

CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER-I

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1.1 The Archipelago

Andaman and Nicobar group of Islands with a geographical area of 8298 square kilometre consist of 572 islands and islets, spread in Bay of Bengal (Dhingra, 2005). It is located at a distance about 1200 km from the any cost of mainland India. The Andaman and Nicobar Islands form part of a long, irregular chain that seems to continue from the Eastern Himalayan ranges extending from Cape Negrais of Myanmar at North to Achin head of Sumatra at South. It stretches between 6° to 14° North latitude and 92° to 94° East longitude. The length of the entire archipelago from Myanmar to Sumatra extends about 1100 km. The name 'Andaman' is probably derived from the term '*Handuman*', the Malay form of the term lord 'Hanuman', treating the islands as the abode of the Hindu mythological monkey people. Extending about 700 km, the major portion of this archipelago comes under the union territory of Andaman and Nicobar Islands of Indian Republic. There are two broad divisions of Islands namely Andaman group of Islands and Nicobar group of Islands which are separated by 139 km wide and 1399 mt deep see channel called Ten Degree Channel (so called because the 10th North parallel passes through it). The Andaman and Nicobar Islands are located at the eastern side of the Bay of Bengal and are comparatively more closure to Myanmar and Malaya Peninsula than the mainland India. Andaman Islands lie 944 km from the mouth of Hooghly river and merely 192 km from Cape Negrais of Myanmar. Notably, out of these 572 islands and islets, only 38 islands are inhabited of which 26 are in the Andaman group and 12 are in the Nicobar group.

1.2 The Autochthonous People

The Andaman and Nicobar Islands are also well known for being inhabited by six unique tribal communities namely the Sentinelese, the *Jarawa*, the Onge, the Great Andamanese, the Shompen and the Nicobarese. Out of these six tribal groups, the first four tribal groups have Negrito physical features and the latter two are of Mongoloid physical feature. Except only Nicobarese, all the above five tribal communities are also categorised as Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PVTG). Interestingly, the above mentioned four tribal groups namely Sentinelese, *Jarawa*, Onge, Great Andamanese with Negrito physical features are inhabited in the Andaman group of Islands and tribes with mongoloid physical feature namely Nicobarese and Shompen are the inhabitant of the Nicobar group of Islands. The wide spread Ten-degree channel between Andaman Islands and Nicobar Islands distinctly separated these two groups of Autochthonous peoples.

The Andaman and Nicobar Islands have found a distinct place in the accounts of sailors, travellers and traders since early historical period and records have been found from writings of Ptolemy in the Second Century, Chinese in the Seventh Century, the Arabs in Ninth Century and the Europeans in the 13th Century onwards (Mathur, 1968: 7). However, a chronological and detailed account about the Islands and its inhabitants have been found since 1858 onwards when the British occupied the Islands second time for penal settlement at South Andaman. Prior to these colonisation, the Andaman Islands were the exclusive habitat for the autochthonous people with Negrito physical features. Moreover, at the end of the 18th Century onwards, with the attempt of the formation of the penal settlement an inflow of the foreign people has started. This invasion of outside

population was primarily from different parts of main land India. As these people were from different parts of India, their diverse social and cultural attributes gave a fabric of heterogeneity and diverse culture to this archipelago.

According to Brown (1922), the Andaman Islanders are divided into several groups having differences in their dialect and culture. There are two main divisions which may be referred as the Great Andaman Group and the Little Andaman Group respectively. The Great Andaman Group includes all the natives of Great Andaman Islands (*Great Andamanese*) with the exception of those of interiors of the South Andaman, who are known as *Jarawa*. The Little Andaman Group includes all the inhabitants of the Little Andaman Island (*Onge*), those of North Sentinel Island (*Sentinelese*) and the *Jarawa* of South Andaman. So, according to him, in spite of their present location at Great Andaman Island, the *Jarawa* comes under the Little Andaman Group. These two different divisions of Andaman Islanders exhibit many differences of language and culture. On the other side, the natives of the Great Andaman Group were divided into ten different sub-tribes with distinctiveness in their dialect and cultural attributes. The following were the list of ten sub-tribes of *Great Andamanese* passing from north to south - *Aka-Cari*, *Aka-Kora*, *Aka-Bo*, *Aka-Jeru*, *Aka-Kede*, *Aka-Kol*, *Oko-Juwoi*, *A-Puchikwar*, *Akar-Bale*, *Aka-Bea*. Though most of the above mentioned Great Andamanese Groups were extinct during the last two centuries and only few surviving groups are settled at Strait Island by the Andaman Administration. Historically, the *Aka-Bea* was the immediate neighbouring community of *Jarawa* and they were residing in a stage of continuous conflict and clash.

The *Jarawa* are one of the four Negrito groups of the Andaman Islands inhabiting in the western part of the South and Middle Andaman Islands. Presently, the *Jarawa* territory

is of approximately 1040 square kilometre and popularly also known as '*Jarawa Reserve*'. As on November, 2017, the total population of the *Jarawa* was 496. Their primary source of livelihood are hunting of wild animals and sea turtles; gathering of tubers, fruits, honey, turtle eggs, other edible resources and fishing in shallow sea, creeks and streams. They collect both the terrestrial and aquatic resources. They pursue their livelihood with the help of simple tools and technology which includes bow and arrow, traditional handmade fishing hand-net, digging rod, adze, metal knife, machete, wooden bucket, cane baskets etc. As perceived by the *Jarawa*, they are notionally divided into three broad territorial groups namely *Tanmand* or Kadamtala area group, *Thidong* or Middle Strait area group and *Boiab* or Tirur area group. The *Tanmad* group are inhabited in the southern part of Middle Andaman Island, while *Thidong* and *Boiab* groups are inhabited in the northern and southern part of the South Andaman Island. Being isolated since thousands of years, the tribal population of Andaman and Nicobar Islands are considered as one of the purest isolates and often they are regarded as one of the ancient living genepool of human evolution. Physically, they are short in stature with black skin and frizzy/woolly hair. Being one of the ancient Asiatic Negrito isolates, there are some biological and cultural parallels of these Andaman tribes with the other South-East Asian Negrito populations such as *Semang and Batek* of Malaysia Peninsula and the *Aeta* of Philippines.

