

**CHAPTER-VI**  
**CONCLUSION**

## CHAPTER-VII

### CONCLUSION

In 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, Bhandus of Central India and Mophlas of Malabar region (Kerala) who were settled in the South Andaman at the different fringe areas of *Jarawa* territory. 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, before the

present study, there were very few in-depth studies to reveal the emic views of *Jarawa* and non-*Jarawa* communities on different contemporary situations of interaction. Moreover, the review of literature also reflects that the existing literatures 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 Island*' are very scanty. Hence, the present study is an attempt of an preliminary first hand ethnographic research on the dynamic aspect of *Jarawa* Reserve as well as some of their neighbouring non-*Jarawa* communities. Moreover, it also systematically and analytically depicted the bartering relationship, its type, extends and impact may also be of immense importance.

The present Ph.D dissertation titled '*Socio-cultural manifestation of Jarawa Reserve: A study on interaction between Jarawa and their Neighbouring Communities of Andaman Island*' is broadly divided into six chapters which are self-contained and interrelated as well. All the chapters are systematically categorised to justify the theme of the research. While categorising different chapters and sub-chapters, the objectives are research questions played pivotal role to support the hypothesis and full fill the objective of this dissertation work. Overall the thesis is divided in six broad chapters namely, 1. Introduction, 2. The *Jarawa* (*Ang*), 3. The *Jarawa* Territory: Neighbouring Communities and Pre-Independence Manifestations, 4. The *Jarawa* Territory: Neighbouring Communities and Post-Independence Manifestations, 5. Culture Contact And Changes and 6. Conclusion.

Firstly, the chapter 'Introduction' laid the foundation stone of the study and it incorporate ten sub-chapters following chapters namely, The Archipelago, The Autochthonous People, Non-Tribal People, Concept of Hunter-Gatherer, Review of Literature, Scope of the Study, Research Questions, Objectives, Study Area, Research Methods and Organisation of the study.

The second chapter dealt with the preliminary and ethnographic description about the key studied community i. e. *Jarawa*. The writing of this chapter is primarily on the basis of first hand ethnographic data collected from the field during the intense and prolonged fieldwork from the year 2011 to 2017 in different phases. This chapter on the *Jarawa* community includes following sub-chapters, Concept of *Ang*, *Enen* and *Yono*; Social Organisation which includes descriptions on family, band and territorial Groups; Subsistence Economy which includes hunting, gatherings like collection of tubers, collection of grub larvae, collection of wild fruits, collection from sea shore; Fishing; Honey Collection; Sharing in subsistence economy, Resources in the *Jarawa* territory which comprises of edible resources, edible plant resources, edible animal resources, seasonal variation of resources, non-edible resources. Afterwards the aspects of material culture of *Jarawa* includes portrayal on their different types of huts (*Chadda*), dress and ornaments, implements like bow (*aaw*), arrow (*patho*), traditional knife (*tohad*), chest guard (*kekad*), wooden bucket (*uhu*), cane basket (*taika*), resin torch (*pone*), fishing hand net (*botho*), ochre (*ood* and *alam*) and iron and metals. Consequently under this chapter the ethnographic description on Rite-de-passage of *Jarawa* incorporates empirical information on birth, *lepa* ceremony, *upemame* ceremony, marriage, death. The next sub-chapters includes present demographic details and brief description on the *Jarawa* Reserve, buffer Zone and Andaman Trunk Road (ATR) which are further discussed fifth chapter on culture contact.

The third chapter on ‘The *Jarawa* Territory: Neighbouring Communities and Pre-Independence Manifestations’ systematically depicted the aspects of *Jarawa* and their neighbouring communities in terms of their territory during pre-independence period. This chapter includes five sub-chapters namely Earliest Contact with *Jarawa*; Contacts and territory during Colonial Occupation which includes contacts during 1858 to 1900, contacts during 1901 to 1939 and contacts during Japanese Occupation (1942 -1945); Territorial

Conflict with Great Andamanese (*Yono*); Punitive Expedition of *Jarawa* Hunting; Clearing of Forest, Timber Extraction and Encroachment.

Subsequently, the fourth chapter titled ‘The *Jarawa* Territory: Neighbouring Communities and Post-Independence Manifestations’ incorporates different post-independence manifestations with special reference to the *Jarawa* territory and neighbouring communities. Findings of this research study have systematically incorporated under this chapter in eleven chapters and different sub-chapters which includes The *Jarawa* Reserve, Refugee Rehabilitation Programme, Bush Police, The Andaman Trunk Road, Contact, Conflict and Mutual Hostility, Establishment of Friendly Contacts, Expert Committee on *Jarawa* Behaviour, *Jarawa* Policy 2004, Buffer Zone, Development Initiatives and Neighbouring Communities: The Studied Villages. This chapter laid the backdrop for the next chapter on culture contact and changes.

The fifth chapter is the most significant and categorically described the thrust are of the present study on *Jarawa* and their neighbouring communities. This chapter entitled ‘Culture contact and Changes’ primarily focused on different socio-cultural changes and its under laying process due to the pertinent problem of culture contact with the non-*Jarawa* neighbouring communities. This chapter includes following sub-chapters namely Bartering Relationship incorporating the conceptual Framework of barter, types of barter, process of barter, items of barter, marketing and supply to the local market etc.; the next sub-chapter on Impact on *Jarawa* (*Ang*) have extensively described in altogether eleven categories namely Impact on Material Culture which contains impact on dress and adornments, tools and technology, use of utensils, use of mechanised dinghy and vehicle, extinction of traditional chest guard and resin torch; the other sub-chapters are impact on forest resource, impact on food habit, impact on health and hygiene, impact on subsistence (hunting-gathering),

domestication of animals and plants, impact on language, addiction towards tobacco and consumption of alcohol, sexual exploitation, impact on territory, harmful effect of Andaman trunk road (ATR).

The Summary and main findings of the study is given in the final chapter titled 'Conclusion' which itself include summary; major findings incorporating self-sufficiency to dependency, changing perception of *Jarawa* about the settlers, changing perception of settlers about the *Jarawa*; review of concepts and theories related to culture contact and change; Conclusions, Limitations of the Study; Scope for further research. This last chapter is followed by Notes and an extensive list of references.

## 6.1 Summary

Andaman and Nicobar group of Islands with a geographical area of 8298 sq. km consist of 572 islands and islets, spread in Bay of Bengal. 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. 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.

