village elders and villagers to consider the demands of villagers. Most of the population affected by the SCCL are Kolams and Gonds. It is observed that 20 percent of families are yet to construct the houses at R and R centers. However, a large number of people are not satisfied with the rehabilitation facilities by SCCL. An organization called Singareni Seva Samiti has initiated welfare measures for the rehabilitated people but ultimately, they are not getting benefits from any of them.

In case of Dantanpally, SSCL has given villagers some freedom to choose the location where they can be comfortably rehabilitated. But some of them (25 families) did not construct houses at the R and R centre. They built houses adjacent to their left over agricultural lands.

Generally, before choosing a place for habitation Kolams perform a test to find out whether the place is suitable for habitation or not. Accordingly the elders of the village visited the place on an auspicious day and after offered some traditional *pujas*, and then they selected the place for their habitation. The company has developed the R and R centre with the basic amenities and infrastructural facilities of drinking water (bore well and water tank), internal roads, drainage, electricity, primary school building, playground, community centre and access road to the resettlement site. But, due to some technical problems, the company could not complete some work which was promised earlier at the R and R centres.

Each of the family was allotted a plot at the R and R centre and also provided with a package of Rs 60,000 to 70,000 and a compensation for the lost land and house. The Kolams did not see such a huge amount of money earlier, so, when they received all of a sudden such an amount at a time, they spent it carelessly and lavishly with their relatives consuming alcohol. Some said that some of them had lent the money to others on high interest to non-tribes but finally they were cheated. Some of them borrowed from the bank for various purposes like purchasing auto rickshaws and bikes, especially the youth showed interest in auto driving which was an emerging occupation at that the time. Earlier the tribal people used to depend on the barter system; they had little idea of proper use of cash in monetised economic exchange system. Further, they knew how to use small amounts for immediate necessities, but had no idea how to deal with huge amounts either to save or invest profitably. But now having been exposed to the world outside them, they spent money lavishly on purchasing these vehicles and other wasteful items imitating the non-tribes and as suggested by their non-tribal friends. But, they were unable to repay the loan of the bank. As a result, those who borrowed money from the bank sold off their vehicles in some cases and thus they were not benefitted much from it.

As regards to situation at the resettled villages, the Lambada Thanda of Goleti village is not displaced due to coal mining. But, the Kolam village is displaced from their original village called Dhantanpally; they are resettled and rehabilitated near the Ontimamidi village and is named as Ontimamidi R and R centre. The Lambada village is not surrounded by the forest like Dhantanpally at present; before the establishment of SCCL Goleti and other villages were surrounded by forest, but the SCCL Company and the immigrant population have deforested the area. Since the Lambada village is close to the towns the villagers have easy

access to each and every resource. However, they definitely have experienced the impact of urban life on their culture due to the regular contact with the non-tribes while this is not the case with the Kolam village. Initially, the Lambada village was very small confined to their own community members but now it has grown into a large settlement. At present, it is a multi-ethnic village where majority (170 out of 210 households) of them belong to the Lambada tribe. There have been several changes with regard to Goleti village before and after the establishment of SCCL in terms of expansion of villages and improvement in infrastructural facilities like better roads, electricity, better means of transportation, schools, banks and health care facilities etc. The SCCL Company has constructed the quarters for its employees. Therefore, Goleti Township has come into existence and non-tribes have come and settled here.

Kolams are the original inhabitants who claimed themselves as *adavi bidallu* which means, children of the forest that have lived in the interior forest near the mountains and valleys or near their agricultural fields. They live in exclusive hamlets called *gudems* of their own which are different from the other tribes. The traditional method as mentioned before is adapted in 2008-09 to find the alternative site for their rehabilitation when the SCCL authorities asked them to leave the village Dhantanpally for establishing a cast mining. The SCCL has not provided all the promised facilities at the Ontimamidi R and R centre.

Some significant changes have taken place among Lambada as a result of their employment with the SCCL and improved economic conditions. These changes are prominent when it comes to house structures when compared to Kolams. Though, nuclear family is the major type of family among Lambada when compared to Kolams, extended family and joint family are also common types of family among them. There is higher literacy among the Lambada compared to the Kolam in Goleti. There are many well educated people in the Goleti Thanda who have completed their Bachelor's Degree in Engineering, PG and Ph.D. Degrees and diplomas. But this is quite different in the case of Kolams as there is none who has studied beyond intermediate. One of the important reasons for this is the socialization process. Kolams show interest towards the informal education which is considered an intrinsic part of their culture than the formal education. Now, the Kolams have lost their informal way of learning as they are introduced to formal education and also when SCCL has started the mining in the tribal territory. There are dropouts from schools in both the tribes due to

various reasons. But for some reasons the majority of the Kolams are not showing interest in formal education.

The Lambadas of Goleti who are engaged in mining also practice agriculture as the secondary occupation. The agricultural and non-agricultural wages depend on the season and demand of labour. When there is shortage of labour in the agricultural works the wage rates also go up. Again SCCL Lambada farmers also revise the daily wage according to its own norms independently but this creates a tension among the non-SCCL farmers when the labourers demand them wages at par with the SCCL Lambada farmers. For Kolams forest is everything i.e., from protection to livelihood. Due to the displacement, they have lost their traditional livelihood like basket making and they have also lost their agricultural lands. Hence, most of them are turned as agricultural labourers. Setting up of SCCL also had its impact on the economic life of Kolams. Earlier, they used to practice barter system and whenever there is agricultural crisis they used to depend on forest or barter system. But, now they lost both of them and they are forced to depend on cash economy which ultimately led them to agricultural labour.

Lambadas apart from the SCCL employment and agriculture, they also depend on the other sources of livelihood like daily wage labours, petty business, auto-driving, and employment in private and government offices. Now it may be noted here that among the Lambada there is a transition from nomadic - trade - agriculture - employment in SCCL, private and public sectors, but among the Kolams there is no such change.

The annual incomes of the two tribes show that the majority of the high income households are from Lambada. Thus, there is a clear difference of income between these two tribes. They take loans from the commercial banks at the time of agriculture season. However, among the Lambada debt is the new trend. The banks prefer giving loans to the Lambadas rather than Kolams because the repaying capacity among the Lambadas is higher whereas it is less among the Kolams. The Kolams do not show any interest towards in fulfilling their aspirations as most of them are poor; they meet their basic needs through daily wages. They do not care much about savings except for the purpose of rituals and ceremonies. They are not ambitious as the Lambada in life style. They believe in living a happy life in the forest environment by spending most of the money earned without saving them for tomorrow. There is no practice of dowry among the Kolams, but Lambadas give dowry to their

daughters which often lead to borrowing; this is the result of affluence under the influence of non-tribes. The desire to be like non-tribes in terms of having *pucca* houses, good education for children which include sending children to professional course and coaching institutions require more money than their earnings at one point of time.

