

8 IMPACT OF CONTACT

During the colonial period the aloofness of the Jarawas towards others turned into distrust and hostility. In the years after independence the relationship between the Jarawas and their neighbours was basically characterised by mutual distrust. The villagers generally avoided entering into Jarawa areas and the Jarawas seldom ventured into areas occupied by the settlers. Instances of hostility, contrary to popular belief, were however, occasional. Most instances of hostility took place when some settlers tried to extract resources, in forms of felling trees or hunting animals or fishing or quarrying sand, from areas under occupation of the Jarawas. Whatever be the reasons, distrust between the neighbours was so complete that they avoided each other at any cost. It is not known what the Jarawas knew about the villagers in those days; but the knowledge of the villagers about the Jarawas has been restricted to what little was known to those government officials, who, since 1974, had occasional contact with the Jarawas, and the poachers who sometimes venture into the Jarawa areas.

When the Jarawas came out of their habitat and established friendly contact with the villagers in 1997, they started learning certain 'ways of life' of the neighbouring communities. A discussion of those 'ways' can help us to understand the extent of acceptance and also to assess how willing the Jarawas were in the process.

8.1 Dress and ornaments: Jarawa males and females use various kinds of headband, necklace, armband and waistband made of shells, barks, leaves and flowers to adorn themselves. The males use a bark object to cover their abdomen, particularly while going for hunting. In addition, both males and females decorate their body and face with white clay and red ochre. Different types of flowers and leaves are also used for decorating their body. They, however, were not found earlier to use any cloth to cover their body, though they used cotton threads extracted from the pieces of red cloth handed over to them as gift to make head or arm or waistbands.

In recent years a number of Jarawa individuals have been found to wear clothes. These they have procured from several sources. When the Jarawas started visiting the villages, the villagers often gifted them with used garments. The tourists also handed down some clothes, mostly used ones, as gifts. In addition, whenever any Jarawa is admitted to some health centre or hospital, they are given new clothes. All such garments given to them are generally carried back into the forest.

It has been noticed, elderly persons among the Jarawas do not show much interest for clothing. It is the younger ones who are more interested in collecting and using garments. Again, among the young ones, some boys have been found to visit villages or public places like jetties and police stations frequently. Such boys were found to wear clothes almost all the time, even back at their camps. The older ones and the less frequent visitors were found to possess fewer clothes and they used those clothes less frequently. It was felt that the Jarawas, particularly those who frequently

come in contact with the non-Jarawas, have realised that they are expected by their neighbours to put on clothes in situations of contact. For some persons, especially the young ones, garments are a way of adorning their body. They take pride in the colourful garments they possess and often those possessions are displayed to the non-Jarawa visitors to their camps.

When the Jarawas started using garments for the first time, they had some problem in managing them. Boys were found to wear ladies gown or blouse; many of the people did not change garments drenched in rain. Some training in using and managing the garments were imparted to persons admitted to the health centre at Kadamtala. The AAJVS workers taught them to wash their clothes with soap, to dry and fold them, to change clothes drenched in water. The way clothes are maintained and worn by the Jarawas of Middle Andaman and some Jarawas of northern part of South Andaman, it is felt that the knowledge of management of garments has been passed.

Garments have become a fancy item for some of the Jarawas. In areas like Thidong or Tanmad, where contact with outsiders are more prolonged or more frequent, the Jarawas possess more garments than those of Boiab, where contacts are less frequent and of shorter duration. Such contacts can be at hospitals, on the ATR, at villages or at police stations. But duration of contact is important. An infrequent visitor to a hospital or to the ATR may not feel tremendously attracted towards the *Eenen* culture of wearing clothes, but somebody who has stayed in hospital for long or who has stayed close to the road quite often may feel garments very attractive or essential customary items of the *Eenen*.

