

## Chapter - 8

# Reasons for Change in Behaviour of Jarawas Since 1997

8.1. Here we are talking about cultural behavior, which is manifested through the behavior of individuals in a society generally guided by accepted pattern and cultural norm. The change in behaviour necessarily refers to the one that prevailed prior to such change. Therefore, understanding of the behavior pattern of Jarawas in pre-1997 era is indispensable which may include - type of behavior, its service to the survival of the community or reasons for continuance of such behavior, event or events responsible to kindle cultural response and change.

8.2. Some scholars (Sarkar 1993:15) held the view that the Jarawas behaved in a friendly manner with the colonisers during the first phase (1789-1796) of British settlement in the Andaman Islands. In the early years of the second phase of colony (1858 onwards) the Jarawas were described as a “peacefully disposed” people. The Jarawas generally remained aloof of the settlers; only occasionally they wounded some runaway convicts. But the authorities were eager to bring the Jarawas within the fold of ‘friendliness’; one expedition after another was sent into their territory with the purpose. The programme could only succeed in making the aloof Jarawas a hostile people.

8.3. Nonetheless it is a fact that Jarawas professed active hostility towards all ‘others’ (*eenen*) in pre-1997 days. They had a sort of guerilla warfare to kill, raid and plunder the other people who came and occupied the territory which belonged to their ancestors. They did it successfully with their own “primitive technology” of bow and arrow which sustained for ages. However, Jarawas of Middle Andaman Island had a historical event of friendly meeting with the gift dropping mariner’s party in 1974. They observed over the years the behavior of such gift dropping party, which reached them periodically. Jarawas found such party’s visit beneficial as it gave gifts and took nothing from them.

So they were friendly to Contact Team while continued to remain hostile to the people other than the Contact Team.

8.4. Archeologists have found evidence of silent barter in pre-historic times which was beneficial to the communities participating in it without probably substantial loss to any of the participants. However, the hostility of Andaman Islanders towards strangers was proven fact. This was defensive stance, which was provoked by numerous raid by the Malaya, Burmese (Myanmar) Chinese and others on the islands for the purpose of capturing slaves. As victims of slavery, therefore, aggressiveness of islanders is understandable. The attacks on any intruder or passer-by were nevertheless quite fierce (Cooper 2002:11). Later, the situation in colonial era involving the occupation of Islander's territory, punitive expeditions and capturing Jarawas was even worse.

8.5. The gift dropping practices in the recent past could be viewed as a modified 'silent barter' in which however it was only giving and no exchange or barter. The Jarawa hostility can be explained by the hypothesis – hunting and gathering mode of subsistence economy of a foraging community induces the hostility as a spontaneous behaviour and also as its response to safeguard itself, the territory and resources therein. Hostile behaviour of hunting and gathering people is manifested as long as they believe that their territory, resources and themselves are at stake due to other people.

8.6. Friendly behaviour of Jarawas of Middle Andaman in 1974, that of Jarawas of South Andaman in 1989 towards Administration's contact expedition team and their continued hostile behaviour towards others (*Eenen*) can thus be explained through the said hypothesis as under:

The regular and short gift dropping visits to foragers effected by the Contact Team lead to friendly contacts while their belief in impingement on territory and resources due to other people's (i.e. neighbouring villagers and poachers) appearance or their existence resulted in continued hostile behaviour and suspicion. The 'contacts by the expedition team' to Jarawas continued in friendly manner while the encounter of the Jarawas with 'other people' in or near their territory continued in animosity.

8.7. This dual behaviour of the Jarawas i.e. friendly towards Contact Expedition Teams and hostile to others including neighboring villagers continued up to October 1997 in Middle Andaman and upto October 1998 in South Andaman island followed by a major change thereafter. Jarawas began to visit non-Jarawa areas in daytime not to kill but to accept “gifts” from non-Jarawas. Many people attempted to explain this big change in a behaviour of Jarawas in their own fashion.

