FORESTS, INDIGENOUS PEOPLE AND **INSTITUTIONS**
A STUDY OF RAMPA COUNTRY

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S.D.J.M. PRASAD

DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMICS
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
UNIVERSITY OF HYDERABAD
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TO

AMMA and *NANA*

CERTIFICATE

I hereby declare that this thesis titled *FORESTS, INDIGENOUS PEOPLE AND INSTITUTIONS: A STUDY OF RAMPA COUNTRY* for the award of the Degree of *DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY* is entirely my own and has not been submitted for any other degree at this or any other University.

Date: 14-6-99

(S.D.J.M.PRASAD)
Enrolment No.
92 SEPH17

We certify the above and recommend that the thesis be forwarded to the examiners for evaluation.

Date: 14-6-99

Supervisor

(Prof.D.Narasimha Reddy)
Department of Economics
University of Hyderabad
Hyderabad-500 046, India.

17/6/99

Head of the Department
Department of Economics
University of Hyderabad
Hyderabad-500 046.

HEAD
Department of Economics
University of Hyderabad.
HYDERABAD - 500 134.

Dean
School of Social Sciences
University of Hyderabad
Hyderabad-500 046.

DEAN
School of Social Sciences

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CHAPTER - 1
INTRODUCTION

1.0. PROBLEM

Today, there are 100 million forest dwellers in the country and another 275 million, living in the forests and these people are described as indigenous people(World Bank, 1990)[1]. For these people forests are an important source of livelihood and means of survival(Lynch 1992). The forests play a vital role in the daily needs of these people. To them food, fuel, fodder and construction materials arc almost entirely provided by the forests. About 80 per cent of their food comes either direct from the forests or by shifting cultivation(Philip et.al.1985). A variety of tubers, tender bamboo shoots, mushroom and green leafy vegetables are collected and eaten or stored for future use. The study of Niyamatullah (1984) identified 83 edible items that are available only in the forests of Madhya Pradesh. Studies in Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh and Bihar indicate that over 80 per cent of the tribals depend on the forests for 25 to 50 per cent of their food. On an average, adult tribals eat at least 600 Gms of tubers per day(CSE 1982). Besides food gathering, tribals depend on forests for food production by shifting cultivation, which has been the traditional form of their agricultural practice for centuries.

Besides food, forest also supplies the tribals with their requirements of building material, fuel and fodder. In addition, tribals also collect minor forest produce like gum, honey, flowers, leaves and sell to earn income. Tribals also derive their medicines from the trees, herbs, animals, and birds. The study on tribal medicine in Kerala identified that at least 39 species of roots, 15 types of fruits, 30 varieties of leaves, 12 species of barks and many kinds of latex and flowers and nine entire plants being used by the tribals(Gadgil et.al. 1982). A position is observed in other parts of the country. For instance, more than 900 herbs and plants are used in West Bengal for medical purposes by the forest people(Fernandes et.al. 1988). Another study conducted by the Academy of Development Science has identified 210 medicinal plants being used by the tribals in

1 In the Policy Document of World Bank(1992) used the term 'indigenous', which used to refer tribal, low caste and ethnic minority groups. Despite their historical cultural differences, they often have limited capacity to participate in the national development process because of cultural barriers or low social and political status. We used tribal and indigenous people as synonyms.

an area of 277 sq. km in Karjat tribal belt(quoted in CSE 1982). It shows that tribals depend on forests for their food and the activities concerning MFP are carried out almost all the year around. The relationship between forest and tribals were institutionalised over a period of time through various cultural and religious mechanisms that ensured uninterrupted habitation of the tribals within the forest regions.

In addition, tribal culture provides certain safeguards to prevent extensive overuse of the forests[2]. Customary communal ownership of the resources allows access to and need based distribution of these resources. Benefits are shared by in the habitation, thus satisfying the needs of the community. Given the limited resources, codes are evolved to prevent practices overuse that would go against survival(Delfin 1987). Even today, many of these tribal communities relate myths and legends about their association with the forest, and remnants of many scared groves are reminders of the indigenous conservation systems(Gadgil and Chandran 1992). This relationship significantly attached to plant and animal species; religious duties and obligations are legitimised tribal access to forest, and also encouraged restraint and caution in using forest as resource base(Bird-David 1992). Thus it is important to recognise that the dependence of the tribals on forest resources was institutionalised through a variety of social and cultural mechanisms on community based ownership.

The pre-colonial rulers did not disturb these indigenous communities as they concentrated their political aspirations on the fertile agricultural plains and more populous villages and towns(Poffenberger and Mc Gean 1996). It is fairly clear that till the end of the 18th century, the British administration in India paid no attention to the rich Indian forests and the communities relying on them(Misra 1997).

The British presence from the late 18th century onwards started making a difference to land and forest usage in India and viewed forests as crown lands by

There is the belief in the spirit of the forest and field among the tribals. The living are considered guardians of the forests given them by ancestral spirits or spirit of Gods. Therefore they feel a strong responsibility to protect the forests.

rejecting the rights and practices of the tribals such as grazing, product collection and swidden farming as a basis for ownership(Poffenberger and Mc Gean 1996). In short, throughout the second half of the 19th century, the forests on which the indigenous people depended, were continuously being reserved and nationalised, while the right of these people were eroded through a series of legislation. The period after independence is in no significantly different from the colonial period in relationship between State and forest communities(Poffenberger and Chhatrapati Singh 1996). Moreover, in National Forest Policy of 1952 the emphasis was for the realisation of maximum revenue in perpetuity. And also with the emphasis on massive industrialisation, forests were indiscriminately exploited to supply raw material to the industries and eventually to make them commercially viable(Arora, Dolly 1994). Thus in the post independence scenario State appropriation contributed to the destruction of the traditional subsistence patterns and the associated sanctions and rights which regulated the use of forest resources(Anderson 1990). So the entire thrust of forestry during the first four decades after independence were towards plantations for industrial purpose, created after clear felling of natural forests which resulted in the loss of diversity on which tribals depended for their survival. As State exerted greater control over forests, restricted access to the forests for millions of indigenous people throughout India, who had used this forests to meet their basic needs of food, cultivation, fuel, building material, fibers and medicines.

In this context this study is an attempt to identify the nature of the relationship between tribals and forests and their traditional institutions. The emphasis is on the process of establishment of State ownership on forest in both colonial and post-colonial periods and its impact on the relation between tribals-forests and their traditional institutions.

1.1. FORESTS AS COMMONS

The access to the forest resources depends on the rights of the people vis a vis the State. One can look at forests as commons' on the nature of collective dependence of people on forest resource, management and conservation systems and people's resistance against the exploitation of these resource on which they depend for their survival.

According to Chhatrapati Singh(1986), till the end of the last century, at least 80 per cent of India's natural resources were common property. The common property resources formed the backbone of India's economy, which were predominantly non-cash, and a non-market economy. Freely available wood, shrubs and cow/buffalo dung were used for cooking, bamboo, timber and palm leaves for housing, wild grasses and shrubs as fodder and a variety of fruits and vegetables as food. Historically, in all societies, where people depended upon renewable natural resources had evolved social norms and conventions of managing them in such a way that they were not depleted beyond the rate of natural replenishment.

On the basis of village boundaries, Stebbing(1926) observed that, under the general trend of British policy the population had settled in joint village communities any forest or waste land that fell within their boundaries was considered common property in governing India(Stebbing 1926). Most of the villages in the Madras Presidency that were located in and around the forest tracts used to have certain tracts of forests earmarked for their exclusive use(Kumar.D 1985). There are instances where waste lands and forestlands were purchased by the rulers from the villagers for the use by the State even during the19th century. For instance the Government of Madras selected a site for experimental plantations in the early 1850s in Nilgiri district and paid Rs.700 to the Badaga villagers for an extent of about 600 acres of forestland(Cleghorn 1860). Atchi Reddy(1991) stated that the community ownership of forests in the Madras districts as already noted was well established, respected by the successive governments but came in the way of the British colonial policy of exploiting forests for their commercial profits. Robinson.W (1874), an Officer of the Madras Presidency, pointed out were village property, not village privilege(BOR proceedings 24th Oct. quoted by Robinson 1874) and the control of tribal groups over forests was recognised by the rulers as their unquestionable natural right(Murali 1995). It shows that traditionally forests were under community ownership and the village community enjoyed access to neighbourhood forest resources.

There are several studies on the indigenous people's relation with forests and most of them suggest that forests have been the common property. Forests were managed collectively and communities had accepted methods of controlling and allocating their use(Philip et.al. 1998). These resource management institutions of indigenous communities include rules about the nature and extent of exploitation of these common resources and codes of distribution of these resources. The rights of access are defined, and responsibilities well understood and conflicts resolution mechanisms entrusted to the village community(Alcorn 1994). Tribal communities that lived inside the forest did hunt and cut trees for the fulfillment of their minimum needs, but effective traditional, social and cultural norms regulated such activities and ensured adequate protection and regeneration of natural resources(Krishnan 1998).

Ostrom (1990) examined a number of cases where local people have jointly used their fragile commons for centuries, based on their own mutually argued and mutually enforced rules.' Singh(1998) observed that indigenous communities in arid and semi-arid areas of Rajasthan were traditionally well aware of the importance of trees, forests and bio-diversity and had a well established efficient forest management and conservation systems appropriate for the region. Furthermore, the polity, culture and religion of many local communities have evolved in close interaction with forests(PRIA 1993). The case studies presented in the proceedings of the conference on CPR Management show that as long as local (native) people were free to devise and implement their own rules there were no serious problems, but when government started intervening in the local management systems by designing and imposing their own rules, many problems of conservation of forests arose(NRC 1986).

Thomson, Feeny and Oakerson(1986) identified that during much of the 19th century, land and other natural resources were common pool resources and local communities had usufruct rights in them. Studies reveal the immense knowledge concerning their environment i.e. the forests as a huge storehouse of medicines, drugs, herbs, species, fruits, oils, resins, gums, dyes, bastes, rattan, horn, ivory, bird's nests and much more(de Beer and Mc Dermott 1988). Thus the principle of conserving forests is

not unknown to these communities. The communities set apart certain parts of the forests for the preservation of game (hunting), the collection of forest produce and as sacred groves. This has been done from time immemorial to the present day(Grove 1998).

The intimate association between forest people and their forestlands is expressed in their opposition to imposed (destructive) changes(Colchester.M 1989). Most obvious of these have been the mass movements of forest groups that have mobilised to confront specific threats to their common forestland and to their future. In India, people's response to this new threat to their survival has taken the form of ecology movements that now have become major social movements in many parts of the country. The major ecological movements in India includes the Chipko movement in the hills of U.P., the Appike movement in South India aimed at stopping illegal exploitation of forests, people's resistance movement aimed at saving the forest resources in the Jharkhand area in the Bihar-Orissa border region as well as in the Baster area of M.P., movements against large river valley projects like the Tehri dam project in the hills of U.P., the Narmada Valley Project in M.P. and Gujarat, the Silent Valley Project in Kerala etc.(Singh Kartar 1994). The ecological movements' shows that people are now concerned about how the forest resources are used and managed as commons. They are aware of the potential threat to their sustainability and the survival of dependent indigenous people because of the indiscriminate and reckless exploitation.

The State started involving in the forests by the Forest Act of 1865. The Forest Act of 1865 was the first attempt to shift forest resources from common pool to State ownership. The Act was further strengthened by the Forest Act of 1878, which empowered the State Forest department to close reserve forests to people and impose penalties for any transgression of the act(Guha 1983). The colonial administration further consolidated the monopolistic rights of the State over the forests, by Forest Policy of 1894 by which it made clear that the State was empowered to take over all forests. And further denied any customary rights of the tribal communities over forests by the Forest Act of 1927(Arora, Dolly 1994; Misra 1997). There was no substantial change in the attitudes of the State even after independence towards right of the tribals. The alienation

of forests from the tribal communities has damaging long-term effects on traditional regulative institutions that control access to resources(Douma et.al. 1989).

In this context the present study is an attempt to examine the process of establishment of State ownership over forests, to review forest legislations of colonial and post-colonial periods and the impact of the changing policies on the rights of the indigenous people over forests.

1.2. FORESTS IN INDIA:

The level of tribals' dependence on forests depends on the nature and extent of the forests. Out of the total geographical area of 328.8 million hectares in India, 75.1 million hectares (22.8 per cent) is classified as forests by the forest department. The National Forest Policy of 1952 and NCA of 1976 have stipulated optimum requirements of 33 per cent of forest cover. But the satellite picture of 1980-82 confirmed a tree cover of only 14.10 per cent though the Forest Department claims a 23 per cent forest area. The report of the NRSA(1984) shows that while in 1972-75, 16.89 per cent of the total land area of the country was under forest cover, by 1980 it had dwindled to 14.10 per cent, that is a loss of 16.25 per cent in the seven years period. In other wards, the total tree cover in 1972-75 was 55.52 million hectares while in 1980-82 it came down to 46.35 million hectares i.e. a total loss of 9.17 million hectares of forests. Further, the report classifies forests into closed, open or degraded and mangrove forests between 1972-75 and 1980-82 and revealed that the closed forests have declined from 14.12 per cent to 10.96 per cent. The opens forest have increased from 2.67 per cent to 3.6 per cent while mangrove forests dropped from 0.099 per cent to 0.081 per cent. This means a loss of 10.4 million hectares of closed forests and 63,000 hectares of mangroves. About 1.29 hectares of good closed forest have been converted into degraded forests. The deforestation has triggered off a chain reaction of adverse effects on tribal economy and culture. Further the study pointed out that the maximum deforestation has occurred in Madhya Pradesh, which lost nearly two million hectares and another one million hectares were lost in Orissa, Andhra Pradesh and Jammu and Kashmir. In Himachal Pradesh and Rajasthan over one million hectares of forest were lost over the seven-year period(NRS A 1984).

A cause for thc reduction in the forest area accessible to the tribals is the constant increase in **the** area of reserved forests meant to cater to the needs of industry (Phi lp et.al. 1985). The area of reserve forest has increased from 47.9 per cent in 1950-51 to 54 per cent in 1985-86(Chakraborty 1995). For instance, in Andhra Pradesh though the area of forests declined from 64012.91 sq.km. in 1960-61 to 63813.73 sq.km in 1990-91, **the** percentage of reserve forests increased to 63 to 79.1 in the same period(GoAP 1991). Similarly, in Orissa while the area of the state owned forests went down from 67,675.25 sq.km. in 1977-78 to 59,963.23 sq. km. in 1981-82, the percentage of reserved forests to the total state-owned forests went up from 38.42 per cent to 41.76 per cent in the same period. And also in Madhya Pradesh, the area of reserved forests increased from 51.28 per cent in 1976-77 to 52.12 per cent in 1980-81(Philip et.al. 1985). The same trend can be observed in almost all other states. This increase of reserve forest, where everything is prohibited, entails a decrease in the protected and unclassed forests where the tribals have rights to get herbs, fodder, small timber, fuel etc. For instance, in the case of shifting cultivation on which tribals depended for their food, it had an 18-20 year cycle till three decades ago but now it has been reduced to 2-3 years, which is insufficient to regenerate the forests. This is a result of decrease in land available for cultivation because of reservation of large tracts and the consequent enhanced dependence on shifting cultivation(Fernades et.al. 1985).

The requirement of timber to forest-based industries is also an important cause for the decline of forests. Gadgil(1983) observed that major deforestation began only after forests began to be put to commercial and industrial use. Since 1970s the commercial exploitation of forests has intensified because of the increased requirements of paper mills, rayon, and plywood industries. Nearly 3,788 wood based industries and 4,901 paper and paper product industries consumed 1.5 lakh tones of timber alone(GOI 1981). State gave them incentives in the form of leasehold area at low rates and by ensuring priority of supply of raw material at subsidised rates. The industries exploited timber not only on leased lands but also from the adjacent forest areas. According to unofficial estimates, illegal felling in Madhya Pradesh occurs to the extent of Rs.50 cores every year(Agarwal and Narain 1985).

The subsidies given to industries have served to further deplete the forest resources and restricted access to the tribals(Fernandez et.al. 1988). For instance, Madhya Pradesh government supplied bamboo to Orient Paper Mills at Rs.0.37 paise per tonne. While paper mills of Karnataka were paying Rs. 14 per tonne for bamboo, the tribals were made to pay Rs.1200 per tonne(CSE 1985). Government of Andhra Pradesh sold mango wood to A.P. Plywood industry for Rs.74 per cubic metre, which resulted in massive exploitation of mango trees which provide substantial food to the tribals and ecological protection to the forest terrain(Narasimha Reddy 1995).

Besides the deforestation as well as increase in the area of reserve forest, another factor that contributed for the decline of forest cover and access to the tribals for their subsistence need was the commercial plantations. Vast areas of good forests have been clear felled, timber sold to industries and deforested area replaced by commercial species such as teak, eucalyptus and tropical pines. The monoculture plantations with tightly spaced, high-density trees suppress natural regeneration and vegetative undergrowth. The loss of plant diversity additionally deprives tribal communities of whole range and continuous flow of plant products such as food, fodder, green vegetable and minor forest produce(Ravindranath et.al 1996). As Somanthan(1991) observed two main features which have contributed to the degradation of forests. Firstly, the State's control over forestlands allows Forest Department in collusion with contractors to exploit forests for private gains. Secondly, lacking long term control, the Forest Department strive for immediate gains, which results in overexploitation and simultaneously the destruction of indigenous institutions(Somanthan 1991).

Thus, it looks the demands of the industries situated outside the tribal areas led to the commercial exploitation of the forests. These became then an important source of revenue in the State, and to regulate the extraction of the timber and other produce large forest areas were designated as 'reserves' and put under control of Forest Department. The tribal communities were either evicted or denied access on which they depended for many necessities(Haimendorf 1985).

In this context the present study also makes an attempt to study the changes that have occurred due to the reservation of forests and decline of forest resources by clear felling operations in the natural subsistence tribal economy of Rampa country (Andhra Pradesh) in terms of their food gathering, production, collection of MFP and employment opportunities.

1.3. OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The main objectives of the thesis are:

i. To review the colonial and post-colonial forest policies and resulting impact on the forest resources and those dependents on them for their livelihood. As a corollary, to examine the process of emergence of forests as State property and its impact on forest communities.

ii. To examine the interdependence of forests, tribal livelihood activities and related institutional systems and the consequences of external interventions on the traditional institutions.

iii. To examine the role of non-governmental organisations in promoting the awareness on the protection of forests and in securing of the rights of the tribal people.

1.4. METHODOLOGY

i. Choice of the Study Area: Rampa Agency Area in Andhra Pradesh is chosen purposively for a detailed study. The region consists of 80 per cent of tribal population. The region has a long history of being treated as an agency area since the latter half of the nineteenth century. There are extensive revenue records on the process of bringing this region as a part of the British Administration. This process is replete with resistance and struggles by the indigenous people, which are also extensively recorded. Forests in this region were brought under forest administration only as recently as in 1955. The process of reservation of forests and the entry of Forest Department begins only with 1955. This enables easier access to the records of the Forest Department. Further, the

Rampa country had attracted several anthropological studies, which provide ample recorded evidence on the forest communities and their institutional practices that preceded external intervention.

ii. Sources of Data: The study is based both on primary and secondary sources **of** data. The secondary sources of information and data include published government records, reports, books and articles on the subject. The primary sources may be broadly divided into three types. One is unpublished records of A.P State Archives, the government departments, especially the Forest Department and the non-governmental organisations(NGOs), especially SAKT1. The second primary source of information is the household survey. The third source is interviews with the officials of the Forest Department, Revenue Officials and the representatives of the NGOs.

Primary survey has been done in three phases. During the first phase, a visit to all the mandals of the agency area was undertaken and several interviews with local people, officials and NGOs were conducted to document the nature and functions of indigenous institutions and changes over a period of time. In the second phase the two mandals, Rampa Chodavaram and Maredimilli were selected, the former representing more proximate to administration and the latter more remote. Two villages, representing Rampa Chodavaram and another from Marredimilli were selected purposively. The third phase of the survey involved a census survey of all the households in both the selected villages, with the help of a comprehensive questionnaire.

iii. Case Studies: In addition to the primary household survey, case study method was adopted for the study of Vana Samrakshana Samithi(VSS) and NGOs. The VSS of Gandhinagaram village in Rampa Chodavaram and SAKTI, an NGO in Rampa Chodavaram were selected as two case studies.

iv. Problem of Quantification: One of the major methodological problems faced in the study is the quantification of the contribution made by the forests to the livelihood of the indigenous people. Equally difficult was the task of estimating the loss or gains occurring

to the tribals due to various interventions like reservation of forests, clear felling, commercial plantations, restriction on *podu*, introduction of settled cultivation etc. In arriving at the estimates of the contribution made by the forest resources to the consumption and living standards and the gains and losses consequent on external intervention, intuitive imputations had to be made.

1.5 OUTLINE OF THE STUDY

The thesis is divided into seven chapters. The second chapter consists of four broad sections, which explain the relation between forest and indigenous people, the process of establishment of state control over forest resources and establishment of State ownership through various forest legislations during colonial and post-colonial period. The third chapter explains the history of forest management of Rampa country and establishment of State ownership on forests and its impact on the indigenous people of the Rampa from 1888 to the present time. Chapter four is a study of the relationship between tribals and forests, indigenous institutions and the impact of external interventions in Rampa country by studying two villages. The existence of alternative institutions -Joint Forest Management and its functioning has been analysed in the fifth chapter. The nature of problems faced by indigenous people and the nature of NGOs intervention is analysed in the sixth chapter, with the help of a case study of SAKTI a NGO based in Rampachodavaram. The last Chapter consists of a summary and conclusions.

CHAPTER-2

FOREST POLICY AND INDIGENOUS PEOPLE IN COLONIAL AND POST COLONIAL PERIOD

2.0 Introduction

Forest policy and management has been a subject of considerable debate and conflict ever since the British established a Forest Department and enacted legislations related to forestry in the 19th century. The imperial needs dictated the British interests in the Indian forest resources, which resulted in the establishment of control over forest resources. In the process, at least two crucial aspects of forest management were ignored. First, the well-established traditional systems of conservation and sustainable use, and second, the critical ecological and social role that forests played (Ashish Kothari 1994). The colonial system of forest management was continued even after 1947 with little modifications, emphasizing revenue generation and commercial exploitation, while its policing orientation excluded villagers who had the most longstanding claim on forest resources. The tribals especially were confronted with the vagaries of forest management that continuously eroded their life-styles and simultaneously the assertion of State primacy over natural resources deprived them of an important means of subsistence(Guha 1983).

In this context, an attempt is made to review colonial and post-colonial forest policies by examining the debate on the ownership of forests between British and Indian colonial officers, especially the officials of the Madras Presidency who happened to be more articulate at that time. The first section, deals with the relation between tribals and forests, the second section explains the evolution of State control over forest resources. The third section is on colonial forest policy and on the process of establishing colonial control over natural resources, the fourth section focuses on the forest policies of independent India and on the changes in forest management and the last section contains conclusions.

2.1. RELATION BETWEEN FORESTS AND INDIGENOUS PEOPLE

Forests play a vital role in sustaining the life supporting systems of a country's environment and the quality of its people. The livelihood activities of tribals center on the forests in which they live. The tribals get food from the forests by shifting cultivation, apart from picking varieties of edible and herbal roots, tubers, creepers, fruits, leaves (detailed descriptions of these activities are given in the chapter-4).

The major source of food production for them is shifting cultivation, which is an integral part of the economy in tribal culture. About 25 percent of India's tribals (70 million) practice shifting cultivation (Reddy 1983). The Report on Forest and Tribals (1982) indicates shifting cultivation is practised by at least 109 tribal communities in 233 blocks in 62 districts spread over 16 states. In Andhra Pradesh it covers nearly 17,000 hectares in 9 blocks, 92,000 hectares in Arunachal Pradesh, 69,000 hectares in Assam, 83,000 hectares in Manipur and 72,000 hectares in Meghalaya are under swidden cultivation (GOI 1982).

Besides this, tribals collect varieties of minor forest produce(MFP), which includes fodder and grasses, raw materials like bamboo, canes and leaves, gums, waxes, dyes and resins and several forms of food including nuts, wild fruits, and honey. National Commission on Agriculture(1976) has classified MFP as i). fibers and flosses, ii). grasses(other than oil producing), bamboo, reeds, and canes, iii). oil seeds, iv). tams and dyes, v). gums, resins and oleoresins, and vi). leaves. These often play a critical part in the livelihood of the tribal. Most of the MFP come from forests although some trees yielding MFP are found on private fields and also provide valuable assets, and subsistence and cash. Seventy percent of the MFP are collected from the five states - Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and Andhra Pradesh, where 65 percent of the tribal population live(Guha1983). On a rough estimation it has been revealed that between 10-15 per cent of income of an average tribal family is obtained from the collection of MFP(NCA 1976). The tribals collect MFP in the seasons when these were ready. For instance, *tendu* leaves are collected during April-May, *sall* seeds fall with the pre-monsoon showers and collected from under the tree and pine trees are trapped for resin

during warm and hot weather. Thus, the activities concerning MFP are carried out almost all the year around[1].

As we observed during the field study, all the members of the family, including grown-up children, go to the forest in search of these products. However, we observed that the involvement of particular members of the family in the collection depended upon the nature of the product. For instance in the collection of gum, honey, bark, bamboo etc., which required more time, the male members were involved. While in the collection of leaves, seeds, flowers etc., women, folk were engaged. Tribals acquire the skill regarding collection of MFP from the elder members of the family. They learn to identify the useful species, seasons of availability, the locations and plants in which it is found.

Availability, marketability and access to the forests condition the collection of MFP. Traditionally, traders and contractors used to purchase the produce from the tribals at low rate or by barter. Latter procurement of MFP has been nationalised to protect the tribals from this exploitation.

Regarding the relationship of tribals with the forest, the Committee on Forests and Tribal in India (1982) stated that "they are not only forest dwellers but also for centuries they have evolved a way of life which, on the one hand, is woven around forest ecology and forest resources, on the other hand, ensures that the forest is protected against the degradation by man and nature" by evolving their own conservative systems. These traditional systems of conservation of resources were ensured through restrictions on using the economically useful species. These not only included a long fallow period in the rotation of shifting cultivation but also selective retention of valuable trees such as mango and mahua while felling for cultivation. There is substantial evidence that all of

The report of the NCA stated that there has been no comprehensive survey of employment in forest activities and also not easy to estimated in terms of man-days. And it is reported that present employment in the harvesting of MFP is not less than 250 million man-days. NCA considered this as alleviating seasonal unemployment and or underemployment and contributing to an increase in the income level of the households rather than be projected as full time employment for a certain member of people.

this enabled the tribals to use their resource base in a sustained manner(Mc Neely and Pitt 1985).

Thus, tribal cohesion and equitable social organisation meant possibilities of better enforcement of norms to ensure the ecological balance. Outside flows of material were largely restricted. For instance, honey and ivory were exchanged for metal. However, such exchanges were quantitatively insignificant, so that the material cycles were largely closed over the spatial scale of tribal territories. This meant that the tribal population had a real stake in the security of the resource base of their territory and evolved a number of cultural traditions to ensure its sustenance(Gadgil 1989a). Thus, they put various kinds of restrictions such as seasonal restrictions, total protection to certain areas, protection to certain valuable species, which have some religious importance etc. Most tribal communities forbade the cutting or hunting during certain periods in the year and allowed it then only on the annual day of renewal. Restrictions were put also during certain stages of life of different species. Most tribes forbade the killing of pregnant animals. In a few cases the restriction was on a few species such as fawns, doves and black bucks, while most others imposed a ban on the killing of any pregnant animal(Gadgil and Vartax 1976).

Fernandes et.al(1985) identified other restrictions on the use of species essential for survival, such as by declaring them sacred hence not to be destroyed. They could not be cut till they were mature and so long as did not yield any fruit. Precisely, because of their value, these plants, trees, creepers and animals also play an important role in their rituals and ceremonies (Deeney, 1992). In certain areas they maintain restrictions on using sickle or axe. Gupta (1981) identified three kinds of systems in Chotanagapur, such as *'sana, aknra and season'* in such accord. And also protection was ensured by banning the use of destructive technologies. Bamboos, for example, were cut at a certain angle, a few centimeters above the ground to ensure copping (Gadgil 1989a).

So it is claimed that over centuries of living sustainable with nature, tribals have acquired a deep knowledge and understanding of ecological processes and evolved as

ideal natural resource managers(Shiva et.al. 1990). "All the studies on natural resource use by the forest people show that their traditional way of life have been brilliantly conservationist.....Theirs' is an ecological wisdom that is intricately woven into the very fabric of their cultures; for the most part of it is not an articulate, conscious 'body of knowledge'.....Their way of life expresses an ecological wisdom that enables them to take care of their forest environment"(Taylor 1990).

Thus, tribals have a certain specific relationship with forests. They always interact for their sustenance and try to recreate the forests with their traditional conservation systems. But the progressive assertion of State monopoly rights over large areas of forests turning them into 'reserves', has resulted in large-scale eviction and uprooting of traditional tribal villages[2]. The relationship that existed between tribal social organisation and the forest was completely upset as a result of these policies.

The reservation of tracts, which denied the tribals access to forest produce on which they had depended for many of their necessities for centuries, cut them off from their life-support system. When an area was declared a reserve forest, all the rights of tribals were extinguished, except those explicitly mentioned. For instance, in a recent study on the effects on tribals of the loss of forest areas in Orissa and of Chattisgarh in Madhya Pradesh, observed that in these areas the distance required to collect forest products is reported to have multiplied several fold(Table 2.1).

2 Its most significant consequence was the intensification of social conflict between the state and its subjects. Almost everywhere, and for a long period the take over of the forest was bitterly resisted by local populations for whom it represented an unacceptable infringement of their traditional rights of access and use. Hunter gathers, shifting cultivation, peasants, pastoral nomads, artisans-for all these social groups access to forest produce is vital for economic survival, and they protested in various ways at the imposition of State control (Rangarajan, 1992). Through out the colonial period as well as in the post-colonial period, popular resistance to state forestry has been remarkably widespread and sustained. In the post-colonial period the process of economic development implied more intensive resource use which, in the prevailing technological and institutional framework, led to widespread environmental degradation. In the forestry sector, industrial orientation became more marked, exemplified by the increase in mono-cultural plantation beginning with the early 1960s. Other development projects like dams and mines to have exerted a largely negative influence on the forests.

Numerous forestry projects have also succeeded in changing the character of the forest itself in such a way that it served exclusively commercial interests and no longer benefited original forest-dwellers. Natural mixed forests on which the tribals depended for their livelihood are being cleared and replaced by plantations of teak, eucalyptus and various coniferous trees for commercial purposes. This large scale commercial exploitation of forests not only destroyed the source of livelihood for tribals but also adversely affected the ecology of the area(Mathew 1993).

TABLE: 2.1. DISTANCE COVERED TO COLLECT MFPS FROM FORESTS IN ORISSA AND CHATTISGARH: TWENTY YEARS AGO AND PRESENT (in km.)

Sl.No.	Collection of	Orissa		**Chattisgarh**	
		Past	Present	Past	Present
1	Flowers	1.7	6.5	1.8	3.8
2	Leaves	1.6	7.2	1.7	3.9
3	Fruits	1.7	6.2	2.1	3.5
4	Seeds	1.7	6.6	1.4	4.4
5	Fodder	1.3	7.2	N.A	N.A
6	Bamboo	2.1	8.9	1.3	5.5
7	**Firewood**	**1.6**	6.2	1.3	3.7
8	Average distance	1.7	7.0	**1.6**	4.1

Source: Robert Chambers 1989.

The tribals were not only denied their means of livelihood but also became victims of exploitation and harassment by petty forest officials and contractors. The alienation of tribals from the forest and the deterioration and degradation of forest due to over exploitation for profit continued and increased at a faster rate after independence. As a result the tribals were systematically dispossessed of every means of existence. In this context an attempt is made to review forest policies of colonial and post-colonial periods.

2.2. EVOLUTION OF STATE CONTROL OVER FOREST RESOURCES

2.2.1. An Overview of Ownership of Forest During Pre-colonial Period:

It is generally believed that in the pre-colonial period the rural communities seem to have enjoyed an untrammeled use of forests and wastes in their vicinity. "The waste and forest lands never.....attracted the attention of former (pre-British) Governments" [EK Paw 1896 quoted in Guha(1983)]. Similarly it was reported from Madras that the villages had traditionally owned all forests within their boundaries(Stebbing I 1926).

It was during the colonial period that for the first time proprietary claims were made over forest resources by extraneous forces. Atchi Reddy(1991) identified three main parties who claimed some rights of ownership of the forests and its produce in the Madras presidency before 1882. First were the village communities who claimed their right to cut wood, collect produce, graze the cattle and extend their cultivation in to the forestlands. The second category was that of Zamindars and other feudal landlords. And, third the Government. Community ownership of the forests in Presidency of Madras was quite old, well established and recognised by the successive local governments. Private and community ownership of landed property, including forests, was the common practice in South India (Kumar,D 1985).

Most of the villages in the Madras presidency that were located in and around the forest tracts used to have certain tracts of forests earmarked for their exclusive use. In most of the places where Government wanted to have land for its own use, it had to purchase those forest lands from their owners, often at market rates even during the 19th century(Cleghorn 1860). Board of Revenue proceedings of 5th August 1871 of Madras presidency stated that, "there is scarcely any forest in whole Presidency of Madras which is not one in which, so for as the Board can ascertain, the State asserted any rights of property until very recently. All of them, without exception, are subject to tribal or communal rights, which have existed from time immemorial and which are as difficult to define and value as they are necessary to the rural population.....Here the forests are and always have been common property"(Stebbing III 1926). Not only in the Madras Presidency but also in the entire Indian subcontinent, tribals had a free access to forests.

2.2.2. Forests During East India Company Rule:

The early days of British rule were characterised by a total indifference to the needs of forest conservancy- indeed, up to the middle of the 19th century, the Raj saw a 'fierce onslaught on India's forest'(Smythies 1925). The settled political conditions following British rule facilitated the extension of cultivation in order to augment revenue. In the name of making cultivable lands, there was a policy of encouraging destruction of forests.

Machonchie provides the earliest record of commercial exploitation of forests in 1796, for the extraction of teak in Malabar to meet the demands for shipbuilding and military purposes. In the year 1799 alone 10,000 teak trees were brought down from the Baypore river (Stebbing I, 1926), under further pressure from the 'home government' to ensure the maintenance of the future strength of the King's navy. Ships were built from the teak imported from India and in the dockyards in Goa and on the Malabar coast (Guha 1983). In this situation the East India Company looked to India as a potential source[3] of their supplies. Thus the arrival of the British and the exploitation of India's forest resources marked a new phase in the use of forest produce in India.

The military requirement of Indian teak in the late 18th century led to an immediate proclamation declaring that the royalty right over teak trees claimed by the former Government in the South was vested in the East India Company[4]. Though free

3 At that time interestingly, England's own forests had long been devastated. It is said that the first serious inroads occurred in Henry VIII's time when he seized church land for his own use and "turned them in cash". James I had fostered colonisation schemes, especially in Ireland, which reduced the forest area and Charles I "always in need of cash", alienated many of the crown forests. "During the Revolution beginning in 1642 and during Cronwell's reign a licentious devastation of the confiscated or mortgaged noblemen's wood took place" (Fernow 1907: 315). With oak forests vanishing in England, the need for suitable timber for the Royal Navy began to be felt. As Stebbing put it "the safety of the empire depended on its wooden walls" (Stebbing I :63). This was a period of intense rivalry between the colonial powers and Indian teak, suitable for shipbuilding, saved England during the war with Napoleon. It also helped later maritime expansion.

4 In 1805 a dispatch was received from the Court of Directors enquiring as to what extent the King's navy was depended on permanent supply of teak timber from Malabar, in view of the growing shortage of oak in England. The demand for timber in the Royal Navy had prompted the initial imperial concern with Indian forests around 1806(Ribbontrop B, 1900).

access to the forests for the people was not inhibited, a kind of defacto ownership of forests and wastelands of the country by the State had begun by these times. However, exploitation of certain species of trees were considered as the prerogative of the ruler[5](Stebbing I, 1926).

By the middle of the 19th century the depletion of the forests began to assume serious proportions in India. The British government was forced to recognise that forests in India, after all, were not inexhaustible. Various officers were deputed from time to time to report on forest areas and all of them emphasised the need for conservation and improvement[6](Saldanha 1996). In 1856, a significant year in the history of forests in India, Lord Dalhousie laid down a definite forest policy;

> ".... owing largely to the increasing difficulty of obtaining adequate supplies of timber for the great extension of railway lines then being undertaken, as a result of the systematic destruction of forest areas for cultivation, of uncontrolled felling and absence of all protection of forests, thc Government of India were forced to take energetic steps to protect from further destruction the forests that still survived..."(Smythies 1925).

Thus, British colonial intervention is an important watershed in the ecological history of India. The critical turning point in the history of Indian forestry was the building of the railway network. The early years of railway expansion saw an unprecedented assault on the more accessible forests. Great chunks of forest were destroyed to meet the demand for railway sleepers. No supervision was exercised over the felling operations and a large number of trees were felled, whose logs could not be utilised(Stebbing I 1926). Before the coalmines of Raniganj became fully operative, railway companies also indulged in widespread use of local timber as fuel for the locomotives(Guha 1983).

5 By 1806, the Company Government established a timber monopoly throughout Malabar and Travancore to extract teak for the King's navy. With this, indigenous trade came to an end and peasants were denied their rights.

6 Captain Gathin, reported on the forest resources of Burma, in 1837 Heifer reported on those of Malbar and Gibson was appointed Conservator of Forests in Bombay in 1847.

Cleghorn (1860) gives a very vivid description of the transformation in the ecological landscape wrought by the railways in his work *The Forests and Gardens of South India*. The Melghat and North Arcot hills, formerly crowded with timber, were 'now to a considerable degree laid bare' by the insatiable demand of the railways. All around the tracks, where once there was forest, there now lay wide swathes of cleared land stripped bare of cover, and consequently of protection to wild animals. Thus the progress of the railway produced remarkable changes on the face of the country as regards to tree vegetation. In the Madras Presidency over 250,000 sleepers (or 35,000 trees) were required annually from indigenous sources. To meet this demand contractors resorted more and more to sequential over exploitation. On the one hand they cleared jungles further and further away from the railway lines, while on the other, they utilised more and more unsuitable species as those more favoured were rapidly exhausted. Although only half a dozen species were considered suitable for use as railway sleepers, more than fifty were tried out. Not surprisingly, sleepers expected to last five or six years, only lasted a third of the time. In one consignment, out of 487 sleepers supplied, 458 (or 92%) were found to be of unauthorized woods (Cleghorn 1860, quoted in Gadgil and Guha 1992).

Railway expansion continued unabated and the methods by which private enterprise was working in the forests forced the State to step in to safeguard their long term imperial interests(Sagreya 1979). The Governor - General Dalhousie called in 1862 for the establishment of a department that could ensure the sustained availability of the enormous requirements of different railway companies for sleepers(Stebbing I 1926).

Thus, the introduction of colonial forestry was not because of superior forestry knowledge and management but owing to the dominant military need and power. It was in this situation that the imperial Forest Department was formed in 1864 with the assistance of the German forester, Brandis, who attempted to establish its control over forests, by various legislations.

2.3. FOREST POLICIES DURING COLONIAL PERIOD:

2.3.1. Forest Act of 1865:

The first attempt at asserting State monopoly was through the Indian Forest Act of 1865. The Act empowered the State to declare any land covered with trees or brush-wood as state forest and to make rules regarding the management of the same by notification, *provided that such notification should not abridge or affect any existing rights of individuals or communities*(sec.2). The government was empowered to prescribe punishments for the breach of provisions or for infringing rules and for the arrest of offenders. For the first time, an attempt was made to regulate the collection of forest produce by the forest dwellers. Thus, socially regulated practices of the forest people were to be restrained by law. The Act was applicable only to forests under the control of the Government and no provisions were made to cover private forests(Kulkami,l 987). Thus, in the name of "scientific management, the Act was an attempt to.....obliterate centuries of customary use of the forests by rural population all over India....."(Guha and Gadgil 1989).

The Madras Presidency refused to have the Act of 1865 on the plea that the rights of the villagers over waste lands and jungles were considered important[7]. This prevented the Government from making forests the exclusive property of the State. A conference of forest officers was held in 1874 that went into the defects of the 1865 Act. The task before them was to reverse a process which the British had initiated, now seen as worthless and by doing so to allow the villagers to exercise user rights unhindered. In fact, all provisions of the 1865 Act, except that pertaining to arrest, were found to be defective.

The major lacunae of the Act, as identified here, essentially related to the extent of control over forests exercised by the State. The Act provided for the protection of forests only after it had been selected and declared as Government forest. But for

7 The debate between the Presidency and the Government of India has been analysed in a later part of this chapter.

effective control, it was argued that the State should have the power to protect any forest in anticipation of its demarcation and management. The definition of the forest, in section 2 of the 1865 Act, as "land covered with trees, brushwood and jungle" was sharply criticised as inhibiting the raising of appropriate plantations on barren land by the State. It was advised that any land whatsoever should be designated as forest, there by coming under the provisions of the Act, if the Government so desired. Various other rules also were criticised as being inadequate. The Act provided for a series of prohibitions but nothing about the principles of managing the forest, there were no rules regarding fire protection, fencing etc. It was felt that the regulations covering the transit of forest produce were not comprehensive enough, both with respect to the means of transit (road, water or rail) and the agents of transit (merchants and owners of the produce) (Guha 1983).

There was also a considerable debate within the colonial bureaucracy itself about the 'absolute proprietary right of the State'. In the end it was decided to treat the customary use of the forest by the Indian villagers as based on 'privilege' and not on 'right'.

2.3.2. Forest Act 1878:

This Act was more comprehensive than earlier one and divided forests into reserved forests, protected forests and village forests. Persons were to be notified to record their claims over land and forest produce in the proposed reserved and protected forest. Certain activities like trespassing or pasturing of cattle were prohibited. A provision was made to impose a duty on timber. Some provisions were also made for private forests. And certain activities were declared as forest offences and imprisonment and fines were also prescribed. Thus, the 1878 Act continued and extended the Government policy of establishing control over forests.

The Act was empowered the government to acquire land over which rights were claimed by persons. The forest settlement officer was to record such rights and there were special provisions to ensure the exercise of such right. These provisions included setting

out some other forest tracts to ensure the right of pasture or to forest produce. This altered the limits of extent of the proposed forest so as to exclude forestland of sufficient extent for the purpose of claimants. It also sought to ensure claimants rights in certain portions of the proposed reserved forest(Section,l A). And the local governments were given the right to notify any forest or land as protected forest[8] and empowered to make rules to regulate and prohibit certain acts in protected forests. And also given the power to assign to any village community the right to or over any land that was constituted as a reserved forest and all forests so assigned were to apply to village forests(section27).

Powers given to forest officers were the same as in the previous Act 1865. The authority to arrest was limited to offences like violating the prohibition or the quarrying of stone or the burning of lime or charcoal or the collection or subjection to any manufacturing process, or removal of any forest produce, in any such(i.e. protected) forest and the breaking up or clearing for cultivation, for building, for herding cattle or for any other purpose, any land in any such forest.

The differences between 1865 and 1878 Acts are, the 1865 Act empowered the Government to declare any forest as Government property. But the right of the Government, subjected to the condition that it did not affect the existing rights and privileges enjoyed by the local community in the neighboring forest areas. This resulted in the classification of forest as reserved and protected. The process of reserving certain trees for the exclusive use of the Government had started much earlier. But the concept was extended to forests as reserved and protected and surveys and settlements were initiated in this direction after 1865. This led to the repeal of the earlier Act and enactment of the Indian Forest Act of 1878, which formalised this distinction and also formally recognised another category-the village forests.

8 However, no such notification was to be made unless the nature and extent of the rights of government and private persons in and over the forest land or waste-land comprised therein have been enquired into and recorded at a survey or settlement or in such other manner as the local government think sufficient (section,21).

Also this legislation - later to serve as a model for other British colonies - by one stroke of the executive pen attempted to obliterate centuries of customary use of the forest by rural populations all over India. Several officers within the colonial administration were sharply critical of the new legislation, calling it an act of confiscation and predicting widespread discontent at its application. Their objections, however, were swiftly overruled(Brandis 1878). Essentially designed to maintain strict control over forest utilisation from the perspective of strategic imperial needs, the Act also enabled the sustained working of compact blocks of forests for scientific management of the forests. But also the combined operation of law and scientific management was sharp restrictions on customary use(Guha and Gadgil 1989).

Thus, when the Colonial State asserted control over woodlands, which had earlier been in the hands of local communities and provided to work these forests for commercial timber production, it intervened in the day to day life of the Indian villages to an unprecedented degree. Guha(1990) argued that the 1865 Act has been enacted to ensure control over the forest supply for railways, and environmental issues had been neglected by not enforcing the rules(Saravanan 1998). While drafting the Forest Act 1878, the debate on ownership had taken place among the Forest Department Officials at the centre and Madras Presidency level. In this connection the Madras Presidency emerged as the most articulate spokesman for villager's interests in the controversy around the 1878 Act.

2.3.3. Ownership of the Forests

The debate over the ownership of forests emerged after the Department of Forests has been established. The Madras Presidency believed that it was impossible to distinguish between the rights of the Government and of the people in the forests of the Presidency (Stebbing III 1926).

Gadgil and Guha (1992) categorised the whole debate under three distinct positions. The first, which they call 'annexationist'. held out for nothing less than total State control over all forest areas. The second one is the 'pragmatic', argued in favour of

State management of ecologically sensitive and strategically valuable forests, allowing other areas to remain under communal systems of management. And the third, termed 'Populist', completely rejects State intervention, holding that tribals and peasants must exercise sovereign rights over the woodlands.

Officials who believed in the first position argued that customary use, however widespread and enduring was exercised only at the mercy of the monarch. Baden-Powell claimed "the State had not, it is true, exercised that full right: the forests were left open to any one who chose to use them: but the right was there"(Baden-powell 1875). The rights of use were explicitly granted by the State. Thus, Baden-Powell made a clean distinction between rights and privileges. Previleges, though not claimable as a legal right, were always granted by the Government for the convenience of the people (Board of Revenue proceedings No.37-47, Dec 1875, quoted in Gadgil and Guha 1992).

The Madras Government rejected Baden-Powell's distinction between legally proven 'rights' on the one hand and 'privileges' exercised without written sanction on the other. If this view was to be allowed, then it seemed the claim of the State was virtually non-existent. To quote remarks of Board of Revenue -

> " There is scarcely a forest in the whole of the Presidency of Madras which is not within the limits of some village and there is not one in which, so far as the board can ascertain, the State asserted any rights of property unless royalties in teak, sandalwood, cardamoms and the like, can be considered as such until very recently. All of them, without exception are subject to tribal or communal rights which have existed from time immemorial and which are as difficult to define as they are necessary to the rural population.....Nor can it be said that these rights are susceptible of compensation, for it innumerable cases, the right to fuel, manure and pasturage, will be as much a necessity to life to unborn generations as it is to the present.... (In Madras) the forests are, and always have been, common property...."(BOR Progs No 43-142, March 1878, quoted in Gadgil and Guha 1992).