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 *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 sq km 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.

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.

Only in recent years we came to know from the *Jarawa* that they call themselves as *Ang*. It has been argued that Aka-Bea, one of the Great Andamanese tribes used to refer the *Ang* as '*Jarawa*'.

The *Jarawa* is an endogamous community and they maintain their identity through their unique dialect, socio-cultural traits, belief, customs, territorial affinity and subsistence activity etc. The basic unit of social organisation among most of the hunter-gatherer communities is 'band' which often referred as a small-scale nomadic group of ten to forty people related by kinship. They live in local territorial groups or bands without any prominent central leadership. Leadership is quite informal among them. The society is regulated by different prohibitions and prescriptions. Every grown-up *Jarawa* is a self-sustained and individual entity. After individuals, the family is the fundamental unit of

*Jarawa* society followed by ‘band’, ‘territorial groups’ and ‘*Jarawa* community’ as a whole.

In *Jarawa* system of subsistence, hunting is primarily pursued by male folk while gathering is dominated by the female members. Simultaneous pursuance of hunting and gathering ensure the food security of the community in case any scarcity. The *Jarawa* practice hunting, gathering and fishing with very simple tools and technology. There are only few finger counted implements used by the *Jarawa* for their subsistence. Traditional implements include bows (*aav*), arrows (*patho*), traditional knife (*tohad*), small fishing hand nets (*batho*) etc. Often the non-traditional implements are improvised in accordance with its function and adaptability. Non-traditional implements include hunting trap, machete, fishing hook and line, iron hook etc. Similarly, traditional gathering implements includes cane basket (*taika*), wooden bucket (*uhu*), adze etc. Moreover, gathering also require some non-traditional items like machete, axe, digging rod (*satang*), plastic bucket etc. So, the subsistence of *Jarawa* is primarily based on hunting, gathering and fishing which require a detailed discussion with reference to their territory and resources. The most preferable and primary game animal is wild pig (*wowo*) followed by monitor lizard (*urug*).

In *Jarawa* subsistence gathering is often associated with the women folk. Generally, gathering includes collections of wild fruits, tubers, turtle eggs, grub larvae, different shells and molluscs etc. Among the *Jarawa*, gathering primarily includes collection of tubers, edible grub larvae, wild fruits and edible items from sea shore.

Fishing is also one of the major aspects of *Jarawa* subsistence. They also have separate names for different types of fishes. Though there is a gender division based on fishing



methods and fishing implements, fishing is equally pursued by both male and female members.

Though honey collection is often considered as a part of gathering mechanism but considering its importance extends and utility for the *Jarawa* society, honey collection has been considered as a separate mode of subsistence. . Moreover, honey-*Jarawa* relationship may be observed from their every activates starting from searching of bee-hive to marking it, collection procedure to consumption pattern, storing procedure to use of by-products, social dynamics to medicinal use etc.

As perceived by the *Jarawa*, resource distribution in their territory may be classified into five categories namely *Titon* (deep forest), *Chanhanap* (valley area), *Tagid* (marshy land), *Pileh* (sea shore) and *Howa* (freshwater streams). The resources in the *Jarawa* Reserve include both terrestrial and aquatic resources. Broadly, the resources gathered by the *Jarawa* may further be classified as edible resources and non-edible resources. The edible resources of the *Jarawa* include of both animal resources and plant resources. The plant resources are mostly gathered from the terrestrial ecosystem only and animal resources are acquired from both terrestrial and aquatic ecosystems.

The edible animal food items are collected from both terrestrial and aquatic resources of the *Jarawa* Reserve. The terrestrial animal resources primarily include wild pigs (*wowo*), monitor lizards (*urug*), grub larvae (*pathen and ono*), honey (*leo and pod*) and a few species of birds and other animals. The resources of the aquatic ecosystem comprise of turtle (*ugale*), turtle eggs (*ugale ugane*), fish (*napo*), crab (*haga*), molluscs, crustaceans etc.

All the above mentioned food resources in the *Jarawa* territory are subjected to the seasonal variations. Nevertheless, the availability and accessibility of resources are also the key factors for their subsistence. Apart from the food resources, there are many non-edible resources used by the *Jarawa* to pursue their livelihood. Most of the non-edible resources are related to their material culture and aesthetics.

The non-edible resources related to the *Jarawa* material culture is primarily consists of different plant resources. The non-edible usages of plant resources are predominantly for shelter (*chadda*), medicines, ornamentations and aesthetics, repellent for honeybee and implements (bow, arrow, wooden bucket, cane basket, hand net, traditional knife, machete, adze etc.) etc. *Jarawa* are primarily dependent on natural resources to fulfil their material needs of different cultural attributes.

Most of the raw materials of their material culture are derived directly from nature which are being utilised in a sustainable way. They collect different forest resources for the immediate material cultural requirements for shelter (*chadda*); hunting, gathering and fishing implements like bow, arrow, knife, fishing implements etc.; dress and ornaments; household articles like wooden bucket; cane basket etc.

The rite-de-passage vis-à-vis the ceremonies of life cycle rituals, beliefs and customs are associated to mark the important transitional period of each and every individual's life. Rituals and believes related to birth, puberty or initiation ceremony, marriage, and death etc. The existing rituals which are being observed by the *Jarawa* also play a significant role in their Society. In a nomadic hunter-gatherer community like *Jarawa*, it starts from birth and continued till death or even through the believe and practices after death also. Moreover, animistic believe of *Jarawa* is somehow reflected in each and every aspects of life cycle rituals, customs and believe.

In 1788 the erstwhile British East India Company commissioned Lieutenant Archibald Blair to establish a settlement at Andaman and convicts were sent as labourers. The first settlement in the Andaman Islands was established in September, 1789 in South Andaman at harbour now known as Port Blair, but then called Port Cornwallis. In 1792 the settlement was shifted from the first site to the harbour at the North Andaman now known as Port Cornwallis. The British colonial rulers again considered the question of colonizing Andaman during mid-nineteenth century.

At the end of Indian Mutiny in 1857, the company found themselves with a large number of prisoners and it was decided to create a new penal settlement at Andaman. The site of the first settlement of 1789 in the South Andaman was chosen for that purpose and named as Port Blair. The Penal Settlement was established on March 1858 and has been in existence ever since.