Due to different kinds of vulnerability and contacts with the dominant non-tribal neighbouring population brought about a rapid change and decline of population among two tribal communities of the Islands namely Onge and Great Andamanese. The other tribal population such as the *Jarawa* have been experiencing a gradual decrease in their territory and resources due to continuing expansion and encroachment of the forest areas

by the settlers. As mentioned in the Table 1.1, presently the *Jarawa* confined to the western part of the Middle and South Andaman Islands with a total population of 496, the Onges are in the Dugong Creek areas of the Little Andaman Islands with a population of 120. While the Great Andamanese have been resettled at the Strait Island having a total population of about 70 which also includes the non-tribals married with Great Andamanese. The Sentinelese are in the North Sentinel Island with an estimated population of 50 individuals only. Historically, the relationship of the Andaman tribes with the outsiders was of disbelief and antagonistic. After initial resistance, the Great Andamanese and the Onges were forced to come in a reciprocal relationship with colonial rulers but the relationship with other two tribes (*Jarawa* and Sentinelese) continued to be unfriendly even after the Independence also. After decades of contact missions, the Andaman Administration ultimately succeeded in befriendng the *Jarawa* in October 1997 but Sentinelese are till continued to live in isolation without any outside interventions. Notably, the acceptance of friendliness has in turn proved to be a curse for those Andaman tribes and their population have significantly decreased due to different kinds of vulnerability.

Table 1.1: Population distribution of five PVTGs of Andaman and Nicobar Islands

| Sl. No. | Name of Tribe | Location | Tribal Reserve (in sq. km.) | Population | | | | | | | |
|--------------|------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| | | | | 1951 | 1961 | 1971 | 1981 | 1991 | 2001 | 2011 | 2017 |
| 1 | <i>Jarawa</i> | Middle and South Andaman | 1040.84 | 50* | 500* | NE | 31 | 280* | 240* | 380 | 496 |
| 2 | Onge | Little Andaman | 403.37 | 150* | 129 | 112 | 94 | 95 | 96 | 101 | 120 |
| 3 | Sentinelese | North Sentinel | 59.674 | NA | 50* | NE | NE | 100* | 39* | 50* | 50 |
| 4 | Great Andamanese | Strait Island | 6.01 | 23 | 19 | 24 | 26 | 45 | 43 | 44 | 70 |
| 5 | Shompen | Great Nicobar | 853.19 | 20* | 71 | 92 | 23 | 250 | 398 | 229 | 238* |
| TOTAL | | | 2363.08 | 243 | 769 | 228 | 174 | 770 | 816 | 804 | 974 |

Source: Field survey during 2011 to 2017 and AAJVS, 2017

*Estimated population

NE- Not Enumerated

Regarding, origin and migration of the *Jarawa* and other Andaman tribes, till date there is no concrete scientific evidences to say with authority that how and when these tribes appeared in this archipelago. There are different hypothesis and views put forth by

different anthropologists and scholars. Due to their distinctive languages and history of isolationism, the Andaman Islanders are often popularly known as a group of 'Palaeolithic Survivals' who might represent the direct descendants of an early wave of human migrants passing through the region (Thangaraj et al., 2005). The archaeological record of the Andaman Islands is limited and does not extend beyond the first millennium BC (Cooper, 2002). Studies based on mtDNA analysis enabled us to evaluate the competing hypotheses of peopling the Andaman Islands which varies from about 24 kya to 45 kya (Barik et al, 2008). The materials obtained from the excavation of the kitchen midden sites (shell mounds) are an assemblage of shells, pottery, implements, equipments etc. buried in successive layers. The kitchen midden sites of Beehive Island and Chouldhary are considered to be the earliest foot prints of human occupancy of the Islands (Dutta, 1974). Chatterjee (1952) excavated one kitchen midden site at Beehive Island of Middle Andaman. Cipriani (1966) also carried out study of these shell mounds. The Mesolithic culture of the Andaman Islands was often associated with the pottery. When the archaeological findings of Andaman are compared with those of the South-East Asian excavations, it reveals the existence of Andaman Islanders may be earlier than 300 B.C. Moreover, the archaeological evidences suggest establishment of a cultural association between the Andaman Islands and South-East Asia in ancient period. Intriguingly, the Great Andamanese oral tradition also reveals the myth of a period when they used to inhabit in a large landmass where there were many other people speaking the same language and large animals were found in that area. Then there was a great catastrophe that submerged the large landmass with man and animals (Portman, 1899). Thus, it was assumed that Andaman tribes were migrated to the present territory from South-East Asia in distant past either by sea or land route. Regarding spreading of the four tribes namely Great Andamanese, *Jarawa*, Onge and Sentinelese in

different islands of the Andaman are till mysterious and enigmatic. It is assumed that the nomadic nature of these tribes leads their movements to different islands or some of them were drifted to present habitat by the sea waves while moving from one place to other in their canoes. Their movement further south below Little Andaman was most probably hindered due to the presence turbulent and wide spread ten-degree Channel.