The Lambadas are also making use of the government benefits extended to scheduled tribes like reservations in employment, admission into educational institutions and loans from banks and so on. Majority of the Goleti Lambadas are aware of the government schemes and programmes which are meant for the upliftment of the tribal communities. But it is quite opposite in case of Kolams, they do not have much awareness about such schemes and programmes. Under the government's development schemes like DWCRA and crop loan only 181 (63.6 Percent) households got benefitted. It is observed that wives of the SCCL workers are active participants of SHGs for they pay monthly contributions without any delay but this is not the case with some of the non-SCCL families. Lambada households have spent the borrowed amount largely on agriculture 91 (53.5 percent) and domestic needs 27 (15.9 percent) while little was spent on house construction - five (2.9 percent), marriage - three (1.8 percent), self employment - three (1.8 percent), health - two (1.2 percent) and education - one (0.6 percent). Unlike Lambadas the Kolams spent the borrowed amount on the domestic needs - 12 (16.7 percent), few spent on agriculture - seven (9.7 percent) and on animal husbandry - six (8.3 percent).

When SCCL initiated mining at Goleti, the area was under heavy drought. The Lambadas quickly realized that working in SCCL was much better than working elsewhere. Initially, the wages in the mines were very less for the unskilled workers when compared to agriculture labour. At present the SCCL employees are earning between Rs. 40,000 to Rs. 50,000 per month and it is enough for an average family. So, now sending wives out for work has become an old fashion and now 'not sending wife' for work has become a status symbol. In this respect Lambadas are fastidious. They are also more prone to the influence of non-tribals when compared to Kolams. Few SCCL employees have bought tractors and leasing them out for agricultural purposes hence they are earning more income. The more income so the more spending which is not the case among non-SCCL families. Hence, class difference emerged among them. There are also notable changes among Lambada; there is a shift from bride price to dowry due to the influence of non-tribal people. In some cases a job is given to the son of an employee if the latter is declared medically unfit. Now dowry has become burden

for non-SCCL Lambada families. Lambadas also started celebrating non-tribal festivals like Sankranti, Holi, Ugadi Srirama navami, Naga panchami, Sivarathri, Ganesh chaturdi, and Dasara etc., in a grand manner according to their status.

Kolams on the other hand have lost all their lands and become agricultural labourer. Mining has also disturbed the kinship network of relations among the project affected families. Due to displacement from the native land or agricultural lands the families moved to various other places. As a result, they got detached from their other kin members. It has not only separated the kin members but there is also a chance of arising disputes within the family members at the time of providing monetary benefits. The main reason behind the separation of family members is to get the benefits of the R and R policy. This separation has led to a decrease in the close attachment in the parent-children relationship. This is again to some extent hindering their social life. Before displacement the senior most member, i.e., father in a joint family was considered as the head of the family and his decision was final. But now the situation is different when they have turned into nuclear families.

Earlier at the time agricultural operations, all the family members and relatives used to help each other in the agricultural fields or participate in the process of production and collection of MFP which helped in building group or kinship solidarity. Therefore, they used to maintain the solidarity and inter-depend among themselves. But division of labor is missing after the displacement.

The separation of the members of the family and kin group due to displacement resulted in weakening or loosening bondage between relations and among themselves. They have lost their common place in the new village for the social gatherings where they used to celebrate the ceremonies and festivals. The Kolams lost forest land, burial ground, grazing land and herbal medicines which integrated them socially and economically. They lost the idols of their gods and goddess and thus the favours of deities.

When mining was introduced in their lives, it affected their culture, livelihood, ecology, environment and health of the Kolams. The mining activities like blasting drilling, loading and unloading of coal and overburden, and transportation etc., are the main reasons for the impact on the environment. As a result, the coal dust is accumulated on roads and trees as a thick layer which is ultimately causing severe pollution of air. It is the worse situation so far as agricultural fields are concerned and as the productivity of the crops has been greatly

reduced in the surrounding areas of the SCCL open cast mines. The surrounding agricultural lands receive the polluted air filled with the coal dust due to mining. It is ultimately affecting the yield, year by year the production has gone down when compared with the previous years.

The number of livestock like cow, buffalo, goat and sheep etc., got reduced due to the environmental pollution. Kolams are not showing interest to possess livestock and they have even limited to keep their cattle at the displaced village. During the pre-phase of mining the cattle rearing was considered as a source of livelihood but in the post-phase of mining some say their cattle are dying due to pollution of air, water and noise and some are dying by falling in the pits dug by the company. Hence, there is no way of protecting the oxen and therefore some of them sold out their oxen to non-tribals or neighboring villages at a lower price.

Certainly, coal mining has direct negative impact not only on the environment but also on the health of the local people. Environmental impact of coal mining in terms of air, water and noise pollution leads to various health hazards. They are suffering from different kinds of diseases which include asthma, tuberculosis and other dermatological diseases.

The establishment of mining has less positive and more negative impact on the Kolams' livelihood. The Kolams first of all refused to part with their lands, and then they made certain demands. Finally they yielded to the pressures and tactics of the SCCL and the state government and finally surrendered themselves. They organized *dharna* and rallies though not in a great scale. The Lambadas did protest but very mildly, and they were active in demanding employment of the kinsmen for the jobs fallen vacant due to voluntary retirement of employees from 1997 to 2001 and also those who became medically unfit. There was provision for the employment of dependents but since 1996 the company discontinued this benefit. But now the demand is to reintroduce this benefit. Finally very recently, the state government took the decision resuming this provision, and the decision is yet to be implemented.

The above description makes it clear that these two tribes, the Kolams and the Lambadas, have different cultural frameworks contrasting each other. The Kolams are self-sufficient introvert, concerned with their own life and wellbeing. This self-reliant community lives in harmony with the dominant Gond community which in fact respects the Kolams who are

ritual specialists for it. The Kolams earn their livelihood by practicing agriculture and collecting forest products. Apart from that, they also involve in collective activities and help each other which strengthen their group solidarity. Their rituals help their solidarity get reinforced in the society. They also depend on the gods and goddesses for meeting their daily need for survival, providing for their cattle and protecting them from diseases and evil spirits that threaten their life.

The Lambadas are extroverts, whereas the Kolams are highly introverts. From their experiences, the Lambada seems to be in regularly and continuously in contact with the world outside their community, whereas the latter kept themselves confined to their own world. The community itself refrains from interfering in the affairs of others. With the kind of dispositions that they are endowed with they responded to the SCCL. When the SCCL first approached them followed by acquiring their lands and displacing their villages, they reacted to it in a very different ways. It was a new opportunity and challenge for the Lambadas which had opened new avenues for them thus helping them better their lives at both individual and community levels. This positive approach, adaptive nature and their capacities helped them a lot to do well using the available resources of the SCCL. They did not get into logger heads with the SCCL. Rather they decided to sort out their issues by continuous dialogues through unions and other political representatives becoming a part of the system, thus enabling themselves adjust well in the new situation.

