

Draft Policy on Jarawas framed by Shri K.B. Saxena one of the Members of the Expert Committee on Jarawas.

With reference to the notings at page 149-150 of the Report of the Expert Committee on Jarawas of Andaman Islands submitted to the Hon'ble High Court of Calcutta, Government of India and Andaman & Nicobar Administration, the draft policy as framed by Shri K.B Saxena one of the Members of the Expert Committee is circulated by placing it in the Andaman & Nicobar Administration's website : www.andaman.nic.in.

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Draft Policy on the Jarawas

1. INTRODUCTION

Andaman Islands have been home to a number of negrito tribal groups of whom four survive in varying strength. Of these four, the Jarawas are inhabiting the western side of South and Middle Andaman. Their mode of subsistence is through hunting and gathering using simple and eco-friendly technology. The Jarawas until recently lived in isolation and displayed 'hostility' to outsiders who made incursions into their territory, exploited their resources or interfered with their way of life. However, since October 1997 they have come out of this isolation and within a short span of more than five years have been thoroughly exposed to the outside world. This happened so suddenly that the Administration had not thought out the likely situations this contact of the Jarawas with larger non-tribal population would produce and, therefore, had not made any prior preparations on how various contingencies arising therefrom could be handled. The intervention of the Honourable High Court in the context of a PIL triggered the process of working out an approach to deal with them. As the situation began to get unfolded, multifaceted adverse impact on the Jarawas and their vulnerability to social and economic exploitation began to emerge. This has caused anxiety about their well being. It has, therefore, become necessary to deal with the problems and predicaments faced by them comprehensively, lest it hurts the tribe irreparably and even threatens their survival. This exercise has produced a policy for protection of the Jarawas, the first ever policy for a hunter and food gatherer tribe.

2. REASONS FOR MAKING A POLICY?

After witnessing the impact which the contact with the outside world has produced on the Jarawas, it was realized that ad-hoc measures for dealing with the problems arising therefrom would neither be sufficient nor effective. It would be necessary to tackle the situation in its entirety. This called for efforts to articulate whole gamut of issues and designing of measures to address them. This exercise in policy making on the Jarawas has been the outcome of this process. There are several reasons

why a detailed policy concerning the Jarawas inter-face with the outside world is necessary. These are :

- The Jarawa tribe is coming out from its erstwhile 'hostile' response to outsiders entering into their territory, extracting resources from it or otherwise interfering with their life. This may remove the deterrence to such action that has existed so far.
- The sudden exposure to multi-faceted contact with outside world has created such enormity of adverse and harmful impact on them that they may suffer slow and early extinction if corrective measures are not taken.
- The Jarawa Tribal Reserve has been created for exclusive use of the Jarawa tribe considering their social, organization, mode of subsistence, way of life and cultural values. But this territory is being violated by outsiders for encroaching upon their land, accessing forest produce and fishing in the coastal waters for extracting marine resources. This has threatened the life supporting system and survival base of the Jarawas and, therefore, needs to be stopped.
- Ever since their exposure to the outside world, the Jarawas have been sucked into the vortex of social and economic forces unleashed by the glare of attention, curiosity, commercial interests, tourism, which have already produced damaging consequences for the people of the tribe, their way of life and their future. Measures are necessary to insulate them from these influences.
- A great deal of ecological degradation has been taking place in and around the Jarawa habitat on account of number of factors such as human settlements, encroachment, indiscriminate and unauthorized extraction of forest produce and marine resources, extraction of sand from the beaches, hunting of animals for meat, etc. The land use policies and the forestry operations carried out have also had damaging impact on the environment. This affects the Jarawas vitally since the source of their subsistence gets adversely affected. The restoration of ecological balance is required for their sustenance.