1.3 Non-Tribal People

Apart from the tribal population, the Andaman Islands are being inhabited by the people who came or were brought to Andaman Islands during the colonial period of British. The convicts of the penal settlements have settled in the nearby areas by bringing their family members from the mainland or by getting married with the convict women. They are now called as Local Born community. They are a heterogeneous community involving people from different parts of India having different languages and ethnicity. The settlements of these Local Born Communities have grown particularly in and around the Port Blair and South Andaman. Being migrated from different parts of India and speaking different languages they have become an integrated community and the Hindi became their spoken language as an integrating communication force. Apart from the Local Born, a few groups of Bhanus from central India and Mophlas from Kerala were also brought by the colonial rulers as convicts and settled them at the adjacent areas of *Jarawa* territory of South Andaman. Burmese and Karens were also brought from present day Myanmar and settled in these Islands. Except the Karens who were settled at the northern part of Middle Andaman, all other above mentioned groups were brought to the Islands as a convict. After completion of their tenure of conviction and in post-colonial scenario, very few of them opted to go back to their native place. Moreover,

many of the convicts were permitted to bring their family members from the Mainland India. Erstwhile the agriculture was the basis of their economy. Now a days many of them are engaged in other sources of livelihood such as service, business, transport etc. Immediately after independence, Government of India along with rehabilitation department of West Bengal and Andaman Administration decided to launch a scheme for resettlement of East Pakistan refugees at Andaman Islands. With the view of all round development of the Islands, it was decided to resettle both in agriculturist and non-agriculturist category. Under this scheme a total of about 4164 people (931 families) were settled during 1949 to 1955 at the vicinity of *Jarawa* territory (Table 4.2). Huge forest coverage in and around *Jarawa* territory was cleared for the purpose of providing land to the settlers. It was proposed to allot 10 acre of land (5 acre plain paddy land and 5 acre of hilly land for horticulture) to each family who were settled under agriculturist scheme. About 1,42,920 acre of land in and around the *Jarawa* territory were cleared and allotted during 1949 for the above mentioned refugee rehabilitation scheme (Table 4.5).

1.4 Concept of Hunter-Gatherer

Defining a true hunter-gatherer is a difficult task. Any evolutionary definition may confine hunter-gatherer to those populations with strictly Pleistocene economics i.e., no metal, firearm, dogs, or contact with non-hunting cultures. Unfortunately, such a definition would effectively eliminate most of the today's hunter-gatherer (Lee and Devore, 1968). Hunting-gathering refers to subsistence based on hunting of wild animals, gathering of wild plant foods and fishing, with no domestication of plants, and no domesticated animals except the dog. In contemporary theory this minimal definition is

only the starting point in defining hunter-gatherers (Lee and Daly, 1968). Some basic features of hunter-gatherer society are:

- Most of the hunting and gathering people live in the *band or groups*, a small- scale nomadic group of fifteen to fifty people (may be varied) often related by kinship. Band societies are found throughout the Old and New Worlds and share a number of features in common.

Jarawa are also living in band or group. After family band is the basic unit of their society. Number of members in a particular band is subjected to seasonal variation, availability and accessibility of resources and other factors.

- They are relatively *egalitarian*. Leadership is less formal and more subject to constraints of popular opinion than in village societies governed by headmen and chiefs.

Egalitarianism is also one of the basic features of *Jarawa* society. No dominant leadership have been found among the *Jarawa*. Leadership is very much formal and they believe in freedom to live.

- *Mobility* is another characteristic of band societies. People tend to move their settlements frequently, several times a year or more, in search of food and resources.

Jarawa roam the forest in search of different resources and periodically shift from one *chadda* (camp site or settlement area) to another. This mobility is usually subjected to on availability and accessibility of resources.

- Another characteristic is the remarkable fact that all band-organized peoples exhibit a pattern of *concentration and dispersion*. Rather than living in uniformly sized groupings throughout the year, band societies tend to spend part of the year dispersed into small foraging units (especially during dry season in case of *Jarawa*) and another part of the year aggregated into much larger units (during rainy season for *Jarawa*).

While defining hunter-gatherer, it must be considered that many of the contemporary foragers practice a kind of mixed subsistence which includes gardening in tropical South America, reindeer herding in northern Asia, trading in South/Southeast Asia and parts of Africa. Lee and Daly (1999) propounded that modern hunter-gatherers are typically characterized by a cluster of traits and subsistence is one part of a multi-faceted definition of hunter-gatherer. Social organisation forms a second major area of convergence. While cosmology and world view as a third faced. All above three sets of criteria have to be taken into consideration in defining and understanding hunting and gathering communities today. The fundamental unit of social organisation of most hunting and gathering community is the 'band' which is a self-sufficient small nomadic group of fifteen to fifty people related by kinship. Band organisations are found throughout the hunter-gatherers of the Worlds and share a number of common characteristics. A fourth characteristic common to almost all band societies is territoriality which includes common access to resources of a particular territory. It is further characterized by rules of reciprocity and commensality. Sharing is often recognized as a common trait and the central rule of social interaction among hunters-gatherers (Kent, 1993). The most prized resources are shared among the constituent families of a band. The hunter-gatherer's perception of the environment is as the 'giving environment' which is often

considered as plenty and bountiful. It is found among many hunter-gatherers who perceive the environment around them as their home and all the sources as good things (Bird-David, 1990).