On the other hand, the Kolams though not remain unwilling to the development, but want it in their own way; they entered into conflicts with the officials of the SCCL, not to let them for any project on their lands. Unlike the Lambadas, they felt the acquisition was in violation of their rights to their land, and decided to fight for justice. To some extent such reaction has been aided by the social solidarity that they are endowed with and gathered their strength but it was not enough without the support of Gonds. Lacking knowledge of the state's administrative strategies and its power, and means to fight with the state, some surrendered while others withdrew themselves deep into the forest. However, they are facing a lot of problems in the forest even to recreate the same old environment since the social fabric has been greatly disturbed by the intervention of the SCCL. In addition, those who are outside the forest and new locations they are facing the same everyday encountering with the non-tribes and getting buffeted in every respect. They are rebuilding their society in an entirely different physical and social environment that has affected their lives a lot. Moreover, state and

SCCL's apathy is adding to their frustration and throwing them to the ground as hapless beings that lacks social solidarity.

Conclusion

The contribution of the present study in conclusion is as follows. There has been involuntary displacement of local or indigenous communities all over the world for various reasons particularly in the construction of big dams or industrial establishments and India is not an exception. The situation of the affected people and the nature of development in a particular context have also been attracted the attention of social scientists especially anthropologists who have had special interest in the affairs of the tribal or marginal people. There are several studies in this regard as discussed in the review of literature. These studies have dealt with various aspects of displacement like migration, socio-cultural change, impact on environment and tribal rights etc., with regard to various developmental projects. Most of the studies have focussed the situation of tribes after rehabilitation. There are studies which provide suggestions or recommendations to policy makers based on their empirical field level experiences.

The present study has compared two tribes who have been living in the forest environment for many years that responded differently to the establishment of SCCL in Adilabad District in Telangana state. The impact of the same on the socio-economic conditions and culture of the people is also found to be different. Further, it is also responsibility of the government as SCCL being a government undertaking to see that positive changes occur and to minimize the negative impact in the lives of the local communities with the establishment of coal mines with proper rehabilitation and resettlement programme. Since adaption to local environment is the innate property of humans and human societies, otherwise they would have survived, and when the environment, both physical and social, changes, the communities will readapt themselves to the new conditions. In this process changes of social systems are inevitable.

In the present case, these adjustments of the tribes resulted in a way that one tribe i.e., Lambada seems got benefitted from the intervention whereas the other tribe Kolam could not. This situation raises a question how different groups or communities inhabiting the similar environment have developed different behavioral patterns to the interventions. Hence, an attempt is made to examine these behavioral patterns which have not dealt in the earlier studies. It may also be noted here that the people living in the same geographical region

responds differently to a common stimuli anywhere in the world. Hence the explanation offered in this study could be applicable anywhere.

The SCCL Company has followed different procedures of land acquisition at different points of time. The establishment of SCCL mines began in 1930 during the Nizam's rule. At that time there was no particular procedure for land acquisition. When it became the company of the state government in 1947 the state rules were applied. As the R and R regulation was not uniform throughout the state, the SCCL has followed certain procedures within the government norms when lands for mining were acquired in 1970s. In 2003 when the national policy on R and R was formulated the state of Andhra Pradesh brought its regulations in 2005. Accordingly the SCCL adopted the same when lands were acquired further in the study area.

The formulation of a policy is necessary in the welfare state. It becomes binding on a government company to follow the rules of the government. In this particular case the beneficiaries are tribal communities whose lands were acquired by the coal mining company. The policy gave the tribes the rights of demanding what they wanted while they lost the lands. Thus the policy empowered the tribes, even though it might not be very effective. However, the present study makes it clear that the rehabilitation programme implanted in the present context far from satisfaction of the people. The displaced rehabilitate and resettled Kolam continue to struggle to adapt to the new environment. Their social, cultural and economic conditions are deteriorated. Therefore having a policy is certainly better than not having anything, but its proper implementation is most important.

Though the tribes have been living in more or less the same geographical location and the same environment they have experienced different impact of the coal mines established in the area. As one tribe readily joined the SCCL and derived some benefits the other tribe reluctantly joined but gradually withdrawn it. In fact the latter got more secluded and isolated. The negative impact is more pronounced than the former. The benefits actually relate to rise of incomes, accumulation of wealth, improvement in education etc., but it also has brought negative impact as the tribe started imitating the non-tribes which resulted in higher aspirations and expectation. In a way women confined to home, dowry came in, and impact of unemployment and cultural loss etc., are visible.

The other tribe that languishes for better life fails to obtain required support either from the SCCL or the government. Their capabilities are underutilized given the forest environment. Further, their inhibitions and cultural ethos confine them to their locations. The dislocation of their habitation disrupted abruptly their trajectory of growth, the children are disoriented and the fabric of family and kinship network is torn apart.

This study has tried to account for the differential impact and response of the tribes with the help of the concept of subjectivity as developed by Sherry Ortner. It is the historical experience and propensity or disposition of people developed over a period of time based on the experiences to react to a particular stimulus in its own way. Though the communities have lived in the same locality for a long time they had different experiences and different orientations. Therefore, they reacted differently to the same stimulus.

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LAMBADA PHOTOS



Plate1: Lambada old Man



Plate 2: Lambada old woman



Plate 3: Lambada boys playing after the school



Plate 4: Lambada girls



Plate 5: Sevalal and goddess Durga matha temple in the Goleti village



Plate 6: The priest offering ghee in *homam* at the Sevalal temple



Plate 7: Lambada old woman singing songs at the *saadi* ceremony

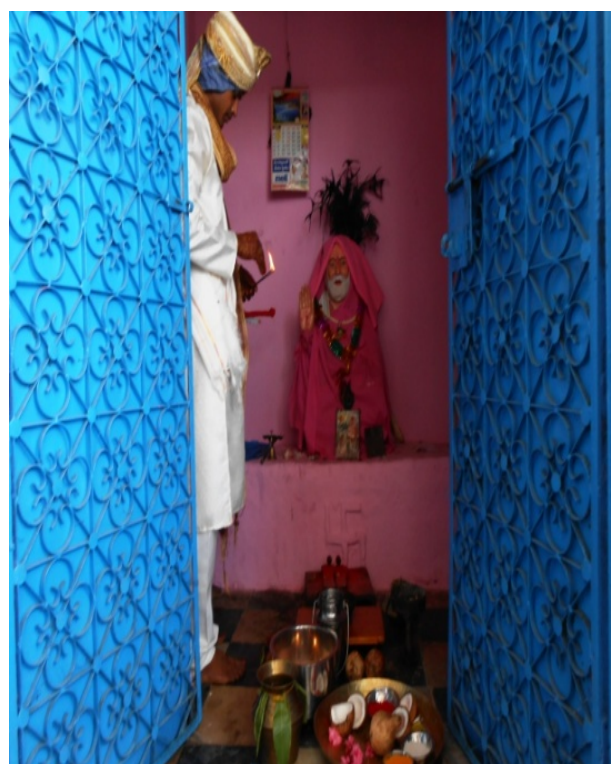


Plate 8: Bridegroom offering *puja* to the Sevalal god



Plate 9: Brahmin (local astrologer) performing ritual at the Lambada Marriage



Plate 10: Bridegroom taking blessings from his *guru* Prem Singh Maharaj



Plate 11: Lambada Bride and Bridegroom with their maternal-uncles at the Marriage ceremony