Between these extreme positions, the Inspector General of Forests, Brandis, allowed that in certain cases the State had indisputable rights. However, he was with the

Madras Board of Revenue in disputing Baden-Powell's contention. Drawing on a cross cultural comparison, he pointed out that "the growth of forest rights in India has been analogous to the growth of similar rights of use in Europe. There are many well-known cases in which forest rights in Europe have arisen out of a specific growth and in such cases the extent of the right construed by the terms of the grant and is not necessarily restricted by the limitations adverted to. In most instances however, they have grown up out of the use by the surrounding villages of the common waste and forest. Forest rights in India have had a similar origin and development as in Europe, with that important difference that arbitrary dealings of the Native Rulers have interfered with the growth of these rights and have in many cases restricted or extinguished them[9]".

The then conservator opposed thc introduction of Forest Act 1865. Also a majority of the collectors strongly opposed the introduction of the Act and they were supported by the Board of Revenue, and expressed that "the application of the act is quite unnecessary, in as much as the penal code already provides for offences of every description. Under the heads of mischief, trespass and theft". Further, the Board opined that the Act would not in any way facilitate conservancy and no forestland could be placed within its scope, which is not absolutely the property of the Government and free from private rights of every kind. Section 2 specially enacted that its application should not abridge or affect any existing rights [10](BOR proceedings No.2777, 16.4.1868,

9 Thus while for Brandis the forest history of Europe called for a similar treatment of village rights in India, for others it merely served as a warning not to grant these rights. But Brandis' task was an uphill one. His sentiments may have been noble, but they were not shared by his peers and masters in the British colonial system (Godgil and Gugha, 1992). Regardless of these arguments the colonial Government passed the 1865 Act and called for opinion from the Government of Madras on the extension of the Forest Act of 1865 to the Presidency.

10 With this opinion the Madras BOR wrote a letter to the Secretary of State for India in 1869 that, "we have given the papers our most careful consideration and are of opinion that the introduction of the Forest Act into the Madras Presidency is uncalled for at present, and would be inexpedient. The tenure of land in Southern India differs vastly from that of those portions of the continent where the Act is said to have been introduced with success. As observed by the BOR, however large the applicability of such an Act may prove to be for the forests of Burma and other similar localities, it could hardly be introduced into the Madras Presidency, where nearly all the jungles and forests were within village boundaries, and were subject to the prescriptive rights of the villages, without causing much popular discontent and serious risk of oppression (Rev. No.5, 22.6.1869 Madras).

Madras). The main reasons for rejecting Brandis draft bill by the Presidency were:

1. Because, its principles, scope and purpose are inconsistent with the existing Acts of forest property and its history.

2. Secondly, even if the bill was consistent with the facts, its provisions are too arbitrary, setting the laws of property at open defiance and leaving the determination of the forest rights of the people to a department which in this presidency at all events, has always shown itself eager to destroy all first right but those of Government.

3. Lastly, because the forest bill aims at the regulation of local usage ought to be thrashed, discussed and passed by the local legislature[11].

However, at the central level, the emphasis was on controlling the forest by the State, whereas at the Madras Presidency level, the emphasis was on the protection of rights of the local people for access to forests. Ultimately, the Madras Presidency had to yield to the imperial pressure and had to bring about the Madras Forest Act in 1882. The Act was extended in phases and the northern Andhra districts, which consisted of the agency areas, were brought under the fold of the Act during 1885 and 1906.

2.3.4.Forest Policy **Resolution-1894:**

The Government of India brought out a comprehensive forest policy in 1894 that

[11] Even the 1878 Act was passed and introduced into other provinces, the Madras Government was under considerable pressure to accept its provisions. It was chastised by the Secretary of State for its "laxity with respect to the forest rights of Government". Forcing its hand, Fort William then proposed to send Baden-Powell himself to supervise forest settlement operations in the Madras Presidency. This proposal was dropped when Fort. St.George wrote to the Secretary of state that it would draft its own forest legislation. In 1875, the Madras Government had constituted a committee to draft a forest bill for the Presidency with three Indian members. The Presidency forwarded a draft forest bill to the Governor General in March 1879. But this bill was criticised by Boden-Powell, pointing out that no legal or other difficulty ever arises from leaving in undefined and criticised the bill for not banning shifting cultivation, for allowing villagers right even in reserved forests. When the Governor General, basing himself on Baden-Powell's memorandum, conveyed his disapproval, the Madras Presidency formed a committee to draft a fresh bill with Brandis, Inspector General of forests(Gadgil and Gugha 1992).

clearly spelt out the supremacy of the State's interest over that of people's interest. By the resolution, forests were divided into four classes: (a) forests, the preservation of which was essential on climatic or physical grounds; (b) forests which afforded a supply of valuable timbers for commercial purposes; (c) minor forest; and (d) pasture lands. The above mentioned classification was applicable only to forests under the management of the State. The essence of the policy is well summed up by Elwin(1962) as:

> "the sole object with which State forests are administered is the public benefit. In some cases the public to be benefited is the whole body of tax-payers, in others, the people of the tract within which the forest is installed: but in almost all cases the contribution and preservation of a forest involve, in greater or lesser degree, the regulation of rights and the restriction of privileges of users in the forest area which may have previously been enjoyed by the inhabitants of its immediate neighbourhood. These regulations and restrictions are justified only when the advantage to be gained by the public is great, and the cardinal principle to be observed is that rights and privileges of individuals must be limited, otherwise for their own benefit, only in such degree as is obviously necessary to secure that advantage" (quoted in Narasimha Reddy:1995).

Then the Government gradually increased its control over the forests and the forest department was strengthened from time to time with a view to regulate people's rights over forestlands and produce. For this purpose the Government of India passed another Act in 1927.

2.3.5. Forest Act-1927:

The India Forest Act of 1878 was modified in the past by different Acts of local Governments. It was later on replaced by a very comprehensive Act called the Indian Forest Act, 1927.This was an attempt to codify all the practices of the forest officials and to regulate further people's rights over forest lands and produce. The Forests were classified into reserved, protected and village forests and elaborate provisions were made to extend State control over forests.

The Act deleted the reference to communities' rights over forests, which were made in the 1878 Act. Persons were expected to put in their claims over forest lands and

forest produce before the Forest Settlement Officer who was to enquire into their claims. Rights in respect of which no claims were preferred were to be extinguished, unless the person claiming them satisfied the Forest Settlement Officer that he had sufficient cause for not preferring the claim in the specified time(sec.9)

This Act has put some control on the shifting cultivation with certain special provisions. The forest Settlement Officer was supposed to record the claims relating to the practice of shifting cultivation and to inform the state government together with his opinion as to the permissibility or otherwise of the practice. The state government was finally to decide on the issue of permission or prohibition. If the state government permitted the practice wholly or in part, the Forest Settlement Officer was to arrange for the apportionment of land for such practice. In the Act it was specifically mentioned that the practice of shifting cultivation was in all cases deemed to be a privilege subject to control, restriction and abolition by the state government(sec.10).

The provisions made in respect of the protected forests and the power of arrest without warrant, same as in the earlier Act and limited to certain offences, which included disobeying the prohibition of quarrying of stones, burning of lime or charcoal, the collection or subjection to any manufacturing process, or removal of any forest produce in any such forest and the breaking up or clearing for cultivation, for building and for herding cattle.

This was an Act to consolidate the law relating to forests, the transit of forest produce and the duty leviable on timber and other forest product. Thus, there was a clear emphasis on the revenue yielding aspects of forests. The subject of forest was included in the provincial legislative list under Government of India Act of 1935. Thereafter several provinces made their own laws to regulate forests. Most of these laws did not affect the framework laid down in the 1927 Act.

However, the most serious consequence of colonial forestry working on commercial and imperial interest, was one corollary, i.e., the diminution of customary

rights as well as the decline in traditional conservation and management systems. The curtailment of communal ownership of forests by the State severely undermined the subsistence economy of the forest people.

Shifting cultivation was one major, traditional subsistence activity that got banned from the reserved forests(Sivaramakrishnan 1995). The restriction of shifting cultivation to small and demarcated areas forced the tribals to shorten fallow cycle or to prolong cultivation on designated patch until deterioration set in (Haimendrof 1943). As observed by Fernandez, et.al(1985) in Orissa, in the last thirty years, that in the early 1950s it was a 15-18 years cycle and in the 1940s it was 18-25 years. And now it has narrowed down to six years in most areas and in some cases even to three years(Fernandez et.al. 1985). Like wise the population of shifting cultivators in one taluk of Nasik declined by 24 per cent in a single year-1874 and migrated to neighbouring princely states due to the restriction of shifting cultivation(quoted in Gadgil and Guha 1992). In the case of Koya tribe of Bhadrachalam, who were accustomed to shifting cultivation were forced to follow a type of fallow cultivation as a result of the felling of trees in the forests of the area starting in the last quarter of the 19th century. Finally they lost their lands to either to the moneylenders and became tenants or else sold out their land outright in the market and some of them became the annual farm servants to the same parties while many of them restored to the casual labour market(Atchi Reddy 1991)

Thus shifting cultivation was discouraged without any appropriate alternative scheme. As Sengupta(1988) observed to compensate for the loss of source of livelihood tribals have been forced to explore alternative avenues of engagements. In Jharkhand tribals migrate to different parts of India supplying cheap labour for rich farmers in Punjab, road contractors in Himachel Pradesh and contract labour in mines and factories all over(Sengupta 1988).

The other rights enumerated included grazing and pasture, grass cutting, lopping boughs and gathering leaves, wood rights and hunting(Troup 1940). For instance, the forest and game laws affected the Chenchus of Hyderabad by making their hunting activities illegal and by questioning or even denying their existing monopoly over forest produce other than timber rapidly losing their autonomy, most of them were forced into a relation of serfdom with more powerful cultivating caste. Further south the Chenchus of Kurnool, almost in desperation turned to banditry frequently holding up pilgrims to the major Hindu temple of Srisailam(Haimendrof 1943; Aiyappan 1948).

Due to the restrictions on grazing some of the tribals groups who were involved in herding the cattle lost their subsistence. For instance the Suhala tribals of Nallamala forests who used to get herds of cows from the adjoining coastal districts for grazing in the winter season had slowly lost their occupation due to the dwindling grazing grounds(Atchi Reddy 1991).

These restrictions on hunting led to precipitous fall in the population of Birhor tribe in Chotanagpur from 2340 in 1911 to 1610 in 1921(Roy 1925; Ehrenfeld 1952). Out migration of all tribals communities from the Chotanagpur alone was 330,000 in 1891, 707,000 in 1911 and 947,000 in 1921. Tribal went out to work in the tea gardens, on plantations, as industrial labour and labourers in the region's peripheral to their homelands(Singh, K.S 1976). And also the area under reserve forest was therefore progressively increased at the cost of the area of set aside to meet the needs of the village population. For instance, the area of minor forest meant to meet these purposes in Uttar Kannada district was from 780,288 hectares in 1880, 718,592 hectares in 1890, 256,000 hectares in 1900 to 35,325 hectares in 1910(Mansur(1918) quoted in Gadgil 1989).

So the reservation of the forests resulted in considerable hardship to the indigenous communities as their sustenance from the forests was sharply reduced(Singh 1986; Anderson and Hubner 1988; Guha 1989; Nadkarni 1989). Nadkarni(1989) has estimated the forest dependency of poor peasants at 25 per cent of family income. He traced the local population's decline in the period of 1850 to 1900 to the abrogation of forest rights(Nadkarni 1989).

2.4. POST- COLONIAL FOREST POLICIES

2.4.1. Forest Policy of 1952:

Colonial forest policy was simply extended with renewed vigour by the State in Independent India. The need for the realisation of 'maximum annual revenue from forests' was considered a vital national need. The relevance of forests to meet the needs of defence, reconstruction schemes such as river valley projects, development of industries

and communications was asserted by the first national forest policy of Independent India in 1952 based on national interest.

The forest policy of 1952 which owes its origin to the 1894 policy is summed up as follows:

> "Village communities in the neighbourhood of a forest will naturally make greater use of its products for the satisfaction of their domestic and agricultural needs, such use, however, should in no event be permitted at the cost of national interests. The accident of village situated close to a forest does not prejudice the right of the country as whole to receive the benefits of national asset. The scientific conservation of a forest inevitably involved the regulation of rights and the restriction of privilege of user depending upon the value and importance of the forest, however irksome such restraint may be to the neighbouring areas_while therefore, the needs of the local population must be met to a reasonable extent, national interests should not be sacrificed because they are not directly discernible, nor should the rights and interests of future generations be subordinated to the improvidence of present generations (Elwin 1962 quoted in Narasimha Reddy 1995).

In the 1894 policy, the villager's needs of cultivation of certain lands with some safeguards were recognised and also the needs of the villagers could be met from the neighbouring forests. Under the new policy, however, emphasis was laid on raising village forests exclusively for the purpose. The private forests of tribals that were not touched in the old policy were subjected to controls under the new one. Free grazing was recognised under the old policy but a fee was imposed on it in the new one. A concession is given relating to shifting cultivation, by the provision that should be curbed not by coercion as earlier but by persuasion.

Though the 1952 Forest Policy was formed within the framework of the policy of 1894, it went beyond the latter in infringing on the privileges of the tribals. First, the old policy envisaged the release of forestland for cultivation, subject to certain safeguards. The new policy withdrew this concession. Second, the old policy had left a margin for the supply of the villager's needs from the outlying areas of the reserved

forests, but the new policy decided that there should be village forests for this purpose. Third, the old policy didn't touch the private forests of the tribals while the new one applied some controls to them. Fourth, the old policy didn't touch free grazing in forests. The new policy sought to bring it under control. Fees were introduced and grazing was to be kept to the minimum.

As mentioned earlier, the new policy made one important concession regarding shifting cultivation. It admitted that while it was empathetically opposed to shifting cultivation, persuasive and not coercive measures should be used in a sort of missionary rather than in an authoritarian manner to wean the tribals away from their traditional methods of shifting cultivation.

Though the policy had its origin in the colonial policy, in effect it proved worse. It is well known that not more than ten per cent of the forest wood stock was used by the indigenous people and the village communities (Gadgil 1989). The new forest policy, in the name of protecting the national interests[12], the State promoted the interest of the forest 'contractor class' and in the name of 'individual interests' deprived access to the sources of livelihood of the poor communities. State intervention combined with the so-called scientific management and silvicultural practices ushered in monoculture, made the destruction of the forests and the environs complete. The provisions of the policy not only denied the communal property rights of the people but also aided and abated those classes whose interests were inimical to the sustainable development of forests and their environs. The forest policy of 1952 of free India was worse than its colonial predecessor of 1894, particularly in its concern for the indigenous people(Narsimha Reddy 1995).

The President of India appointed the Scheduled Area and Scheduled Tribes Commission in 1960 under the chairmanship of U.N.Dhebar. The report of the

12 In actual practice the concept of national interest was interpreted in a very narrow sense. The destruction of forests for the construction of roads, buildings of irrigation and hydro-electricity projects, ammunition factories and other projects were justified in the name of national interest where, as tribals living near forests were discouraged from using their forests. The Forest Policy of 1952 tightened the stranglehold of the state on the poor.

Commission analyses forest policy and its impact on tribal communities. The Commission underscored the importance of forests in the life of the tribal people in providing them with all kinds of food, wild game and fish, wood for construction of houses and even income from the sale of forest produce besides fuel. It criticised the gradual extension of Government authority over forests to the detriment of tribal life and economy. It noted the changes in the rights of the tribal communities over the forests. The traditional rights of the tribals were no longer recognised as rights. In 1894, they became 'rights' and 'privileges' and in 1952 they became 'rights' and 'concession', which remained there thereafter(GOI 1960).

The Commission recommended that the policy of 1952 should be reconsidered and that, subject to safeguards, tribals should be allowed to cultivate forest lands and that their needs should be met from out lying areas in the reserve forests and that their requirements for grazing and shifting cultivation should be conceded. They were also of the view that the Forest Department should be deemed to be a branch of the Government, with the responsibility of participating in the betterment of the tribals side by side with the development of the forests. They desired that a time schedule should be prepared by the Forest Departments in consultation with agriculture, industries and development departments in each region with the intention of providing work to tribals through out the year. The Commission also mentioned the reluctance of forest officials to allow the exercise of tribal rights over forestlands and produce even when there were no trees on such lands.

2.4.2. NCA Report on Forests:

Another important commission was the 'National Commission on Agriculture' of 1976, which advocated commercialisation of forests at all costs and with disregard to the sustenance of forest people derived from the forests. The Commission recommended the regularisation of forest dwellers' rights over forest produce. The report has a chapter on forests which states that "the production of industrial wood should be the raison **d'être** for the existence of forests. Actually it is in this value that many other values that have been claimed or caressed for forests so far can be absorbed'(NCA 1976).

The Commission recommended the strengthening of forestry legislation for effective implementation of forest policy and enactment for the revision of all Indian forest acts and drastic reduction in people's rights over forests. It was stated, "free supply of forest produce to the population and their rights and privileges have brought destruction to the forests and so it is necessary to severe the process. The rural people have not contributed much towards the maintenance or regeneration of the forests. Having over exploited the resources they can not in all fairness expect that some body else will take the trouble of providing them with forest produce free of change"(NCA 1976). And stated that the revised national forest policy of India should rest on two pivotal points. One is the requirements of goods i.e. industrial wood for forest-based industries, defence, communications and other public purposes and small timber fuel wood and fodder for the rural community. Second is to the satisfaction of present and future demands for protective and recreative functions of the forests.

The Committee recommended uniform forest laws so that incompatibility in forest laws among the states is removed and there is no multiplicity of legally sanctioned authorities concerned with forestry matters. It recognised the need of stringent, preventive and punitive provisions, so that resources are not wasted, when allocated for development in a certain direction and tackling specific problcms in different parts of the country through subsidiary rules and regulations. It also recommended that functionally all forest lands should be classified into protected forests, productive forests and social forests[13].

In 1976 itself a major change took place in that the subject of forests was transferred from the state list to the concurrent list through the 42nd amendment of the Constitution. This resulted in the diminution of the State's powers and the enhancement of the centre's power over forests.

13 Protected forests include forests on hill slopes and other localities vulnerable to erosion and degradation. Productive forests are those which are essentially commercial forests comprising valuable or potentially valuable timber bearings strands indispensable for the development of the country and for meeting the diverse requirements of the national economy. Social forests on wastelands are for meeting the needs of the rural community.

2.4.3. Forest Draft Bill-1980:

Based on the recommendations of the NCA a draft forest bill was circulated in 1980. Provisions were made in the bill to reduce people's rights over forestlands and produce. The Government was empowered to declare any land what so ever to be forestland for the purpose of the Act. The Act prohibited the state governments from declaring any reserve forest or any portion as unreserved and also from allotting any forestland for any purpose without prior permission of the central government. And also made several provisions against the rights of the forest people. The bill attained criticism from the state governments as well as activist groups.

The Central Board of Forestry convened a meeting of forest ministers from all the states in 1982 to discuss the points of criticism raised against the bill. It was decided to withdraw the draft forest bill and to appoint a committee to reconsider the then forest policy. It was resolved that instead of being planned in isolation, the development of forests have to form an integral part of the comprehensive plans of Integrated Tribal Development. And recommended to constitute better organised labour co-operatives to undertake all forest operations by replacing intermediaries the Forest within a time bound programme of 2-3 years and recognised tribal's rights of collection of Minor Forest Produce and remunerative price should be ensured for its marketing. And also proposed that the forest villages were to be abolished and be converted into revenue villages and recommended to appoint a committee on forests and tribals.

2.4.4. Committee on Forests and Tribals:

With a view to achieve a co-ordinated policy, the Government of India constituted a Committee in 1982 to suggest guidelines for the re-orientation of forest policy under the chairmanship of Dr. B.K. Roy Burman. The Committee felt that a national forest policy, should recognise the positive role of the people in maintaining their forest and environment in unambiguous terms and not merely in its implication. It was convinced that community involvement was the only long-run solution to the question of afforestation, preservation, production and management of lands outside the reserve forest area, particularly in and around human settlements.

Committee made the following recommendations regarding forests and tribals:

A). Regarding afforestation as a concern, it was felt that little attention had so far been paid to grass-root planning in respect of technology to be adopted, areas to be covered, species to be included. Further it held that a time frame of long range and short range objectives should be made and fitted into the State's over-all context of afforestation programmes. In concrete terms the Committee recommended that the existing 10 per cent forest area of the country, measures for protection, conservation and regulated working should be stringent; restocking of the existing 13 per cent degraded forest area should be quickened; and afforestation of 10 per cent of the country's waste land scattered as well as in strips along side roads, railway lines, canals, river banks should be put under forestry with public participation.

B). Forest villages may be converted into normal revenue villages.

C). Regarding the forest based industries, Committee made the following recommendations:

i). As far as possible, a forest-based industry should be a joint venture of three-parties i.e., the concerned corporation, the entrepreneur and the tribal producer and collector of raw materials;

ii). Tribals should be encouraged in the context of comprehensive land use planning to grow in the marginal farm and waste land, raw material for the forest-based industry; and the industry should give an assurance to take over the raw materials grown by the tribals;

iii). Industry-linked plantations should not be located close to tribal habitations and the location should be determined by the local officers after discussions with the concerned local tribals;

iv). Support activities such as establishment of fuel-wood small timber and bamboo depots, grain-banks etc. should be undertaken to enable the provision of basic needs of tribals.

D). Plantation of MFP should be taken up on an individual or community basis in individual or communal land by associating tribals in management and protection under the technical guidance and supervision of the forest department. In Government land it could be taken upon the basis of right of usufruct in favour of tribals. The Committee urged exemption of MFP from royalty particularly in respect of the items, which fall in the co-operation sphere.

E). Administrative, legislative and scientific actions need to be taken by the Government of India and by the state governments to speedily establish the biosphere reserves.

Later, in 1985, the Department of Forest was transferred from the Ministry of Agriculture to the newly constituted Ministry of Environment and Forests. It was the Ministry of Environment and Forests that drafted the National Forests Policy Resolutions approved by Parliament in December 1988.

2.4.5. Forest Act-1988:

The Resolution stated the basic objectives of forest policy as follows: "the principal aim of forest policy must be to ensure environmental stability and maintenance of ecological balance including atmospheric equilibrium which are vital for sustenance of all life forms, human, animal and plant. The derivation of direct economic benefit must be subordinated to this principal aim".

The policy statement asserts that existing forests and forestlands should be fully protected and their productivity improved. Minor forest produce should be protected and improved, so as to continue to provide sustenance to the tribal population. The national good should be to have a minimum of one-third of the total area in the country under forest or tree cover. A massive need-based and time-bound programme of afforestation and tree planting should be undertaken. The other important features of the Act were:

i. The government has been encouraging Joint Forest Management, giving

usufruct rights[14] to those who protect forests.

ii. The act was laid down that the state governments empower to permit the practice of shifting cultivation for a period not exceeding three years. By which time the practice of shifting cultivation is extinguished and alternatives to be imposed for rehabilitating the families that may have been practicing shifting cultivation are to be laid down.

iii. Special provisions have been made to prevent encroachments on lands in the reserve forests. The Forest Officers are empowered to confiscate the crops on the encroached lands.

iv. State governments are empowered to constitute village forests over any land (except land under reserve forests) over which it has proprietary rights. Any land at the disposal of the village community or to which the village community has access by way of any right, concession or privilege, with a view to conserve or develop such land for the collective benefit to the community.

v. The act empowered state government also to assign government land to individuals for the purpose of afforestation. However, the government can not assign any land from reserved and protected forests. The assignee shall be entitled to usufruct right from the plantation raised by him and also to the final harvest.

vi. Provisions are made to regulate trespassing of cattle in reserved, protected and village forests and penalties for such offences have been made very severe.

14 Usufruct mean; forest produce that may be obtained from dead plants, or the produce of harvest from living plants including grasses, seed, forbes, herbs, creepers, vines, shrubs and trees, without their uprooting, felling, coppicing, pollarding or destroying, or otherwise debarking or damaging in such a manner so as to hamper or impair their natural growth or to threaten their survival(section 1(29)).

The Resolution has a special article on tribal people and forests. It is stated that having regard to the symbiotic relationship between the tribal people and forests, all agencies responsible for forest management should see that the tribal people are closely associated in the protection, regeneration and development of forests so as to provide them gainful employment(Hiremath et.al 1994).

One may find that a major difference in the post-1947 situation has been the rapid expansion of forest-based industry. The demands of the commercial industrial sector have replaced strategic imperial needs as the cornerstone of forest policy and management. The industrial orientation of the forest policy, since 1947, can be seen through the four distinct phases (Guha and Gadgil 1992).

At the first stage, foresters' relied exclusively on traditional 'sustained yield' selection methods to meet growing commercial demand. Under this regime a proportion of the more mature trees were selectively extracted at some fixed time interval, such as thirty years. A powerful incentive to industrial expansion was provided in the shape of handsome state subsidies in the supply of forest new materials.

The second phase was marked by clear felling of natural forests and replacing the natural strands by plantation of fast growing species like eucalyptus. The third phase comprised farm forestry on private lands of mostly absentee landlords as part of 'Social Forestry' schemes. The species most promoted was eucalyptus and the Forest Department supplied seedlings, technical help and soft loom, all under the so called "social forestry" which was anything but social. In the last import and captive exotic plantation under joint sector was promoted(Table 2.2).

2.5.CONCLUSION

The entry of the Colonial State into forests, catering to external markets has been an important factor in the development of State control over natural resources. Provisions for declaring forests as reserved by extinguishing the rights of the local people, were contained in the Forest Act of 1865 and modified and re-enacted in 1878 and then in

1927. It was clear that, commercial interests were the primary consideration in declaring forests reserved. Since forest-based industries such as pulp, paper and plywood were established by the end 1952, that the demands of these industries for raw material became an important basis for the 1952 forest policy. This policy gave priority to defense, communication and vital industries in the name of national interest. Consequently, the requirements of forest-based industries, motivated by commercial profits and almost entirely in the private sector, received total priority(Kannan 1982).

TABLE: 2.2. FOUR STAGES OF INDUSTRIAL ORIENTATION OF FORESTRY

Period	Method	Species	Agency	Prime Beneficiary
1947	Selection felling	Indigenous commercial species	Forest Dept.	Industry
1960-75	Clear felling and mono-cultural plantations	Chiefly exotics	Forest Dept.	Industry
1975	Farm forestry	Chiefly exotics	Commercial fanners	Commercial farmers & Industry
1985	Import and captive plantations	Exotics	Joint Sector	Industry Importers

Source: Guha and Gadgil 1992.

The Forest Bill of 1980, which was prepared based on the NCA recommendations, was a sequel to the ever-increasing impact of forest-based industries on forest management. There was increasing diversion of natural resource from the subsistence economy to market-oriented production in the name of development that alienated people whose subsistence was based on forests. This attitude reflects the tolerance shown to large-scale destruction of forest by clear felling of natural forests for settling up hydel and irrigation projects and thus opening up areas for encroachments by powerful vested interest. Illegal logging, clear felling of natural forests for raising mono specie plantations such as eucalyptus, teak, hardly suited for the tropical climate, were accommodated for supply of raw material for forest-based industries.

So it can be seen that between 1860 and 1947 forests were a strategic raw material crucial for imperial interests-such as railway expansion and the world war- and since independence the commercial-industrial sector has been the prime beneficiary of state forest management. While the ends may be different, the means to achieve these ends have been very similar in the two periods. This continuity between colonial and post-colonial forestry regimes is most clearly manifest in the system of ownership. The State has contrived to uphold its monopoly over forest ownership, which may have a drastic impact on forest people and their subsistence economy and forest-tribal relation.

With this background of the evolution of State property over forests resources in India, an attempt is made in the next chapter to review the experience of such change with specific reference to the Rampa country, the forest-tribal belt of East Godavari District in Andhra Pradesh.

ANNEXURE: I

IMPORTANT FEATURES OF COLONIAL AND POST-COLONIAL FOREST POLICIES

Sl.No	Policy	Important Features
1.	Forest Policy 1865	• Empowered the state to declare any land covered with trees or brush-wood as state forest and to make rules regarding the management of the sane by notification, provided that such notification should not abridge or affect any existing rights of individuals or community.
2.	Forest Act 1874	• Classified forests into reserved, protected and village forests. • The government was empowered to acquire land over which rights claimed by persons. • Local governments were given right to notify forest or land as protected forest and also to make rules to regulate and prohibit certain acts in protected forests. • Local governments were also given power to assign to any village community right to or over any land which was constituted as a reserve forest and all forests so assign were apply to village forest. • Activities like trespassing or pasturing of cattle were prohibited. • The authority to arrest was limited to offences- violating the prohibition or the quarrying the stone or the burning of lime or charcoal or the removal of any forest produce, in any protected forests and the breaking or clearing for cultivation, for building, for herding cattle or for any other purpose.
3.	Forest Policy Resolution 1894	• Forests were divided into four classes: a). Forests- the preservation of which was essential on climatic or physical grounds, b). Forests-which afforded to supply of timber for commercial purposes, c). Minor forests, d). Pasture lands. • Policy envisaged the release of forestland for cultivation, subjected to certain safeguards. • The policy had left a margin of outlying areas of reserved forests for the supply of the villager's needs.
4.	Forest Act 1927	• Consolidated the law relating to forests, the transit of forest produce and duty livable on timber and other products. And also given emphasis on the revenue yielding aspects of forests. • Forests were classified as reserved, protected and village forests. • Certain special provisions were made about the shifting cultivation. The Forest Settlement Officer was supposed to record the claims relating to the practice of shifting cultivation and to inform the state government together with his opinion as to the permissibility or otherwise of the practice. The state government was finally to decide on the issue of permission or prohibition. • The practice of shifting cultivation was in all cases deemed to be a privilege subject to control, restriction and abolition by the state government.
5.	Forest Policy 1952	• Policy withdrew the concession of release of forestland for cultivation. • Decided that there should be village forests for the needs of the villagers as against the provision of allowing into the outlying areas of reserve forests given in Forest Policy Resolution 1894. • Applied some controls also on private lands. • Imposed fee on grazing.

6.	Forest Draft Bill 1980	• The Bill was mainly on the recommendations of NCA and classified forests as reserved, protected and social forests. • Terms like forest and cattle were defined widely. • Forest Officers were given powers of arrest and seizure of property to deal with the offences suspected to be committed in respect of forests. • Strengthened the control of central government on forests by Prohibiting state governments from declaring any reserve forests or any portion thereof, as non-reserve without the prior approval of the central government from allotting any forestland or any portion thereof, for any non-forest purposes.
7.	Forest Act 1988	• Derivation of economic benefit is subordinated to the aim that to ensure environmental stability and maintenance of ecological balance. • The government has been encouraged Joint Forest Management by giving usufruct rights to those who protect forests. • About the shifting cultivation- state government can permit the practice of shifting cultivation for a period of not exceeding three years, by which time the practice is to extinguished and alternatives to be improved for rehabilitating the families are to be laid down. • Special provisions were made to prevent encroachments on lands in reserved forests. The Forest Officers are empowered to confiscate the crops on the encroached lands. • State governments a;c empowered to constitute village forests over any land (except land under reserve forests) over which it has proprietary rights or any land at the disposal of the village community has access by way of any right, concession or privilege. • Village forests are to be managed through the village community and guidelines for such management have been laid down. • State governments are empowered to assign government lands to individuals for the purposes of afforestation. However, the government can not assign any land from reserved or protected forests. • Made provisions to regulate trespassing of cattle in reserved, protected and village forests, penalties for such offences have been made very severe. • Forest Officers or Police Officers or Revenue Officers can arrest the offenders and detain in custody.

CHAPTER- 3
FOREST POLICIES AND INDIGENOUS PEOPLE IN RAMPA COUNTRY

3.0. Introduction

The colonial government established its control on forests over a period and forest resources assumed growing importance for its revenue. The rights of Government over forest resources have been established in different ways in different tracts. The process of establishing its control, however, was a halted affair in the Rampa Country[1] due to the rebellious resistance by the tribals against this process. It is through the Muttadari system the State could make an entry into the region and establish its control over forests. But the reservation of the forests was carried out and the State established its control in a phased manner. This chapter is an attempt to explain the process of establishment of State control over forests of Rampa Country and the forest management systems that have been applied in this area during post-independence period.

This chapter consists of four sections. In the first section, an attempt is made to describe the indigenous people and their institutions such as the village council and the Muttadar systems along with th. changes that have occurred over a period of time. The second section deals with an overview of the process of the establishment of colonial authority over Rampa agency area i.e., before 1888; the third section deals with forest management in Rampa country between 1888-1955; and the fourth section is a review of forest management since 1955.

3.1. INDIGENOUS PEOPLE IN RAMPA COUNTRY

Rampa is situated at a distance of three miles to the north of Chodavaram and 37 miles from Rajahmundry, now in East Godavari District consisting of hills about 400 ft. high and in thick forests. It became part of Madras Presidency in 1776. Rampa has long been known for its forests and its trade in timber from the earliest times. Chodavaram, the head quarters of Rampa country, is bound on the south and west by the river

' The area under Rampa Mansabdar was described as 'Rampa Country', which later formed as Rampa Chodavaram taluk of East Godavari district in Andhra Pradesh

Godavari. The whole area is part of the Eastern Ghats and forests[2] covered nearly 575 square miles(see map). Forests account for nearly 80 percent of the Rampa area, the rest being under shifting and settled cultivation. Rampa forests have also been prominent for its minor forest produce(MFP). As stated in the Forest Administrative Reports of Godavari(1933), the bulk of minor forest produce comes from Rampa rather than from Yellavaram, Polavaram or Bhadrachalam forests'.

Even though, Rampa came under the control of the East India Company in 1765[4] (Mangamma, 1983), until the beginning of the 19th century, this region remained untouched by the various changes in the control over the region from one ruler to another. No dynasty was able to establish an effective and stable administration over the hill tracts of Rampa, which was inhabited by independent aboriginals(Pro. no.755, jdl, 3rd, April,1879). Geography and topography ensured the relative isolation to inhabitants of the area from the plains, an isolation that was preserved for centuries though there was some amount of interaction with the plains. However, it was with the arrival of the British that the isolation of the tribals was shattered.

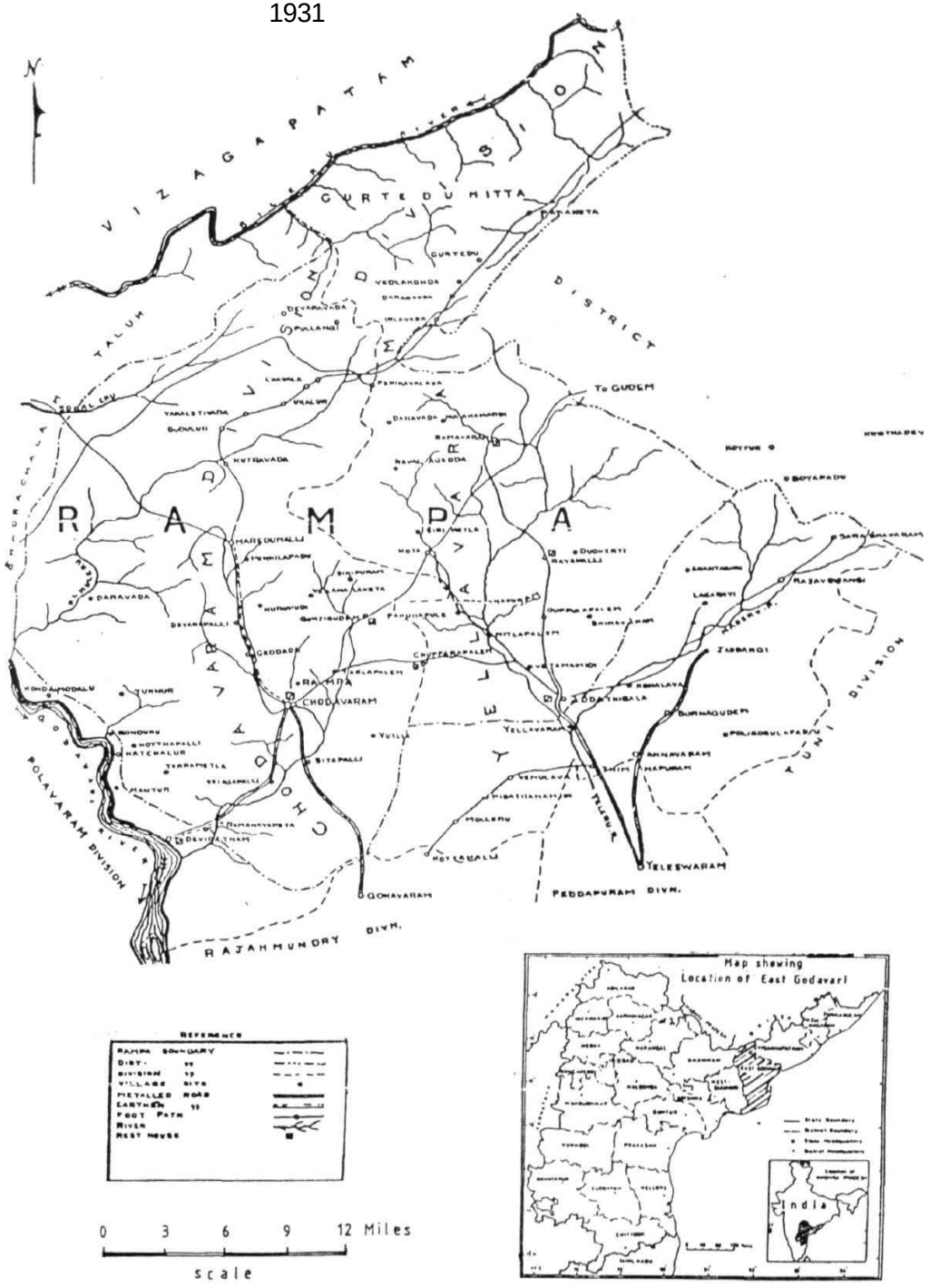
[2] The forest can be roughly divided into two zones. The dividing line between the southern and the northern zones separates the bad timber from the good, the bamboo from the non-bamboo, the Agonizes from the xylia, and the palmyra from the sago-palm as semi-civilised from the unsophisticated and the small rain fall areas(see for more details Forest Administrative Report 1933).

[3] Tamarind, gallnuts, nux-vomica, soapnuts, shikoy, marking nuts, honey, wax, platter leaves(leaves of Bauhinia vahlii), skins and horns are the chief items, and the bulk of the revenue under this head is derived from tamarind and gall-nut. The chief markets for all produce are Rajahmundry and Kakinada from where the exported to many parts of India, Ceylon and Europe.

[4] This region entered into the historical records only during Ashoka's reign when he conquered the kingdom of Kalinga in 260B.C. and extend his influence across the Godavari, which was then the southern boundary of that kingdom. In subsequent centuries Andhra's, Pallava's and Chalukya's successively dominated the rich central region of the Godavari. With the onslaught of the armies of Allauddin Khilji and the consequent collapse of the Kakatiyas this area came under the control of the Reddy kings of Rajahmundry who had declared themselves independent in the mid 14th century. After a short period of subjection to the Vijayanagara empire, this region was conquered by the troops of Golkonda sultan in 1571-72. In 1686, the emperor Aurangazeb overthrew the kings of Golkonda and the country around Rajahmundry became a part of the Northern Circars In 1722 the Nizam of Deccan attained independence from Delhi and the area under the study came under his jurisdiction. In 1752, this territory was ceded to the French authority. But following its defeat in 1765 it came under the control of British(Mangamma 1983).

STUDY AREA

MAP OF RAMPA COUNTRY
1931



The tribal population of the region comprises of five tribal groups: *Konda Reddy* (shifting cultivators) *Koya Dora* (cultivators preferring low land area) *Konda Kammara* (black smiths) *Konda Kapu* (settled as well as shifting cultivators) and *Valmiki* (mostly literate, employed as village servants and also practicing petty business). Though the history and origins of each tribe is not clearly known, it is generally agreed that these are indigenous tribes with centuries of settlement with their own communal and territorial rights and privileges(Haimendroff 1945). Majority of the tribals in the agency area are Konda Reddy and Koya Dora with a population 41,685(33.9 per cent) and 30,263(24.6 per cent) respectively. Other tribes are Konda Dora(8.8 per cent), Konda Kapu(13.1 per cent), Kammara (13 per cent) and Valmiki(6.6). The Rampa agency, which constitutes seven mandals comprises 85.6 per cent of tribals of East Godavari district(Table 3.1). The mandals of the agency area are Addateegala, Rajavommangi, Maredimilli, Devipatnam, Y.Ramavaram, Gangavaram and Rampa Chodavaram. In the tribal hierarchy, Konda Reddy is the superior tribe followed by Koya Dora and Konda Kapu. Even in all other tribes consumption of beef is not forbidden, Valmiki's are considered as lower tribe in their hierarchy. Interesting feature was that all tribes participate in ceremonials irrespective of high and low status.

Historically, three factors linked these hill-communities together in the single, albeit loosely articulated society. First, a largely self-sufficient economy based on shifting cultivation, second is the shared religious beliefs and third is an overarching Muttadari system (Arnold 1982). Given for the present day one can observe that in the tribal society of the area that strong feelings of community are prevalent, particularly at the clan and village level, and are manifest in several tribal practices. It is a common practice to share the produce of certain trees in the village and to have mutual cooperation in the clearing of new land.

The economy in the agency area is agro-forest based. Though the tribals mainly subsist on agriculture of one type or another, the forest plays a vital role in their economy. It provides a variety of food, shelter and medicines, besides Minor Forest Produce(MFP) for both domestic and commercial use. These include adda leaves,

tamarind, mohua flowers and seed, soap nut, nux vomica, gum, hill brooms, etc. Even the settled cultivators also partly subsist by collecting edible roots and tubers, fruits and hunting. As per the base line survey of ITDA(1990) the contribution of MFP to the total income is around 14 per cent. The dependence of various tribal groups on the forests depend on their economic status(Haimendrof 1945).

TABLE: 3.1. TRIBE-WISE POPULATION IN RAMPA AGENCY

Sl.No.	Tribe	Population	%to total Dist. ST population
1.	Konda Reddy	41,685 (33.9)	29.1
2.	Konda Dora	10,778 (8.8)	7.5
3.	Koya Dora	30,263 (24.6)	21.1
4.	Konda Kapu	16,106 (13.1)	11.2
5.	Kamrnara	15988 (13.0)	11.1
6.	Valmiki	8,102 (6.6)	5.6
7.	TOTAL	1,22,922 (100)	85.6

Source: Mohan Rao. K 1993.

In this section an attempt is made to explain the extent of shifting cultivation and social institutions such as village council and Muttadari systems through which the colonial administration established its control over the area and its forests.

3.1.1. Village Organisation:

The village is the basic unit of social and political organisation in tribal areas, whether a single tribe or the different tribes inhabit it. Customs play a vital role in many spheres of tribal life. The day to day activity of the tribal is inherently controlled by certain beliefs and codes of conduct prevailing in tribal society (detailed description of these beliefs in each activity are discussed in the chapter-4). Every village has a village council to carry out and control various activities of local interest, under the village headman.

The position of the village head is generally hereditary. In multi-tribe villages, each tribe has its own tribal council and the head of the tribal council plays an important role in maintaining inter-tribal and intra-tribal harmony. In addition, there is a single village council comprising representatives from each tribal council in the village.

The common activities of the village council are preparation for festivals observed by the whole village, arrangements to assist the needy in the village, punishment of offenders and solving disputes. In taking decisions about all such matters, the members of the village council, whilst having the right, generally do not ignore the suggestions made by any individual in the village. The deliberations of the council take place in the open, amidst all the villagers. The decisions arrived at are usually in conformity with traditional tribal practices and acceptable as far as possible to all members of the community. Thus, the headman never rules their co-villagers but acts as only the representative and spokesperson in its dealings with government and with the outside world (Haimendrof 1945).

The village council preserves village communal property. Topes of the trees are the joint property of the villagers and the income therefrom, especially from tamarind, is distributed among the villagers. In this hierarchy, the burden of outside authority was never felt by the tribals(Aiyappan 1948).

3.1.2. Muttadari System:

The Muttadari system provided the institutional structure that formally united various hill communities. Its origin cannot be stated with any certainty. Haimendroff suggests that it was introduced in Rampa by the Reddy kings of Rajahmundry during the 14th century(Haimendrof 1945). When the Northern Circars were ceded to the East India company, the Rampa country was in the possession of the ruling chief, alternatively called *Zamindar* or *Mansabdar* or *Raja*. Earlier records described the Rampa *Mansabdar* as an independent ruler and Muttadars recognised him as their overlord(Hemingway 1915).

The *Mansabdar* exercised primarily de jure supremacy over the hills and never intervened in the internal affairs. The interior mountainous region of Rampa enjoyed relative freedom(Firming 1984). The Muttadars were not landed proprietors. They could not sell, exchange or in any other way alienate *muttas*(Arnold 1982).

Though the Muttadar was politically above his subjects, socially he was considered as one among the tribals. Inter dining and inter tribal marriages were common. There were no restrictions on the tribals in expressing their opinion in their social organisation which allowed every individual to follow his interests as long as these did not conflict with the concerns of his fellow tribesmen(Aiyappan 1948).

The Muttadar used to maintain law and order, settle disputes, organise ceremonies, perform rituals and act as a link between tribal and their overlord, the Mansabdar. Generally, the settlements of minor disputes were left to the village council, and the Muttadar intervened as a rule only when the headmen of the village council called him.

Besides these functions, Muttadars used to collect rent from the tribals for the land cultivated. Each village used to pay its share, which was fixed according to the number of households and the village headman, collect the rent on a joint rent basis. The Muttadar also use to get some presents annually either in the form of fruits or other forest produce or birds like parrots, cranes, storks, etc. The villagers also rendered *vetti* (unpaid labour) to the Muttadar, like fire woodcutting, fetching water, sweeping and carrying loads. However, the Muttadar exercised minimal control in the collection of revenue which itself was rather meager. For his services he retained the land revenue collected in excess of the fixed revenue and enjoys free land(Aiyappan 1948).

The gradual extension of either the Muttadari system or the Mansabdar's authority over a period brought small changes in the tribal society of Rampa. However, such geographical and political isolation was progressively reduced with the establishment of the British control over this region (we elaborated the establishment of the British control

in the latter section). The dictates of colonial control and interests gradually necessitated more and more direct intervention and control of the tribal society, mostly the forests. This intervention was totally unlike previous intrusions from the plains, which brought in its wake new forms of exploitation against which the tribals struggled throughout the 19th century.