1.5 Review of Literature

Studies on Andaman communities may broadly be categorised in two phases: (i) Pre-independence phase and (ii) Post-independence phase. The golden age of studying Andaman Islanders began during the British period with the work of some administrators-cum-scholars namely E.H. Man (1870s, which was published in 1882), F.J. Mouat (1863), C. Boden Kloss (1902) and M.V. Portman (1880s, which was published in 1899) and ended with the departure of Brown in 1908. Studies in post-independence phase were mostly conducted by Anthropological Survey of India, Andaman administration and other scholars.

Among the pioneer scholars, Mouat (1863) in his book entitled '*The Andaman Islanders*' published some ethnographic accounts of the life and culture of the Andaman Islanders. The writing was primarily based on his observation and assumptions about the native people and landscapes. The work principally reflected the interpretation of his daily tour diary and travel experiences. Meanwhile, he also narrated his experiences of interaction with some of the native people and their material cultural attributes. Kloss (1902), another administrative-cum-scholar in his book '*Andaman and Nicobars*' described his accounts of travel experiences and expeditions in different island of Andaman and Nicobar archipelago. He briefly mentioned about the flora, fauna, physical environment and ethnology of these Islands and their inhabitants. Man (1882) in his book '*On the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands*' first studied a systematic, reliable and ethnographic account of traditional Andamanese life and culture. His work on the inhabitants of the Andaman Islands, deals almost exclusively with the two southern groups of Andamanese, the Aka-Bea and Aka-Bale. He also briefly

mentioned about the presence of *Jarawa* and their relationship with the neighbouring Andamanese communities. After that Portman (1899) in his monumental work '*A History of Our Relations with Andamanese*' extensively and chronologically mentioned the historical accounts of the native Islanders than his earlier counterparts. He revealed different aspects of Andamanese life, culture and their reactions towards different outsider's intrusion. He also mentioned different historical specific and contextual specific aspects of contact and conflict situations of *Jarawa* and non-*Jarawa* communities. Brown (1922) in his famous book '*The Andaman Islanders*' revealed a detail, systematic and ethnographic account of Andamanese life and customs. With his structural-functional approach, he elaborately studied the social organisation, ceremonial customs, religious and magical beliefs, myths and legends of the Andamanese. Moreover, he also tried to interpret it systematically. Despite the unfriendliness of *Jarawa* community, he quite accurately assumed about the origin, distribution and affinity of *Jarawa* and other native inhabitants of Andaman Islands.

After independence, Cipriani (1959) in his article '*The Jarawa Problem*' briefly mentioned about the unfriendliness of the *Jarawa* community and its consequences. Cipriani (1966) also discussed in detail the culture and economy of the Onges and the Great Andamanese. Bose (1964) in his study among the Onge, has described the foraging pursuits of the Onge of Little Andaman Island. Mann (1973) briefly discussed about the so called *Jarawa* hostility, their relationship with the neighbouring communities and some other aspects of contact and conflict. Sarkar (1989) in the monograph entitled '*Jarawa*' depicted an ethnographic account of *Jarawa* material culture. He also briefly discussed about different other socio-cultural aspects of the community viz. habit and habitat, lifestyle and livelihood, contact and conflict etc. Among the recent studies on the tribal communities of the Andaman Islands, the studies on the Great Andamanese by Chakravarty (1990), the Sentinelese by Pandit (1990), the

Onges by Basu (1990) are noteworthy to mention. Awaradi (1990) came forward with a master plan for welfare of primitive tribes of Andaman and Nicobar Islands. As a policy maker he systematically mentioned a long term plan for welfare and prosperity of *Jarawa*. Among the more contemporary scholars and researchers, Pandya (1990, 1993, 1998, 1999, 2002 and 2010) in his series of articles and books studied some aspects of culture contact and conflicting situations of *Jarawa*. In his famous book '*Above the Forest*' he studied the ethnoanemology, cosmology and the power of ritual of Andamanese and the book '*In the Forest*' he illustrated the visual and material worlds of Andamanese. Naidu (1999) also tried to suggest the probable action plan to save the *Jarawa* community. Mukhopadhyay et al. (2002) in their edited book entitled '*Jarawa Contact: Ours with them and theirs with us*' combined different relevant articles on the contemporary contact and conflict situations of *Jarawa* and their neighbouring communities. Mukhopadhyay (2010) in the article '*Society and Economy of the Ang: A preliminary Appraisal*' has extensively described the society and economy of *Jarawa*. Dutta (1974) and Cooper (1990, 1992, 1994) have tried to determine antiquity of the Andaman Islanders on the basis of their studies on kitchen midden resemblance found in different parts of the Islands. Cooper (2002) in her book '*Archaeology and History: Early Settlements in the Andaman Islands*' gives a detailed account of extensive archaeological excavations in the Andaman Islands and provide us the first reliable C14 dating of Great Andamanese kitchen midden resemblance. Furthermore, Andaman administration (2003) in the '*Report of the expert committee on Jarawas of Andaman*', reveals a multidisciplinary study on different aspects of *Jarawa* community viz. society and culture, economy, resources in *Jarawa* territory, nutrition, health, impact of contact etc. Consequently, some relevant studies were also conducted among the hunter-gathers and foragers of mainland India. Among them few noteworthy studies are on Birhor subsistence pattern by Sinha (1958) from the cultural ecology point of view. Adhikari (1984) studied the

emic view of Birhor community. The hunting-gathering mode of subsistence of Nayaka of Karnataka was thoroughly studied by Bird-David (1992). She has also systematically analysed the process of changes in the Nayaka economy due to their contacts with outsiders.