- Going by the past experience in relation to other tribes, in particular the Onges, the Jarawa tribe could also become intended or unintended victim of certain policies and programmes undertaken by the Govt. for development of the islands and/or meeting the social and economic needs of the neighbouring population. As the Jarawas constitute a very tiny social group they do not possess the necessary clout and power to influence such policies and programmes in their favour. Therefore, a mechanism of protection against such policies and processes is essential.
- The Jarawas are among the very few classical communities of foragers left in the world who are still pursuing their traditional way of life unspoilt by the processes of modernization. There is, therefore, world wide attention to protect this most precious heritage of mankind. This protection is also a matter of pride for the country as also for the other inhabitants of the islands. It would be an acid test for vindicating the policies of the Govt. towards such groups.

3. OBJECTIVES OF THE POLICY

The following are the objectives of the Policy :

- To insulate/protect the Jarawa from harmful and potentially disastrous effects of sudden and multi-faceted exposure and contact with the outside world.
- To preserve the social organization, mode of subsistence, cultural identity, life style and value system of the Jarawa community against direct or indirect, intended or unintended pressures on them to conform to ‘mainstream’ society.
- To protect the Jarawa community from policies and programmes which may turn out to be detrimental to their survival and dignified existence.
- To reach medical help to them to prevent mortality and morbidity in case of their sudden affliction to diseases which their system is unaccustomed to.

- To conserve the ecology and environment of their territory and strengthen their life supporting systems in order that they could pursue their traditional mode of subsistence and way of life.
- To prevent any measure which directly or indirectly subjugates the Jarawas to the demands of the larger social aggregates or the authority structures of the Govt, pressures them to conform and lowers their self esteem and confidence.
- To ensure that policies and programmes concerning the larger population and the nation do not disturb the Jarawas in any manner or has any adverse/damaging effect on their survival with dignity.
- To ensure that situation and circumstances experienced by other hunter and food gatherer tribes, in particular Onges, are not repeated in case of the Jarawas.
- To sensitize settler communities around their habitat and other non-tribal population about the need to preserve such an ancient community as the Jarawas in its traditional form and to appreciate their unique culture and values.

4. POLICY : THE CONCEPTUAL FRAME

The Jarawas are a tiny community of less than 300 persons. Within their own society they are well-knit, cohesive and self-reliant. But their social organization is very fragile when confronted with societies built around modern technology and complex social organization. This inequality is also reflected in the thought processes and behavioural responses of the two communities. The policy to deal with the vulnerability of the Jarawas in this situation needs to be dealt around elaborate protection. This protection would encompass three aspects :

- It would secure their territory and subsistence resource base against continuing attempts at reduction of their territory and ever increasing attempts at poaching, smuggling and encroachment.

- It would insulate them to the extent possible against outside contact which threaten the autonomy of their social and cultural life
- It would put in place effective institutional arrangements so that any assault on their interests can be resisted.

The Jarawas have been afflicted with some diseases unknown to them through their contact with the outside world. Their existing knowledge and technology are not in a position to meet health hazards which can cause sudden demographic collapse. They have also acquired some harmful practices which pose health hazards or are detrimental to the pursuit of their way of life. Therefore, in some of these areas, minimum interventions may become necessary.

Both protection and intervention would call for adequate capacity and organization within Govt. to discharge this responsibility. Governance, therefore, emerges as key to pursue these objectives.

Thus the policy on the Jarawas is built around the pillars of Protection, Intervention and Governance.