Plate 12: Weekly market held at the Goleti Township



Plate 13: Sacrificing a goat at the *Samnak* (village deity) ritual



Plate 14: Tekkam Hanumanthu (priest) offering *puja* to Bhimanna god at Goleti



Plate 15: Cattle herder taking the villagers' cattle for grazing



Plate 16: Lambada woman singing and dancing at the Sevalal temple



Plate 17: The village Naik offering *puja* at the Sevalal temple



Plate 18: Lambada man ploughing his agricultural land



Plate 19: Lambada woman planting seeds at the agricultural fields



Plate 20: Offering prasadam (*naivedyam*) to their respective gods and goddesses



Plate 21: Lambadas participated in the *mana ooru mana pranalika* programme and discussing with the government officials



Plate 22: Lambadas questioning the government officials at the *mana ooru mana pranalika* programme



Plate 23: Testing the satisfaction of the goddess *pochamma*



Plate 24: Lambada husband and wife going to their agricultural fields



Plate 25: ZPTC who belongs to Lambada opening a physically challenged school at the Goleti village



Plate 26: Lambada devotees wearing Sevalal mala



Plate 27: Educated Lambada youth motivating their community members



Plate 28: Lambadas participating meeting at the Goleti Gram Panchayath

KOLAMS PHOTOS



Plate 1: Kolam old woman



Plate 2: Kolam old man



Plate 3: Kolam children



Plate 4: Kolam youth



Plate 5: Marriage *pandal* of Kolams



Plate 6: Kolam bride and bridegroom at the marriage ceremony



Plate 7: Kolam men making thatches with the bamboo



Plate 8: The village Patel and villagers participating in the panchayath meeting



Plate 9: Athram Sakku (Ex. MLA) participated in the death anniversary of Kumram Suru



Plate 10: Men offering prayer to the deities at the *dayyalla mula*



Plate 11: The priest Dhelak testing the satisfaction of the deity



Plate 12: Kolams sacrificing a pig to the *pollakamma* deity



Plate 13: Kolams worshipping the village boundary deity



Plate 14: *Pattu* (design) drawn at the time of worshipping *pollakamma* deity



Plate 15: *Pandal* erected at the time of worshipping *pollakamma* deity



Plate 16: Kolams playing different musical instruments at the *pollakamma* ritual



Plate 17: Kolam children's actively participated in the village rituals



Plate 18: Sacrificed goat head is placed in front of the Dandari materials



Plate 19: Kolams performing Dandari dance with the Gussadi's at the village



Plate 20: Gussadi's dancing at the Dandari event



Plate 21: Dandari dance at the host village



Plate 22: The Kolam youth who performed as Gussadi at the Dandari testing the satisfaction of the deity



Plate 23: Bhimanna gods at the Dhantanpally village



Plate 24: The priest Khatodak offering prasadam (*naivedyam*) to the god Bhimanna



Plate 25: The people who are in trance taking the *saat* beats



Plate 26: Inviting Bhimanna gods to their respective houses in the village



Plate 27: The chief person (*supari*) who is in trance surrenders to the Bhimanna god and forecast the villagers problems



Plate 28: The Kolam youth holding the Bhimanna gods



Plate 29: Woman dancing by holding the Bhimanna gods



Plate 30: Bhimanna god's sacred dip in the Ganga River at Jannaram



Plate 31: Researcher holding the Bhimanna god with the Kolams at Jannaram Godavari River



Plate 32: The priest Khatodak offering *puja* to Bhimanna gods at the bank of River Ganga



Plate 33: Kolam woman dancing at the Bhimanna *jathara*



Plate 34: Ex-MLA (Athram Sakku) with the SCCL officials at the opening ceremony of the new Bhimanna temple



Plate 35: Kolami youth playing Tiger-Goat game during the leisure time



Plate 36: Researcher participated along with the Kolams on the eve of Diwali festival



Plate 37: The researcher sitting in the middle having food with the Kolams



Plate 38: Researcher collecting data from the Kolam respondents



Plate 39: The *sesame* oil is extracted from traditional milling



Plate 40: Structure of Kolam house

SCCL PHOTOS



Plate 1: The SCCL workers participating in the association meetings



Plate 2: Lambada SCCL employee's Identity card



Plate 3: Goddess Durga matha temple at the SCCL Dorli-1 open cast mine



Plate 4: Flag hoisting by Deputy General Manager at the Dorli-1 open cast

R and R PHOTOS



Plate 5: Open cast mine at Goleti area



Plate 6: Panoramic view of the R and R Ontimamidi village



Plate 7: SCCL over burden (OB) dumped beside the Ontimamidi R and R centre



Plate 8: Pending works at the R and R centres



Plate 9: Remains of their old deities at the Keslapur R and R centre

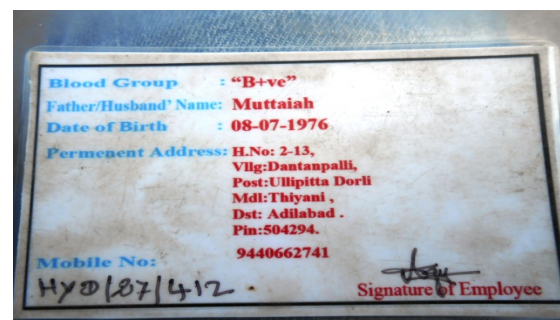
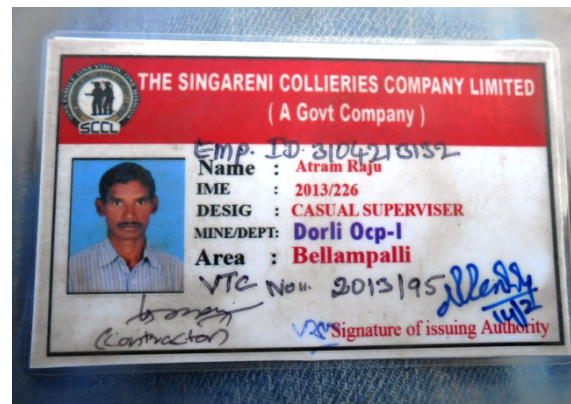


Plate 10: Identity card of the displaced people who are working in SCCL as casual labour



