

**DISPLACEMENT AND CULTURE CHANGE:  
A CASE STUDY OF A REHABILITATION CENTRE IN A.P.**

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**MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY**

IN

**ANTHROPOLOGY**

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*TO*  
*MY PARENTS*

## CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that ANEEL VIJAYA BHUSHAM BABU J has worked under my supervision for his dissertation entitled "DISPLACEMENT AND CULTURE CHANGE : A CASE STUDY OF A REHABILITATION CENTRE IN ANDHRA PRADESH " at the University of Hyderabad. The dissertation represents his independent work and does not constitute part of any material submitted for any degree or diploma here or elsewhere.

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## DECLARATION

I hereby declare "that, "the work presented in this disseratation has been carried under "the supervision of Dr. R.Siva Prasad and that this not has been submitted for a degree or diploma to any other university.

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## LIST OF TABLES AND MAPS

| S.No. | Name of the table  | Page No. |
|-------|--|----------|
| 1.    | COMMUNITY WISE HOUSEHOLDS OF KOTTALACHERUVU.   | 13       |
| 2.    | GENDER WISE DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION IN<br>KOTTALACHEBUVU-   | 13       |
| 3.    | MARITAL STATUS BY COMMUNITY IN<br>KOTTALACHREUVU.  | 17       |
| 4.    | CLAN WISE DISTRIBUTION OF CHENCHU<br>HOUSEHOLD AND POPULATION  | 19       |
| 5.    | LITERACY IN KOTTALACHERUVU ACCORDING TO<br>COMMUNITY AND SEX   | 25       |
| 6.    | HOSTEL ATTENDANCE ACCORDING TO COMMUNITY<br>AND SEX  | 52       |
| 7.    | ATTENDACE OF DIFFERENT COMMUNITY STUDENTS<br>IN GOVT.TRIBAL WELFARE SCHOOL.                                  | 53       |
| 8.    | PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDANTS PERCEVING THE<br>MISSING OF DIFFERENT FECILITIES IN THEIR<br>LIFE WHILE IN FOREST. | 64       |

### **M A P S**

1. LOCATION SHOWING THE STUDY VILLAGES.
2. VILLAGE LAYOUT OF KOTTALACHERUVU.

## CONTENTS

|   | Pages   |
|---|---------|
| 1. INTRODUCTION   | 1 - 8   |
| 2. THE VILLAGE PROFILE  | 9 - 26  |
| 3. AN OVERVIEW OF REHABILITATION STUDIES                      | 27 - 33 |
| 4. PROCESS OF REHABILITATION                                  | 34 - 45 |
| 5. INFRASTRUCTURAL FACILITIES AND<br>DEVELOPMENTAL PROGRAMMES | 46 - 74 |
| 6. SOCIO-CULTURAL FACTORS AND PROBLEMS<br>OF ADAPTATION       | 75 - 86 |
| 7. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION                                     | 87 - 93 |
| REFERENCES  |         |

# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

The increase in population in most of the developing and underdeveloped countries has become a major problem. The rising growth rate had attracted serious debate in the last few decades. The population explosion linked with the underdevelopment has pushed the developing and the underdeveloped nations into the whirlpool of the socio-economic problems.

According to the theory of vital population, in pre-modern societies both birth and death rates are high. The initial effect of modernization is a fall in the death rate, apparently owing to higher levels of living standards, the introduction of epidemic controls and other elementary public health measures. Increase in population has led to the complexity of human problems. This was further accentuated by industrialization, urbanization and modernization (Dudley, 1972).

Even the policy of birth control has a little effect (Myrdal, 1966). To cater the needs of the progressively increasing populations, every government had to plan developmental projects like construction of dams (for increasing the area under cultivation), establishing industries (for employment generation), rural development projects (for economic upgradation of rural poor), irrigation canal networks (for increasing the yield per acre), ports

(for transportation facility), defense bases, mining projects, etc.

Implementation of any developmental project results in displacement, and to vacate the people who have already been living by adapting to their immediate environment/habitat for their livelihood, from their bases is always a problem. The displaced have to be rehabilitated elsewhere. This results in severe human suffering due to psychological, social and cultural disruption, and the economic impoverishment of relocatees (Chris de wet ,1991).

Nagarjunasagar-Srisaillam Tiger Reserve is situated 130 kms South of Hyderabad city on the banks of River Krishna and is located between latitude 15° 53' North to 16° 43' North and longitudes 78° 30' East to 79° 28' East in Deccan plateau. The area of this reserve is 3,568.09 sq kms. Of this the core zone is 1,200 sq.kms and the rest is in the buffer zone. Presently it is known as Rajiv Gandhi Tiger Reserve. This area is spread over five revenue districts of Andhra Pradesh, vis., Guntur, Prakasham (Ongole), Kurnool, Mahaboobnagar and Nalgonda, situated in Nallamalai hills running from North to South in the state.

Varadarajaswamy Gudi Project (here after refer as VRSP) is a medium irrigation project, proposed across *Hunimadugula vagu* near *Bandamadugu* in Atmakur mandal, Kurnool district.

The dam site is located in the Nagarjuna Sagar-Srisaillaro Tiger Reserve forest area. The Government of India has accorded approval for release of 160 hectares of forest land for the project subject to certain conditions like shifting the Pecheruvu revenue village from the wildlife sanctuary and compensatory afforestation at the cost of the project. It is interesting to note that while the people are displaced by Nagarjuna Sagar-Srisaillaro Tiger Project they are to be rehabilitated by the VRSP. The problem of lack of co-ordination among the departments Increased the problem of the tribals because of this dual nature. Hence it is proposed to select one rehabilitation centre, where the affected tribal population are rehabilitated, under the Tiger Reserve Project are for the purpose of our study.

Our study attempts to understand the relation between cultural practices (customs, norms ,etc.) and success/failure of any developmental programme. Non-compliance to cultural practices may lead to severe resistance from the displaced population and may result in non-cooperation and failure of the project. The resistance could be either passive or, sometimes, violent. In either case, the rehabilitation can never be smooth and successful, and, as a result one can never get the participation of the affected population in the process of rehabilitation.

The Chenchus are mainly inhabiting in the districts of Mahaboobnagar, Prakasham, Kurnool, Guntur, Nalgonda and

Rangareddy. Though the Chenchus were provided with many infra-structural facilities in rehabilitation centre, quite a few of them have returned to their original village. This provides a good opportunity to study the Chenchus in their natural setting (in the original village) and in the new planned rehabilitation centre. It also enables us to understand their attitude towards rehabilitation and many other aspects. There are a few studies made on the Chenchus in Andhra Pradesh.

Buchanan (1807) observed that Chenchus inhabited Nallaroalai forests since 17th century. Chenchus were studied by Hairoendorf (1945) and he provides many ethnographic details about the Chenchus and describes vividly their socio-cultural and economic life. They were basically hunters and food-gatherers. He rightly points out that "There can be no race in India poor in earthly possessions than the jungle Chenchus" (194b, vii).

Pratap (1973) dealt with the dietary habits and the nutritional status of the Chenchus in the changing scenario. He reported the existence of various diseases due to malnutrition and dietary deficiencies. Prasad (1978) described the change in the forest policy which has restricted the mobility of the tribals in the forests. This has resulted in less intake of roots, tubers, various forest fruits and seeds in their diet, which has affected their nutritional status and health. Pratap (1976) discussed various factors of infant mortality among Chenchus-

Sastry (1983) described the average life style of the Chenchus. He (1984) also discusses various institutionalised encroachments of the tribal areas due to different developmental projects and points out how these projects disturb the existing man-nature relationship- He (1990) further dealt with the problems that the Chenchus are facing due to transition from hunting-gathering economy to commercial market economy and described various facilities provided by the government to the Chenchus after declaring them as Primitive Tribal Group (hereafter,PTG) Sastry (1990) dealt with the rehabilitation of Chenchus due to the Nagarjuna Sagar-Srisaillaro Tiger Project. He also dealt with the amenities that were to be provided as a measure of rehabilitation.

Satyanarayana Rao and Mohan (1990) indicate in general, the major Scheduled Tribes which were affected due to the establishing of wild life sanctuaries. They have also discussed the problems that have arisen due to the displacement of tribals by Rajiv Gandhi Tiger Project.

Gangadhar and Padroavathi's (1990) study on Chenchus, who were affected by Project Tiger, mainly aimed at understanding the following: 1. The aims of Project Tiger, 2. The reasons for the evacuation of Tribals, 3. Chenchus' knowledge of their surrounding environment, 4. Policies and functions of the Forest Department. 5. Socio-economic and ecological characteristics of the region etc.

However, none of the above studies made any attempt to understand *The* perception of the affected population with regard to their rehabilitation. An understanding of the oustees viewpoint and its incorporation would make the rehabilitation a less painful process and would create a conducive atmosphere for its successful implementation.

In light of above, Our study adopts the following objectives :

1. To understand different social-structural aspects such as social, economic, political and cultural aspects in a changed physical situation of the displaced tribals.
2. To study the extent of infrastructural/institutional facilities provided in the rehabilitating centres and to asses the factors that are affecting the extent of utilisation of these facilities.
3. To understand the perception of the people in order to promote better utilisation of the facilities.
4. It is also proposed to know the reasons as to why some people deserted the new village despite many amenities provided by the Government, VRSP and Project Tiger.
5. Since culture is an important factor, which is often not given due importance in the process of rehabilitation,our study proposes to analyse its impact on the rehabilitation programme.

## Methodology and Field Work

Ours is a case study of a rehabilitation centre in Atmakur, a revenue mandal of Kurnool district wherein the displaced tribals are resettled. A pilot survey was conducted in the month of December, 1992 in order to verify the checklists for informal questionnaires and interviews, and to finalise the objectives of our study. The field work was undertaken for a period of three months from January to March 1993. The study is basically qualitative in nature and it has adopted qualitative Anthropological techniques for data collection.

First rapport was established with the villagers. As a step in this direction, a village census was conducted using a household schedule. Primary aim of the census was to know the demographic, economic and socio-cultural aspects of the study village, besides getting acquainted with the displaced.

The following techniques of data collection were employed during the course of field work to collect data :

- Un structured questionnaires, using a detailed checklist,
- Informal interviews ,
- Observation,

--Besides, the data from the following sources were also utilised :

--Census reports, village records obtained from Mandal Revenue Office, and Mandal Development Office (Atmakur), Records from I.T.D.A., Forest Department etc., and finally.

the data from different sources were verified through a cross-section of the people, local leaders and officials.

Limitations of the study :

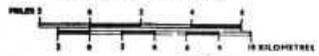
1. The distance between the original village and the new village is quite far and transportation facilities are poor.
2. It was a little problematic to keep pace with their continuous movements between the village and the forest.
3. The time factor and resource constraints, in addition to the above facts, have some bearing on the inflow and quality of data.

However, given the above constraints, the data collected definitely provided us some insight in to the problem. Also, it did point us some indicators for policy and better implementation of the rehabilitation programme.

## **CHAPTER 2**

ANDHRA PRADESH  
**ATMAKUR**  
 IND. SUB. TALUK  
 KURNOOL DISTRICT

| Name of the Taluk | Area      |           | Number of Villages |              | Number of Towns |
|-------------------|-----------|-----------|--------------------|--------------|-----------------|
|                   | Sq. Miles | Sq. Kilos | Inhabited          | Un-inhabited |                 |
| ATMAKUR           | 1,879.1   | 4928      | 88                 | 88           | 2               |



KOLLAPUR TALUK  
 MAHABUBNAGAR DISTRICT

ACHAMPET TALUK  
 MAHABUBNAGAR DISTRICT

HANERKOTKUR TALUK

RESERVED FOREST

SEWALAM PROJECT FOREST  
 MAHABUBNAGAR DISTRICT

TO ORISSA

GIDDALUR TALUK  
 ORISSA DISTRICT

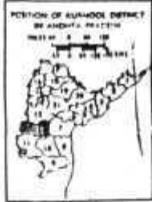
MARKAPUR TALUK  
 ORISSA DISTRICT

NANDYAL TALUK

Note: L.C. No. 17 partly included in Another Taluk  
 L.C. No. 184 fully included in Sewalam Project Taluk

NANDIKOTKUR  
 TALUK

- District Boundary
- Taluk Boundary
- - - - - Village Boundary with Locative Code Number
- Town
- Town
- Urban Area
- VILLAGE: Names of 42 Large Villages with Permanent Population of 1,000 and Locative No.
- == New Highways
- Other Roads
- River
- Symbolic Representation of Villages: 1,000 and above Persons
- " " " " 500 to 1,000 Persons
- ▲ " " " " 200 to 500 Persons
- " " " " 100 to 200 Persons
- " " " " Less than 100 Persons
- PO. TB Post Office, Telegraph Office
- PS Police Station
- SH Sub-Station, Transporter's Bungalow
- HC Hospital, Primary Health Centre, Dispensary, Child and Pharmacy Welfare Centre
- PA Panchayat



LOCATION SHOWING STUDY VILLAGES

## THE VILLAGE PROFILE

Kottalacheruvu is a small village, 10 kms south-east of Atmakur mandal in Kurnool district of Andhra Pradesh, where the Chenchus of Pecheruvu village were rehabilitated. Prior to Kottalacheruvu, it was called Balammakottalu after a well-to-do woman who was residing along with her relatives in this area. She used to provide food and water to the travellers and forest department officials who used to pass by this village. Due to the resettlement of the Chenchus from Pecheruvu village, who have settled here with their kottams (locally kottam means *hut*) and since it is located near a big pond (cheruvu), which is located to the South of the village, the village came to be known as Kottalacheruvu. The village is geographically located on 78° 38' North longitude and 15° 58' East latitudes.