8.8. Some held the view that Jarawas were starving in their forest abode because natural resources have dried up due to exploitation by the non-Jarawas. Some others felt that Jarawas wanted to avail the modern medical care for themselves. Yet others believed that Jarawas were desirous of adopting “civilized” way of life and so on. Thus they tried to find variety of reasons in “**pull**” or “**push**” factors for the change in behaviour of Jarawas.

8.9. The multi-disciplinary research survey conducted among the Jarawas during 2001-2002 reveals that natural resources have not depleted deeply. By and large bio-resources are still abundant to support the existing population of Jarawas. However, the existence of resources in the Jarawa territory does not necessarily imply exclusive availability of the same to the Jarawas. The most effective way to check the real availability i.e. accessibility of the resources was to examine the nutritional status of the people. The nutritional survey carried out in course of the present study too indicated that the nutritional status of the Jarawas was satisfactory.

8.10. The results of hemoglobin status shows that 71% of the persons from whom blood was collected, had normal hemoglobin status, and only one pregnant woman had severe anemia. This situation reflects that vitamin C, folic acid, vitamin B12, iron and zinc content of the diet were satisfactory for most of them. Sufficient consumption of animal food and fruits was possibly contributing adequately to the above micronutrient requirements of the Jarawas.

8.11. On clinical and pathological examination, the physicians have not found any severe morbid condition among the Jarawas that could have pushed them out of their habitat in search of medical intervention. The diseases like measles, malaria were acquired in post-contact situation. In spite of having a high prevalence of Hepatitis B carriers in the population, the affected persons are healthy carriers, showing normal physiological state of body.

8.12. Therefore, it appears that Jarawas have changed their behaviour not because of any **Push** factors operating in their forest abode.

8.13. Let us consider the **pull** factors then. When the Jarawas came out at Uttara Jetty (in Middle Andaman) or in villages for the first time, Jarawas were asking for food. In those days Jarawas were asked time and again, whether they were starving. None of them were, but still they were asking for cooked rice, biscuits and such other *alien* food. Later, some of the young boys and girls admitted that, Enmei who stayed long in hospital in PB told them about such food, the non-Jarawas (*eenens*) would definitely give them, if asked. Though, items of food were major **pull** factors initially, once the Jarawas came out, the list of alien items became longer. Vehicle and boat rides, dress and ornaments were some of those items.

8.14. Therefore, one may refer to the “Enmei episode” to explain the possible reasons for change in the behaviour of the Jarawas.

8.15. Enmei, a young boy of Middle Andaman Island one day in April 1996 met with an accident during his usual hunting-gathering activities and was found immobilised due to leg bone fracture in the fringe area of Kadamtala village, Middle Andaman Island. He was picked up and admitted in the GB Pant Hospital, Port Blair and got prolonged medical treatment. Enmei was sent back home in October 1996 with lot of gifts after he recovered.

8.16. After an year, in October 1997 Enmei with few other Jarawas came to Uttara Jetty in Middle Andaman in broad daylight. It was the first time that the Jarawas came out of

their forest abode in daylight and in a friendly way. It was a new turn in the Jarawa and non-Jarawa relations. Overwhelmed by such a breakthrough, the villagers started showering gifts and eatables to Enmei and his party. Enmei conducted such repeated visits in 1997 involving most of the Jarawas of Middle Andaman. Thereafter, in October 1998, Jarawas of South Andaman also repeated the behaviour of Jarawas of Middle Andaman by coming out of their forest habitat in daytime to receive similar treatment from non-Jarawas.

8.17. “Enmei’s contact” with other people away from the Jarawa territory was not only in friendly way but in beneficial manner and for longer period. It was different from few earlier contacts because; keeping the Jarawa captives was just a part of usual Law and Order activities by the Police in the past the duration of which was short and was not healing / beneficial from the Jarawas point of view. “Enmei’s Contact” was different from earlier few isolated episodes too wherein Administration’s Contact Team brought Jarawas along with it to non-Jarawa areas like Uttara / Kadamtala resulting in a chaos of “looting of non-tribals followed by swift dispatch of Jarawas back to their territory.