A careful reading of different historical documents and literatures on Andaman Islands reveals that both territory and the identity of Jarawa were not so static. During colonial period also, the Jarawa territory was not a fixed geographical area. However, due to different historical specific and contextual specific reasons, it was subjected to continuous change and shift. During the second world war when the Andaman and Nicobar islands were Japanese occupation (1942-1945), the *Jarawa* territories of South Andaman was indiscriminately bombarded which pushed *Jarawa* to spread different areas of South and Middle Andaman areas to occupy the present position

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. Apart from the Local Born, a few groups of Bhandus 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.

Hence, establishment of villages in and around Port Blair and Jarawa territory at the first instance and followed by creation of habitats by the Mophlas, Bhandus, Burmese and Karens etc resulted in movements of people within the forest areas that jeopardized the age old rights of these tribes towards exclusive utilisation of forest resources for their day to day requirements.

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).

An analogous process of encroachment of the *Jarawa* territory was repeated in the Middle Andaman Island during the second phase of rehabilitation between 1953 to 1956 and more than 1300 families were rehabilitated. Within a period of seven years (1953 to

1959), about 1397 families were rehabilitated in six batches and 32 villages in different parts of the Rangat Valley, stretching from Betapur to Uttara. Altogether 5854 individuals were settled and overall 7398 acre of paddy land were allotted at the vicinity of Jarawa territory in Middle Andaman Island (Table. 4.3).

Suddenly, the *Jarawa* found themselves surrounded by many alien neighbours and dynamics of *Jarawa* territory changed ever since. Soon the land allotted to the settlers become insufficient for their livelihood and they realised the utility of the bountiful forest resources of *Jarawa* territory. Gradually they started to encroach the adjacent forest areas for horticultural activities and many of them involved in poaching of forest resources like timbers, wild boar, deer, fishes, crabs, honey and other minor forest produces.

The ‘Andaman and Nicobar Protection of Aboriginal Tribes Regulation’ (ANPATR) came into existence in 1956. Most of the areas which were inhabited by *Jarawa* declared as reserved area by the Andaman and Nicobar Administration (notified by ANPATR/3(1)/1, 1956/57). The reserved area includes entire areas along with the west coast of South Andaman and Middle Andaman including coastal water up to 3 km starting from the mouth of Constance Bay to the Louis Inlet Bay.

The *Jarawa* territory was further modified by different notifications and de-notification by Andaman Administration [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]. Significantly, the Andaman Trunk Road (ATR) which is cutting across the *Jarawa* territory has been excluded from the *Jarawa* Reserve. Previously existing 200 metre belt from central line of Andaman Trunk Road has also been minimised to 30 metre on the either side of the Andaman Trunk Road.

The *Jarawa* Reserve is also extended towards coastal waters up to a distance of 5 Km from the high tide water mark line on the western side of the South and Middle Andaman Islands from Constance Bay to Lewis Inlet Bay. After the administrative notification in 2004, the *Jarawa* Reserve was again extended to an area of 1028 km<sup>2</sup> and in 2017 the Reserve area extended up to 1040 km<sup>2</sup> spread along with the western coast of Middle and South Andaman Islands.

One of the most controversial and impactful decisions was taken by the Andaman and Nicobar administration in this regard during late sixties. In order to develop the land communication between the North Andaman, Middle Andaman and South Andaman Islands, administration decided to construct a ambitious road namely Andaman Trunk Road (ATR).

Different portions of the ATR were subjected to pass through the *Jarawa* Reserve area in South Andaman and Middle Andaman Islands. Many heavyweight machineries and large numbers of labourers for clearing of forest and construction of the road were brought to the construction places in the *Jarawa* territory. Numerous labour camps and transit areas along the proposed road were established. Consequently, the introduction of such huge machineries and labour force severely disturbed the ecological balance in which the *Jarawa* and their livelihood was accustomed.

They were probably traumatised with the unexpected extreme noise which has not been experienced in distance past. As the ATR was cutting across the *Jarawa* territory from South to North along with the dense resource base forest areas, it prevented free movements of the tribe to from west to east and vice versa. Hence, construction of ATR detrimentally affected the resource availability and accessibility of resource utilisation of *Jarawa* in their territory.

As the *Jarawa* were not in a mood to establish any meaningful friendly contacts with the outsiders due to their past bitter experiences, the same situation of contact and conflict continued during also the post-independence era. The first and foremost concern for the Andaman Administration was to find an way out that would pave the ways for establishing some kind of trust and faiths among the *Jarawa* about the outsiders.

With this view the Bush Police personnel used to conduct periodical visits or contact missions to the *Jarawa* areas in the west coast of Middle Andaman for roping gifts like coconuts, bananas, pieces of irons and strips of red clothes etc.

Once in 1968, a few *Jarawa* entered in Kadamtala village (Middle Andaman) in a full moon night with the intension of picking up some iron implements. However, the villagers came out to catch them and succeeded to catch hold three *Jarawa* boys. Following the methods adopted during the Colonial rulers, these three boys were brought at Port Blair.

However, there was a qualitative difference in achieving the desired goal. They were treated nicely and send back to the forest with large quantity of gifts. Perhaps this had some positive impact and in February 1974, few *Jarawas* showed friendly gestures to a Contact team and communicated by the Bush Police.

In April 1996, a *Jarawa* boy named *Enmey* with broken leg was captured in the Kadamtala area of Middle Andaman when a group of *Jawara* tried to raid at Kataidera village in search of iron and edible fruits etc. Consequently, he was admitted to the Primary Health Centre at Kadamtala and then referred to G.B. Panth Hospital, Port-Blair, where he received treatment for about six months. After being released from the hospital,

*Enmey* was sent back to the Kadamtala area from where he was released in the *Jarawa* Tribal reserve.

Unpredictably, few months later, one day in October 1997, a group of unarmed *Jarawa* appeared at Uttara Jetty of Kadamtala area, Middle Andaman. This incident was a landmark in the history of relationship of the *Jarawa* with the non-*Jarawa*. It marked the end to the phase of mutual hostility and beginning of friendly relations between the *Jarawa* and the non-*Jarawa*. After that eventful day, the *Jarawa* started visiting the neighbouring settlement areas frequently. On the subsequent visits, they started plucking banana and other different food items from the plantation of the settlers and it soon became a regular phenomenon.

As per direction of the Honourable High Court of Calcutta, a committee of experts was constituted by Central Government vide the Ministry of Home Affairs notification number U-14040/24/99-ANL dated-21.07.2001. The Committee of experts submitted its report before the Hon'ble High Court of Calcutta on 28.07.2003.