Plate 11: Kolams blocked the SCCL vehicles at Chopidi village



Plate 12: Kolami woman sweeping roads at the Dorli-1 open cast mine



Plate 13: Coal dust at Dorli-1 open cast mine



Plate 14: Singareni Seva Samithi organized a medical camp at the R and R centers

Annexure – I

Fight between Goleti and Dhantanpally Bhimanna

The oral story goes like this: There is a village Bejjalla nearby the Goleti Township and there is an open well called as *kalkuvi* which is situated one kilometer away from that village. One day, Goleti Bhimanna has invited all the other Bhimanna gods from different regions for a feast (toddy) arranged at the village. They were into intoxication after having the liquor. Then there was a conflict took place between the Dhantanpally Bhimanna and the Goleti Bhimanna regarding the sharing of a region. Then finally, they came to an agreement that they should not see each other's face forever. The Dhantanpally Bhimanna god angrily took a burnt charcoal bamboo from a bonfire and returned from that place. On the way, a burnt charcoal piece falls down at the Meddi village and the indication of that incident took place still exist today. The smoke from the fire still comes out at that place. The other god Meddi Bhimanna used to stay in the same village. On the way, Dhantanpally Bhimanna met the Meddi Bhimanna and said about the conflict took place between both the people. Then both the gods clearly explained about the issue happened between them to the Meddi Bhimanna. But Meddi Bhimanna didn't give any verdict after listening to them because he is younger to them. He then turns his face from east to north direction. This is the uncommon Bhimanna god at Meddi village facing towards north direction while the other Bhimanna gods face towards the east. The Dhantanpally Bhimanna god returns with a burnt bamboo stick and hit hard with anger on a *kiskappi* (a small cup shaped mountain) which is beside his temple. As a result, there is a small hole observed on the mountain and the replica of it still exists today. Every year in the month of May-June, Kolams bring a dried bamboo stick and lights fire by putting it in a hole. They prepare *naivedyam* with the lightened fire and offer it to the Bhimanna god.

Sirsgam Bhimanna

The oral story goes like this: Gudem family which is a sub-clan of Athram lived in the Sirsgam village. In the village, a family does not have children and have continued their life by doing *podu* cultivation. The head of that household had to sleep daily in their agricultural field during the night time. One day, he had dreamt that someone has come to him and trying to wake up him. The moment when he wakes up he did not find any one at the place. The same incident happened to him for two to three times in his sleep. The next day, he met the village priest and said about the incident happened to him. The priest then asked the god by

doing *allu pattadam* and tried to find out a solution for his problem through different traditional methods. The priest said him that there is a divine power in the form of god at that place. He suggested him to do *puja* so that he will have offspring, get more yield and live happily in the life. He then informed to his wife and she also did not believe it. The next day, he tried an experiment at that particular place. He asked her wife to tie a white cloth round waist and said her to stand for some time at that particular place. Later on, he went to his wife and stunned after finding a big stone in a white cloth. Then they believed that there was a god and started doing *puja* by placing the same stone as the idol of god. The god was later named as Sirsgam Bhimanna.

In the earlier days, all the Bhimanna gods discussed and shared their positions. For instance, the Pothuraju in Hindapur village at Kerameri mandal has given the first position as head. Similarly, the Sirsgam Bhimanna god is given as guard for the food grains who is called as *mallak* and Dhantanpally Bhimanna god as *kallimallak*.

History of Goleti Bhimanna

This incident happened two hundred years ago in the Goleti village of Rebbena mandal in Adilabad district. There is a dense forest and a stream nearby this village which is famously known as *gundala vaagu*. A person who belongs to *bare* community from Kondapalli village of Rebbena Mandal was doing *podu* cultivation adjacent to this stream. One day, when he is ploughing the land there is a big stone which has obstructed the way. He then applied his force and crossed over that stone. The plough's blade made a small scratch over the stone and a mark on the stone can be seen till today at the temple. The moment when it has crossed from the stone he saw a flow of blood coming out from the place. He fell down on the earth after seeing the blood. Some of the people who are working at the adjacent field immediately approached after seeing him lying on the earth. Then they sprinkled some water on his face and asked him what has happened. But, when he woke up he didn't find any blood at that place. He was given some water to drink and then he was taken to his home. He then informed his village elders about the incident happened to him but they did not believe him. The same day night Bhimanna god came in his dream and asked him to construct a temple at that place. He also said that there would not be any kind of problems in the village if the idol is established at the same place. The next day, the farmer and his village elders went to the place and offered *puja* to the god. Since, his village is far away from the place so he went to a

nearby Khaireguda village. The Manne people are the residents of this village. He believed that the tribals are pure at doing religious activities. He said about the incident happened to him and requested them to offer *puja* daily at that place. Till today, the priest from the same community is offering *puja* to the Bhimanna god at the Goleti. People from different districts come here and offer prayer to the god. This place has attracted a large number of devotees from different places. Every week on Sunday and Thursday there is a huge rush to the Bhimanna temple. But so far, there is no proper temple for the Bhimanna god. There are no basic facilities available at the temple and the people who visit the temple are facing many problems. Every year, on the day of Chaitra Pournami the Kurma golla community from Rechini village of Thandur mandal visit the temple. They prepare a new chariot for the Bhimanna god and do chariot walk round the temple. Then the god is again placed at the same place after the chariot walk. In the year 1979, SCCL has started mining in this area. The SCCL officials offer *puja* to Bhimanna god before doing any important work related to the company. The company officials have promised to construct a new temple for the Bhimanna god and also to provide the basic facilities at the temple. But so far, they did not take any initiation in this regard said Tekkam Hanumanthu (priest) instead, the government has sanctioned a borewell and road for the temple. The company has only named the stadium at Goleti Township as Bhimanna stadium.

Annexure – II

Glossary

Abhisekam: It refers to the Hindu ritual of pouring offering on the idol of deity being worshipped. Generally, offerings items like water, ghee, milk and honey etc.

Akshintalu: sacred rice/ holy rice

Anganwadi: Pre-primary school

Badli worker: means substitute worker

Bandh/dharna: is a form of protest

Beedi: a type of Indian cigarette

Bhajana: It refers to the singing of devotional songs and hymns

Bhang: It is consumed as a drink which is prepared with different fruits

Dharma: usually it refers to spiritual teachings

Farmana: means to command

Gram Panchayat: Village council

Grama Devata: Village deity

Gudumba: illicit liquor

Guru: a spiritual teacher

Gutkka: a mixture of tobacco, lime and betel nut etc

Homam: refers to a ritual, wherein an oblation or any religious offering is made into fire

Jal: water

Jameen: Land

Jathara: It is a festival of honoring the deities

Jungle: Forest

Katari: a small knife.