3.2. ESTABLISHMENT OF BRITISH CONTROL OVER RAMPA COUNTRY

As long as the terrain was difficult to manage and the perception was that the country was wild and unproductive, the countryside and the tribal inhabitations were largely left to their fate. Once the forests became a source of revenue, adding to the riches of the empire, the regulation and control for exploitation began. The tracts of Rampa were wild and unproductive and were difficult to manage on the part of the officers of the Government; they were left in the administration of their native chiefs (BOR pro. 24th Aug, 1848). Thus the difficulties of external control over the hills obliged the Madras Government to follow the ancient expedient of indirect control through the Muttadari system. So the colonial administration considered Rampa Mansabdar as independent. The Circuit Committee wrote "the Mansabdar of Rampa belonged to the Circars of Rajahmundry, yet neither the company nor the Nizam's government received any tribute from it, the reason being its poor resources"(Circuit Committee Report 1787).

After the acquision of the Circars, the colonial administration introduced permanent settlement in 1802-03, which was applied to the plains of Madras Presidency. The hill tracts were left untouched. The thinly populated hill estates of Rampa, Totapalli and Jaddangi comprising 338, 103 and 88 villages respectively, were not brought under the permanent settlement(Morsis, Henry 1879). However, Totapalli and Jaddangi were soon brought under its fold, leaving Rampa, known as the Rampa country, as the only estate left untouched by the British(Circuit Committee Report 1787).

Apart from inaccessible geographical location, it was felt that Rampa's influence was small, the revenue realised trifling and the value of its possession insignificant (Morris Henry 1879). R.E Master in his report on the Central and Eastern Deltas noted

that 'the Rampa estate is particularly wild in jungles, though containing so many villages, yet, if half a dozen in the plains are excepted, the revenue derived from them did not average more than two or three rupees a year from each. Moreover, no credible survey was possible in these parts due to the rugged and unhealthy terrain(Mangamma 1983). Consequently this poor estate did not receive much attention for long from the company government. The richness of the jungle tracts, however, did not eventually miss its eye. The Madras Government was alert in the establishment of rights over forest. As Finance Department of Indian Government stated "the Madras Government seem to be settling to work on very conscious but practical lines, the matter of prime importance being to take care that the wasteful privileges which the jungle tribes have long enjoyed shall not be too suddenly and ruthlessly curtailed(Forest Revenue proceedings- Note by the Finance Department 1908).

The colonial government considered the Mansabdar as the key to penetration into the forests of Rampa and arrived at a settlement with the Mansabdar in 1813. As per the agreement, the six villages of adjacent plains were restored to the Mansabdar as *mokhasas* (land granted in return for services and loyalty to the Company) along with his ancestral possession in the hills. The Mansabdar also agreed to acknowledge "for ever the sovereignty of the Company. The agreement also stated that the Mansabdar should resign all rights of levy duties, seize and send out all suspicious persons from the agency, thieves and enemies of the State. The Muttadars should pay Rs.8750 per annum as *shist* (rent) to the Mansabdar. The ancestral land of the Mansabdar was restored free of all assessment, a privilege sanctioned by custom was strengthened and confirmed as a legal right by the Company government (Minutes by the Hon. DF lar Maichael, 1st Nov. 1881, JDL). Though Mansabdar collected more *shist* from Muttadars, these arrangements continued peacefully till the Mansabdar died by leaving a daughter and an illegitimate son in 1835. The daughter was recognised by the Muttadars as their overlord. Soon after, her chastity was suspected by the Muttadars and she and her brother were driven out of the hills in 1839(Rev. Dept. Pro. No 61,16th March 1845).

The colonial government used this discontentment of Muttadars and the intervention in local administration increased gradually but cautiously. The BOR ordered the Collector to take over the management of the Rampa under the Court of Wards during the minority of the young Mansabdar and said that on the expiry of his minority, an arrangement might be brought under consideration for it resumption. And also made an agreement with Muttadars in 1841 by reducing the *shist* from Rs.8750 to Rs.1887. But the Muttadars refused to accept the young Munsabdar as their overlord. But after protracted negotiations of colonial administration, Muttadars accepted and agreed[5] to perform their old police duties on the condition that their united shist rent should not exceed Rs.1000(Table 3.2 for mutta wise details of *shist).*

But the Mansabdar had neither the vigor to control the Muttadars nor the sense to win their respect. Soon after he came to power, he broke his promises and began exaction. His persistent and oppressive exactions resulted in uprisings against his authority by Muttadars in 1858 and 1860. When these insurrections were so serious, the colonial government sent police to put them down and the Mansabdar was made to pay for their upkeep (Seshagiri Rao 1931). The police force too contributed to the discontentment among the tribals. They not only helped the Mansabdar in annexing muttas and assisted in introducing new toddy rules but also oppressed the tribals on their own account. The government neither warned the Mansabdar nor protected the tribals, forgetting in a sense that it was responsible for the 1848 agreement (Prasad Reddy 1987). By 1879, he annexed nine muttas and doubled the shist (Table 3.3). He imposed taxes even on fruit trees (Table 3.4). He not only annexed muttas but also removed the hereditary muttas, and leased to vysas, non-tribals of the plains'. The important

5 Other conditions of 1848 agreement were: i). The Mansabdar should not levy any more levies than the shist under the pretence of nazaranas, russums, presents for marriages, etc., durbar and fines for the irregular acts in the community, ii). Agreed to adopt measures to prevent the people within the hills of the Rampa country or those from other places either secretly or openly from committing offences and to instruct Muttadars in question to prevent offenders, iii). He should suppress any resistance or disturbance by Muttadars and report the results to the government time to time, iv). He agreed that if he committed any irregularity the government could resume control over the estate(Agreement copy addressed to the District Collector, 22nd July 1848).

6 The Muttadar of Birampalli was disposed in 1869. The Mansabdar kept three villages of ten villages in the mutta for his own profit and in 1873 leased the other seven for Rs.40 a year to Pragulapati Virayya,

consequence was that, to meet the taxes imposed by the Mansabdai. Muttadars leased the forests of their concerned area to non-tribals.

Besides these, colonial government applied Abkari Act of 1864[7] to the agency area of Rampa in 1872 and also brought the Rampa country under the First Scheduled of Act XIV of 1874 without establishing separate administration. As a result, people from the plains entered into the agency tracts as traders and forest contractors. The intervention of colonial government through the Acts, heavy taxes, police force, which resulted in entry of traders and contractors of plains affected the tribals as well as the authority of Muttadars.

With the introduction of the police, the traditional authority of the hereditary headman and of the village council was completely ignored. Prior to the introduction of the British law courts, the trials were not expensive to the tribals, but now it is not only expensive but also far from just(Prasada Reddy 1987).

When thc Mansabdar started annexing the muttas, even the Muttadars' survival was threatened. The entry of plainsmen, who ignored their command, weakened Muttadars' authority. The tribals, who considered the Muttadar as their overlord, could not tolerate the erosion of his authority. The imposition of the toddy tax and other new and heavy taxes, interference by the government, indebtedness to traders, and corrupt police affected the tribals.

a komati of the plains. He realised about Rs.300 a year from the villages as rent as against Rs.40 fixed in 1848 agreement. In addition he collected produce of two tamarind trees in each village.

7 The Abkari revenue consisted of taxes derived from arrack, toddy, foreign liquor and hemp-drugs. The government imposed taxes on toddy drawn from the sago palm and palmyra trees, which was the favoured drink of the tribals. The rules required that the village headman or Muttadar should take out a license and supply to tribals. But in practice, licenses were issued to Abkan contractors to open toddy shops in the hills. In 1875 a separate toddy form was granted for three years at the rate ofRs.1 1000 per annum. To this large outlay the renter demanded from Rampa Muttadars a tax, *chigurupannu*, fixed according to the number of trees tapped in each village. But in 1878 it was again auctioned for Rs.9,210 a year more than in 1875(Sastry, et.al., 1991).

TABLE: 3.2. MUTTA WISE SHIST COLLECTED AT DIFFERENT TIME PERIODS BY MANSUBDAR

Sl.No.	Name of the Mutta	Amount of Annual shist (in Rs)		
		Before 1841	As per the agreement 1841	Fixed in 1848 agreement
1.	Bundapalli	250	121	40
2.	Beerampalli	250	141	40
3.	Musurumilli	150	94	40
4.	Velagapalli	150	94	40
5.	Choppakonda	30	17	20
6.	Geddada			20
7.	Bolugonda			40
8.	Tadipalli			40
9.	Emulakonda	200	113	25
10.	Nadumur	150	84	40
11.	Chiduguru	100	56	40
12.	Kundada	80	45	20
13.	Maredimilly	100	56	20
14.	Vadukuru	100	56	40
15.	Valamur	200	113	40
16.	Pamuleru	100	56	25
17.	Bodulur	180	101	40
18.	Kakuru	200	113	25
19.	Chavala			30
20.	Kota	600	339	260
21.	Pandraprolu	200	113	50
22.	Dorachintapalem	300	169	40
23.	Mohanapuram			25
24.	TOTAL	3340	1887	1000

Source: Sullivian Report, G.O. No.213, JDL dt.28th January 1881.

TABLE: 3.3. YEAR WISE MUTT AS ANNEXED AND SHIST COLLECTED BY MANSUBDAR

Sl.No	Name of the Mutta	Year of Annexed	Shist as per the agreement 1848 (in Rs)	Shist collected (in Rs)	Difference (in Rs)
1.	Bandapalli	1849	40	363	323
2.	Choppakonda	1849	20	116	96
3.	Bolugonda	1867	40	302	262
4.	Tadipalli	1870	40	105	65
5.	Nedunur	, 1870	40	130	90
6.	Dorachintalapalem	1870	40	190	150
7.	Chindugur	1872	40	38	-2
8.	Vedukur .	1873	40	121	81
9.	Pamuler	1874	25	35	10

Source: Sullivian Report, G.O.No.213, JDL dt.28th January 1881.

TABLE: 3.4. ADDITIONAL TAX IMPOSED ON FRUIT TREES BY THE MANSABDAR ON THE MUTTADARS (in Rs)

Sl.No.	Name of the Mutta	Fruit Tax
1	Beerampali	90
2.	Musurumilly	100
3.	Valagapalii	100
4.	Geddada	72
5.	Tudipalli	100
6.	Vemulakonda	50
7.	Nadumur	90
8.	Chidugur	20
9.	Kundada	68
10.	Maredimilly	60
11.	Vadukur	80
12.	Valmur	60
13.	Pamuler	30
14.	Bodulur	70
15.	Kakur	60
16.	Chevvala	60

Source: Sullivian Report, G.O. No.213, JDL dt.28th January 1881

3.2.1. Role of the British in Facilitating Change:

As we observed, though the British recognised the richness of the forest of Rampa, and acted consciously in establishing the rights over forests as the privileges which the tribals have, should not be suddenly and ruthlessly curtailed. They attempted to establish control over the general administration of the area in the name of containing raids by tribals on plain villages, started tightening such control. In both 1813 and 1848 agreements, the Mansabdar was asked to control the intrusion and discourage raids. But the nature of tribal society and their implements do not support the official picture of the tribals as marauders(Raghavaiah 1968). Even if one assumes that they were raiders, it was not difficult to the plain people to repel such attacks with their superior arms. Hence there was no need for the British to extend their authority over the hills through Mansabdar to check the incursion. In fact, the British, by giving rights over the occupied villages in the plains to the Mansabdar, made him their puppet and scapegoat at the time of crises in 1813.

The intervention of the British in the name of checking incursions can be seen as deliberate and determined attempts to establish control over forests(Prasada Reddy 1987). At the same time the government never warned the Mansabdar against activities such as annexation of muttas and leasing the villages to non-tribals and imposition of additional taxes. This enabled traders from the plains to exploit the tribals under the cover of judicial and official machinery. This intrusion posed a grave danger to the self-sustaining subsistence lives of the tribals. The tribals, caught between different exploiters, finally resorted to Rampa rebellion in 1879. The Government appointed Sullvian to enquire into the causes for the Rampa rebellion and sought suggestive remedies.

3.2.2. Sullivan Report:

Sullivan in his report identified four factors responsible for the rebellion. First, imposing new taxes and annexing some *muttas* by Mansabdar violating 1848 agreement. Second, the government did not rescue the Muttadars as per the contract of 1848 against the oppression of the Mansabdar. Third, introduction of the new Abkari regulation which prohibited the tribals from drawing toddy for domestic use, and unpopularity of the police

who assisted the Mansabdar in enforcing the Abkari rules and extorted fowls, etc,. **And** last, the non-establishment of a separate administration for the agency, though the country was brought under the Schedule of Act XIV of 1874, and the operation of the ordinary law of the country. The agency men dreaded the plains, and the unscrupulous *sowcars,* taking advantage of this, harassed the tribals by getting *ex-parte* decrees against them.

Based on the Sullvian report some remedial measures were taken by the government:

i). The Mansabdari tenure of Rampa and the *mokhasa* tenure of the villages in the plains were cancelled and the lowland villages were added to the assessed villages of the taluk in which they were situated.

ii). A settlement was made with the Muttadars on the basis of the agreement of 1848. Those who were loyal but obliged to retire during the rebellion were, after enquiry into their claims, confirmed or reinstated in the possession of their lands under the conditions of the Muttadars were to pay annually to the Government a fixed rent and Abkari tax and to give every assistance to the Government in maintaining law and order[8].

iii). Rampa mutta which was under the enjoyment of the Mansabdar, was resumed by the government and given to Muttadar of Marrivada(3 villages) and to *munsif* of Chodavaram(10 villages) for their assistance to the government during the rebellion.

iv). The licenses of the toddy renters were cancelled and the Rampa area was exempted from the toddy tax.

v). The Scheduled Act XIV of 1874 was brought into force. The sub-Magistrate's

8 A warning was added that if the Muttadar failed in his duties his Mutta was liable to be resumed.

station was transferred to Kothapalle and was invested with subordinate civil jurisdiction under the Government Agent, to look into the petty suits between tribals and traders.

vi). The Sub-Magistrate was ordered to visit the area once in three months and the Agent was required to make visit to the Muttas once a year(Judicial Department. No.109, 16th January, 1880).

The implementation of the recommendation seemed to have finally enabled the colonial government to establish the control.

3.3. RAMPA FORESTS BETWEEN 1888-1955:

It was not long before the colonial administrators started eyeing the rich forest resources of this area. Earlier they wrote- off the hill tracts of northern Circars as virtually 'worthless' and merely as a source of danger to the adjacent plains but by the last decade of 19th century they realised that the virgin forest resources as an area of great economic potential. This section is an attempt to explain the process of establishing colonial control over forests and curtailing tribals' access to the forests of this region irrespective of the resistance from the tribals of this region.

As we observed, before 1888 the merchants took leases of the forests from the Muttadars and engaged the tribals in felling operations. In 1888, the Conservator of Forests noted that, "the forest in the eastern part of the Godavari District will be worth very little if the whole of the Rampa country is to be worked by private contractors". Then the Agent of the Government of Godavari reported that the Muttadars were willing to make over the forests to the Government if a reduction was made in the *kattubadi* (rent) and if they and their royts were allowed the privileges they now enjoyed, viz., to gather all forest produce, and to take timber they require for building and for agricultural purposes free of charge.

Accordingly, proposals were made in 1889 in which the Government desired to

declare their right over the forest before taking up the question of reservation. But when they actually declared in 1890 that the Rampa forests were the property of the State, it was considered that it would be sufficient to notify that the Muttadars should not lease out the forest and there was no need to place the forest under the forest department(Go.Miss. No. 181, Rev. 3rd Feb,1890). They thought that it would be enough to control the exploitation of timber by regulating the transport and by levying revenue there on from outside Rampa, without taking recourse to Forest Act. A *thana* and checking station was established outside Rampa for realizing revenue(BOR pro. No. 13, 12th Jan,1891). In 1892, the administration thought that no time should be lost in deciding what parts of the Rampa forest were to be permanently reserved and in marking them off and stated that then alone it would be possible to restrict *'podu'* cultivation within defined limits and conserve and work the reserve forests in a proper way(BOR Pro. No.458, 23rd August 1892). The Government observed that the question of forest protection should be handled with the greatest caution, that the forests there were not being denuded to the same extent as those on the Ganjam hill slopes and that there was urgent need for measures of forest conservation. It was also strongly opposed in taking any steps towards restricting shifting cultivation. Further, it ordered that the Muttadar who derived considerable income from these forests should, out of equity and policy be compensated for the loss sustained by the virtue of the State assuming control over the forest, by the grant of permanent, annual allowances amounting to half of their net income from forests, calculated on the average of the last three years. The payment was made contingent on the Mokhasadars and Muttadars giving proper assistance to the officers of the Government in carrying out any forest regulations which it may decide to introduce. Twenty seven of the 30 Muttadars in Rampa got forest compensation aggregating in all to Rs.3,630 per annum(In G.O No.1280 (for.No.323) dated 21 December 1892).

In 1893, the Special Assistant Agent of Polavaram reported that the excessive reservation in Polavarm and Yellavaram had a disquieting effect on the population and Rampa was already being treated by the Forest Department as a reserved forest, and that

Forest officials had been interfering with the felling of trees in Rampa itself. This led to a peremptory order from the Government excluding all forest officials from the agency pending enquiry on the matter. The investigation into the question of 'over reservation' was made and at the end of 1893 Forest Department was readmitted into the Agency, with the exception of Rampa. With regard to Rampa, they considered that no further orders were required except a permit for the forest officer to visit the country occasionally with the pervious written permission of the Government agent or his assistant, in order to inspect and report on matters on which either of those officers required information(Seshagiri Rao 1931).

But during the absence of forest officials in the agency, the tribals of the riverside villages who depended on forest produce complained that they were unable to obtain permits for cutting of timber. They feared of prosecution if they attempt to cut without permits even though they were assured that they could do so freely. The absence of forest officials also facilitated smuggling of Rampa produce and evasion of payment of revenue(Seshagiri Rao 1931). In 1893 the Government appointed T.Arundel, the then Member of the Board of Revenue to report on the arrangements for controlling the export of timber from Rampa and on the collection of revenue. He recommended that the extension of the Forest Act to Rampa for all the operations, and submitted draft rules for transport of timber by land and river there from. The Government accepted the proposals and approved the draft rules, but continued the order that no forest officer, except the conservator, should enter Rampa(GO.No.108,Rev.,10th Feb,1894).

In 1912, the then conservator of forests, Lushington, inspected Rampa and brought to the notice of the Government some of the pernicious effects of the permit-system. In his description,

> "it is true that almost any where I went I heard abuses that were alleged to see occurring in Rampa and it stands to reason that as these forests are being heavily exploited and burned at the same time and have nothing done towards their protection or improvements, they must be rapidly deteriorating.... from what I heard the amount of produce brought out is only a little of what is actually cut; for there is no supervision over the felling and it is alleged that many trees are felled before one is selected

there from, the cost of felling being infinitesimally small compared with the cost of carting" (quoted in Seshagiri Rao 1931).

Then the Board asked F.A.Seager, the District Forest Officer, Lower Godavari to submit proposals for protection and improvements, which were accepted in 1914. The main features of his proposals were: "that an area of 300 square miles of 'inaccessible forests', were not to be subjected to exploitation or 'podu'. The area should be surveyed and 'poduing' the area and in the remaining area of accessible, while allowing 'podu', uninterrupted felling were to be restricted and be brought under control: a). by localising them every year, b). by raising the seigniorage rate by 50 percent, c). by employing a special land revenue staff to mark the trees selected for felling, and d). by paying the Muttadars two *annas* for each tree felled as a reward for assisting in the prevention of felling of unmarked trees" (GO.No.140,Rev(Forest),15th Jan,1914).

The DFO selected 19 blocks of forest extending over 75 square miles, for reservation in 'accessible forests' during three years period of 1914-15 to 1916-17. Only four of these were surveyed and reserved. These activities restricted the access of forest to the tribals and interfered in the normal life of the tribals by restricting podu cultivation and other activities. Until then, throughout the hill region the tribals were enjoyed absolute freedom to undertake shifting cultivation in any part of the forest and to collect minor forest produce. The colonial government, especially from the beginning of the 20th century had forcibly usurped the right to the collection of the minor forest produce, which hitherto was enjoyed by the hill tribes. The collection of MFP was done entirely cither by the Forest Department or by the contractors under the supervision of colonial government. Tribals were not allowed to enter into the forests to collect MFP and graze their cattle freely and even tapping of toddy. While the scope for all traditional activities had been severely restricted, tribals turned as wage labourers of Forest Department and private contractors and they were paid low(Happell 1923), however which became another system of ruthless exploitation.

During that period forest department was biggest employer of the tribals. They were employed for various forest operations, including road works and used to pay at

lower rate and frequently employed *vetti* (free labour) labour. Forest contractors were also big employers of tribal labour and Forest Department was expected to see that tribals got their fair wages which itself was paying low wages to the tribals(Murali 1985).

Such a change in the attitude of the British is because of the emergence of hills and forests as a source of enormous gain and the willing to protect the traders, moneylenders and contractors who use the instruments to extract surplus. The State assumes growing authority with the spread of formal institution of the courts, police and the expanding mobility provided by the roads. All these forces undermined the traditional economy and society (Narasimha Reddy 1995). Restrictions on shifting cultivation, creation of reserves, increased axe tax, prevention of customary right to make toddy and collection of forest produce were the measures, which resulted in rebellion during 1922-24.

As reported by a correspondent of Andhra Patrika, a news parer from Kakinada, the reason for the revolt was that "the people of agency area are not allowed to move freely in the reserves. When they had gone there are not allowed either to get toddy or to cut down wood, the authorities would abstract them and even subject them to punishment. The people here are used to the drinking of *jeeluga* toddy and as heavy tax is levied on it, unable to bear their hunger, they must have revolted"(quoted in Mangamma 1983). The revolt was spread all over the agency area and continued up to 1924. Due to the revolt, the grievances of the tribals had acquired importance in the colonial administration and the process of reservation was halted until the outbreak of the rebellion.

After the 1922 rebellion the colonial government appointed Special Forest Officer to investigate the possibilities of reserving the Rampa forests, by locating the better forests, valuable species and extraction cost by road and river; the possibility and advisability of future reservation and management[9]. But the government did not approve

9 The report recommended that the early survey and notification of the 15 blocks already selected and to select, survey and notify a further area to 225 square miles of good forests in 'inaccessible area'(see for details GO.No.140 Rev.(forest),15th Jan,1914).

the recommendation of the Special Officer and suggested that each village should be given a definite area in which podu could be carried on with certain restriction. A Special Forest Officer should be appointed to carry out the work of demarcating the blocks to be reserved, and to advice the limits of forests to be reserved in the northern zone, which should work under the order of the Agent and ultimately that the reserves should be handed over to the DFO lower Godavari [10](GO.NO.1101, Mis(dev). 31st July, 1926).

Ultimately, the forest policy to be adopted in the Rampa country was defined by the Government in 1936(GO.No.l490,Mis(dev),28th Aug,1936). The prohibition against the entry of forest officers into Rampa was relaxed for Yellavaram division but the northern zone of the Chodavaram was closed to the forest officers below the rank of Extra Assistant Conservator of Forests without the permission of the Agent of the Government. It was decided that the Agent should make the classification of the special unreserved forests on the advice of the District Forest Officer and in consultation with the Muttadars. And the settlement was restarted and 22 blocks in the southern zone was declared under section 16 by 1942 covering the area of 63,231.5 hectares. The total reserved area during 1888-1942 was 122,389.51 hectares. Due to the prohibition on the entry of forest region only 3664.13 hectares were reserved in Ramapchodavaram area(Table 3.5) The prohibition into the northern zone of Rampa was continued upto 1955(GO.No.1227.Mis. 8th June,1955).

In the process of reservation of forests the colonial government constructed roads in the hill tracts of Rampa. Construction of roads facilitated the entry of the market economy and commercialisation of natural resources. These promoted markets in Yeleswaram, Gokavaram and Krishnadevipet and weekly market centres in principal hill villages like Chodavaram, Kota, Lamasingi and Addateegala. At these centres traders

10 By 1933, 15 blocks with an area of 15,400 ha. were constituted and the settlement was in progress in a further area of 51,526 ha., comprising 11 blocks. But it was found that the Rampa country was exempted from the operation of chapter II of the Madras Forest Act under Go. No.411 Revenue, 9th June 1894 and hence the notification of the blocks as reserved forest was null and void. All settlement work was stopped and the Special Forest Officer was withdrawn from Rampa.

from the plains purchased tamarinds, gall-nuts, oranges, mangoes and other forest products and forwarded them to the main produce markets at Rajahmundry and Kakinada, from where they were exported even to London and Hamburg(Go.2221, Rev.25th Sep. 1928). By the 1920's the hills had become a part, albeit a very small part, of the international economy. On the other hand, large-scale commercial exploitation forest had begun(Arnold 1982). This commercial penetration had not waited for the road building of the 1880's but it opened the gates to professional traders, moneylenders and contractors into this region.

TABLE: 3.5.RANGE WISE RESERVATION OF FORESTS IN KAKINADA DIVISION DURING 1888-1942

(in hectares)

Year	Sudikonda	Kakinada	Gokavaram	Eleswaram	Addateegala	R.C.Varam	TOTAL
1888	-	4242.38	-	26403.87			30646.25
1890	-	149.37	-	-			149.37
1891	-	1311.98	-	11363.12			12675.10
1892	5468.70	-	-	-			5468.70
1895	3081.26	-	-				3081.26
1896	6938.54	-		-			6938.54
1898	-	3802.22		3361.79			7164.01
1899	-	-	-	14.57			14.57
1900	-		-	5711.32			5711.32
1905	-	-	-	1049.75			1049.75
1921	-	19434.83	-	-			19434.83
1941	-	-	9787.71	-	7652.26	3664.13	21104.41
1942	-	-	-	-	8951.40	-	8951.40
Total	15488.50 (12.7)	28940.78 (23.6)	9787.71 (8.0)	47904.42 (39.1)	16603.66 (13.6)	3664.13 (3.0)	122389.51 (100)

Source: Forest Working Plan, Kakinada Division 1990-2000.

The traders used advance money to tribal in return for specified a quantity of tamarinds to be delivered at the end of the harvest. Traditionally land was not a saleable commodity to tribals. When the tribes fails to repay debts more fertile and accessible land passed into the hands of traders, who either retained the tribal as tenant or leased the land to migrants from the plains. Besides this, contractors exploited the forests by offering between Rs.1000 to 1500 woodcutting fees to Muttadars. One of the most profound

consequences of the intrusion of the trader and moneylender into the forest was the alienation of land.

The entry of the trader-money lender and contractor introduced a new system of land use and labour in the place of podu and the traditional economy. The commercial exploitation of the forests and the extension of settled agriculture were alien to the tribals, which made them as either poor tenants or labourers for the forest contractors(Arnold 1982). State control advanced through the institutions of civil administration, such as courts, police, other government offices, etc. As State ownership gets consolidated and formalised and decision making recedes farther away from the field, the special relationship of the tribals with forests is less appreciated. Their rights are viewed as a 'burden' on the forests and an impediment to forest management and the defacto and conventional command of the tribals over resources is completely denied.

One can observe that over the period, on one side *Manasabdar* who created a general belief that all his acts, had the approval of the government including the collection of excess rents harassed the tribals had the approval of the government. Government peons and police too began extracted cash and in kind as they liked and traders from the plains obtained decrees in the low country courts against the tribal debtors. On the other side, the Forest Department and contractors got access to the remote areas and disturbed the privacy of the tribals, and alienated them from their traditional livelihood and converted them into hired forest labour.

3.4. RAMPA FORESTS AFTER 1955

The year 1955 is a landmark in the history of Rampa forests in which the ban on entry of the forest officials, below the rank of Assistant Conservator of Forests, was lifted. This brought two changes in management of forests in this area. First, State continued the process of reservation, which was halted due to the various rebellions. Second, introduction of mono-cultural plantations by clear felling of natural forests. This resulted not only destruction of natural forests with species on which the tribals depended for their survival but also allowed forest contractors and industries to extract timber

indiscriminately. In this context, this section is an attempt to explain the extent of area under different plantations and their management and extent of dependence of industries on the forests of Rampa and damage done by these industries by the extraction of timber.

Most of the Rampa forests were reserved after 1967. Table 3.6 shows that range and year wise area of reservation after 1955 in Kakinada Division, which consist of six ranges namely, Sudikona, Kakinada, Gokavaram, Addateegala and Rampa Chodavaram. Nearly 54.5per cent of the reserve forest in the Kakinada division was reserved only after 1966, that is mostly in Rampachodavaram and Addateegala ranges. In Rampachodavaram nearly 96.2per cent of reserve forests and 71.1 per cent in Addateegala range were reserved only after 1966.

For the lack of reliable data on then Rampa country we have taken the Kakinada division as the basis for analysis in which the Rampa forest area constitute a major portion. As per the provisions of Andhra Pradesh Forest Act of 1967, the forests covered in the East Godavari District fall into three categories; i.e. reserved forest, reserve lands and protected forests". The Kakinada division consists of six ranges with 319194.95 hectares of forest. Among this Rampachodavaram range covers 38.2per cent of forest area. Rampa region consists of 97,170.35(36.1per cent) hectares of reserve forest, 12,700(36.6per cent) hectares of reserve land and 11,200(65.6per cent) hectares of protected forests(Table 3.7).

As we observed in previous sections, there are no legislative provisions for the protection of the rights that the tribals had enjoyed for centuries. Presently they are allowed only to gather wood for domestic use with all other rights over the forests being vested in the Forest Department.

[11] Reserved forests were notified under Section 16 of old Madras forest act or of A.P. Forest Act, 1967 and their position is intact unless, anything is permitted, all acts are prohibited and department has the full propriety over their management. Reserve Lands. forest blocks notified under Section 24 of Madras Forest Act or Section 4 of A.P.Forest Act are under the process of reservation and generally referred to as reserve lands falling in the category of ex-zamindar and panchayat forests. Protected Forests. forests notified either under Section 22 of Madras Forest Act or Section 24 of A.P. Forest Act of 1967. They were classified as unreserved meant for community enjoyment. Unless, anything is prohibited, rights and concessions of the local communities are permitted.

The rights and privileges given in the Act of 1967 were: free grazing of animals in all reserve forests except in areas closed for silvicultural reasons and other prohibited areas are allowed(G.O Ms No 387 F&A, 1968). In 1974 tribals were allowed free removal of monsoon grass and as per 1967, G.O. No. 1800 F&R.D. removal of thorns for bonafied use i.e., for fencing agricultural fields. The tribals living in the reserve forests were permitted to collect MFP for their domestic use and the Government for collection of MFP from the reserve forests permitted GCC.

In the light of ignominious history of colonial forest policy of trampling the traditional rights of tribals over forests, the Forest Department was prepared working plan for the period 1955-56 to 1969-70. But the real tragedy of the consequences of State monopoly control over forest and people of Rampa began with 1970-71(Narasimha Reddy 1995), when the forest department felled 5272 hectares of virgin forests to raise eucalyptus, in the name of scientific management.

TABLE: 3.6. **RANGE WISE RESERVATION OF FORESTS IN KAKINADA DIVISION DURING 1966-1979** (in hectares)

Year	Sudikonda	Kakinada	Gokavaram	Eleswaram	Addateegala	R.C.Varam	TOTAL
1966	-	-	257.37	-	5466.10	9317.45	15040.92
1967	-	445.15		-	5288.39	13765.60	19499.14
1968	-	50.30	1163.08	1169.96	30051.39	26980.31	59415.04
1969	-	1565.82	-	-			1565.82
1971	-	-	1712.63	-			1712.63
1972	-	2049.32	-	1061.09		43442.86	46553.27
1973		-	-	607.84			607.84
1977	-	-	-	854.48			854.48
1979	-	-	1589.48	-			1589.48
Total		4110.59 (2.8)	4722.56 (3.2)	3693.37 (2.5)	40805.88 (27.8)	93506.22 (63.7)	146838.31 (100)

Source: Forest Working Plan, Kakinada Division 1990-2000.

TABLE:3.7. RANGE-WISE AREA UNDER RESERVE FOREST, LAND AND PROTECTED FORESTS (in hectares)

Sl.No	Range	Reserve Forest	Reserve Lands	Protected Forest	TOTAL
1	Sudikonda	15,488.50 (5.8)	-	250.00 (1.5)	15738.50 (4.9)
2	Kakinada	33,051.37 (12.3)	1,033.56 (3.0)	-	34084.93 (10.6)
3	Gokavaram	14,510.27 (5.4)	5,660.67 (16.3)	1,359.00 (8.0)	21529.94 (6.7)
4	Eleswaram	51,597.79 (19.1)	15,290.39 (44.1)	500.00 (2.9)	67388.18 (21.0)
5	Addateegala	57,409.54 (21.3)	-	3,759.00 (22.0)	62268.54 (19.1)
6	R.Chodavaram	97,170.35 (36.1)	12,700.00 (36.6)	11,200.00 (65.6)	121070.35 (37.7)
7	TOTAL	2,69,227.82 (100) (83.9)	34,684.62 (100) (10.8)	17,068.00 (100) (5.3)	320980.44 (100)

Source: Forest Working Plan, Kakinada Division 1990-2000.

TABLE: 3.8. OBJECTIVE AND AREA UNDER DIFFERENT WORKING CIRCLES IN KAKINADA DIVISION

Sl.No.	Name of the Circle	Objective	Area (ha.)
1	Teak plantation working circle	To improve the value of the forest by planting with teak	13015.00
2	Pulpwood plantation working circle	To improve the of degraded forest by planting with fast growing pulpwood species like eucalyptus. The APFDC was set up during 1975 with the object of creating large-scale industrial man-made forests mainly to meet the pulpwood requirements of the industries in the sate.	7345.77
3	Afforestation working circle	To reclothe the degraded forest hill blocks mainly with MFP yielding species and pasture species.	4200.00
4	Bamboo overlapping working circle	To meet raw material requirements of AP Paper Mill in respect of bamboo and that of local people.	286167.00
5	Plywood supply working circle	To meet the requirements of plywood industry at Rampachodavaram and integrated sawmill unit Rajahmundry.	55000.00
6	Mangrove forest improvement working circle		31638.00

Source: Forest Working Plan, Kakinada Division, 1990-2000.

Forest Department was looking into the forest operations under different working circles with specific objective. Tale 3.8 shows the objectives and the area under different working circles. The working circles in Kakinada division are: Teak plantation working circle(with an area of 13015 hectares), Pulpwood plantation working circle(7345.77 hectares), Afforestation working circle(4200 hectares), Bamboo-overlapping working circle(286167 hectares.), Ply-wood working circle(55000 hectares), Mangrove forest improvement working circle(31638 hectares) and other circle are Natural forest improvement working circle and Social forestry working circle. The objectives of each circle are carries interest of industrial sector by restricting the access to the tribals.

In the name of scientific management several hectares of virgin forests were felled to raise plantations. Most of the area in Kakinada division was under the plantations of teak (17801 hectares), and followed by eucalyptus(5567 hectares), bamboo (4044 hectares) and casuarina(3574 hectares). It can be observed that large extent of area was covered for plantations during fifth and sixth plan period(Table 3.9).

The extracting of timber from the forests was under the control of Selection Working Circle which unleashed a regime of extracting timber from trees of all kinds from the interior and from semi-accessible areas in three of six ranges. Private contractors were allowed to work freely between 1971-72 and 1974-75. Despite which the official record merely says "selection method of working enabled the unscrupulous contractors to make their way to export the adjoining areas were not allowed to them. This resulted in illicit felling even outside the allotted area where exploitation was economical"(Working Plan 1991).

A circle for coppice with reserve was established and during 1974-75, private contractors were allowed to work and the result was that 'the much avowed objective of retention of reserves remained a theory and the required number of trees were not left. The contractor took advantage of irregular marking by sub-ordinates, as a result useful timber growth was lost. The coupes of the bamboo working circle sold to private contractors, were also subjected to over exploitation and unsystematic working affected adversely the bamboo growth (Working Plan 1991). The thick and rich growth of tree

TABLE:3.9. AREA UNDER PLANTATIONS DURING PLAN PERIODS IN RAJAHMUNDRY CIRCLE (in Ha.)

Plan Period	Teak	Eucaly -ptus	Bamboo	sasu-anna	Cashew	Subabul	Mis.	Total
Prior to Plans	803	-	-	-	-	-	202	1005 (2.7)
I.Plan	200	-	-	-	22	-	-	222 (0.6)
Il.Plan	383	190	-	84	1013	-	249	1919 (5.1)
III.Plan	1159	385	75	112	25	.. ·	13	1769 (4.7)
Annual plans 1966-67	431	8	105	-	-	-	-	544 (1.5)
1967-68	190	351	518	443	-	-	39	1541 (4.1)
1968-69	170	283	252	176		-	36	917 (2.5)
IV.Plan	1229	389	1373	367	50	-	270	3678 (9.9)
V.Plan	2717	326	917	525	10	-	1334	5829 (15.7)
1979-80	~	-	804	269	254	-	-	1327 (3.6)
VI.Plan	5308	2699	-	651	396	25	-	9079 (24.3)
VII.Plan	2265	1060	-	437	91	-	-	3853 (10.3)
1990-91	43	35	-	98	-	-	-	176 (0.4)
1991-92	47	110	-	127	-	-	-	284 (0.8)
1992-93	1856	160	2859	285	-	-	-	5160 (13.8)
TOTAL	16801 (45.0)	5996 (16.1)	6903 (18.5)	3574 (9.6)	1861 (5.0)	**25 (0.1)**	2143 (5.7)	37303 (100)

Source: Annual Reports, Forest Department, Andhra Pradesh.

cover along the banks of the Godavari was felled to cure Virginia tobacco. After 1975 the forest department established three logging divisions in Rajahmundry. By 1985, these divisions felled all tree growth leaving no forest worth felling(the 50,000 strong labour force in forest operations has now reduced to about 5000). By this time the saw mill set up in 1964 was importing timber from Assam to keep operating. Besides plantations, the forest department established a sawmill in 1964 with an annual requirement of 10000 cum. of wood and other forest-based industries were depended for wood on Rampa forests.

3.4.1. Forest Based Industries in the District:

The major forest based industries in the district of East Godavari are Andhra Pradesh Paper Mills, Godavari Plywood Industry, Matchwood lndustry(4 units), Private Saw Mills(123 units) and other commercial units like Sugar, Sago factories(60 units), Tobacco barns(3556), Motor Vehicle Body Building Unit and Fisheries Development Corporation. Other than Paper Mill and GPL, saw mills, tobacco barns, sugar and sago factories are demanded more quantity of wood for their respective production(Table 3.10)

A.P.Paper Industry is a most important forest based industry in the district, with an installed capacity of 250 tones of paper per day. Bamboo has been the staple raw material digested in the mills. Due to the scarcity of long fiber raw material, the mills experimented with substitutes like wild grass, jute sticks and now using increased quantity of hardwood. The industry required about 100,000 tones of bamboo and 120,000 tones of hardwood annually. Totally 20 series are existing under the Bamboo Overlapping Working Circle to meet the demand of the industry as well as local needs. Among these 15 series with total area of 303,787 hectares were allotted to the paper mills. The extraction of bamboo should be carried out under certain silvicultural principles laid down by the Forest Department. Table 3.11 shows the bamboo and hardwood supplied to the mills during the 1978-79 to 1989-90. Present yield from these 15 series is 60,000 tones of bamboo while it was shown 100,000 tones of yield in the agreement made with the Forest Department. This indicates degradation of forests by the industry.

TABLE:3.10 WOOD BASED INDUSTRIES' TIMBER DENAND IN EAST-GODAVARI DISTRICT (IN CUM.)

Industry	Quantity of timber demand per annum
Godavary Ply Woods Ltd.	10,000
Match wood Industries (4 Unit)	2000
Govt. Saw Mill	10,000
Private Saw Mills(123 unit)	10,000
Sugar Factories	6,000
Sago Factories (60 units)	3,000
Motor Vehicle Body Building Unit	500
Transmission Poles	100
Tobacco Barns (3556 in No.)	1,48,000
Fisheries Development Corporation	1,200

Source: Forest Department Working Plan, Kakinada Division 1995-2005

TABLE:3.11. BAMBOO AND MIXED HARD WOOD SUPPLIED TO AP PAPER MILLS LIMITED RAJAHMUNDRY (in Cum.)

Year	Bamboo Supplied	Hard Wood
1978-79	37310	107824
1979-80	31824	-
1980-81	56536	103339
1981-82	37339	72314
1982-83	21514	28375
1983-84	42405	24538
1984-85	35635	79804
1985-86	34261	116279
1986-87	42647	28503
1987-88	33917	-
1988-89	13424	-
1989-90	26085	-

Up to the end of Feb. 1990
Source: Working Plan, Kakinada Division 1995-2005.

The other important industry, which depended on the forests of Rampa for its raw material, is Godavari Plywood Factory, located in Rampa Chodavaram. GPL was started in 1975 with annual production capacity of two million square meter of plywood and made an agreement with Forest Department for the supply of 10,000 cum. of plywood annually on 20 years of lease. Forest Department was earmarked 60,780 ha. under Plywood Supply Working Circle for 20 year felling cycle. The area allotted bear virgin forests having matured and over-matured trees. So far the firm has received 25,691 cum. of timber from Kakinada Division and 8,908 cum. from Narsipatnam Division of Vishakapatnam district. Forest Department will mark the matured trees for felling. Table 3.12 shows timber supplied to GPL during 1976 to 1987. The desired timber for making plywood is mango, on which tribals depend for food. Narasimha Reddy(1995) shows 78.3 per cent of trees felled the GPL are mango and 12.1 per cent are other 16 species. As per the felling rules any tree should not cut within the purview of 20 Mt. from streams. In Puttakota coupe nearly 119 trees were felled by the GPL mostly mango(Table 3.13).

Besides these industries, there are four units of matchwood Industry in the district, which mostly used the species like *buruga, gumpena, garugudu, dudippa, peddamanu* and *tapasi.* The demand for raw material for these industry is about 2000 cum. annually, which comes an average of 500 cum. per unit, which they are obtaining from the departmental extracted timber that is sold in the public auction.

TABLE:3.12. YEAR-WISE TIMBER SUPPLIES TO GODAVARI PLYWOOD LTD.

YEAR	NO.OF TREES MARKED	NO.OF TREES FELLED	Qty. EXTRACTED(in cum)		
			Plylogs	Sawlogs	Fuelwood
1976-78	5176	3625	4519.5	537.5	10038
1978-81	18466	12281	15143	1561	33116
1981-84	4096	4096	5751.2	489.0	-
1985-87	3065	2255	4185.2	244.6	858

Source: Working Plan, Kakinada Division 1995-2005.

Besides the forest-based industries timber and bamboo were sold in the Forest Department depots at various places. In all there are 125 timber and bamboo depots in the Rajahmundry circle. Nearly 7545.16 cum of teak, 14682 cum. of non-teak and 4,609,580 of long size and 2,987,170 short size bamboo are exported from Rajahmundry during 1985-86 to 1990-91(Table 3.14). Thus the indiscriminate destruction of forests for commercial purposes has been the rule of day in Rampa. Over exploitation of bamboo forests had led to several areas being rendered incapable of regeneration.

The reservation of the forests and commercial plantation have effected the traditional way of life of the tribals mostly their traditional agricultural production system, *podu.* Here we made an attempt to study changes that have occurred in podu due to the intervention of the State.

3.4.2. Shifting Cultivation:

In the Rampa agency there are two types of *podu*(shifting cultivation) cultivation, namely *chalaka podu*(practiced in the plain areas) and *konda podu*(confined to hill slopes). Both the types involve shifting of cultivation site from one patch to the other after the fertility is exhausted. ITDA base-line survey(1990) identified that 48 percent of among total households engaged in podu cultivation in Rampa agency. Mohan Rao, et.al(1993) in their study of 204 villages in the same region showed that there were 6871(70.7 per cent) households indulged in *podu* cultivation. The total tribal population depended on podu is said to be 9,714, cultivating nearly 7252 hectares, the average size of the landholding being 1.05 hectares. Most of the tribals are confined to the slopes for podu cultivation, which account for 84.7 per cent of the area. 10.6 per cent of podu land is on hill tops and the remaining 4.7 per cent on the foot hills(Table 3.15). Table 3.16. show the land cleared by past generation and the present in the agency areas of four districts of Andhra Pradesh. 77.2 the forefathers of the present user cleared per cent of podu land and 22.8 percent of land was cleared by the present generation, during the last fifteen years. This indicates that, there is a little scope for increase in the extent of podu land(Mohan Rao et.al. 1993).

TABLE: 3.13. SPECIES WISE NO. OF TREES MARKED AND FELLED IN PUTTAKOTA COUPE

Species	Trees Marked*	Trees Felled*	Trees felled within 20 Mt. From streams**
Mango	3313	3025 (78.3)	65 (54.6)
Neredu	529	372 (9.6)	-
Other (16 species)	632	466 (12.1)	54 (45.4)
TOTAL	4474	3863 (100)	119 (100)

Source: *Narasimha Reddy, 1995. ** SAKTI Field Study

TABLE:3.14. QUANTITY OF TIMBER AND BAMBOO EXPOTED FROM RAJAHMUNDRY DURING 1985-86 TO 1990-91.

Year	Teak (in cum.)		Non-teak (in cum.)		Bamboo (in tones)	
	Round	Sawn size	Round	Sawn size	Large Size	Short size
1985-86	1670.46	160.73	2094.14	290.12	1,512,140	956,300
1986-87	1586.80	173.70	3971.19	229.07	1,218,180	585,270
1987-88	1438.90	148.10	2867.20	268.62	1,014,260	640,600
1988-89	1100.00	160.75	2250.00	332.17	335,000	285,000
1989-90	850.00	181.04	1900.00	290.85	280,000	250,000
1990-91*	899.00	148.00	1600.00	279.15	250,000	270,000
TOTAL	7545.16	972.32	14682.53	1689.98	4,609,580	2,987,170

*Up to the end of January, 1991.

Source: Forest Department Working Plan, Kakinada Division 1995-2005

TABLE: 3.15. EXTENT OF PODU IN RAMPA AGENCY AREA

1.	No. Sample Podu Villages	204
2.	Total no. of ST households	9714
3.	No. of HHs practicing podu	6871
4.	% to total ST households	70.7
5.	Area on Hill top (in Ha.)	769(10.6%)
	Area on Slopes (in Ha.)	6140(84.7%)
	Area on Foot hills (in Ha.)	343 (4.7%)
	Total area under podu (in Ha.)	7252(100%)
6.	Average (in Ha.)	1.05

Source: Mohan Rao.K et.al 1993

TABLE: 3.16. EXTENT OF PODU LAND CLEARED IN FOUR DISTRICTS OF COSTAL ANDHRA

District	Extent (in ha.)	Cleared by fore fathers		By Present generation	
		No.of HHs	Extent	No.ofHHs	Extent
Visakhapatnam(83)	102.97	28	32.51	55	70.46
Srikakulam(86)	129.88	86	129.88	-	-
Vizianagaram(60)	113.77	60	113.77	-	-
East Godavari(205)	194.88	150	142.29	55	52.59
TOTAL (434)*	541.50 (1.25)**	324 (74.7)***	418.45 (77.3)#	110 (25.3)***	123.05 (22.7)#

*No. of sample households, ** Average extent of podu area.