The central government in the Ministry of Home Affairs have consequently decided to frame Policy or Guideline for the protection and welfare of the *Jarawa* of Andaman and Nicobar Island. Accordingly, Jarawa Policy (2004) came in existence.

Recently, the most debated and politicised issue regarding *Jarawa* territory was 'Buffer Zone'. With the view of all-round protection of *Jarawa* vis-à-vis their territory and to regulate the harmful effect of culture contact with the outsiders, the Andaman administration in 2007 declared the area up to 5 km radius adjacent and contiguous to the entire *Jarawa* Reserve starting from Constance Bay of South Andaman to Lewis Inlet Bay at Middle Andaman as Buffer Zone.



Primarily, livelihoods of all the villages were seriously affected due to this declaration. Tremendous social and political agitations were raised by the settlers. Consequently, a negative attitude towards the *Jarawa* was developing among the buffer Zone villagers.

Likewise most of the hunting-gathering communities, in the Jarawa there exists a system of reciprocity or gift economy with different groups of Jarawa and bartering relationship with the Non-Jarawa. Hence, with growing interaction between the Jarawa and the Non-Jarawa the demand for certain items have raised by both sides. In turn, it has led to the beginning of the barter system which has initiated manifold and dynamic impact on the Jarawa Society and culture.

The Non-Jarawa, who are involved in it are the some selected nearby villagers, poachers, vehicle drivers, tour guides, tourists and sometimes few officials who are posted there or nearby areas of Jarawa Tribal Reserve. Generally, the Jarawa exchange resin, venison, carb and iron implements particularly bows and arrows in lieu of tobacco, rice, cosmetics, torch, battery etc. Sometimes, they also exchange these articles for colourful cloths and some non-traditional edible items like biscuits and sweets (*mithapoo*).

Now-a-days, *Jarawa* have a contextual specific mixed reciprocal relationship with the settlers/neighbours. As often the non-Jarawa intended to attain maximum benefit at the cost of the other (*Jarawa*), considering the exploiting nature of this reciprocal relationship, primarily it may be considered as negative reciprocity. But in some specific cases general and balance reciprocity is also observed.

The bartering items which are flowing inward towards the *Jarawa* are as follows: Rice, Biscuits, Spices and other different food items, Tobacco (Sukha, Jarda etc.), Cloth, Torch and battery, Iron implements, Metal utensils, Safety pin, Mirror, Plastic bottle to keep

water, Polythene sheet, Nylon rope, Plastic drum, soap, Cosmetic cream and powder, Artificial ornaments etc. These are few non-traditional items which are bartered from outside, there are many more to mention. The bartering items which are flowing outward from the *Jarawa (Ang)* are deer meat, Resin, Mud crab, Prawn, Fresh water Fishes, Other forest resources as demanded by bartering partner.

After the *Enmey* episode and during post-contact situation (October, 1997 onwards), situation changed drastically and *Jarawa* came in mass contact with the non-*Jarawa* neighbouring communities and others. This mass contact led the *Jarawa* susceptible to many detrimental effect of the culture contact. Being numerically small community (about 500 individuals); socio-culturally and immunologically vulnerable, these harmful impacts often increase manifold for the *Jarawa*. As each and every aspect of society and culture is interconnected and interdependent, consequently, any impact on any trait of culture is also percolated through those interconnections and interdependence.

Impact of this culture contact and bartering relationship may be prominently observed in different aspect of Jarawa culture and society like on material culture including dress and adornments, tools and technology, use of utensils, use of mechanised dinghy and vehicle, extinction of traditional chest guard and resin torch. Moreover detrimental effect are visible on forest resource, food habit, health and hygiene, subsistence (hunting-gathering), domestication of animals and plants, impact on language, addiction towards tobacco and consumption of alcohol etc. Hence, the Jarawa territory which is presently known as Jarawa Reserve is centripetal to each and every manifestation related to Jarawa.

## 6.2 Major Findings

In different non-Jarawa fringe villages of the study area, *Jarawas* are often cited roaming around the village in search of banana, coconut, and beetle nuts. They often come with some of their forest resources viz. Crab (medium and XL), catfish, resign etc. for bartering. They often demand rice (preferably raw Poorni rice), biscuit, sukha (tobaco), cosmetics etc. According to the villagers there is a seasonal variation regarding their frequency of visit to the villages. They are sporadically cited during rainy season and frequency gradually increased after the rainy season (November to March) when Jarawa used to roam around the nearby forest in search of wild tubers which are abundant in the nearby hills (*Tikrey*).

Surprisingly, recently most of the Jarawa groups of *Thidong (Middle Strait)* and *Tanmad (Kadamtala)* areas have acquired few non-mechanised dinghy (canoe) from the other visiting fisherman. With the help of that dinghy young Jarawa men and boys are roaming around the nearby creaks of unreserved areas also. So, when the fisherman of the studied Bamboo Tikrey village and other villages are fishing before the reserved areas also, often the *Jarawa* are raiding them and forcefully taking away their fishing implements like net, hooks, lines and food items. They also informed that there are few villagers who often illegally entered into the reserve forest to collect wild pig, crab and other forest resources. In due course they also interact with the Jarawa inside the forest and instigate them for bartering. They also fix the probable date and place for consequent bartering.

The villagers of Phooltala informed that situation has changed drastically during last fifteen to twenty years. The village Phooltala was settled during 1970s and is well known for having extreme reciprocal relationship with the Jarawa. After they came into regular friendly contact in 1997-1998, Jarawa often used to visit Phooltala village for plucking of

edible fruits like banana, jack fruit, mango and beetle nut etc. Earlier villagers used to resist the Jarawa by shouting and chasing them, consequently Jarawa used to run away.

During those days villagers also used to get nominal compensation from AAJVS for their loss. According to the villagers, now-a-days *Jawawa* are not running away with shouting and chasing of villagers while plucking of fruits at the villages. They used to pluck the fruits from the courtyards and backyards very firmly and calmly as if it is their prime right to pluck those ripen fruits.