Even in more exposed areas all the Jarawas do not possess equal number of garments. There is a gender division; males have more garments than the females. Then there is age division; younger ones have more than older persons. Such a division of the population on the basis of number of garments possessed has also a clear relationship with their relative exposure to contact. More a person is in contact, more he or she is inclined to possess garments and use those. One point, however, is worth mentioning here. Garments are possessed by individual Jarawas as their personal properties. But inmates of a camp share those garments rather liberally, particularly among persons of the same sex. So, even if a person is not in much contact with *Eenens* or was not fortunate enough to be gifted a few pieces by passers-by, one still can have access to garments and use them with the permission of the owner.

It was noticed during the survey that a few boys prefer to wear garments all the time, even back in their camps. Those few boys have not only learnt how to put on a piece of garment or how to clean it with soap, probably they have started sharing the associated cultural values as well. They might have learnt a bit about the positive preference for covering the body or negative preference for nakedness prevalent among the *Eenens*. However, this interpretation is based purely on presumption due to lack of adequate knowledge about the cultural preferences and values of the Jarawas.

It is noticed that a demand for garments and soap is emanating from some Jarawas. Among them there are a few who possess some garments and use them regularly and are often interested to collect more. Then there are some who have none or very few garments and they want to build a stock. While for the former it appears to be an attempt to copy the well-dressed *Eenens*, the uninitiated often copy the initiated ones in their own community.

Long back in 1998-1999 the hospital and AAJVS workers insisted the Jarawas to use garments, while in hospitals. This they felt necessary because the Jarawa patients were visually exposed to the non-Jarawas present there. Later, demand for garments among a section of the Jarawas became spontaneous. Those who were asking for garments or were procuring those on their own, were not always primarily interested to cover their body. Some Jarawas have procured police uniform from police outposts and could be seen to move about wearing those garments just to impress people; their own as well as the *Eenens*. If such persons are referred to as 'poolisi', their way of pronouncing police, they feel very happy.

Ornaments are another kind of gift that the Jarawas adore a lot. Almost all of them, including those who are not attracted to garments, enjoy wearing bead necklace, plastic or metal bangles, rings and such other trinkets.

8.2 Food: It has been observed at all the locations of study that the Jarawas collect most part of their food themselves from their own territory, either from forest or from aquatic sources. At the same time the Jarawas have started eating some food items, which they did not consume earlier. Such non-traditional food items are those, which are not available within the habitat of the Jarawas; or in other words, items which are grown and/or processed by others. Prior to the recent phase of frequent and prolonged contacts, a few non-traditional food items like banana and coconut were given to them as gifts by contact teams. After 1997 many more items of food have found their way into Jarawa food habit, though none of the items have yet become a part of their staple diet. The major non-traditional food articles are banana, biscuits, coconut, bread, paratha, vada, idli, rice and tea.

These food articles are procured by the Jarawas either from the tourists or drivers of tourist vehicles and other vehicles or shops located at the jetties or from policemen posted in the pickets near their *chaddas*. This practice of procuring non-traditional food influences their foraging behaviour when they camp at or visit roads, jetties or villages. It has been found, when the Jarawas camp near the Andaman Trunk Road, the children and young boys invariably spend some time of the day on the road. Though it is generally out of curiosity and to derive some entertainment, in the process they procure some food also. In fact some young boys minimise other kinds of foraging activities and indulge more in 'tourist hunting', as long as they camp close to the trunk road. A case in point is the Jarawa camps at Thidong.

It should also be noted that the same group of people, while camping at places away from the road, do not simply bother about non-traditional items of food.

8.3 Cooking and storing vessels: Use of metal vessels was noticed among the Jarawas of Middle Andaman even in 1980s. By that time they had villages in their surrounding, from where they could procure those vessels, mostly aluminium pans and vessels. It, however, was possible that since long the Jarawas collected flotsam from coastal areas, including bottles and pans, and used them for various purposes. Even now one can see the huge amount of glass and plastic bottles accumulated along the western coast.

It has been felt that the Jarawas are depending more on the metal pans for cooking their food and less on their traditional pit ovens. Such a statement, however, requires further verification before it is accepted as a fact. It is possible that the frequency of boiling food in vessels would be more in monsoon, when making fire in pits is more difficult in comparison to the drier months of the year. It has also been observed that though meat is often boiled in metal vessels, jackfruits are always cooked in pit ovens.