### CLTMATE :

The climate of the region varies according to the season. The summer season is from March to May. The maximum temperature recorded in this area is 46° C. The early showers are noticed by the onset of south-west monsoon in the month of June. The rainy season starts from June and lasts till September, Rainfall is heavy usually in the months of August and September, This region receives scanty rainfall

even in the months of October and November due to the retreating monsoon. The mean average rainfall of Atmakur is 848.3 mm. The winter season is from December to February and is the pleasant period of this region. The minimum temperature recorded here was 8° C, The relative humidity of this region is 60 - 80% .

The village is bounded on the North by River Krishna beyond the hill ranges of Nallamalai forest, on the East by Vadla Raroapuram and Indireswaram villages, on the West by Palero Cheruvu, Palera and Sivapuraro villages and on the South by Kurukkunda village and Pecheruvu.

The village is located 66 kms to the South of Srisaila\* Project about 30 kros to the North-East of Peddadornala (business centre in Prakasaro district), and about 110 kms to the North of Kurnool town.

#### TOPOGRAPHY :

This village is situated near the foot of a hill. The terrain of the region is undulating due to the Nallamalai hills. These hills are to the north of the village. There is a big pond (cheruvu) to the south of the village. This pond is full during rainy season and usually dries up by the end of November.

The soil is red loamy (a little sandy) and it consists of the oldest geological formations known as the Archeans (2,000 millions years old).

Pf.ORA &RIL FAUNA:

Generally, tropical dry forests are seen here. On either side of the roads avenue plantations such as gulroohur, pongamia, etc., planted by the forest department are noticeable. The village has the following tree species Bandaru *Cadiria cordifolia*., Nallaroaddi (*terminalia totJtentosa*}, yegisa *Cpt&i-ocarpus maisupixuiO*, yepi *ChardwidhLia binata*.>, tuniki *Cdiospyros nu\*lanox.ylon*.>, tumma *Cacacia* species->, mango *C'mangifera indicaJ*, euraiyptus, neem *Cm&lia azadirachta*.>, tamarind *Ctamartndtus indicat*, asoka *CpoLyalthia longifolia*>, guava *Csidtxon #uava*.> and bamboo *Cfoa>P>iis<* species^.

The forests in this reserve have a variety of wild fauna. The faunal species found are tiger, panther, sloth bear, jackal, fox, striped hyena, wild dogs, common mongoose, spotted deer, sarobar, black buck, wild boar, gaint Indian squirrel, mugger crocodile, turtles, etc.

Among avifauna, pea fowl, painted and red spur fowl, grey jungle fowl, parakeets, quails, pigeons, flamingos, demoiselle cranes and bar headed geese migrate to the area seasonally.

SKTTr.RMEWT PATTERN :

The settlement is a planned layout. The total extent of the layout is 18.68 acres of which 9.75 acres is utilised for house construction and 5.68 acres is allocated for construction of roads.

The approach road of the village is connected to VRSP to the North and Atroakur via Kurukunda village to the South. The layout has four horizontal blocks and three transverse blocks. Each block has 14-32 houses. There are three longitudinal and four cross roads. All the roads are kutcha metalled roads. In the central longitudinal block D.R.I).A. godown, hospital, Ashram school and the hostel are located. There are 182 constructed houses and 42 houses are under construction to the right side of the main approach road. Each house is identical in area (2.5 cents) and shape (L in shape) with a room and a kitchen.

The houses are allotted on the community basis. Chenchus live in the three transverse blocks located towards the North. Towards the "South-West the Sugalis are located. Harijans are located to the South -East of the village, while the Boyas are living on the right side of the approach road.

DEMOGRAPHY :

The total population of the village is 583 comprising 295 males and 288 females. The village is composed of seven communities and Chenchus form a majority among them. Among



the Chenchus females outnumber the males. Sugalis, Boyas and Harijans, respectively, are positioned numerically after the Chenchus. There are an equal number of washermen, Jangam and musliro households in this village (See Table-1 and 2).

TABLE - 1  
Community wise households of Kottalacheruvu

| COMMUNITY | HOUSEHOLDS | Avg. Size |
|-----------|------------|-----------|
| Chenchu   | 50 (43)    | 4         |
| Sugali    | 20 (17)    | 6         |
| Boya      | 20 (20)    | 6         |
| Harij&ri  | 13 (11)    | 7         |
| Washerman | 3 ( 3)     | 4         |
| Muslim    | 3 ( 3)     | 8         |
| Jangaro   | 3 ( 3)     | 6         |
| TOTAL     | 115 (100)  | 5         |

TABLE-2  
Gender wise distribution of population in Kottalacheruvu

| COMMUNITY | POPULATION |          | TOTAL     |
|-----------|------------|----------|-----------|
|           | MALE       | FEMALE   |           |
| Chenchu   | 96 (46)    | 113 (54) | 209 (36)  |
| Sugali    | 59 (52)    | 54 (48)  | 113 (19)  |
| Boya      | 60 (52)    | 56 (48)  | 116 (20)  |
| Harijan   | 46 (51)    | 45 (49)  | 91 (16)   |
| Washerman | 7 (58)     | 5 (42)   | 12 (02)   |
| Muslim    | 16 (64)    | 9 (36)   | 25 (04)   |
| Jarigam   | 12 (71)    | 5 (29)   | 17 (03)   |
| TOTAL     | 295 (51)   | 288 (49) | 583 (100) |

## THE CHENCHUS :

Chenchus represent the food gathering stage of economy and the forests in which they live are of semi deciduous type. Forests are the main source of livelihood to the Chenchu food gatherers and hunters. Hairoendorf (1945) called the Chenchu culture of the day as 'digging stick culture' for without this implement a Chenchu will soon be reduced to starvation. The Chenchus are mainly divided into four groups: 1. Telugu Chenchus 2. Adavi Chenchus 3. Bonta Chenchus and 4. Krishna Chenchus.

The first and third category are beggars and collect alms from plains people by dancing and singing songs and side by side blowing a long horn and ringing bells. The Krishna Chenchus wear a crown of peacock feathers and garlands of beads. Adavi Chenchus predominantly and exclusively inhabit the Nallaroalai hills. They are also known as Konda chenchus. As per 1981 census, the Konda Chenchus are 25,000 in number.

Chenchus are exogamous clans and the clan names are their surnames. They call the clan names as "*Kulalxt*", The Chenchus are slender and of medium stature with an average height of men being 163 cms. The color of the skin varies from the dark black-brown to a rich copper color. The eyes are generally brown and sometimes almost black. The strong coarse hair is wavy or curly (Heimendorf, 1943, 17).

### FAMILY TYPE AND SIZR:

The family is usually nuclear in nature. All the households are partilineal as well as patrilocal in nature. The decision making is vested in the head of the family. The widows stay with their sons and sometimes even with their daughters but the widowers stay in their houses only. The average size of a Chenchu family is four, while that of Sugali and Boya is five, the Harijan family size is six. (see Table-1.)

### MARRIAGE :

The age of marriage for girls is usually 13 to 14 years, ie., immediately after attaining puberty and for boys it is only after 16 years. About 30% of the villagers are married (See Table-3). Among all the communities, residing in the Kottalacheruvu village, Marriage is strictly community endogamy. Among the Chenchus the exchange of brides is restricted to some clans (Kularmulu).

There is a hierarchy among the clans and by marriage some of the clans become consanguineal and some clans become affinal. Two types of marriage practices are observed among the Chenchus: 1. Arranged marriage, 2. Marriage by consent.

#### 1. Arranged marriage :

Elders play a major role in selecting bride/bridegroom in which bride/bridegroom's views are considered. Arranged marriages usually take the preferential mates into consideration. Thus one can observe cross-cousin marriages among the Chenchus.

2). Marriage by mutual consent :

In this a boy and a girl who have liking to each other elope and stay inside the forest for three to four days. They carry all essential commodities with them for these three or four days. Later, they return to the village. The spouse's parents and the elders of the village accept them as husband and wife. Now, they start living in a new residence nearer to either of the parents. This type of marriages are sometimes, even exogamous, outside the community, This is mainly due to the increased interaction in the village between boys and girls belonging to different communities.

Some inter-caste/community marriages observed are mostly between the chenchus and Sugalis. Though monogamy is the rule, cases of polygamy are also observed. Incidence of levirate and sororate are also not uncommon among Chenchus. Divorce is rare among the Chenchus (See Table-3). Divorce could be an outcome of infidelity or illicit relations. Pre-marital and extra-marital relations are also not uncommon among Chenchus,

Among the Sugalis the marriage is arranged in which their parents and members of the clans are involved. The custom of bride-price is practiced among Sugalis in which bride groom's family has to give sheep and cattle to the bride's father. An amount which varies from Rs.150/- to Rs.200/- is given by the groom's family to the bride's mother's brother (Menamama) which will be used for serving liquor on the day of marriage.

Among the Boyas cross-cousin marriage is very common and the system of dowry is prevalent. The dowry depends on the economic status of the people involved. Similar type of marriage practice is observed among the Harijans but mostly they stick to the rule of the village exogamy.

TABLE-3  
MARTIAL STATUS BY COMMUNITY IN KOTTALACHERUVU

| COMMUNITY | MARRIED   | UNMARRIED | DIVORCED | VIDOVS   | TOT At    |
|-----------|-----------|-----------|----------|----------|-----------|
| CHENCHU   | 84 (48)   | 88 (49)   | 2 (1)    | 15 (7)   | 208 (40)  |
| SUOALI    | 33 (22)   | 16 (10)   | 1 (1)    | 3 (3)    | 113 (21)  |
| HAR2 JAM  | 26 (29)   | 68 (76)   | ..       | 2 (2)    | 96 (17)   |
| BOYA      | 51 (144)  | 31 (53)   | ..       | 4 (3)    | 116 (22)  |
| TOTAL-    | 204 (100) | 263 (100) | 3 (100)  | 24 (100) | 520 (100) |

The numbers in brackets are percentages.

S&CIAL HIERARCHY :

Among the Chenchu there exists a hierachary among the KULAMS(clan). Each having a definite traditional function. BHUMANIIS are considered as kingly. The elder of the bhuroaniis is considered as king. For decision-making either for the village or for any other purposes connected to their social life he is called for and his presence should be solicited with respect. ARTHI are considered as ministerly and the elder among them is treated as priroe-minester. He is also important in decision-making processes. VUTHULURI clan discharges the duties of a priest. The elderly and most pious person locally called *hctlagetdu* is the person incharge of matrimonial ceremony. He even performs the last rites

after the funeral ceremony of the dead. KUDUNULA perform the duties as dictated by the minister (Arthi). PULLICHERALA are Local medicine men. They know the presence of medicinal herbs and its activity, and heal the people without any distinction of clan, sex and status. The knowledge of the available medicinal herbs is taught by the clan elders. They believe that it is the duty to provide medicine and this provides them 'punyam' (blessings after death), GULLA clan are propagators of message "Dandora ". The elder person is in-charge of spreading message at the time of holding a panchayti or when ever a situation arises. DASARI are the lowest of status in this hierarchical structure, he performs the duties as told by the other clan members.

The clan-wise distribution of Chenchu households show that Arthi (24%) and Fulicherla (20%) are significant numerically, while the others are more or less uniform (See Table-4).

TABLE-4  
CLAN WISE DISTRIBUTION OF CHENCHU HOUSEHOLD AND POPULATION.

| CLANS        | NO.OF HOUSEHOLDS | POPULATION |
|--------------|------------------|------------|
| Arthi        | 12 (24)          | 44 (21)    |
| Bhumani      | 4 (8)            | 14 (7)     |
| Chigulla     | 1 (2)            | 4 (2)      |
| Dasari       | 8 (12)           | 23 (11)    |
| Galli/Julli  | 2 (4)            | 12 (5)     |
| Gulla        | 2 (4)            | 12 (5)     |
| Gurran       | 1 (2)            | 6 (3)      |
| Kudutoula    | 1 (2)            | 4 (9)      |
| Nallapotulla | 2 (2)            | 10 (5)     |
| Niramalla    | 2 (2)            | 5 (2)      |
| Pulicherla   | 20 (20)          | 45 (21)    |
| Vuthuluri    | 7 (14)           | 28 (13)    |
| Total        | 50(100)          | 209 (100)  |

The numbers in brackets are percentages.

The Chenchus consider themselves as socially higher to all sudras. They regard themselves as privileged and that is the reason why they feel that they are being helped by the government. Some of the departments were created because of them. Some officials are utilising their funds which were given by their fore-fathers centuries ago.

### VILLAGE ECONOMY :

The main source of income for the Chenchus is through collection of minor forest produce (here after MFP) which they collect from their old habitat, Pecheruvu. Depending on the season, they get varied products from the forest which are purchased and marketed by the Girijan Co-operative Corporation (here after GCC).