PROTECTION: THE RESOURCE BASE

TERRITORY

- Securing rights to territory** 1. A Tribal Reserve has already been notified for exclusive use of the Jarawas through notification issued in 1956 and revised in 1979. State shall fully secure the rights of the Jarawas to this territory, their unhindered movement in it and pursuit of their sustenance derived from its resources. It shall also create stringent legal foundations for embedding these rights.
- Incorporating the area used for foraging outside the Reserve** 2. It shall identify through appropriate surveys consistent with their social organization and mode of subsistence activities, and mode of movement areas outside this Reserve which the Jarawas still use for their foraging activities and other needs and shall secure their rights to such territory so that they can carry on with their traditional life style without any infringement.
- Demarcation of the Jarawa Reserve** 3. State shall ensure that the Jarawa territory is fully and effectively demarcated and cadastral maps prepared accordingly. The boundaries of the Jarawa tribal Reserve shall be depicted on the ground by erecting sufficiently high and brightly coloured pillars so that they are clearly visible to any person approaching the area as well as the enforcement agencies.
- No curtailment of the Reserve territory** 4. State shall not curtail or reduce the Jarawa Tribal Reserve. It shall not acquire any land which pertains to the territory secured for the Jarawas and central to their survival either for its own needs or for the needs of larger segments of population of Andaman islands or outside groups whether for security, development or economic growth.
- Removal of encroachment** 5. State shall identify, with the help of non-official organizations, public spirited citizens, conservation experts, social activists, areas of Jarawa Tribal Reserve which have been encroached upon. It shall remove forthwith all such encroachments and restore the land to the Jarawa Tribal Reserve. It shall also make stringent arrangements to ensure that such encroachments do not take place in future.

Empowered Authority to deal with infringement of rights

6. State shall constitute an authority which would have within its governing structure eminent anthropologists and other experts who have knowledge of social organization, economy and culture of the Jarwas and empathy with them. This body shall be empowered to look into complaints or instances referred to it or initiate suo-moto action on matters which allege interference with the rights to territory or have the effect of reducing the territory, restricting their movement or interfering with pursuit of their subsistence activities and take whatever measures necessary to protect interests of the Jarawas expeditiously and effectively.

FOOD SECURITY

Mechanism for monitoring status of food resources

7. State shall put in place a mechanism to estimate periodically the status of food resources the Jarawas consume and the rate of their depletion in respect of the three regions which the Jarawas inhabit. It shall also determine to what extent this resource depletion is affecting their food security and nutritional requirement and posing a threat to their survival and health. This assessment shall be used for undertaking appropriate interventions, if, when and where necessary, after adequate consultation with and consideration by experts and discussion in the public domain, as prescribed.

Arrangement for meeting water stress

8. State, in consultation with anthropologists, shall encourage and facilitate the process of the Jarawas taking up, in harmony with their social organization, necessary eco-friendly measures for storage of perennial sources of uncontaminated water in their area of foraging and encampment with a view to eliminating the 'water stress' experienced by them in the summer season. It shall also help the Jarawas develop simple and locally manageable methods for making the water available in their area clean enough for drinking purposes.

- Natural regeneration of food resources** 9. The State shall pursue natural regeneration of food resources endemic to the area used by the Jarawas for their subsistence without any outside interference. It shall not introduce any species, floral or faunal to the area. Activity, if any, undertaken in the past for establishing horticultural plantations, etc. shall be discontinued.

POACHING AND SMUGGLING

- Safeguarding the Jarawa Reserve** 10. State shall rigourously safeguard the Jarawa Reserve territory against any activities, whether by locals of Andaman islands or outsiders, for occupying the land or extracting various items of forest produce, meat animals and marine resources. It shall pursue effective action against unscrupulous elements who manipulate to involve innocent Jarawas into those activities. It shall creatively engage the Jarawas in this process of protection as partner and source of valuable information and vigilant surveillance.
- Strengthening enforcement efforts against poaching** 11. State shall undertake at the earliest in-depth review of existing legal and regulatory provisions for protection of the Jarawa territory and resources and the status of their enforcement with a view to tightening efforts for stopping poaching and smuggling activities. It shall make existing laws and regulations more stringent and shall strengthen the infrastructure of enforcement machinery in different organizations with mobility and adequate resources, both financial and manpower. It shall also revamp justice delivery system to obtain expeditious and deterrent punishment to the offenders. It shall look into the existing arrangements of surveillance and shall reinforce them suitably.
- Institutional Structure for coordination and monitoring** 12. The task of enforcement is handled by multiple agencies, Forest, Coastguard, Defence, Police, Tribal Welfare, Fisheries, etc. and requires a great deal of co-ordination to be pursued effectively. A very high powered authority in A&N Administration headed by the Lt. Governor

shall be created to effectively accomplish this task. A sharply focused monitoring mechanism shall be designed by this authority to fix responsibility of each agency to assess on a continuing basis the impact of their performance in respect of tasks assigned to it. The authority shall issue directions to enforcement agencies and undertake such other interventions as necessary to achieve the objectives outlined in this policy. Where intervention at the level of Govt. of India is required, the Lt. Governor shall take up the matter with the concerned Ministry or Organization.