8.4 Iron implements for making tools: The Jarawas can be seen to use hammer, chisel, sharpening file, and makeshift anvil made of huge pieces of iron rails or thick iron sheets for making hunting and fishing implements. These days the Jarawas are getting an almost regular supply of iron as raw material as well as of tools for working with the material, thanks to the increased contact with the *Eenens*. Even earlier, the Jarawas were using iron for the same purposes. It is known that the tribes of Andaman Islands used to collect iron from ships wrecked along the coastal areas.

The recent developments have assured the Jarawas of regular supply of iron. Even some years back the Jarawas used to protect each piece of iron very jealously. In recent times they do not mind to gift or barter an arrow or a knife with some *Eenen*.

8.5 Acceptance of new technology: Instances of the Jarawas accepting any new technology for their subsistence activities had not come to notice. They continue to forage the way they were doing earlier. It is true that the Jarawas have observed and gathered information about some foraging techniques of the *Eenens*; like the use of snare to catch pig or use of line and hook for fishing are such items. However, the Jarawas still do not use snares for the purpose of hunting, though the children sometimes playfully fix up snares collected from the forest. The Jarawas never hunt animals indiscriminately; they select their target considering its edibility and other qualities and then shoot at it. A deer caught in a snare would be absolutely useless for them. Even if the Jarawas come across a pig caught in a snare laid by the *Eenens*, they collect it after 'hunting' it by their arrows. There can be other reasons responsible for non-acceptance of the *eenens* techniques of foraging, which requires further investigation.

8.6 Change in raw material: The Jarawas make fishing nets with nylon threads, if available. The fibre is also used for making baskets and other articles, for which bark

fibre was used earlier. However, bark fibre is also used for the above-mentioned purposes. For tying arrowheads to the shaft, a plant fibre is exclusively used for its efficacy.

8.7 Language: The Jarawas were a monolingual community till the other day. Their prolonged isolation from all other human groups did not warrant them to learn any other language. In course of the contact missions since 1974 they occasionally picked up a few words of Hindi language like *khana* (meaning rice) from the visitors. With the end of the phase of hostility in late 1990s, both the Jarawas and the non-Jarawas started coming in more regular and prolonged contacts with each other in comparison to the yesteryears. Some of the Jarawas took part in such interactions more frequently than others. Similar was the case with the non-Jarawas also. A handful of the AAJVS workers, some policemen and paramedical staff came in contact with the Jarawas more frequently, while the tourists; vehicle drivers and the general villagers met them only occasionally. Naturally the Jarawas coming in contact with the outsiders more frequently had better opportunity of learning Hindi. Most of them are young boys of ten to twenty years of age. A few of them can speak the Hindi language better than others. Knowledge of Hindi gives the Jarawas certain advantages while interacting with the non-Jarawas. Consider a situation when a group of Jarawa children are interacting with a group of tourists on the Andaman Trunk Road. While the tourists cannot make out what the children are discussing among them, the Hindi-knowing children would be able to understand, at least partly, what the tourists or the drivers of their vehicles are talking about. Even a perfunctory knowledge of Hindi puts them in slightly advantageous position.

While some of the Jarawas are picking up Hindi, certain *Eenens* have learnt the Jarawa speech to various extents. The most proficient speakers of the language are some of the AAJVS workers, who can converse very fluently on subjects related to economic and other daily life activities. Knowledge of the Jarawa language among other *eenens*; settlers, policemen or shopkeepers for example, is very rudimentary. Some of them have picked up a few Jarawa words, but generally they are unable to converse with the Jarawas in their language. They try to use Hindi as the link language.

The Jarawas feel very happy if *Eenens* can speak their language, as most of the Jarawas cannot speak Hindi well.