8.18. It took some time for spread of the cultural knowledge of Enmei's contact with *Eenen* (other people) among Jarawas of Middle Andaman to dispel the suspicion and derision about these people (*Eenen*) leading to a Turning Point in cultural history of Jarawas in October 1997. Subsequently cultural communication between the Jarawas of Middle Andaman and Jarawas of South Andaman has lead to a similar Turning Point in cultural history of latter too.

8.19. Enmei succeeded in conducting fellow Jarawas as the tourists to the out side world. In a way Enmei’s structure of events pertaining to his treatment in Port Blair has constituted and structured the history of contact as practiced by Jarawas (Pandya 2002: 3834)

8.20. “October Involution” (of 1997) is a cultural response to reciprocate the contact situation from the early ages to the Enmei’s period. Enmei led the Jarawa Mission to contact the “other world “(of *Eenen*) to “milk” it. The other world did start yielding “milk” from its different sources - villagers, tourists,

Government through AAJVS. This milk constituted continued existence of **pull** factors in variety to Jarawas which include:

- fun and entertainment
- alien / fancy items
- gifts
- alien food
- medical care

8.25. The Jarawas have continued to practice this changed behaviour as they are curious to accept new things and attempt to get such foreign items. This may continue for the present as they lack full cultural realization of impact of such interface yet. Apparently, there are indications of such realization as discussed in Chapter - 9.



## Chapter - 9

# Impact of Contact Since 1997 and Vulnerabilities of Jarawas

9.1. Every human society attempts to thrive in its physical / ecological niche. It strikes a dynamic eco-cultural-equilibrium in due course of interaction of its cultural system with eco- system. Social change big or small is a common phenomenon found in most human societies. Contact between the societies triggers faster change in cultural and or biological aspects of a society. Measure of such change depends on the length or duration of such contact and socio-technological level of the society.

9.2. The change emanating from urban / modern society may flood the non-hostile primitive society. So impact of such contact may be detrimental to simple / primitive community. Impact can be noticed in various cultural or biological aspects of the society. This may include demography and physical survival, social institution, material culture and physical resources and so on.

9.3. **Garments:** In post-1997 days a number of Jarawa individuals have been found to wear clothes. These they have procured from several sources. When the Jarawas started visiting villages, the villagers took pity in the bare-bodied people and gifted them with used garments. The tourists also handed down some clothes, mostly used ones, as gifts. In addition, whenever any Jarawa is admitted in hospital, they were given new clothes. All such garments given to them are generally carried back to home.

9.4. 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-out-Posts and could be seen to move about wearing those garments just to impress people; their own as well as others. If such persons were referred to as 'poolisi', their way of pronouncing Police, they felt happy.

9.5. It has been noticed that, 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 often. It was felt that the Jarawas, particularly those who frequently come in contact with the non-Jarawas, have realised that they are expected by non-Jarawas 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.

9.6. 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 lead the survey teams to presume / **feel** that the knowledge has been passed.

9.7. 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 basis of number of garments possessed has 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 them. Garments are possessed by individuals, those are personal properties. But inmates of a camp share those garments



rather liberally, particularly among persons of same sex. So, even if a person is not in much contact with non-Jarawas 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.

9.8. 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 and rings.

9.9. **Food:** 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 Team. 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.

9.10. These food articles are procured by the Jarawas either from the tourists or drivers of tourist and other vehicles or shops located at the jetties or from Policemen picketing near their camps. 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. It is 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.