***Percentage to total sample HHs; # Percentage to total extent of podu.

Source: Mohan Rao, et.at (1993).

Generally, in most of the podu patches mixed crops are grown as a way of reducing the incidence of pest attacks, for extending the harvesting period and as a guard against a total crop failure. Primary emphasis is given to food crops for consumption although redgram is frequently sold to obtain cash. In the Rampa agency area the cropping pattern varies from region to region. The general crops grown in podu cultivation were jowar, bajra, sama, maize, redgram, castor, pumpkin, etc,(Table, 3.17). The base-line survey of ITDA for IF AD indicates that, podu cultivation provides nearly 165 days of employment per annum for both men and women(IFAD 1990).

TABLE: 3.17. **CROPS GROWN ON PODU LANDS**

Millets and Cereals	Pulses and Legumes	Oil seeds	Other
Jowar, Bajra, Ragi, Sama, Korra and Maize.	Redgram Blackgram Horsegram Greengram and Beans	Niger and Castor	Pumpkin Root crops Fibres

Source: IF AD 1990.

Podu cultivation represents an appropriate strategy that had little environmentally detrimental effects when the land is plentiful in tribal areas, allowing adequate fallow periods for the regeneration of soil fertility and restoration of forest cover. But as a result of application of forest legislations curtailing the access to forest areas, the fallow periods have been reduced to around 2-3 years. This period is inadequate for the restitution of soil nutrients putting the whole practice of podu into downward of spiral of declining production for the families concerned whilst contributing to environmental degradation. In the past, households abandoned a *podu* patch permanently after a period of 2-3 years and cutting themselves new patches. Now most households have at most two *podu* patches which are rotated at 2-3 year intervals (IFAD 1990).

The 'Task Force Report on Shifting Cultivation in India' identified that the total area under podu in eleven states was 9,956 Sq.km, which comes to around 2.29 per cent of the total forests of those states. In Andhra Pradesh, as per the report there were 23,200 households practicing podu within an area of 500 Sq.km, which comes to 0.78 percent

in total forest area of the state(Government of India 1983). This indicates that the area under podu is very small, particularly when compared to the area under the control of forest department. The later are mostly used for mono-cultural plantations, destroying the natural forests. But the government considers podu cultivation and other activities of tribals on which they depend for survival as among the major reasons for the destruction of forests.

On the basis of the recommendations of the 'Task Force', the Government of India initiated the Social Forestry Programme under RLEGP to improve the tree cover on government and community lands and degraded forest areas. And a scheme for the rehabilitation of podu cultivators was initiated. Under this programme plantations of mango, cashew, orange custard apple, etc., were introduced and implemented by covering 43,424 hectares in the all ITDA areas of Andhra Pradesh. In the Rampa agency area 18,707 hectares were covered under this programme up to 1989-90. And in 1990 under IF AD, 17,250 hectares were proposed for plantations of different fruit trees(IFAD 1990). But one can observe that when the trees begin to yield fruit, most of the tribals lease the plantation to non-tribals of the plains at the time of flowering or for 2-5 years. The rentiers provide loan to tribals for their consumption needs and continue lease arrangements. This may be because the tribals do not have knowledge in the production and marketing process. Generally these plantations also provide low level of employment except in the first year of operation when compared to podu cultivation (Table 3.18). A result of this programme appeared to be that cultivators got a source of extra income but, by and large, they continued podu cultivation. And most importantly, non-tribals have benefited and tribal owners became as labourers to protect the produce in their own fields.

The production of grain is insufficient to sustain a family throughout the year. In the lean period, however they live exclusively on forest produce. Variety of fruits, berries, cucumber, raw mushrooms, roots, leaves etc. were consumed. Rats, mice, squirrels, birds, lizards, etc were roasted and consumed. From February to June, when the fields are cleared, they literally depend upon toddy. Further tribals depend on forests not

only for timbers for their houses and other implements but also for herbs for various diseases that are common in the agency area. The Rampa agency area is known for varieties of MFP on which tribals exclusively depended for their cash requirements. As stated by a tribal during the field study 'the availability of food and MFP as well as herbs have declined due the clear felling and plantation works of the Forest Department'.

TABLE: 3.18. EMPLOYMENT PROVIDED BY DIFFERENT FRUIT CROPS IN DIFFERENT YEARS OF YIELDING (in man days)

Sl.No.	Crop	I Year	IV Year	VIII Year	X Year
1.	Cashew	162	54	58	68
2.	Mango	173	60	78	98
3.	Guava	211	60	88	98
4.	Custard Apple	206	54	84	94
5.	Orange	167	58	88	98

Source: IF AD, 1990.

3.5. CONCLUSION

Colonial administration established its control over Rampa region by intervening into the local administrative mechanism in the name of checking incursions and tightened its control through various agreements with the Mansabdar. After the outbreak of Rampa rebellion of 1879 colonial government extended its control over the forests of Rampa by declaring the forests as property of the State. Though the reservation of forests is a halted affair in Rampa but it facilitated the entry of non-tribals of plain areas as traders and forest contractors into the region. And also colonial administration have been introduced various taxes, even on toddy on which tribals depended for their survival, and imposed restrictions on forest use. Constructions of roads were also resulted entry of markets into the natural subsistence tribal economy of Rampa. One side, this resulted large-scale commercial exploitation of forests and other side, tribal's access to the forests have been curtailed.

Indian State has been continued the process of reservation of Rampa forests by relaxing the ban on entry of forest officials. Hence the meeting timber demand of industries was main interests of forest conservation, monoculture was introduced in the region by clear felling the natural forests, which resulted destruction of various species on which tribals depended for survival. Besides this Forest Department was leased the forests to the forest based industries which resulted indiscriminate exploitation of timber. In the whole process the relationship between tribals and forests and their institutions were ignored. As result tribals are lost their subsistence on which depended all through the centuries and reduced to the status of mere casual wage labour in forest operations. In this context an attempt is made in the next chapter to study such changes in two villages of Rampa country.

CHAPTER-4

FORESTS, INDIGENOUS PEOPLE AND EXTERNAL INTERVENTIONS: STUDY OF TWO VILLAGES

4.0. Introduction

As is being repeatedly referred in this study, traditionally the forests have been the life supporting system of the tribals. Their culture, beliefs and practices were geared towards maintaining a balance between human and ecological needs. Traditional knowledge systems are often lost and systematically devalued by the establishment of state ownership over forest resources and by other external interventions. External interventions in a natural subsistence tribal economy could be either by the state or by private agencies like industries or traders. Intervention by the state can be either through its policies or by developmental programmes. Establishment of state ownership over forests and reservation of forests and land settlement operation are major form of interventions by the state in forest-tribal areas. This intervention has brought two changes in the forest management. One, it curtailed tribal access to forests and allowed forest based industries and contractors to exploit forest resources. Second, the state introduced mono-cultural plantations to meet the timber demand of the industrial sector by clear felling of natural forests. These forests were endowed with large varieties of species on which the tribals depended for their food, housing, MFP as well as medical needs. This intervention has had a two-way impact. One was that it created employment and the other was that it provided alternative sources of income through forest management systems. These contributed to an increase in the standards of tribals' life and decrease in their dependence on forest resources. At another level tribals might have lost their traditional livelihood by a process of alienation from the forests on which they depended for their survival without any adequate sources of income. This may bring changes in the relation between tribals and forests, in terms of their food gathering, food production, availability of MFP, medical herbs as well as their traditional institutions, which in turn may make the tribals dependent more on outside economy to satisfy their needs.

Another intervention of the state is through developmental programmes. Through various programmes like IF AD, Social Forestry, State introduced commercial crops like

cashew, lime, coffee, tobacco etc, into the natural subsistence tribal economy by providing incentives to the tribals to cultivate these crops. Private agencies, mostly agro-based industries have also introduced cash crops. As we have observed in earlier chapter, these crops are not labour intensive to generate additional employment to the tribals. But if the tribals have information on the method of cultivation as well as on marketing of these crops, they may have an increment in their income. Hence, the intervention of introducing cash crops might result in an increase in the income levels of the tribals and in a decrease in their dependency on trader cum moneylenders for credit at one level. At another level, it might generate either lease market of land or middlemen in marketing.

In this context an attempt is made to study changes in the natural subsistence tribal economy of the Rampa' country due to the intervention of the state and market forces in terms of tribals dependence on forests and their traditional institutions. To capture the changes that have taken place due to various interventions we have considered two villages for detailed study. One is an interior (deep forest) village- G.M.Valasa, with less external interventions and other village- Kannaram is adjacent to plain with several interventions where we have also found other interventions by the private agencies like industries and private traders. We have considered this village to observe the contrast with G.M.Valasa- an interior village with less external interventions. This chapter consists of four broad sections. The first section deals with the relationship between forests and tribals, in terms of sources of food, method of cultivation, collection and use of timber and building material, minor forest produce etc. The second section is a study of G.M Valasa - an interior village with less interventions by the state and markets. Third section deals with Kannaram, a village that is very close to the plains and with several interventions by the state and markets, and the last section consists of conclusions of this chapter.

4.1. INSTITUTIONS IN THE NATURAL SUBSISTENCE TRIBAL ECONOMY OF RAMPA:

As mentioned earlier, the tribal population of the region comprises of five tribal groups: *Konda Reddy, Koya Dora, Konda Kapu, Konda Kammara* and *Valmiki.* All the

tribal groups rely on forests for food, housing, minor-forest produce and medicine, and have evolved their own institutions to govern communal and territorial rights and privileges (Haimendrof 1945).

This section examines the relationship of indigenous people with the forest in terms of food gathering, agricultural production, housing, minor forest produce and health. In addition, the nature of institutions that facilitate the interactions are also examined.

4.1.1. Food Gathering:

One of the weakening but continuing aspect of tribals' economy is food gathering. Tribals rely on a large variety of forest-based edible fruits, leaves, tubers, roots etc. for food which are collected from the forests(see Annexure-IV.1 for some important trees and its uses). Food taken by the tribals can either be collected from the forests or a result of production. The long history of interactions between tribals and forests has identified many uses of trees and plants.

As restrictions are required on the use of the resources so that they do not deplete, the tribals have evolved community code on the extent of collection of different species. In the process these trees and plants are protected from destruction and over use. Here, we have made an attempt to identify some of the trees and its uses and also attempted to describe the restrictions and nature of institutions that have evolved to maintain the species (Table 4.1 and 4.2).

C ary ota*(Caryota urens),* Mango*(Mangifera indica),* Tamarind*(Tamarindus indica)* and Jackfruit *(Artocarpus integrifolia)* are some important trees with multiple uses for the tribals in the region. Caryota palm locally known as *jeeluga*, which is found throughout Marredimilli area, is a source of palm wine for the tribals. Caryota palms are considered as private property and the rights are secured and exercised by the man who taps the tree first. Once a tree is accessible, the man in possession of the tree taps it but shares the wine with other people. It was also interesting to note that in the agency area there was a system that the wealth of a village is identified with the number of tappers in the villages.

TABLE: 4.1. RIGHTS OF ACCESS AND CONTROL ON SOME IMPORTANT TREES IN THE RAMPA REGION

Sl.No	Local Name of the Tree	Botanical Name	User Right
1.	Jeeluga (Caryota palm)	*Caryota urens*	It will be under individual possession but that right is secured and exercised by the man who first ladders and taps the tree but shares the wine with other people. Matured trees are felled and cut into pieces and shared equally by the villagers for its core which is converted into a kind of flour. If the tree is on private land the owner gets an extra share.
2.	Mamidi (Mango)	*Mangifera indica*	Never considered as individual property. Only after a ceremony do they start using the mangoes. Unripe mangoes are never hooked and only those that fall are picked.
3.	Panasa (Jack)	*Artocarpus integri-folia*	Trees grown in or near the village, may be owned and inherited by individuals who tend them carefully, but are nevertheless expected to share the fruits with other members of the community.
4.	Chinta (Tamarind)	*Tamarindus indica*	Under possession of the community. All people shared equally, but the person who climbs the tree to harvest fruits gets an additional share. But after the issues of land pattas, trees on individual land are became private property of the owner.

* Tribals never sacrifice the above trees including Ravi and Neredu as well as herbal plants even in *Podu* cultivation.

Source: Field Study

TABLE: 4.2. CONTRIBUTION OF IMPORTENT TREES TO THE CONSUMPTION OF TRIBALS

Tree	Part	Method of use and contribution for consumption
Mango	Unripe Mangoes	Women and children collect windfalls. Peeled and sliced these are used in curries throughout the year. It is also exchanged for cash in the weekly market. But this is not a regular activity.
	Ripe Mangoes	Tribals hook them down and eat them raw. If they have sufficient they avoid other food. During April and May the tribals mostly depend on ripe fruits for their lunch. The tribals never sell ripe mangoes.
	Kernel	Stones are collected, dried and stored. When pounded, the kernels yield flour, which is used for making gruel.
Jack	Pulp	The pulp of the fruit is eaten both raw and cooked in gruel and curries. Individuals who tend them share the fruits with other members of the community. It is also sold for cash. In this particular season they depends on Jackfruit for their cash requirements. In the season, they are able to sell at least two fruits a weeks for Rs.25/-.
	Seeds	Seeds are dried and preserved underground and used throughout the year as vegetable.
Jeeluga	Wine	A tree gives wine for 3 to 4 months from January to April. It is consumed three times a day and if it is sufficient, the tribals need little to eat. During that season the tribals mostly live on caryota wine, especially men.
	Matured tree	Matured trees are felled, cut into pieces and shared equally by the villagers. The bark is removed, dried, pounded and used for gruel and roti. The flour from a log of one and half feet is sufficient for four or five days for a family of five.
Tamarind	Tender leaves	Tender leaves are boiled and eaten together with pulses, grain gruel or curry.
	Fruits	It is the major source of cash for the tribals. Fruits are peeled, de-seeded and sold in the market. In the study village each household earned an average income of Rs.630/- during the season. All the households shared the fruits equally previous to the land settlements when all trees were under community ownership. For self-consumption, they are stored in baskets.
	Seeds	Exchange the seeds for salt at weekly market center.

Source: Field Study

At the beginning of the season the men of the village perform a ceremony at the foot of one of their caryota palm. They propitiate *konda sati,* the hill deity, who is believed to have planted and nurtured the caryota palm. They collect the wine three times a day, in the morning **(*poddu kallu*)**, around mid-day *{chitram* ***kallu*)** and evening **(*yeda* *kallu)*** between January to April. The fresh juice has a pleasant and sweet taste, but within a few hours of tapping it ferments and becomes pungent and strongly intoxicating. Generally wine is boiled to reduce its alcoholic content. The wine is seen as a replacement for food and if they have sufficient wine, they need little else to eat. A caryota palm which does not yields is felled, cut into pieces and shared equally by the villagers along with the owner of the tree. The bark is removed, dried and pounded and the flour is used to prepare gruel and roti. The flour from a log about one and a half feet is sufficient for four\ five days for a family of five.

The mango tree has multiple uses for tribals and the trees can be found in large numbers throughout the forest. Although sometimes planted in the vicinity of villages, the trees are never considered as individual property. The first eating of the mango fruit is accompanied by a ceremony, known as ***mamidi*** *kotta,* which takes place in the month of March or in early April when the mangoes are still green and unripe. After that the tribals are free to eat the fruits which form an important part of their diet during the following months. Green mangoes are never hooked down. Women and children collect mangoes that have fallen and they peel, slice and use it in curries. However, towards the end of the season, when the mangoes are ripe, they are hooked down. Sometimes children climb the tree and shake the branches or beat down the fruit with sticks. For two months i.e., May and June, ripe mangoes are the staple food of the tribals. In the season, tribals depend on mangoes for at least one meal. Mango kernels also have food value. All households collect mangoes, and keep their dried kernels, which are pounded and used for making gruel and roties. Traditionally tribals do not sell the ripe mangoes.

The jackfruit and its seeds are another rich source of food for over a month in

June. The pulp of the fruit is eaten either raw or cooked in gruel or curries. The seeds also serve as a rich vegetable. The seeds are dried and preserved in underground bins and used throughout the year. With reference to the rights, jack-fruit trees differ from mango trees are owned individually but are nevertheless expected to share the fruits with the other members of the community. They sell the fruits in the weekly market to meet their cash requirements. During the season they earn about Rs.200 to Rs.300 by selling the jackfruits. In their words they earn sufficient amount o attend at least 2-4 weekly markets to meet their daily requirements.

Tamarind trees have an important economic value in tribal society. Traditionally, these trees were under the possession of the community. All the households have equal share, but the person who climbs the tree to harvest fruits get an additional share. Generally, each household gets a share of at least 75-100 kgs of fruits. They preserve some of the fruits for their future consumption and sell the remaining in the market by which they can earn about Rs.600 to 1000. They collect ripen fruit, remove the seeds and sell the unseeded fruit but exchange the seeds for salt. Further, the seeds also have food value, that they are dried, pounded and used for gruel and roties. Other trees whose fruits play a role in the tribal diet are Regu *(Zizyphus jujuba)* and Neredu *(syzygium jambolanum*).

Edible roots and tubers occupy a very important part in the tribal diet. The women often go for root digging and they rely mainly on tubers for feeding their families for several months in a year. The most widely eaten are *velisheanda gadda, nalla sheanda gadda, vaimu gadda naradumpa and teanadumpa.* Normally, *Vaimu* and *Nara dumpa* are dugout at the end of the winter season and the beginning of the monsoon season and *teana dumpa* is available at the advanced stage of monsoon. During the heavy rains of the southwest monsoons, edible leaves sprout up all over the forest. The most popular species are *pacha kura, chenchu kura, dogal kura* and *vainti kura.* At the same time the women cut large quantities of the new shoots of bamboo, remove the outer skin and grate the tender stem with a small knife before cooking it. They can manage one meal

with the roots and tubers in the season. Since these are available in different seasons, tribals are depend on these throughout the year to subsist their food requirements.

Tribals always carry a bow and arrows while they move in the forests. If they see any bird or animal they attempt to kill it. Tribals hunt collectively for about two/three times a year. All the men who take part in hunting share the meat equally; the man whose arrow pierces the animal first, however, receives a slightly additional portion. Even those families who are not represented in the hunting group also receive the share. If the animal crosses over into the territory of another village and is killed there, the owners of the land receive a portion of the meat while the rest is taken away by the hunters. Apparently, the forest supplies the food to the tribals throughout the year, the activity of food gathering occupies an important role in the tribal subsistence system.

4.1.2. Food Production:

At a broad level, organisation of production takes place in two ways in the agency areas. One is shifting cultivation usually known *as podu,* and second is settled cultivation. Shifting cultivation done on hill slopes is called *konda podu* while it is called *chalaka podu* if done on flat lands. There is a decrease in *chalaka podu* as wherever flat lands were cleared earlier is now under regular settled cultivation. In the interior areas one finds the tribals practice *chalaka podu.* On the basis of our field information we made an attempt to identify the ownership on podu lands.

Ownership on Podu Land

i. Village possesses a tract of land, which boundaries are usually are demarcated by hill ridges, watercourses or trees.

ii. The members of the tribal community do not necessarily confine to one settlement to cultivate the land in any part of the village. Their houses may be dotted in small groups over the village land.

iii. Once a man has cleared a piece of ground it remains in his possession for as

long as he wishes to raise a crop on it. As soon as he abandons the field, his claim lapses automatically and the land reverts to the jungle and to the joint possession of the community.

iv. The one time possessor has no privileged claim and any other man may forestall him in cutting the jungle; however, a timely announcement of his intention to cultivate the same slope once more would no doubt secure him its use.

The extent of land for cultivation is taken as per the family requirements. On an average they cultivate 1 -3 acres of land. In order to maintain required fallow period each household maintains 2-4 patches in different places. Thus, it depends on the labour available in the respective families. Though there are differences in the extent of land under *podu* among the tribal households, this should not be consider as superior economic status of respective household but it is a reflection of available family labour in the household.

Method of Cultivation

There are two methods to organise production on *podu* land. One could be the tribals select a hill-slope and work with the help of his family; or he may combine with several other men in clearing a large block of land[1]. We made an attempt to identify the activities of tribals in *podu* cultivation according to their local names of seasons and the collective and individual efforts and arrangements in those activities(Table 4.3 and 4.4).

In early February, which they refer to as *boddam,* tribals select a hill-slope and start felling the trees. For felling they use an ordinary handle-holed axe and hill-hook. Usually two to three feet above the ground level, the trunk is chipped on alternate sides by the axe, while the hill-hook serves for lopping smaller growth and branches and

1 In small communities where the social cohesion is great, several men of one settlement sometimes cultivate a whole hillside jointly and divide the crop. The method is usually followed by brothers or brother-in-laws and particularly by families living under one roof. However in large villages, each man work his own hill field throughout without receiving assistance either in the felling of the jungle, in sowing or in reaping of the grain. This individualistic trend is particularly noticeable where plough cultivation on permanent, privately owned fields exists side by side with *podu* cultivation.

TABLE: 4.3 SEASON-WISE ACTIVITIES OF THE TRIBALS OF RAMPA REGION

Sl.No	Name of the Month	Approximate Corresponding Month in English Calendar	Activities
1.	*Baddam*	February - March	Selection of *podu* field and felling the trees. Construction of new houses or rethatching old roofs.
2.	*Panasa Basalu*	March - April	Burning the felled trees. No restriction on the use of Jack fruits. Collection of Adda leaves.
3.	*Errarondi*	April - May	Construction of field houses and fencing the field. Collection of Mango, Tamarind and Adda leaves.
4.	*Banda Pani (Peddavidi)*	June - July	Celebrate `Bhoomi' panduga and start sowing.
5.	*Kannenela*	July-August	Weeding and collection of Hill-brooms.
6.	*Tholipanta*	August -September	Harvesting small millets like sama, korra, tsollu etc., and collection of Hill-brooms.
7.	*Dasara*	October	Lemon collection and Harvesting pulses
8.	*Savithi - Palakam*	November-December	Harvesting ragi, beans and pumpkins
9.	*Desanivi*	January	End of Agricultural season and return to the village, celebrate "Sankurathri" festival.

Source: Field Study

TABLE: 4.4. COMMUNITY AND INDIVIDUAL EFFORTS IN DIFFERENT AGRICULTURAL ACTIVITIES

Activity	Community\Collective Efforts	Individual Effort
Selection of the field	Village community possesses communally a tract of land. Community recognises and protects the right of a person cultivating a particular piece of land. This is a matter of mutual and informal agreement and there is no agency for an organised allotment of hill-slopes suitable for cultivation.	Tribals are free to cultivate on any part of the village land. Tribals select the field according to their needs and preferences. Once a piece of ground has been cleared it remains in his undisputed possession for as long as he wish to raise a crop.
Felling of the trees	Once a person selects a new field, relatives and neighbours help him in felling trees.	Felling of trees is a man's wok but he takes the help of women and children of his family members.
Burning of the felled trees	Generally, tribals may not help each other in burning. But those who want to cultivate jointly participate. Brothers or in-laws, particularly families living under one roof usually follow this method.	Men, women and children work together in tidying up and burning the fields.
Construction of field house, Fencing the field, Sowing, Weeding and Harvesting.	~	Family members participate in these activities and families living under one roof help each other.
Construction\ rethatching of new/old houses	Help in collection of wood and in construction. And person entertains those who helped in construction with a small feast. New comers are generally welcomed if they choose to settle but should get acceptance of the community.	Individuals select the site and inform the members of the community to help in collection of building material.

Source: Field Study.

clearing under growth. Only mango, jack-fruit, tamarind and caryota trees are spared. Men do the felling of the forest. But men, women and children work together in tidying up and burning the fields. They usually cultivate a patch, which is adequate for their needs.

After felling the trees, they involve burning the field for 25-30 days is generally done during March-April. After burning, half-burnt branches are collected in heaps and then reduced to ashes. The preparation of field will be completed by the beginning of May. But sowing starts after the first shower of the monsoon. The gap is used to erect a field house. No ceremony follows the felling of the forest but every other important phase is initiated by ritual acts (see Table 4.5. for details of the ceremonies, which are related to their activities). Sowing is preceded by a big feast, which culminates in a solemn sacrifice offered to the 'mother earth' called *Bhoomipanduga*.

In general, two methods of sowing are in practice. One, broadcasting of the seed grain over the surface of the earth in which basically men are involved. This method is employed for small millets such as *sama, korra and tsollu.* For other like jowar, redgram and pumpkin they use dibbling of seeds in holes made with digging stick in which women also participate[2]. They replant in barren patches when the young crop sprouts about two or three inches above the ground level. Next phase in *podu* cultivation is weeding. When the crop is six inches high, tribal men along with their families start weeding. Men and women work together and children assist them. They pull out the weeds with their hands and use bill-hoods to take out deep-rooted ones. In the first year of cultivation a hill slope needs weeding only once but in the second and third year weeding takes place twice.

The first crops that are harvested are sama and korra. They are harvested between the end of August and September, preceded by the first-eating ceremony- *sama kotha*, culminating in the offering of new grain to the ancestors of their community.

2 The small millets are sown first; sama and korra are sown as a first crop at the end of May, and tsollu later towards the end of June. And sama grows best on the higher and tsollu on the lower slopes. Jowari millets are not sown in rows, the holes being made at random obliquely left, right or straight-ahead in between the shoots of the small millets.

TABLE: 4.5. FESTIVALS AND THEIR LINK WITH PRODUCTION CYCLES AND CONDUMPTION OF TRIBALS IN RAMPA' COUNTRY

Sl.No.	Festival	Relation with Activities
1.	Bhomi Panduga (or) Bhoodevi panduga	Festival of the earth mother. Celebrated before sowing. Sacrifice pig which usually damage crops. On the day of the feast, men, women and children assemble at a place outside the village where the sacrifice is to be performed with some seed. Blood is caught in a leaf-cup by the "pujari" and sprinkled over the seed grain of different crops and distributed to all households.
2.	Baddi Panduga	Celebrated to protect the crop from birds and wild animals.
3.	Jolda Panduga	By celebrating the festival, tribals believe that God will save the crops from pests.
4.	Sama Kotha	First eating ceremony of sama.
5.	Pindi Panduga	First eating ceremony of Tosslu (Ragi). Only after this ceremony Ragi is processed and consumed.
6.	Pappu Panduga	First eating ceremony of redgram and other pulses. Households failing to celebrate the ceremony can eat dall in other households.
7.	Mamidi Panduga	First fruit eating ceremony of mango associated with the gathering of jungle fruits. It may be celebrated any time between the formation of first mangoes when they are green. Before this celebration, eating of mangos is strictly forbidden.
8.	Genu Kotha Panduga	Eating ceremony of mango kennels and juice. Before this ceremony they eat mangoes with outer skin.
9.	Chikkudu Panduga	The ceremonial first eating of beans.
10.	Konda Devata Panduga	At the beginning of the palm-wine season, the men of the village assemble near one of their caryota trees and place three leaf-cups full of dall and jaggery at the foot of the tree where pujari sacrifices a chicken.
11.	Panasa Basalu	First eating ceremony of Jackfruits.
12.	Desavidi (Sankranthi)	Last ceremony by which taboos on all the crops and fruits are over. Celebrate by all households who have completed agricultural activities. They eat mutton and the shares of households who have not completed agricultural activities are buried in the field.

Source: Field Study

Tsollu ripens next and the jowar and redgram take another two to three months. Seldom are all crops harvested before the end of December or early January. All the above activities of *podu* cultivation provide on an average 165 days of employment to each person(IFAD 1990).

Every tribal family usually preserves seed for the following year. Before harvesting a crop, ripe ear-heads are cut and dried in the sun and then trodden under foot by both men and women. The grain is winnowed and preserved in "adda" leaf baskets in the attic. In addition to fields, all households have kitchen gardens. Mostly, they plant beans, chema and brinjal. They perform *chikkudu pandugo* before they eat beans.

Tribals in interior Rampa, who have preserved most of their tribal characteristics, do not use the plough and many of them do not even possess cattle, which alone makes ploughing possible. Whenever the tribals plough, a strong influence of the neighbouring population is discernible[3]. Haimendrof(1945) observed in Rampa that many tribals, particularly Reddies, practice shifting cultivation on flat-lands, felling the jungle in the usual way and ploughing between the tree stumps, which they avoid as best they can by deviating the furrows or lifting the plough over obstacles. This method is known as *chelaka podu* and may be considered the preliminary step to permanent cultivation. Even in *chalaka podu*, where sufficient flat land is available the tribals abandon the field after two or three years. Even after the introduction of land settlements, most of the tribals of Rampa are practicing podu. This may be because the system of settled agriculture is alien to the tribals in which they do not have knowledge.

The main crops grown on permanent fields are jowar, bajra and redgram and also paddy in a small portion of the areas. Tribals who work both on *podu* and flat fields, give their primary attention to the *podu* fields and start ploughing only when the sowing of hillcrops is completed. Before sowing, the owner of the field sacrifices a chicken to the

3 The plough is a comparatively recent addition to the material possession of the tribals, probably introduced after the land settlement operation, which provided private ownership over land. With certain modifications, the old system still persists in the region of Rampa country.

Bhoomi Devata.[4]

4.1.3. Housing:

The houses in the tribal hamlet are scattered in two or three streets. Each street mostly consists of one clan. A house will be built for every newly married person with the help of other clan members. In tribal communities, new comers are generally welcomed if they choose to settle and once they are accepted as members of the community they are entitled to the usufruct of the land and to enjoy equal rights with those born in the locality. In case a man emigrates from the hamlet, his sons do not inherit any right in the land of his home-village, and if they want to return they are treated as new comers.

Tribals sprinkle uncooked millet, usually *sama* in the whole, which is dug up to erect central post. They strongly believe that by practicing this rite enables the house to stand firm. They collects material for the construction from the their podu fields. In the process of construction of their house, outside help is also taken. A small party follows the completion of a house. The owners entertain those who helped them in the construction. Before the meal is served, the owners offer food to the departed members of their family.

The traditional structures of tribal houses are square type. The earthen floor of the tribal house is raised well above the ground level so that water does not enter the house. This may be due to the long spell of rains witnessed in this area. The prominent feature of the house is the forked center post, *Nidram*, on which the entire roof rests. They use "maddi" *(Terminalia tomentosa)* timber as *nidram,* which is not prone to corrosion. Sliced bamboo rafters are placed on all sides and covered by thatched grass.

Floor space is divided into two main parts, an inner room (gadi) where women cook and which is used in bad weather for sleeping and the second part is the varanda *(arugu)* which is used as a living room. In the inner room a six feet loft is built which is

[4] There is no public feast ceremony nor do villagers start sowing their flat fields at the same time.

used as storage space for grain, weapons and other valuables. Bows and arrows[5] and knives are inserted into the rafters. Ropes with a net like structure at the end which are suspended from the cross beam of the roof are used to store pumpkins, gauds in which they store gruel and toddy, medicinal herbs, coins, bushels, etc. A small mat made of bamboo suspended by ropes over the fireplace on which a small pot (guna kuduru) is kept in the memory of departed elders of the family. Another important feature in the construction of house is the tendency to enlarge the varanda space at the expense of the inner room[6]. In many houses it occupies the greater part of the floor space and the inner room shrinks proportionately. Generally the tribals use timber, which they acquire in podu clearance. If any one needs more timber he has to approach the village council for approval. Some time the village council will specify the area for timber extraction. At present, most of the tribals live in houses provided by the state. These are built in similar to the earlier structures but with tiled roof.

4.1.4. Livestock

Cows, goats, buffaloes, pigs and poultry are important livestock in the agency areas. Ostensibly, villages that are closely associated with the plains have considerably more herds of cattle than the interior villages. One of the important features observed is that milking of cows and buffaloes is not as the primary object of cattle rearing in tribal culture. They believe that that milking of cattle is a taboo and is basically meant for the feeding of calf. Though there was no much importance of cattle in tribal life they perform a ceremony (*dudala punduga*) which is aimed at assuring well being of their cattle(Narendra 1994). Apparently the livestock has religious significance among the tribal communities but varying degree. Foe instance, Koyas considers oxen as the

5 For bow, they use split bamboo for string (*nari*) and caryota fibre, slip-knotted on the string-stops and looped over notches in the tapering horns. They use two types of arrows i.e. metal and wood tipped. Metal tipped ones they get from the market. The metal tipped heads are two varieties, the double bared (*chilalam*) and leaf shaped(*soba*). The heads are inserted into the shaft by means of tang and the bamboo secured against splitting by biding of caryota fibre. The wood arrows are two types, the bira arrow(*mita*) and single barb(*badada gorpa).*

6 In the oppressive heat as well as in violent rainstorms the open varandas are more pleasant and wild animals are not likely to enter houses standing in narrow streets.

supreme sacrificial animal but Konda Reddies do not consider oxen and buffaloes as sacrificial animals. Breeding of goats and poultry provides meat for their feasts but plays only an insignificant role in their system of food production.

Fowls have an important role in the tribal culture. Nearly in all ceremonies and religious rites the sacrifice of chickens are acceptable. Sometime eggs are eaten but they are never offered to the Gods. Traditionally, tribals do not use animal manure as fertilizer. In the areas, where permanent cultivation is prevailing we find tribals are selling animal manure to the non-tribal cultivators of the plain areas. But they occasionally apply animal manure, when they find the fields are not fertilized by the ash.

4.1.5. Health

The most common diseases in the area are malaria, dysentery and diorihea, eye ailments, measles and smallpox, chest complaints and skin diseases. Traditionally, tribals depended on herbal medicines. Every tribal has some knowledge of herbal medicine for common diseases. When tribals approach a tribal medical practitioner, they give some broken rice, bronze in a `adda' leaf with money i.e., Rs.5 to 10. The tribal medical practitioner takes them to a particular plant, pour some broken rice on the plant and touches a specific part of the plant with that coin before extraction, which is called *chettu shesha*. An attempt is made to list out medical plants, tree/shrubs and their medicinal use in the region of Rampa (see Annexure-IV.2).

Today, in spite of well-advanced allopathic health care system in the country, the tribals still depend exclusively on extract of plant and animal products for cure. They use herbs, fruits, flowers and other forest produ ce even birds and animals as medicine, and protect the common herbal plants even in *podu* cultivation. It is interesting to note that in each household, women particularly have some knowledge of herbal medicine. Women use herbal medicine in contraception.

4.1.6. Minor Forest Produce

The Rampa forests are rich in minor forest produce and are the main source of income for the tribals of the region. As such, MFP generally includes bamboo, all

vegetable, animal and mineral products other than timber and fuel wood. The major important minor forest produce that are available in the region are adda leaves, hill-brooms, nuxvomica, gum, soapnut, amla, etc. At different points of time, the state notified certain leaves and fruits as forest produce. The effect of these two notifications by the state is that all the 13 items listed when found in or brought from a forest are now forest produce[7].

As we observed during our field study all the family members, including grown-up children, go to the forest in search of these species of MFP. Though this division of work is not rigid, it was found that the involvement of particular members of the family in the collection depended upon the nature of the product. For instance, in the collection of items like gum, honey, barks, etc., which requires more time, the male members are involved. While in the collection of items like leaves, seeds and other products are require patience in collection in which women are engaged. Tribals collect MFP in the specific seasons. For instance, adda leaves are collected in the months of November-January while hill-brooms in February- April. Thus, the collection of MFP is carried out through out the year. But a tribal woman reported that the availability of MFP has gone down due to the introduction of plantation works by clear felling of natural forests and they are going interior forests in search of the MFP.

4.1.7. Indigenous Institutions and Forest Management:

Most of the villages in Rampa region are single tribe villages. But there are few

7 The following items of MFP, commodities whether found in or brought from a forest or not, have been declared as forest produce under section 2(g) of A.P. Forest Act, 1967. - Bank, La, Mohwa Flower, Mohwa see, Myrobalans, Tunki leaves Rousa grass, Rauwolfia serpentaria, Adda leaves, And in 1977 The Government issued a notification declaring Gum' as forest produce whether found in or brought from forest or not(G.O. Ms. No.724, Forest and Rural Development (For.III) Department dated 24.9.1977). Through G.O. Ms. No. 121. Forests and Rural Development (FOR.III) Department dt.29.9.1974, Government issued a notification declaring the following leaves and fruits as forest produce: 1) Pales leer (*Buteamono sperma*) *2)* Tamarind fruit *(Tamarinds indica*) 3) Custard Apple fruit *(Anona squajisa)* 4) Soapnut *(Sopindus emarginatus)* 5) Pungam fruits *(Pongamia Pinnata)* 6) Marking nut *(Seme carpus anarcardium)* 7) Clearing nut *(Strychnos potatorum)* 8) Amla fruits *(Emblica officianalis*) 9) Chiranji *(Tectona grandis)* 10) Teak fruit 11) Tuniki fruit *(Diespyras melanoxylon*) 12) Nuxvomica fruit *(Styehnos Nuxvomica)* 13) Wood apple fruit *(Feuonia limina).*

villages with two or three tribes. In the single tribe villages, the feeling of community is strong and even as far as the headman and elders are concerned that the sense of hierarchy is not apparent except when they are actually fulfilling their specific functions. In mixed villages however, stratification unites and one tribe is considered superior tribe to other. As in the case of Konda Reddies being seen as superior to the Dora and Valmikies.

As Haimendrof(1945) observed, the atmosphere within the village community is intensely democratic; each member has equal rights and the leadership of the hereditary head of the village, usually a descendant of the village founder, has authority over his fellow-villagers. He presides over the panchayat, but his decisions must be endorsed by the opinion of the community. The main function of the hereditary head of the village is to be a mediator between people and the supernatural powers; as pujari, he performs those rites and ceremonies that are believed to secure the prosperity of the community as a whole. The traditional council composed of the elders and wise persons of the village, who are known for their impartial judgments in the interest of the community. Hr further stated that the leadership in traditional society was not institutionalized in a set of permanent positions with fixed powers.

Whenever there is a social problem pertaining to cutting of trees by any of the villager, the affected party informs the elders and persuades them to take up the problem. Consistent with the above-mentioned attitudes is the strong feelings of community that is the basis of the functioning of several traditional institutions, which are aimed to preserve the forests. A meeting of the panchayat, takes the responsibilities of maintaining ecological balance and ensuring that, unnecessary cutting of trees by village members is kept under check. Whenever a family needs wood or timber it will approach the community to obtain necessary permission and approval.

The conservation of resources in tribal communities of Rampa country was ensured through several restrictions. Apart from their complete ecosystem and myths around it, the tribals formulated rules for the use of individual species of trees and forest produce. These were:

i). Regarding Trees.

a). Some of the individual species are associated with various rituals, Gods and spirits. Tribals are not allowed to cut these trees[8]. Fruits and leaves of certain trees will be extracted only for self-consumption.

b). The trees that are economically useful, could be cut only for specific purposes with the permission of village council.

c). Certain species which have religious importance as well as economic uses will be planted at the time of marriage as well as abandoning the *podu* field. For example, the marriage couple is made to plant a Neredu branch.

d). In *podu* cultivation only branches are allowed to cut that too only of the trees not protected by religious customs.

ii). Timber for House Construction:

Any person wishing to make use of wood from the forest either for house construction of for fencing will have to obtain the permission of the council. The council decides the quality, type and quantity of the wood to be cut. It also indicates the spot from which it is to be cut.

Hi). ***Fire wood:*** With regard to firewood, tribals cannot cut any tree, but may collect only fallen branches and leaves.

iv). Hunting: Tribals forbid the killing of any pregnant animals.

8 Most important trees were: a). Pala, *Mimusops hexandra*- considered as apex of the floral hierarchy which is associated with the Goddess, Gangalamma, b). Raavi, *Urostigma religiosum* with Lord Sri Rama, c). Usirika, *Emblica officinalis,* is worshipped as a favourite tree of Lord Vishnu, d). Neredu, *Syzygium cuminii,* is most significant tree and it leaves are considered to be auspicious and symbolise prosperity, fertility and productivity, e). Mamidi(*Magnifera indica),* and f). Wegisa(*Pterocarpus marsupium)*- tribals believe that their Gods and Goddess are live under the wegisa tree.

The implementation of these traditional rulcs and regulations over the use of forest resources is related to the religious belief system. Tribals believe that the fate of the individual and his community depend on their relationship with supernatural powers whose natural abode is in the forest. Due to this they would not like to destroy the forest. Their religious beliefs and ritual practices recognise the existence of two different sources of supernatural forces. One centers on the beliefs that hosts of non-human spirits inhabit certain places in the forest and, the second is on veneration of ancestors, who in their divine state after death control many activities of the living. Under the influences of these two forces, the animistic and the ancestral, life must be conducted. Destruction of forests, it is believed, will offend supernatural forces and hence the tribals would not indulge in such actions[9]. Similarly the ancestors lived in a forest environment and hence, in order to keep the ancestral spirits happy, they would not indulge in actions which might destroy the forest environment(Misra 1998).

In the course of interaction with the forests the tribals have evolved their own system of management of their environment. In this natural subsistence tribal economy, the state has established its ownership on forests and curtailed access to tribals but started to provide 'free access' for forest contractors, industrialists and interest groups. These interventions brought changes in the relationship of tribals with forests in terms of their life supporting systems.

In this context several questions need to be addressed on which there is no precise information and quantification. These are queries regarding the extent of loss of forest resources that were use to meet food requirements, the quantity of output, self-consumption and marketing of agricultural commodities and the extent of livestock dependence on forest resources and the present state and the problem of possessing the

9 Because, tribals believes that men are reborn as trees. They remain in constant proximity with Gods to be reborn as ritual trees in the next life. The next most desirable life would be to be reborn as a medicinal tree or herb, followed by trees providing edible parts, and timber used for construction. No one has any intention of being born either as a species, which does not have any significant use(Misra 1998).

livestock. Other major questions relate to the contribution of minor forest produce to the lives of the tribals and extent of loss of these resources due to the reservation of the forests as well as commercial plantations and also the extent of employment that would be generated by the forests operations. Another major problem to be addressed is the process of change in indigenous institutions, that were protected and regenerated the resources on which tribals depended, due to the intervention of the state and market forces.

Here we made an attempt to study such changes in the extent of dependence of tribal on forests and change in their relation with forests due to the external interventions. For the detailed study we have considered two villages in Rampa country. The villages chosen for the study are G.M. Valasa, an interior village with less interventions and Kannaram, a village that is adjacent to the plains with several interventions. We considered Kannaram, a village with more interventions, to observe the contrast to that of the village with less interventions.

4.2. G.M.Valasa: A Village With Less Interventions

G.M.Valasa[10] is a panchayat village that consists of six hamlets[11] in Maredimilli Mandal of East Godavari district. It lies 13 kms away from the Mandal head quarters. When one proceeds towards the village, one can see teak plantations on both sides of the `Katcha' road, which goes over hills and streams. The village seems to lie at the center of a teak plantation of the forest department surrounded by different forest coupes namely G.M. Valasa, Madduluru, Turumamidi, Kundada, Kolluru and Devarapally. But at the entrance of the village, jack, mango and caryota trees are found as symbols of tribal

10 G.M. Valasa was previously in Valamur mutta. The Muttadar of Valamur was migrated to Lingaramvalasa, the previous settlement of the villagers. At that time, the village servant, belonging to valmiki community, planted a mango tree near his field, which was known as "Gujjumamidi". Liter the Muttadar and village servant settled near that tree. Ever since the settlement has been known as "Gujjamamidi Valasa".

11 Ejjaluru (20 kms. from G.M.Valasa), Madduluru (5 kms.) Valamuru (5 kms.) Nellore (15 kms.) and Govinda Vada (15 Kms.) are other hamlets of the panchayat

habitat, denoting their cultural association with forest and trees. At present the village consists of 90 households, belonging to Konda Reddy (43 houses)[12] Koya Dora (36 houses) and Valmiki (11 houses) [13] with a population of 429. All houses in the village are divided into five streets namely, Reddy veedhi, Pullamamidi veedhi, Dondrai veedhi, Dorala peta and Valmiki peta.

Before the reservation of the forests in 1965-66 a road was constructed from G.M. Valasa to Tatiwada and Devarapally. This created an opportunity for outside forces, mostly traders to enter into the area. But one can observe that interaction with the mainstream economy started much before the construction of the roads. The villagers used to visit the Gokavaram[14] weekly market before 1920. The tribals sell their products in this market to fulfill their consumption needs. These interactions with the outside world was further strengthened and the relations with the outsiders have changed over a period of time when these weekly markets were started at Rampachodavaram during 1930s and at Maredimilli in 1952 which is nearer to the village.

The first state sponsored programme in the village was the digging of a drinking water well in 1947. But the major intervention of the state as an agency of development was with the Colonization Scheme in 1955 by which 10 households were given 10 acres of land, a plough, a pair of bullocks, a spade and Rs.1000 each[15]. The major

12 Konda Reddies is being considered as superior than Doras and Valmiki. Konda Reddies involves in *podu* on hill slopes while Doras are on low lands. The major cultural difference is that the Doras consumes beef but all other traditions and culture is almost same in both communities. The Valmikies are called as "mala" like in plain areas, the untouchable, whose main occupation is petty trading who also served as village servants before abolition of "mutta".

13 Before 1960s there were 40 Valmiki households in the village. Since this community depended less on forests and are involved in petty trade they have more relations with mainstream society than the other two groups. And also they made use of the primary school, established around 1830 and most of them are in government services.

14 They use to take their produce by bullocks, called as *gonetedlu* to the market. Since Valmikies involved in petty trading, all Valmikies had bullocks at that time and used to visit market very frequently than others.

15 At present only two beneficiaries are using the plough that too only the village servant and the Muttadar.

intervention of the state in the village is the introduction of land settlement operations during 1970-71. And state issued individual patta to the tribals by which private property rights on land were introduced in a community ownership based tribal society. So the interventions into the village can be categorised in two ways: a) Intervention of Forest Department and reservation of the forests after the relaxation of the ban on the entry of forest officials, b) Intervention of State through development activities as an agent of development at two levels. One is by introducing land settlement operations by which it established individual rights over land and other is by introducing several developmental activity mainly commercial crops by giving some incentives.