It is recognized that the work relating to enforcement requires high degree of public cooperation for getting satisfactory results. The Administration shall create institutional arrangements for peoples' participation and modalities of information sharing with them. This task shall be handled with transparency to get good results.

PROTECTION – CONTACT WITH THE OUTSIDE WORLD BEHAVIOUR CHANGE

- Closure of ATR for traffic**
13. Andaman Trunk Road passes contiguous to, and in some cases through, the Jarawa Tribal Reserve. This road has increased access to the Jarawas, poses the greatest threat to the Jarawas as well as THE forest that they have protected for so many years. After the Jarawas have come out of their isolation, this road has increased contact with outsiders enormously resulting in the most damaging impact on their lives. State shall, therefore, close the road to all vehicular and other traffic as per recommendations of the Shekhar Singh Committee approved by the Honourable Supreme Court and shall proceed to develop alternative means of transport for convenience of the population and the administration. This step would help in checkmating the harmful effects which the current exposure of the Jarawas has created on account of the ATR and persuade them to go back to their territory to pursue their traditional way of life unhindered by pressures to the contrary generated by it.

Restriction On entry in the Jarawa Reserve

14. State shall make stringent provisions to ensure that no person except for the Jarawas is allowed to enter the Reserve by any means unless he/she is permitted by the competent authority designated by the A&N Administration for this purpose. No such permission shall be granted unless the person is proceeding on bonafide work relating to the welfare of tribals or protection of the area.

CONCEPTUAL FRAME

Identity and autonomy to be maintained

15. State fully recognizes that contact of the Jarawas with the outside world poses serious threat to their survival which has also been borne out of the recent experience. It also shares with the perception of national and international experts that such contact would exert direct and indirect pressures on the Jarawas to conform to the norms of behaviour and values of dominant communities around them and may result in their demographic collapse like some of the other tribes of the Andaman islands. The constitution of India and Govt. policies enunciated for the tribes from time to time have guaranteed freedom to such groups to preserve their distinct identity, cultural values, way of life, social organization, mode of subsistence and the manner of pursuit of their interests. State is, therefore, committed to preserve and protect the rights of the Jarawas in this regard and firmly believes that the future of the Jarawas is entirely for them to decide. It shall ensure that the Jarawas are allowed fullest autonomy which would enable them to choose the way they would wish to develop their relations with the rest of the world. As their social organization is inseparably linked to their physical environment and the resource base therein, they would be allowed unhindered access to resources of their necessity and maintain social and economic system they have developed in the course of long human evolution.

Jarawas to be left alone to decide their future

16. State is deeply conscious of the vast gap that separates the Jarawas from the rest of the society in respect of mode of subsistence, social and cultural organization, value system and norms of

behaviour. In the current state of their existence, therefore, they are not in a position to strike a balance between their traditional way of life and the pattern of living which the larger society surrounding them practices. The Jarawas cannot exercise a rational and informed choice about the elements of other cultures they should adopt and in the process discard some of their own. This has been demonstrated by the harmful practices on their pattern of behaviour which the recent interface of the Jarawas with the non-Jarawas has produced. State shares the view that the Jarawas have the necessary wisdom to work out what is best in their interest. But they need time free from pressures and interference to deepen their understanding of the outside world in the detached life of their traditional environment. State shall, therefore, strive to promote this process by creating objective conditions in which the Jarawas can be persuaded to go back to their life and creatively contemplate on their experience of the recent contact as also their future.