They are employed by the forest department for cutting bamboo in the nearby forest area from October to June. The weekly earnings range from Rs.150/- to Rs.300/- for an average male, and a little less for a female. Even children of 14 years and above age are employed for this kind of job.

The Sugalis also have, more or less similar productive techniques for their subsistence. Besides, the Sugalis rear cattle i.e., they either own cattle or look after the cattle of others for which they receive remuneration. For each cow they receive Rs.8 to Rs 10/- per year as remuneration. The Boyas and Harijans exclusively depend on the forest department for labour. One Harijan family has about 10 cows and they supply milk to the Government Tribal Welfare Hostel.

All the villagers practice dry farming on the agricultural land given to them as a rehabilitatory measure by the Irrigation Department. They grow jowar, millets etc.. The yield on this land is not adequate enough to meet their annual food requirement.

#### POLITICAL ORGANIZATION :

The rehabilitation centre (Kottalacheruvu) is a small village, a constituent of Kurukunda Gram Panchayat for administrative purposes. The process of decision making is usually communal. Each community has its own leaders (*F&dxda nuanushulu*). The congregation of the village elders, leaders of different communities, take the decision pertaining to the village which is binding on every one. If any one disobeys the decision of the village elders they would be met with social isolation or boycott. The village leaders meet, only when there is any problem pertaining to the villagers with regard to theft, loans, illicit relations etc.

These elders represent the problems of their communities to the officials, such as District Collector, District Tribal Welfare Officer (here after D.T.W.O.), Revenue Development Officer (R.D.O.) on issues like granting agricultural loans, providing irrigation facilities, infrastructural facilities etc.

#### DIFFERENT ORNAMENTS :

Due to the impact of the outside world men and women in this village are no longer wearing their traditional dress, A Chenchu man usually wears a white loin cloth round the waist and a woman wears a white saree with a blouse. Now all the young male members wear pants and shirts depending on their economic status. Some also wear shorts. Women now

wear coloured sarees and blouses. Ornaments are less used due to abject poverty. Generally, every married woman wears a *mangala sutra* and rings (to her foot fingers). A few well-to-do families wear gold or silver ornaments like necklace, finger rings etc.

RET. 7 GTON :

Haimendorf speaking about Chenchu religion says "The difficulty in ascertaining the nature of the Chenchu religious beliefs lies in the fact that with the displacement of their former language by Telugu, their deities must have lost the original names and were hence forth described by the Telugu terms." (1943, 179).

The Hindus have absorbed Chenchu religion through the process of Sanskritisation. The Shivite god, Lord Mallikarjuna of Srisailaro is considered to be a Chenchu God. Lord Mallikarjuna was originally called as Mallanna by the Chenchus. It is a combination of two words 'Malla' and 'Anna'. In Telugu 'Malla' means 'hill' and 'Anna' is used to symbolise affection. Among the tribals, the concept of a hill-god is very common. So, Mallanna is a hill-god of the Nallamalai region and Chenchus are the only tribal group living in the Nallamalai hills. Thus, it could be stated that Lord Mallikarjuna is a Chenchu God.

There are references in medieval literature about Chenchus living in this region during medieval period. One

important reference is Palkurki Soroanadha's 'Panditaaradhya Charitra' in which the role of Chenchus in providing services to temple and its pilgrims coming to the annual *Shittara.tri* festival are described- Basava Puranam mentions forty and odd services performed by the Chenchus during the 12th century (Sastry, 1990).

The Chenchu habitat was invaded by kings during the Kakatiya period. The Srisailaro temple was developed (Murthy, 1988). The Reddy kings developed the facilities in the temple. At present, the temple functions are regulated through the Department of Endowments by the Government of Andhra Pradesh.

Along with the invasion came the cultural invasions also and the Chenchu god was replaced by the Sanskritic god in course of time. In support of this argument there is one locally popular legend about the temple. In the temple small broken stone resembling Shiva lingam is found, referred to as 'Vrudha Mallikarjuna' (aged Mallikarjuna). It resembles many typical tribal hill-gods. A large temple complex constructed by successive kings can be seen which is the present temple. The old Mallikarjuna (Mallanna as referred by Chenchus) became deaf due to old age. This is the reason why he could not hear the pilgrims and could not help them. As the time passed, the Mallanna and temple became unpopular and so a new Mallanna was installed. The Sanskritic tradition established the new Mallanna and called it Mallikarjuna. The original

tribal god is relegated to second position. Along with this, Chenchus were also relegated to the position of servants by the priests who came with the 'Sanskrit god'.

The chief deity of the village is 'Lingamaiah', represented by a small stone under a tree to the East of the village. Many people from n&ar by villages come and perform pooja and offer sacrificial offerings (animals) with reverence to this deity.

During the rainy season, if the rains are not proper, people of the surrounding villages come to the Varadaraja Swamy gudi (near the project) about four kilometers from the village and perform pooja to grant them proper rains for their fields.

The Sugalis of the village worship all the Hindu gods. The Boyas worship Lingaraoiah of this village. The Harijans belong to the Christian religion. They have constructed a church near the D.R.D.A. godown and on every Sunday they attend the Mass in the church and sing songs.

The Chenchus, Sugalis and Boyas celebrate all the Hindu festivals. Dusserah is most important festival for them. During the festival days they prepare some sweet and both men and women along with their children consume liquor on the festive occasions.

presentational STATUS. :

The literacy among the villagers is low. Most of the villagers are illiterate. The number of literates are more among the Harijans followed by Boyas, Sugalis and Chenchus. There is only a single Chenchu man who had appeared for degree examination while only one Chenchu woman has appeared for SSC examination. There is one graduate and three intermediate educated persons among the Harijans (See Table-5).

TABLE-5

LITERACY IN KOTTALACHEKUVU ACCORDING TO COMMUNITY AND SEX.

| CLASS   | 1-5         |             | 6-7         |             | 8-10       |             | 10-INTER   |            | DEGREE     |            | TOTAL        |               |
|---------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|------------|-------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|--------------|---------------|
|         | M           | F           | M           | F           | M          | F           | M          | F          | M          | F          | M            | F             |
| CHENCHU | 35<br>(73%) | 4<br>(84%)  | 7<br>(14%)  | 1<br>(14%)  | 4<br>(8%)  | 1<br>(12%)  | 1<br>(2%)  | 1<br>(2%)  | 1<br>(2%)  | 1<br>(2%)  | 4<br>(41%)   | 1<br>(10%)    |
| SUGALI  | 5<br>(57%)  | 4<br>(100%) | 2<br>(22%)  | 1<br>(11%)  | 1<br>(11%) | 1<br>(11%)  | 1<br>(11%) | 1<br>(11%) | 1<br>(11%) | 1<br>(11%) | 0<br>(8%)    | 4<br>(44%)    |
| BOYA    | 10<br>(50%) | 5<br>(53%)  | 17<br>(44%) | 1<br>(45%)  | 1<br>(33%) | 1<br>(33%)  | 1<br>(33%) | 1<br>(33%) | 1<br>(33%) | 1<br>(33%) | 1<br>(33%)   | 11<br>(110%)  |
| HARIJAN | 11<br>(52%) | 13<br>(54%) | 4<br>(11%)  | 1<br>(33%)  | 3<br>(43%) | 1<br>(11%)  | 2<br>(10%) | 3<br>(13%) | 1<br>(5%)  | 1<br>(5%)  | 21<br>(18%)  | 24<br>(22%)   |
| TOTAL   | 71<br>(51%) | 77<br>(71%) | 30<br>(23%) | 22<br>(20%) | 10<br>(8%) | 11<br>(11%) | 4<br>(3%)  | 3<br>(3%)  | 2<br>(2%)  | 2<br>(2%)  | 11<br>(100%) | 103<br>(100%) |

The numbers in brackets are percentages.

The Chenchus stop going to school after their fifth standard. In order to study further they have to go out to the nearest town Atmakur which, they feel, they cannot afford despite the governmental support given to them.

PACT LIT IKS AHf AMENITIES:

The village has bus facilities provided by the APSRTC. There are four services from 9 am to 6 pm with every bus at an interval of three hours. Some people of the village have bicycles. The village was electrified in 1990. All the houses were electrified. The electricity bill is being paid by the Tribal Welfare Department (hereafter refer as TWD), Kurnool. The villagers get drinking water from hand pumps. There are four hand pumps in the setteleroent colony and two bore wells are located in the fields.

There is a hospital within the village. Most of the Chenchus do not avail services of the hospital. The hospital has an Auxiliary Nurse Midwife and a coropounder who resides in the village. The doctor visits the village once in a fortnight. The Ashram School is located in the center of the village. It is under the control of the D.T.W.O. The nearest post office is located in Atroakur. But letters are delivered here regularly. The village has a post box and the letters are cleared regularly.

The main source of recreation for the people of the village is going to cinema in the nearest town, Atmakur- Occasionally, a singing and dancing troupe visits and entertains the villagers. The villagers contribute according to their means to the troupe.

## **CHAPTER 3**

## AN OVERVIEW OF REHABILITATION STUDIES

Envelopment is an important phenomenon in the contemporary world, and it is one area to which Anthropologists can contribute significantly, both in systematically studying them as well as in its proper planning and implementation. It is to be treated as a sphere of human activity which anthropology may investigate, as it is well used to investigating the spheres of human activity like economic, political, ritual and religious, cultural, etc.

One should view development not as 'applied' part of anthropology but it is legitimate and desirable to regard it as a new field put forward in the changing world in which Anthropology operates with the essence of "pure Anthropology" (Belshaw, 1976; Cochrane, 1971). Bastide (1973) argued his proposal for an applied Anthropology as a theoretical science of practice. It is not to be oriented towards action and planning. It analyses that action and that planning as the old Anthropology analysed kinship systems, economic and political situations, spontaneous process of change and with enacting the same technique of approach.

Understanding the phenomena is important not for a critical remark (value judgment) but because understanding can make a difference. It concerns about what and why people do, atleast as much as about what happens to them. Choice and decision are prominent not only on development side but also cognitive perception of the people is of importance here.

The focus in development activities is viewed as consisting in the seeking of improvement in the living standards, availability of facilities etc. The Anthropologist is concerned not only with the search for the improvements in the living standards, etc., but also with various social contexts within which it takes place. The structures, institutions and processes form its environment. He will handle them, as always, to the extent that his research methods and his interests allow (Devons and Gluckroan , 1964).

Anthropology of development is concerned with those social fields in which people seek to secure improvements in their own or in other people's performances either in tasks they are already performing or through a new task which they may take up. This may represent only a small part of the total population of social change. This even represents a significant part.

Launching a developmental project in a tribal or any other area replaces the inhabitants from their socio-economic and ecological habitat. Development is also a form of novelty which entails change in the existing system. There are social, cultural and psychological barriers to change (Foster, 1973). Anthropologists particularly deal with these barriers to development while taking note of the people's values and traditions.

All form of development and change seem to entail some measure of displacement which in turn calls for readjustment and resettlement (Subba Reddy, 1990). For individuals it may be spatial mobility while for community it may be dislocation. Dislocating and rehabilitation are more prevalent in the modern times mainly due to different types of developmental activities. Displacement disturbs the existing equilibrium between man-nature relationships established by particular dwellers by their ancestors for generations.

Displacement is mainly due to developmental projects, viz., major irrigation and hydro-electric projects, mining and resource based industries and animal sanctuaries (Sastry, 1984). Basically, rehabilitation is an aftermath of various factors, viz., natural, political, social and developmental projects (Sivaprasad, 1990). Rehabilitation involves planned and controlled transfer of population from one area

to another and restoring the affected population to former capacity or condition. The cultural profiles of their attitudes and subsistence strategies should also be taken into consideration. (Alexander «?\* a.1, 1991).

Displacement of person will be known much in advance in cases of displacement due to development programmes. Hence planning for rehabilitation should be made and implemented well ahead of the actual displacement. Failure of rehabilitation in such cases could be mostly due to lack of proper planning or bad implementation. (Karve and Nimbkar, 1969 :10, Maiti, 1978 :14).

Eventhough there is a proper planning by the policy makers at the time of implementation of the project it is not properly managed. The problems of the uprooted are not foreseen and are dealt as and when they are faced, with adaptive strategies and the mode of living.(Sachidananda, 1985; Muthayya e-t al, 1978; Muthayya el at, 1984; Sudhakar Reddy, 1985; Thiroma Reddy, 1980; Vidyarthi, 1960; Chenchu Ftaju, 1990).

Proper planning and execution by the planner should bring in a timely help to the displaced oustees. If this help is not received in time the rehabilitants would feel alienated and might desert the relief camps and the rehabilitation colonies (Sudhakar Reddy, 1985; Balagovind Baboo, 1992).

While devising the policy planning the rehabilitation projects, the peoples' socio-economic situation with their ecology should be studied. Their attitudes of better living are to be deciphered and development programmes are to be planned and implemented in their direction (Sudhakar Reddy, 1985; Muthayya *e-t al* , 1984; Zaroan, 1989; Balgobind Baboo, 1992).