Katnam: Contribution in the form of cash or kind

Kutch House: House built without tiles and concrete roof

Mantra: a Vedic hymn

Mazdoor: an unskilled laborer

Muhurtham banda: auspicious stone

Nagara: It is a drum which is beaten at the time of worshipping a deity

Naivedyam/Prasadam: Offerings made to a deity

Opencast: Huge amount of overburden (OB) are removed from the earth's surface to reach the rooted coal layer

Paan: is a mix of betel leaf with areca nut which are commonly chewed or consumed

Pancha: Garment

Pandal: is a fabricated structure, either temporary or permanent, that is used in a religious event that gathers people together, such as wedding or festival

Patta: a land record of a cultivator

Pattu: It is a design drawn with the rice or *jowar* flour or vermilion and turmeric powder in the name of the deities

Pradakshina: The action of walking clockwise round a temple or deity as a mark of respect

Pucca House: House constructed with concrete roof and plastered with cement

Puja: The act of worship/prayer

Pujari: Priest

Ram-Ram: Greetings

Taluka: Administrative division of a district

Thanda: Lambada settlements are usually called as Thanda's

Tulasi: Sacred plant (basil)

Sardar: a leader or supervisor

Sevalal mala: It is a religious observance for 41 days by the devotees of Sevalal before visiting the temple at Powra in Maharashtra

Shudhi: means a kind of purification

Swayamvaram: It is a ceremony where a woman is permitted to choose her husband

Zamindhar: Landlord

Annexure – III

Impact of Mines and Response of Tribes towards Mining in Tribal Areas: The Case of Kolam and Lambada under Singareni Collieries in Adilabad District, A.P

S.No	<u>Household Schedule</u>							
1	District							
2	Village							
3	Name of the respondent							
4	Social status		Caste/Tribe:			Sub-caste/Tribe:		
5	Religion		1. Hindu 2. Christian 3. Muslims 4. Any other----- (Specify)					
6	Type of house		1. RCC 2. Semi-pucca 3. Kutchha 4. Any other----- (Specify)					
7	Terms of residency		1. Own 2. Rented 3. Rent Free 4. Any other----- (Specify)					
8	If rented, what is the rent per month?			Rs				
9	How many rooms are there in the house?			(a) One (b) Two (c) Three (d) Four (e) Five (f) Any other (Specify)-----				
10	Is there toilet facility?							Yes / No
11	Is the house electrified?							Yes / No
12	If electrified, is there a meter?							Yes / No
13.	Details of the family members							
S.No	H. members	Relation	Age	Sex	M.status	Education	Pri.occup	Sec. occup
13.1	Head -							
13.2								
13.3								
13.4								
13.5								
13.6								
13.7								
13.8								
13.9								
13.10								
13.11								

14	Is there any one from your family who has discontinued the studies?										Yes/No
14.1	If yes, reasons for discontinuing the studies					(a) Poor economic condition (b) School is not available in nearby village (c) Lack of interest towards education (d) Lack of parents motivation towards education (e) Supporting parents in economic activity (f) Any other (Specify)-----					
15	Is there anyone working with SCCL from your family?										Yes/No
15.1	If no, what are the reasons for not working in the mines					(a) (b) (c)					
15.2	If yes, how many of you are working										
16	Are you displaced by SCCL coal mining										Yes / No
16.1	If yes, what is your original village from where you have been displaced										
17	If you are displaced, what was your occupation before displacement: and what is your occupation after displacement:										
18	Land owning status, before and after displacement										
S.No	Type of land	Category	Before displacement (in acres)			After displacement (in acres)			Not displaced		
			Wet	Dry	Total	Wet	Dry	Total	Wet	Dry	Total
18.1	Own – inherited/Purchased	Cultivated by self									
		Leased out									
18.2	Govt. assigned										
18.3	Leased in land										
18.4	Total										
18.5	Income from land per annum										
19	If you are displaced/lost land, did the company pay you the compensation?										Yes / No
19.1	If yes, what is the amount of compensation paid in rupees:										
19.2	If compensation is not paid what are the reasons?					(a) (b) (c)					
20.	How did you spend compensation money for different purposes?										
	Item					Amount					
20.1	Clearing debts										
20.2	Marriage										
20.3	Health										
20.4	Construction of house										
20.5	Domestic purpose										
20.6	Buying electronic gadgets and home appliances										

20.7	Any others (Specify)		
21.	Are you benefited from any government development scheme?		Yes /No
21.1	If yes, give the details		
	Name of the scheme	When	Value
1			
2			
3			
22	Do you have debts?		Yes / No
22.1	If yes, what is the extent of debt?	Rs	
23	Source of debt	(a) Money lenders (b) Friends and Relative (c) Banks (d) Cooperative societies (e) Chits (f) Any other (Specify)-----	
24	Amount repaid so far:	Balance amount:	
25	Rate of interest		
26	Purpose for which loan is taken	(a) Health (b) House construction (c) Social ceremonies (d) Education (e) Domestic goods (f) Any other(Specify)-----	
27	Government benefits		
27.1	Reservation in admission into school/college/education institution	Yes/No	
27.2	Admission into hostels	Yes/No	
27.3	Pre-metric scholarships	Yes/No	
27.4	Post-metric scholarships	Yes/No	
27.5	House	Yes/No	
27.6	House-site	Yes/No	
27.7	Employment	Yes/No	
27.8	ST Corporation	Yes/No	
27.9	Bank Loans	Yes/No	
28	Do you have television?		Yes/No
28.1	If yes, what programmes do you watch?	(a) News (b) Cinema (c) Serials (d) Sports (e) Politics (f) Educational information (g) Any other(Specify)-----	
29	For what purpose you watch the television?	(a) Entertainment (b) Knowledge	

		(c) Passing the time (d) Any other (Specify)-----
30	Do you read the newspaper?	Yes/No
30.1	If yes, do you	(a) Subscribe it (b) Buy it (c) Any other (Specify)-----
31	Where do you read newspaper?	(a) Home (b) Neighbor home (c) Library (d) Panchayat office (e) Community hall (f) Any other (Specify)-----
32	How frequently do you read the newspaper?	(a) Daily (b) Once in a week (c) Occasionally (d) Do not read (e) Any other (Specify)-----
33	What news is interesting for you?	(a) Politics (b) Cinema (c) Sports (d) Education information (e) Business (f) All (g) Any others (Specify)-----
34	Through which medium you access to more information?	(a) Newspaper (b) Television (c) Mobile (d) Internet (e) Radio (f) Friends/Relatives (g) Any others (Specify)-----
36	Source of political awareness	
36.1	Do you read political news	Yes/No
36.2	If yes, what is most interesting for you?	(a) Local (b) Regional (c) National
37	Do you discuss politics with others?	Yes/No
37.1	If yes, what do you discuss	(a) Local (b) Regional (c) National
38	Do you attend the political meetings?	Yes/No
38.1	If yes, please mention the details	(a) Panchayat (b) Local (c) National (d) Any others (Specify)-----

