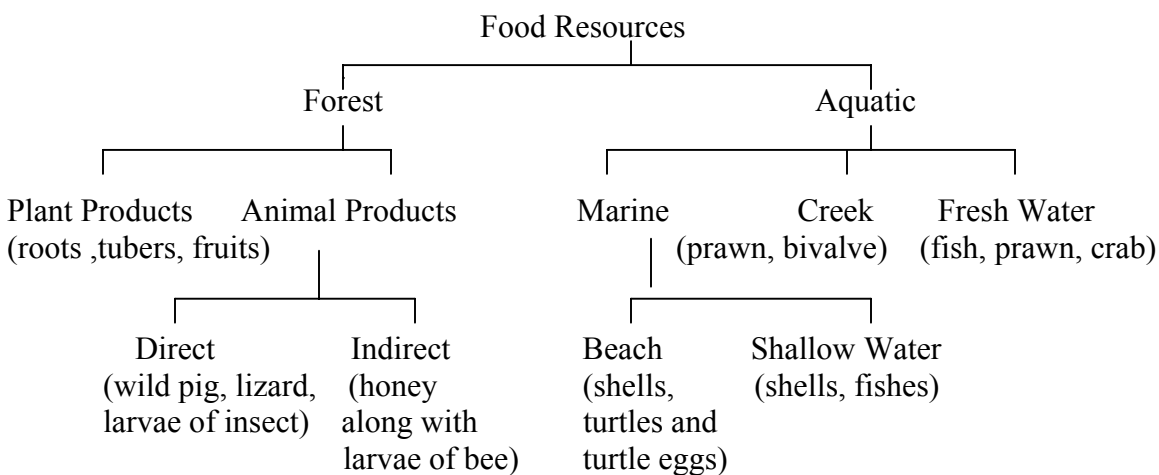


4 ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES AND PATTERNS OF MOVEMENT

4.1 Food procurement

The Jarawas are a foraging people and their mode of economy demands that they move from one place to another. In order to harness the resources of their habitat they spread their foraging activities over space. Such movement, in turn, is related with the availability, type and density of resources. Here an attempt has been made to comprehend the activities related to economy and their seasonal variation, if any, in the foraging activities.

The Jarawas collect required edible and non-edible resources from forest and aquatic sources. They use both terrestrial and aquatic resources for food. The terrestrial resources may be subdivided into two categories; plant products and animal products. The aquatic resources, all of which are of animal origin, may be classified into three groups on basis of the niches; marine, creek and fresh water.



4.2 Pattern of movement

A foraging community requires moving from one place to another to harness the resources of the area to meet their needs. However, all movements are not oriented towards procurement of resources; some are for social and other reasons. An attempt has been made here to discern the pattern in their movement and also to identify the types of movement.

During the period of study we could identify and visit altogether forty-one Jarawa *chadda* or camps. Name, location and some more information on those camps are given below. This would help to understand the pattern of movement described here.

Table 4.1 Jarawa camps at Boiab, Thidong and Tanmad occupied by the Jarawas during the study period in three seasons

Sl. No.	Jarawa camp	Location	Type of camp
A	Boiab		
1	Jhaukona camp	11 ⁰ 42'58.6"N 92 ⁰ 34'31.2"E	Coastal, Temporary
2	Eno	11 ⁰ 43'04.6"N 92 ⁰ 33'13.0"E	Coastal, Temporary