While implementing the rehabilitation programmes it is "the duty of the policy makers to convince the affected population, and then only shift them to the new centres. Utmost caution in planning and execution of shifting the displaced is needed and use of force or coercion should be avoided (Sathrugna, 1981). The process of rehabilitation should always educate the people about the programme and its advantages, which results in the economic growth of the region (Vithal, 1992).

The policy makers should take precautionary steps while dealing with compensatory money. Tribals being mostly uneducated, do not have a proper planning for their future, they spend money on unproductive practices and sometimes in gambling, drinking etc. When the rehabilitation colony is ready they are virtually without money. Being unskilled they cannot go to work in the nearby town thus increasing their

agony further (Vidtarthy, 1970; Mutyayya et al, 1984; Dasgupta, 1978). Some become refugees on their own land and some become nomads in search of their livelihood.

The success of a rehabilitation programme also depends on the location of the rehabilitation centre. The case of H.B.Halli under Tungabadhra Project is a good example. (Gajax&jan, 1970). Incompatibility of the location leads to various ill-effects, degradation of their values, disturbance in the relations and social organisation and gradually their identification is also lost (Thimma Feddy, 1980; Sachidananda, 1985; Das and Benerjee, 1984). However rehabilitation should increase the living standards of the displaced (Aineyan, 1990).

Approach in rehabilitation programme should be group or community relocation rather than individual scattering of people in various resettlement colonies. By this they re-build their past social space and quickly adjust to the new location. They try to maintain the cohesion, co-operation and solidarity of the pre-existing co-residential kin groups (Orit-tamir, 1991; Ratha and Behera, 1990).

As behavior forms the basis for future orientation, their perceptions in a broad historical and political, economic context should be historically understood for the

study of rehabilitation. (Zaroan, 1989; Srivastava, 1978; Muthayya et al, 1984).

Change is a pervasive phenomenon in all the resettlement and rehabilitation programmes. Change occurs mainly due to differences in the physical and ecological conditions in the new location and these have their effect on various socio-economic and cultural spheres of their lives. Studies highlighting these changes have been conducted by many scholars. For instance on family norm and schooling of their children (Vithal,1992; Majurodar,1980): adaptive strategies: agriculture to the agricultural labour (Muthayya et al , 1975); agriculture to jobs (Muthayya et QLL ,1984); agriculture to mixed economy: industry and agriculture (Shalini Mehta, 1992); settled agriculture to shifting cultivation (Thimma Reddy, 1990); increased living standards and divorce (Majurodar, 1980); tradition lost, weakening of family and kinship,taking to begging and prostitution, etc., (Sachidananda, 1985); material belongings, consumption pattern, marriage system, influence of social surroundings, worshipping of Hindu gods and celebrating Hindu festivals (Govind Gore, 1976). Though rehabilitation leads to acculturation, the people re-defined and re-interpreted some of the existing institutions in the new environment (Shalini Mehta, 1992).

# CHAPTER 4

## PROCESS OF REHABILITATION

The forest department officials of Pecheruvu range informed the villagers that they were living in the core area of the tiger project and have to vacate it and shift to another place. Initially there was a lot of resistance and unwillingness among the villagers to leave their ancestral houses and lands. The officials of the forest department\* revenue department, the district collector, irrigation department and the DTWO held discussions with the village elders and leaders but they were of no use. Some of the Chenchus of this village were working in the forest department as watchers and guards and they were forced to listen to their higher authorities. There was still resentment *among* the people. The authorities mentioned that if they do not shift, they would use police force and there could even be police firing. Tribals had to yield to the officials. One village elder from the Sugali community told the officials to mix 'yerwir iiV (poison) in their drinking water well so that all of them could die in the place of their birth. After a series of discussions, and persuasions, the villagers agreed to shift.

Actually there were 96 Chenchus, 26 Sugali, 14 Boya, 12 Harijans and three rousliro families residing in Pecheruvu. Boyas and Harijans knew the benefits accrued by rehabilitation. Under the weaker sections upliftment scheme many of their relatives were rehabilitated and were enjoying the benefits. So they called their close kin members so that they could be included in the rehabilitants list. The people who thus came and settled here were six Boya, two Harijan, and two Sugali families.

According to the proceedings of the Chief Conservator of forests, 1932, Madras, an enclosure was identified for the Chenchus ear-marking 85 acres for dwelling sites and 332 acres for cultivation (A.P.gasette, Kurnool 1973).

When enumeration started, the officials were to include the Chenchus residing in the village from 1932. The local leaders were consulted and all the villagers residing in the village till date were included in the census list prepared by the revenue department.

The Chenchus of the Pecheruvu were shifted on a proposed rehabilitation programme at Kottalacheruvu of Atmakur mandal under the Tiger Reserve Project and the medium level irrigation project, VRSP.

The VRSP is a medium irrigation project proposed to be constructed across *mwximadutjruLa' t' jag-u*, a hill stream and a tributary of Krishna river near *bandanuidxig-u* in Ataraakur mandal of Kurnool district. The project is intended to provide irrigation facilities to an extent of 8,700 acres of new ayacut and 5,050 acres of area already under irrigation. The gross capacity of the reservoir is 750 MCFT and the cost of the construction was estimated to be 6.23 crores as part of the Sixth Plan of Irrigation Department, Government of India. While the project was under execution it was found that the constructed area of 87L acres covered by the project falls within the Nandikotfeur reserve forest of Attnafcur division and within the Nagarjunsagar-Srisailam wild life sanctuary. Considering the benefits accruing out of this project to the farmers in the drought prone district of Kurnool, the State government sought the approval of the Government of India under Forest (conservation) Act , 1980, for diversification of forest area required for construction of the dam and for submergence, etc.

The Government of India has since conveyed its approval to the release of 160 hectares of forest land in Kurnool district for construction of VRSP. This 160 hectares of forest included Pecheruvu in which the Chenchus were granted lease rights in 1932.

It was decided to shift the inhabitants of the Pecheruvu elsewhere to enable the wildlife to move into the new habitat which is situated inside the core area boundary line. For this, specific conditions were laid by the Ministry of Environment and Forests (Department of Forests and Wild Life, New Delhi Lr. No.7-27/80 FRY (CONS) dt.9/11-4-1985) that :

1. Pecheruvu revenue village should be shifted from within the wild life sanctuary to a new location near Edavalli village on Atroakur-Dornala road at the cost of the project and the village so vacated should be constituted as reserve forest and merged with core area of tiger reserve. The construction of the dam should be taken only after the village has been shifted to enable the wild life to move into the habitat.

2. Villagers should be provided suitable housing and other facilities, such as piped water, school, health unit, gobar bio-gas plant, fodder farm and agricultural property, reclaimed lands so as to make their shifting attractive.

3. Tiger project should adopt this village and develop it into a model village with the active cooperation of the other concerned departments .....

4. The monitoring committee under the Chairmanship of" the Chief Conservation of Forests, Andhra Pradesh may be constituted to look into the execution of the project and rehabilitation.

Almost all except a few were reluctant to leave their ancestral abode in which they were living through ages. They felt the deprivation of their land and life from the forests.As a result of 'persuasion' by the officials, the tribals have yielded and agreed to shift to a new place. They were informed about the kind of benefits that they would get due to rehabilitation. Thus, the land was acquired for the tiger reserve project under the land acquisition act 1894.

The project officials have entrusted to -the local leaders the responsibility of selecting a new site on Atroakur-Dornala road as per the Government specification. This was done to make them involved in the process of rehabilitation. The leaders formed a selection committee comprising four Chenchus.two Boyas and one Sugali. Even a woman from Chenchu community was involved so as to make the committee representative not only on community basis but also on the basis of sex.

The community leaders/elders were given the option of selecting any place for resettlement which would be suitable and conducive to them. The choice given for them are the following :

First they were offered *Indir&swarc*m village of Atmakur roandal, which is Eight km away from Atroakur town on Atroakur-Dornala road. The people of Pecheruvu were not willing to settle there because of the reason that the Chenchu inhabitants of Indireswararo are notorious and famous for their highway robberies and rebelling against Police. There are incidents of Police-Chenchu attacks. So the villagers felt that this village will not be a secure place for them and hence, turned down this proposal.

The second offer made was *EdaualI* village of Atroakur mandal which is situated on the Atmakur-Dornala road. The people of Pecheruvu were not satisfied because of the reason that the conditions would not suit them because of the plains lands and one has to toil hard in agriculture and their traditional identity may be lost. Here the problem was of incompatibility of their livelihood for adaptation to the physical and social environment. Some Chenchu elders showed interest because they have their relatives in that village.

*PotMT-aJxipenta* near Rollapenta was also mentioned to them as another alternative site. This was also not acceptable to the displaced because the Vaddes of this area are engaged in smuggling timber from the forest. The Chenchus of Pecheruvu used to beat them when they came to the forests to smuggle the timber and the Vaddes used to retaliate when the Chenchus went to the nearest towns for marketing. So they anticipated host-relocatee tensions and they declined this village site for their rehabilitation.

*Lalcdbai.kun.ta.* near Nagaluti was also suggested as a centre for rehabilitation. The villagers had the problem with the Vaddes as it was in Rollapenta- However, the Sugalis of the Pecheruvu were ready to resettle in this village, because the village has many Sugalis and the Sugalis of Pecheruvu have their relatives in this village. This was also turned down because of the resentment of the others in the village.

*BaLamnuxk&ttall-u* (Kottalacheruvu), Atroakur mandal, 11 kros from Atraakur town was mentioned and shown to the villagers. This site was agreeable to most of the residents of the village. Even in this case, some of the villagers refused to move from the village. The reasons for their approval of this area is that it resembled their habitat,--

Cheruvu (tank) towards the South, Konda (hill) towards the North and a Vagu (stream) nearer to the settlement, and hence, there would be no water problem for them.

Of all the places discussed above, it was only Katta.lcuzh&3"uvu that was visited by the local leaders and elders along with the officials. The remaining places were just discussed with officials as the displaced are very familiar with these areas.

An enumeration was done by the revenue department to exactly know the number of households and population, that needs to be rehabilitated. At the time of shifting, the project authorities promised the following things as a part of rehabilitation programme.

1. Five acres of agricultural land to each displaced family.
2. The lands would be developed by clearing bushes, remaining stones etc.,
3. They would be supplied plough and bullocks, seed etc., Irrigation wells will be dug and irrigation facility will also be provided from new irrigation project.
4. Subsistence allowance will be provided.
5. One Ashram school for Chenchu children will be opened.
6. Permanent housing facility will be provided and village will be electrified.
7. Daily requirement depot **will** also be opened.
8. Health facilities will be provided.

## THE ACQUISITION OF LAND :

Among the fundamental rights given by our Constitution is the right to hold, enjoy and disposal of property. Individual property and lands however can be acquired by government for public purposes. Land for public purposes is acquired under the Land Acquisition Act 1894. The determination of reasonable compensation for the property is very intricate. This comprises scrutiny with proper plan and details of lands to be acquired with proper proposals and whether the lands are demarcated. Proper budget provisions are made for the acquiring bodies. This is done after consultation with other departments ie., Zilla Praja Parishads, revenue officials etc. The Land Acquisition Officer after strict consultation with people and officials acquired land only after issuing public notification. After this notification proper compensation was paid only after valuation.

## COMPENSATION :

The lands are valued generally by two methods which are (1) sale statistics method and (2) income capitalisation method. Valuation by the Sale statistics method is done by collecting the sale instances of similar lands situated in the vicinity, which have taken place three to five years prior to the date of notification. Analyses of land rates are realised and to arrive at reasonable market value by taking the size, shape accessibility, fertility, assessment, time factor etc., are taken into consideration.

The valuation by income capitalisation method comprises:

1. Finding out the average of three years cropping pattern of the village.
2. Estimating the production of crops.
3. Estimating the gross value of production based on the average prices of the preceding three years, prevailing during the entire year.
4. Estimating the net value of production after considering the out goings and value of by-products.
5. Find out the net yearly income of the land in individual number, by using the formula

$$V = V + P ( V_0 / A_0 . A - A_0 )$$

Where in V is the income per head of the field ; 'V<sub>0</sub>' is the average income per hectare ; 'A' is the rate of assessment of the field ; 'A<sub>0</sub>' is the average rate of assessment in the mandal and 'P' is the constant, 0.21, representing weight to be attached to the difference of the rate of assessment from the average rate in deciding the difference in income.

6. Capitalising the net yearly income of the field so arrived by multiplying the same by 15 for arriving at the market value of the land (Jagirdar, 1989),

The valuation for compensation for the displaced of Pecheruvu was calculated on the Income capitalisation method, jointly by the forest department and irrigation department official and was decided as Rs.1,100/- for every family displaced from Pecheruvu.

Tribals being still in a non-monetized pre-market stage of economy, these households do not have any definite idea of the financial value of their assets. There is also a restriction of sale and purchase of tribal land, which keeps its price at very depressed levels. For these reasons compensation for tribal land is fixed in terms of value of income derived from it, rather than the sale statistics method.

Compensation was given mainly for leaving the village Pecheruvu, both their houses and small portion of land where they were practicing incipient dry farming. The VRSP authorities with the help of the forest department have calculated the total compensation to an amount of Rs.1,100/- by value of income method.

On the day of shifting, every family to be shifted were given Rs.100/- for their immediate use, for performing rituals to their local deities and also to forget the agony and trauma. The transportation was provided by the forest department to bring their material belongings and building materials.