8.8 Keeping pets: It was known that the Jarawas, unlike the Great Andamanese or the Onges, never kept dogs. They must have watched the settlers and the Great Andamanese using dogs while hunting wild pig, deer, and of course the Jarawas. Though they knew how useful dogs can be for hunters, it has been argued that they could not afford to keep dogs in a hostile environment, where presence of barking dogs at their camps could make it easy for their enemies to track them down. For the first time we noticed presence of dogs at Jarawa camps in mid-1999 in certain parts of

Middle Andaman. They reportedly collected the puppies from villages as well as from forest camps. Initially the puppies hardly served any practical purpose. More recently the grown-up dogs have started accompanying the hunters to the forest on hunting expeditions. However, always it is not the hunters who keep dogs, widows and maidens residing separately from the hunters were also observed to keep them. The kind of gathering activities those ladies pursue, it is improbable that they get any support from their pets.

Relationship between the people and their dogs is noteworthy. Dogs have been accepted as members of the group. Emotional attachment with the animals is very strong; food and living space are shared with them the way they would do so with their children. Some lactating mothers were found to breastfeed the puppies.

In recent months some aversion among the Jarawas towards dogs have been reported. At the Tuterbelo *chadda* of Thidong in South Andaman in middle of August 2002 the survey team had found twelve pet dogs. The animals belonged to four persons. Two of them were adult male, hunters, who owned eight dogs. One lady owned a bitch and two puppies of that bitch. The fourth owner was a boy of five or six years of age, who had acquired a puppy some time back.

Interestingly, none of the young hunters subsequently were found to have any dog in their possession. In fact they had got rid of the dogs recently. Though the dogs chase wild pigs and make it easy for the hunters to kill their prey; still the boys felt that the dogs create more disturbance than convenience for them. In addition, fur of the dogs became full of fleas, which were biting the masters of the dogs also. The AAJVS workers too explained the Jarawas that dogs are not very beneficial for them. The young boys responded to the idea of getting rid of their pets. Seven dogs belonging to the group under discussion were taken to the Baratang island and abandoned there. The boys, however, could not convince the two senior men about harmfulness of dog.

8.9 Use of tobacco and *paan*: The habit of chewing tobacco or *paan* among the Jarawas is a rather recent phenomenon, which they might have picked up some two or three years back. When the tobacco users were asked, why do they consume it, they said in Hindi, *taakat milta hai* (you get strength). This is exactly the expression their tutors, the lower rung policemen or the forest labourers use. It is felt that they consume the items for their intoxicating effect. The health practices of the Jarawas were recorded by the survey team and they were never seen using tobacco for the purpose of reducing body pain. In one or two instances they were seen rubbing tobacco leaves to external injuries, presumably not for reducing the pain, but for sterilising the wound, as is practised by the *Eenen* tobacco users.

8.10 Staying close to ATR: During the third phase of study a section of the Thidong Jarawas were noticed staying at two major camps, Tuterbelo and Tahato, both adjacent to the ATR. However, all of them were not staying at one of the two places all the time. In groups, sometimes large and sometimes small, they were moving to different

places; some in coastal areas, some in interior parts of forest, for foraging. At times they even visited territory of the Tanmad or Boiab Jarawas and stayed with them for some days. It was noticed that some people were occupying both the *chaddas* all the time, for some reason or other however small their number may be.

There are a few large campsites in different parts of the Jarawa territory, which remain occupied for long spells in different parts of a year. One such *chadda* is Pecheleg in Boiab; another is Hiulele in Tanmad. Both the sites are on seacoast and almost inaccessible for common *Eenens*. Due to little or no interference from the *Eenens*, possibility of resource depletion in the coastal areas is less, while it is much higher in areas lying close to the road. In such a situation the foragers would require to move over a larger area for procuring the same quantum of resources. The road itself however compensates for the disadvantage, since one can walk longer distances along it or can take rides on vehicles for reaching faraway places. It has been noticed that the Jarawa women were travelling for miles in vehicles for collection of honey or the hunters were going to areas with higher pig population. In addition, by staying close to the road, the Jarawas were in a position to reach the Middle Strait Jetty, contact the AAJVS people there and ask them to arrange boat for reaching coastal areas for different foraging activities or for shifting camp.