3	Tatha-etha	11 ⁰ 42'28.0"N 92 ⁰ 34'38.1"E	Forest, Temporary
4	Tothi-duba	11 ⁰ 42'51.5"N 92 ⁰ 34'20.6"E	Forest, Temporary
5	Tinatho	11 ⁰ 57'08.2"N 92 ⁰ 40'57.4"E	Forest, Temporary
6	Lapaitala	11 ⁰ 44'15.9"N 92 ⁰ 36'26.8"E	Forest, Temporary
7	Alugithale	11 ⁰ 59'34"N 92 ⁰ 42'00.2"E	Forest, Temporary
8	Ginai-talla	11 ⁰ 44'58.0"N 92 ⁰ 36'52.7"E	Forest, Temporary
9	Thapiliem	11 ⁰ 56'56.0"N 92 ⁰ 41'02.2"E	Forest, Temporary
11	Eanathilia	11 ⁰ 42'45.7"N 92 ⁰ 34'28.2"E	Coastal, Temporary
12	Gangnapo	11 ⁰ 42'35.9"N 92 ⁰ 35'47.5"E	Forest, Semi-permanent
13	Pecheleg	11 ⁰ 59'28.8"N 92 ⁰ 37'02.1"E	Coastal, Semi-permanent
14	Nono-uge	11 ⁰ 47'0.2"N 92 ⁰ 33'13.0"E	Coastal, Semi-permanent
15	We-shekup	11 ⁰ 46'13.8"N 92 ⁰ 32'49.0"E	Coastal, Semi-permanent
16	Wag-tha-waw	11 ⁰ 43'33.3"N 92 ⁰ 33'57.6"E	Coastal, Temporary
17	Totha-wikiji	11 ⁰ 48'56.7"N 92 ⁰ 33'34.6"E	Coastal, Temporary
18	Inen-y	11 ⁰ 43'58.8"N 92 ⁰ 36'55.2"E	Coastal, Semi-permanent
B	Thidong		
19	Tahato	12 ⁰ 43'58.8"N 92 ⁰ 36'55.2"E	Forest, Permanent
20	Tuhi	12 ⁰ 43'58.8"N 92 ⁰ 36'55.2"E	Forest, Permanent
21	Tuterbelo	12 ⁰ 7'37.0"N 92 ⁰ 43'16.7"E	Forest, Semi-permanent
22	Mimun	12 ⁰ 2'33.5"N 92 ⁰ 42'6.0"E	Forest, Temporary
23	Inkamaha	12 ⁰ 11'59.8"N 92 ⁰ 39'37.4"E	Coastal, Semi-permanent
24	Hutukunu	12 ⁰ 12'1.3"N 92 ⁰ 39'24.1"E	Coastal, Semi-permanent
25	Tanaoben	12 ⁰ 8'52.6"N 92 ⁰ 44'20.5"E	Coastal, Semi-permanent
26	Otathamele	12 ⁰ 9'23.1"N 92 ⁰ 44'50.1"E	Forest, Temporary
27	Moulahuchu	12 ⁰ 4'55.7"N 92 ⁰ 42'54.4"E	Forest, Temporary
28	Lebaetala	12 ⁰ 14'22.7"N 92 ⁰ 42'8.3"E	Coastal, Semi-permanent
29	Katabobo	12 ⁰ 14'0.5"N 92 ⁰ 42'29.0"E	Forest, Temporary
30	Thulug	12 ⁰ 14'32.4"N 92 ⁰ 41'58.0"E	Forest, Temporary
31	Thota-ulio	12 ⁰ 11'19.9"N 92 ⁰ 38'55.3"E	Forest, Temporary
32	Motebute	12 ⁰ 10'29.1"N 92 ⁰ 38'45.1"E	Coastal, Permanent
C	Tanmad		
33	Daag-totembu	12 ⁰ 18'22.11"N 92 ⁰ 43'28.7"E	Forest, Semi-permanent
34	Oleg	12 ⁰ 18'2.9"N 92 ⁰ 43'22.5"E	Coastal, Semi-permanent
35	Hochu	12 ⁰ 22'12.6"N 92 ⁰ 42'20.9"E	Coastal, Semi-permanent
36	Hiulele	12 ⁰ 22'52.6"N 92 ⁰ 42'17.9"E	Coastal, Semi-permanent
37	Uli	12 ⁰ 26'50.0"N 92 ⁰ 46'29.3"E	Coastal, Semi-permanent
38	Tanmad	12 ⁰ 11'43.9"N 92 ⁰ 43'0.06"E	Coastal, Semi-permanent
39	Dhaninallah	12 ⁰ 27'42.1"N 92 ⁰ 44'54.0"E	Forest, Temporary
40	Ulli-a	12 ⁰ 26'56.2"N 92 ⁰ 46'31.6"E	Forest, Semi-permanent
41	Elag-wae	12 ⁰ 45'11.5"N 92 ⁰ 17'50.1"E	Forest, Temporary

4.2.1 Post Monsoon Season (December – January)

During this season honey and turtle eggs were found in abundance followed by wild pig. Availability and distribution of these resources, in turn, warranted that their foraging activity be spread in such a way that these resources are harnessed properly.

1. **Boiab:** There were eighteen identified *chaddas*; initially they were found camping at two places, one at the western coast and another near a creek at Jhaukona. The western coast location was never vacated completely, while movement of a group of girls, who were staying at Jhaukona with other Jarawas, oscillated between Jhaukona and the settlement area of Tirur.
2. **Thidong:** There were fourteen identified *chaddas* in this area. Initially the Jarawas were found camping at the Alao-ethela *chadda*, a place along the ATR about nine kilometres from Middle Strait. It was in fact a cluster of six semi-permanent *chaddas* capable of accommodating about fifty persons together. This camp was never vacated completely; at the same time no family was observed to stay there for more than ten days at a stretch. During this period twice they visited the western coast.
3. **Tanmad:** There were nine identified *chaddas*. In the beginning the Jarawas were found staying at Heulele, which consisted of eighteen huts accommodating more than hundred persons throughout the period. Like the other two areas, this place remained occupied for about twenty days; some families and groups of individuals kept coming and going. From third week the Jarawas began moving out in small groups towards Dhani Nalla, a place along the ATR, and by end of the third week the *chadda* was completely vacated.

4.2.2 Dry Season (April – May)

During this season honey, jackfruit and some citrus fruits were available in abundance. As a logical corollary, movement of the Jarawas was oriented to harness those resources.