Similar complementary reply was obtained during the fieldwork while interviewing a Jarawa man in *Thidong* area (Middle Strait). The villagers also informed that it seems *Jarawa* are keep tracking the maturing and ripening of different varieties of fruits viz. Jack fruit, banana, guava, mango etc. in the garden of each and every household of the village. Villagers are hardly getting any fruit to eat at Phooltala. Often villagers are showing a positive attitude towards the *Jarawa* and said let them take all our fruits as they are eating only and getting relief from their hunger. It is noteworthy to mention that fruits are not the source of livelihood for the villagers. Their prime source of livelihood is cultivation of beetle nut. Situation becomes worst when Jarawa used to take away big packets and branches of beetle nuts on behalf of other villagers. It has been reported by the villagers of Phooltala that some of the Jarawas are instigated by few fellow villagers to act for their benefit. In return they get desired item in exchange.

One very significant statement made by one of the key informant of Bamboo Tikrey that once he had asked a visiting *Jawara* that this village may be shifted due to the Buffer zone issue. So, what the Jarawa will do for their bartering urges. A noteworthy reply came from that *Jarawa* that they will also go to that area where the villagers will be

shifted. Similar kind of reply was recorded from the *Jarawa* of Middle Strait areas during the present study.

Remarkable changes have been observed throughout the present study during last five to six years. During beginning of the study (2011-2012) while visiting different *Jarawa* huts (*Chadda*), I often used to ask ... *Titab?* (meaning what you have eaten ?). Most of the time they used to reply as *wowo* (wild pig); *leo, pod* (honey); *napo* (fish); *chonel* (banana); *urug* (monitor lizard); *aab* (jack fruit); *cheo, bugi, nadohata* (wild tubers); *omin* (cycus fruit), *thuya* (nipa fruit), *pathen, ono* (edible larvae) etc. On very few occasion they have replied as '*Chawal Titab*' or '*Khana Khana Titab*' (meaning we have consumed boiled rice). But during the final phase of study in 2017, it has been found that most of the *Jawara* families were preparing and consuming rice and more frequently replying to the same question (*Titab?*) as '*Khana Khana Titab*' or '*Chawal Titab*'.

## **6.2.1 Self-Sufficiency to Dependency**

### 6.2.4.1 Notion of Self-sufficiency and *Jarawa* Territory

Self-sufficiency refers to the state of not requiring any outside aid, support, or interaction, for survival. Robert Redfield (1955) in his book '*Little Community: View points for the study of Human Whole*', propounded the concept of Little Community with a view to study human whole. He also mentioned the following characteristics of a Little community: a. Distinctiveness, b. Smallness, c. Homogeneity and d. Self-Sufficiency. So, to Redfield, Little Community is also characterised by self-sufficiency. It satisfies all needs of its members from birth to death. It is because of this fact that he has called little community as a cradle to grave arrangements. Marshall Shallins in his book *Stone Age Economics* (1972), described hunter-gatherer as

'Original Affluent society'. The basis of Sahlins' argument was that hunter-gatherer societies are able to achieve affluence by desiring little and meeting those needs/desires with what is available to them. By stepping away from western notions of affluence, the theory of the original affluent society thus dispels notions about hunter-gatherer societies that were popular at the time of the symposium. Sahlins states that hunter-gatherers have a 'marvellously varied diet' based on the abundance of the local flora and fauna. This demonstrates that hunter-gatherers do not exist on a mere subsistence economy but rather live among plenty.

Mode of subsistence of *Jarawa* is predominantly hunting, gathering and fishing which includes hunting of wild boar, monitor lizard; gathering of different forest and sea resources and fishing in shallow sea, creeks and fresh water bodies etc. With few exceptions, hunting is predominantly a male activity and gathering of food resources is mainly the domain of females. Beside the above mentioned resources they also collect raw materials for their different contextual specific needs like preparing *chadda* (hut), bow, *u-hu* (wooden bucket), basket, fibre for rope etc.

Regarding subsistence and economy of hunter-gatherer, a related concept is James Woodburn's notion of immediate-return vs. delayed-return societies. Although both were subsumed under the heading of 'band society', in immediate-return societies food was consumed on the spot or soon after, while in delayed return societies food and other resources might be stored for months or years, with marked effects on social organization and cultural notions of property (Woodburn 1982). In case of *Jarawa* immediate return

economy is prevalent but some evidence of delayed return system of economy is can be observed. For example, preservation of pig fat for future use and processing of *amin* (cycus fruit), storage of honey underneath the soil etc. are few of those. But the noteworthy is that whatever they hunted or gathered, they usually do this by means of simple technology and in an ideal condition they don't need any outside interference for their livelihood. So ideally they used to be true self-sufficient community.



Plate 6.1 Heap of household articles (both non-traditional and Traditional) during periodic shifting.



Plate 6.2 Food (boiled fishes) served in non-traditional plastic tray

Being isolated from rest of the world and probably having antagonistic relationship with surrounding neighbours (i.e. Greate Andamanese, colonisers and settlers etc.) for a long time, there was least probability to develop any reciprocal relationship of *Jarawa* with their neighbours in any historical specific or contextual specific situation. Thus the *Jarawa* society was developed as a Self-sufficient entity. During the period of Hostility, *Jarawa* are assumed to be more self-sufficient than these days. By desiring little and meeting those needs/desires with the available resources might be one of the factors to reach towards so called affluence.



#### 6.2.4.2 Self-sufficiency to Dependency

Increased contact with outsiders brings about changes in *Jarawa* society and culture. The self-sufficient *Jarawa* society gradually started to depend on different need based, contextual specific outside elements. Barter relation have established between *Jarawa* and settlers. The relationship is basically need based exchange of different commodities. Marshall Sahlins in his book 'Stone Age Economics' (1972), have identified three main types of reciprocity:

- Generalized reciprocity is the exchange of goods and services without keeping track of their exact value, but often with the expectation that their value will balance out over time.
- Balanced or Symmetrical reciprocity occurs when someone gives to someone else, expecting a fair and tangible return - at a specified amount, time, and place.
- Negative reciprocity is the exchange of goods and services where each party intends to profit from the exchange, often at the expense of the other. Negative reciprocity can involve a minimum amount of trust and a maximum social distance.