There is no doubt that the road, besides facilitating faster movement, also offers other attractions like supply of foreign food, and lots of fun and amusement.

There is an apprehension that some of the Jarawa campsites, particularly those situated close to the road, are slowly emerging as longer-lasting-camping-sites. From the above discussion it is understandable that a roadside camp like Tuterbelo offers some added advantages to its residents, though there may be some disadvantages as well.

8.11 Change in attitude: The members of public as well as the administration often referred to the Jarawas as a 'hostile' people and the Andaman Administration made efforts to befriend them. Contact teams were sent to different parts of the Jarawa territory in the process the Jarawas interacted with some non-Jarawas and developed some sort of faith in the latter. Most of the official contacts with the Jarawas were made on the western coast of the Middle Andaman island, in spite of several attempts only occasionally friendly contact could be established with the Jarawas of the South Andaman island. One such occasion took place in 1989, when friendly contact could be established with some Jarawas in the northern part of the South Andaman island. As a consequence of the prolonged contact with the Middle Andaman Jarawas, some of them came forward and met the non-Jarawas at the Uttara jetty in October 1997. Hospitalisation of a Jarawa boy, Enmei, was the turning point in this process of confidence building, which at least partly convinced the Jarawas that all the outsiders are not their adversaries. Through the field study it was found that all three groups of the Jarawas are in regular contact with each other. Hence the impression of the Middle Andaman Jarawas might have been communicated to the Jarawas of South Andaman. Moreover, as reported by the residents of Kadamtala and other Middle Andaman

villages and by the police officials of that area, some South Andaman Jarawas accompanied the Middle Andaman Jarawas during their visits to settlement areas in early 1998. A group of Jarawas came into the village of Tirur in October 1998. During the preceding months the Jarawas of Middle Strait came out on the ATR. In the following months, whenever the Jarawas came out on road or jetty or village, villagers and commuters using the ATR provided them with gift articles. This led to further consolidation of their faith in the non-Jarawas. Though the Jarawas of Middle Strait came in regular contact afterwards, thanks to their location close to the ATR, contact with the Boiab Jarawas remained infrequent. Contact with them took place only when they came to the villages or health centres for medical aids. Government officials almost never entered into their territory and visited their camps; presumably because unlike the Jarawas of the other two territories, the Jarawas of Boiab have always resented the intrusion of non-Jarawas into their territory and sometimes they have violently reacted also.

During the survey it has been observed that the nature of interaction of the Jarawas with the non-Jarawas differ from one location to another. These locations can be classified into three types; settlers' villages, Andaman Trunk Road and coastal areas away from villages and roads.

8.11.1 The settlers' villages: During the first phase of the survey it was observed that some Jarawas were staying at the Ginai-talla *chadda*, a place close to the Tirur village. In this group most of the members were ladies and young girls. The group stayed there for quite long and the group was partly dependant on the village area for procuring their food. They were collecting roots and tubers from different places of the villages, but the villagers did not even notice such acts, as the latter do not consider those items as food resources. They were annoyed when the Jarawas visited their plantations and collected bunches of banana but did not do anything to prevent them. Some alarm was raised when the Jarawas started collecting iron implements from the villagers. It was the season for harvesting paddy and the Jarawas were demanding the working implements like scythe from the harvesters and at times were reported to have even snatched the implements away from them. The villagers were reported to have demanded that the Jarawas be given the iron implements and pushed back into the forest so as not to harass the villagers.

The study team discovered a group of Jarawas, a smaller group of ladies and girls, in the same area during the second phase of the study. The Jarawas were visiting the village occasionally and collecting edibles like banana, jackfruit and papaya and also iron and aluminium objects. Some of the villagers, were also noticed visiting the Jarawa camp to collect resin, honey and sometimes arrows. On occasions a few of them were found to spend some time there gossiping with the girls. At the same time some villagers contacted government officials and asked them to send the Jarawas away from the settlement area.