1. **Boiab:** Initially the Jarawas were found camping at three places, namely, Tatha-etha *chadda*, Gangnapo *chadda*, Tothi-duba and Pecheleg *chadda*. The first two *chaddas* were along the coast while the last two were in the forest. Young girls were the sole occupants of the Gangnapo *chadda*. During this period also movement of the girls was between Jhaukona and adjacent forest region of the settlement area of Tirur. The other three *chaddas* remained occupied throughout the period though families and individuals came in and went out of each *chadda*. At the Pecheleg *chadda* they were joined by a group of the *Boiab* Jarawas.
2. **Thidong:** This time the Jarawas were camping at two places, Tahato *chadda*, a place near the ATR, and Lebaetala *chadda*, a place along the coast. These two places remained occupied all the time though the size of the group and the persons kept changing. A group from Tanmad joined the group staying at Lebaetala.
3. **Tanmad:** During this period the Jarawas were camping at three places, Lakra Lungta, Heulele and Dhaninalla. From these places they were visiting other areas. Later the Heulele *chadda* was vacated and the Jarawas of this camp divided them in two

groups, one joined the group staying at Lakra Lungta, while another group moved to Dhani Nalla.

4.2.3 Monsoon Season (August – September)

1. **Boiab:** The pattern of movement remained the same, the only difference was that the *chaddas* located along the western coast were never occupied for more than two to three days at a stretch.
2. **Thidong:** The pattern of movement remained the same with that of the last season.
3. **Tanmad:** The major concentration of the Jarawas was at Lakra Lungta and Dhani Nalla. The *chaddas* on the western coast were visited with the purpose of food collection, but those were never occupied for long.

After observing the above-mentioned movements, we could discern the following points:

1. During rainy season, when south-west winds hit the western coast, very few semi permanent or permanent huts were made or occupied there. Though they moved along the coast for procurement of resources but never stayed at one place for more than two to three days. Generally huts made and used were of temporary type and those were located at a little distance from the coast.
2. Movement of the Jarawas during the aforementioned three seasons suggest that they move from one place to another for different reasons. They move for the purpose of foraging edible and non-edible resources. Such a movement can be of two types. A group of people staying at one *chadda* may move to another place to establish their camp. Some members of a *chadda* may also go out for foraging for a day or for a few days at a stretch and then come back to the camp once again. Another reason for movement can be social visit; we have never seen a whole camp-group to go to another place for this purpose. Generally members of one or two families leave camp for some time and go places to visit their relatives. Young boys of a camp-group often go to visit other groups of the Jarawas. In the latter case the visitors do not indulge much in socialising with their relations, they prefer to interact with persons from their own age from both the sexes. The boys also prefer to take part in hunting or fishing together with their hosts; going to jetties, police outposts and such other places where they can meet the *Eenens*.
3. During all the three phases of study the Jarawas were moving from one place to another frequently. They were not moving in one group all the time. At times groups were merging, at other times the inmates of one camp were getting divided and moving in different directions. On the basis of frequency of movement and in terms of distance covered, they may be put under three groups. Least mobile were the groups comprising maidens, widows and spinsters. They moved with the family units within their territory, but never ventured out of it into the territory of other Jarawa groups. The most mobile groups were those of the unmarried boys initiated into hunterhood. Even within their own territory the boys were found to move separately

and at a faster pace than others. The family groups, widowers and small boys stood somewhere in between.

4. There is a specific division of work to be done in relation to movement from one place to another. While the males were observed to pack and carry their own hunting implements, the ladies were seen to carry the food articles like honey, roots, tubers or smoked meat in the possession of the family, in addition to her own belongings.
5. After reaching a new campsite, a group generally divides the works to be done for settling down. The ladies and the children go for collection of poles and leaves required for erecting temporary shelters, the men go out in search of some food. The maidens erect their own shelter and then go out for food collection.
6. While moving from one camp to another along the west coast or in interior parts of the forest, the Jarawas walk. While crossing the crocodile infested creeks of coastal areas, they chop down tree trunks and use the same as bridges. All these are traditional ways of movement. In recent years they have learnt to make full use of the roads and motorised means of transport, wherever those are available. When they were camping at places close to the Andaman Trunk Road, they were riding buses and lorries regularly. This has drastically changed the speed of their movement. While camping at the Thapiliem *chadda*, the young boys and the men used to visit the Alugithale *chadda* very often. The boys and men of Alugithale, in turn, visited Thapiliem. Both the camps are located adjacent to the ATR. Such visits and the pace of movement might have caused some behavioural change among the Jarawas. Firstly, chances of meeting between individuals belonging to different territorial groups have become greater. Secondly, now they can cover a greater distance in a day for foraging activities. On 25th of December 2001 a large group of Jarawas visited the Baratang island, collected honey, wood required for making bow and wooden bucket and came back to Alugithale within hours.
7. The Jarawas sometimes demand motor vehicle or motorised boats for fast movement. This they do occasionally, when they decide to move from one place to another in large groups. They, however, do not expect continuous deployment of any kind of conveyance exclusively for them, so far our knowledge goes.