9.11. **Cooking:** Use of metal vessels was noticed among the Jarawas of Middle Andaman even in 1980s. By that time they had non-Jarawa villages in their surrounding, from where they could procure those vessels, mostly aluminium pans. It, however, was possible that since long the Jarawas collected flotsam from coastal areas, including bottles and pans. Occasionally aluminium vessels were gifted to Jarawas by contact expedition teams in the past, with an intention to “help” them. As it was an ethnocentric and paternalistic approach some authorities discouraged it.

9.12. It has been felt by survey teams that the Jarawas are depending more on the metal pans for cooking their food and less on their traditional pit ovens. Though meat is often boiled in metal vessels, jackfruits are always cooked in pit ovens.

9.13. **Tools and Technology:** 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. Even earlier, the Jarawas were using iron for the same purposes. They procured a part of the iron from the neighbouring settlements; it is known that the tribes of Andaman Islands used to collect iron from ships wrecked along its coastal areas. The recent developments have assured the Jarawas of regular supply of iron. Even some years back the Jarawas protected each piece of iron very jealously. Now they can gift or barter an arrow or a knife with non-Jarawas.

9.14. The Jarawas make fishing nets baskets etc with nylon threads, if available. The bark fibre has been traditionally used for making these items. For tying arrowheads to the shaft, a plant fibre is exclusively used for its efficacy.

9.15. Jarawas have not accepted any new technology for their subsistence activities. They continue to forage the way they were doing it earlier. It is true that the Jarawas have observed and gathered information about some foraging techniques of the non-Jarawas; use of snare to catch deer or pig or use of line and hook for fishing are such items. However, the Jarawas have not started using snare for the purpose, 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 non-Jarawas, they collect it after 'hunting' it by their arrows.

9.16. **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 both the Jarawas and the non-Jarawas started coming in more regular and prolonged contacts with each other. 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 language better than others. Knowledge of Hindi gives them certain advantages while interacting with the non-Jarawas.

9.17. **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 and deer. 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.

9.18. For the first time the presence of dogs at Jarawa camps in mid-1999 in certain parts of Middle Andaman was noticed. 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.

9.19. 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. However, in recent months some aversion among the Jarawas towards dogs has been seen. Number of dogs in Jarawa camps has come down. AAJVS officials attempted to impress upon Jarawas about ill effects on them due to this pet animal. About five dogs were found in various camps in Middle Andaman and eight dogs in the camps of South Andaman and about 12 dogs in R.K. Nallah area Jarawa camps during February 2003.

9.20. **Use of tobacco and *paan*:** The habit of chewing tobacco or *paan* among the Jarawas is recent; 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. They consume the items for their intoxicating effect. In one or two instances Jarawas have been seen rubbing tobacco leaves to external injuries, presumably not for reducing the pain, but for sterilising the wound, as is practised by the non-Jarawa tobacco users.

9.21. **Staying close to ATR:** There are a few large camp sites in different parts of the Jarawa territory, which remain occupied for long spells in different parts of a year. Due to little or no interference from the non-Jarawas, possibility of resource depletion in the coastal areas is less, while it is higher in areas lying close to the road. In such a situation the foragers would require to move over a larger area for procuring same quantum of resources. The road itself compensates for the disadvantage; one can walk longer distances along it or can take rides on vehicles for reaching faraway places.

9.22. There is no doubt that the road offers other attractions like supply of foreign food, faster movement for visiting jetties or other Jarawa camps, and lots of fun and amusement. There is an apprehension that some of the Jarawa camp sites, those situated close to the road, are emerging as longer-lasting-camping-sites.

9.23. **The interactions:** The non-Jarawas interacting with the Jarawas can be broadly divided in two groups. There is one group of people, mostly settled on these Islands, who are less interested in the Jarawas; their primary concerns are related to their own well-being. The villagers do not want the Jarawas around, and if Jarawas are asking for cloth, banana or iron implements, the villagers feel that the government should take care of such demand. They, however, do not mind if some of their co-villagers can make some gain by getting minor forest produces from the Jarawas through barter. In case of the fishermen and such visitors to the coastal areas, make their own clandestine arrangement by providing tobacco etc to the Jarawas. The drivers of the heavy vehicles are in somewhat similar situation and interact in a similar way.