4.2.1. Reservation of the forests:

The forest areas of G.M. Valasa were reserved during 1964-65. Immediately after the reservation of forests, the Forest Department planted teak under Teak Conservation Working Circle, which covers nearly 2017.35 hectares in 31 coupes of six series by felling of natural mixed forests. In the process of reservation, areas under cultivation were also converted into reserve forests and Forest Department has extended its boundaries almost to the doorstep of the village. Nearly 123 acres of cultivable land have been converted into reserved forest[16]. The felling operations of Forest Department resulted in the entry of forest contractors into the village. The contractors extracted timber indiscriminately and cut trees even in unreserved lands especially, mango trees that were important in tribals' life[17]. Since coupe-wise data is not available we collected data on timber extracted from G.M. Valasa and its surrounding series between 1978-79 to 1987-88. By the end of 1987-88, the timber and fuel wood extracted from six coupes of G.M. Valasa series, which consists of 333.35 hectares, were 16,765.31cmt and 43,640

16 This was the area, which was using for *podu* cultivation and also consists with mango and tamarind trees. Name of the locations and extent of these area were: Marivada(15 acres), Adtaluru(30 acres), Kondaputhota(40acres), Gangollu(8 acres), Dondraipadu(15 acres) and Gondivalasa(15acres).

17 This was resulted in Girijan Sangham in 1964 to protest against indiscriminate felling of trees. During this phase the CPI (M-L) party entered in 1964-65 and organised tribals to fight against their problems. When the activities of the party were strengthened, a police camp was step up in the village during 1966-69 and also in 1986-88. The present village surpanch is a member of the CPI (M.L.) Praja Pandha even though party activities are weakened.

tones respectively. As a whole in 31 coupes of six series, the Forest Department extracted 65,457.45 cmt of timber of 338.117 tones of fuel wood(Table 4.6). The quantity of extraction of timber and firewood shows the extent of destruction of natural forests. The contracting out of forests and indiscriminate felling have resulted in the loss of forest species on which tribals depended for their survival and entry of contractors and employers of Forest Department into the village.

TABLE: 4.6. SERIES WISE AREA, TIMBER AND FUEL WOOD EXTRACTED FROM SURROUNDING SERIES OF G.M.VALASA BETWEEN 1978-79 TO 1987-88.

Series	No.of coupes	Area (in ha)	Timber (Cmt)	Fuel wood(ton)
GMValasa	6	33335	16765310	43,640
Madduluru	5	294.00	10632248	49,772
Turumamidi	7	376.00	10368.919	57,688
Kolluru	3	183.00	5614.900	28,146
Devarapalli	10	831.00	22076.077	158,871
TOTAL	31	201735	65457.454	388,117

Source: Government of Andhra Pradesh, 1991.

Also due to the clear felling of the forests for commercial plantations tribals of G.M.Valsa have lost several varieties of fruits, leaves, tubers, roots and fruits which they use as food as well as herbal plants and minor forest produce. Table 4.7 shows the number of species that the tribals of G.M.Valasa have lost due the clear felling activity of forest department. These operations have created employment to the tribals at the time of felling and plantation. In the village, 52.3 per cent of households were involved as labourer during 1970. Due to the non-availability of the forest works presently, 36.7 per cent of households are involved in the forest works that to once in two\three years. It indicates that the intervention of forest department not only destroyed the species on which tribals of G.M.Valsa are depended for their survival but also failed to create regular employment to the tribals in forest operations.

TABLE: 4.7. NUMBER OF SPECIES LOST IN CLEAR FELLING OF FORESTS.

	No.of Species Available before 1970	No.of Species Available at present	No.of Species lost
I. Food : Leaves	36	17	19
Fruits	23	12	11
Tubers	18	5	13
Roots	16	8	8
Flowers	7	2	5
II. Herbs	83	25	68
III. MFP	8	3	5
IV. Employment in Forest works % of HHs involved	52.3	36.7	
Average days of employment per person.	62 days	42.1	19.9

Source: Field Study.

4.2.2. Land Holdings

Besides the reservation of the forests, land settlement operation was another major intervention of the state in the agency area of Rampa. As we stated earlier, in G.M.Valasa land settlement operation was carried out in 1970-71 and villagers were issued individual pattas by which private property rights over land in a communal ownership based tribal society was introduced. Until then, the land within the boundary of the village was under community ownership[18] and tribals were free to do *podu* cultivation in any part of village-land. Hence villagers were not confining to one patch of land before the land settlements and they totally depended on their method of traditional method of agriculture-*podu*.

18 The rent that the village has to pay was fixed by the Muttadar to the village as whole based on the number of households. But the extent of land under individual possession is basis for the fixation of rent on land after the settlement operations.

Though traditionally there were differences among the tribal households in the extent of *podu* cultivation, this was never considered as inequality because they choose the extent as per their requirement. Though the state attempted to introduce settled agriculture through the Colonisation Scheme in G.M. Valasa, all households of Konda Reddy and Koya Dora continued to practice *podu.* Tribals prefer *podu* cultivation to settled agriculture may due to the knowledge they had and indigenous knowledge systems developed over centuries. In the village even today 79(71.1 per cent) households are still practicing *podu* cultivation in an extent of 162.5 acres with an average of 2.1acres per each household. When it comes to the patta lands, among the 90 households, 6.7 per cent of households are landless, 15.5 per cent of households own 34 (6.9 per cent) acres whose holdings are less than two acres, 37.8 per cent of households own 4-6 acres with 161(33 per cent) acres of land and 15.5 per cent owned more than 10 acres each with 142(29.1 per cent) acres of cultivable land(Table 4.8). The average land holding is ranging from one acre to 10.1 acres while in *podu* it ranging from 1.3 acres to 2.5 acres. These differences may not be result of land transactions because there was prohibition on all types of land transactions between tribal to non-tribal as well as among tribals in the agency area of Andhra region.

TABLE: 4.8. LANDHOLDINGS-WISE NO.OF HOUSEHOLDS IN G.M.VALASA

Size of land Holding	PATTA LANDS			PODU LANDS		
	No.of HHs	Area (acres)	Average Size (acres)	No.of HHs	Area (acres)	Average Size (acres)
LL	6 (6.7)	(0.0)	—	6 (7.6)	8.0 (4.9)	1.3
1-2	2 (2.2)	2.0 (0.4)	1.0	1 (1.3)	2 (1.2)	2.0
2-4	12 (13.3)	32.0 (6.5)	2.7	11 (13.9)	23.0 (14.2)	2.1
4-6	34 (37.8)	161.0 (33.0)	4.7	33 (41.8)	64.0 (39.4)	1.9
6-8	16 (17.8)	102.0 (20.9)	6.4	14 (17.7)	33.5 (20.6)	2.4
8-10	6 (6.7)	49.0 (10.0)	8.2	2 (2.5)	5 (3.1)	2.5
10 and above	14 (15.5)	142.0 (29.2)	10.1	12 (15.2)	27.0 (16.6)	2.3
Total	90 (100)	488.0 (100)	5.4	79 (100)	162.5 (100)	2.1

Source: Field Study

4.2.3. Cropping Pattern:

Traditionally, the tribals are depended on *podu* cultivation on which they produce jowar, bajra, redgram etc. After the land settlement operations the government attempted to introduce settled agriculture initially through the Colonisation Scheme and after that through agriculture development programmes like social forestry and IF AD by which it introduced cash crops like cashew and lime. Presently in G.M.Valasa majority of the households practice *podu* on which they produce jowar, bajra and other food grains while crops like lime and cashew are grown on patta lands. In the village 300 acres of patta land(61.5 per cent) are under cultivation. Almost all households were cultivating cashew in the village, which covers 37.3 per cent of land. The Social Forestry Programme through which lime gardens are promoted also covered nearly 34 per cent of land. Since cashew crop is not yielding in the Maredimilli region because of heavy rains, lime is the only cash crop, which is giving better yields in the village. The other crops grown on patta lands in G.M. Valasa are Jowar, Redgram and Paddy which covers 2.8per cent, 7.8per cent and 8.0per cent of land respectively (Table 4.9).

This shows that area under food grains production is less since they continue to produce food crops on *podu* land. As reported in the village before the introduction of the cash crops much of the patta lands were kept fallow because it is located in low areas. But due to the incentives given by the government most of the villagers initiated to plant cashew and lime, which occupied larger area.

In the village, total production of the jowar in patta as well as podu lands is 4925 kg, which comes to an average of 54.7 kg per household. And bajra, comes around an average of 17.9 kg, and the average production of other crops, paddy and redgram are 350 and 53.9 kgs respectively, and the average production of all crops accounts 476.6kgs per household and in the village, the average self-consumption per household is 350 kgs. But one can observe that the households owning 8 acres and above are consuming above the average (Table 4.10). As was stated by a tribal in the village, traditionally the output from the agriculture is sufficient for three to four months and for the rest of the period they depend on forest produce for their survival. Thus it seems that selling of food grains is very meagre that too to meet their cash requirements.

TABLE: 4.9. LANDHOLDINGS **AND CROP** WISE AREA UNDER CULTIVATION IN G.M.VALASA (In Acres)

Size of Land Holding	Jowar	Redgram	Paddy	Lime	Orange	Banana	Cashew	Mosambi	Area under all Crop
1-2	-		-	1.0 (1.0)			1.0 (0.9)	-	2.0 (0.7)
2-4	-	1.0 **(4.3)**	2.5 (10.4)	11.0 (10.8)	1.0 (40)	0.5 (33.3)	17.0 (152)	0.5 **(14.3)**	33.5 (11.2)
4-6	-		3.0 (12.5)	40.0 (39.2)	5.0 (20.0)	-	52.0 (46.4)	0.5 (14.3)	100.5 (33.5)
6-8	0.5 (5.9)	**4.5 (19.1)**	4.0 (16.7)	21.0 (20.6)	2.0 (8.0)	-	18.0 (16.1)	1.5 (42.8)	51.5 (17.1)
8-10	3.0 (35.3)	7.0 (29.8)	3.5 (14.6)	6.0 (5.9)	7.5 (30.0)	0.5 (33.3)	4.0 (3.6)	0.5 (14.3)	32.0 (10.7)
10 and above	5.0 (58.8)	11.0 **(46.8)**	11.0 (45.8)	23.0 (22.5)	9.5 (38.0)	0.5 (33.3)	20.0 (17.8)	0.5 (14.3)	80.5 (26.8)
TOTAL	8.5 (100)	23.5 (100)	24.0 (100)	102.0 (100)	25.0 (100)	1.5 (100)	112.0 (100)	3.5 (100)	300 (100)
% to total area under cultivation	2.8	7.8	8.0	34.0	8.3	0.5	37.3	1.3	100

Source: Field Study

TABLE: 4.10. LAND HOLDINGS AND CROP WISE TOTAL YIELD, CONSUMPTION AND MARKETED SURPLUS IN G.M.VALASA **(in Kgs)**

Size of the Holding	JOWAR			BAJRA			REDGRAM			PADDY			ALL CROPS		
	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C
Landless (6)	360 60.0*	-	360 60.0	175 29.2	-	175 29.2	45 7.5	35 5.8	80 13.3	-	-	-	580 96.7	35 5.8	615 102.5
1-2(2)	50 25.0	-	50 25.0	30 15.0	-	30 15.0	10 5.0	-	10 5.0	-	-	-	90 45.0	-	90 45.0
2-4(12)	605 50.1	-	605 50.1	320 26.7	-	320 26.7	100 8.3	160 13.3	260 21.6	2000 166.7	500 41.7	2500 208.4	3025 252.1	660 55	3685 307.1
4-6 (34)	1485 43.7	-	1485 43.7	665 19.6	-	665 19.6	210 6.2	355 10.4	565 16.6	3000 88.2	600 17.6	3600 105.8	5360 157.6	955 28.1	6315 185.7
6-8(16)	660 41.3	50 3.1	710 **44.4**	235 14.7	-	235 14.7	145 9.1	515 32.2	660 41.3	2500 156.3	1000 62.5	3500 218.8	3540 221.2	1565 97.8	5105 31.9
8-10(6)	610 101.7	-	610 **101.7**	-	-	-	175 29.2	615 102.5	790 131.7	4000 666.7	500 83.3	4500 750.0	4785 797.5	1115 185.8	5900 983.3
10 and above (14)	595 42.5	510 36.4	1105 79.0	135 9.6	50 3.6	185 13.2	315 22.5	2175 155.4	2490 117.9	9200 657.1	6000 428.6	15200 1085.7	102457 31.8	8735 623.9	189801 355.7
TOTAL **(90)**	4365 48.5	560 6.2	4925 54.7	1560 17.3	50 0.6	16101 7.9	10001 1.1	3855 42.8	4855 53.9	21200 235.6	10300 **114.4**	31500 350.0	28125 312.5	147651 64.1	428904 76.6

@ Also included yield from *podu* lands. A: consumption; B: Qty. marketed; C: Total output. *Averages per Household.

Source: Field Study

4.2.4. Livestock:

Cows, goats and poultry are the major live stock in the village. Before the reservation of the forests and commercial plantations there were considerable number of livestock in the village. And the selling of the live stock has become a common practice in tribal areas, which was not a regular activity in traditional tribal society. But the reservation of the forests, restriction on grazing of the cattle have affected the livestock position in tribal villages.

In the village 45.6 per cent of households owned cows before 1970, while at present 43.3 per cent of households own cows. Regarding goats also, the number of households owning livestock as well as but number of livestock has declined (Table 4.11). The total cattle population in the village is 135, which is owned by 43.3 per cent households. Among the total cow population 57.8 per cent are owned by 50 per cent of households who own more than six acres of land each. Thus the households who have land to graze the cattle are having more number of cattle. But if one observed the proportion of sales in last year was higher in households having 1 to 4 acres of land. Same trend can also be observed in goats. More number of goats (52.9 per cent) are owned by the households who have more than 10 acres of land. Even though goats and poultry are mostly for self-consumption, the proportion of sales are higher in the households with less holdings(Table 4.12).

4.2.5. Ownership and Dependence on Trees:

Traditionally in tribal villages, trees on which tribals depended for survivals are under community ownership. But after the land settlement operation, by which land became individual property, trees in the respective fields came under the control of the landowner. Before 1970 all trees were under community ownership in G.M.Valasa. Nearly 650 of tamarind, 250 of mango and 100 of shikoy trees were under community control. All the households in the village get equal share of the yield from these trees. But presently in the village 200 tamarind trees, 50 mango and 20 shikoy trees are under community ownership. Tamarind trees have declined more in number than the other

TABLE: 4.11. PER CNETAGE OF LIVESTOCK OWNING HOUSEHOLDS IN G.M.VALSA IN 1970 AND AT PRESENT

	1970		At Present	
	% of Owning Households	No.of Livestock	% of Owning Households	No.of Livestock
Cows	45.6	182	43.3	135
Goats	61.2	316	57.8	259

Source: Field Study.

TABLE: 4.12. LANDHOLDINGS WISE NO.OF HOUSEHOLDS AND LIVESTOCK IN G.M.VALASA

Size of Land Holdings	COWS					GOATS					POULTRY				
	A	B	C	D	E	A	B	C	D	E	A	B	C	D	E
Landless						1 (1.9)	1 (0.4)				3 (8.3)	16 (10.0)	2 (11.8)	6 (15.0)	0.38
1-2	(2.6)	5 (3.7)	1 (14.3)	1 (10.0)	0.20	1 (1.9)	5 (1.9)								
2-4	6 (15.4)	17 (12.6)	2 (28.6)	4 (40.0)	0.23	6 (116)	30 (13.0)	3 (13.0)	10 (20.8)	0.33	4 (11.1)	18 (11.2)	3 (17.6)	10 (25.0)	0.56
4-6	10 (25.6)	35 (25.9)	3 (42.8)	4 (40.0)	0.11	22 (42.3)	86 (33.3)	14 (610)	28 (58.3)	0.33	14 (38.9)	68 (42.5)	8 (47.1)	17 (42.5)	0.25
6-8	6 (15.4)	14 (104)	1 (14.3)	1 (10.0)	0.07	10 (19.2)	39 (15.1)	3 (13.0)	4 (8.4)	0.10	8 (22.2)	33 (20.6)	4 (23.5)	7 (17.5)	0.21
8-10	4 (10.2)	10 (7.4)				2 (3.2)	14 (5.4)				(2.8)	2 (1.3)			
10 and above	12 (30.8)	54 (40.0)				10 (19.2)	84 (32.4)	3 (13.0)	6 (12.5)	0.07	6 (16.7)	23 (14.4)			
TOTAL	39 (100)	135 (100)	7 (100)	10 (100)	0.07	52 (100)	259 (100)	23 (100)	48 (100)	0.19	36 (100)	160 (100)	17 (100)	40 (100)	0 25

Source: Field Study A- No.of Owning Households, B-No.of Livestock, C-No.of HHs sold last year, D- No.of livestock sold,
E-Proportion Sold.

species because of the economic value that they have in the tribal economy. We have estimated the loss of income due to the decline in the number of community trees at current market prices. Before 1970, income from the community trees to the village was nearly Rs.1,18,500 while it declined to Rs.37,440 by 1997 with a loss of Rs.81,060 in 1997(Table 4.13). This is because of the decline in number of trees under community ownership.

TABLE: 4.13. SPECIES WISE NO.OF TREES UNDER COMMUNAL OWNERSHIP IN G.M.VALASA

Species	Before 1970		Present		Estimated Loss (Rs)
	No.of Trees	Estimated Income(Rs)	No.of Trees	Estimated Income(Rs)	
Tamarind	650	97,500	200	30,000	67,500
Mango*	250	-	50	--	--
Shikoy	100	10,200	20	2,040	8,160
Karaka	150	10,800	75	5,400	5,400
TOTAL	1150	1,18,500	345	37,440	81,060

* Tribal never sells mangos.
Source: Field Study

One can also observe that not only the number of community trees has declined but also the distribution system of tribals[1] has been destroyed. And it created inequality among the tribal households regarding the income acquiring from these resources based on the size of landholdings. At present, 62 (55.8 per cent) households own 279 tamarind trees which yielded 4595 kg per annum, on which each household earned an average income of nearly Rs.692.8 per annum(Table 4.14). All households except those, which own more than 10 acres of land, are getting less than the average in G.M. Valasa. Hence the reservation of the forest and land settlement operation have resulted in decline of number of community trees on which tribals are depended to meet their subsistence needs at one side. And on the other, it resulted in unequal distribution of these resources among the tribals by destroying the collective management and distributional aspects of indigenous institutions.

TABLE: 4.14. LANDHOLDINGS-WISE TAMARIND YIELD, SELF CONSUMPTION AND MARKETED SURPLUS IN G.M. VALASA

Size of land holdings	No.of owning HHs	No.of Trees	Total Yield (in kg)	Self Consumption		MARKETED SURPLUS			
				Qty. (in kg)	Average (in kg)	Qty (in kg)	Average(in kg)	Value(Rs)	Average Value
2-4	6	37	400	50	8.3	350	58.3	3500	583.3
4-6	23	90	1500	250	10.9	1250	54.3	12500	543.5
6-8	14	94	1005	130	9.3	875	62.5	8750	625.0
8-9	6	40	430	80	13.3	350	58.3	3500	583.3
10 and above	13	1881	1260	180	13.8	1080	83.1	10800	830.8
Total	62	279	4595	690	11.1	3905	63.0	39050	629.8

Source: Field Study

4.2.6. Involvement in **Collection** of **MFP:**

Traditionally the tribals collected large varieties of MFP and it was a major source of employment for them. As reported by the villagers, they were involved in the collection of honey, adda leaves, hill-brooms, shikoy and soapnut before the reservation of the forests. While at present hill-brooms, adda leaves and shikoy are only available in the surrounding forests. Even for these items the villagers have to go more than a five kms into the forest. Not only the number of species but also the availability of even these three items has declined. With the decline of MFP the percent of involvement of tribals in collection has declined for all the items when compared to before 1970. Before 1970 nearly 75.5 per cent of households were involved in adda leaf collection, 85.2 households were in the activity of broomstick and 83.3 per cent were involved in shikoy collection. While at present 28.8 per cent, 52.8 per cent and 19.4 per cent of households are involved in the collection of adda leaf, broomstick and shikoy respectively. And the quantity that was collects by the tribals has also declined for these species. This resulted in decline of employment for the tribals in the MFP collection(Table: 4.15). The reason for the decline in the number and quantity available of MFP may be the clear felling operations of Forest Department.

Among the households that are involved in the collection of broomstick, mostly owns less than six acres of land. Each household collects an average of 20-30 hill-brooms per weekly in the season and sells it to the GCC depot at the rate of Rs.1.50 per broomstick. Each household is able to earn an average income of Rs. 194.4 in the season

if it is collected in all days of season. The households who own less than four acres of land are getting more than the average. This indicates that those households with lesser land holdings are depended on the collection of the hill-brooms. Regarding the collection of adda leaves 28.8 percent of households are involved in the village. Each household will collect nearly 70-90 bundles per week. A bundle consists of 100 leaves, which costs Rs.0.50 and each household earns an average of Rs.231.2 per season if it is collected in all days of season. And shikoy collection is somewhat different than these two. Adda leaves and hill-brooms are collected only from the forest while shikoy is collected not only from the forest but also from own trees on their respective patta lands. This would resulted in the households who own six acres of land being able to get above the average income(Table 4.16).

TABLE: 4.15. SPICIES-WISE NO.OF HOUSEHOLDS INVOLVED AND QUANTITY MFP COLLECTED IN 1970 AND AT PRESENT IN G.M.VALASA

Species	Before 1970				At Present			
	% of HH involved	Average No of days employment	Average quantity collected per HH m a week	Average income per HH in a week (in Rs) @	% of HH involved	Average No.of days of employment	Average quantity collected per HH m a week	Average income per HH in a week (@
Adda leaf	75.5	57.3	128*	64.00	28.8	39.5	82*	41.00
Broomstick	85.2	56.8	65**	97.50	52.8	40.2	32**	48.00
Shikoy	83.3	25.3	18#	180.00	24.3	19.4	11#	110.00

* Bundles. Each one consists of 100 leaves, ** In number, # In Kgs. @ Calculated at present market prices.
Source: Field Study.

4.2.7. Employment Opportunities:

Agriculture, MFP collection and forest-based works are major source of employment for the tribals of the G.M.valasa. But employment opportunities in forest operation are available only once in three/four years[19]. In the village nearly 36.7 per cent households are involved in forest works which provides nearly 42.1 days of employment for each person. In agriculture, only 16.7 per cent of households are involved as wage

19 In the mid seventies, forest department started felling and plantation works with 50,000 labourers in Kakinada division but now carrying out all works with only 5,000 labourers annually.

TABLE: 4.16. LAND HOLDINGS AND ITEM-WISE NO.OF HOUSEHOLDS INVOLVED IN M.F.P. COLLECTION IN G.M.VALASA

Size of Land Holding	Broomstick			Adda leaf			Shikoy		
	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C
Landless	**6 (10.3)**	8 (10.8)	238.0	6 (18.8)	8 **(21.1)**	265.5	2 (7.4)	2 (5.7)	104.0
1-2	2 (3.4)	3 (4.1)	228.75	2 (6.3)	3 (7.9)	246.5	-	-	-
2-4	12 (20.7)	17 (23.0)	210.45	6 (18.8)	8 (21.1)	249.4	3 (11.1)	3 (3.5)	100.0
4-6	15 (25.9)	19 (25.7)	185.85	9 (28.1)	10 (26.3)	238.0	12 (41.4)	14 (40.0)	101.5
6-8	7 (12.1)	9 (12.1)	182.70	5 (15.5)	5 (13.1)	236.6	5 (18.5)	7 (20.0)	102.6
8-10	4 (6.9)	4 (5.4)	165.0	1 (3.1)	1 (2.6)	201.4	2 (7.4)	2 (5.7)	117.0
10 and above	12 (20.7)	14 (18.9)	150.0	3 (9.4)	3 (7.9)	181.0	3 **(11.1)**	7 (20.0)	104.5
Total	58 (100)	74 (100)	194.4	32 (100)	38 (100)	231.2	27 (100)	35 (100)	103.2
Percentage to total HHs	52.2			28.8			24.3		

A: No.of Households Involved; B: No.of Persons; C: Average Income per HH.
Source: Field Study

labour, which provides an average employment of 60 days. This may be due to the nature of crops introduced in the village, which are not labour intensive. Lime and cashew do not require much labour, covered nearly 71.3 per cent of land in the village. MFP collection is a self-employment activity particularly for women. One can consider this as alleviating seasonal unemployment and or underemployment than be projected as full time employment. As we observed earlier, collection of broomstick, adda leaves and shikoy are the minor forest produce that are available in G.M. Valasa. These activities provide employment for an average of 39.5 and 40.2 and 19.4 days respectively in respective seasons while it was 57.3, 56.8 and 25.3 respectively before 1970(Table 4.17). Hence there was no increase in employment opportunities in agriculture or in forest works and the decline in employment in MFP collection which has forced the tribals into destitute condition.

Thus state intervention through the reservation of the forests as well as developmental activities in traditional subsistence tribal economy have resulted in:

TABLE: 4.17. LANDHOLDINGS AND ACTIVITY WISE EMPLOYMENT IN G.M.VALASA

Size of land holdings	Agricultural Wage Labour				Forest Works				Adda Leaf Collection				Broomstick				Shikoy Collection			
	A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D
Landless					3 (9 1)	(106)	217	43 4	6 (18.8)	8 (21 1)	330	41.3	6 (10.3)	8 (108)	342	42.8	2 (7.4)	(57)	36	18 0
1-2									2 (6.3)	3 (7.9)	122	40.7	: (34)	3 (4 1)	129	43.0				-
2-4	4 (26.7)	8 (32.0)	493	61.6	5 (15.2)	13 (27.7)	558	42.9	6 (188)	8 (21.1)	324	405	12 (20.7)	17 (23.0)	707	41 6	3 (11.1)	3 (8.6)	52	17.3
4-6	8 (53.3)	10 (40.0)	593	59.3	15 (45.4)	(36.2)	734	43.2	9 (28.1)	10 (26.3)	389	38.9	15 (259)	19 (25.7)	783	41.2	12 (44.4)	14 (40.0)	283	20.2
6-8	3 (20.0)	7 (28.0)	414	59 1	7 (21 2)	9 (19 1)	347	48.6	5 (15.5)	5 (13 1)	191	38.2	7 (12.1)	9 (121)	366	40.7	3 (18.5)	(20.0)	137	19.6
8-10					1 (3.0)	1 (2 1)	43	430	1 (31)	1 (26)	37	37.0	4 (6.9)	4 (54)	155	38.8	2 (7.4)	2 (5.7)	37	18.5
10 and above					F (6.1)	(43)	81	405	3 (9.4)	3 (7.9)	107	35.7	12 (20.7)	14 (18.9)	494	353	3 (11.1)	7 (200)	135	19.3
TOTAL	(100)	(100)			(100)	(100)	1980	42 1	(100)	38 (100)	1500	39.5	58 (100)	74 (100)	2976	40.2	(100)	35 (100)	680	19.4
% to total HHs	16.7				36.7				35.6				64.4				30.0			

A: No.of households involved; B: No.of persons involved; C: Total No.of day of employment; D: Average days of employment per person.
Source: Field Study

i). Intervention of Forest Department:

a). Reservation of forests: Due to the reservation of forests, tribal are denied access to forest resources and also the land on which they were practicing podu. This has resulted in the decline of availability of land *for podu* cultivation. And the fallow period has also declined from 8-10years to 2-3 years, which is insufficient for regeneration of the forests.

b). Plantations: As we have observed, the Forest Department has introduced monoculture plantations by clear felling of the natural forests. This has resulted in the destruction of natural forests on which tribals depended for their food, minor forest produce and medicine and also has failed to provide sufficient employment through out the year. The forest works providing only 42.1 days of employment, that too once in two\three years.

ii). Individual Ownership on Land:

a). In 1970s Government issued individual pattas to the lands in the village. This created private property right over land in place of community ownership where the tribals can cultivate a patch of land according to their requirements and ability.

b). Due to the introduction of individual ownership on land the trees on respective lands became private property of the landowner. This resulted not only in decline of community ownership but also resulted in unequal distribution of income based on the size of land holdings.

Hi). Introduction of Cash Crops:

Though the state introduced cash crops like cashew, lime etc., in the village through social forestry and IF AD, all the households of G.M.Valasa are still practicing *podu* cultivation for their survival. Instead of making the tribals self-sufficient, these crops have not even improved their employment opportunities in agriculture. One can observe that the average days of wage employment in agriculture are only 60 days per person in G.M.Valasa.

This shows that all these interventions with alien institutions not only restricted tribals' rights over forest resources, but have also destroyed the resources on which they depend for their survival without creating appropriate alternatives opportunities. This can be seen clearly by observing the contrast with a village, adjacent to plain areas with more interventions in terms of landholdings, cropping pattern and availability of MFP and employment.

4.3. KANNARAM: A VILLAGE WITH MORE INTERVENTIONS

Kannaram is a single tribe hamlet of Tamarapalli panchayat, located 15 kms. away from Rampachodavaram, the Mandal headquarters. Presently the village consists of 51 households belonging to Koya Dora community (one household belongs to `Mala' from plain area, the teacher of the village) located in two streets namely *kotha* and *patha veedhi*. Though the tribals generally, explain the transformation of their village on the basis of the weekly market centers, one can also observe that the level of intervention of non-tribals (particularly traders) into any tribal village based on the distance of the weekly market centers. The village is nearer to Gokavaram, which is a weekly market centre for the villagers of the Kannaram since 1888. Over a period of time this has resulted in the entry of petty traders of Gokavaram into the village for trade in every product that is available in the village. In 1920, a non-tribal belonging to the Reddy caste had settled in the village and was involved in petty trading and money lending. But the household left the village in 1980 because of the increased entry of petty traders(cycle traders) for each and every product that are available in the village.

Besides the intervention of the state by the reservation of the forests as well as developmental activities one can also find the interventions of private traders, contractors and also non-tribal cultivators in the village. This entry may be because the village is located nearer to the plain areas that too market center which resulted in the entry of petty traders and industries like ITC and Sago industries into the village. The entry of the non-tribal cultivators started after the introduction of cashew crops in the village, which resulted in land lease arrangements.

These interventions have begun by the forest reservation during late 1950s by which the village was connected by `katcha' road to the main road between Chodavaram and Gokavaram. Since the village lies nearer to the plain area it became a center for contractors as well timber merchants for forest labourers. Thus the villagers have many interactions with the outside people when compared to G.M.Valsa. Besides these, the construction of a temple of 'Rama' in 1985, a God who is generally worshipped in plain areas shows the impact of all these interventions not only on the economic relations but also on the cultural aspects of the tribes of Kannaram.

4.3.1. Landholdings:

The total patta land in Kannaram is about 349.5 acres. Within the total patta land nearly 48.4 per cent of land is owned by 18.2 percent of households, which to comes an average of 16.9 acres. The lower 20 percent of households own only 7.3 percent of land, while other 7.3 percent households are landless. As a whole, nearly 61.8 percent of households owned less than the average holding(Table 4.18). This shows that unequal distribution of land is much more than the interior village with less interventions. Regarding podu cultivation, till 1963 nearly 75 percent of households are involved in *podu* cultivation. But due to the reservation of forests in which they were left with one hill for *podu* and at the same time the surrounding forest was cleared when first Prime Minister visited the village. As a result at present 8(9.5 percent) households who owned less than two acres of land are involved in podu cultivation while in G.M. Valasa, all households of Konda Reddy and Koya Dora are practicing *podu.*

4.3.2. Cropping Pattern:

As a result of the external interventions especially by private agencies like Sago Industries and also traders, one can observe diversification of the crops in Kannaram when compared to G.M. Valasa. Nearly 74.6 percent of land is under cultivation in the village. Jowar is the major crop, which is cultivated in 21.5 percent of land. The other crops in the village are bajra, redgram, greengram, paddy, sama, and karrapendalam which covers 9.2 per cent, 7.1 per cent, 3.8 per cent, 3.6 per cent, 2.7 per cent and 2.7

percent of land respectively(Table 4.19). Government introduced cashew in the village by providing incentives to the tribals. Nearly 90.9 per cent of households are cultivating cashew, which is covering 40.8 per cent of total patta land. Karrapendalam is promoted by Sago Industry of Gokavaram[20].

TABLE: 4.18. LANDHOLDINGS WISE NO.OF HOUSEHOLDS IN KANNARAM

(In Acres)

Size of Land Holdings	Patta Land			*Podu* Land		
	No.of HHs	AREA (in acres)	Average Size (acres)	No.of HHs	AREA (in acres)	Average Size (in acres)
Landless	4 (7.3)	-	-	4 (50.0)	4.5 (47.4)	1.1
1-2	4 (7.3)	5.5 (1.6)	1.38	4 (50.0)	5.0 (52.6)	1.3
2-4	7 (12.7)	20 (5.7)	2.9	~	~	--
4-6	23 (41.8)	106 (30.3)	4.6	-	-	~
6-8	5 (9.1)	32 (9.2)	6.4	--	-	--
8-10	2 (3.6)	17 (4.8)	8.5	-	-	-
10 and above	10 (18.2)	169 (48.4)	16.9	-	-	--
Total	55 (100)	349.5 (100)	46.4	8 (100)	9.5 (100)	1.2

Source: Field Study

Table 4.20 shows crop wise total production, self-consumption and marketed surplus in the village. Total production of jowar is 9345 kgs, which comes to an average of 170 kgs per household. Average production of other crops per household is 60.8 kgs of bajra, 20.9 kgs of redgram and paddy comes around an average production of 149.1 kgs. As a whole the average production of all the four crops is 400.7 kgs. Quantity of consumption per household comes around 301.1 kgs, which is lesser than the other

20 Initially Sago Industry attempted to promote Karrapendalam by giving loans to the tribals. Since the tribals do not have required knowledge in cultivation of the crop, the industry did not get the expected yield. Then onwards the industry is itself taking land on lease from the tribals and cultivating by employing non-tribal cultivators from the plain area. The rent ranging from Rs.2000 to 2,500.

TABLE: 4.19. LANDHOLDINGS AND CROP WISE AREA UNDER CULTIVATION IN KANNARAM (in Kgs)

Size of Land Holdings	Jowar	Bajra	R.gram	G.gram	Paddy	Cashew	B.gram	Sama	Karra pendlam	Cotton	Area under all Crop
1-2	1.0 (18)	-	-		-	4.5 (4.2)					5.5 (2.1)
2-4	4.0 (7.1)	1.0 (4.2)	0.5 (2.7)	1.0 **(10.0)**	2.0 (21.0)	10.0 **(9.4)**	0.5 (4.7)	-	1.0 (14.3)		2.0 (7.7)
4-6	19.5 (34.8)	9.75 (40.6)	4.5 (24.3)	4.25 (42.5)	0.5 **(5.3)**	51.0 (47.9)	1.75 (16.3)	2.0 (28.6)	4.0 (57.1)	3.0 (26.1)	100.25 (38.4)
6-8	6.0 (10.8)	2.75 (115)	2.25 (12.2)	0.75 (7.5)	-	13.0 (12.2)	1.0 (9.3)	1.0 (14.3)		4.5 (39.5)	31.25 (12.0)
8-10	4.0 (7.1)	1.50 (6.2)	0.75 (4.0)	1.5 (15.0)	-	4.0 (3.8)	-	-	2.0 (28.6)		13.75 (5.3)
10 and above	21.5 (38.4)	9.0 (37.5)	10.5 (56.8)	2.5 (25.0)	7.0 (73.7)	24.0 (22.5)	7.5 (69.7)	4.0 (57.1)	-	4.0 (34.8)	**90.0** (34.5)
TOTAL	56.0 (100)	24.0 (100)	18.5 (100)	10.0 (100)	9.5 (100)	106.5 (100)	10.75 (100)	7.0 (100)	7.0 (100)	11.5 (100)	260.75 (100)
Percent to total area under Crops	21.5	9.2	7.1	3.8	3.6	40.8	4.1	2.7	2.7	4.4	100

Source: Field Study

TABLE: 4.20. CROP-WISE TOTAL OUTPUT, CONSUMPTION AND MARKETED SURPLUS IN KANNARAM (IN KGS)

Size of the Holding	JOWAR			BAJRA			REDGRAM			PADDY			ALL CROPS		
	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C
Landless (4)	240 60.0*	-	240 60.0	120 30.0	-	120 30.0	10 2.5	12 3.0	22 5.5				370 92.5	12 3.0	382 95.5
1-2 (4)	210 52.5	-	210 52.5	-	-	-	12 3.0	13 3.3	25 6.3				222 55.5	13 3.3	235 58.8
2-4(7)	520 74.3	-	520 74.3	110 15.2	-	110 15.7	24 3.4	39 5.6	63 9.0	900 128.6	300 42.8	1200 171.4	1554 222.0	339 48.4	1893 270.4
4-6 (23)	2700 117.4	537 23.3	3237 140.7	1219 53.0	-	1219 53.0	112 4.9	167 7.3	279 12.1	350 15.2	150 6.5	500 21.7	4381 190.5	854 37.1	5235 227.6
6-8 (5)	784 156.8	200 40.0	984 196.8	304 60.8	70 14.0	374 74.8	64 12.8	78 15.6	142 28.4				1152 230.4	348 69.6	1500 300.0
8-10(2)	322 161.0	263 131.5	585 292.5	133 66.5	75 37.5	208 104.0	30 15.0	28 14.0	58 29.0				485 242.5	366 183.0	851 425.5
10 and above (10)	2795 279.5	774 77.4	3569 356.9	1191 119.1	123 12.3	1314 131.4	208 20.8	353 35.3	561 56.1	4200 420.0	2300 230.0	6500 650.0	8395 839.5	3550 355.0	11945 1194.5
TOTAL (55)	7571 137.7	1774 32.3	9345 170.0	3077 55.9	268 4.9	3345 60.8	460 8.4	690 12.5	1150 20.9	5450 99.1	2750 50.0	8200 149.1	16558 301.1	5482 99.7	220404 00.7

@ Also included yield from *podu* lands. A: consumption; B: Qty. marketed; C: Total output.

* Averages per Household.

Source: Field Study

The average quantity marketed output of all the crops is around 99.7 kgs, which is higher than village with less interventions. This may because of the decline of forest resources on which they depended and the absence of alternative source of income, which has made the tribals of Kannaram to sell their yields to meet their cash requirements.

4.3.3. Livestock

In the village large number of households are in possession of livestock when compared to G.M.Valasa. Though there is an increase in the percentage of livestock owning households, we could see a declining trend in the livestock population of the village when compared to 1970(Table 4.21). This may be due to the increase in the selling of livestock than earlier, owing to the decline in forest-based employment and traditional agriculture production system-podu, and non-availability of agricultural employment since the introduction of cash crops. At present in the village 76.4 per cent of households own cows. Nearly 32.7 per cent of cow are owned by 40.5 percent of households who own 4 to 6 acres of land and 21.4 percent of households who own more than 10 acres of land have 35.6 percent of cows in the village. But one can observe that the proportion of sales is comparatively higher among 4 to 6 acres group. Similar trends can be observed regarding goats and also poultry(Table 4.22).

TABLE: 4.21. PERCNETAGE OF LIVESTOCK OWNING HOUSEHOLDS IN KANNARAM 1970 AND AT PRESENT

	1970		At Present	
	% of Owning Households	No.of Livestock	% of Owning Households	No.of Livestock
Cows	72.5	162	76.4	101
Goats	78.2	322	83.6	270

Source: Field Study.

4.3.4. Ownership and Dependence on Trees:

In the village nearly 1725 trees of tamarind, palmyra, karaka and soapnut were under community ownership before 1970. The estimated annual income of the village community from the trees before 1970 was nearly Rs. 15,02,088 that were equally shared

TABLE:4.22 LANDHOLDINGS WISE NO.OF HOUSEHOLDS AND LIVESTOCK IN KANNARAM

Size of Land Holding	COWS					GOATS					POULTRY				
	A	B	C	D	E	A	B	C	D	E	A	B	C	D	E
Landless	-	-				2 (4.3)	7 (2.6)	2 (7.4)	4 (7.1)	0.57	1 (3.8)	10 (4.3)	-	-	
1-2	3 (7.1)	5 (5.0)		-		3 (6.5)	10 (3.7)	1 (3.7)	3 (5.4)	0.30	-	-		-	-
2-4	6 (14.3)	15 (14.8)	2 (28.6)	2 (25.0)	0 13	5 **(10.9)**	37 **(13.-1**	4 (14.8)	10 (17.9)	0.27	5 (192)	35 (15.0)	3 (17.6)	13 (18.8)	037
4-6	17 (40.5)	33 (32.7)	4 (57.1)	5 (62.5)	0.15	21 (45.7)	**(41.1)**	12 (44.4)	25 (44.6)	0.22	11 **(42.3)**	106 (45.5)	9 (53.0)	33 (47.8)	0.31
6-8	5 (11.9)	7 (6.9)	1 (14.3)	1 (12.5)	0.14	5 (10.9)	26 (9.6)	2 (7.4)	4 (7.1)	o.15	3 (11.6)	40 (17.2)	3 (17.6)	14 (20.3)	0.35
8-10	2 (4.8	5 (5.0)	-	-		2 (43)	15 (5.5)	1 (3.7)	2 (3.6)	0.13	2 (7.7)	15 (6.4)	1 (5.9)	4 (58)	0.27
10 and above	9 (214)	36 (35.6)	-		-	8 (17.4)	67 (24.8)	5 (18.6)	8 (21.1)	0.12	4 **(15.4)**	27 (11.6)	1 (5.9)	5 (73)	0.19
TOTAL	42 (100)	101 (100)	7 (100)	8 (100)	0.08	46 (100)	270 (100)	27 (100)	56 (100)	0.14	26 (100)	233 (100)	17 (100)	69 (100)	029

A- No.of Owning Households, B-No.of Livestock, C-No.of HHs sold last year, D- No.of livestock sold, E-Proportion Sold.
Source: Field Study

among all the households. But due to the introduction of private property rights over land, the number of trees under the community ownership had declined after 1970. Presently, only 275 trees (120 tamarind trees, 10 karaka, 25 soapnut and 120 palmyra) are under community ownership in the village. At present village the community's annual income from the community trees is Rs. 2,11,888 with a loss of nearly Rs. 12,90,200 compared to 1970(Table 4.23).

TABLE: 4.23. SPECIES WISE NO. OF TREES UNDER COMMUNITY OWNERSHIP IN KANNARAM

Species	Before 1970		At present		Estimated Loss(Rs)
	No.of Trees	Estimated Income(Rs)	No.of Trees	Estimated Income(Rs)	
Tamarind	425	95,625	120	27,000	68,625
Soapnut	275	33,963	25	3,088	30,875
Karaka	125	22,500	10	1,800	20,700
Palmyra	900	13,50,000	120	1,80,000	11,70,000
TOTAL	1725	15,02,088	275	2,11,888	12,90,200

Source: Field Study

As we have observed in the earlier section, due to the land settlement operations, the trees on the respective fields have become the individual property of respective landowner. This resulted in unequal distribution of income from the trees. For instance, regarding tamarind trees in the village, household who own between 4-6 acres of land and those who have above 10 acres are earning higher income than the average (Table 4.24). But one can observe that, not only the number of trees but also the average income from tamarind (Rs.421) is less than the interior village. This is because the forests were reserved much earlier than other village that resulted in drastic decline of the trees available to the villagers. As the villagers are depended much on the outsiders to meet their cash requirements, they are even leasing out the trees in the village itself to the traders who come to the village regularly. Even drumsticks, which are generally in the surrounding of their houses, are also being leased out.

4.3.5. Involvement in Collection of MFP

In the surrounding forests of Kannaram, broomstick, adda leaves and soap-nut were major minor forest produce before 1970. While at present broomstick is available in the forests of Kannaram. Because the surrounding forests are clear felled for the commercial plantations in the 1970's, the tribals need to go 4-6 kms. into the forest even for the collection of broomstick. This resulted in decrease in percentage of households involved in the collection of MFP as well as the employment that generated to the tribals(Table 4. 25). At present 47.3 percent of households are involved in collection of hill-brooms in the village while it was 65.2 per cent before 1970. On the basis of the land holdings, 92.7 per cent of households who involve in the collection of broomstick owned less than 6 acres of land. The total average income per household from the collection of hill-brooms is Rs.125.7. Only 30.8 per cent of households who own lees than two acres of land are getting more than average income(Table 4.26).

TABLE :4.24. LANDHOLDINGS-WISE TAMARIND YIELD, SELF CONSUMPTION AND MARKETED SURPLUS IN KANNARAM

Size of land holdings	No.of owning HHs	No.of Trees	Total Yield (in kgs)	Self Consumption		MARKETED SURPLUS			
				Qty. (in kgs)	Average (in kgs)	Qty. (in kgs)	Average (in kgs)	Value(Rs)	Average (Rs)
Landless	1	1	25	5	5	20	20	200	200.0
1-2	4	5	100	15	3.8	85	21.3	850	212.5
2-4	6	13	250	45	7.5	205	34.2	2050	341.7
4-6	17	42	950	145	8.5	805	47.4	8050	473.5
6-8	5	13	185	30	6.0	155	31.0	1550	310.0
8-10	1	4	50	10	10.0	40	40.0	400	400.0
10 and above	8	51	560	100	12.5	460	57.5	4600	575.0
Total	42	129	2120	350	8.3	1770	42.1	17700	421.4

Source: Field Study

TABLE: 4.25. SPICIES-WISE NO.OF HOUSEHOLDS INVOLVED AND QUANTITY MFP COLLECTED IN 1970 AND AT PRESENT IN KANNARAM

Species	Before 1970				At Present			
	% of HH involved	Average No.of days of employment	Average quantity collected per HH m a week	Average income per HH in a week (in Rs) @	% of HH involved	Average No.of days of employment	Average quantity collected per HH m a week	Average income per HH ma week®
Adda leaf	63.5	52.4	98*	49.00	—	--	~	
Hill-brooms	65.2	51.6	59**	88.50	47.3	25.7	70*	35.00
Soapnut	52.8	28.3	15#	90.00	—	~	~	

* Bundles. Each consists of 100 leaves, ** In number, # In Kgs. @ Calculated at present market prices.
Source: Field Study.

TABLE:4.26. LANDHOLDINGS WISE NO. OF HOUSEHOLDS INVOLVED IN COLLECTION OF HILL-BROOMS

Size of land holdings	No.ofHHs	No.of persons	Average Income per HH (in Rs)
Landless	4 (15.4)	6 (15.9)	150.0
1-2	4 (15.4)	7 (18.4)	127.7
2-4	5 (19.2)	8 (21.0)	124.2
4-6	11 (42.3)	14 (36.8)	119.7
6-8	2 (7.7)	3 (7.9)	107.1
TOTAL	26 (100)	38 (100)	125.7

Source: Field Study

4.3.6. Employment Opportunities

The decline of forest resources on which tribal depended traditionally and the non-availability of alternative employment opportunities resulted in decline of wage labour employment to the tribals. Agriculture, forests works and collection of hill-brooms are major wage employment opportunities in the village. At present 36.4 per cent of households are involve as wage labourers in agriculture which provides an average employment of 66.1 days. Forest works provide an average employment of 51.3 days in which 47.3 per cent of households are involving. Since non-availability of MFP and other employment, households who own smallholdings are mostly depended on wage labour employment particularly in forest works (Table 4.27). This shows that in Kannaram both agricultural wage labour employment and MFP collections were less than G.M. Valasa.