39	How often do you attend the meeting?	(a) Regularly (b) Occasionally (c) Once in a week (d) Once in a month (e) Any others (Specify)-----
40	Meetings with political leaders	Yes/No
40.1	If yes, how often you meet the leaders	(a) Weekly (b) Monthly (c) Yearly (d) During elections (e) Others (Specify)-----
41	Means of political participation	(a) Member of political party (b) Working to strengthen the party (c) To solve local problems (d) Others (Specify)-----
42	Constraints for participation	(a) Family (b) Friends (c) Community (d) Others (Specify)-----
43	Whether your family has affiliation with any political party?	Yes/No
43.1	If yes, please mention the party:	
44	Whom do you approach to get your work done	(a) Sarpanch (b) Local Leaders (c) MLA (d) MP (e) Any other (Specify)-----
45	What material possessions do you have?	(a) Bullock cart (b) Pair of bullocks (c) Bicycle (d) Motor Bike (e) Four wheeler (f) Furniture (g) Television (h) Sewing machine (i) Refrigerator (j) Music system (k) Mobile (l) Others (Specify)-----
46	Total annual income:	(In rupees)

S.No	<u>Workers Questionnaire</u>	
1	District	
2	Village	
3	Name of the respondent	
4	Age	
5	Sex	(a) Male (b) Female
6	Social status	Caste/Tribe: Sub-caste/Tribe:
7	Education	1. Illiterate 2. Knows reading and writing 3. Primary (1-5 th std.) 4. Upper Primary (6-8 th std.) 5. Secondary (9 th -10 th std.) 6. Higher Secondary (11 th - 12 th std.) 7. Graduation 8. Post Graduation 9. Engineering/Medical 10. Others (Specify)-----
8	Marital status	(a) Married (b) Un-married (c) Widow (d) Widower (e) Divorce (f) Broken (g) Separate
9	Occupational category	(a) Mine worker (b) Works in General Manager's Office (c) SCCL-Security (d) SCCL-Hospital (e) SCCL-Electrical dept (f) SCCL-Engineering dept (g) SCCL- Driver (h) Other (Specify)-----
10	Nature of work	(a) Skilled (b) Semi-Skilled (c) Unskilled
11	If you are a mine worker in which mine you are working?	
12	If you are a mine worker, what is the type of your work?	(a) Under Ground mining (b) Open Cast Mining (c) Any others (Specify)-----
13	Please give the job description	(a) Permanent (b) Temporary (c) Daily wage labour (d) Others-----
14	Please mention the place where you work:	

15	Since how long are you working with SCCL------(Months)------(Years)		
16	Has any member of the family working with SCCL outside Goleti?		Yes/No
16.1	If yes where did he work:		
17	How long did he work?		
18	Has anyone worked with SCCL at Goleti earlier to the one who is working now		Yes/No
18.1	If yes, who is that person?	(a) Grand Father (b) Father (c) Brother (d) Any other (Specify)-----	
19	Whether that person has helped you to find job in the industry for your family member who is now working in the industry Yes/No		
20	Whether any of the following is working with SCCL?	(a) Brother (b) Brother's children (c) Son (d) Sons children (e) Sister (f) Sister's children (g) Daughter (h) Any other (Specify)-----	
21	Whether the person working with SCCL is satisfied with the work		Yes/No
21.1	If no, give reasons:	(a) (b)	
22	Number of hours you work in a shift:		
23	How many days you work in a week?		
24	Do you get work round the year?		Yes/No
24.1	If no, give the reasons	(a) (b)	
25	What is the other source of livelihood during those months in which you don't get work:		
26	Distance from home to work place.....(in kms)		
27	How do you commute to the working place?	(a) Bicycle (b) Motor vehicle (c) Foot (d) SCCL-Vehicle (e) Tata AC (f) Any other (Specify)-----	

28	What was your grandfather's occupation?	
29	What was your father's occupation?	
30	Have you been promoted to higher position?	Yes/No
30.1	If yes, please state from which position to which position are you promoted?	
31	Are you satisfied with the promotion and recruitment policy of the SCCL	Yes/No
31.1	If no, give reasons	
32	How do you rate your satisfaction in relation with your superiors at the work place?	(a) Satisfied (b) Un-satisfied (c) No comment
32.1	If unsatisfied, what are the reasons:	
33	How do you rate your satisfaction in relation with your co-workers at the work place?	(a) Satisfied (b) Un-satisfied (c) No comment
33.1	If unsatisfied, what are the reasons:	
34	Are you satisfied with the wages?	(a) Satisfied (b) Un-satisfied (c) No comment
34.1	If unsatisfied, what are the reasons?	
35	Are you comfortable with the shift system in the industry?	Yes/No
35.1	If no, reasons	
36	Are you a member in any labour organisation?	Yes/No
36.1	If yes, name of that organisation/union?	
37	How often do you attend the meetings of the organisation?	(a) Regularly (b) Rarely (c) Don't attend
38	Are you a member of any political party?	Yes/No
38.1	If yes, what is the party?	
39	Do you participate in the various activities of the party?	Yes/No
40	How many hours do you work in a day?	
41	What is the approximate annual income?	
42	Do you have a habit of consuming alcohol?	Yes/No
42.1	If yes, how frequently do you take	(a) Daily (b) Weekly (c) Occasionally (d) Monthly

		(e) Others (Specify)-----	
43	Why do you generally consume liquor?	(a) Relief from work strain (b) Habitual	
44	Have you faced any health problem after joining the industry?		Yes/No
44.1	If yes, what is the health problem	(a) TB (b) Joint pains (c) Chest pain (d) Breathing Problem (e) Alcers in stomach (f) Hearing Problem (g) Any other (Specify)-----	
45	How long you are suffering from:		
46	Status of your health at the moment?	(a) Cured (b) Not cured (c) Under Treatment	
47	Expenditure on the treatment ----- (in rupees)		
48	Has anyone of your family members or you discontinued working with SCCL?		Yes/No
48.1	If yes, what are the reasons for discontinuing the job?	(a) Health problem (b) Voluntary retirement (c) Dismissal (d) Any other (Specify)-----	
49	Since how long you stopped working with SCCL?		
50	Have you faced any accident in the mining?		Yes/No
50.1	If yes, did you get any financial or medical support from SCCL after the accident		Yes/No
51	Do you have work pressure from the company?		Yes/No
52	Do you think that the unions play an important role in solving the problems of the employees		Yes/No

S.No	Questionnaire for Displaced Families	
1	District	
2	Village/Colony	Year of displacement:
3	Name of the respondent	
4	Age	
5	Sex	(c) Male (d) Female
6	Social status	Caste/Tribe: Sub-caste/Tribe:
7	Education	11. Illiterate 12. Knows reading and writing 13. Primary (1-5 th std.) 14. Upper Primary (6-8 th std.) 15. Secondary (9 th -10 th std.) 16. Higher Secondary (11 th – 12 th std.) 17. Graduation 18. Post Graduation 19. Engineering/Medical 20. Others (Specify)-----
8	Marital status	(h) Married (i) Un-married (j) Widow (k) Widower (l) Divorce (m) Broken (n) Separate
9	Distance between the old and new settlement: (in Kms)	
10	Are you aware of the SCCL projects, R& R policy?	Yes/No
11	Have you shown any protest against the project?	Yes/No
12	Whether project officials held any meeting with villagers regarding rehabilitation policy and package and its implementation?	Yes/No
13	Did the preference of the displaced people views is taken into consideration while constructing the rehabilitation colonies?	Yes/ No
13.1	If no, then what are the views of the people about the new rehabilitation colony?	
14	Is your new settlement resembles your original village?	Yes/No
14.1	If no, how it is different?	
15	What is your opinion regarding the rehabilitation package?	(a) Satisfactory (b) Unsatisfactory