Now-a-days, *Jarawa* have a contextual specific mixed reciprocal relationship with the settlers/neighbours where generalized reciprocity and balanced or symmetrical reciprocity is predominant. But in some specific cases negative reciprocity can also be observed. Unlike the days of hostility, one notable thing is that the urge of barter is often from the side of *Jarawa* and a reciprocal relationship exists between both the bartering partners. It is also notable that they often select bartering partner from the

villagers by the trial and error method where the basic criteria is to get the best deal. Most of the time barter occurs with specific and preselected individuals. *Jarawa* men and women used to come the fringe villages near to the Tribal Reserve with their bartering items and demands for the desired article in exchange. In some cases bartering also occurs on some pre-fixed consent between the partners. They like to barter those required articles which they can't manufacture from the available forest resources or the articles to which they are fond of or addicted. The bartering items which are flowing inward towards the *Jarawa* are as follows: Rice, Biscuits, Spices and other different food items, Tobacco (Sukha, Jarda etc.), Cloth, Torch and battery, Iron implements, Metal utensils, Safety pin, Mirror, Plastic bottle to keep water, Polythene sheet, Nylon rope, Plastic drum, soap, Cosmetic cream and powder, Artificial ornaments etc. These are few non-traditional items which are bartered from outside, there are many more to mention. The bartering items which are flowing outward from the *Jarawa* are deer meat, Resin, Mud crab, Prawn, Fresh water Fishes, Other forest resources as demanded by bartering partner.



Plate 6.3 Non-traditional modern torch light hanging from roof of a *Jarawa* hut.

Most importantly, none of the above mentioned inward flowing bartering item can be produced by *Jarawa*. They are unable to manufacture any of the inward flowing bartered items from their available resources and technology. Besides different socio-cultural impact of this bartering relation, one significant aspect is that as *Jarawa* are unable to manufacture the bartered item, they are gradually becoming depended on bartering partner for continuous and subsequent supply of the bartered item or part of it. For example torch lights (two or three celled), an inward flowing bartered item have already been introduced to the *Jarawa* and it can be found at every *Jarawa* family. Now the question is where will they get the required battery or cell ?, can they manufacture this ? These are few pertinent questions which are applicable to the most of the bartered items of *Jarawa*. So, for the continuous supply of battery or cell for their torch, *Jarawa* are gradually becoming dependent on their bartering partner. On

the other hand this introduction of this modern torch, have already led to abolition of the traditional resin torch from their socio-cultural life. This is a simple example of a single bartering item and similar consequences may happen most of the other inward flowing bartering items also. In this way they are going to be trapped in the periphery of dependency and it is a crucial trend which is bringing about changes in *Jarawa* society and culture. Moreover change is inevitable and culture is resilience. So, in-depth detailed study is required to analyse and understand the consequences of socio-culture contact so that probable adverse impacts can be minimised.

### **6.3 Conclusions**

Dense tropical rain forest, undulating hillocks, puzzling creeks of Jarawa Reserve protected the inhabitants from many vices of culture contact. Nowadays, in post-contact situations and so called 'friendly' relationship with the non-Jarawa has immensely affected their culture and social systems. The extend of barter relation is so deep rooted and based on the aspect of functional requirement that the situation is beyond anyone's control. Moreover, there is no road map depicting and planning for the future of Jarawa and no one knows towards which direction we are going ahead.

As there are very few empirical and field based studies among the Jarawa of Andaman Islands, the present study entitled "*Socio-cultural manifestation of Jarawa Reserve: A study on interaction between Jarawa and their Neighbouring Communities of Andaman Islands*" has come out with unique and significant findings which were never put forth before the academic world as a whole. The study was intended to find out some rational and pragmatic answer to some of the research questions which were not attended during scientific study

among this specific community in a particular context. Throughout the different chapters and discussion of the present study following conclusions may be drawn.

Until recently, it was not known to us that by what term Jarawa used to refer themselves. During the present study also it has been found that Jarawa refer themselves as '*Ang*' which means people. This term is uniform to all the territorial groups of Jarawa.

Both the territory and the identity of *Jarawa* were not so static. During colonial period also, the *Jarawa* territory was not a fixed geographical area. However, due to different historical specific and contextual specific reasons, it was subjected to continuous change and shift.

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 and the probable impacts on the *Jarawa* therein.

Simultaneously in Jarawa dialect, there are different terms to refer different groups of people. All the non-Jarawa *Negrito* people of Andaman Islands are referred as '*Yono*'. Hence, it has been found during the fieldwork that Jarawa recognised the photographs of Great Andamanese, Onge and Sentinelese as '*Yono*'. All the outsider non-Negrito people are collectively referred as '*Enen*'.

During the present study voice of few Jarawas were recorded during pronunciation of the name of their own community i.e. '*Ang*'. It is noteworthy to mention that their pronunciation of '*Ang*' often heard like '*Ong*' which is quite close to the pronunciation '*Onge*' (the negrito inhabitant of Little Andaman). Though Brown (1922) did not conduct any first hand fieldwork among the Jarawa and Onge, this particular finding is subsequently in accordance with the hypothesis in which he assumed that 'the natives of Little Andaman refer to

themselves as Onge (men). It is probable that the so-called Jarawa of the South Andaman have the same word.’

As perceived by the Jarawa and in accordance with their notional territorial classification the entire Jarawa community may be divided into three notional territorial groups namely *Boiab* (Tirur area), *Thidong* (Middle Strait area) and *Tanmad* (Kadamtala area. Movement of different groups of the Jarawa are territory specific in terms of their hunting and gathering activities.

But this rule is not applicable for social purposes like marriage alliances and visit to the *chaddas* of relatives. It clearly indicates that each group has access only to its own territorial resources while inter-territorial sharing of resources is strictly prohibited for each of the three territorial groups.

It also reveals a prominent understanding of possession of resources of each territory at the territorial group level. Inter-group marital and reciprocal relationship is quite strong and well established among different territorial groups. Members of different territorial groups frequently visit their relatives and in-laws as a guest.

Bartering exchanges do take place among the Jarawa different territorial groups. Being divided into different territorial groups also secure their primary rights of resource utilisation in a particular territory. They never violate this territorial basis of resource utilisation without the consent of the other territorial groups.

Andaman administration with the assistance of Andaman Adim Janjati Vikash Samiti (AAJVS) has started different developmental interventions among the *Jarawa*. The positive and negative impact of these development programmes on *Jarawa* have assessed through this study. After the implementation of Jarawa Policy (2004), some of these intervention

programmes were streamlined in which medical intervention also played a pivotal role in this regard to obtain faith of Jarawa people and to increase their demographic growth.