The moment they arrived at Kottalacheruvu with their building materials and their belongings, they were given 15 kgs of rice and pulses for their immediate supply of food through GCC. After a week or so each displaced family was

given a bag of rice for which Rs.325/- was deducted. They were returned the balance of Ets.675/-, of which Rs. 500/- was deposited in the bank, in the *name:* of the head of each family.

After coming to Kottalacheruvu they again built their Kottaros (house of bamboo walls covered with forest hay, mostly conical in shape). Initially they were residing in these huts and later, after the completion of construction of the resettlement colony, they were shifted.

# **CHAPTER 5**

## INFRASTRUCTURAL FACILITIES AND DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES

In the previous chapter, we have dealt with the actual process of shifting of the tribals from their original setting. This chapter deals with the infrastructural facilities provided by the resettlement agencies and the problems involved in their acceptance and utilization by the relocatees.

In resettlement colonies various infrastructural facilities like housing, piped water, school, health unit, agricultural lands etc., were provided so as to make shifting attractive and a less painful process. These facilities appealed the people to shift. By providing these kinds of facilities to the oustees it was planned to bring them into the mainstream. The various infrastructural facilities provided by the VRSP are discussed below.

### HOUSING :

Provision of a permanent housing colony was one of the amenities provided in the rehabilitation colony (as per Government of India specifications).

The total extent of the land for building houses was 18.68 acres. The unit cost allotted for the construction of a house was Rs. 7,800/- with 100% subsidy. Each family was

provided with five cents of house site out of which in about. two cents permanent house to live in was constructed. The houses are of one room and kitchen and 'L' in shape with doors facing North-South direction, contrary to the Chenchus' practice/ belief. Their houses face East-West direction.

The district collector laid the foundation to the housing colony at EALAMMAKOTTALU (as it was known prior to the settling of the displaced) on 16.4. 1985. The shifting to the displaced was done on 16.12.1985. The actual construction work started only after they were settled in the vacant fields . The reason why the people were brought much earlier than the houses were constructed, according to the officials , was that they will become familiar with the geographical region where they are to live in future.

Houses were constructed under R.L.E.G.P. funds. The contract was .given to Andhra Pradesh Housing Development Corporation (here after refer as A.P.H.D.C.), Kurnool. In the first phase 160 houses, in the second phase seven houses and in the third kphase 14 houses were constructed. The construction of houses was completed by the June of 1986 anti they were allotted to the displaced. Out of the 181 houses, 132 were given to Chenchus, out of which 11 houses were given to the Chenchus residing in Balamma kottallu. Of the remaining houses, 16 houses were given to Sugalis, out of

which four families were residents of Balamroakottallu, 16 to the Boyas, 12 houses to the Harijans, three to Muslims and two houses to washerman (chakali) of which one washerman was resident of Balaroroakottalu.

There were 23 households residing in Balamroakttalu and houses were constructed for them in the area of their residence. There was no provision for allotting the houses for these residents. All the elders (~~pridiicunz~~ush\iI u) of the Balamrakotts.lu and rehabilitants had a meeting (partcfaayt f) and decided that the rehabilitants would enter the houses only if all the residents of Balammafcottalu, along with the rehabilitants, were provided with housing facility. The authorities had to yield to them as there was a protest. As a consequence of this, 25 displaced families remained homeless among Boyas and Chenchus. This matter was represented to the Government through District Collector and the Field Director, Project Tiger, who are in-charge of this project. The Government has sanctioned 42 houses which are under construction.

The allocation of houses was on the basis of community. This was one in order to build a conducive social environment and also to recreate their social past. The people were unhappy about the size of the houses which were small. The roofs leak during the rainy season, complained the displaced, as low quality materials were used. The village elders have

reported to the authorities and after a long persuasion, repairs were undertaken. This village, and also the houses, was electrified in 1990.

#### AMEAh fffHf>OL AHI> HOSTEL -'

The literacy among the Chenchus is awfully low 6.5% when compared to other tribes of the state 7.84% and the nation 16%. The policy of the government is to ensure complete literacy among the scheduled tribes. With a view to achieve the avowed objective, an ashram school was established. The school building was constructed with an estimated cost of 2.14 lakhs from V.P.S.P.funds. This school works under the control of the Tribal Welfare Department, Kurnool. The school is recognised up to fifth class by the Government of Andhara Pradesh. The students of class six and seven of this school have to appear privately for the examinations in the nearby town, Atamakur. These students are provided with boarding and lodging facilities, following the instructions of DTWO. The expenditure of these students is met by the TWD.

There is hostel located 10 yards to the school building. This was also constructed from the irrigation department funds (VKSt) with an estimated cost of 5.95 lakhs. This hostel provides both boarding and lodging facility to the Chenchu and other tribal students who are studying in primary and upper primary school.

Besides providing free boarding and lodging facilities, the Chenchu school-going children, are provided with the following facilities:

1. A set of text books,
2. Note books
3. Two pairs of dresses
4. Monthly cosmetic charges( for soaps, hair oil etc.,).
5. Supply of bed sheet and jummkhana (a thick cloth blanket mattress).
- 6 Playing equipment
7. Steel plates and glass for each child

The school has one head master and four teachers. The teachers are supposed to stay in the village but they daily come from Atmakur around 10'o clock in the morning and leave the village by 4 pm. bus. Hostel is maintained by warden who is directly answerable to the D.T.W.O.

Due to abject poverty the Chenchus are unable to send their children to school. On the other hand, they take their children with them for collection of minor forest produces to augment their family income. The villagers are of the view that if a child does not know the forest his chances of earning his livelihood and money will be less. Forest being their mother gives varied forest products seasonally, the children are expected to learn different things that are available in the forest. Otherwise, their survival chances will be less. This is the reason why the tribal parents take their children, especially boys, even at a tender age, to the forest for the collection of forest products.

A novel scheme of supplying free rice and red gram was introduced by the government only for the Chenchus. This programme was introduced only to motivate the parents to send their children to school. Each parent of school going children is given 25 kg of rice and 1 kg of red gram per month. This is distributed by the GCC's Daily requirement (DR ) depots. The funds for this scheme are provided by Integrated Tribal Development Agency (ITDA), Srisailaro dam Primitive Tribal Group (PTG) earmarked funds. The sanctioned strength for the Kottalacheruvu hostel is 104. Each resident, boarder of the hostel, is sanctioned Rs 150/- per month, and an addition of Rs 10/- for cosmetics (soaps, hair oil etc.,) charges. All essential commodities and materials are supplied to the hostel through G.C.C.

TABLE-6

## HOSTEL ATTENDANCE ACCORDING TO THE COMMUNITY AND SEX

| COKMUNITY<br>CLASS | CHEKCHU     |             | SMOALI     |           | HAH IJAN  |             | BOVA       |            | TOTAL        |             |
|--------------------|-------------|-------------|------------|-----------|-----------|-------------|------------|------------|--------------|-------------|
|                    | B           | a           | B          | O         | B         | O           | B          | a          | B            | O           |
| I                  | 10<br><ioa> | 7<br><iaai> | 2<br><17>  | -         | -         | -           | -          | -          | 12<br>(21)   | 8<br>(42)   |
| XI                 | 1<br><1001> | 7<br><aai>  | -          | -         | -         | 1<br><i2>   | -          | -          | 1<br><5t>    | 1<br>(15)   |
| III                | 1<br><oa>   | 1<br><100>  | -          | -         | -         | -           | 1<br><7>   | -          | 14<br>(25)   | 1<br>(61)   |
| IV                 | 1<br><100>  | 14<br>(at)  | -          | -         | -         | 2<br>(12 >  | -          | -          | 1<br>(14)    | 1<br>(ai >  |
| V                  | 3<br><SO>   | 5<br>(71)   | 1<br><SO>  | 1<br>(14) | -         | 1<br><14>   | -          | -          | 1<br>(11)    | 7<br><ia>   |
| VI                 | 4<br><BO>   | 5<br><100>  | -          | -         | -         | -           | 1<br><20>  | -          | 15<br>(08)   | 1<br>(1C1)  |
| VII                | 2<br><22>   | 3<br>(43)   | 2<br>(22t) | -         | 1<br>(ti) | 2<br><2S>   | 4<br><44>  | 2<br>(20k) | 0<br>(1<S)   | 7<br>(11)   |
| TOTAL              | 43<br>(75)  | 43<br><aai> | 7<br>(12)  | 1<br><2>  | 1<br><21> | 1<br><i:2V> | 1<br>(111) | 2<br><4>   | 57<br><1001> | 2<br>(1C10) |

The students of the hostel are given food three times a day, morning, afternoon and night. Eggs are given once in a week. The accounts of the hostel is maintained by the warden, who is answerable to the Tribal Welfare Department.

Despite all these facilities the attendance of the school is low. The students are attending the school only for food. The attendance in the school is not taken in to consideration while cooking the food and ration issued are always for the total strength of the hostel. When the hostel bell rings all the children come there though they do not attend the school, and take food.

TABLE-7

ATTENDANCE OF DIFFERENT COMMUNITY STUDENTS IN OOV. TBIIAL VELFAIE SCHOOL

| COMMUNITY<br>CLASS | ST             |               | HAKIJAN     |             | BOYA        |              | TOTAL        |             |
|--------------------|----------------|---------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|
|                    | B              | a             | B           | G           | B           | C            | B            | O           |
| I                  | 15<br><<sa i   | a<br>< a0>    | 2           | .           | 5<br>(22)   | 2<br>(20)    | 22<br>(22)   | 10<br>(17)  |
| II                 | a              | 7<br>< 70>    | -           | 1           | a<br>< 50 i | 2<br>(20t    | 5<br>< at    | 10<br>< 17> |
| III                | 14<br>< ? a >  | a<br>< 75 i   | .           | .           | 4<br>(22)   | 1<br>(25)    | 15<br>(22)   | 4<br>(7)    |
| IV                 | a<br>< 100 >   | 14<br>< Bit   | -           | 2<br>< 6t   | .           | 2<br>(st     | a<br>< 10)   | 15<br>< 27) |
| V                  | a<br>< a < s > | a<br>< a < st | -           | 1<br>(14)   | 1<br>< 14 > | .            | 7<br>< 0)    | 7<br>< 12>  |
| VI                 | 4<br>< BO i    | < eat         | -           | 1<br>(17 i  | 1<br>< 20t  | .            | 5<br><<sv    | 5<br>uot    |
| VII                | 4<br>< 3 < s > | a<br>(43)     | 1<br>< Dt i | 2<br>< 29 > | 5<br>< 55 i | 2<br>< 2 > t | 11<br>< 14 i | 7<br>(12)   |
| TOTAL              | 34<br>(70)     | 45<br>(77)    | 3<br>(4)    | 7<br>(12)   | 20<br>(26)  | 7<br>(12)    | 77<br>(100)  | 20<br>(100) |

Low attendance is also due to the lack of concern of the teachers, as expressed by the villagers. The teachers send the students into forests for hunting, to catch wild fowl, rabbits etc. As the school-going children feel free outside the class, like their immediate fellow seniors of the village, they try to stay outside most of the time. This results in stagnation and wastage in the schools. The candidates who pass the seventh class will be admitted in the residential school at Sundipenta or Kurnool. The hostel warden or the headmaster takes this initiative of admitting students in the residential schools.

AGRICULTURAL LAMH E&F. CULTIVATION :

This constitutes the biggest task of rehabilitation. The VRSP is under obligation of providing 5 acres of land to each family. An extent of 905 acres of agricultural land is necessary for the 181 displaced families. Apart from the government waste land available, atleast about 700 acres of agricultural land has to be purchased. The Secretary to the Government, Irrigation Department informed that the Collector, along with the concerned Officials is to identify land available for purchase. Accordingly, the District Collector, the DTWO, along with the Executive Engineer of VRSP made a joint identification of land available for purchase at the rate of Rs 3,000/- per acre, in 1986. An amount of Rs 21 lakhs was required to purchase the available land for the displaced families. And after a lengthy correspondence, the irrigation department released an amount of Rs 21 lakhs towards the purchase of land for the rehabilitants on April 16, 1988 (The expenditure to be met from the budget provision of 1988-89.).

When the actual process of purchase commenced, the Mandal Revenue Officer (MRO), Atmakur informed the District Collector, Karnool that the land prices have gone up to Rs 5,000/- per acre in anticipation that land would be coming under the Irrigation Project under construction.

As per the Collector's instructions, a team of officials inspected the land and fixed the price at Rs. 4,250/- per acre and 145 acres were purchased, spending Rs. 6.17 lakhs, out of the Rs 21 lakhs allocated.

During 1990 another 245 acres of agricultural land was purchased from the nearby villagers at a cost of Rs 6,000/- per acre, meeting the expenditure from the Rs 21 lakhs allocated, for the purpose. Thus there was a lot of red tapism which not only increased the cost of rehabilitation due to delay but caused a lot of inconvenience to the rehabilitants.

LAMD. DISBURSEMENT AMU DEVELOPMENT :

The waste land acquired from the government should be reclaimed or well prepared for cultivation i.e., by levelling the land, removing stones etc.