9.24. The other non-Jarawas are mostly the tourists from other parts of the country. They move in light vehicles along the Andaman Trunk Road; throw banana, packs of biscuit or clothes to the Jarawas. This type of visitors, who generally come to the area only once, consider themselves as providers.

9.25. 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, are tobacco or iron implements. The women or the children also visit villages to collect roots, tubers or bananas.

9.26. Most of the time the children 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.

9.27. A kind of exchange by barter between the Jarawas and non-Jarawas has been found to operate recently. Some of the Jarawas, have developed habit of chewing *paan* or

tobacco. Edibles stocked at shops have lured many, few of them want to take home the colourful garments worn by the non-Jarawas. Some non-Jarawas have shown them the way.

9.28. 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 selling the same to the tourists through cab drivers or some other persons. 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 make new ones for own use.

9.29. 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 goods; very recently even money is being asked for and a few Jarawas are taking part in such transactions. A handful of the boys, who come in regular or almost regular contact of the non-Jarawas, have some idea about its use. If they can procure some money, generally they exchange it for various food items. The transactions take place, in terms dictated by the shopkeepers.

9.30. It was interesting to note that all those boys, who used to spend much of their time in association with the non-Jarawas 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 Uttara Jetty and Kadamtala village since 1998. The multi-disciplinary survey teams have observed that for more than a year or so he was rarely seen outside their habitat; Enmei spent most of his time in association 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.

9.31. Similar phenomenon was observed elsewhere, in case of some other individuals. Buhu and Momo, two boys of R. K. Nalla area of South Andaman, who used to loiter at public place like Middlestrait have started spending more time back in their own habitat. Both of them have got married. This does not mean that the Jarawas as a whole are withdrawing from the association of the non-Jarawas. Boys younger than Enmei, Buhu and Momo were found at Jetties or in villages.

9.32. Some women were asked about their choice between the jungle life and life in non-Jarawas settlements. They have some exposure and knowledge about the latter settlements, as some of them have spent days in Health Centres and hospitals during their own or relatives' sickness. Most of them were not willing to leave forest, their free and bountiful abode.

## **Vulnerabilities**

9.33. Jarawas were quite safe with their very strong psycho-physical fort in the past in pre-1997 era. They distanced themselves by keeping aliens (*eenens*) at bay by practicing fierce hostility. They had indomitable faith in their own strength and their cultural strength. But in post-1997 days. Jarawas have taken a different stand by the changing their behaviour towards aliens probably not fully realizing the ultimate consequences on themselves.

9.34. With the end of hostility, Jarawas suffered vulnerabilities in various aspects like health and physical survival; in their physical resources and in their cultural safety and identity. Jarawas are vulnerable to new and alien diseases due to contact with aliens. They have already suffered due to some of such new diseases like measles, pneumonia, Malaria etc. They would be threatened because of many more new diseases including AIDS unless control measures are taken against such diseases.

9.35. Jarawas may suffer because of indigenous diseases turning epidemic due to change in their physical and cultural environment. For example skin disease has now become rampant among the Jarawas due to use of textile materials for

dresses or ornaments. The Tetanus may turn out to be a killer disease as Jarawas commonly carry injuries / wounds on their body.

9.36. Jarawas physiology is rather unique in some respects; having different health parameters of blood pressure, body temperature etc. compared to non-Jarawas as discussed in the Chapter-7. Though their intake of fatty food is very high in comparison to other communities, they do not suffer coronary and heart diseases apparently because of their unique fat metabolism. The Jarawas may encounter with the birth of new diseases due to change in the physical and cultural environment including food habits; physical activities; addiction to tobacco, alcohol; rabies; road accidents; boat tragedy etc.