Apart from the medical intervention, many other experimental developmental interventions have been initiated during last one decade. Some of the on-going developmental initiatives includes health care, plantation programme, *Ang Katha*, *Ang Sena*, Grain for gain, *Kangapo* project etc.

Present system of medical intervention among the Jarawa does not recognize the traditional medicinal knowledge of Jarawa and is based on administration of conventional allopathic drugs. Even no other alternative system of medicines (e.g. Ayurveda) has been introduced yet.

No attempt has been made to understand the concept of '*Ulleda*' among the *Jarawa*. '*Ulleda*' is primarily refers to the physical unwellbeing which cannot be synonymous to the medical term 'Disease'.

Under the plantation programme among the Jarawa, all the alien varieties of plants have been planted with lack of consultation with the community members. There are four varieties of wild tubers collected and consumed by Jarawa namely *Cheo*, *Bugi*, *Nadohata* and *Chigi*. *Chigi* is the most precious and preferred wild tuber which is scarcely available. There are many other traditional variety of fruits (*amin*, *loge*, *homa* etc.) preferred by the Jarawa. Initiatives may also be taken for plantation of those traditional wild varieties of tubers and fruits in consultation and participation of the community members.

Jarawa are fond of *Chonel* (banana) of a particular variety which is locally known as China Kela. Without understanding the preference of the Jarawa, often another variety of banana (Jahaji kela or Singapuri kela) was planted in the Jarawa areas under this plantation scheme.

So, consultation and participation with the community members should be given prime importance before any developmental initiatives.

Under the intervention programme '*Ang Katha*', a kind of informal educational programme have been initiated but Janjati Sevak who are acting as Teacher of Jarawa are substantially less qualified to deal with such a sensitive issue. Primarily, they are MTS level field staff having basic recruitment qualification of Matriculation (Class-X). So, they must be properly oriented in this regard or some specially trained teacher may be recruited to deal with such a sensitive and dynamic situation.

Under the scheme of 'Grains for Gains' programme, a limited quantity of rice is being distributed by the implementing agency. Rice, being a non-traditional food, a Policy decision have to be taken whether rice is to be distributed among the *Jaraws* or not? If yes, quantity and frequency of that distribution must have to be decided scientifically with the view of probable impact on health, society and culture.

Supplying of cloths under the '*Kangapo*' may also be reviewed because often it was been observed many *Jarawa* wearing the same cloth for several weeks without washing. As a result skin diseases also become more frequent and being treated by doctors. Being non-traditional item, they do not have any traditional way of maintaining the hygiene of the *Kangapo (Cloth)*. Detergent, soap etc. are not supplied to them under any schemes for maintenance of their *Kangapo (cloth)*. So, supplying of cloths without proper orientation regarding maintenance of hygiene may not be desirable.

Increased contact with outsiders brings about changes in *Jarawa* society and culture. The self-sufficient *Jarawa* society gradually started to depend on different need based, contextual



specific outside elements. Barter relation have established between *Jarawa* and settlers. The relationship is basically need based exchange of different commodities.

Likewise most of the hunting-gathering communities, in the *Jarawa* there exists a system of reciprocity or gift economy with different groups of *Jarawa* and bartering relationship with the Non-*Jarawa*. Hence, with growing interaction between the *Jarawa* and the Non-*Jarawa* the demand for certain items have raised by both sides. In turn, it has led to the beginning of the barter system which has initiated manifold and dynamic impact on the *Jarawa* Society and culture.

There is also seasonal variation regarding their frequency of visit to the villages. They are sporadically cited during rainy season and frequency gradually increased after the rainy season (November to March) when *Jarawa* used to roam around the nearby forest in search of wild tubers which are abundant in the nearby hills (*Tikrey*).

This kind of barter relation is mostly detrimental for the *Jarawa* because for few small sachets of tobacco and few other items they handed over their bows and arrows and good amount of resins. Hence, it's a typical instance of negative reciprocity in which non-*Jarawa* always intended to exploit the *Jarawa* and desired to have maximum benefit out of this barter.

In due course of time some sort of barter system has been developed between the *Jarawa* and the poachers also. In order to buy safe passage in the forests, the poachers offer tobacco, *paan*, and eatables to the *Jarawa*. Though initially *Jarawa* do not give them anything directly in exchange of it, but indirectly the poachers get unhindered access to the resources of the *Jarawa* territory. Such bartering is also detrimental to the *Jarawa* as their resource base lay

open to the poachers and it leads to depletion of the traditional resource base in the *Jarawa* Tribal Reserve.

Now-a-days, *Jarawa* have a contextual specific mixed reciprocal relationship with the settlers/neighbours. As often the non-*Jarawa* intended to attain maximum benefit at the cost of the other (*Jarawa*), considering the exploiting nature of this reciprocal relationship, primarily it may be considered as negative reciprocity. But in some specific cases general and balance reciprocity is also observed.

Two different aspects of culture namely explicit characteristics and implicit characteristics subjected to be influenced with culture contact. The implicit aspects of culture are the underlying values, ethos, norms and behaviour that guide people regarding which behaviours are considered appropriate or inappropriate. Implicit aspects of culture are not subjected to observe merely through necked eyes. Whereas, explicit aspects of culture are the observable behaviours, rituals, symbols and materials of culture which include the way people dress, the kind of food they eat, music, dance, the things that are considered beautiful and ugly etc.

Material cultural traits are primarily considered as explicit aspects of culture and known to be much influenced by culture contact. Most of the aspects of material culture have greatly influenced among the *Jarawa* due to the above mentioned scenario of culture contact.

After post contact scenario in 1998, nowadays, we may rarely observe any *Jarawa* wearing chest guard at any time. Most probably, guard (*kekad*) has lost its function utility for the *Jarawa* Society after the post-contact situation. Hence, culture contact and establishment of friendly relationship with the neighbouring non-*Jarawa* community leads to extinction of this exceptional trait of *Jarawa* material culture.

Compared to the reason of extinction of chest guard (*kekad*), the primary reason of extinction of resin torch (*pone*) is acceptance of new technology from the non-*Jarawa* community. The resin torch is one of the one of the significant material cultural items which is adversely affected due to culture contact and bartering relation with the neighbouring non-*Jarawa* communities. Due to intervention of match box and modern torch light, nowadays, *Jarawa* are rarely preparing and using any traditional resin torch (*pone*). Notably, even the younger generation are least bothered about the vanishing trend of *pone*.