TABLE: 4.27. LANDHOLDINGS AND ACTIVITY-WISE EMPLOYMENT IN KANNARAM

Size of land holdings	Agricultural Wage Labour				Forest Works				Broomstick			
	A	B	C	**D**	A	**B**	**C**	**D**	A	B	C	**D**
Landless	4 (20.0)	10 (21.7)	685	68.5	4 (16.0)	9 (25.0)	477	53.0	4 (15.4)	6 (15.9)	168	28.0
1-2	4 (20.0)	9 (19.6)	608	67.5	4 (16.0)	8 (22.2)	418	52.3	4 (15.4)	7 (18.4)	181	25.9
2-4	5 (25.0)	11 (23.9)	726	66.0	4 (16.0)	6 (16.7)	305	50.8	5 (19.2)	8 (21.0)	203	25.4
4-6	7 (35.0)	16 (34.8)	1021	63.8	12 (48.0)	12 (33.3)	600	50.0	11 (42.3)	14 (36.8)	353	27.0
6-8	-	-		-	1 (4.0)	1 (4.0)	48	48.0	2 (7.7)	3 (7.9)	71	23.7
8-10				-			-		-		-	
10 and above				-	-		-		-		-	
TOTAL	20 (100)	46 (100)	3040	66.1	25 (100)	36 (100)	1848	51.3	26 (100)	38 (100)	976	25.7
%to total HHs	36.4				45.5				47.3			

Source: Field Study

4.3.7 Comparison with the Less Interventions Village:

At one side, the reservation as well as destruction of natural forests for the plantations not only denied access to the tribals but also resulted in a decline in the species on which tribals depended for their food, minor forest produce and herbs. On the other side the crops introduced into the tribal villages have not compensated the loss from the reservation by creating employment, but further made the tribals dependents on outside world with these alien systems. These effects can be clearly observed by comparing these two villages.

i. Food Gathering:

As we have observed, the tribals collect varieties of fruits, leaves, roots and tubers for their food from the forests. In G.M.Valasa the availability of these species has declined when compared to 1970 while in Kannaram not even a single household is involved in food gathering due to the decline of forests resources.

ii. Podu Cultivation:

As we have observed in G.M.Valasa 87.8 per cent of households are involved in *podu* cultivation while in Kannaram 14.5 per cent of households were involved *inpodu.* In Kannaram one hill was left for the tribals for *podu* cultivation and other patches on which they were practicing *podu* were included in reserve forests and more over the forests on flat areas were destroyed and the land were given on patta. Since tribals did not have adequate knowledge on settled agriculture in the both the villages they have been selling even the fertilizer provided to them by ITDA to non-tribal cultivators.

iii. Production, Consumption and Marketing:

As we have observed, jowar, redgram, bajra and paddy are the major food crops in both villages. The average total output of all crops in Kannaram is 400.7 kg while in G.M. Valasa it is around 476.6 kg. The average level of consumption is also higher in G.M.Valasa than Kannaram. Thus the proportion of market surplus of food grains is higher in Kannaram when compared to G.M.Valasa(Table:4.28). This is because of non-

availability of forest produce in Kannaram than G.M.Valasa on which they traditionally depended to meet their cash requirements. So in order to meet their cash requirements, tribals are forced to sell their yields although the level of consumption exceeds their output.

TABLE: 4.28. INVOLVEMENT OF TRIBALS IN FOOD GRAIN MARKET IN BOTH VILLAGES

Village\ Crop	Percentage of HHs cultivating on patta lands		Percentage of HHs cultivating on *podu* lands		Proportion of consumption to total output		Proportion of marketed surplus to total output	
	GMV	KRM	GMV	KRM	GMV	KRM	GMV	KRM
Jowar	6.7	85.5	88.9	9.0	0.89	0.81	0.11	0.19
Bajra	-	60.0	70.0	10.9	0.97	0.92	0.03	0.08
Redgram	15.6	49.1	81.0	7.3	0.21	0.40	0.79	0.60
Paddy	20.0	12.7	-	-	0.67	0.66	**0.33**	0.34

GVM: G.M.Valsa; KRM: Kannaram. Source: Field Study

Since `cashew' is not yielding in G.M.Valasa, lime is the only cash crop in the village. Most of the tribals are selling lime to local trader belong to Valmiki community. Tribal takes credit for consumption needs from the traders and gives product of lime to same traders. But one can find difference in the marketing of cashew in Kannaram. In Kannaram, only 35.3 percent of cultivating households were directly involved in marketing of cashew kernels. Among these households 30.7 owned more than 10 acres of land. The rest 66.7 percent households are leasing out the produce to non-tribals of plains who come to the village at the time of flowering and leases-in produce for a period of one/two years and pay the amount on installment basis(Table 4.29). In some case non-tribals advances the consumption loans to make lease arrangement. It is interesting to note that a single non-tribal advances the consumption loans to make lease arrangement. It is interesting to note that a single non-tribal cultivator of plain area, leased-in 60 percent of cashew plantations in Kannaram and employed the owners of the plantations to watch the crop. Since the tribal do not have knowledge either in cultivation or in marketing of cashew they are becoming labourers in their own plantations on the one hand and on the other they have lost the land on which they produce subsistence crop as well as employment.

TABLE: 4.29. NATURE OF INVOLVED IN CASHEW CROP IN KANNARAM

Size of Holding	No.ofHHs involved	Produce leased out HHs	No. of HHs involved in marketing	Total No. of HHs getting yield
1-2	4 (8.0)	2 (7.8)	1 (7.7)	3 (7.7)
2-4	7 (14.0)	3 **(11.5)**	2 (15.4)	5 (12.8)
4-6	23 (46.0)	13 (50.0)	3 (23.1)	16 (41.0)
6-8	5 (10.0)	3 **(11.5)**	1 (7.7)	4 (10.3)
8-10	2 (4.0)	–	2 (15.4)	2 (5.1)
10 and above	9 (18.0)	5 (19.2)	4 (30.7)	9 (23.1)
TOTAL	50 (100)	26 (66.7) (100)	13(33.3) (100)	39(100) (100)

Source: Field Study

iii. Employment Opportunities:

Agriculture, forest works and collection of MFP is the main source of employment in these villages. The cash crops, which were introduced into the villages, are not labour intensive and have not generated additional employment in agriculture. Since there was no practice of podu cultivation in Kannaram, nearly 52.1 per cent of land is under food crops providing an average wage labour employment of 60.5 per cent, while it is 60 days in G.M.Valasa. As we said earlier Kannaram is a center for forest contractors for labourers and hence it is providing slightly more employment when compared to G.M.Valsa, an interior village. Forest works are providing employment of an average of 51.3 days in Kannaram while it is 42.1 days in G.M.Valasa. When it comes to the collection of MFP it is higher in G.M.Valasa where three main varieties of MFP available. As a whole, the wage labour employment is higher in lesser intervention village than Kannaram. This shows that the availability of employment is comparatively less in Kannaram than G.M.Valasa. No increase in the hiring act of labour services and wage labour employment opportunities, makes the tribal dependent on consumption

loans, and makes it possible to extract surplus even out of their low levels of output by depressing their consumption level still further. This process of development towards involuntary exchange stems from the fact that peasants have increasingly to rely on the operation of the market system itself to meet their subsistence needs.

iv. Credit Market:

One can observe that the tribals' dependence on credit is less in G.M.Valasa than Kannaram. This is because of availability of forest resources is comparatively higher in G.M.Valsa than Kannaram. The non-availability of MFP as well as employment in agriculture made the tribals of Kannaram to depend on trader cum moneylender as well as banks for credit. In both the villages traders (outside as well as in the village i.e., Valmikies particularly in G.M. Valasa), relatives and friends are the major sources of credit. In Kannaram 27.3 percent of households have obtained credit from banks as crop loans. Among those 53.4 percent of households owned more than 10 acres of land. Only two out of 23 households who own 4-6 acres of land have obtained credit from banks (Table 4.30). The percentage households in Kannaram who obtained credit even from other private sources also are much higher than the other village. Since the agricultural and non-agricultural employment opportunities are less and availability of MFP is deteriorating, the tribals have no way except going for consumption loans from trader cum moneylenders. This involves them in market operations involuntarily. Due to this, the last two years in Kannaram have witnessed migration of five households in search of employment in toddy tapping in which they have knowledge.

v. Changes in Collective Culture of Tribals:

When the external interventions with alien systems and institutions forced the tribals to enter into market relations and have destroyed the traditional institutions of the tribals. All the community based indigenous institutions as we explained in first section have been changed and the co-operation among the tribals has been destroyed, particularly the activities *like podu,* housing, marriages, festivals etc., and became more personalised in both the villages. But intensity of the changes is more in Kannaram and G.M. Valasa. The following changes can be observed:

TABLE: 4.30. LANDHOLDING AND SOURCE-WISE NO.OF CREDIT OBTAINED HOUSEHOLDS IN G.M.VALASA AND KANNARAM

Size of Holdings	Institutions		Trader\money lender		Other	
	G.M. Valasa	Kannaram	G.M. Valasa	Kannaram	G.M. Valasa	Kannaram
Landless	-	-	--	2 (6.0)	1 (6.7)	3 (15.0)
1-2	--	-	--	3 (9.1)	~	2 (10.0)
2-4	-	--	3 (13.6)	5 (15.2)	4 (26.7)	3 (15.0)
4-6	--	2 (13.3)	8 (36.4)	16 (48.5)	3 (20.0)	9 (45.0)
6-8	. 1 (25.0)	3 (20.0)	5 (22.7)	2 (6.0)	5 (33.3)	2 (10.0)
8-10	1 (25.0)	2 (13.3)	2 (9.2)	~	2 (13.3)	~
10 and above	2 (50.0)	8 (53.4)	4 (18.2)	5 (15.2)	--	1 (5.0)
TOTAL	4 (100)	15 (100)	22 (100)	33 (100)	15 (100)	20 (100)
Percent to Total HHs	4.4	27.3	24.4	60.0	16.7	36.4

Source: Field Study

i). Podu Cultivation:

a). Traditionally, any tribal households would find help from others for clearing of new field. But this practice has declined even in G.M. Valasa where *podu* is predominant.

ii). Role of Village Council: The importance of village council has declined in both the villages:

a). If new households want to settle in the hamlet that they would have to take permission of village council. Now however households, which want to settle, are taking the help of the resident relatives in the village rather than council.

b). If any household needs the timber for house construction and other purposes they would have to take some kind of approval from village council. But now it is not strictly followed by the tribals.

iii). *Festivals:*

a). Traditionally tribals celebrate 90 percent of their festivals collectively with community feasts. Even in multi-tribal villages at least two to three festivals involve a community feast. Presently in G.M.Valasa only two festivals involve a community feast that too among a tribal group and rest of the festivals are not being celebrated since last fifteen years. Even though Kannaram is a single tribe village in which not a single festival is celebrated on this basis. And the village stands divided into two groups-politically.

iv). Rituals and Social Practices:

a). In terms of marriage, the tribals help each other in several ways, providing grains and organising collective celebrations for at least three days. But this has become personalised. Dowry is predominant in both villages, though the degree is different. The largest amount taken in G.M. Valasa in last year was Rs.7000 while in Kannaram it was Rs.50,000. Like-wise the external interventions have destroyed the institutions, which had a community basis.

4.4. CONCLUSIONS:

The state and other external interventions, on the one hand, ignored the survival question of tribal and on the other hand, introduced alien systems of conservation and scientific management by denying access to the tribals. The impact of state intervention by the reservation and commercial plantations seriously undermined the survival of the tribals. Podu cultivation, food gathering collection of minor forest produce on which indigenous communities are depended declined and they are left without appropriate alternatives. Thus forest operations and conservation systems that were introduced by the state have destroyed traditional life supporting systems of the tribals at one side and on the other side failed to provide regular employment to the tribals. And also the introduction of land settlements transformed the commonly held village resources into the private property and destroyed the collective nature of indigenous institutions. The cash crops are alien to the tribals and further made the tribals depended on outsiders for

cultivation and marketing, which resulted entry of non-tribals by leasing-in the cashew crops. All the interventions on one side restricted access and destroyed the resources on which tribals are depended and on the other failed to create alternative sources of employment to the tribals, and thus alienated further instead of incorporating into the main stream economy. These problems were resulted on one side through the introduction of Joint Forest Management System by the state owing to introduce the local people in the conservation of forests by creating employment and on the other side through NGOs by educating and organising the tribals on the issues of destruction of natural forests and tribals' rights. The next chapters are an attempt to study these two institutions in Rampa region.

ANNEXURE- IV.1
SOME IPORTANT TREES AND PURPOSE THAT ARE USED BY THE TRIBALS OF RAMPA.

S.No.	Local Name	Botonical Name	Food	Medicinal	Marketing	Housing	Other uses
1.	Mamadi	*Mangifera indica*	Fruits (April-May)	Bark used to heal reef wounds	Fruits		
2.	Neredu	*Syzygieeon jambohel*	Fruits (June-July)	For dysentry Bark used as Timber used for medicine	Timber	—	For making poles, sleepers and making agricultural tools.
3.	Jamba	Neredu *Engenia jambos*	(June-July) Fruits	~	Timber	—	—
4.	Chintha	*Tamarindus indica*	Fruits (March-April)	Fruits are carminative, laxative and digestive leaves used in medicine	Fruits & Timber		
5.	Bandaari	*Adira cordifolia*	—	—	Timber	X	Fire wood
6.	Usirika	*Phyllasthes embhica (Emblica officinalis)*	Fruits (Dec.-Jan)	To cure dysentry and as remedy for gastric and liver isorders.	Fruits		
7.	Kovela	*Sterculia wiens*	—	Used for mediicine	Seeds		
8.	Gumpeni	*Odina wodler*	—	—	Timber	X	
9.	Karra Maanu	*Bridelia retusa*	—	—	—		Fire wood &leaves as fodder
10.	Mushini	*Strychnos nux-vomica*	—	Used as medicine	Seeds	—	—
11.	Vepa	*Azfadiracla indica*	Flower	Bark, root, leaves used as medicine, for skin diseases.	Seeds & Timber		
12.	Pala	*Wrightea araborea*	—	Bark for medicines for menstreal and urine troubles, & to cure stomach ache.			
13.	Peddha pala (Doddi pala)	*Wrightea tinetoria*	—	Bank to heal stomach aches and for joint pains	. . . . .		

S.No.	Local Name	Botonical Name	Food	Medicinal	Marketing	Housing	Other uses
14.	Bodda	*Saccopelakem*	Fruits (April-May)				
15.	Chitti pala	—	—	Bark for heart disorders.			
16.	Gaanuga	*Pongamia glabra*	—	Bark	Wood		
17.	Vadise	—	—	—	Wood		
18.	Konda Tangedu	*Nylia Xylocarpa*	—	—	Wood		
19.	Nalla Maddhi	*Terminaka tomestosa*	—	—	Timber		
20.	Thaadi chettu	*Borassers falsellifer*	—	Bark for yellow jaundice	Bark		
21.	Pollu Bodda	—	Fruits	Latex for healing pains	Timber	—	Used in paper mills.
22.	Tharripi chettu	*Gardenia ratifolia*	—	Fruits for stomach aches			
23.	Peddha Maanu chettu	*Ailantus excelsa*	—	Bark for healing rehumalism			
24.	Revadi chettu	*Dillenia pentagyra*	—	—	—	—	Leaves as fodder
25.	Qegisa chettu	—	—	—	—	—	Fodder&for agricultural tools
26.	Gummadi chettu	*Omelina arborea*	—	—	—	—	Leaves as fodder
27.	Panasa	*Artocarpus integrifolia*	Fruits (May-June)	—	Fruits		
28.	Zndipi chettu	*Strychnos potatorum*	—	—	—	—	Fruits to purifying water
29.	Thunika chettu	*Thumanita*	—	—	Leaves	—	—
30.	Nemali	*Flolopetaka integrifolia*	—	—	—	used as lever's in house building	
31.	Ooduga	*Alangium begonifolium*	—	Used as medicine	—	—	—
32.	Bhoota Vegisa	—	—	Used as medicine			

S.No.	Local Name	Botonical Name	Food	Medicinal	Marketing	Housing	Other uses
33.	Jemudu chettu	*Eupnorbia nivulia*	—	For body pains			
34.	Nalla Jeedi chettu	*Senecarpus anacardium*	Fruits	As medicine	Seeds	—	—
35.	Kunkudu chettu	*Sapindus emarginatus*	—	—	Dry fruits		
36.	Rella chettu	*Cassia fistula*	—	As medicine	Seeds		
37.	Teak	*Tectona grandis*	—	—	Timber	X	
38.	Velaga	*Feronialinonia*	Fruits	As medicine			
39.	Gesarichethu	—	—	As medicine	—	—	Leaves as fodder
40.	Nemali Adugu chettu	*Vitex altissina*	—	Bark&roots as medicine			
41.	Somithi chett	*Soxymida febrifuga*	—	As medicine for body pains			
42.	Thada chettu	*Grewia tikaefolia*	—	—	—	—	Leaves as fodder for goats
43.	Devadharu chettu	*Erythoxylen monogymon*	—	—	Timber	—	For agricultural tools
44.	Aarem chettu	—	Fruits	Bark is boiled as tied to the swollen body	Fruits	—	—
45.	Erragadda chettu	*Ca Searia wynadensis*	—	—	Timber	X	
46.	Seemachinta	*Pethecolobium dulci*	Fruits	Bark boiled in water and use for fever	Fruits		
47.	Mokkem Chettu	*Sehrebera swietmeides*	—	Bark is used for healing pains	—	—	—
48.	Naaga Mushini Chettu	—	—	—	Timber & Fuel wood		
49.	Billa Chettu	*Ximenia americana*	—	Laves graind with salt and apply for itches	Timber	—	—
50.	Mulliak Chettu	*Celastrus paniculata*	Fruits	Bark boiled and tied for pains			

S.No.	Local Name	Botonical Name	Food	Medicinal	Marketing	Housing	Other uses
51.	Gudelapm chettu	—	—	—	—	—	Fibre used for rope making and fuelwood
52.	Chilakada	*Polyatthia duddhiri*	—	Bark is for headache, cerasoides & boils			
53.	Kaarima chettu	—	—	—	—	—	Fuelwood
54.	Vaara Maamidi chettu	*Litsea deccanensis*	—	Bark tied for leg bone fracture			
55.	Ghumma	*Acacia arabica*	—	—	—	—	For agricultural tools
56.	Korukuda chettu	*Opilia amentacea*	—	Bark + Mustard grand to paste is eaten as medicine	—		
57.	Illindha chettu	*Diospyres chloroxylon*	Fruits				
58.	Balli chetu	—	Fruits	Tuigs used for curing diseases			
59.	Chennangi chettu	*Lagesteroemia lanceolata*	—	—	—	—	Fuel wood
60.	Barninka chettu	*Streblus aspera*	—	Latex used for pain killing			
61.	Kolam chettu (Konda Modhuga)	—	Flowers	to cure red and while jaundice	Flowers	—	Flowers used in cooling implements.
62.	Theddu pala	—	Bark+Garlic	Bark for curing heart aliments	—	—	For implements
63.	Maaredu	*Aegle Marmelog*	—	For head ailments bark is used			
64.	Pacha ganneru	*Cascabela thevelia*	—	For caugh latex is used for B.P. and heart troubles	—	—	—
65.	Boosi chettu	*Schleicheratrijuga*	Fruit	Bark used for healing wounds	Bark		
66.	Konda Sempangi	—	—	Latex for healing pains and wounds	—	—	—

S.No.	Local Name	Botonical Name	Food	Medicinal	Marketing	Housing	Other uses
67.	Velam chettu	*Termanalia coriacea*	—	—	Timber	—	Used in paper mills
68.	Vedhura	*Bombusa arundinacea*	—	—	—	For poles	
69.	Thaalla garudu	—	—	Medicine for snake bite			
70.	Regu chettu	*Liziphus Zuzuba*	Fruits	Leaves along with turmeric are used to cure wounds			
71.	Garika Modika chettu	—	Fruits				
72.	Thella thumma chettu	*Acacia leucephalica*	Fruits				
73.	Pittapisinika chettu	*Ehretia micruphylla*	Fruits				
74.	Nelli chettu	*Clerodendrum phlomidis*	Fruits				
75.	Bomma thuntem	—	Fruits	Leaves used as medicine for millipede bite			
76.	Kanchari chettu	—	—	Bark for medical ailments			
77.	Konda Karivepaku	*Synzyhgium gamboline*	Fruits				
78.	Adavi Nimma	*Atlanta monophylla*	—	Oil from fruit is used for rheumalism and paralysis	Fruits	—	—

ANNEXURE- IV.2

IMPORTANT MEDICINAL PLANTS AND PURPOSE THAT ARE PREDOMINATLY USED BY THE TRIBALS OF RAMPA

S.No.	Local Name	Botanical Name	Medical purpose
1.	Gaara chettu	*Balantis aegytiaca*	Fruits are highly medicinal.
2.	Guggilia	*Boswellia serrata*	Useful for sores and external exception
3.	Nella jeedi	*Semecarpus anacardian*	Venesea/skin diseases
4.	Ari	*Bauhinia racenosa*	Fruit is used for caugh,asthema, alianhoea, bark is used for dysentry
5.	Gachakaya	*Caeslpinia burduo*	Seeds are used for head ache, pulp is used in abortional cases
6.	Tangedu	*Cashea aurientala*	Leaves as Antihelminthie. seeds used for diabitis.
7.	Rella	*Cania fistula*	Fruits for Asthma root bark & leaves used for lexative
8.	Gorintaku	*Lowsonia inermis*	Bark useful for jaundices, enlargement of spleen and skin diseases.
9.	Telia teemiki	—	Leaves used in bilionshers, asthema
10.	Boppaai	*Carica papaya*	Milky latex is used in making crude and illegal abortions
11.	Uduga	*Alangium slavifolian*	Root bark as purgative & skin diseases.
12.	Karinguva	*Galiven reainifera*	High medicinal values
13.	Billagannera	*Caltharanthus reseus*	Used for high B.P.
14.	Pala chettu	*Holarrhera artielysentriaca*	Used for dysentry
15.	Wadaganneru	*Plumaria rulsa*	Root is used for genorhhoea and V.D.'s
16.	Nandi Vardhanam	*Taseramontana*	Milley juice used in eye diseases. The root is chewed for relief of eye diseases
17.	Musthi	*Streechnos neexremica*	Seeds used for ulcers, fevers, dysentry, dyspepsia and mental condition
18.	Nomuchettu	*Ehextramicrophylla*	Roots in debility and for syphitis and as antidote to vegetasle-persons
19.	Vavili	*Vitaxmegundo*	Leaves used for rehmmation

CHAPTER-5

JOINT FOREST MANAGEMENT: STUDY OF A VANA SAMRAKSHANA SAMITHI

5.0 Introduction

What emerges from the preceding chapters is that the State agencies exerted greater control over forests and brought about increasing commercial interests on forest resources, throughout India, rural especially tribal habitations which had used these lands to meet basic needs, experienced loss of their rights on forest resources. Employment opportunities in collection of minor forest produce, forest works as well as in agriculture are unable to support the tribals throughout the year. This led on the one hand to the worsening of the state of forests and on the other in growing hardships inflicted upon the tribals even for meeting their subsistence needs. In several regions, local people challenged the right of the state officials to interfere with their forests and launched mass agitations for protecting local forests (Dolly Arora, 1994). This resulted in the emergence of two types of institutions in tribal areas. One was that the State changed its policy by promoting local people's participation in forest conservation. To involve the people in the forest conservation, State introduced Joint Forest Management. The other was the involvement of the Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) in motivating and organizing the tribals to assert their rights.

This chapter is an attempt to study the JFM and functioning of the Vana Samrakshana Samithies (VSSs) in Rampa Country. The chapter consists of four sections. The first section deals with JFM in general and the experience of West Bengal in particular. The second section is on JFM in Andhra Pradesh, the third section is an attempt to study of functioning of Gandhi Nagaram VSS, and the last section consists of conclusions on the role of JFM.

5.1. JOINT FOREST MANAGEMENT (JFM)

Lately, there has been recognition about the rights of the local people, especially, the tribals and the need to involve them as partners in the protection and management of

forests. The National Forest Policy of 1988 envisages people's involvement in the development and protection of forests. The requirement of fuel wood, fodder and small timber such as house-building material, of the tribals and other villagers living in and near the forests, are to be treated as first charge on forest produce. The policy document envisages it as one of the essentials of forest management that the forest communities should be motivated to identify themselves with the development and protection of forests from which they derive benefits. Government of India has requested all the state governments to involve committed NGOs for motivating and organising village communities for protection, afforestation and development of degraded forestland, especially in the vicinity of habitation and issued guidelines to all state governments(letter No.6-21/89-F.P. Dt. 1-6-1990).

Government of India proposed that access to forest land and usufruct benefits should be provided to those who got organised into a village institution such as panchayat, cooperative of the village or village forest protection committee, specifically for forest regeneration and protection. The Forest Department however was to closely supervise the work and usufruct benefits could be withdrawn if it was not satisfied with the protection work. Although the exact nature of the agreement between the State and the village institutions is not the same in all the states, it is ensured that the benefits goes to those who are involved in the process of protection of the forest.

By the central government GO, nearly 16 states including Andhra Pradesh, which have 18.43 per cent of the country's forests and 91.6 per cent of the country's tribal population, have facilitated the implementation of this policy in their respective territories by issuing enabled orders providing details of the arrangements. The nature of the agreements arrived at, in various states have not been the same. There are important differences between the states regarding the extent of power retained by the Forest Department and those delegated to the people(Table 5.1).

TABLE: 5.1 SALIENT FEATURES OF JFM RESOLUTIONS

STATE	ORISSA	WESTBENGAL	BIHAR	GUJARAT	RAJASTHAN	M.P	TRIPURA	MAHARASHTRA	J*K	HARYAN	AP
Dale of issue of resolution	14 1MS	127S9	8 11 90	13 3 91	16 3 91	10.12 91	20 12 91	16 3 92	19 3 92	13 6 90	28 8 92
Forest Category	R.F	D F	D F (PROTECTED)	D F	DF	Sensitive to damage and D F	D F	D F and barren forests	D F	Demarcated protected &R F	D F, DPAP areas of watershed
Participants	Adjoining villagers	Economically backward people	on, person form each family	persons interested in forest dev	willing villagers	willing villagers	families with a, least one wage earner	panchayat& FPC consisting of all villagers	one person from each family of adjoining villages	either actual users or right holders	adjoining villages
Manage—ment unit	one forest compartment	forest beat	village	village	max 50 ha	village	natural reg. 500ha plantation 300 ha	not defined	notdefined	hamlet or village or panchayat (min 10-15 hhs)	village less than 500m normally deep
Executive Committee (People's rep FD rep Others)	3 or leaf forester sarpanch, ber rev inspector. VLW	6 or leas beat officer VA&panchayat rep	dependent on *torn.* vanpal, mukhiva.teachersar panch, pradhan. Vas	min 2 women any other, rep of VA financial inst	according to state govt rules	5 or more, ranger. kotwar, teacher. chief panchayat. antyodava comm	5 or less, beat officer	6(2women&2sc\st), forester , sparpanch. gramsevak 2nominies of VAS	11(2women&2sc\st), Ranger	- _____	6 to 10 at least < women forester'RO'FG sarpanch
Share of Members MFP\FW etc	All bonafined needs of timber and fuelwood met free of cost	cashew 25% sal seed kendu leaves on approved tariff, rest free	dry branches grass. leaves free other produce available at market price	dry brances and MFP free of cost	grass and fodder(after 5years)free MFP(except bamboo)	all forest produce&30% of income form nationalised MFP	all free of cost	all MFP except cashew&tendu free of con	all forest produce	commercial produce lease	Unreserved MFP
Timber		25% of net income except th certain areas	1\3 share of income deposited as village dev fund	if state financed 25% otherwise 80%	60% of net income after deducting all govt expenditure	entire quantity 30% of net revenue 20% for damage sensitive area	all bonafied needs met&50% of net surplus revetue	defferent methods of distribution in different areas such as block plantation scheme area. nistar area etc	25% of net revenue from final harvest th cash\kind	to be shared with Hill Resource Management Society	25% of produce+1 3 of revenue

Source: SPWD 1992:8-9.

All the resolutions of different states have provided usufruct rights to user groups and clearly noted that land is not to be allocated or leased. The tenurial period for usufruct rights is not mentioned in most of resolutions and the rights are confined to only degraded forests. Village-level groups are to operate under the supervision of Forest Department Officials as the resolutions recommended village-level committees as functional management groups. Some resolutions proposed the formulation of joint management plans to coordinate the agency and community activities(Poffenberger et.al. 1996). However, operational guidelines for cooperative planning are unclear, and where they are outlined, they tend to reflect the interests and concerns of the forest department.

The notifications state governments had given usufruct rights only to the user group. Land is not allotted or leased to any one. All the State Governments adopted or recommended village level committee as functional group which has to operate through (or by) Forest Department Officials. According to one estimate, by mid-1992, more than 1.5 million hectares of forest land which is about two per cent of India's forest area, is already being protected by more than 10,000 community institutions in 10 states(Singh and Khare 1993).

The involvement of people in forest management is started in some states like West Bengal much before 1988. Since 1970-71 the West Bengal Forest Department has been involving the people in forest protection and regeneration which demonstrated that if the rights are given to the communities they would effectively protect the forests. The next section is an attempt to understand the functioning of Forest Protection Committees(FPC) of West Bengal.

5.1.2. Forest Protection Committees (FPC): An Experience of West Bengal:

The FPC programme began[1] in 1971-72 at Arabari Research Station, which covers

1 Since the inhabitants of Arabari forest area are depended much on forest, the then DFO realised that it was difficult to regenerate and protect. DFO contacted the forest villages and discussed the problem and gradually established rapport and analysed the problem. As there was no employment opportunities to the landless labourers especially in the lean period, they exploit the forests to generate cash. DFO promised to help them to solve their problem in lean period provided, they cooperate with him. With the assurance of the local people, DFO demarcated 1272 hectares of wasteland to be covered under plantation scheme and asked them to form a committee(Malhotra, K.C. et.al. 1989).

an area of 1,272 hectares. The FPC incorporates 11 villages surrounding the project area with 618 households. Though the Committee was formed in 1972, it was formalized in 1977. All the 618 households were included as members of the Committee. The president followed by the secretary and council members belonged to each member village and headed the committee. When the committee started functioning, a man and a woman from each member village guarded the forest every day. Each member was assigned a patrol duty for one week in every two months. If a person who is not a member of the committee is spotted destroying or cutting the wood from the forest, he is caught and fined or handed over to Forest Department. If a member of the committee is at fault, committee listens to his problems and assures him of work within the villages, only if he promises to stop cutting the forest.

To gain community cooperation in protecting the forests, the forest department created employment opportunities and offered MFP by giving usufruct rights. Sal poles were provided to the villagers at subsidized rates and 25 per cent share of income from the poles and firewood. And also they were given exclusive rights on all minor products. These included dry leaves and twings, sal and tendu leaves, fruits like mango, guava, jack, bale, tendu. Over the past decade the West Bengal Forest Department has developed a programme with currently over 1,250 forest villages in Southwest Bengal have regenerated 152,000 hectares of natural sal forests. The forest communities are encouraged to form FPCs, to guard against unauthorized cutting and grazing. The rapidly coppicing sal and companion species generate numerous MFP to which members have exclusive rights(Malhotra, et.al, 1989).

Malhotra and Poffenberger(1989) estimated the benefits to the members of FPC in Pukuria village of south Bankura district and observed that the rapid regeneration of forest yielded substantial income from minor forest produce to the villagers. In the village, 93 households belonging to Santal tribal community are formed as FPC in 1982 and decided to protect an area of 130 hectares. The study shows that the income generated from all minor forest produce indicates that a woman could able earn about Rs.2500 to Rs.3500, which

comes around Rs.7 to Rs.10 per day from one hectare. In the village, women collect of sal leaves and make, which provides employment for a period of four months in a year and they could earn nearly Rs.1040. Other important activities by which members of FPC are the collection of bidi leaves and sal seeds. Annually, a household will get around Rs. 1000 and Rs.92 respectively for the activities mentioned above(Table 5.2). Hence MFP collection represents the primary occupation and is the major source of income for women of the village. The regeneration of sal forests is combined with the benefit of protecting upper ridge tracts where the forest is located, and this system seems to have potential to generate employment and income.

TABLE: 5.2. INCOME GENERATED FROM SAL FORESTS OF PUKURIA FPC.

Product	Quantity per Ha. or Family	Annual Income per household*
Sal poles and fire wood	400 poles, 25m3 firewood per Ha. (10 years rotation)	Rs.500 per ha.
Sal seeds	77 kgs per Ha. (April)	Rs.92 per ha.
Tasar cocoons	Up to 1280 per family (Aug-Sep/ Dec-Jan)	Rs.640
Sal leaf plates	65000 per family (4 months/year)	Rs.1040
Bidi leaves	10,000 per day per family(April-May)	Rs. 10,000
TOTAL		Rs.3272

* These estimates assume an average of one Ha. of produce per Household.
Source: Malhotra, et.al., 1989.

Over a decade of experience made the West Bengal forest department to concentrate on equity issues. They identified two issues, one is sharing of the benefits among the members. The landless and tribals with low income are dependent more on forests for their survival. When the forests were closed to regenerate, it is these communities who suffer with decrease of income. The West Bengal Forest Department has attempted to respond to this need by creating employment for these communities. At the time of harvesting of sal poles,

there is a need to develop procedures to ensure that the benefits are not captured by village elites. And other issue is the inter-village distribution on which Forest Department is currently focusing. The area of forest under each committee varies. Some communities now manage over 500 hectares, while others have less than 20 hectares available for use. The Forest Department is attempting to enhance equity by consolidating small FPCs into larger groups, so that total forest income can be divided equally(Poffenberger 1990). So, the West Bengal Forest Department has pioneered a new approach to regenerate degraded forests through community participation.

With this background, the next section is an attempt to study the JFM in Andhra Pradesh. The VSS, which we have considered for the study has an experience of only two years. Hence we concentrated on the nature of involvement of people in decision making as well as implementation of VSS activities and employment generated by JFM in that particular village.

5.2. JOINT FOREST MANAGEMENT IN ANDHRA PRADESH

Government of Andhra Pradesh issued an order on JFM in 1992, becoming the eleventh state to do so, naming the forest protection committees as Vana Samrakshna Samithies(VSSs) for the protection and regeneration of forests(G.O.Ms. No.218, Energy Forests Environment Science and Technology For.VI-I dated 28.8.1992)[2].

Process of forming VSS in a village start with building of rapport with villagers by the forest officials and communicating the concept of JFM. Villagers are informed of the opportunities and limitations, and also the long and short-term benefits of the programme[3]. In order to form the VSS at least 50per cent of the households should have to agree to

2 The GO was subsequently modified in November 1993 (GOMs No.224) and several new sectoral reforms were adopted in the same month (GOMs No.237, 1993).

3 Explanation of the procedures involved- in the management of the VSS, roles and responsibilities of the committee, operation of the bank account, maintenance of the minutes book and management practices and make the people to involve in the preparation of Micro Plan.

become members, there should be one female and one male member from each household as members and the managing committee should consist of 15 elected members (GO No.221 dt.11.11.1993). And other members are concerned Forest Guard, an officer nominated by ITDA, and a local NGO. The Village Administrative Officer is an ex-officio member and concerned Deputy Range Officer is the member secretary. Managing committee will meet at least once in every month. The Member-Secretary shall be responsible for convening the meetings and to maintain the records of the proceedings. A copy of the record of proceedings shall be sent to the Forest Range Officer for information and advice. In case, he finds that deliberations of the Managing Committee are contrary to the JFM plan or relevant forest acts and rules he shall report the matter to higher officials immediately(G.O.Ms. No.218, Energy Forests Environment Science and Technology (For.VI-I dated 28.8.1992). This indicates that the Managing Committee is closely supervised and controlled by the department.

Forest area up to 500 meters interior from the R.F. boundary will be allotted to the VSS[4]. Members of village level committee are entitled to share all non-timber forest produce except those for which GCC holds the monopoly rights. However the right to collect non-timber forest produce shall remain with the members. In case of tendu leaf 50 per cent of the net income from increased yield over and above the average yield of five years (in weight) due to better protection and management offered by the VSS will be paid to VSS members equally. And the village level committee shall be entitled to 100 per cent share in net income of timber and bamboo harvested from the regenerated degraded forests as prescribed in the approved Micro Plan.

In Andhra Pradesh by the end of 1997 nearly 1665 VSS are formed with total members of 3.95 lakhs by covering nearly 4,92,209 hectares of area. As a whole 47 per cent members are female. Female membership is comparatively higher in Hyderabad and Nizamabad VSS(Table 5.3) This was under the Andhra Pradesh Forestry Development

[4] This restriction is being withdrawn in the proposed amendment and it will be based on the traditional use of the forest area and capacity of the villagers to protect(G.O.Ms.224 of 1993).

Project, assisted by World Bank, which lays emphasis on people's participation in planning, protection and management of forest resources through JFM. After a review of the conditions of the state's forest, Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh convened a meeting to discuss the JFM Programme and emphasised the need to take up a massive programme for afforestation of the state's degraded forest. It was decided to rehabilitate of 400000 hectares of degraded forests through VSSs during 1996-97 and further 14,00,000 hectares over a three year period. This programme, (which would not come under Andhra Pradesh Forestry Project of Wold Bank) was re-named as *Vana Samarakshana Udyamam*, and later commonly referred as CM-JFM. The Forest Department has identified some 8200 fringe forest villages as being suitable for the formation of VSSs under the programme.

TABLE: 5.3. CIRCLE WISE NO.OF VSS FORMED BY 1997 UNDER APFDP

Circle	No.of VSS formed	Members			Area Allotted (Ha)	Area Covered (Ha)
		Male	Female	Total		
Adilabad	340	19454	17151	36605	130348	30432
Anantapur	117	11351	10697	22048	35213	10825
Guntur	124	11184	9571	20755	30025	6104
Hyderabad	142	24577	27609	52186	41075	9694
Khammam	193	15534	12156	27690	45904	14538
Kurnool	99	6439	5118	11557	27265	19311
Nizamabad	204	43002	40756	83758	60688	12231
Rajahmundry	57	4842	3761	8603	19279	6559
Visakhapatnam	214	13515	11720	25235	40386	21950
Warangal	175	59548	47162	106710	62026	14697
TOTAL	1665	209446 (53.0)	185701 (47.0)	395147 (100)	492209	146341

Source: GOAP(1997): AP Forestry Project: Status Note, Forest Department.

Adilabad circle recorded more number of VSS(340) by covering nearly 1,30,348 hectares and this was followed by Nizamabad and Visakhapatnam circles. Among the total allotted area to VSSs(4,92,209 hectares), 146341 hectares (29.7 per cent) are covered. As

NGOs[5] participation as concerned nearly 174 NGOs are involved in 554(33.3 per cent)VSS in all circles. Table 5.4 shows that there was no involvement of NGOs in the circle where more VSSs are formed.

TABLE:5.4. CIRCLE WISE NO.OF NGOs INVOLVED IN VSS

Circle	No.of NGOs involved	VSS with NGOs involvement	
		No.ofVSS	% to total VSS
Adilabad	-	-	-
Anantapur	32	76	65.0
Guntur	12	26	21.0
Hyderabad	4	5	3.5
Khammam	23	145	75.1
Kurnool	48	85	85.6
Nizamabad	-	-	-
Rajahmundry	10	26	45.6
Visakhapatnam	45	176	82.2
Warangal	2	15	8.6
TOTAL	176	554	33.3

Source: GOAP(1997): AP Forestry Project: Status Note, Forest Department.

Though it is too early to evaluate the VSSs in Andhra Pradesh, one can see various institutional structures that have emerged during the process of implementation, like the protection of forests, and capacity building among the members especially in marketing and the issues that have generated conflicts.

5.2.1. VSSs in Forest Protection

Activities like smuggling of timber and wood for commercial as well as domestic use and grazing of cattle, especially goats, are primary threats to the forest regeneration. To

5 As per the G.O. Ms 224 of 1993, NGO are considered as special invitees in VSS committee and it was changed as members of VSS committee without voting nght. NGOs are playing supportive role in assisting the Forest Department and communities to develop joint participatory management programmes and providing training, research and assisting in community organisation and field monitoring. As observed by Barathi, et.al., (1998) NGOs involved in JFM of Andhra Pradesh were small local groups, with lunited area of operations and small funding.

prevent these activities different VSSs in Andhra Pradesh have evolved their own methods of protection. These systems may be grouped into three types i.e., i. Watch and ward system, ii. Rotation system, and iii. Check-post system.

i). Certain VSSs are employing a person to watch and ward the area, who will be paid for his services. Even within this system there were different of arrangements of payment to guards. The case of Cheedipalem shows the VSS paying salary to guard from the VSS fund. Cheedipalem is a village of Vijayanagaram district in which VSS has formed in 1994. Forest Department has allotted an area of 250 hectares for JFM activities on a hill called Gantikonda. The surrounding villages also depended on the hill for their timber requirements. As the extent of pressure on forests of the area is high, the VSS has decided to restrict their protection to the earmarked area. The committee has employed a person on full time basis to watch and ward the forests of allotted area and paid Rs.500 per month from the VSS funds.

In some cases, instead of paying guard's salary from the VSS funds, committee is collecting a fixed amount from each member household towards the salary of the guard. Rachapalli, a village in Makavaripalem mandal of Visakhapatnam district, is a good example for this system. In the village, VSS was formed in 1996 by the initiation of the youth who read about the programme in the newspapers. Area was allotted in Panduru forest block on which four neighbouring villages also depended for their requirements. Since some of these villages also have formed VSS, the pressure on the forests was declined. To protect the allotted area the committee has employed a person to watch and ward by paying Rs.600 per month. Each member household is contributing Rs.5 towards the payment of guard's salary as decided in general body meeting.

ii). Another method, which is prevailing in some of the VSSs, is rotation system. The committee will entrust the responsibility of watch and ward to 4-5 members each day on rotation. This method of protection can be seen where the pressure on the forests is very high. One of the examples for this system is Dandipadu village. Dandipadu- a village in

Buttayagudem mandal of West Godavari district, which is located on the main road between Buttayagudem and Kannapruram, consists of 33 households belonging to Konda Reddy tribe. The villagers are not involved in smuggling of timber but they depended on the forests for firewood, timber for agricultural implements and collection of MFP. But the forest of this village is known for timber smuggling by the neighbouring villagers. In 1995 VSS was formed by the initiation of a local NGO called Sri Agency Seva Sangam(SASS). The committee has identified that the area should be protected from smuggling, grazing, forest fires and encroachments. Then VSS committee informed the neighbouring villagers about the restriction on grazing in the VSS area. For the protection against smuggling the committee decided to watch and ward the area by 4-5 members every day on rotation.

VSS of Ippapenta SC Colony has another experience in the protection of forests, where not only the outsiders but also some of the communities within the village are also involved in smuggling of timber. Ippapenta is a village in Chintakommadinne mandal of Cuddapha district. The village is located near by the Pallakonda Hill Range. People of SC Colony are depended on trading of forest produces including gum, leaf, fruits, timber and firewood. Earlier, the FD officials harassed them, while they were involved in the collection of forest produce even for self-consumption. On the contrary, these officials were allowing the rich farmers to collect firewood, timber, free grazing of their cattle and smuggling activities. And here is a practice of smuggling of timber by not only the villagers but also by neighbouring villagers through tamed cattle without being accompanied by their masters. In this situation VSS was formed by the people of SC colony of the Village in 1995. Forest Department allotted 500 hectares of area for JFM activity. Initially VSS had a tough time in the protection of forest in the allotted area and VSS has started motivating smugglers and rich farmers not to enter into the allotted area. After a prolonged interaction and persuasions, the exploitation of forests was controlled. Mean time, two villagers selected daily on rotation has been patrolling around the forest area.

iii). In some cases VSS established check posts at peak smuggling points to restrict the smuggling of timber. The experience of Juttadapalem shows VSS establishing check

posts to prevent smuggling. Juttadapalem is a village in Devarapalli mandal of Vijayanagaram district. The village consists of people of the four displaced hamlets by the Raiwada Irrigation Projects and they occupied PWD land for cultivation. While the all households have access to land, none has any title or legal rights to the lands and unable to get any credit facilities for agriculture as well as for livestock on these lands. The main occupation of the villagers is agriculture and agricultural wage labour in surrounding villages.

The village comes under the Mariki reserve forests on which several villages depend for their requirement than the Juttadapalem. Smuggling is rampant in the area. Nearly 5000 carts load of firewood has been going out annually from this forest. At this situation VSS was formed in Juttadapalem village in 1995. Since the allotted area is covered by the reservoir at one side and a hill on thc other access is only possible from the village. The VSS committee established a check post at that point. Two villagers have been appointed at the check post to check the neighbouring villagers from trespassing into the area. All the VSS members have been issued ID cards, which they have found useful in apprehending trespassers from adjacent villages. The VSS has collected nearly Rs.2000 by collecting fines. Cattle and sheep grazing is also restricted.

5.2.2. VSS **and Marketing of MFP:**

Since the VSS has usufruct right over the collection of MFP, some of VSS have taken up the collection and marketing of MFP collectively. Chengicherla has an experience of this kind.

Chengicherla is a village in Ghatkesar mandal of Ranga Reddy district. Gouda community is a dominant caste in the village and they have large extent of lands. The other caste groups in the village are *kapu, reddy, kummari, golla, Muslim, erukala, lambadi and Madeira.* Ninety per cent of households are landless. Reserve forest with forestland of 259.65 hectares is 1\2 km from the main village. Since the village is nearer to Hyderabad the forest of this area was almost disappeared. In 1994 a VSS was formed in the village with 95 members, all of them are women, and later few men also joined.

In the past, cattle grazing were rampant in the area. Panchayat fine for such trespassing is just Rs.2.50 per cattle per day. So the people tend to drive their cattle into the forest and escape by paying Rs.2.50. With the experience of Panchayat, now the VSS fixed the penalty at Rs.270 per cattle to prevent the grazing. At the same time, VSS cultivated improved grass in a hectare plot. The whole plot was divided into parts and auctioned the grass. The VSS got Rs.30,000 in an auction conducted in 1997.