9.37. The physical resources available in the Jarawa area would be exploited by non-Jarawas also because of their accessibility now on account of disappearance of hostility of Jarawas towards aliens. Jarawas may suffer due to economic exploitation because of unscrupulous elements in the so-called civilized society.

9.38. Jarawas are likely to suffer because of cultural dominance, ethnocentric arrogance of the people of the “civilized” society. Accepting or aping the “civilized” society may result in the enervation in their own cultural strength. They may develop ‘inferiority complex’ because of dominating alien’s culture. They would be susceptible to socio - economic domination of non-Jarawas and to the sexual exploitation by non-Jarawas unless the control measures are taken.





## Chapter - 10

# **‘Jarawa problem’ as Conceived by non-Jarawas.**

10.1. Prior to 1998, Jarawas practiced active hostility which involved killing of non- Jarawas if encountered in the forest and occasional night raids into the villages. It was a major safety and security problem for the rural people especially those who lived in the villages adjacent and near to Jarawa tribal reserve. With the sudden change in the behaviour of the Jarawas by shedding their age-old hostility, the threat to life has now disappeared in the post-1998 period. However, Jarawas did occasionally venture into villages to gather farm products like banana and house-hold items especially iron implements, cloths etc. Frequency of such entries into the villages in the early days, immediately following the change in their behaviour was high compared to later days.

10.2. The travellers moving on the Andaman Trunk Road (ATR) are often stopped by the Jarawas if they are camping near the ATR. They tried to obtain eatables and other items from the travellers. It is a learnt behaviour of the Jarawas as non-Jarawas in the initial days of interface took liberty to give such items to Jarawa.

10.3. Road accidents involving the Jarawas is another problem faced by the non-Jarawa vehicleists on the ATR. Jarawas at times come down on to the road to stop the vehicle particularly if the vehicle is not moving in the convoy. Jarawas tried to stop the vehicles to get some items from the passengers and also to get a joy ride. They even tried to climb the moving vehicles and attempted to climb the bus top. Jarawas particularly children move on the bus tops even while the buses are in motion and thus they run a severe risk of road accident. There have been a few road accidents involving the Jarawas. One boy lost his arm and the other boy has bone fracture in his leg in the recent times. Road accident entails the criminal responsibility apart from civil

liabilities on the part of the drivers and the owners of the vehicles who intend to go on ATR. As such, the presence of the Jarawas and their behaviour on the road has been the cause of concern and problem as conceived by non-Jarawas.

10.4. The workers engaged in road maintenance and other works have had to give away some of their implements particularly iron ones to the Jarawas. As such, agencies of such works on the Andaman Trunk Road feel that the behaviour of the Jarawas leads to loss of their tools and man-hours.

10.5. 10.5 Many people in the Andaman Islands including the villagers in the Middle and North Andaman Islands, traders, builders (contractors), transporters, Government officials are apprehensive about economic fall out/ effects of the possible closure of some sections of Andaman Trunk Road. This road links Port Blair in the South to Diglipur in the North and also provides the trunk to many village and branch roads in the Great Andamans.

10.6. The following is the Traffic on the Andaman Trunk Road as recorded by the Police at Check Post at Jirkatang in South Andaman during January 2003.

<b>S.No.</b>	<b>Type of Service</b>	<b>Nos. of Vehicles</b>
(i)	Daily passenger transport service through government bus	08
(ii)	Daily passenger transport service through private buses.	17
(iii)	Average daily passenger transport service through small vehicles ( car, jeep, van, motor bike )	28
(iv)	Average daily goods transport service through trucks	37

10.7. The extensive forest area has been notified as Tribal Reserve which is beyond the reach of non-Jarawas for harvesting the forest produce including Minor Forest

Produce (MFP). Villagers do require MFP like thatch leaves, poles, fuel wood etc for their domestic use. The forest area adjoining the villages have been over exploited over the years due to excess demand of forest produce and the villagers feel the scarcity of resources. On the other hand, the tribal reserve has not been harvested and hence rich in the forest produce. The villagers have an eye on such resources. However, these resources are legally beyond the reach of non-Jarawas so they conceive it as denial of economic opportunity due to the presence of Jarawas.