In 1987-88 about one acre each of agricultural land was distributed to all the displaced, families and pattas were given. The land was distributed among the displaced in the following way :

| <u>Number</u> | <u>Community</u>                            | <u>Acres</u>  |
|---------------|---|---------------|
| 175           | Scheduled Tribes<br>(Both Chenchu & Sugali) | 191.74        |
| 7             | Harijans                                    | 7.80          |
| 12            | Boyas                                       | 12.06         |
| 3             | Muslims                                     | 3.00          |
|               | Total                                       | <u>214,60</u> |

Of this 214.60 acres, the government waste land was 64.60 acres and private land purchased was 150 acres at the rate of Rs.4,250/-.

In 1990-91 about 200 acres of land was purchased from the ryots at the rate of Rs.6,000/- per acre. The revenue department has collected all the pattas distributed earlier in 1987-88 saying that they would provide two acres of agricultural land. Anyhow, some of the Boyas did not return the pattas. Now they have distributed pattas of two acres land to the Chenchus of Pecheruvu only. 1 acre of land pattas are given to Chenchus of Balarama Kottalu, Harijans, Sugalis and Boyas. Even the two acres of land allotted to the Chenchus was not located in the same place, i.e., one acre to the East side of the road and another acre about two km to the West side of the road. There were no survey markings for the fields, the officials used to show their fields from a distance and were not taken to the actual site.

The lands purchased were with stones and undulating with bushes. There was no cultivation in these fields for the past five years. Then the DTWO felt it necessary to bulldoze and level the lands. The contract for bulldozing was given to Andhra Pradesh State Agro Industries Development Corporation limited, Anantapur. Funds spent on this activity were Rs 4.93 lakhs, drawn from PASMA (PASMA is a scheme which covers land developments and Irrigation programme in the absence of integrated rural development programs funds). Of these funds 50% come from District rural development agency

(DRDA); 30% are from Primitive Tribal Groups (PTG) and 20% is margin money.

During 1985-86, six ground wells were sanctioned under RLEGP program with an estimated unit cost of Rs.15,000/-. In 1987-88, under drought relief program, two ground wells were sanctioned by Social Welfare Department, Kurnool with an unit cost of Rs.18,000/-. In 1987-88, the project officer of Integrated Tribal Development Agency (ITDA), Srisailaro Dam East has sanctioned four ground wells. Under the provision, one well for every five acres of agricultural land was proposed. Of the existing wells four are in good condition, four are completely destroyed due to the falling of side walls (Katakaro) into the well, resulting in the closure of the wells. Two wells are in good condition but the water level is low. Depth of each well varies between 18 to 24 feet.

In the year 1991, after bulldozing the lands, 2.5 acres of agricultural lands was given to each Chenchu family of Pecheruvu. The DTWO on the villagers' plea, with the help of the revenue department, allocated the land to Chenchu families in such way that all the members of one clan got the lands at one place. This is done to facilitate better supervision of their fields.

DRINKING WATER :

Provision of piped drinking water is envisaged in the plan but bore **wells** (hand pumps) were dug in the colony

At present there are five hand pumps in working condition in the colony. Three hand pumps are in and around the school and hostel buildings. One is located near the hospital. One is on the right side of the main road near the houses of Boyas. Except Sugalis, every community has a hand pump near their houses. Two drinking water bores are situated in the fields where the displaced families first resided before the construction of the housing colony was taken up. One hand pump is situated near the Lingaroayya Swamy Temple, for the people who visit the temple, and this is also used by the villagers for their cattle and sheep. During summer, the villagers face water problem because the water level goes down and only two hand pumps in the village yield abundant-water. Of these two, one is located in the hostel and the other one is nearer to the Boya houses. The house wives carry water from these hand pumps.

GIRIJAN COOPERATIVE CORPORATION (GCC) :

Girijan Cooperative Corporation is a primary marketing society, with branches all over the state. It has monopoly over the purchasing and selling of goods from the tribals (Rao, 1988). There is a GCC branch in Kottalacheruvu village. The main objectives of GCC are :

1. Supply of daily requirements at fair prices.
2. Purchase of MFPS from tribals at reasonable prices
3. Supply credit to the needy tribals.

The daily requirements depot (DR depot) operating in this village supplies each household a stipulated quantity of rice, pulses, cooking oil, kerosene and sugar. The services of this depot are inadequate in terms of coverage and due to the non-availability of stocks and delay in issuing of rations. Due to the centralized pricing policy of the GCC, the DR depot does not take into account the seasonal and regional fluctuations while selling commodities. As a result of this, petty shopkeepers are making good business.

Collection of MFPs is an important source of income to the tribal households of Kottalacheruvu. The GCC has the right to market the MFPs. The main item which is marketed by GCC from the tribals is Gum Kharia, which is extracted from Konda gogu and Tavise trees, gum collected in the winter season, which is white and is paid a high price. Gum extracted during rainy season is brown to black in color and is lowly priced. The various products marketed to GCC are as below :

Gum Pure white - grade I, Little brown- grade II, Dark brown to black-grade III, Myraballam, Noxvooroica, Honey, Cleaning nuts, Gal nuts, Seeded tamarind, Punja seed, Mohwa seed, Bee wax, Soap nuts, Maredu gaddalu.

The tribals bring ungraded gum and hence receive low price for the gum that they sell to GCC. If they can sell it after grading, it will fetch them more money.

The rates of the commodities supplied by the GCC are higher than those from the local market, because, as explained by one of the officials, of the quality that they maintain as their corporation is service oriented. The official argues that there is no adulteration and every item is bill-on-account and is taxable. Besides, he says transportation of goods to the interior tribal areas have also to be taken into account.

Tribals opined that being uneducated and not aware of the day-to-day things around, when the GCC supervisor enhances the price of the commodities they have no other go but to buy them from GCC. They complain of unfair weighing and many tiroes feel cheated, both while selling MFPs and buying their daily requirements. If the villagers bring a grade II gum the supervisor pays the price of grade III on the pretext that gum is not of grade II quality. Even the daily requirement commodities are not supplied in time and when they question the supervisor his usual answer is "no stock". The supervisor is lenient to the village elders (*Feddi jurvznujshul u*) because they would always come to his rescue when he is in a crisis, i.e., when somebody complains against him to his superiors.

Credit is given to the tribals by the GCC under two categories. 1. Agricultural loans, 2. consumption loans.

Agricultural loans are given to the tribals during the Kharif season in order to assist them in raising crops. This

is because, the condition of the tribals is such that **they** find it difficult to invest in agriculture **with their little** earnings. Under this scheme they are supplied **with** seeds, fertilisers and pesticides, besides a little amount of cash given for preparing the field for cultivation like ploughing, weeding etc.

In the year 1991-92, Sixty five Chenchus were given a loan of Rs.28,117/-. Funds are provided by DTWO with no interest payable, which are disbursed through GCC. These people were given sun flower seeds, fertiliser and pesticides. The recovery made was Rs.133/- in cash and Rs.7,665/- in kind (sun flower). The balance of Rs.20,667/- is yet to be recovered. It is surprising that the tribals were supplied sun flower seeds for cultivation. First of all, they are completely ignorant of settled agriculture and if they are introduced suddenly to commercial crops, without knowing how to raise them, it would be disastrous. Tribal farmers are subsistence farmers and only when assured of enough subsistence, they would take up commercial or non subsistence crops. In our anxiety to change them, we should not worsen their condition and make them further indebted or bonded.

The reasons given by **the** Chenchus for not **paying** are **that even though the lands were bulldozed, the land is not even and water** collects on **one** side leading to **water logging**. **Also, that year there were no rains. They are not accustomed to this type of settled agriculture where they have to watch**

the fields during day and also during nights to protect the crops from the nocturnal grazing animals. Their vigilance over the fields was not sufficient and the grown up crops were eaten away by the animals. Some did not even use the fertiliser. They had sold it to the *nesarhy* village at almost one third of the rate given to them.

In August 1992, twenty Chenchus were given loan of Rs.3,000/- each in cash and Rs.8,472/- in kind (Jowar seed, fertiliser and cucumber seeds). In September 1992-93, thirty seven Chenchus and twenty Sugalis were given loan of Rs.500/^- each in cash and Rs.20.60/- in kind (Jowar and cucumber-seeds). These funds were from GCC, interest payable at the rate of 11.5% till the due date and afterwards 11,5 + 1% on the loan amount. This year too, despite reasonable rain fall they had no crop. In some fields jowar sprouted and has risen up to two feet, but later dried away.

Non payments and delay in repayments is one problem because of which GCC could not advance more money towards loans. However, there are complaints against the GCC personal, they themselves being involved in cheating the tribals.

Consumption loan is given to the needy tribals as an advance, since it would be very difficult for the tribal to go into the forest during rainy season for the collection of MFPS. Since they would be unable to go to forest to collect MFPS, they will usually be running out of cash and hence, they find it difficult to buy their daily requirements.

Prior to GCC, the local *ntoneiy* lender used to lend money at exorbitant rates of interest, where repayment becomes difficult for the tribals. As a sequel to it, these tribals had to work for the money lenders (*sahukar-s*) or sell the MFPS to them. In order to rescue the tribals from the Sahukars, the GCC has introduced consumption loans. Consumption loans are interest free loan given during certain seasons where the tribals cannot procure MFPS. Each individual is given a maximum of Rs.500/- either in terms of cash or food provisions. The money so advanced to the tribals shall be recovered subsequently in instalments, while they bring the MFPS to GCC.

#### HOSPITAL :

A hospital was set up by the British in 1938 at Pecheruvu. Due to displacement the hospital was shifted temporarily to a rented building in Biarluti, 14 kros front Atroakur on Atroakur-Dornala Road, which was later moved to Kottalacheruvu in 1989. The hospital building at Kottalacheruvu was constructed with an estimated cost of Rs. & lakhs in 1989 with funds from the VRSP. It is a ten bed hospital and is equipped with medical officer, compounder, ANM, male nurse and helper-cum-attender.

Majority feel that, they lacked many facilities like health care, transport, electricity, school etc., in their earlier settlement. However, there is some variation in their perception regarding these facilities (See Table-8).

Only a few villagers of this village utilise the services of the hospital. The utilization of the hospital

services varies according to the community. It is observed the degree of utilisation is higher among the Harijans, followed by Boya, Sugali and Chenchu respectively.

TABLE-8 PERCEPTION OF RESPONDENTS REGARDING LACK OF FACILITIES: IN PECHERUVU.

| FACILITY                          | COMMUNITY |         |         |          |
|-----------------------------------|-----------|---------|---------|----------|
|                                   | CHENCHU   | SUGALI  | BOYA    | HARIJANS |
| Health care                       | 65(136)   | 85(96)  | 98(114) | 99(90)   |
| Transport                         | 90(188)   | 92(104) | 94(109) | 95(86)   |
| All weather roads                 | 85(178)   | 80(90)  | 89(103) | 92(84)   |
| Post office                       | 70(146)   | 85(96)  | 92(107) | 95(86)   |
| Recreation                        | 70(146)   | 77(87)  | 90(104) | 88(80)   |
| Training facilities for skill dev | 90(188)   | 82(90)  | ----    | 75(68)   |
| Electricity                       | 59(123)   | 75(85)  | 80(93)  | 90(82)   |
| Assistance under dev. programs    | 98(205)   | 75(85)  | 50(58)  | 60(55)   |

Most of the Chenchus do not have faith in modern allopathic medicine. They prefer their indigenous medicine of forest herbs. The people of the surrounding villages take advantage of this hospital. The most prevalent disease observed among the Chenchus is tuberculosis. The Project Officer, Integrated Tribal Development Agency (ITDA), Srisaillam Dam East, suggested the District Medical and Health Officer, Kurnool, to develop this hospital as a tuberculosis specialist centre. The common diseases noticed among the villagers here are diarrhoea, dysentery, malaria, viral

fevers and gastro-entritis. Outbreak of cholera is also reported. Cases of alcoholic sirosis are also reported due to excessive consumption of alcohol. However ulcer cases are rare.

The Medical Officer, Extension Officer and Community Health Officer concerned conducted a medical check-up for the school-going children in the month of February 1993. It is their duty to check the school-going children twice a year. This team has noticed that roost of the students are suffering from scabies, dental caries, florosis, angular stomata and anemia. They were given vitamin A,D and C and iron tablets.

This team has revealed that the children of this village are 'protein energy roalnutrients' as they do not get the proper nutrients in the food they eat. Most of the women are anemic, especially the pregnant women. This is due to insufficient nutritional intake.

Development is growth in a desired direction taking into consideration all the social conditions. Development represents an increase in the capacity of a society to organise for its own objectives, and to carry out its programmes more effectively (Belshaw, 1972 :83). It is necessary to distinguish this from growth, which involves increase **in** quantity, i.e., numerically. DEveloproent is **growth in** a desired direction keeping **in view** of all the social conditions into consideration.

The economic anthropologist George Dalton stresses that development "as a long-run , continuing process of new, improved and diversified activities and technology, so that community income rises continually" (1971: 275).

#### INTEGRATED CHILD DEVELOPMENT SERVICES (ICDS):

There have been significant achievements in the last decade in all spheres of development from which children have benefitted. Despite this, incidence of mortality, morbidity and malnutrition continues to be more. Malnutrition has been reported by various surveys among pre-school children (Ministry of Education and Social Welfare, 1978). The Ministry of Planning had in 1972 suggested the ICDS services.