Moreover, globally different researchers have conducted studies on different hunter-gatherer communities of the world on various situations of Subsistence, livelihood and culture. Modern studies on hunting and gathering communities may be traced back to the momentous works of the 1930s. The essay by Julian Steward (1936) on '*The economic and social basis of primitive bands*' in which he explored resource exploitation and dynamics of band organisation. Another his important study '*Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Socio-political Groups*' where he scientifically analysed the functional relationship among the different aspects of their culture and environment (Steward, 1938). He also emphasised on the patterns and processes of cultural change with special reference to the hunter-gatherer community. Elkin (1951) analytically studied the reaction and interaction of hunter-gatherer people with the European settlement in Australia. Lee and De Vore (1968) in their edited book '*Man the Hunter*', laid the foundation for anthropological study of modern hunted-gatherers. The book was the outcome of the propound conference '*Man the Hunter*' (1966). In his another study on '*the Bushmen of Kalahari*', Lee (1969) has examined the foraging pursuits of the Bushman of Africa. Consequent to the publication of *Man the Hunter* in 1968, a new paradigm of hunter-gatherer studies was started which leads to series of researches which includes the following works. The worth mentioning among them are by Damas (1969), Balikci (1970), Bicchieri (1972) on the Netsilik Eskimo. Watanbe (1973) on the Ainu subsistence, Marshall (1976) on the !Kung, Lee (1979) on the !Kung San, Suttle (1990) edited hand book on North American Indian etc. Shallins (1972) in his much debated book '*Stone Age Economics*' critically studied the economy of different hunter-gatherer societies around the world and

mentioned different types of reciprocal relationships of the said communities. He also mentioned hunter-gather society as 'original affluent society'. Leacock et al. (1982) extensively studied the political and historical aspects of hunter-gatherer with special reference to the band society. Woodburn (1982) in his famous article '*Egalitarian Societies*' studied systematically the primitive economy of hunter gatherer society and opined the concept of immediate return economy and delayed return economy. Villoro (1982) and Deloria (1995) have studied the worldview of the hunter-gatherer and concluded that it is the result of the collective wisdom and experience of generations in local or regional set up and contextual history. Bird-David (1990) has described that most of the foraging groups consider the environment rich and affluent which they often considered as 'giving environment'. A significant development in hunter-gatherer research through the study of foraging strategies. Winterhalder and Smith (1981) provided a detailed account and the application of the 'Optimal foraging theory' with respect to the hunter-gatherer subsistence behaviour. On the basis of this theoretical model they concluded that the hunter-gatherers seek to maximize their chances of finding food with the least and minimum effort. The hunter-gatherers exhibit a kind of economic rationality in their subsistence strategies and foraging methods. Bettinger (1991) also emphasised on further theoretical formulation of the Optimal foraging theory. Further studies on hunter-gatherers of South American rainforest (Kaplan and Hill, 1992), Central Australia (O'Connell and Hawkes, 1981, 1984), Arctic region (Smith, 1991) were also based on the perception provided by 'Optimal foraging theory'. Bailey and Peacock (1988) studied the foraging pattern of *Efe* Pygmies in the *Ituri* rain forest of Northeast Zaire. The study by Stearman (1991) on the *Yuqui* foragers in the Bolivian Amazon and by Bahuchet (1988) on pygmy foraging peoples of Congo basin reversals socio-geographical variations in different rainforests of the world. In their study on the Batek community of Malaya Peninsula, Endicott and Bellwood (1991) concluded that small nomadic groups of foragers

can live of forest resources only. This is due to their foraging strategy which rationally considered the availability, seasonality and density of the resources.

Regarding studies on culture contact and its consequent impacts on foragers and non-foragers, many researchers have studied contextual situations. The study by Cooper (1946), revealed about complete disappearance of *Tehuelche* and *Puelche* peoples by 1880s from the Pampas of Argentina because of war and diseases. In another study by Bodley (1999) depicted the impact of colonisation and capitalisation on extinction of small scale populations worldwide. Lee (1984) studied the livelihood and survival challenges among the Bushman in the modern world after partly adopting the sedentary agriculture. Due to depletion of resource base, introduction of new tools and techniques and competition with the other dominant neighbouring population, the traditional Bushman were bound to confront different kind of challenges to persevere their livelihood. Ndagala (1988) has pointed out major threats to the Hadza tribe due to land alienation and commercial hunting. He also systematically analysed the consequences and impact of the above mentioned threat on the Hadza hunter-gatherer.

So, the above mentioned review of literature gives a comprehensive idea about different studies on hunter-gatherer in different contextual specific and historical specific situations. It also reveals that the study of interaction between any hunter-gatherer and their neighbouring communities is of immense importance and dynamic in nature. This review of literature also reflects that there are very few related studies on the proposed topic entitled “*Socio-cultural manifestation of Jarawa Reserve: A study on interaction between Jarawa and their neighbouring communities of Andaman Islands*”. Moreover, it is also intended to consult reports (published and unpublished) of different committees, individual scholars submitted to different departments and institutions, official notifications, reports of the Andaman and

Nicobar administration on *Jarawa* and web materials available through internet etc. for preparation of this dissertation.