8.11.2 The road: The kind of contact witnessed on the road in December 2001-January 2002 remained same during April-May 2002 also. While camping near the

ATR the Jarawas had access to both sets of resources, those available from the forest and those from the road. The adult persons, both men and women, fall upon the forest as a resource base and forage for wild pigs, honey, roots, tubers, wood for making bows and buckets, bamboo for making arrow shafts and firewood. Some of the children remain busy in collecting edibles like banana and biscuit from cars moving along the road. Sometimes they try to stop the cars and ask for food, at other times edibles are thrown to them without asking. The children do not consume all the edible items they collect or are gifted and carry a part of the edible and non-edible items back to the camp and share the same with the adults. Some of the men were reported to be getting gifts of small packets containing either *paan* or tobacco leaves, locally known as *sukha* from certain vehicles.

8.11.3 The coastal area: During the earlier phase of study it was noticed that a large number of fishing boats were operating along the coastline. Though no fishermen were found to land on shore, but it was reported that some of them do so. Sometime in the third week of November 2001 a few fishermen landed on a beach in this area, where they had some interaction with the Jarawas. The interaction was reported to have turned violent and some Jarawa youth chased the fishermen away and in the process some of the fishermen suffered minor injuries.

However, regular presence of the outsiders in the coastal area was evident from the fact that many Jarawa men were found by the study team to possess small plastic packets containing tobacco leaves. When the study team landed on a beach and met the Jarawas on 21st December 2001, the Jarawas hitherto not knowing them personally enquired, whether they had brought *sukha* for them. When they were told that the team members were not carrying it, one or two of them offered some of the stuff to the team. It was also reported that visitors to the coastal areas share their food with the Jarawas.

In course of the second phase of the study the team working in the Boiab area visited the western coast for about fifteen times and each time they came across four to five dinghies in that area. The other two teams also encountered the same phenomenon and booked some of them with the help of the police. On 6th of May the Boiab team took control of three dinghies with five persons in them. They found a fishing net of the size of 800mts x 15mts laid in water with the help of two floating poles. The net was pulled out of water and the following were found in it:

Table 7 Animals found in poachers' net

Species	Total number	Live	Dead
Shark	3	2	1
Golden turtle	3	-	3
Green turtle	1	1	-
Ray fish	16	4	12
Flat fish	2	-	2
King shell	2	2	-
Miscellaneous	17	5	12

8.12 The interactions: On basis of the above observations, the non-Jarawas interacting with the Jarawas can be broadly divided into two groups. There is one group of people, mostly settlers in these islands, who are less interested in the Jarawas; their primary concern being their own well being. These villagers do not want the Jarawas around, and if they are there asking for cloth, banana or iron implement, the villagers feel that the government agencies and AAJVS should take care of such demand. They, however, do not mind if some of their co-villagers can make some gain by getting some minor forest produces from the Jarawas through barter. These villagers do not want to play the role of providers. In this group are the fishermen and such visitors to the coastal areas, who buy peace and make their own arrangement by providing *sukha* or *khana* to the Jarawas. The drivers of the heavy vehicles are in somewhat similar situation and interact in a similar way.

The other non-Jarawas interacting with the Jarawas are mostly the tourists from other parts of the country. They move in light vehicles along the Andaman Trunk Road; throw banana, pack of biscuit or cloths to the Jarawas under the mistaken conception that the Jarawas are a starving people. This type of visitors, who generally come to the area only once, consider themselves as providers.

The Jarawas, however, play a common role in all kinds of interactions. Basically they try to get as many or as much as possible from the non-Jarawas. But then their behaviour varies in different situations. While interacting with the fishermen visiting the coastal areas, the villagers or the drivers of heavy vehicles, it is mostly the adult men who show more interest. The items procured from such interactions, *sukha* or iron implements, are their requirements. The women or the children normally visit the villages to collect roots, tubers or bananas. It is mostly the children who collect edible items thrown from vehicles. As the gifted items are not such food on which a group of people can survive, adult persons do not take it seriously. At the same time they do not prevent the children from asking the vehicle riders for food or from collecting food thrown from vehicles. Food or other items brought back to the camp by the children are often shared with the adults.