Another VSS called Nanayala VSS of Chittoor district has taken up soap nut sale collectively. VSS has formed in the village in 1995 with 221 members. The village is known for different varieties of MFP, i.e. tamarind, soap nut, kalikai, ullinja, neredu, nelli velaga, honey and broom grass. The collection of these different MFP is spread out throughout the year. By the advice of Forest Department, the villagers came to a decision to collect and market the MFP collectively. In 1996 they have collected 14 tonnes of soap nut. With the help of forest department, each member household made an income ranging from Rs.1500-2500 during that season.

These experiences shows that development of marketing skills and benefit sharing mechanism may create base to the members for future activity when VSS starts getting yield out of their efforts in forest regeneration and protection.

5.2.3. VSSs in Resolving the Conflicts

In the process of implementation of JFM in the state, different conflicts have emerged between the villages(i.e. between adjacent VSS villages as well as non-VSS villages) and also within the VSS. These conflicts can be grouped into two types on the basis of nature of the conflict. First, boundary conflicts that arise when there is an overlap of allotted forest area traditional boundary of the villages. Gannela VSS had a conflict on the boundary of VSS area with the adjacent Dappuguda village. Gannela is a village in Visakhapatnam district consisting of 100 households. The inhabitants of the village are tribals belonging to *bagata, valmiki and konda doras.* In 1996 VSS was formed and the Forest Department demarcated certain area. But the area comes under the adjacent village-

Dappuguda, where the villagers are doing *podu* on the demarcated area. Hence the villagers of the adjacent villages opposed the activity and destroyed the plantations of VSS. Still the problem is pending. This shows that boundary demarcation is an important aspect while forming VSS. Sharing of the benefits and conflict resolutions with neighbouring villagers can be avoided only if the boundaries are clear.

Second, the regulatory conflicts arise due to the restriction on the use of forest resources in the allotted area of VSS. These types of conflicts emerge even within the village of VSS. The case of Pittagud is a best example of this kind of conflict and VSS efforts to solve the problem. Pittagud is tribal hamlet of Jainoor panchayat, a mandal headquarter of Adilabad district. Since the village is mandal headquarters, the population of the village is a mixture of minorities, few trading communities and tribals. These are depended on the adjoining Marlawai reserve forest for their timber and firewood requirements. In 1995 villagers of Pittagud formed into VSS. Since there was no other forest area near by for Jainoor people, to meet their fuel wood, it caused a conflict between the VSS members and people of Jainoor when the VSS started patrolling the reserve forest. When VSS has caught three cartloads of fuel wood of Jainoor people, tension was built up. The intervention of Forest Department by booking cases increased the tension further where the villagers decided to withdraw the VSS. At that time FD did a survey on fuel wood demand and discussed with the people for an alternative energy source.

As per the plan, the 12 households of business community and 18 households of employees are shifted to kerosene and LPG, as the availability of fuel wood was difficult. Agricultural households, who have cattle, were advised to go for gobar gas plants. One plant of 2 cum. was priced at Rs.5,600 out of which the central subsidy was Rs. 2,500 and balance of Rs.3,100 was to be bom by the beneficiary. The Forest Department was agreed to bear 50 per cent i.e. Rs.1550. About 18 households came forward to take up biogas plants. Other small fanners and other land less with no sufficient cattle were given smokeless chullas and they have agreed to use cotton stakes with brushwood in place of logs to meet domestic energy needs.

These issues of conflict raised several questions. One, can the VSSs resolve these conflicts with present nature of functioning. Will it be able to sustain the collective nature in future while sharing the yield out of their protection measures or will it be dominated by certain sections of people in VSS. These will be depended on the level and nature of people's participation in decision as well as implementation of the activities. In this context next section is an attempt to study the level of people's participation in a VSS of Rampa region.

5.3. A JFM VILLAGE: STUDY OF BAPANAMMA VANA SAMRAKSHANA SAMITHI:

5.3.1. Background of the Village:

For the purpose of a detailed analysis of the functioning of the VSS in the study area, a village, Gandhinagaram was selected. Gandhinagaram is a tribal hamlet, located three kms. away from the mandal head quarters, Rampachodavaram of East Godavari district, Andhra Pradesh. A stream separates the village into two streets, called old and new streets. Gandhinagaram is a heterogeneous village consisting certain tribal communities as well as people from plains belonging to certain castes. The village consists of 88 households of three tribal communities and two caste groups. In the hamlet 88.6 per cent of households belong to *Koya Dora* community and others are *Konda Reddy* (2 households), Konda *Kammara* (4 households) *Mala* - a Scheduled Caste group (2 households) and *Kamma* (2 households) (Table. 5.4). *Koya Doras* are the original settlers of the hamlet and others are immigrants during the last 40 years.

A non-tribal household belongs to *Reddy* community from the plains and this household is involved in several activities ranging from petty business, arrack selling to timber. This is the first external intervention into the hamlet other than state intervention, which has initiated number of changes in the socio-economic relations of the tribes of the hamlet. As reported by the villagers, one can observe that, though the *reddy* community is a cultivating caste group in the plain areas this household did not involve in agricultural operations. And they used to give credit by tying with several forest produce collected by the tribals.

At that time, all the property of land and trees like tamarind, mango, soapnut and toddy within the village boundary were under community ownership. As stated by a villager, the atmosphere within the village community was intensely democratic. Each member has equal rights under the leadership of the hereditary head (*Kulam pedda*/head of the village) of the village. As we observed in chapter II, the village head enjoys no privileges and exercises no authority over his fellow villagers; he presides over `Panchayat' but his decisions must be endorsed by the opinion of the community as in other tribal villages. The village council itself resolves the disputes among the villagers. The village council is not an exclusive body but an informal gathering of all the householders. When an aggrieved party lodges a complaint with the headman, he summons the villagers for discussion of the matter. The village council was the center for their organisation.

Until before mid 1970s all households in the hamlet practiced *podu* cultivation, while presently only 25 households (28.4 per cent) are involved in *podu* cultivation. The crops grown on *podu* field are jowar, bajra, redgram and soma. Besides this *podu,* tribes of the hamlet collect edible and non- edible forest products for their subsistence. The people of the village collect various varieties of minor forest produce like honey, beeswax, soapnuts, tamarind and tendu leaves. Government issued individual *pattas* in mid 1970's that happened to be the major intervention of the state. As we observed in the earlier chapters, the importance of traditional institutions has also started to decline in the village after the reservation of surrounding forests during late 1960's and also land settlement operation of 1974 which gave scope for outsiders to enter into the forest area.

Among the 88 households, 9 households (10.2per cent) are landless. 16 households (18.2per cent) owned above 10 acres of land by owning 249 acres of land with an average of 15.6acres and nearly 23 households (26.1per cent) owned between four to six acres with 104.5 acres which comes an average of 4.5 acres. As a whole nearly 53.4 per cent households owned 30.8 per cent of land while remaining 36.4 households owned nearly 69.2 per cent of land(Table 5.5).

The crops grown on apt lands are cashew, paddy, bajra, jowar and redgram. Cashew was introduced by ITDA in the village under IF AD in which nearly 70 per cent of households are involved. But most of them are leasing-out the produce every year to non-tribals of the plain areas as prevailed in whole of the agency area. Rent ranges from Rs.2000 to Rs.5000 per acre per annum while the non-tribal getting nearly Rs.50,000 to Rs.80,000 per acre of cashew produce. Only five households are carrying out cashew marketing by themselves. As far as the other crops are concerned few households are cultivating on patta lands. Others nearly 15 households are leasing-out their lands to the non-tribals of the adjacent town, Rampa Chodavaram. The rent ranging from Rs.1000 to Rs.1500 per acre per year. So only 32 per cent of households are cultivating jowar, 20 per cent households cultivating bajra and 22 per cent households are producing paddy in the hamlet. One can observe that even though 'plough' cultivation was prevailing in the village, most of the villagers are selling the animal manure to the cultivators of the plain areas. Tribals of the village are depended on the trader cum moneylenders of Rampa Chodavaram not only for selling their produce but also obtaining credit.

Since the village is adjacent to the mandal headquarters, the village became one of the centers for forest contractors to get labourers for forest operations. Till 1980 most of the households are involved in forest operations in the Rampa region as labourers. Presently, nearly 25 households are involved in the forest works and most of them are women labourers. Since Rampa Chodavaram is the center for the government administration, all the government agencies are located in this town. This made the town as a business center and created more demand for timber and non-timber forest produce of the surrounding forest area. This brought changes in the economic activities of the tribals of the village. Presently collection and selling of firewood is the major activities of the tribes of the village by which they earn nearly Rs.250 per week. Presently 45.5 per cent of households are depended on this activity for their cash requirements. Interestingly, the selling of fire woods also introduced by a non-tribal in 1970's to the villagers, who cuts and sells fire wood.

The reservation of surrounding forests and state management system of forests and the establishment of government agencies resulted in the entry of non tribal population into the area as forest contractors as well as employees and petty traders and made the tribals to enter into market relations. The alien systems destroyed the traditional subsistent institutions. The villagers are totally depended on forest works as labourers, collection of firewood and the traders/money lenders. Presently the hamlet is known for the conflicts among the tribals and also for prostitution. At this juncture, forest department with the help of local NGO introduced JFM activities in 1995 and formed VSS.

5.3.2 Members of the VSS

The VSS was formed with seventy-five per cent(66) of the households in the village. Nearly two members from each household (mostly wife and husband) are the members of VSS which comes around to a total of 139 members. Since Koya Dora is the dominant community in the village, 73.1 per cent of that particular tribal household became the members of the VSS. Among the member households 64.8 per cent belong to Koya tribe. All the households of remaining tribes also joined as the members. One household of Kamma of plain area is also a member and remaining one household of same caste did not join because he is an employee in ITDA(Table 5.5). Among the non-members seven households owned more than 10 acres of land each while eight households owned between 6-10 acres of land. Two households did not join as the members because they are employees. The non-members who have more than eight acres of land are busy with their own agricultural operations and they expressed that JFM is not useful to them in any way. Other households expressed that they did not know about the formation of V.S.S. in their village and some of them express that they want to keep themselves away from the forest department because of their bitter experiences with the forest department when they were selling fire wood. It indicates the failure of the forest department in creating awareness on the JFM and its nature and importance before formation of the VSS.

When it comes to the members in terms of land holdings, 10.6 per cent (7) member households are landless. The others are 7.6 per cent households owned less than 2 acres of

land, 25.8 per cent (17) householders owned between 2-4 acres of land, 30.3 per cent (20) households with 4-6 acres, 9.1 per cent (6) households owned between 6-8 acres and 16.6 per cent (11) households owned above 8 acres of land. Table 5.6 shows that among the total landless households nearly 77.8 per cent joined as members and 89.5 percent among the households who owns 2-4 acres of land became the members of the VSS, while 40 per cent among the households whose landholding are between 8-10 acres have joined(Table 5.6). This shows that the households who have smallholdings became the part of VSS because of their dependency on forest resources mainly in collection of MFP and selling of firewood and for employment.

TABLE: 5.5. TRIBE WISE NUMBER OF MEMBER HOUSEHOLDS OF GANDHI NAGARAM VSS

	Koya Dora	Konda Reddy	Konda Kammara	Mala (s.c.)	Kamma (o.c)	TOTAL
Member Households	57 (73.1)	2 (100)	4 (100)	2 (100)	1 (50.0)	66 (75.0)
Non-member HHs	21 (26.9)	-	-	-	1 (50.0)	22 (25.0)
TOTAL	78 (100)	2 (100)	4 (100)	2 (100)	2 (100)	88 (100)

Source: Field. Study

5.3.3. Location of JFM:

The area demarcated for the VSS is located in between Rampa Chodavaram and Gandhinagaram. The area comes under Geddada beat, which comes under the jurisdiction of Rampa Chodavaram range, and lies between 17"-25' and 17"-27' latitude and 81 "-42' and 81 "-47 longitude of notified scheduled area. One can observe that the area is very nearer to Rampachodavaram(0.3 kms.) than the JFM proposed village. The total proposed area is 250 hectares, which can be covered in five years(Micro Plan of V.S.S, 1995).

TABLE: 5.6. LAND HOLDINGS-WISE NUMBER OF VSS MEMBER HOUSEHOLDS

Size of Holding	Total No. of Households	Extent (in Acres)	VSS Member Households	% to total HHs of each class
Lnadless	9 (10.2)	-	7 (10.6)	77.8
1-2	5 (5.7)	6.5	5 (7.6)	71.4
2-4	19 (21.6)	54.0	17 (25.8)	89.5
4-6	23 (26.1)	104.5	20 (30.3)	87.0
6-8	11 (12.5)	78.0	6 (9.1)	54.5
8-10	5 (5.7)	43.5	2 (3.0)	40.0
10 and above	16 (10.2)	249.0	9 (13.6)	56.3
TOTAL	88 (100)	535.5	66 (100)	75.0

Source: Field Study

5.3.4. Micro Plan:

Micro Plan[6] of Gandhinagaram has explained local conditions, the availability of basic needs of the people, the conditions of the forest and suggestions for the development. As stated in the micro plan, the plan was prepared jointly by committee of the VSS, local NGO and Forest Department. But majority of VSS members and the local NGO has reported that they did not participate in the preparation of the plan. And the information reported in

[6] JFM plan is called as Micro Plan for the VSS is prepared by the Managing Committee and the concerned section staff through a process of mutual consultation with all the sections of the society including tribals, women and other weaker sections. The multi-disciplinary team transects the forest area proposed for JFM with the villagers and the status of the forest is recorded along with the species. Similarly the causes for degradation of the forests and the present status of the forest are identified. A man power availability calendar is also prepared according to the employment status of the village and the number of labourers available.

the micro-plan indicates forest department itself prepared the plan. The document is seems to be basically a plan for regenerate forests and not emphasised much on the management aspects for the functioning of VSS. In 1995-96 the VSS has covered 50 hectares and given preference to bamboo by covering nearly 40 hectares. The other species amla, tamarind, black cashew, teak and neredu are covered in remaining 10 hectares.

5.3.5. Participation of V.S.S. **members:**

Participation of V.S.S. member can be analyzed in two levels. One is at decision making level, which can be identified by looking at the level of participation in General Body meetings in which decisions are made. Second is participation at implementation level, which will be reflected by the labourers who are involving in activities of VSS.

A. **Participation in General Body Meetings:**

General Body plays an important role in the activities of JFM. It has to approve all the activities which they are going to adopt. The Managing Committee has to seek approval of General Body for all the financial transactions. The concerned Range Officer is the convenor of the General Body of the VSS. He will prepare the agenda of General Body Meeting and maintains minute book wherein the proceedings of GBM held from time to time will be recorded. All the proceedings of the GBM should be within the relevant forest act and rules. General Body decides action plan as well as required number of labourer for each activity and allocation of the funds to activities and distribution of the benefits among the members.

In Gandhinagaram, the first GBM of the VSS was held after the approval of Micro Plan in June 1995. The major decisions, which have been taken, are auction of wood collected from clearing of the area allotted for the period of 1995. Apart from the auction of wood, GBM also decided to represent to the concerned authorities for housing and also draught animals. This meeting was attended by 61.2 per cent(85) of the members. The second GBM was held in the same month to discuss about labour requirements for plantation work. In the second GBM 39.6 per cent(55) of the members attended. And in the

third GBM which was held in June 1996, 33.1 per cent(46) of the members attended(Table 5.7). This shows a gradual decline of member's participation in GBMs in which major decisions are supposed to be taken. As per the female members are concerned, among the attended members 32(37.6per cent) for the first meeting, 18(32.7 per cent) in second meeting and in the last 16(34.8) members attended.

TABLE: 5.7. PARTICIPATION IN GENERAL BODY MEETING DURING 1995 AND 1996

	4th June 1995	29th June 1995	16th June 1996
No. of Persons attended	85 (61.2)	55 (39.6)	46 (33.1)
No. of Persons not attended	54 (38.8)	84 (60.4)	93 (66.9)
TOTAL	139 (100)	139 (100)	139 (100)

Source: Minutes of VSS.

On the basis of the landholdings, the members who have more than six acres of land have attended more in number when compared to landless and members who owns less than six acres of land in the first GBM. Though less number of people attended in second and third GBM, member who have more than six acres have attended more(Table 5.8). Thus, those who have large holdings and less dependents on forests are participating in GBM where major decisions are suppose to be taken regarding the activities and financial allocation.

We have made an attempt to study the reasons for the less participation in GBM on the basis of four broad reasons i.e., not informed about the meeting, due to personal work, not interested to attend and other reasons. Among the members those who have not attended GBMs 49.8 per cent were not informed about the meeting(Table 5.9). Table 5.10 shows that landholding and reasons wise absentee members in general body meetings. On the basis of the landholdings majority of the members those who have land between 2-6 acres are not informed about the GBM and very few reported that they are not interested. Majority of the

members those who have more than six acres are not attended because of their personal work. The members who have reported other reasons i.e. not interested as well as other reasons are also higher in less than six acres category. This shows not only participation is less in decision making but also those who have more than six acres of land are participating more. Hence the participation of lower class in the decision making process is comparatively less. As we have observed in earlier chapter, traditionally all the households of the village were informed about the village council meetings through their traditional means of communication. At one side JFM is not adopting the methods of indigenous institutions and at another side it is controlled and working within the guidelines of the Act. So there is no scope to adopt the systems of traditional institutions at least by the local members by themselves and therefore the tribals always feel it as an alien institution.

TABLE: 5.8. LANDHOLDING WISE PARTICIPATION IN GENERAL BODY MEETINGS

Size of Land holdings	Total members of VSS	Members Attended					
		4th June 1995		29th June 1995		16th June 1996	
		Attended	% *	Attended	% *	Attended	% *
Landless	14 (10.1)	7 (8.2)	50.0	5 (9.1)	35.7	4 (8.7)	28.6
1-2	11 (7.9)	4 (4.7)	36.4	5 (9.1)	45.5	2 (4.3)	18.2
2-4	34 (24.4)	18 (21.2)	52.9	11 (20.0)	32.4	10 (21.7)	29.4
4-6	42 (30.2)	25 (29.4)	59.5	17 (30.9)	40.5	12 (26.2)	28.6
6-8	14 (10.1)	10 (11.8)	71.4	6 (10.9)	42.9	8 (17.4)	57.1
8-10	4 (2.9)	4 (4.7)	100.0	2 (3.6)	50.0	2 (4.3)	50.0
10 and above	20 (14.4)	17 (20.0)	85.0	9 (16.4)	45.0	8 (17.4)	40.0
TOTAL	139 (100)	85 (100)	61.2	55 (100)	39.6	46 (100)	33.1

* Percentages to total members of respective class.
Source: Field Study

TABLE: 5.9. REASON WISE NO.OF PERSONS NOT ATTENDED GENERAL BODY MEETINGS

Sl.No	Reasons	First GBM	Second GBM	Third GBM	Average
1.	Not Informed	25 (46.3)	42 (50.0)	47 (50.5)	38 (49.4)
2.	Due to personal work	12 (22.2)	9 (10.7)	15 (16.1)	12 (15.6)
3.	Not interested	11 (20.4)	22 (26.2)	18 (19.4)	17 (22.1)
4.	Other reasons	6 **(11.1)**	11 (13.1)	13 (14.0)	10 (12.9)
5.	TOTAL	54 (100)	84 (100)	93 (100)	77 (100)

Source: Field Study

TABLE: 5.10. LAND HOLDIGS AND REASON WISE NO.OF PERSONS NOT ATTENDED THE MEETINGS

Size of land holding	I General Body Meeting				II General Body Meeting				III General Body Meeting			
	A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D
Landless	5 (20.0)	1 (8.3)		1 (16.7)	6 (14.3)		2 (9.1)	1 (9.0)	5 (10.6)	1 (6.6)	2 (11.1)	2 (15.4)
1-2	3 (12.0)	2 (16.7)	1 (9.0)	1 (16.7)	4 (9.5)			2 (182)	6 (12.8)		2 (11.1)	1 (7.7)
2-4	8 (32.0)	4 (33.3)	2 (18.2)	2 (33.3)	11 (26.2)	1 (11.2)	7 (31 8)	4 (36.4)	11 (23.4)	4 (26.7)	7 (38.9)	2 (15.4)
4-6	7 (28.0)	5 (41.7)	3 (27 3)	2 (333)	18 (42.8)		5 (22.7)	2 (18.2)	17 (36.2)	4 (26.7)	5 (27.8)	4 (30.7)
6-8	1 (4.0)	-	3 (27.3)		1 (2.4)	3 (33.3)	4 (18.2)	-	3 (6.4)	1 (6.6)	2 (11 1)	-
8-10						(222)				1 (6.6)		1 (7.7)
10 and above	1 (4.0)		2 (182)		2 (48)	3 (33.3)	4 (18.2)	2 (18.2)	5 (10.6)	4 (267)	-	3 (23.1)
TOTAL	25 (100)	12 (100)	(100)	6 (100)	42 (100)	9 (100)	22 (100)	11 (100)	47 (100)	15 (100)	18 (100)	13 (100)

A: Not informed; B: Due to personal work; C: Not interested; D: Other reasons

Source: Field Study

B. Participation in the Activities:

The activities which were mostly taken up by the VSS can be grouped into four types i.e., i. clearing of the unwanted growth of the tree, ii. pit digging, staking and plantation, iii. gap filling and weeding, and iv. gully plugging and ring mark. The VSS committee, mostly president will look after all the activities to complete within time by employing required labourers. Since participating in labour activity is not compulsory for the all members the member who needs employment during that season are participating in the activities. The Committee does not employ more than required labour. So there is no guaranty of getting labour work for all required members. Committee has fixed the wage rate for activities at Rs.25 per day. We have considered 1995-96 for study to analyse the participation of the VSS members in these activities.

In 1995-96 VSS has covered 50 hectares of land for which it takes 53 days to complete the work. VSS has taken 25 days for clearing, which requires more labour than other activities. The total man-days of employment provided by the clearing are 1375. In this activity, each day an average of 55 (39.6 per cent) members are participated and earned an average of Rs.625 as wage. Each day an average of 53(38.1 per cent) of the members participated in pit digging, staking and plantation work for 18 days which provided 954 man-days of employment. In other remaining activities, 44(31.2 per cent) are employed in gap filling and weeding and 33(23.7 per cent) members are employed for gully plugging and ring mark(Table 5.11). Among participated VSS members in the activities, female labourers accounts for 25(45.5 per cent), 26(59.1 per cent) and 8(24.2 per cent) employed in the activities of clearing, pit digging, gap filling and gully plugging respectively. Thus, it shows those who are in need of employment, are participating in the activities.

Since the members who are in need of employment are participating in the activities, it was clear that the members who own large holdings of land are not involving in any of the activities. But in clearing five members, who have more than six acres of land are also involved, may be because the activity has been carried out during lean season. Comparatively, members who have less than six acres participated in all activities. Among these, landless

TABLE: 5.11. **LABOUR PARTICIPATION IN JFM ACTIVITIES OF 1995-96**

Work	Average duration of employment	Average No.of people employed			Total Man days of employment	Average rate of wages (in Rs)	Total wage payment (in Rs)
		Male	Female	Total			
Clearing	25	30 (42.3)	25 (36.8)	55 (39.6)	1375	625	34,375
Pit digging, staking and plantation	18	28 (39.4)	25 (36.8)	53 (38.1)	954	450	23,850
Gap filling and weeding	5	18 (25.3)	26 (37.7)	44 (31.2)	220	125	5,500
Gully plugging and ring mark	5	25 (35.2)	8 (11.6)	33 (23.7)	165	125	4,125

Figures in parenthesis are percentages to total members of VSS
Source: Muster rolls of JFM.

TABLE: 5.12. LANDHOLDING ACTIVITY AND SEX-WISE PARTICIPATION OF VSS MEMBERS

Size of Land Holdings	Clearing		Pit digging, staking and plantation		Gap filling and weeding		Gully plugging and ring mark	
	Persons employed	%*	Persons employed	%*	Persons employed	%*	Persons employed	%*
Landless (14)	**11** (20.0)	**78.6**	**10** (18.9)	71.4	**8** (18.6)	57.1	**7** **(9.1)**	50.0
1-2(11)	**5** **(9.1)**	45.5	**6** (11.3)	54.5	**3** **(7.0)**	27.3	**5** (15.2)	45.5
2-4 (34)	**18** (32.7)	52.9	**20** (37 **7)**	58.8	**15** (34.9)	**44.1**	**12** **(36.4)**	35.3
4-6 (42)	**16** **(29.1)**	38.1	**15** (28.3)	35.7	**16** (37.2)	38.1	**7** (212)	**16.7**
6-8(14)	**3** **(5.5)**	21.4	**2** **(38)**	14.3	**1** **(2.3)**	**7.1**	**2** **(6.1)**	**14.3**
8-10(4)	**1** (1.8)	25.0				-		
10 and **above (20)**	1 (1.8)	**5.0**						
Total (139)	55 (100)	39.6	53 (100)	38.1	43 (100)	31.0	33 (100)	23.7

*Percentages to total members of respective class.
Source: Field Study.

members have reported higher rate of participation(Table 5.12). This clearly indicates that those persons who depended on forest resources and who need employment are coming forward for the works of VSS. As Chatrapati Singh(1991) raised a question while studying the forest notifications of JFM that this movement may remain a mere employment scheme, as it mostly happened in the Social Forestry Programme. Further he noted that it seems the objective of National Forest Policy is more of a confession of need that India's wasted or denuded forests are to be afforested again. But it needs to be employ about the same size of labour as that engage in agriculture which can be met by the VSS. And also JFM has not adopted the collective responsibility in preservation and regeneration of forests as tribals experienced in traditional institutions.

As per the G.O.1993 VSS got 50 per cent (now it is 100 percent) of share from the income of wood collected in clearing activity. This amount was deposited in the joint account of VSS. The Gandhinagaram VSS Committee was giving loans to the members from that fund at 12 per cent interest rate. As a whole 52 members were given loans during 1996 and 1997. Table 5.13 indicates that the members who have got the loans owned 6-10 acres of land and mostly it is for agricultural purposes. Till now no one had repaid the loans.

One can observe that, in the general body where decisions are supposed to be taken households who own large holding are participating while the members who have less holdings are participating in labour activities. Even in distribution of loans those who have large holdings are benefited than the landless and the members with smallholdings. Preservation and regeneration on which JFM is concentrated are not new to the tribals but they need rights over forest resources on which they depended for survival. If the rights are assured the VSS may remain as an employment scheme with less participation of forest dependent people in the decision making level and ultimately VSS becomes an institution controlled by Forest Department and Committee but not the people.

5.4. CONCLUSION

Even though it is too early to draw a conclusion on the success of JFM but one can

TABLE: 5.13. LAND HOLDINGS WISE NUMBER OF PERSONS OBTAINED LOANS THROUGH VSS DURING 1996 AND 1997

Size of land holding	1996							1997						
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
Landless (14)		1				1 (4.5)	7.1	2				-	2 (67)	14.3
1-2 (11)		1				1 (4.5)	9 1	-	2			-	2 (6.7)	18.2
2-4 (34)	1			-		1 (4.5)	3.1		2	3			5 (16.6)	14.7
4-6 (42)	-	4	2	2		8 (36.5)	19.0	1	6	2			9 (30.0)	21.4
6-8 (14)	2		1	4		7 (31.8)	50.0		6	-	2		8 (26.7)	57.1
8-10 (4)				1	1	2 (9 1)	50.0		3				3 (10.0)	75.0
10 and above(20)					2	2 (9 1)	10.0				1		1 (3.3)	5.0
TOTAL (139)	3	6	3	7	3	22 (100)	15.8	3	19	5	3		30 (100)	21.6

A: Below Rs.500; B: Rs.500-800; C: Rs.800-1000 D: Rs.1000-2000; E: Rs.2000 and above; F: Total; G: Percentage to total member of respective class.
Source: Field Study

assess on the basis of the participation of thc people in decision making as well as implementation. The study shows that participation of the members is not only in decision making but also participation as labourers is less. Starting from the preparation of micro plan to implementation of different activities along with maintenance of the records, the Forest Department has a dominant role under broad coverage of partnership in joint management responsibility. In the village, financial transactions and cash records have been maintained by the forest officials with or without the knowledge of VSS president. One can observe that there is little flow of information below the VSS President. Most of the members of VSS do not know what has been planned under the programme. This shows, instead of motivating and making them to represent their problems and to participate in VSS activities, the Forest Department merely employing the members as labourers in the name of people's participation. Since the people's participating is very less in number, the management of VSS can be in the hands of few and the possibility of generating vested interests among the tribals, which may spoil the collective nature of their traditional institutions further.

CHAPTER-6

INTERVETION OF VOLUNTARY ORGANISATIONS: A CASE STUDY

6.0 Introduction

By now it has been established that the State monopoly over forests resulted in indiscriminate over exploitation of natural resources by forest-based industries and private contractors. The Forest Departments have uprooted and dispossessed the indigenous people from their natural habitats and deprived them substantial access to the forest resources enjoyed by them. The growing concern with depleting forest resources and the dwindling tribals' rights have been responsible for the introduction of institutions like JFM by the state on the one hand, and the entry of Non-Governmental Organisations(NGOs) on the other. The JFM is designed to involve tribals in the conservation of forests and provision employment and access to forest resources to an extent. The inability of the state agencies to work with tribals at the grassroots has provided space for the entry of NGOs. National and international NGOs entered the scene and extended support to local organisations of the people to assert their rights on forest resources. In this context, this chapter is an attempt to study the intervention of voluntary organisations in the Rampa agency. For detailed analysis we considered 'SAKTI'(Search for Action and Knowledge of Tribal Initiative), a voluntary organisation, working for the protection of tribals' rights in the agency area of East Godavari District of Andhra Pradesh. The chapter consists of two broad sections. In the first section an attempt is made to assess the extent of NGOs working on forests and tribals in India. The second section is a case study of the intervention of SAKTI and its activities in the protection of tribal rights.

6.1. NGOs AND RIGHTS OF THE INDIGENOUS PEOPLE:

In recent years, growing concern with the forests and indigenous communities has coincided with an increased emphasis on involving NGOs in developmental effort(Prasad 1992). An attempt is made here to identify the number of NGOs working on forest-tribal related activities in India based on the directories prepared by the CAP ART. The table shows that there were 1977 NGOs all over India in 1993.This number is only a broad indication but the actual number is likely to be in several

multiples of this. Among them 947(47.9 per cent) are working on forest-tribal related activities. Among them 48.1 per cent organisations are registered after 1980. This may be because, by 1980 forest resources and tribals related aspects are became a major agenda in global politics as well as funding agencies. Thus, in India the number of the organisations working for the problems of forest-tribal related aspects has increased only after 1980. Among the 947 forest-tribal activity related NGOs 30.7 per cent are working in north zone. This may be because the north zone consists of more number of NGOs when compared to other zones. But on the basis of the proportion of number of NGOs in respective zones 51.2 per cent of east zone organisations are concentrating on forest-tribal related aspects, while among total 643 NGOs in north zone, only 45.2 per cent are focusing on these aspects. Among the NGOs(179 NGOs) which are working in Andhra Pradesh 41.3 per cent of organisations are involved in forest-tribal related activities(Table 6.1).

6.2. SAKTI AND TRIBALS

'SAKTI' is working in Rampa Agency since 1985[1]. The intervention of SAKTI can be observed at two levels in the agency area. At one level, it is concentrating on forest-tribal problems and at other level it is working on land problems of the tribal. Depending on the distinct features and nature of tribals' problems SAKTI is intervening through either one of the above aspects. In Marredimilli and Y.Ramavaram mandals SAKTI dealing with forest problems while in other mandals the organisation is working on land problems as well as forest related activities. Since SAKTI activities are mostly issue based and covering a large area around hundred villages. Here we concentrate on the forest-related programmes of SAKTI for the present study.

1 The objectives of SAKTI can be grouped under three aspects. **1. Organisational Aspects:** i. to improve social education among the tribal people. ii. To organise the tribals through education. iii. To organise the people to protect their rights over forests. **2.Motivational Aspects:** i. to improve the customs and traditions of the tribal that were useful. ii. To assist in improving their art by which they can develop. iii. To help them by implementing Government programmes. **3. Mobilisational Aspects:** i. to protect tribals from exploitation of administration and cheating by the plains. ii. To implement and bring in to force the Land Transfers Regulation Act and prevent them from giving their land to non-tribals.

TABLE: 6.1. STATE AND YEAR WISE REGISTERED FOREST AND ENVIRONMENTAL RELATED NGOS

State	All NGOs	Before 1965	1965-70	1970-75	1975-80	1980-85	1985-90	N.A	Total
Bihar	152	5	6	4	11	18	20	4	68(44.7)*
Chandigarh	1	-		-	-	-	-	-	
Delhi	154	7	3	6	12	15	19	7	69 (44.8)
Haryana	18	-		-	-	-	4	2	6 (33.3)
HP.	19	1	-	1	4	2	4	1	13(68.4)
J&K	6			-	-	2	-	1	3 (50.0)
M.P	49	3	3	2	2	6	9	5	30(61.2)
Punjab	11		-	1	1	1		2	5 (45.4)
U.P	233	6	5	7	9	28	35	7	97(41.6)
Sub-total (North Zone)	643	22	17	21	39	72	91	29	291 (45.2)
A.P	179	2	2	6	20	29	12	3	74(41.3)
Karnataka	104	4	5	4	8	17	5	8	51 (49.0)
Kerala	83	2	2	2	14	11	8	3	42 (47.2)
Pondichery	1		-	-	-		-	-	-
T.N.	232	6	3	5	16	54	26	8	118 (50.9)
Sub-total (South Zone)	599	14	12	17	58	111	51	22	285 (47.6)
Assam	21	3	1	-	2	2	1	1	10(47.6)
Manipur	28	2	-	1	3	6	3	1	16(57.1)
Meghalaya	3	-		-	-			1	1 (33.3)
Mizoram	4				-				-
Nagaland	3	-	-		-	2	-	-	2 (66.6)
Orissa	105	6	2	5	13	18	11	18	73 (69.5)
Tripura	1	-		-	-	-	-	-	-
W.B.	257	8	6	13	26	29	17	15	114 (44.4)
Sub-total (East Zone)	422	19	9	19	44	57	32	36	216(51.2)
Goa	3			-		-	-	1	1 (33.3)
Gujarat	89	14	5	5	5	6	3	11	49(55.1)
Maharashtra	156	12	8	4	12	11	6	21	74 (47.4)
Rajasthan	65	3	1	1	5	7	8	6	31 (47.7)
Sub-total (West Zone)	313	29	14	10	22	24	17	39	155(49.5)
Grand total	1977	84 (8.9)	52 (5.5)	67 (7.1)	163 (17.1)	264 (27.9)	191 (20.2)	126 (13.3)	947 (47.9) (100)

* Percentages to All NGOs of respective states.

Source: CAPART, 1993.

6.2.1. Forest Related Activities of SAKTI:

Initially, SAKTI started its work with developmental activities. The range incorporates running skill development trainings to providing agricultural inputs. In the beginning of 1985, there were some attempts to train the tribals in dry land agriculture so as to wean them away from the practice of *podu* cultivation. Secondly, it attempted to establish direct link between tribals and ITDA officials and initiated marketing of palm fiber to break the monopoly of the traders. Since 1986-87 SAKTI changed its focus and concentrated on forest and land issues and related problems. And then SAKTI evolved its activities by identifying the following problems in the agency area:

1. Monoculture, especially teak and similar species that do not provide any source of food or income to the tribals unlike the natural forests.

2. Indiscriminate felling of forests by paper mills and other forest based industries, loss of trees like wild mango, which is a source of food for the tribals.

3. Smuggling of timber with the connivance of forest department and employing tribals as labourers in all the logging and sawing operations and are invariably not paid proper wages.

4. Outside demand for the timber encourages tribals to exploit the forests. They are often caught and punished by the department or have to pay regular bribes to the Forest Department staff to carry on with the business.

5. Indiscriminate felling of bamboo in the forests leased by the paper mills, which prevent their natural regeneration. Loss of bamboo implies loss of habitat for several of the tribals.

The other problems are harassment by the police, low control on pricing and grading of minor forest produce and cheating in the weighment and exploitation of

tribal women by non-tribal men who live with thesc women while they are in the agency and left them very often with the responsibility of bringing up the children.

The intervention of SAKTI in forest issues and related problems can be grouped under six broad categories i.e. forest based industries and the intervention of SAKTI, issues against state and private contractors management, issue of minimum wages, issue of exploitation of tribal women, efforts for the betterment of the state marketing agencies and protection of forests and rights of tribals through *nurintadavi* programme.

6.2.2. Forest Based **Industries in East Godavari District and Intervention of SAKTI:**

Rajahmundry is the biggest traditional market centre in South India for timber. Today, number of major and minor industries in the district such as saw mills, paper, plywood, match etc., are depended on Rampa forests to meet their timber requirements. There are nearly 125 timber and bamboo depots and several forest-based industries in the district. The important forest based industries in the district are: Andhra Pradesh Paper Mills Ltd. at Rajahmundry, Godavari Plywood Ltd. at Rampachodavaram, Government saw mill at Rajahmundry and several private saw mills and match industries. All the industries are depended on Rampa forests for their timber requirements. Other industries using forest resources, particularly wood, in the district includes Sugar and Sago factories, Motor Vehicle Body Building Units, tobacco barns and transmission poles etc.

Apart from the above the industries in the district, the Paper Boards Ltd. at Sarapaka of Khammam District, A.P.Rayons Ltd. at Kamalapuram, Warangal District, Singareni Collieries Ltd. at Kothagudem are also to be dependent on the supply of hardwood, timber and pulpwood from the forests of East Godavari agency area.

Paper mills, Godavari Plywood Ltd. and A.P.Rayons are exclusively depended on the forests of the Rampa agency. The Paper mills due to the shortage of bamboo switched over to hardwood a decade before. The Rayon is a new entrant, which has

brought in the eucalyptus monoculture plantations by the government. Another industry is Plywood Industry, which prefers softwood and it operates through selective felling, prefers mango, jack and jamoon trees, which are a source of sustenance for the tribals. These trees are rich source of food for over three months for tribals. As we observed in earlier chapter, tribals collect unripe mangoes and peel and slice and use in curries throughout the year. And tribals depend on ripe mangoes during April and May for their food. They keep mango kernels, which are pounded and used for making roties. Jack is another important tree, which contribute substantial food for the tribals during June and July. Some times they sell jackfruits in the weekly market to meet their cash requirements. On an average, each household earns Rs.200 to Rs.300 during the season. But the state management of the forests for the industries hardly reveals the impact of the growing destruction on the forest dwellers, their livelihood sources and the ecosystem revolving around the forests.

So, SAKTI observes and checks the operations of forest based industries to prevent the illegal extraction of timber by making the tribals to involve in the forest protection activities and also filling cases against the indiscriminate felling of trees. The following case studies reflect the destruction by the industries and the nature of the involvement of SAKTI.

Case of A.P.Paper Mills:

Paper industry is one of the major industries in terms of dependence on forest resources particularly, bamboo. A.P.Paper Mills Ltd. of Rajahmundry is a major industry in the district that depended on Rampa forests for bamboo. In 1975 when the lease was executed in favour of A.P.Paper Mills Ltd. the agreement envisaged that the yield of bamboo would be 100,000 tones. However, at present the condition of coupes is such that yield of only 60,000 tones of bamboo are possible. This could imply that the lease has degraded the forest to this extent. While not only penalty has not been imposed for such degradation, the lease has in fact been rewarded by diverting 15,000 tonnes of bamboo, which is meant for public consumption.

Gadgil(1989) revealed that there was a qualitative difference in the way tribals traditionally harvested bamboo and the way the industry did. The tribals took out one or two clums at a time from each clump. This did not disturb the thorny cover of the short branches that form the base of each clump. The mill on the other hand was silviculturally prescribed to remove a much larger number of clums from each clump, and in the process, to carry out an operation of deliberately cleaning the thorny cover at the base of each clump(Gadgil 1989b). The clearing of the thorny cover from the base of a clump exposed young shoots to grazing by pigs, monkeys, cattle(Prasad 1985). And also the lease conditions of A.P. Paper Mills stipulate that the extraction of bamboo is to be done in line with certain silvicultural principles as laid down by the department from time to time. In practice, compliance with these conditions is ensured in the field through close supervision of labour by 'mukadams'. But rarely adhere to silvicultural prescriptions.

In 1970's it was the practice to employ one mukadam to supervise about 25 labourers working over an area of 50 hectares. Now the same one mukadam is supervising 400 labourers who work over an area of 400 hectares. Thus the mill is reducing expenditure on such essential supervision and allowing the forests to be extracted without adequate control and adherence to the norms to which they are bound by the agreements. SAKTI motivated the tribals on the degradation of the forests due to the operation of paper mill and formed them into pressure group by creating awareness on the silvicultural principles laid down by the department for the extraction of the bamboo. And the tribals pressurised the department to take necessary action to prevent extraction of bamboo against the silvicultural principles.

Case of Godavari Plywood Ltd. (GPL):

GPL was started as a joint venture in Rampa Chodavaram in 1972. Forest Department entered into an agreement to supply annually a quantity of 7000 cum. of wood to the factory for a period of twenty years. The royalty was fixed at Rs.70 per cum. for ply logs (about 120-cm. girth), Rs.35 for saw logs (75 to 120 cm. girths) and Rs. 12.50 per tonne of fuel wood. The Government has leased out 25 per cent of the reserved forests of the district, which is about 60,780 hectares of 20 coupes to GPL

for a period of 20 years. The factory started working from 1976 and worked in 9 of the 20 coupes (average size of coupe is about 3000 hectares). During the period of 1976-87 the factory worked only in 9 coupes out of 20 coupes which was about 27000 hectares and actual number of trees felled per hectare works out to be a little over one tree on an average. First priority is ply logs to a minimum girth of 150 cm. The minimum girth for a mango tree to be felled was fixed at 150 cm. and therefore all the mango trees felled were of ply logs variety, since mango tree was the first choice of all plywood factories. In fact most of the mango trees felled in this region were supposed to be over hundred years old with an average girth of 300 cm.

Since the Forest Department did not provide tree-wise statistics, Puttakota coupe is chosen for a detailed analysis and the preponderance of the mango tree in the trees felled by the factory is quite evident from this sample. There was extensive violation of several stipulations. For instance, with a view to avoid interfering with the stream flow, it was stipulated that no tree within a distance of 20 meters from a stream or river should be felled. But in Puttakota 119 trees felled, mostly mango trees, were within these prohibited limits(Narasimha Reddy 1995). This makes for greater soil erosion and evapo-transpiration. In this manner the GPL has cleared the forest coupes of Valamuru, Satlavada, Kakuru, Eagavalasa, Pullangi and Kota. Due to the felling, a pineapple plantations of tribals was destroyed in Aragatla coupe and in the Eagavalasa coupe several jack fruit trees raised or tended by tribals were lost.

Mango, jack, sago and jeeluga trees are very important in livelihood of tribal in Rampa region. They themselves won't cut any of these trees even in their podu cultivation. The destruction of these frees, especially mango trees by GPL had brought about devastating deprival to the tribal population and far reaching irreversible damage to the eco-system. SAKTI has documented such violations and anomalies extensively, motivated the tribals in the villages to report such violations to prevent tree cutting and fought legal battles right up to the High Court and got stay order on felling of these frees. After lifting the stay order, A.P. Government revised the rate charged for frees allotted to the GPL. The revision was contested in courts and cutting of frees has been stopped pending disposal of this litigation. When the

government conceded to allow the company to fell the trees, SAKT1 again approached the High Court and stayed the felling invoking forest conservation act of 1988.

Besides the exploitation of forest resources by the industries, contractors who enter into forest also smuggle the timber logs or cut into the size of fuel-wood for transportation to the market, by misusing the permit which they have for industrial exploitation. SAKTI initiated to stop the smuggling through court and also by motivating the tribals to preserve their forest from such activities.

6.2.3. SAKTI and Management Operations by the State and Private Contractors:

The logging operations are handled directly by the Forest Department in the district through three logging divisions. The logging divisions and the Forest Development Corporation are pursuing measures to maximise their revenues at the cost of the natural forests and survival of the tribals. This can be observed at three levels i.e. i. by allowing forest contractors into the forest for the transportation of the timber, ii. issuing pattas to unreserved lands to the non-tribal of plain areas and permitting them to harvest the time as well as transportation, and iii. issuing licenses to the non-tribals for mining operations in protected forests, which are meant for community enjoyment.

i. Felling and Transportation of the Timber:

Forest Department undertakes the felling as well as the transport of the timber to the depots normally located at the nearest road point. The billets left behind and unfit for timber purposes, termed full wood, are lifted by contractors who are given transport permits for the same. The contractors find it lucrative to collect and transport the valuable wood from the middle of the forest of Rajahmundry misusing the same permits issued by logging divisions and Forest Development Corporation. The entry of other than forest department staff is not allowed as per the New Forest Policy of 1988. The New Forest Policy (1988) clearly lies down that all felling and the Forest Department alone should handle transportation operations within the

forests. But more often, these smugglers who are well connected, manage through the check-posts, manned by a forest guard, lowest in the hierarchy in the Forest Department and enter into the forests.

ii. Issuing Pattas to non-tribals for Unreserved Lands:

Another problem is with unreserved land. The unreserved lands were equally good forests the tribals look to clear the tree growth and bring the land under cultivation. The private contractors were allowed to purchase wood from the patta lands of the tribals with the permission of the Tahsildars and later the Collectors till 1980. Not with standing the damage caused by the mismanagement of the forests, the revenue and the Survey and Settlement Department have also given a legitimate looking into the forest for the smugglers by issuing D'form pattas in reserve forests fraudulently to non-tribals. Thus the Government authorities are restricted entry of tribals into the reserve forests at one side and another side it issued D'form pattas even in reserve forests and permitting them to transport the timber from the lands. SAKTI identified this type of problems and motivated on their rights and violation of the act by the officials by issuing pattas to non-tribals and helped them to take the matter to concern officials as well as to approach Court. The following cases reflect the process of violation of the rules by the Government officials and involvement of SAKTI.

i). This is a case of a non-tribal who got settlement patta for 400 acres of land covering with virgin forest and applied for the permission to fell and transport the timber. The Settlement Officer has issued settlement pattas in Y.Ramavaram mandal to the lands having virgin forests and also unfits for cultivation to non-resident non-tribals during the time of survey and settlement operations. In the case of a non-tribal who have patta of this kind in Perikavalasa village managed to get clearance certificate from Revenue and Forest Departments by stating that there is no considerable tree growth in the particular land. But the District Forest Officer sent a report to Settlement Officer to cancel the patta by stating that the land is covered with thick natural forest. Then the Officials of revenue and forest department are dismissed the application of pattadar to transport the timber from the land and ordered for enquiry. But the pattadar got favourable order form the court to cut the forest by

depositing Rs.21 lakhs. The Commissioner of Survey and Settlement has visited the village and reported that the land is with virgin forest with valuable timber species and he cancelled the patta. But by the time of all the procedure completed the entire forest was cut. The Government can neither save the forest nor confiscate the guarantees due to further litigation.

ii). This is a case of a non-tribal forest contractors and eleven others who were given pattas for 80.34 acres of land in Chintalapudi, a tribal village in the interior forests of Y.Ramavaram mandal. In each acre there was nearly 200-250 teak trees, which comes around 40,000 trees in the entire area. The pattadars were originally the ryots of the erstwhile Muttadar of Mohanapuram Mutta and Settlement Officer granted them pattas under the A.P.Muttas (Abolition and conversion in Ryotwari) Regulation Act 1969 in 1975. The land for which pattas have been granted is with virgin forest that was never brought under cultivation. The Settlement Officer should not grant the pattas to the above persons without conducting proper enquiry and spot inspection of the land.