The following packages of services are provided under the ICDS. 1. Supplementary nutrition, 2. Immunisation, 3. Health check-up> 4. Referral services, 5. Nutrition and health education, 6. Non-formal education. Under this scheme children of age group 3-5 years will have the benefit of non-formal, pre-school education through the institution of "Anganwadi".

Anganwadi in Kottalacheruvu was established in 1990-91. The Anganwadi is equipped with an Anganwadi worker and helper, with a pay of Rs.275/- and Rs.100/- per month respectively. The ICDS programme is funded by the World Bank. The Anganwadi worker selects the target population on pregnant women, lactating mother and pre-school children,

economic standards as a base. They were supplied with feed as follows : 135 grams for pregnant, lactating mothers and 80 grams to pre-school children daily. The pregnant mother are given feed from their fifth month of pregnancy to supplement their daily food.

The children attending the Anganwadi daily are from Sugali, Eoya and Harijan communities. The drop out rate among Chenchu is high due to lack of parental care. The Anganwadi teacher being of upper caste maintains distance with the village. She seldom visits and keeps apart from all the activities of the village. Because of this the people do not feel her as one among them. This is also a reason for low attendance in the Anganwadi centre.

#### DRY-SEWING MAKING CENTRE :

In the year 1971-72, 30 women were given training in dress-making (cutting and stitching) for a period of 9 months under TRYSEM. The stipend given during this period was Rs. 150/- per individual per month. Of these 30 members who were trained, 20 belonged to Chenchu, eight to Sugali, one to Boya and one to Harijan communities. After successful completion of the training programs all the women covered in this programs were given sewing machines, financed by Andhra Bank, Atmakur. Of which 50% was subsidy, 20% margin money and 30% was loan. Loan is repayable and the Tribal Welfare Department authorities have adjusted this amount from their stipends. The estimated cost of the programs was Rs. 35,000/-.

In the year 1987-'88, 20 women, all Chenchu,, were trained in dress making centre for a period of six uonths. These funds were drawn from P.T.G.funds provided by Project officer, I.T.D.A., with a stipend of Rs.150/-. The esfcioated cost of the programme was Rs. 25,000/-. All the trainees were provided with sewing machines with 80% subsidy and 20% margin money. The estimated money is to meet the cost of raw materials and institutional charges (rent, salary of the instructor), raw materials at the rate of Rs.40/- per individual per month.

All these women trained under dress-making centire are supplied with cloth and stitching materials by the Tribal Welfare Department, Kurnool. They are paid as per the specifications Rs.3.50/- for knicker, Rs. 4.50/- for shirt and Rs 6/- for school going (girls' dress) frock. Every machine owning women shall be earning about Rs.500/-to Rs.800/- per month, for 2-3 months after Dasarah and Depavalli dejpending on their efficiency.

#### EMBROIDERY TRAINING :

In the year 1990-91, 23 women, all Chenchu, who were already trained in dress-making, were given training in embroidery for six months under TRYSEM with a stipend of Rs.100/-. Estimated cost of the programme was Rs.22 ,920/-. However, this is not being practiced.

#### BASKET. MAKING TRAILING CEMIRE. :

In the year 1985-86, 16 ladies, out of which seven Chenchu, five Sugali, two Harijans, one Boy and one Muslim were trained in making baskets used in rearing silk worms. The training period lasted for six months under TB.YSEM with a monthly stipend of Rs.150/-,

The skills acquired from this training programme are not put to practice. This is because of non-availability of raw materials, processing them and again marketing there in their own village. Anyhow, these facilities are available in the nearest town. The people (Men and Women) are not accustomed to go to the town, to bring the raw materials and to market finished goods in the town. Once these raw materials and marketing facilities are provided they may start working. As their elders are not accustomed to do such type of activities, the younger members are usually discouraged to take up this activity even after receiving the training.

#### MASONRY TRAINING :

During the construction of the housing colony 15 men from Chenchu and Sugali, were given training in masonry work. The duration of the training was six months and they were paid Rs.150/- as stipend.

This work involves skill and is obtained gradually over a long period. Time was inadequate and most of the villagers were unhappy with the kind of work and said that it won't

suit them, as it was hard for them to toil in the hot sun. The tribals virtually stopped attending the training programmes after the second month because they complained that the stipend is not sufficient to support themselves and their families.

MAIS. WEAVING CENTRE :

A mat weaving centre was established in association with Andhra Pradesh State Industries Development Coloration, Initially government has given permission to 12 members. The Tribal Welfare Department, in consultation with the District. Collector , Kurnool, increased the strength to 30 and this unit was shifted from Mahanandi to Kottalacheruvu in the year 1989-90. It has a roestry and one instructor. Here only women are trained annually.

In 1990-91, 25 members, of which 12 were Chenchus, four Sugalis, five Harijans and four Boyas attended the training programme. The training programme was for six months with a monthly stipend of Rs.250/-, out of which Rs.100/- was under TRYSEM and Rs.150/- was from PTG funds. Estimated cost of the programme under TRYSEM was Rs.38,700/- and under PTG was Rs.27,700/-.

A similar programme was run for the year 1991-92 wherein 30 Chenchu were provided training and similarly in 1992-93, 29 persons (24 were Chenchu and five Sugali women) were trained in mat weaving. In 1992-93 raw materials were

supplied from PTG funds. The finished mats in the training programs are supplied to all Scheduled Tribe hostels and Ashram Schools in the Kurnool District.

In 1990-91, nine Chenchu women were given raw materials, Maggara and colour worth Rs.35,000/- each. These women have produced mats and sold them to shops in the nearby town. The money they got on this was spent to meet their domestic requirements. There was no proper information as to why these materials were distributed to them and the tribals were of the notion that they would be given the raw materials every month. This misunderstanding has resulted in the failure of this particular scheme.

In 1990-91, 22 tribals were asked to attend Light Motor Vehicle Driving and Mechanism Training Programme given by Self Employment Training Centre, Kurnool (SETKUR) under TRYSEH. Stipend of Rs 345/- was given to each individual. Only 12 members have completed the training and 10 were given licenses. Even this programme did not attract the tribals mainly because of their cultural perception of this occupation. The scheme was totally unimaginative.

MOHEA PRADESH FT ATF IIOBES. COOPERATIVE FINANCE  
CORPORATION : ( TRICOR )

This is an institution specially designed to meet the financial problems of the tribes residing in Andhra Pradesh. TRICOR has shown the rehabilitants alternate ways of earning money for their livelihood.

In the year 1986-87, five were given horse and cart with an unit cost of Rs.3,500/- , 10 were given bullocks and cart costing Rs.5,500/-, one Kirana shop and one cut-piece shop worth Rs.10,000 ; one vegetable vending shop costing Rs.5,000/- and 18 plough bullocks worth Rs.3,000/- were given to the tribes, especially Chenchus.

Similarly, in 1987-88 five bullock and cart units, 20 plough bullocks, agricultural implements worth Rs.800/- each for 24 persons were provided by TRICOR.

In the year 1988-89, three members were given roilching animals, each costing Rs.4,000/-, three Kirana shops worth Rs.3,000/- each and 12 plough bullocks accounting for Rs.3,800/- each. A physically handicapped Chenchu was given Rs 5,000/- to start a cycle shop.

The amount so given to the villagers contained 80% subsidy given under PTG funds and 20% repayable margin money with 4% interest in 30 easy installments, initially drawn from the account of Executive officer, TRICOR, Kurnool.

The maintenance of these items is not known to them- Immediately within weeks the horse and cart were sold to the people of the nearby town, there was absolutely no provision of grazing fields or fodder farms in this area. Also there is no provision made for drinking water for cattle. The

nearby pond, being not very deep, does not retain water for longer periods. Most of the milching animals were given in summer and were not in good health. Credit policy in Kirana shops led to their closure due to non-repayment by their kin members.

The government sanctions money for the tribal upliftment and economic upgradation and the Mandal development officials disburse the loans to the tribals. While doing so, they never considered the compatibilities of the programmes with the tribals' culture and background.

INTEGRATED RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME (IFDP) :

Under this programme people belonging to different communities are covered and the amount is disbursed by DRDA, Kurnool. The outlay of the scheme is 50% subsidy, 20% margin money and 20% bank loan. Loan is repayable in three years with 12% interest rate.

In the year 1986-87, one Boya and one Harijan were given bullock and cart with a unit cost of Rs.5,500/- and three Chenchu and three Sugali and one Muslim were given raw materials (bamboo) for basket making with the unit cost being Rs.1,200/~ (the loan was financed by the Andhra Bank, Atmakur). In 1986-87, also a pair of milching animals were provided to four Sugalis and eight Chenchus. Bullock and cart were given to six Harijans and one Boya and the unit cost was Rs.5,590/- . One Boya was given loan for carpentry

unit costing Rs.4,090/-and three Chenchus , three Sugalis, and one Harijan were given sheep. These were also financed by Andhra Bank, Atroakur.

# CHAPTER 6

## SOCIO-CULTURAL FACTORS AND PROBLEMS OF ADAPTATION

Change is common and is noticeable in many aspects of life. Small-scale change may be an essential component of persistence on a large scale. Changing patterns provide a basic and predictable continuity to the pattern of social existence. Change, at the same level and degree, is a characteristic feature of man's life in organised system, as in orderly persistence, and change takes place in time. Extent and rate of change in modern world are greater than most of past periods (Moore, 1963). Social change is significant alteration of social structures, of pattern of social action and interaction, including consequences and manifestations of such structures embodied in norms, ie., rules of conduct, values, cultural products and symbols. Social change refers mainly to actual human behaviour.

With the change in the physical conditions, there is a change in the adaptive strategies in the villages. Social and cultural changes are noticeably increased. Transportation facilitated has the contact with the mainstream. Due to this, change in political systems, familial relations, religious practices, marriage pattern, nutritional status and agricultural system are noticeable.

## HOUSING :

The houses built were of permanent type and the Chenchus were not happy with them. Chenchus preferred thatched roof to permanent roof as it was against their traditional culture. They abandon the house if any person dies in the house, because they have belief that the dead roan's spirit haunts the house and that is evil to that house.

While constructing the houses the direction of the entrance door was not taken into consideration. The door was placed facing the north-south direction but as per the custom of Chenchus the door has to face towards east. They believe that the Sun-God enters their house every day. One or two have already changed the direction of the door. Moreover, the houses leak heavily during rainy season. The rehabilitants were afraid that the houses may not last longer and may collapse anytime. Some even have built thatched rooms in the courtyard and sleep in them.

The displaced did not like the partition between kitchen and the room, they preferred a single outer wall. In designing the houses, cultural aspects of the displaced were not taken into consideration and they took the perception of the designer but not of the people who would live in them.

### OCCUPATION :

For generations, the Chenchus are accustomed to collecting MFPs from the forest. This appeared for them to be very easy. They used to go to the forest during day and stay there overnight and collect the produce and market it to the GCC. They were practicing a little of dry farming, mostly using digging stick, which used to support their families. As the Chenchus were living in the forest since a long time and nearer to their fields, the threat to their crops from wild grazing animals was minimum.

In the new habitat, the lands given were government waste lands and lands purchased from ryots, where no crops were raised since 5-6 years. They have to plough lands by using draught bullocks, sow the seeds, conduct weeding operations, water the plants and protect the crop day and night from grazing animals (especially during nights some of the nocturnal animals come and graze the crops and destroy them) till they are harvested. These are all new tasks for the Chenchu. Added disadvantage is that they have only a scanty rainfall. Change in the occupation was of great problem and the displaced were not swift in adapting to new occupation. The well irrigation was also not sufficient for them (number of wells were not sufficient).

Most of the women in Kottalacheruvu received training in mats making or dress making, which are completely new to them. They joined these training programmes mainly because of the stipend money. They also felt that they can earn some money to support their family and children. This is more so with the widows.

POLITICAL SITUATION :

At present in Kottalacheruvu only a few chenchu families are residing while most of the others have left to Pecheruvu. Next to Chenchus, the Boyas are more in number in the rehabilitated village. Some of the Boyas were educated and are in touch with the officials and outsiders. These people with the help of Harijans and a few Chenchus established a youth organisation, Sri Varadaraja Sangam (hereafter, Sangam). The President and the Secretary of the organisation are Boyas.

The Sangam represented the problems of the village regarding employment opportunities, as promised to the rehabilitated, amenities in the village etc., to the District Collector and the Project Tiger officials. They even represented their problems to the DTWO about the situation in the village, i.e., regarding various developmental programmes. The Sangam helped the villagers by talking to the MRO and supplying them with ration cards, attending to

minor electrical repairs, representing the drinking water problem to the Grama Panchayath President, so on and so forth. They took active part in elections for both Panchayat and Assembly. By taking active part in all the activities of the village they gained the trust of the villagers. Because of their domination, the traditional village elders remained in low profile. Thus the Sangaro has emerged as one of the important organisation of the displaced.