Need for Sensitizing non-Jarawas

17. State is aware that the task of protecting the Jarawas cannot be accomplished without adequately sensitizing the larger population which surrounds them. It would, therefore, strive to comprehensively educate the non-Jarawa population about the need for and pride in allowing an unique group of foragers like the Jarawas to survive and grow without any interference in their way of life, social organization and system of subsistence. It would also seek their active cooperation and creatively engage them in this endeavour.

**PROTECTION – INSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS
CHECKMATING ADVERSE PRESSURES AND DECISIONS**

High Power Body to scrutinize projects from Jarawa angle

18. State appreciates that certain development, economic and security related activities intended to be taken up in the Andaman islands may have adverse impact on the Jarawas and the pursuit of their traditional way of life. State shall, therefore, set up a high powered, strong and effective body with statutory sanction. This

body would be empowered to scrutinize all such projects and programmes in Andaman islands in terms of their likely impact, long-term and short-term, on the survival of the Jarawas and autonomy to pursue their way of life and also to mobilize opinion for undertaking necessary corrective interventions. This body shall also be authorized to issue clearance in respect of such projects/programmes from the 'Jarawa' angle. Where, after consideration this body establishes/confirms that impact of such activities on the Jarawas is likely to be adverse, State shall ensure that such schemes, programmes and projects are revised, replaced or abandoned in order to accommodate concerns regarding the Jarawas.

Advisory Body for A&N Administration 19.

State shall constitute a standing body of experts not belonging to Govt. organization, who have knowledge and experience regarding tribes in the Andaman islands, desired sensitivity and possess impeccable reputation for their integrity to advise A&N Administration in matters concerning the Jarawas referred to them or initiated suo-moto to protect their interests.

Policy making process to be embedded in Governance 20.

This policy on the Jarawas has been made through an elaborate process which involved seeking advice of experts, subjecting such advice to a thorough discussion in the public domain and thereafter designing this policy as a transparent exercise. State agrees to follow this sequence for policy making on hunter and food gatherer tribes of A&N islands in future. Accordingly, it shall direct that this process be embedded in the structure of governance of the Island Administration. This process shall also be adopted for initiating and scrutinizing regulatory, development and welfare programmes for the Jarawas so that authentic advice concerning them is available to the Administration.

Non-Govt. pressure group for advocacy 21.

State would welcome emergence of any organization consisting of eminent citizens and experts who share the concern for the Jarawas as an entirely Non-governmental Watch group for advocacy to convey frank and genuine views to

Govt./Administration on matters concerning the Jarawas. It may also bring to their notice any decision/action taken in respect of them which may turn out/has turned out to be harmful along with suggestions for corrective action. The A&N Administration shall cooperate with such a group in discharging this responsibility and furnish necessary information to it for this purpose.

INTERVENTION – HEALTH & NUTRITION

- Study on the impact of modern medicine on Jarawa Immunity System** 22. State shall have in-depth study carried out with the help of experts from anthropology and medicine regarding the impact of modern medicine on the physiology of the Jarawas, with a view to evolving an approach to diagnosis and treatment of various diseases Jarawas suffer from which does not do any damage to their immunity system and enables them to strengthen their resistance to diseases.
- Standardization of diagnostic methods and prescription of drugs** 23. State shall also direct experts to standardize diagnostic approach, treatment regimen and prescription of drugs in case of common pattern of diseases observed among the Jarawas so that experimentation by individual doctors and conflicting assessments among them can be avoided. Medical care records shall be mandatorily prepared in case of all the Jarawas seeking treatment..
- Multi-therapy approach** 24. Taking their unique situation into view, a multi-therapy (Homeopathy, Ayurveda, Ethno-medicine) approach would be tried under expert supervision to determine which system would suit the Jarawa constitution better for which complaint and would also be safer and convenient to administer in the overall interest of maintaining their sound health.
- Consultation with experts for introducing immunization** 25. The overall thrust of this policy is to drastically reduce the possibility of contact of Jarawas with the outside world and promote their return to their habitat and traditional way of life. State shall, therefore, undertake consultation with

medical and anthropological experts about the suitability and desirability of introducing prophylactic measures, such as Universal Immunization and mass vaccination for Hepatitis-B as well as preventive measures in case of communicable diseases like Malaria, in the case of the Jarawas which are routinely administered to the target groups in the population.