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

Moreover, bartering exchange often preconditioned with the verbal communication between the partners. Hence, both the partners (*Jarawa* and non-*Jarawa*) have started to learn fragmented and distorted from of *Jarawa* dialect and Hindi from each other. Further, it can be stated that learning and picking up of fragmented Hindi during post 1997 period was the need of the hour for the *Jarawa*.

Consequent to the post-contact situation and recently, adolescent and teenage *Jarawa* boys are quite susceptible for addiction of chewing varieties tobacco like *sukha* (fine cut tobacco leaves) and *paan* (mixture of *sukha*, small pieces of areca nuts and lime). They get it from different sources from the outside of *Jarawa* territory.

Apart from tobacco, another curse of friendly contact between *Jarawa* and non-*Jarawa* can be observed through some recent incidences of consuming alcohol by young *Jarawa* men, particularly who are more engaged in frequent contact with the outsiders. They often receive bottles of alcoholic drinks (foreign liquors) predominantly from the poachers in exchange of highly priced forest resources or in lieu of their assistance to catch or hunt those forest resources.

Addiction towards alcohol is also spreading among the peer groups which are quite alarming. Prevalence of consuming alcohol is comparatively more in the *Boiab* area than the *Thidong* and *Tanmad* area.

Being adapted to the tropical dense rain forest of Andaman Islands, both male and female of *Jarawa* community do not cover their body parts with any kind of garments. Traditionally, women only were wrist girdle made up of bark fibre or sea shells. Hence, *Jarawa* women while visiting neighbouring non-*Jarawa* villages, their exposed body parts made them more susceptible for sexual exploitation. Moreover, pre-marital sexual relationship is quite common among the *Jarawa* boys and girls. So, often unmarried *Jarawa* ladies fall prey of sexual exploitation by some notorious poachers and habitual offenders.

Increased contact with outsiders brings about changes in *Jarawa* society and culture. The self-sufficient *Jarawa* society gradually started to depend on different need based, contextual specific outside elements.

Unlike the days of hostility, one notable thing is that the urge of barter is often from the side of *Jarawa* and a reciprocal relationship exists between both the bartering partners. It is also notable that they often select bartering partner from the villagers by the trial and error method where the basic criteria is to get the best deal.

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.

Culture change in the hunter-gatherer and a foraging society (*Jarawa*) is not merely due to single operational force of culture change; moreover, it is a complex, multidimensional and dynamic process.

#### **6.4 Limitations of the Study**

As we know that any scientific research with utmost detailed it may be, cannot cover all the aspects related to the research problem. Moreover, the study cannot be holistic in true sense until and unless it covers all the aspect of research crossing the bar of discipline. The present Ph.D. research work on “*Socio-cultural manifestation of Jarawa Reserve: A study on interaction between Jarawa and their Neighbouring Communities of Andaman Islands*” has been completed in respect to fulfilling its all the objectives and tried to answer the research questions accordingly. Though the study was conducted for quite a long period for about seven years from November 2011 to November 2017 in different phases, obviously there were certain limitations which have mentioned below.

1. As the present study was conducted by the individual and the present Jarawa Reserve is spread over 1040 square kilometre, it was not possible for an individual for the researchers to cover each and every corner of the forest. Though the researcher has visited all the three territorial groups of Jarawa but for convenience of the study, detailed study was conducted among the Jarawa of *Tanmad* area (Middle Andaman) only.
2. Similarly, the neighbouring non-Jarawa fringe villages are also spread accordingly and there are more than thirty villages located at the fringe areas of Jarawa Reserve of which only two were covered in the similar area of Middle Andaman. Hence, all the

non-Jarawa villages were not covered during the study and it was not feasible to for an individual researcher.

3. Though the study was conducted throughout all the seasons of Andaman Islands but dense tropical rain forest and heavy rain during May to September, sometimes obstructed the study.
4. The dense tropical rain forest with thick undergrowth particularly with thorny canes coupled with presence of leaches, extremely undulating hillocks and numerous crocodile infested puzzling creeks had made the field work hazardous which may be considered limitation imposed by the natural environment.

However, it was interesting to conduct the present research within these constraints.

5. Though the researcher have studied different hand books on Jarawa dialect and tried to learn the workable Jarawa dialect during different phases of study, but till date complete understanding of Jarawa dialect yet not attained by anyone. Hence, in few cases assistance was taken from some interpreter and AAJVS worker who are quite fluent in Jarawa dialect and working among the Jarawa for more than fourteen years.

Yet, with the existing knowledge of the scientific community and researchers about the Jarawa dialect, it is quite difficult to work at cognitive level or on myth and mythology related to the present study.

6. Lack of secondary information on this particular topic of present study also made this research challenging and inspiring.
7. As keeping barter relation and interacting in this regard with the Jarawa is a punishable offence for the common people and villagers under the Protection of

Aboriginal Tribe Regulation (PAT), initially most of the informants were hesitant to speak on this particular issue of barter and reciprocity.

## **6.5 Scope for further 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. 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, the present study on “*Socio-cultural manifestation of Jarawa Reserve: A study on interaction between Jarawa and their Neighbouring Communities of Andaman Islands*” have primarily focused to understand different socio-cultural manifestations which are centripetal to the Jarawa territory in general and Jarawa reserve in particular. Moreover the study was focused on its prime objectives, research questions and hypothesis. Though the study was empirical and fundamental in its goal, but there are sufficient scope of further research for different other research questions which were felt unattended during the present study.

1. As we have very scanty knowledge of Jarawa dialect and phonetics, a detailed study may be conducted in this regard which in turn may assist other scholars for their research purpose.

2. Inter-group barter relationship among the three territorial groups of Jarawa was observed for first time during the study and it was never recorded earlier. But there is sufficient scope of further study on types, extend, impact and social utility of this inter group bartering among the Jarawa.
3. Impact of culture contact on the implicit aspects of Jarawa culture was broadly unattended during the present study and there is sufficient research scope for further study.
4. Particularly, there is ample of research opportunity to study the Jarawa and their neighbouring communities in terms of emic view of each other in terms of fast changing scenario of development and sustainability.
5. As a general statement it can be mentioned that our understanding about the Jarawa community is extremely limited and studies in this regard are quite scanty. Hence, there is ocean of research scope in each and every aspect of Jarawa Society and Culture including their Kinship system, Marriage, Social structure, social organisation, political organisation, religion, subsistence, economy, livelihood, worldview etc.