There were problems due to consumption of liquor, which is brewed locally by the villagers. The inebriated used to beat their wives for varied reasons. The Sangaro members with co-operation from some of the village women started a campaign against distilling of liquor. They received maximum support and co-operation from the local women. The Sangaro used to inform about the breweries to police department. The members used to break the brewing pots and punish those involved. Because of this, there was a fear created among the illicit liquor brewers. Sangam members talk polishedly with the visiting officials and extend their hospitality to them. Due to this, any official visiting the village calls on them.

The Sugalis neither mix with the Chenchus nor with the sangam but prefer to follow their traditional system. They refuse to accept the leadership of sangam because it is

headed by the Boyas. However, due to the efforts of the Sangaro members the power has partly changed *from* the traditional leaders to the Sangam.

MARRIAGE :

All the communities residing in the village being endogamous, prefer to *marry* according to their traditions. However, there is a free mixing of all of the school going children, ignoring the differences of community amongst them. This increased interaction *among* the youth between some Chenchus, sugali and Harijan youth has lead to inter-caste/community marriages which was not known in their original village, Peeheruvu. Of the inter marriages observed involved two Sugalis who married chenchu women, one Chenchu married a Sugali woman, and one Harijan, who married a Sugali woman. In the case of sugali and Chenchu men these were second marriages. Second marriage is not a taboo but not observed frequently. In cases where the inter community marriage is the first marriage, a lot of objections would be raised by the communities and this might result in calling the *pa.iich.ayat i* of the village elders by the kin members of the woman. During this kind of situations the explanation of the woman is considered. After marriage the woman belongs to the husband's kin group and she loses the membership of her natal community. During the *pancfiayat i* all the elders call the male involved in the affair and ask for explanation.

#### IDEOLOGY/PERSONALITY :

The Chenchus residing in the rehabilitated village are a little educated. These people are supporting themselves by the little money paid to them while attending the developmental schemes. They are staying back in this village for the reason that they may get governmental help in future which might benefit them or their children. These people are showing interest in all the developmental programmes because it has become difficult for them to depend only on the MFPS as the forest, is progressively decreasing (many of the Gum Kharia trees have died as they were cut deep for extracting gum). The widows think that if their children fall ill it would be difficult for them to like in the forest as there are no medical facilities difficult available to them, as the health unit was shifted to the rehabilitated centre. Despite the presence of their relatives in the forest habitats, the women prefer their new settlement. These women prefer to join some of the programs like dress-making and mat weaving to get some money to send their children to school.

The Chenchus living in the Pecheruvu are very traditional in their outlook. They value their traditions despite the hardships they face. They think of their past as glorious and foresee the return of it. They can't compete with the other fellow villagers in the new scenario. They also want to remain isolated and lead the life of their own undisturbed.

## AGRICULTURE :

Agricultural land of 2.5 acres was given to the Chenchus and 1 acre to the Sugalis as a rehabilitatory measure. Only these people are eligible for loan from the GCC. In 1991-92 under the supervision of the Tribal Welfare department, they sowed sunflower. The yield of the crop was very low, not even sufficient to clear the agricultural loans advanced to them. This was mainly due to insufficient rainfall. In cases where the crop had grown nicely they failed to protect the crop from the nocturnal grazing animals from the hills. Some have sold the fertiliser supplied to them. However it is essential to note here that the Chenchus and Sugalis, who form the majority, are not accustomed to settled agriculture and in such an event they should have been encouraged to grow rain fed subsistence crops initially, instead of some commercial crops.

In 1992-93 loans were given to the villagers who had repaid their loan amount earlier. After a long persuasion by the people, the authorities yielded and gave loans to the second batch. By this time, the rainy season was over and the humidity in the soil called "adwxu" was almost lost. In some fields the seeds did not even sprout.

The Chenchus basically being food gatherers, **living** in forests, **were** brought to plains and **were** encouraged to settle

in agriculture, the Chenchus are of the view that the lands given to them are not fertile when compared to their original village, where they used to have a good harvest. Also, there it did not involve any hard labour, such as ploughing, weeding, etc. They also believe that, due to high density of trees and being hilly area they receive heavy rains. Every one had a field in and around his hut. So there was no problem of nocturnal grazing animals, grazing their fields.

Due to this, the Chenchus lost faith in the Government and are not positive towards any programs. Hence, peoples\* participation in the economic upgrading programmes has become minimal. Their faith in governmental programs is lost as all the times the schemes failed to consider the viewpoint of the beneficiaries.

There was a jajroani relationship in their old habitat. with a washerman household. Each family used to give him a bag of paddy, annually for his services. Due to the monetised economy in the rehabilitated village the jajmani system has almost disappeared. The clients are now paying him in cash.

The services of blacksmith are not of great use as these people are not used to tilling the land. They buy the axes in the local market. Similarly, this was also the case with the barber. Most of the people do not have their hair

cut for they fear black magic. But now roost of the people in the new 'settlement are having their hair cut in the near by town.

#### NUTRITIONAL SITUATION :

Chenchus are basically food gatherers. They hunt small game freely and their dependence on the forest was total. Their traditional food includes roots and tubers, leafy vegetables, fruits, seeds and nuts, honey, mushroom and flesh foods.

Due to commercialisation of Chenchu economy by GCC, the GCC started purchasing MFPS collected by the Chenchus paved way for the local markets. The introduction of rice through DR depots and by providing free rice to the parents of school going children by the Government their food habits have changed. Now their food items include rice, jowar, pulses, chillies, onion and salt.

Due to the changed dietary intake, roost of the Chenchus are weak and anemic. This is noticeable among the women, especially pregnant and lactating women. The protein intake by the children is less. This is supported by records of low birth weight, infant mortality, morbidity, etc. The severe malnutrition was in vitamin A and calcium. Majority (40%) suffer from iron deficiency (Prasad,1991). Tuberculosis was

found in alarming proportion among all age Chenchu group (Sastry, 1990). Nutritional deficiency significantly found in children are enlargement of liver, soreness at the angles of the mouth, ophthalmic diseases, hair discolouration, moon faces and dental caries (Prasad, 1991).

#### FAMILIAL RELATIONS :

The developmental programmes aimed at providing an alternative sources of income, earning a little amount of money to the women. Thus women were self-supporting to a little extent. By this, the extent of dependency on their husbands was reduced. There was gossiping about the wives having illicit relations when their spouses were at work in the forests or working as drivers with private contractors. Thus a social stigma has developed. This is one of the reasons why Chenchus do not prefer to work outside their villages. The drivers can not take their wives to their place of work because the money they earned would not be sufficient to support the family.

#### RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATION :

Along with the change in other institutions of social system, these people are also affected by the impact of the surrounding town. The Hindu festivals like Ugadi, Dasarah

and Deepavali are celebrated. During these festivals they prepare sweet, cook meat and consume alcohol. A general trend is witnessed wherein the number of tribal gods and deities are slowly loosing importance as to the constricted activity in the forests.

# CHAPTER

## S U M M A R Y     A N D     C O N C L U S I O N

The study was undertaken primarily with the objective to study socio-cultural changes among the tribals (Chenchus), caused as a result of the displacement and. subsequent rehabilitation due to the Tiger Reserve Project.

The study concentrated both on Kottalacheruvu (KTC) and. F'echeruvu villages of Atmakur Mandal in Kuraoal District where in 162 families were displaced. Data collection was done for three months, Unstructured questionnaires and informal interviews, using detailed check-lists, were conducted among both the tribals and officials in order to know their attitudes, expectation, orientations, and conception of others. Information thus gathered was analysed in terms of tribes/castes so as to understand their differential responses to rehabilitation and developmental schemes.

In order to gain some understanding of the symbiotic relationship between community and the resettlement village and its environment, a comparison of the communities in resettlement village with the earlier settlement was attempted in the second chapter. This partly reflects roan-nature relationship and adaptation.

Process of rehabilitation points out the kinds of efforts made by the Government and the response of the displaced to them. It also points out some lacunae in the rehabilitation process which may be taken as pointers to future programmes.

In the resettlement colony the rehabilitants were provided with some infrastructural facilities, permanent housing, on the basis of communal identity, GCC- for daily requirements, marketing MFPS and for advancing agricultural and consumption loans, ashraais school and hostel for the school-going children with free boarding and lodging facilities. Even incentives are given to the parents of these children to encourage them to send their children to school for education. Efforts were made to reclaim both the government, waste lands and privately purchased lands to prepare them suitable for cultivation. Hospital facility was provided for maintaining and looking after the health of the villagers. Anganwadi centre provides food to children, lactating and pregnant mothers. In addition, it assists non-formal pre-school childi-en in their social and psychological development.

Various training facilities were provided, both by the State and Central governments, in order to cope up in the changed circumstances and earn their livelihood. ITDA works for the alround development of tribals in this region.

The socio-economic change in the lifestyle of the displaced Chenchus, in particular, is noticeable in certain aspect. There is a change in their economic organization from hunting-gathering stage to settled agriculture. Inter-tribal/community marriages are observed in the new settlement. There is a shift in the power structure of the village from the Chenchu elders to the youth organisation. The displacement has some impact on their nutritional status. They find it difficult to go to the forest to collect MFPs and also whatever they collect, they sell them to GCC. Earlier, they use to consume some of the MFPs, which definitely maintained a higher nutritional status.

Agricultural land was provided to them as a rehabilitatory measure. For this agricultural lands should be properly reclaimed and sufficient care has not been taken in this direction. Reclaiming of land has taken a long time. The reclaimed lands should be made ready for cultivation. As tribals are ignorant about settled agriculture, they should be properly educated. This is possible with the co ordination of the Department of Agriculture under the initiation and persuasion of the TWI). Most of the villagers have high esteem for agricultural lands. Besides the tribals, proper importance to other displaced communities should be given by the authorities during the process of rehabilita ion.

The Chenchus were food-gatherers and used to practice incipient type of settled agriculture. Proper knowledge of the cropping pattern should be provided, i.e., using fertilisers and pesticides. The money provided for them to raising crops is not buffer money, but loans advanced which are to be repaid. Without proper understanding and guidance, settled agriculture (and cropping patterns) will be of no use to them. When the crops do not grow they are indebted and this, further, increases the gravity of their grievances towards the government.

The settled agriculture is altogether a new package of technology. The tribals should be assisted by the villagers who already have the knowledge of agricultural system. This is possible by providing proper help to the other communities residing along with the Chenchus in this rehabilitation centre.

The pattas of the agricultural lands were changed frequently. First, one acre land was given in one place and, later, another acre was given in another place. They were only shown the lands from a distance and the pattas given to them first were taken back and new pattas were issued, resulting in confusion. The lands were not properly demarcated. First of all survey markings should be undertaken and each individual be shown his piece of agricultural land clearly. The displaced should be given permanent pattas with clear entitlements.

Water supply is essential for agricultural fields. Arrangement should be made to deepen the existing wells and 'Katakara' should be built, such that wells shall not be destroyed. Pump sets should be installed under proper guidance of the Tribal Welfare Department, as many of the surrounding villagers are used to this type of system. The tank situated to the South of the village may even be deepened so as to retain water for longer duration which can be used for agricultural activities.

The crops grown here should be first of subsistence type and after a period of time introduction of cash crops can be undertaken depending on the adaptation.

The difficulty with regard to drinking water is faced by the villagers as the underground water level goes down during summer season. Better planning here is required with the help of ground water department. Number of hand wells are to be increased. Piped drinking water should be provided to mitigate the problems faced by the villagers.

The activities covered in the village by the GCC are inadequate and the provisions are not provided in time. Adequate stocks with seasonal variations and food habits should be taken into consideration. Agricultural loan should be given in proper time. This is possible if the TWI takes

proper interest and initiation. At times when crops fail the TWI) should request the GCC for time in repayment of debts in the interest of the tribals.

Awareness among the tribals has increased. The knowledge that some departments are created for them, they have to work for their betterment, i.e., for economic up gradation etc., is a good example. This is mainly due to the activities of the youth organisation and some political groups which are working with the active cooperation of the villagers. Teachers can even stay in the village and take up adult education programmes. By this, a proper understanding and awareness of the benefits of education will be realised by the villagers. In this regard, the help of administrative officials can also be obtained.

Provision of health unit alone does not accomplish the task. Educating them with proper guided interaction is needed. Since tuberculosis is more prevalent among adults, the hospital should be better equipped in this direction. Proper training should be given to the staff not only in physical medicine but also in social medicine.

Planning and execution of the programmes should take into consideration socio-economic and cultural aspects of the displaced and they should be little imaginative. The programmes should be evolved in consultation with the people

so as to ensure their participation in them. Further, there should be scope for regional diversity and programmes should take the local factors into consideration at the time of planning and education. Frequent transfer of officials has created a lot of delay in implementing the rehabilitation programme. The team of officials involved in the planning were not the same during its implementation and due to this a lot of gaps can be noticed. Keeping this in view, the Government has to take necessary steps, i.e., the officials should be retained at least for four to five years after a developmental project starts.

Follow-up studies should be conducted both for administrative and academic purposes to know the viability of the programmes and their social patterns in the changed physiographic conditions. There should be concurrent evaluation studies and the project components may be altered to make the project or programmes more acceptable to the resettlers. As a result of the study, it can be mentioned that proper care should be taken, while planning the house, agricultural, amenities, etc., much before the actual rehabilitation, in consultation with the displaced. This would ensure a better participation of the displaced. This can also ensure an improvement in the living standards of the displaced.

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