Even though to fell the trees, the pattadars have to obtain felling permission to cut the trees on the patta lands. Under sub-section (3) of section 28-B of Forest Act the Government has been given power to exempt any forest or class of trees grown therein from all or any of the provisions of the section. It is clear that since the above provisions were felt to be inadequate to protect the private forests in the scheduled areas as well as the scheduled tribes from exploitation of non-tribal timber merchants. The then Collector of East Godavari district proposed amendment to chapter - III A of Forest Act of 1967 and it was accepted and amended in 1988. Based on this initially District Forest Officer refused permission to pattadars of land to cut trees. Then he filed writ petition (No. 14329/88) by challenging the provision of Chapter III-A and amendment there to. It was dismissed in 1989. Then he filed review petition (No.7433/89) which was also dismissed. So he carried the matter to Supreme Court and filed civil appeal (No.962/89).

While the matters were existing as stated above the pattadar made representation to the government and also to the Department of Energy, Forest, Environment Science and Technology(DEFEAT) seeking the exemption from the provisions of Chapter - III A of the Forest Act 1967. Then the Chief Minister issued orders but stayed its implementation. After renewed efforts the state government and DEFEAT instructed the DFO not to interfere in the matter of felling of trees growth and issue of transit permits and enabling them to cut and remove the forest growth from the concerned area. Then SAKTI filed a writ Petition in High Court against that order and that order was dismissed.

iii. Issuing of Licenses for Mining Operations in Protected Forests:

The state government is empowered to notify or declare any forest or wasteland, which is the property of the government or which is placed under their control for management and which is not included in the reserve forest to be 'protected forest' (section 24 of A.P.Forest Act of 1969). By this provision A.P. Government was notified 18 villages in Rampachodavaram range as 'protected forests'. But over a period of time Forest Department and Department of Mines granted lease of nearly 915.29 acres of protected forest to Hyderabad Abrasive Ltd, Adivasi Integrated Corporation, Sangam Minerals, Girijan Minerals belonging to twenty non-tribals and a tribal. The lease period ranges from five years to twenty years. Due to the mining operations of graphite and laterite, these villages were completely denuded of forests. Thus due to issue of licenses for the mining operations in 'protected forests' tribals last access even in protected forests which actually meant for community enjoyment at one side and at another side the trees on which they depended for their survival have lost in mining operations. Nearly 5000 trees were felled in Tadepalli and Ivampalli area of Maredimilli mandal. In the process tribal lost mango, jack, jeeluga and tamarind trees on which they depended to meet their food. For instant, 350 mango trees were felled during the mining operation. The natural springs have dried and tribals of these villages are suffered for drinking water due to these felling. These mines have destroyed forests and caused soil erosion. SAKTI

mobilised local tribals against the mining operations and also educated on the legal aspects in granting lease in the agency areas. And also approached Court for the cancellation of the lease orders on the following grounds.

i. The A.P. Scheduled Areas Land Transfer Regulation Act of 1959 prohibits transfer of immovable property situated in the agency areas to non-tribals.

ii. The National Forest (Conservation) Act of 1980 restricted the state governments of other authorities from de-reserving any forestland or any portion there of for any non-forest purpose without the approval of the central government. As per this Act, non-forest purpose means breaking up or clearance of any forestland or portion thereof for any purpose other than afforestation.

Based on the report of the joint inspection of different officials court prohibited the mining operations in other than the area which they had already completed mining. However, they permitted to remove material already dug up under the supervision of the Joint Collector, Assistant Director of Mines and Geology and Conservator of Forests.

6.2.4. SAKTI and the Government Marketing Agencies:

SAKTI has taken initiative to create awareness among the tribals on marketing systems and protect them from cheating by the marketing agencies. It has taken up several issues like cheating in weighments, problem of fixation of the prices of the forest produce, membership in the marketing agencies to educate the tribals on marketing of their produce. In this context SAKTI played two different roles. On one hand SAKTI attempted to bring the tribals into the fold of government marketing agency(GCC) and on the other, it has initiated measures to protect the tribals from traders.

SAKTI and Girijan Co-operative Corporation (GCC):

Girijan Co-operative Corporation (GCC) has been the only cooperative institution in the agency areas for the procurement of MFP and agricultural produce

from the tribals and for the supply of daily requirements at fair prices. The main objectives of GCC are:

1. To purchase the produce brought by the members through agency of primary society and market it to the advantage.
2. To take up forest contracts of bamboo coupes, fuel and minor forest produce from the government to facilitate the tribals for their betterment of life and
3. To supply the daily requirements at fair prices to the members through the agency of affiliated society.

The procurement of MFP and agriculture produce is one of the important functions of the corporation. The produce brought by tribals is generally purchased at the shandies, domestic requirement depots and other purchasing points specially set up by the corporation. The corporation has monopoly right for the collection of MFP from the tribals for which fixed amount of rent is paid to the Forest Department. There are 29 Primary Cooperative Societies under GCC in the district in which all the members are tribals. Tribals collects tamarind, myrobalum, honey, brooms, medical roots, barks, seeds, gum cariah, etc., and sell to the GCC. The Primary Marketing Society, while fixing the purchase price for the MFP, used to take into consideration the wholesale market rate and deduct forest rentals, trading charges, transport cost and establishment charges.

SAKTI studied the fixation of rates and other aspects and attempted to educate tribals. As per their observation while fixing the purchase price, GCC is deducting the purchase tax(to be paid by GCC to the commercial tax department as first purchaser) and also 15 per cent as handling charges. This result decline of purchase prices. The private traders with slightly higher price are purchasing items from the tribals illegally. SAKTI educated the tribals and represented the matter to the authorities for subsidy in these matters.

And also SAKTI observed that GCC paid Rs.49.1 lakhs as purchase tax in 1987 while it collected Rs.l 1.69 lakhs. This is because of the low membership in the

societies. The membership in 30 societies does not exceed 2,000 each when as every tribal sells some thing to G.C.C. So with this limited membership societies does not benefit much to the tribals. On this issue SAKT1 motivated the tribals and mobilized the public attention and filed a writ petition in High Court to enroll new membership in G.C.C. And other aspects which got SAKTI's attention is the elections for 30 societies, which are affiliated to GCC were not held since 1983. SAKTI believes that the conducting elections regularly will promote the membership of tribals and also promote confidence among them that the GCC can run by themselves. Hence SAKTI filed a writ petition in High Court and drawn the attention of the government.

Indian Tobacco Company (ITC) is promoting tobacco cultivation in the tribal areas of Godavari and Khammam districts since last thirty years. So Tribals lease-out their land for this crop and loose the land once for all. SAKTI made survey about the alienation of tribal land under tobacco cultivation, the indifference of ITC and Bank Officials. The report has prompted the G.C.C. to extend credit facilities to this crop. SAKTI also convinced G.C.C. to increase the procurement price of tamarind and other MFP.

The merchants as well as GCC field staff cheats the tribals at the shandies(markets) in weighments, grading and pricing in the sales of agricultural produce as well as MFP. To help the tribals and to educate them about the exploitation of the traders SAKTI is organising weighing balance in shandies where the tribals can check the weight of their produce before they sell. This increased the awareness among the tribals regarding the pricing and weighing practices and tribals are questioning the traders as well as GCC about weighing practice. This led tribals to fight against unfair trade practices in shandies.

6.2.5. SAKTI and Implementation of Minimum Wages:

The intervention of SAKTI in implementation of minimum wages is at two levels. It pressurises the government departments to maintain the uniformity in minimum wages fixed by the different departments at one level and at another level SAKTI motivates the tribals to get the prevailing wage rates. The major employment

sources in the region are bamboo-felling operations of paper mills, Forest Department works and construction works. There are three types of minimum wages for different activities fixed by different state agencies. These are:

i. The state government from time to time revises the minimum wages for different categories of works under Minimum Wages Act. The Assistant Labour Officer is to enforce these wages.

ii. The District Collector (who is also the chairman of ITDA) every year revises the daily wages.

iii. Every year Forest Department will fix the wages for every operation. But the wages fixed by the department should at least be equal to the wages fixed by the Government.

SAKTI have studied minimum wages fixed by all these three departments and found that the Forest Schedule of Rates(FSR) are woefully lower than the other two. For instance if the rate for extraction is Rs.810 per 1,000 bamboo, the department pays Rs.600 in some cases and Rs.450 in others. As against a minimum wage of Rs.795, the department is paying Rs.480 to 330 in some categories(Indian Express, 28 April, 1992). And for stacking, that the minimum wage notified in the State Government Gazette is Rs.250 while in FSR it is Rs.160. Thus there is difference in the wages fixed by the different departments for the same work.

Another thing is that, while the Government is specifying the minimum wages in the State Government Gazette, the forest department brings out a manual for works and strangely marks it 'confidential'. The rates are to be notified publicly but the department keeps it as secret. SAKTI has taken the issue of the FSR that are lower than the minimum wages fixed by the government as well as not notifying the wages to the people. And SAKTI filed a writ petition in High Court particularly regarding the differences in the wage rates of FSR and that of wages fixed by the government and got the attention of the government authorities.

On the other level SAKTI involved in the implementation of thc minimum wages. When minimum wages are revised SAKTI attempted to bring the awareness among the tribals on the prevailing minimum wages rates and organise them towards getting the minimum wage. In this regard, SAKTI filed nearly 79 cases for Rs.16.4 lakhs. Out of which 43 cases were settled and labourers got Rs.6.79 lakhs. Most of the cases filed by SAKTI are from Rampachodavaram(29.1per cent) and Marredimilli(22.8per cent) mandals where forest works have been concentrated(Table 6.2). The filed case are mostly against forest contractors(24.0per cent), irrigation department(15.2per cent), R & B(10.1per cent) and 15.2 percent cases are filed against to the Tribal welfare Department(Table 6.3). The cases filed were mostly against contractors of various departments in which concerned department officers were also respondents in the cases. As in the traditional institutions where tribals themselves present their problems before their village council, SAKTI made an attempt to revive the same nature among the tribals and trained them by promoting self-confidence to present their problem before the officials. All these were fought by the tribals themselves.

6.2.6. SAKTI and Women's Rights:

Traditionally women play very important role in the forest economy. Identifying men with hunting and women with food gathering, tribal women provides up to 80 percent of the daily food where as men contribute only a small portion by hunting in tribal society, even in cultivation, women participate equally, if not more,

TABLE: 6.2. MANDAL-WISE MINIMUM WAGES CASES FILED BY SAKTI

Sl. No	Mandal	No.of cases filed	Percentage
1	Rampachodavaram	23	29.1
2	Maredimilli	18	22.8
3	Addateegala	10	12.7
4	Y.Ramavaram	11	13.9
5	Rajavommangi	7	8.9
6	Gangavaram	8	10.1
7	Devipatnam	2	2.5
8	TOTAL	79	100

Source: SAKTI Records.

TABLE: 6.3. DEPARTMENT-WISE MINIMUM WAGE CASES FILED BY SAKTI

Sl.No	Department	No.of Cases	Percentage
1	Forest Contractors	19	24.1
2	Minor Irrigation Dept.	12	15.2
3	Tribal Welfare Dept.	12	15.2
4	Roads & Buildings	8	10.1
5	Panchayat Raj	9	11.4
6	Agriculture Dept.	5	6.3
7	Horticulture Dept.	1	1.3
8	ITDA	3	3.8
9	Other Depts.	10	12.6
10	TOTAL	79	100

Source: SAKTI Records

as men. But due to reservation of the forests, deforestation and growing commercial interest over forests, the tribal women are forced to go out to work for their livelihood. The non-tribal men who came to the agency area for various works attract the tribal women by giving presents. The most common problem is that the floating non-tribal population as employees, contractors entice the tribal women keep them and left them with the burden of looking after the children. Several such women were supported by SAKTI in filing cases for maintenance in the court of Sub-Divisional Magistrate and also in High Court. SAKTI trained the women to argue most of their cases themselves in the court of Sub-divisional Magistrate. Like this SAKTI helped 36 tribal women to file maintenance cases. Among these most of the women are from Rampachodavaram(58.3per cent) and Maredumilli(27.8) mandals(Table 6.4). This is because the migration of non-tribal population is higher into these two mandals where most of the forest works as well as all government offices of the agency area are concentrated. The following cases show the nature of the problem and its severity.

TABLE: 6.4. MANDAL-WISE MAINTENANCE CASES FILED BY SAKTI

Sl.No	Mandal	No. of Cases	Percentage
1	Rampachodavaram	21	58.3
2	Maredimilli	10	27.8
3	Addateegala	2	5.5
4	Y.Ramavaram	-	-
5	Rajavommangi	1	2.8
6	Gangavaram	1	2.8
7	Devipatnam	1	2.8
8	TOTAL	36	100

Source: SAKTI Records

i. This is a case of tribal woman, who works as wage labour in forest operations. The concerned forest contractor, under whom she works, married her and disserted after some time. Vempa Gangamma, belongs to Koya community of Erlapalli village in Ramapachodavaram mandal. A non-tribal contractor married her and left her with a child. Then she moved to court for maintenance. The lawyer pleading for the tribal lady drafted as concubine in the affidavit. The sympathetic Sub-Divisional Magistrate, knowledgeable of the fact that unlike the Hindu Society the concept of prostitution and concubinary does not exist in tribal societies, awarded a maintenance of Rs.300 for her and Rs.200 for the blind son. The non-tribal husband challenged and won the case in the district sessions court on the basis of the Hindu Marriage Act. Then SAKTI helped her to move to High Court which reminded the case to the lower court to decide the paternity of the son, without touching the issue of concubinary and thus disposed off the case. But in the court, the Mobile Sub-Divisional Magistrate has adjourned this case 18 time such that Gangamma fed up with these adjournments and accepted to compromise for Rs.3000.

But in another case of Matla Lakshmi, who was also cheated by a non-tribal contractor, the High Court was ordered for DNA test to establish the paternity of the child.

ii. This is a case of an employee who works in forest department and married a tribal girl who was a daughter of his sub-ordinate. Janardhan Rao worked as Forester

in Chinna Beerampalli of Rampa Chodavaram mandal and married a daughter of a Forest Watcher belonging to koya tribe. He stayed with her for 16 years and left her with three children. Then the tribal girl came to know that her husband was already married even before their marriage. Then she approached court for maintenance with the help of SAKTI and after a long period of struggle she got orders to get maintenance from her husband.

iii. In another case a non-tribal teacher married a tribal woman who was already married and deceived her after he was transferred from that village. Ganapathi is a non-tribal who worked as a teacher in Pedda Geddada village. At that time, he attracted Lakshimi who was already married and made her to take divorce from her husband and he has married her and stayed with her for three years. After three years he got transfer to another mandal and left the village and did not turn up again. After repeated attempts to convince him, Lakshmi approached Court for maintenance with the help SAKTI. All the above cases show that the opening of agency area not only resulted in destruction of forest resources but also effected tribal women.

6.2.7. SAKTI and Protection of Forests and Rights of Forest Dwellers:

SAKTI also involved in protection and regeneration of the forest resources by involving the tribals. By studying indigenous forest management systems SAKTI has taken initiative to promote forest protection committees in the villages by considering indigenous institutions and their management systems. For the effective involvement of the tribals SAKTI attempted to build their programme by considering the tribals' knowledge and culture in preservation of the forests, collective responsibility and ownership on the resources as well as distributional systems of traditional institutions.

SAKTI started its' forest protection activity through tribals in 1993 which is called as 'nurintadavi' programme. The literary meaning of 'nurinti' is hundred houses, which is commonly used in the tribal communities of the region. The main objective of the programme is to involve the tribals to protect their forests. Under this programme SAKTI is covering nearly 40 villages in six mandals of the agency area

and formed forty village level committees. Among them 42.5 per cent of committees are formed in Maredimilli mandal and followed by Y.Ramavaram mandal with 25 per cent of committees (Table 6.5). One interesting feature of this programme is 42.5 percent of committees are carrying their activities in unreserved forests where there is no control of Forest Department and even in reserved forests SAKTI did not associated with the Department. As it believes to regenerate the forests one need not take permission of the forest department and also since the tribals' have right to collect forest produce in non-plantation areas it concentrated in such areas to regenerate the trees on which tribals traditionally depended for their survival.

i. Selection of the Location:

Every village has specific locations on which the villagers generally depend for collection of food, MFP and other resources. The people have more association with such locations on which they depend for their day to day life and have knowledge on the plant diversity and fertility of the area. SAKTI identified such locations by having series of discussions with the respective villagers.

TABLE: 6.5. MANDAL WISE NO.OF VSS FORMED BY SAKTI UNDER NURINTADAVI PROGRAMME

Sl.No	Mandal	Forest Area		Total	%
		Reserved	Unreserved		
1	Rampachodavaram	3	4	7	17.5
2	Maredimilli	17	-	17	42.5
3	Devipatnam	2	2	4	10.0
4	Gangavaram	1	1	2	5.0
5	Y.Ramavaram	-	10	10	25.0
6	TOTAL	23(57.5)	17(42.5)	40	100

Source: SAKTI Records

ii. Selection of the Species:

Village level committee decides the plants, which they want to grow. One can observe that teak, eucalyptus and bamboo are planted in JFM while in *Noorinti Adavi*

fruit bearing trees like mango, jack etc., and MFP trees are planted on which tribal depended for their survival. The trees preferred by the tribals under this programme are tamarind, ganuga, soapnut, amla, custard apple, mango and neem. SAKTI provided seeds except for mango for which seedlings were provided.

iii. Management:

The Management of Nurintadavi is only by the village level committee. But SAKTI paying some wage for watchmen who protects the plants from grazing. In plantation work a member from each household will have to participate in the activity voluntarily. The day on which the activity is carried will be decided in the their village council meeting. SAKTI made an attempt to relate the activity with the traditional institutions and its nature and using these as a platform to create awareness on the forest legislations and other developmental activities of the government among the tribals. This promoted collectivity as well as some feeling of ownership among the tribals, which they lost due to the reservation of the forests. Apart from the plantation in specific locations, SAKTI provided some plants to fanners to plant in their patta lands. Under this nearly 584 households are benefited in 39 villages(Table 6.6).

TABLE: 6.6. MANDAL WISE NO. OF VILLAGES AND PATTADARS COVERED UNDER PLANTS DISTRIBUTION

Sl.No	Mandal	No. of Villages	No. of Pattadars
1	Rampachodavaram	14 (35.9)	304 (52.1)
2	Maredimilli	14 (35.9)	145 (24.8)
3	Devipatnam	6 (15.4)	65 (11.1)
4	Gangavaram	5 (12.8)	70 (12.0)
5	TOTAL	39 (100)	584 (100)

Source: SAKTI Records

Thus SAKTI as an outside institution is organising and motivating the tribals to fight for their rights on levels. One side it motivated the tribals to fight against the illegal exploitation of the forest resources on which they are depended for survival all through the centuries by the industries, contractors and state agencies. By motivating the tribals on the forest laws and limitations as well as responsibilities of industries and organised them to fight against the illegal exploitation of the forest resources on which they depended for their survival. It prevented further destruction of trees like mango and other fruit bearing trees. And also SAKTI intervention is mostly issue based, it drawn the attention of the Government authorities to pursue the problems of the tribals.

And on another side SAKTI educated and organised the tribals to protect themselves by using modern legal institutions from exploitation of the outsiders. This intervention made tribal to approach Courts and Government officials to represent their problems, which promotes self-confidence among the tribal communities. And also it involved the tribals in forest regeneration activities on the basis of their traditional institutions, which might prevent further degeneration of indigenous institutions, and their collective responsibility in preservation of the forest resources as well as community-based interests. In this SAKTI's intervention is an experiment in a forest-tribal belt by generating consciousness among the tribals on the elements of exploitation and destruction of their livelihood.

CHAPTER-7
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The thesis is based on the premise that even today forests are important source of livelihood for the indigenous communities. For them forests provide food, fuel, medicine and fodder. Nearly, 60 per cent of forest produce is consumed as food by the forest dwellers. About 75 percent of indigenous communities supplement their food by tubers, leaves, flowers and fruits all the year round (Khare, 1998). However, forests are also an important source of minor forest produce like seeds, gums, waxes, dyes, cane, grass etc., on which indigenous communities dependent to earn cash. The income from the minor forest produce(MFP) varies from state to state, ranging from 50 to 55 per cent. In the course of long history of interaction with forest resources forest dwellers have evolved their own institutions to prevent destruction or over use of these resources which are associated with cultural and religious mechanisms of control.

The level of dependency of these communities on forests is based on the extent, nature as well as ownership on forests. Traditionally forests were under community ownership which were based on traditional rights as well as indigenous systems of conservation(Singh, 1986; Thomson, 1986, Colchester, 1986; Ostrom, 1990; Atchi Reddy, 1991; Singh Kartar, 1994 and Pathak, 1995). Over the years there has been erosion of the symbiotic relationship between forests and forest dwellers. On the one hand, State has established its control and declared forests as State property by various legislations, which have restricted tribals' access to the forests and on the other hand, along with the decrease in the area of forests, the extent under reserve forests has been increased over time by which has decreased tribals[1] access to forest and they have lost their traditional rights further. And also the commercial plantations by clear felling of the natural forests have changed the nature of the forests, which resulted in the loss of bio-diversity on which the indigenous communities depended for their survival.

In this context the present study is an attempt to study the relationship between indigenous people and forests and their institutions and changes that have taken place due to State intervention by establishing control over forest resources.

7.1. FOREST POLICIES: RIGHTS OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLE

During the early period of British rule interest was not shown in the India's forests and the people depended on it. But during the early years of 18^{th} century as a result of the railway expansion there was an unprecedented assault on the more accessible forests. Large areas of forests were destroyed to meet the demand for railway sleepers the depredations awakened the British rulers and in order to safeguard their long-term imperial interest, forests were gradually turned into State monopoly. Laws were enacted through which the rights of indigenous people over the use of forests and their traditional community ownership were progressively curtailed.

7.1.1. Forest Policies during Colonial Period:

The first attempt in establishing the State control over forests was the enactment of Forest Act of 1865, which facilitated acquisition of forests by the State and in 1878 the customary rights of indigenous people were also curtailed. The 1878 act expanded the powers of the State by providing for 'reserve forests' which were closed to the people and by empowering the forest administration to impose penalties for any transgression of the act. The forest policy of 1894 further consolidated the position of the State by enabling it to take over all forests, including private and community forests. These policies did not recognise the conventional practices of conservation of indigenous people. The State imposed its own method of conservation by imposing rigid restrictions on these communities and exploited the forest resources on which their economy and culture largely depend. This was further strengthened by the Act of 1927.

The colonial forest policy was mainly based on commercial interests and it aimed at supplying timber and other resources to forest-based industries at the cost of the needs of indigenous communities. The forest laws affected the tribals, by making

their hunting and food gathering activity illegal and by questioning or even denying their traditional rights over forest resources. The creation of reserve forests came in conflict with the practice of shifting cultivation on which tribals depended for their survival. Slowly losing control over their lands and their means of subsistence and forced into forest labour in the felling and hauling operations.

7.1.2. Forest Policies during Post-colonial Period:

After independence, instead of addressing the problems of indigenous people through the introduction of forest policies that showed more sensitivity to the needs of indigenous communities maintained a surprising degree of continuity with the colonial predecessor. Forest reservation and 'scientific forestry' continued in the 'national interest' to satisfy India's large and growing industrial, commercial, communications and defence requirement (Jewitt, 1998). There is continuity between colonial and post-colonial forest policies. As a result the old 'conservation oriented' approach of forest management has been replaced by a 'production oriented' approach to meet the demand of expanding industries. A massive programme was started to replace the existing forests with fast growing trees for industrial use. Vast areas of natural mixed forests were cleared and replaced by commercially useful species such as teak, eucalyptus and tropical pines.

The most important characteristic of the colonial and post-colonial forest policies had been the increasing assertion of State monopoly rights over forests. This was determined by the interest of dominant class at the expense of indigenous communities. These communities are increasingly denied their rights in forests, which they had considered their communal property. The progressive assertion of State monopoly rights over large areas of forests by turning them into 'reserves' has resulted in the large-scale eviction and uprooting of traditional tribal villages. The reservation of forest tracts, which denied tribals' access to the forests on which they depended for centuries and in the process separated them off from their life supporting systems and reduced them to a casual labour in forest operations.

In this context, an attempt is made to study the change in relationship between indigenous people and forests and their institutions due to the intervention of the State and other external interventions and effect on their living conditions. For detailed analysis we have considered Rampa Country, a forest-tribal area of East Godavari district in Andhra Pradesh, which has witnessed a series of rebellions of indigenous communities against the establishment of State control over forest resources and denying their access.

7.2. STATE CONTROL OVER FORESTS AND INDIGENOUS PEOPLE IN 'RAMPA' COUNTRY

Rampa country is a forest-tribal belt of East Godavari district of Andhra Pradesh. There are five tribal communities in the region and their economy is agro-forest based. Though there were some amount of interaction with the plains, the tribals of the region were relatively isolated from the plains. This isolation was progressively reduced with the establishment of British control over the region.

The whole history of establishment of colonial authority over the region and State ownership on forest resources and management can be analysed under three broad time periods. In the first phase the intervention of colonial authority was at two levels. At one level they established colonial authority over the general administrative structure and at another level they extended Abkari Act of 1864 and also Scheduled Act of 1874 and introduced several taxes as well as new administrative mechanisms and police force. This resulted in entry of people from plain areas as traders and forest contractors. The acts, heavy taxes, entry of police force and traders and contractors had affected the tribals.

The second phase is from 1888 to 1955 in which the ban on the entry of forest officials into the region was lifted. During this phase colonial administration established its control over forests by declaring forests as State property in 1890. At one level colonial authority attempted to regularize the timber extraction by implementing certain felling rules and establishing check posts. At another level they attempted to reserve the forests by giving compensation to the muttadars. Restrictions

on *podu* cultivation, creation forests reserves, increased axe tax, introduction of opium into the hills for revenue, prevention of the customary right to make toddy and collection of forest produce which were measures that drove the tribal people of Rampa to rebel repeatedly against the process of reservation. Thus it shows that the process of reservation was completed only after 1955 in the Rampa region.

In the last phase one can observe the intervention of the State at two levels. One is through forest and their management and the other is through developmental programmes mostly by introducing commercial crops. The State intervention into the forests has brought two changes in the relationship of tribals with forest resources. Firstly, it restricted the entry of tribal communities into the forests by the reservation of large tracts of forests on which they depended for their survival. Nearly 90 per cent of forests in Rampachodavaram and Addateegala ranges were reserves after 1966. Secondly, the State allowed industries and private contractors to exploit the forests and also introduced commercial plantations by destroying natural mixed forests. In early 1960s Forest Department, began the extraction of bamboo and timber from the forests to meet the raw material requirements of the Paper Mills and other forest based industries and also to meet the growing demand for firewood and timber in the markets of the plains. For instance nearly 31,638 hectares area is under different working circles which were meant to meet the demands of forest based industries. And nearly 37,303 hectares of natural forests is cleared and replaced with commercial plantations. Although the work of these commercial plantations provided an alternative source of employment and income for the indigenous communities of Rampa, the policy of extending plantations is not free from the adverse effects on the life-style and economy of these communities.

Another intervention of the State in this period is through developmental programmes. State introduced cash crops like cashew, lime etc., in the region by providing some incentives like loans, fertilizer, clothes etc. to tribal who cultivate these crops. This brought two changes in the tribal economy of this region. One is it facilitated the entry of non-tribal cultivators into the region. Since tribals do not have knowledge on the cultivation of these crops non-tribal cultivators took the advantage

of needs of cash of tribals and leased-in cashew fields at the time of flowering by advancing the loans to the tribals. Two, these resulted in the decline of employment in agriculture when compared to the shifting cultivation. In the whole process tribal rights are viewed as an impediment in their scientific and economic exploitation.....the defacto and conventional command of the tribals over forests resources was completely denied in the perception and he is reduced to the status of merely a casual wage-eamer(Haimendroff, 1985). This transformation might be resulted in destruction of the old mechanisms and the relation with forests, which were based on community ownership and survival.

7.3. EXTERNAL INTERVENTIONS IN NATURAL SUBSISTENCE TRIBAL ECONOMY

To study the effects of the State and other external interventions on to the natural subsistence tribal economy we have considered two villages in the Rampa region. One is an interior (deep forest) village- G.M.Valasa, with less external interventions and other village- Kannaram is adjacent to plain with several interventions where we have also found other interventions by the private agencies like industries and private traders. We have considered this village to observe the contrast with G.M.Valasa- an interior village with less external interventions. State intervention in these two villages is at two levels. One is through the reservation of forests and commercial plantations by clear felling of natural forests and introduction of land settlement operations by which individual title(*pattas*) were issued for land. Other is through developmental programmes mostly by introducing commercial crops through various programmes like IF AD and Social forestry. Since Kannaram lies adjacent to the plain area

7.3.1. Indigenous Communities and Interaction with Forests:

Traditionally the tribals of Rampa subsist by food gathering, shifting cultivation, collection of minor forest produce. They collect large variety of fruits, leaves, tubers and roots, which are available through out the year. Besides these, they depended on the pith of caryota palm, jackfruits, and the kernels of mango stones for food. During the summer they depend on caryota juice than on cereals. In the long

course of interaction with the trees and plants they have evolved their systems of user rights and conservation systems. All forest resources within the vicinity of the village are under community ownership. But they have specific systems of user right and the methods of distribution of the products of these trees on which they depended. All these systems are based on the community benefit by associating with various cultural and religious mechanisms and maintained by the village council, which prevented the destruction or over use of these resources.

In the *podu* cultivation they select a patch of land for clearing according to their need and also availability of family labour. Hence the differences in the size of *podu* patches is lesser when compared to the patta lands. These differences are not considered as the basis for their economic status of respective household. In the process of clearing they spare the trees which are associated with their day to day life. There is also mutual cooperation among the households in the production activities. So it indicates the traditional system of production is based on the survival aspect and also equal and collective in nature.

Traditionally, they also have various restrictions on the collection and exploitation of forest resources for different uses like medicine, building of houses, fuel-wood etc. The village council maintains these restrictions in which every one has the right to express their opinion. Thus, the indigenous institutions are not only based on the community ownership but also maintains the sustainability of the forest resources.

As a result of the intervention of the State and other private agencies the indigenous institutions are undermined and the indigenous communities are affected in terms of food gathering, production, and collection of MFP.

7.3.2. Impact of External Interventions on Indigenous People:

i. Food Gathering: As we mentioned earlier State intervened into the natural subsistence tribal economy by the reservation of forests, land settlement operations and also through developmental programmes. The reservation of the forests as well as

commercial plantations by clear felling of natural forests has affected the availability of food from the forests. In both the villages, the availability of the species on which tribals depended for food have declined. Another policy of the government which has seriously affected the food supply of the tribals in this area is the granting of rights to the Godavari Plywood Limited (GPL) to fell mango trees in the forests. The supply of kernel of mango stones, which are a main source of food during the rainy season, has dwindled due to the felling of the fruit trees on a large scale.

ii. Shifting Cultivation: Shifting cultivation is another aspect, which effected by the reservation of the forest. As we have observed, to increase the dwindling area of forest in the country, the Forest Department has realigned the boundaries of the reserve forest. In the process, the Forest Department drew boundary lines closer to the villages by leaving smaller area as unreserved for the community enjoyment. Due to the limited availability of area, the fallow period was shortened from 10-15 years to 2-3 years in G.M.Vasala where every household practicing *podu* cultivation. Since only one hill was left unreserved in Kannaram only 8 households are practicing *podu* cultivation in 9.5 acres of land.

iii. Food Production: Government issued land title *(patta)* to the land by land settlement operation in early 1970s in the both villages. Land titles (*patta*) were not given to the *podu* lands. Under *podu* cultivation food grains are dominant crops. In *patta* lands cashew and lime are cultivated in G.M.Valasa while only 18.6 per cent of *patta* land are under food crops. While in Kannaram the percentage of *patta* lands under food crops is higher when compared to G.M.Valasa. It does not mean that triblas of Kannaram are practicing settled agriculture. Selling of the natural manure and lack of ploughs, which traditionally tribals do not use in cultivation, indicates that due to the non-availability of land for *podu* they are cultivating on patta lands on which they do not have knowledge of cultivation. The commercial crops, which are introduced into the villages, are not even generating additional employment in agriculture and it further resulted in entry non-tribal cultivators by leasing in the lands of these crops. In Kannaram- the adjacent village, 66.7 per cent of the households are lease out their cashew fields to the non-tribals cultivators and became the labourers in

the same field to watch the crop. In G.M.Valsa, 37.3 per cent of patta land is under cashew though there is no yield from the cashew crop due to the cold weather of the area. This indicates that due to incentives that the government is providing to cultivate the cashew crops tribals are cultivating but benefits did not acquire to them.

iv. Community Ownership on Trees: Another important aspect, which was ignored by these interventions, is the ownership and distributive aspect of the indigenous institutions. As we observed earlier, traditionally all the trees especially tamarind of the villages were under community ownership. Ever since individual ownership rights were granted in 1970s in the villages, tribals on whose land these trees are there have enjoyed the usufruct of these trees. With the exception of the trees on the village site, all trees have thus become the private property of the owners of the land. Due to this not only the number of community trees by which every one gets equal share declined but also there is unequal distribution of trees based on the size of the landholdings. Households who own large holdings have more number of trees by which they earn more income than other households. Another interesting feature seen was the decline in number of community trees was higher in the village, which have more outside interventions. Thus the distributional aspects of the indigenous institutions on the basis of community requirements are totally destroyed by the land settlement operations which introduced private property in community based tribal economy.

v. **Livestock:** With increasing monetisation of the economy, cattle, goats and poultry, which in the past had only a use value, have acquired an exchange value. At present, goats rearing have become the common practice in both the villages. But in interior village the number of livestock population as well as percentage of livestock owning households have declined due to the reservation of the surrounding forests which has lead to decrease in grazing area. While in other village the number of livestock population has increased slightly, where the forest resources have already declined and herding the cattle and goats become the important source of income to the tribals of the Kannaram. So the proportion of the sales of livestock are higher in Kannaram than the G.M.Valasa that too in households with lesser landholdings.

vi. Minor Forest Produce: Minor forest produce is a major source of cash and employment to the indigenous communities. Due to the clear felling of natural forests for commercial plantations the number MFP species as well as the availability is declined. This resulted in decline of number of households who involves in this activity as well as number days of employment that generated in both the villages. But this trend is higher in Kannaram than the interior village.

One can observe that the traditional activities of food gathering, shifting cultivation, availability of MFP and community trees on which they depended for survival have declined in both the villages but the decline is much more in the village with more interventions when compared to the interior village. One can also find that the unequal distribution of land, ownership of trees as well as livestock among the households in the Kannaram when compared to the other village. As a result of the decline of traditional resources and non-availability of alternative sources of employment the tribals are forced to depend on outside economy to meet their subsistence. For instance, in Kannaram the number of households who have taken loans from various sources is higher than G.M.Valasa. Nearly 60 percent of them have borrowed cash from the trader cum moneylender in Kannaram while it is 24.4 per cent in G.M.Valasa. One also witnessed that as a result of decline of forest resources the proportion of selling of food grains to meet their cash requirements is much higher in Kannaram when compared to other village.

The intervention of State by reserving the forests undermined the survival question of the indigenous communities by denying their traditional rights and their institutions. The land settlement operations transformed the commonly held resources into private property, which resulted in unequal distribution of these resources by destroying the traditional distribution and management aspects of community based indigenous institutions. As the external interventions are increasing the tribal communities are being alienated further from their traditional resources without any proper alternative sources of employment and income.

When the problems of tribals are intensified, alternative institutions in the tribal-forest belts emerged to either promoting forest conservation systems by involving the tribals with usufruct rights, or by educating and organising these communities to protect their rights. In this context, we have examined Joint Forests Management (JFM) which introduced by the State and Voluntary Organisations. To study the nature and functioning of JFM we have considered a Vana Samrakshana Samithi (VSS) village called Gandhinagaram and to study the intervention of NGO we have concentrated on SAKTI.

7.4. JOINT FOREST MANGEMENT AND INDIGENOUS PEOPLE

JFM involves people in forest conservation by giving usufruct rights over the allotted forest area. It provides incentive to the people to take up several protection methods to protect the forests from the exploitation and also generated managerial skills among the members. It is too early to evaluate JFM since in the state of Andhra Pradesh and it is introduced in 1992 and in the study area in 1995. But the level of participation of the people in decision making as well as implementation may ultimately decide the success or failure of the programme. In this context we have examined the nature of the tribals participation in decision making and implementation of VSS activities.

In the forest-tribal belt JFM is an alien institution, which is not related to their traditional village council. Maintaining minute book, accounts, conducting meetings within the guidelines of JFM have become difficult to them and made them to depend much more on forest officials. So any members who have some education and exposure to the outside world can become the members of VSS executive committee, which is different from the traditional structure of village council. Since it is not related to their tradition community organisation they are not using any traditional methods of community organisation like informing and involving all the members. In the Ghandinagram VSS, participation of the members is very less. The members, who are attending the meetings are also not depended much on forests and own more than six acres of land. It shows the participation of the members in decision making is very less.

When it comes to the activities of VSS, all members are not participating. The managing committee will employ the required labour for each activity. In the process all the members are not getting employment. In the VSS those who have less landholdings are participating in labour activities than the other. Though JFM is creating employment to the tribals but as a whole it is unable to develop collective responsibility among the members as they have in their community organisation.

Thus, a contrast can be observed that those who have large landholding are participating in general body meeting where decisions are suppose to be taken while the members who own less landholdings and those who depended on forest much are involving in the implementation level i.e. labour activities. The VSS committee was sanctioning loans from the VSS funds to those who have more land and less depended on forests. If it continues with this trend it may become an institution under the control of some section of the community as other formal institutions.

7.5. INTERVENTION OF NON-GOVERMENTAL ORGANISATIONS:

Another institutions, which involve in tribal-forest relation by educating and organising indigenous communities are Non-Governmental Organisations(NGOs). By 1980, forest-tribal related problems have become one of the main agenda of international agencies which resulted in increase in the number of NGOs after 1980 that are working on forest-tribal related aspects, particularly in India. But the activities of these organisations do vary based on their nature of intervention and their programmes. In this context we made an attempt to study the nature of the intervention of NGOs in Rampa region. For the detailed analysis we have considered SAKTI which is a big organisation in the region in terms of funding as well as coverage of the activities. We have taken forest-related activities of SAKTI for the study though it also focusing on land problems of tribals in that region.

SAKTI concentrated on educating and organising the tribals on indiscriminate exploitation of the forests by the State as well as private agencies. SAKTI educated the tribals to approach courts on the illegal exploitation of the forests by these

agencies and pressurised the government to take necessary steps to prevent the depletion of the forest resources on which tribals depended for survival.

SAKTI contributed to the betterment of the tribals, by promoting confidence among these communities to represent their problems to the officials, some times in lower courts without an advocate. This experiment was done particularly regarding cases of implementation of minimum wages and maintenance for women. Another positive contribution of SAKTI is Noorinti Adavi Programme by which it attempted to reconstruct the relation and responsibility of traditional institutions towards the forests. Under this programme, SAKTI attempted to regenerate the forests by planting species on which triblas depended traditionally. Hence this activity is interlinked to the indigenous institutions, which are based on survival aspect with a nature of collective and equality, where all the households are participating in the activities voluntarily. The organisation is spending just Rs.50 per month on each village other than maintenance of nursery. This is more cost effective than government sponsored JFM. Since the government is pumping money in JFM, the sustenance of similar kind of voluntary activity for the same cause is doubtful.

7.6. CONCLUSIONS

The intervention of the State into natural subsistence tribal economy can bc grouped into two categories: one, restrictive intervention through forest policies and the other is protective intervention through various institutions and developmental programmes. The State restricted shifting cultivation, grazing, collection of minor forest produce on which tribal depended all through the centuries by establishing its' control over forest resources through various legislations. The rights of the tribals have been progressively curtailed and restricted the use of forest resources by the indigenous communities have declined. The monoculture plantation by clear felling of natural forests has further destroyed the resources on which tribals depended for food. Thus the availability of food, land for *podu* cultivation, MFP has declined and forest dwellers have became dependent on the outside economy to meet their subsistence needs. Forests works are also not generating adequate employment to the tribals. As we have observed, forests works are available once in two\three years and labour

requirement to these works have also declined from 50,000 labourers during early 1970's to 5000 labourers at present.

To compensate the loss due to the reservation of the forests State has taken some protective measures for the betterment of the tribals through various institutions. State established ITDA to implement developmental programmes, GCC to provide marketing felicities and JFM to involve the tribals in forest conservation and regeneration. In agricultural development, the major contribution of ITDA in the region is the introduction of commercial crops like cashew, lime etc., under IF AD and Social Forestry Programmes. Tribals are also responding positively towards these crops though they do not have proper knowledge on method of cultivation of these crops. This intervention not even generated additional employment opportunities to the tribals but further resulted in leasing out the lands to non-tribal cultivators of the plain areas. GCC has not been taken any initiative to promote marketing of these crops to reduce the tribals' dependency on non-tribal cultivators.

Thus, the intervention of the State with protective measures is inadequate to compensate the loss it generated by its intervention into forests through restrictive measure. The protective mechanisms, which the State introduced into the tribal economy, are not related to the forests and knowledge of the indigenous communities and institutions. Even in activities like JFM, by which State attempted to involve tribals in protection and regeneration of the tribals by giving usufruct rights, traditional institutions are ignored. Hence, whatever the intervention to protect the tribals further alienated them from their traditional life supporting systems and increased dependency on outside economy instead of integrating the tribals with the external economy, society and polity. The intervention of NGO also help the tribals to obtain the benefits from those programmes introduced by the government. Further the NGOs organised them to protect their rights within the given legal frame.

Thus, there is substantial evidence to say that the interventions of the State i.e. restrictive as well as protective interventions have not only denied the indigenous people rights over forests and undermined their institutions which were community

based. These interventions alienated indigenous communities form their traditional life supporting systems instead of integrating them into mainstream society. Thus, it can be argued that the Indian Forest Act does not comply with constitutional provisions to ensure equitable distribution and use of forest resources(Singh 1986).

As Ashish Kothari(1998) observed that forests can not be saved by centralised bureaucracies because these agencies that have usually ignored indigenous structures and institutions rather than building on or making use of them. These institutions do not manage to gather support of local communities who are alienated by inappropriate laws, policies, institutions and attitudes. And the laws relating to conservation do not adequately take into consideration customary practices. These are non-participatory in nature, in that centralised bureaucracies almost exclusively hold the powers and functions for planning and implementation. Thus law and policies dealing with forest resources have separated local communities from natural resources and ignored institutions, practices and beliefs, which encouraged sustainability. Thus, there is a need for review of the legal structure regarding forest resources on the basis of the needs of forest dwellers to make it more people-oriented.

There is an extensive debate on the questions of State's monopoly rights over forests, and forest management systems. The issues in contention include the use of forest resources for subsistence or profit, the proprietary claims of individuals, communities and the State and finally on the alternative strategy. One can group these arguments under three approaches, i.e. i) conservationists' approach, ii) industrialists' approach and iii) people-oriented approach.

The conservationists' concern has been overwhelmingly with the maintenance of ecological balance and the protection of endangered species of mammals such as tiger, rhinoceros and elephant. They have argued that commercial forestry has contributed significantly to the decimation of biological diversity and to an increase in soil erosion and floods. But they have been insensitive to the rights of villagers those who depended on nature for their subsistence(Guha 1994). They support state's

control over forests, even if they insist that the State enforce only their definitions of forests.

The industrialists' view of nature is simply instrumental and they consider forests as a source of industrial raw material. Thus, the industrialists had been content with letting the State management forests, so long as they were assured of abundant raw material at rock bottom prices. They are characteristically opportunistic on the question of forest ownership; calling when it suits them for the privitisation of forest land, and when it does not, for the provision of subsidised raw material from State - managed forests(Kannan 1982).

The people-oriented approach view forests as a source of survival and subsistence for those who have an acute dependence on the forests. They call for a reorientation of forest policy, so that it would directly serve the interests of indigenous communities. And further demand for a total State withdrawal from forest areas; these can then revert to the control of villages communities, which they believe have the wherewithal to manage these areas sustainably. As suggested by Gadgil et.al (1994) there should be devolution of the power down to the level of local user group in the tribal and village hamlets; reduction in the powers of bureaucratic machinery rendering them publicly accountable down to the local level and elimination of subsidised supply of natural resources to the urban-industrial as well as intensive agriculture sector(Gadgil et.al. 1994).

It should be emphasised here that the devolution of conservation to the local communities does not mean that State agencies and other external institutions have no role. A central challenge will be to find ways of allocating limited government resources so as to obtain widespread replication of community initiatives. Thus, the existing conservation institutions and professionals need to shift from being project implementers to new roles, which facilitate local people's participation, planning and implementation. The whole process should lead to local institution building or strengthening, there by enhancing the capacity of people to take action on their own(Pimbert and Pretty 1998).

The declaration, management and monitoring of not just 'village forests' but also 'reserve' and 'protected forests' must involve local communities as equal parties. The preparation of management plans should show how the twin objectives i.e. conservation and ensuring needs of forests dwellers are sought to be met(Ashish Kothari, 1994). Hence, we need to systematically encourage and enrich the bulk of Indian forests by species that yield such non-wood forest produce at one level. At an other level need to create management systems that will generate a genuine economic stake for local inhabitants in ensuring that forest stocks are replenished by species more useful to the local people. Besides this, conflict management needs to be built into the institutional structure. Where the indigenous communities have already been protecting their resources over a period of time, traditional institutions have evolved territorial demarcations, access controls and means to tackle intra and inter-community conflicts. These should be encouraged.

Thus the essential pre-condition for achieving success is that the State divests itself of control of forest resources and transfers this 'into the hands of those whose survival directly depends upon their careful management'(Fay, 1989). Such move should be built on indigenous institutions and initiatives. Thus the emphasis at all times should be on building on existing local institutions and initiatives, rather than on imposing change from outside.

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