Food or non-food items do not always come free. As has been mentioned, some kind of exchange by barter between the Jarawas and non-Jarawas has been found to have been in operation recently. Since 1998 the Jarawas started visiting the non-Jarawas at different places like Kadamtala, Baratang and Tirur. Initially the villagers of Kadamtala, Tirur and other places were very enthusiastic about such visits and took pride in providing the Jarawas food and cloth. At Baratang or at Uttara Jetty the bus passengers, tourists and drivers gave them biscuits, different kinds of fried food and *paan*. Such a gesture on part of the non-Jarawas resulted in some kind of induced need for the gifted items among the Jarawas. In addition, by acts of generous gift distribution, it was given to understand that the non-Jarawas have enough of such items to dispense. Later the tourists started throwing gifts at the Jarawas. The villagers however, discovered that the role of provider was a bit expensive for them. Most of them have not only stopped giving gifts, when the Jarawas approach them for such

items, they even become agitated. Some of them, however, took this to be an opportunity. Reportedly, some poachers bought safe passage to the Jarawa territory by giving a wild pig or two to the Jarawas. Some of the Jarawas, have developed habit of chewing *paan* or tobacco; some of them are interested in the edibles stocked at shops, some of them want to take home the colourful garments worn by the non-Jarawas. Some non-Jarawas have shown them the way. In recent times some Jarawa boys are appearing on the trunk road with resin in hand, they are asking the vehicle drivers to give them a *paan* in exchange of several hundred rupees worth of resin. Some Jarawa boys are in the business of making bow, arrow and other implements for the purpose of bartering or indirect selling of the same to the tourists through cab drivers or some other persons. Though the end consumers of the Jarawa implements are the tourists, they do not directly procure the items from the Jarawas. The intermediaries are the tour operators and field level personnel of different departments. Presumably, production of arrows has gone up to meet the demand. Previously the Jarawas never wanted to part with any iron implement; scarcity of metal was probably the major reason. In recent times they can be persuaded to part with such implements with more ease, because iron can be procured with less difficulty. It has generally been observed that the Jarawas do not give away newly made arrows, which can be used for hunting or fishing. Used arrows, which require time and labour for mending, are traded, while they keep the new ones for own use. Earlier they used to get packs of food or different kinds of gifts including clothes, edibles, ornaments like cheap bead necklace, tobacco leaves and *paan* in exchange of their goodies; recently even money is being offered for the same. It may be noted, only a few Jarawas are taking part in such transactions and only a small part of them are offering money. A handful of the boys, who come in regular or almost regular contact of the *Eenens*, have some idea about its use. If they can procure some money, generally they exchange it for various food items. In one instance that came to the notice of the study team, garments were procured for money. Talking to such boys who keep and use money, it is felt that they have not learnt to count it properly; the transactions take place in terms dictated by the shopkeepers.

It was interesting to note that all those boys, who used to spend much of their time in association with the *Eenens* even some months back, do not behave in the same way any more. Enmei, the boy who was hospitalised at Port Blair with a broken leg, used to hang around the Uttara Jetty and Kadamtala village since 1998. For more than a year or so he was rarely seen outside their habitat. Enmei spent most of his time in the company of his own people, living the life of a forager. This probably can be related to his growing up, getting married and becoming father of a daughter. The same or similar phenomenon was observed elsewhere, in case of some other individuals. Buhu and Momo, two boys of Thidong, who used to loiter at Middle Strait or Nilambur Jetty for long hours and sometimes for days, have started spending more time back in their own habitat. Both of them have got married within last one year. This does not mean that the Jarawas as a whole are withdrawing from the association of the *Eenens*. Boys younger than Enmei, Buhu and Momo were found at Jetties or in villages. They, presumably, are still not much burdened with the responsibility of providing food to their people.