1.6 Scope of the Study

Compared to many other hunter-gatherers of the world, till today, *Jarawa* exhibits minimum interaction with the outsiders. They are pursuing much self-sufficient and self-reliant livelihood with minimum dependency on outside elements. Since hundreds of years, the *Jarawa* territory was never being a static geographical area, rather it was subjected to continuous alteration and shift. Henceforth, the *Jarawa* were also subjected to acclimatise to their new socio-geographical environment. From historical time being they have confronted their dominant neighbouring communities namely Great Andamanese, colonial rulers, different settlers from mainland India, Ranchis (Oraon, Munda, Kharia) of Chotanagpur plateau, Karens of erstwhile Burma (Mayanmam) who were settled in the Middle Andaman, Bhantus of Central India and Mophlas of Malabar region (Kerala) who were settled in the South Andaman etc. The antagonistic relationship between *Jarawa* and their neighbouring communities led them to live as an isolated community. In spite of several attempts by the Administration for befriending the *Jarawa*, till October 1997 the relationship between *Jarawa* and their neighbouring communities were antagonistic. But the scenario changed drastically after 1997, when few groups of *Jarawa* came into the contact with the neighbouring communities in open day light and they started to visit different neighbouring villages. Ever since, sporadic bartering interactions have been established with selected members of the neighbouring communities. They are acquiring different cultural traits and elements from dominant non-tribal neighbours. Though they are maintaining their own way of life but it cannot be ignored that they are on the way of change. The impact of this culture contact is dynamic and multifaceted. Being a Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Group (PVTG),

Jarawa are more prone to the adverse effect of the culture contact and bartering exchange. In this context, there are very few in-depth studies to reveal the emic views of *Jarawa* and non-*Jarawa* communities on different contemporary situations of interaction. Consequently, the review of literature also reflects that the existing literatures are till scanty on the subject of the present study entitled “*Socio-cultural manifestation of Jarawa Reserve: A study on interaction between Jarawa and their Neighbouring Communities of Andaman Islands*”. So, there is enough scope to study the emic view of both *Jarawa* and their neighbouring communities on the issues of culture contact and emerging realities. A systematic and analytical study of the bartering relationship, its type, extends and impact may also be of immense importance. Moreover, a theoretical review on different aspects of culture change among the hunter-gatherer and foragers may also be pursued during this study. Further, the study may also assist the policy makers and administrators to plan a decentralised and people centric sustainable plan for both *Jarawa* and their neighbouring communities in Andaman Islands.

1.7 Research Questions

The present study entitled “*Socio-cultural manifestation of Jarawa Reserve: A study on interaction between Jarawa and their Neighbouring Communities of Andaman Islands*” intended to find out some rational and empirical answer to the following research aspects.

1. The socio-cultural factors which led the *Jarawa* to shift their territory continuously since last two centuries. As, the written historical records revealed the shifting of *Jarawa* territory from South to Northwards, what was the probable impacts on the *Jarawa* therein.

2. Having antagonistic relationship with most of the neighbouring communities, how the *Jarawa* have maintained the isolation from the outside world. The reasons of developing such an antagonistic relationship with the neighbouring communities may also be enquired.
3. As, now a day *Jarawa* have developed bartering relationship with many selected individuals of the neighbouring non-*Jarawa* villages, we may find out the emic view of the *Jarawa* regarding this the bartering desire.
4. Being a Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Group (PVTG), the *Jarawa* are more prone to the adverse effect of the culture contact and bartering relationship. These adverse effects may be identified and its impact on *Jarawa* society and culture may be assessed through this study.
5. Andaman administration with the assistance of Andaman Adim Janjati Vikash Samiti (AAJVS) and Tribal Welfare Department have started different developmental interventions among the *Jarawa*. What are the positive and negative impact of these development programmes on *Jarawa* may be assessed through this study. Whether development programmes have any effect on the seasonal movement and resource utilisation of *Jarawa* within their territory.
6. Most of the bartering items of *Jarawa* are related with the traits or elements of non-*Jarawa* material culture. So, impact of non-*Jarawa* material cultural trait on *Jarawa* material culture and its consequences are to be studied systematically.

1.8 Objectives

Objectives of any research work are of immense importance and it drives the researcher to prove or disprove any hypothesis. Objectives often reflect the kind and extends of the

research. It also drives the researchers to streamline his findings and to reach the conclusion.

In view of above mentioned discussion, following are the objectives of the present study.

1. To study the notion of *Jarawa* territory in different historical specific and contextual specific situations.
2. To study the prevalence of barter relationship between *Jarawa* and non-*Jarawa* communities and to analyse it's type, extend and impact.
3. To study the emerging issues coming out of the interaction between *Jarawa* and their neighbouring communities.
4. To study the changing perception of *Jarawa* about their neighbouring settler communities and vice-versa.
5. To study different aspects of culture change among the *Jarawa*.

1.9 Hypothesis

Hypothesis is always of immense importance for any research work and following hypotheses are proposed for the present study-

1. Culture change in a hunter-gatherer or a foraging society (*Jarawa*) is not merely due to single operational force of culture change; moreover, it is a complex, multidimensional and dynamic process.
2. As bartering relation of the *Jarawa* is basically exchange of different need based, contextual specific, outside non-*Jarawa* elements or commodities to which they are fond of or addicted and cannot manufacture from their available forest resources, it may lead them from so called self-sufficiency to dependency.

3. In a situation of culture contact, explicit aspects of hunter-gatherer culture are more susceptible to change than the implicit aspects of culture.