		(c) No comment
16	How compensation has been paid?	(a) Land for land (b) Money for land (c) Any other-----
17	Is there any difference in compensation paid to the project affected families?	Yes/No
17.1	If yes, what might be the reasons for such difference?	
18	Do you feel that policy package has been implemented properly by the project authorities?	Yes/No
19	Did the company fulfil the promises made before displacement?	Yes/ No
19.1	If no, then what are the reasons?	
20	Do you think the welfare programmes taken by SCCL really reaching the project affected people?	Yes/No
21	If no, what can be done for the welfare of the displaced populations?	
22	Did the company/govt display the names of the PAF's (before displacement) in the notice board of the Gram Panchayats and in the newspaper?	Yes/No
23	Did the Govt. conduct the socio-economic survey of the PAF's who are going to be displaced?	Yes/No
24	After completion of the survey did the administrator R&R published the details of PAF's in Gram Panchayat for objections and suggestions	Yes/No
25	Did the company gave Free house site and grant for house construction of Rs 40,000 for PDF's (BPL) whose house is acquired for the project?	Yes/No
26	Whether land allotted to PAF's is registered in the joint names of husband and wife?	Yes/No
27	Did the company grant for cattle shed of Rs 3000 (or as fixed by govt) to PAF's?	Yes/No
28	Did the company grant for transporting materials of Rs 5000 (or as fixed by govt) to PAF's?	Yes/No
29	Did the company grant income generating Scheme of Rs 25000 for PAF's who are rural artisan/small trade and self employed?	Yes/No
30	If no land is allotted in lieu of acquired land, did the company pay 750 days minimum agricultural wages for "loss of livelihood" (in case of landowner becomes landless)	Yes/No
31	If no land is allotted in lieu of acquired land, did the company pay 500 days minimum agricultural wages for	Yes/No

	“loss of livelihood” (in case of landowner becomes marginal farmer)		
32	If no land is allotted in lieu of acquired land, did the company pay 375 days minimum agricultural wages for “loss of livelihood” (in case of landowner becomes small farmer)		Yes/No
33	Did the company pay 625 days of minimum agricultural wages to PAF’s belonging to category of agriculture/non-agricultural labourers		Yes/No
34	Did the company pay 240 days of minimum agricultural wages to PAF’s who is also a project displaced family		Yes/No
35	Did the company provide you basic amenities and infrastructure facilities in the new colony like	(a) Drinking water (b) Internal roads (c) Drainage (d) Electricity (e) Primary school building (f) Playground (g) Community centre (h) Access road to resettlement site (i) Replacement of Deities (j) If any other provided (Specify)-- -----	
36	Did the company/govt given preference to ST category in allotment of land to PAF’s		Yes/No
37	Did the company pay 500 days minimum agriculture wages for the loss of customary rights/usages of forest produce (in case of ST category)		Yes/No
38	Did the company/govt resettled PAF’s close to their natural habitat of their choice (in case of ST category)		Yes/No
39	Tribals who are resettled out of the district or outside the tribal area will get 25 percent higher R&R benefits in monetary terms		Yes/No
40	Have you leased out/sold your land to a non-tribal?		Yes/No
40.1	If yes, when compensation paid for the land, who got the compensation?		(a) Self (b) Others (c) Any other
41	Are you aware of any committee working for the welfare of the PAF’s?		Yes/No
42	Please mention what did you lost in the SCCL project?	(a) House (b) Agricultural land (c) Both (d) Cattle (e) Any other (Specify)-----	
43	To what extent you get the compensation from the company/govt?	(a) Partly (b) Fully (c) Nothing	
43.1	If partly received, what is the total money did the company pay you so far?	-----in rupees	
43.2	If not paid any compensation, what are the reasons?	(a)	

43.3	Balance amount (pending)	
44	Are you eligible for grant for major son?	Yes/No
44.1	If yes, please mention how much did you get?	
45	As PAF's to get your work done whom do you approach?	(a) SCCL Officials (b) R&R Administrator (c) District Officials (d) R&R Commissioner (e) Any other (Specify)-----
46	Please mention the Training programmes giving to the PAF's	(a) Tailoring (b) Candle making (c) Motor driving (d) Making Rexene bags (e) Perfume sticks making (f) Any other(Specify)-----
47	Do you think the displacement due to coal mining has any impact on you and your family? If yes, what do you think about the impact?	Yes/No
47.1	Education	(a) Dropouts (b) School is far away from the new settlement (c) Unable to pursue higher education (d) Lack of transport facilities (e) Economic/financial problems (f) Lack of proper school facilities and infra structure in new schools (g) Engage children's in the family occupation (h) Any other (Specify)-----
47.2	Economy	(a) Loss of income (b) Increase of debts (i) Occupational shift (j) Loss of seasonal occupation (k) Impact on micro economic institutions like DWACRA etc. (l) Any other (Specify)-----
47.3	Religion	(a) Stopped celebrating some festivals (b) Tribal land - breaking the bond with their clan god after displacement (c) Lost their earlier Gods and Goddesses (d) Broke down their belief system (e) Impact on traditional ceremonies and rituals (f) Any other (Specify)-----
47.4	Politics	(a) Weakening the traditional political system

		(b) Relationship with the local leaders became weak (c) Conflicting situations with the host community (d) Problems in adopting modern political system (e) Any other (Specify)-----
47.5	Marriage	(a) Endogamy/exogamy (b) Change in the marriage exchanges (c) Impact on marriage ceremony and practices (d) Dowry/bride price (e) Divorces rate (f) Conflict resolution between wife and husband (g) Any other (Specify)-----
47.6	Family/Relatives	(a) Joint to nuclear family (b) Affected closely knitted kinship (c) Become individualistic (d) Any disturbances due to displacement, compensation, allotment of the land and other benefits by the Govt. (e) Any other (Specify)----
47.7	Others	(a) Change in the food habits (b) Change in dress pattern and language (c) Lost social relations (f) Any other (Specify)----
48	Total compensation received from SCCL (R and R Package and House):	
49	Current savings in bank:	
50	How did you spend compensation money for different purposes?	(a) Clearing debts (b) Marriage (c) Health (d) Construction of house (e) Domestic purpose (f) Any others (Specify)

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