Weaning away the Jarawas from addiction 26.

State shall make all efforts to wean away the Jarawas from tobacco and alcohol addiction acquired by them as a result of contact with the outsiders. Suitable strategy would be evolved in consultation with experts for this purpose. It would be explored if any plant material in the Jarawa Tribal Reserve has de-addiction properties which can be used for this purpose.

Arrangements for medical treatment of the Jarawas 27.

State shall ensure that for various diseases the Jarawas suffer from, the routine treatment would be given in their habitat itself and they would not be encouraged to come to the dispensary or doctors to seek it. A group of doctors would be identified who alone would be involved in treating the Jarawas with a view to developing comprehensive understanding about their health related problems and approach to their treatment. State shall organize effective mobile health teams to visit the Jarawa habitat periodically for routine health check up and medical attention. Serious cases observed during these visits would be shifted to the dispensaries and the hospitals. Whenever the Jarawas need to be so hospitalized, effective arrangements shall be made to segregate them in a separate ward to protect them from the curiosity of and contact with the outsiders. During their hospital stay their cultural practices, such as those in relation to food, pattern of living, inter-personal relations, etc., would be respected except where demand of treatment itself warrants any deviation. Certain locations would be identified where dispensaries and wards exclusively catering to the Jarawas would be maintained to attend to serious cases of hospitalization and where a culturally safe and friendly environment for the Jarawas can be provided.

- Development of ethno-medicine** 28. State shall develop ethno-medicine of the Jarawas with a view to encouraging some degree of self-reliance among them, reducing their dependence on outside help, and for using it as the first stage of promotive and curative treatment in respect of their health related complaints of a less serious nature. It shall promote documentation of medicinal properties of forest flora and other resources used by the Jarawas and scientific validation of their potential for treatment of various diseases for this purpose. The knowledge of the Jarawas in relation to their ethno-medicine shall be protected as intellectual property so that it is not pirated and patented by any commercial organization in its name.
- Nutritional balance through food consumption** 29. Nutritional deficiency, if any, among the Jarawas shall be addressed by augmenting their food consumption from natural resources within their environment. The prescription of drugs as nutritional supplement would be avoided.
- Safeguarding genetic profile of the Jarawas** 30. State shall create a strong and effective mechanism to ensure that the confidentiality of genetic profile of the Jarawas is maintained and it is not used for commercial exploitation by pharmaceutical companies and scientific and medical research organizations. The norms of scientific and medical research would be suitably redefined and reformulated to make them more stringent in the context of their situation.
- Longitudinal research in Medicine** 31. State shall promote longitudinal research in respect of health related problems of the Jarawas, particularly focusing on their immunity system, endemic diseases, concept of a balanced diet in their context, differential way in which their metabolism functions and reasons why their physiology does not manifest adverse clinical symptoms of various diseases associated with their food consumption pattern, such as heavy fat, lack of leafy vegetables, salt, sugar, oil and spices, etc. in their diet. The agenda of research shall be drawn up in consultation with experts. The system of medicine other than allopathy

shall also be allocated areas of research taking into account their respective strengths.

COUNTERACTING HARMFUL PRACTICES

- Weaning away Jarawas from harmful practices** 33. Over a period of time various practices have entered the life of the Jarawas, some introduced as intervention by the Administration while others acquired through contact with outsiders which have produced adverse effects on the Jarawas. These practices include free distribution of food and other articles, use of metal and plastic containers for cooking and storage, horticultural plantation in the Reserve area, wearing of used clothes without washing, use of synthetic and cotton material for making adornments, use of inappropriate technology for resource extraction. It shall scrutinize these harmful practices and shall wean them away from them in a manner that does not hurt them and their environment. Appropriate strategy for this purpose shall be designed based on the advice of experts.
- Developing Methods of communication with the Jarawas** 34. State shall take help of anthropologists and communication experts to develop methods of conveying to the Jarawas the harmful effects caused by polluting agents, consumption of alien food, poisonous tubers, unclean water, intoxicants, use of garments gifted by others, pet dogs, etc. to their health and ability to forage for their survival in a manner that the community itself deliberates on these issues and takes decisions.