1.10 Study Area

Presently, the *Jarawa* territory includes 1040 sq km area of dense tropical rain forest located along with the West coast of South and Middle Andaman Islands. The present day *Jarawa* territory has been notified as a 'Reserved Area' under clause (2) of article 243 of the of Indian Constitution (notified by ANPATR/3(1)/1,1956/57 and further modified by notification No. 107.7/F No. 40.243/78-TW dated-19.07.1979 and No. 159/2004/F. No. 1-752/2002- TW(PF) dated-15.09.2004). So, the *Jarawa* territory is popularly also known as '*Jarawa Reserve*'. In accordance with the *Jarawa* perception, their territory is broadly divided into three territorial groups namely *Tanmand* or Kadamtala area group of Middle Andaman Islands, *Thidong* or Middle Strait area group and *Boiab* or Tirur area of South Andaman Island. The *Jarawa Reserve* and its neighbouring areas of Middle Andaman Island are often broadly termed as Kadamtala area. As on November, 2017, the total population of the *Jarawa* was 496 (Male-263, Female-233). According to the Buffer zone notification (2013) of Andaman administration, there were altogether 30 neighbouring non-*Jarawa* villages located within the 5 km radius of the *Jarawa Reserve*. Since 2011 to 2017, overall fieldwork was conducted among all the above mentioned three territorial groups of *Jarawa*. Considering the wide spread geographical landscape, the study area was restricted for the convenience. Hence, for the present research work, the study area has been limited to the *Tanmad* area or Kadamtala area of Middle Andaman Islands only. Extensive fieldwork was also conducted among the neighbouring non-*Jarawa* villages of Kadamtala area. The study area was inhabited by 189 *Jarawa* (male 99, female 90), having sex ratio 909. They live in

the dense tropical rain forest of the *Jarawa* Tribal Reserve. The *Jarawa* Reserve in the Middle Andaman is surrounded by 10 major neighbouring villages (Buffer zone notification, 2013) having total population of 8426 (Census, 2011). To study interaction between *Jarawa* and non-*Jarawa*, two neighbouring non-*Jarawa* villages namely Phooltala and Bamboo Tikrey were selected. Both the selected non-*Jarawa* villages are geographically contiguous to the *Jarawa* Reserve having maximum bartering contacts with *Jarawa*. Both the villages come under Kadamtala Gram Panchayat, Rangat Tehsil, North & Middle Andaman district of the union territory Andaman and Nicobar Islands. Detailed household survey was conducted in both the selected non-*Jarawa* villages. The village Phooltala and Bamboo Tikrey are inhabited by different settler communities and are numerically dominated by Bengali population. Their prevalent primary occupation is agriculture which also includes horticultural activities like areca nut and coconut farming. Majority of them came from erstwhile East Pakistan under the refugee rehabilitation scheme of the Government during 1949 to 1954. During the present study on 2017, total population of Phooltala was 134 (male 66, female 68) while the total population of Bamboo Tikrey was 220 (male 112, female 108). Being a nomadic hunter-gatherer, all the 189 *Jarawa* were studied during different phases of fieldwork since 2011 to 2017. Different *chaddas* (camp sites of *Jarawa*) namely *Oleg* (Lakralunta), *Hiulele*, *Elago*, *Hochu*, *Uli Julanpatthar*, *Tanmad*, Philip Nala and Dhani Nala etc. were visited and studied.

Fig. 1.1: Location of Andaman and Nicobar Islands



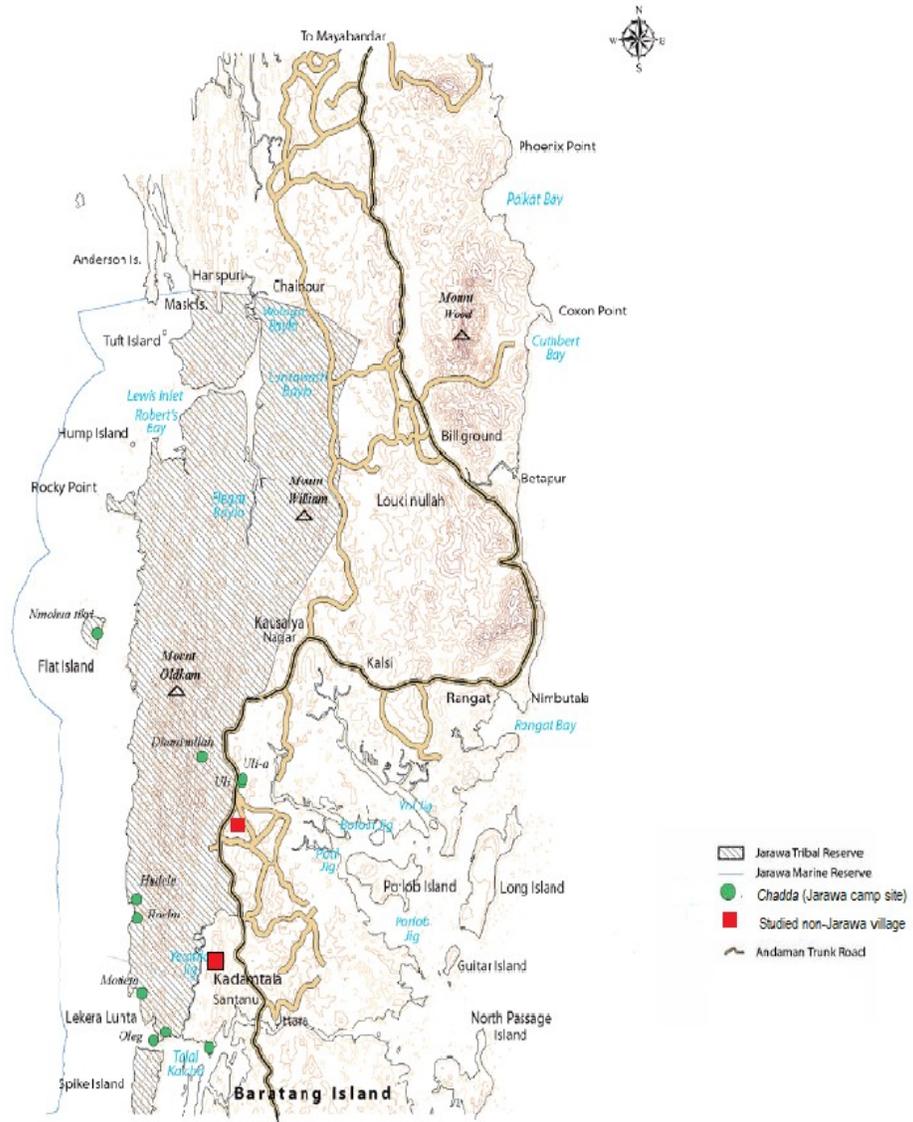
Fig. 1.2: Study area of Middle Andaman Islands



● Chadda (Jarawa camp site)

Non-Jarawa Villages - Phooltala and Bamboo Tikrey

Fig 1.3: Jarawa Tribal Reserve and Study Area of Middle Andaman Island



Source: UNESCO (2010) and Field Study (2011-2017)

1.11 Research Methods

Methodological issue to study any hunter-gather community often deserve a special attention and utmost importance. It has already mentioned that the study was conducted among the *Jarawa* and their neighbouring settler communities of Kadamtala area of Middle Andaman Island. Hence, different *Chaddas* (camp sites) of *Jarawa* and two neighbouring non-*Jarawa* villages were also were studied. The study was conducted in different phases since 2011 to 2017. Altogether, fieldwork was conducted for more than 120 days. Special attention was given for round the year study to cover all the seasonal variations in different aspects. The study area was inhabited by 189 *Jarawa* (male 99, female 90). All the *Jarawas* of *Tanmad* area were studied during different phases of fieldwork and relevant data was collected from them. In case of settlers (non-*Jarawa*) all the households of the two selected villages namely Phooltala and Bamboo Tikrey were systematically studied. As language often become constrain for in-depth study especially at cognitive level, thus, emphasis was given to learn the *Jarawa* language. Prolonged fieldwork and studying different handbooks on *Jarawa* language were immensely assisted in this regard. Being a nomadic hunter-gatherer community, different methodological approaches were adopted to study *Jarawa* and non-*Jarawa* communities separately. Emphasis was given on ethnography method. Moreover, other anthropological methods namely survey, case study and observation were taken into consideration. Data on socio-cultural, economic and basic demographic profile of the settlers (villagers) were collected by using anthropological tools and techniques like interview, focused group discussion, case study, observation and household survey etc. Besides these, information on culture contact, bartering relation and emerging issues was collected by observation, case study, key informant interview, focused group

discussion and social mapping etc. In case of *Jarawa*, data was collected by conventional Anthropological tools and techniques namely observation (including participant observation and disguised observation), case study, genealogy, interview (structured and unstructured), group discussion and social mapping etc. Besides these photography and GPS instrument also played a significant role during the study.

1.12 Organisation of the Study

To pursue the research work more systematically and scientifically, the present study has been organised into the seven chapters. The first chapter provides details pertaining to the basic research design with introductory note about the archipelago, the autochthonous people, non-tribal people, concept of hunter-gatherer, review of already existing literature, scope of the study, research questions, objectives of the study, study area, research methods, organisation of the study.

Afterwards, the second chapter reveals a holistic idea about the *Jarawa* society and culture in terms of their territory and resources. It includes discussion on concept of *Ang*, *Enen* and *Ono*; social organisation of *Jarawa*; subsistence economy, rite-de-passage, material culture, worldview, population details, territorial groups or bands, territory, territoriality, buffer zone and Andaman trunk road.

The *Jarawa* territory with special reference to the pre-independence manifestation have been discussed in the third chapter. This very aspect is discussed under the following sub-categories- earliest contact with *Jarawa*, population distribution, territorial conflicts with Great Andamanese, punitive expedition of *Jarawa* hunting, encroachment of *Jarawa* territory, exploitation of forest resources etc. this chapter

primarily dealt with different historical circumstances related to the dynamics of *Jarawa* territory.

The fourth chapter related with different manifestations of *Jarawa* territory with regards to post-independence scenario. This chapter includes creation of *Jarawa* Tribal Reserve under constitutional provisions; Refugee rehabilitation programme around *Jarawa* Reserve; Bush police to protect the settlers from *Jarawa*; the Andaman trunk road, its history and consequences; scenario of contact, conflict and mutual hostility; establishment of friendly contacts; expert committee on *Jarawa* behaviour; *Jarawa* policy 2004; Buffer zone issue and lastly different developmental initiatives by Andaman administration have been discussed and analysed.

The contextual situations of the neighbouring non-*Jarawa* villages have been discussed in the fifth chapter. Based on primary data obtained from household survey, this chapter reflects empirical situation of the non-*Jarawa* communities residing at the fringe villages near *Jarawa* Reserve. It includes population details, livelihood, developmental initiatives, forest resource extraction, contact with the *Jarawa*.

Further moving ahead, the sixth chapter systematically depicted the scenario of culture contact and changes in *Jarawa* society and culture. The sixth chapter is the crux of this dissertation. Dynamicity of bartering relationship and culture contact is elaborately discussed through the writing in this chapter. Based on empirical data, this chapter includes discussion on following topics– Bartering relationship, Impact on neighbouring communities, Impact on *Jarawa*, Impact on forest resource, Impact on food habit, impact on health and hygiene, impact on subsistence, impact on aesthetics, domestication of animal and plants, impact of language, addiction for tobacco and alcohol consumption and last of all sexual exploitation.

Finally, the seventh chapter provides the summary of major findings derived from the study. The conclusion of this research incorporated the emic view of both *Jarawa* and neighbouring communities regarding dynamics of *Jarawa* territory. Overall discussion of this concluding section have systematically justified the objectives of the study and attempted to provide a scientific answer to the different research questions. Lastly, it also reveals the scope of further research and limitations of the study.