GOVERNANCE

- Preparing a Manual** 35. A&N Administration shall prepare a Manual, with the help of experts duly approved by the apex Advisory body constituted to guide it, which will incorporate details of the Govt. policy on the Jarawas and the manner in which it will be implemented. It shall lay down detailed tasks for each agency, set up the structures of monitoring and specify mechanism for enforcing accountability of officials in respect of tasks

assigned to them. The manual shall also indicate norms of behaviour to guide officials in their inter-face with the Jarawas.

**Strengthening
Welfare Set up**

Tribal 36.

A&N Administration shall create appropriate structures within its organization for ensuring that priority attention is given to the problems of the Jarawas amidst pressures of multifarious tasks it handles. The Administration shall also undertake, with the help of Anthropological Survey of India, programmes to sensitize officials likely to come in contact with the Jarawas on how delicately they should handle matters concerning them. The set up of Tribal Welfare Deptt. would be appropriately streamlined and equipped with requisite capacity and status for this purpose so that it is in a position to command attention within the Administration in respect of problems faced by the Jarawas and matters connected to them. It shall be ensured that official heading the Dept. is selected with care, possesses necessary aptitude and commitment for this work and has a stable tenure. The deptt. shall have competent personnel with good track record, requisite sensitivity and adequate experience relevant to the work to provide assistance to senior officials in dealing with matters relating to the Jarawas.

**Social audit of programmes
taken up for the Jarawas 37.**

The State shall set up necessary arrangements to carry out, from time to time, social audit of the measures introduced for the Jarawas, both of a regulatory nature as well as those which provide certain services to them in order that critical and realistic feedback from an independent agency is available to it. The frame of this social audit shall be consistent with this policy and the methods for carrying it out shall be laid down in the manual. This social audit shall be carried out by non-official agencies which have people of high reputation and public spirit and possess necessary experience and orientation for this work.

- Learning the Jarawa Language** 38. Officials of the A&N Administration who may be coming in contact with the Jarawas, particularly those of Health and Welfare, shall be mandated to learn their language so that they are able to communicate with them and understand their perceptions, reactions and problems.
- Personal Policy for handling the Jarawas** 39. The stature, qualification and orientation of persons in Tribal Welfare agency, who may come in contact with the Jarawas, is very crucial as they would be the source of vital information concerning them to the Administration. Therefore, only adequately qualified, trained and sensitized anthropologists with aptitude for this work would be engaged in this task. They would be selected with care. Only a minimum number of such personnel shall be engaged. As for the personnel of other departments engaged in providing services to the Jarawas such as Health, detailed procedure shall be prescribed for their selection to ensure that they are suitable for this work and possess necessary sensitivity towards the tribe and aptitude for work concerning them.
- Maintaining Official Memory** 40. Appropriate arrangement shall be made by A&N Administration to store and preserve all official documents and papers which relate to major decisions concerning the Jarawas so that this official memory could constitute a reference point for future decision-makers.
- Action against abuse of rights** 41. State is committed to safeguard, with all possible vigour, the Jarawas' right to their territory, resources for subsistence, good health and their unique way of life. It shall, therefore, sincerely and effectively implement this policy in letter and spirit so that this precious heritage of mankind is preserved. State shall, therefore, strongly deal with any abuse of their rights whether by Govt. or private agencies and shall take corrective measures most expeditiously and with the knowledge, consent and participation of the Jarawas themselves.

(CF: T5-Draft Policy on Jarawas (KBSaxena))