10.8. The coastal waters up to 3 Km from the high tide mark has also been declared as the Tribal Reserve and hence not available for non-Jarawas for fishing activities. The villagers are of the opinion that the Jarawa Tribal Reserve Waters are rich in marine resources as the area is quite extensive and beyond the reach of others except the Jarawas who could exploit very little with their primitive technology to meet their limited demand out of such abundant marine wealth. Therefore, the villagers feel that this rich resource is not available for them because of the Jarawas.



## Chapter-11

# Remedial Measures for the Welfare of the Jarawa Tribe

11.1 Multi-disciplinary survey of the Jarawas has revealed the present situation. The impact of Jarawa's contact with non-Jarawas and vulnerabilities that the Jarawas are suffering have been discussed in Chapter – 9 in detail. It can be seen that the health, physical resources and culture are the broad areas or aspects in which the Jarawas are facing vulnerabilities. The remedial measures shall address them.

11.2 As such, the measures suggested are to overcome the said vulnerabilities to ensure healthy survival and safeguard the cultural identity of the Jarawas. The strategy recommended in remedial measures is the long term master plan approach. Basic principles of this approach are:

11.3 First, in due course of interaction of cultural system of a small primitive community with its eco-system former strikes an eco-cultural-equilibrium. This dynamic, yet delicate equilibrium gets destabilized by meteoric changes in physical (ecological) and cultural factors. The changes if not meteoric are taken into strides of this changing equilibrium, thus dynamic eco-culture-equilibrium is maintained continuously through the process of acculturation in a community. Second, the destabilized eco-cultural-equilibrium could be re-stabilized by nullifying or modulating the change factors through a scientific and holistic approach. Third, as against the flood of destabilizing change factors, a milieu of eco-cultural system could be provided facilitating inherent process of acculturation in the community thereby avoiding “peremptory paternalism” and “pampering maternalism”. The approach has to be “loving fraternalism”. Fourth, the exploitative elements of neighbouring mainstream communities would be waiting in their wings for new areas of primitive and vulnerable tribes in transition. Building a defence system in place of their traditional psycho-physical fort - the

inaccessibility and / or hostility, would take considerable time during which the Government has very responsible task of protection of tribes against exploitation. And fifth, the personnel policy in administration of the tribal communities has to be very special and shall be the component of long term plan itself.

11.4 Therefore, the basic tenet of the long term plan for the Jarawas is to stop further action of destabilizing forces, re-stabilize the eco-cultural-equilibrium and build up a self-defence to co-exist with the mainstream culture. The long term Plan for Jarawas has two chronological phases viz. the Quarantinal Co-existence for few decades and Open Co-existence thereafter. The destabilized eco-cultural-equilibrium is re-stabilized and the self-defence mechanism is developed through the process of acculturation during the First Phase by adopting the concept of Buffer Zone administration for the peaceful co-existence with the mainstream societies thereafter.

### **Buffer Zone**

11.5 A “Buffer Zone” shall be carved around the non-tribal area isolating it from the rest of the forest territory and Coastal Water Tribal Reserve. This forest area alongwith tribal reserve territorial waters can be declared as the **“Jarawa Biosphere Reserve”**. The “Reserve” shall have a Core area exclusively meant for Jarawas themselves. There can be Buffer areas at the periphery of the Core. The successful Joint Forest Management concept can be practiced in the Buffer area. The demarcation of the Core area has to be intelligible both to Jarawas and non-Jarawas. This demarcation can be “Buffer Zone” belt. It has three aspects viz. its creation by demarcating it on the ground, second, the intelligibility of its purpose and system to the Jarawas and third its efficient administration.

11.6 The actual Buffer Zone is about 8 meters wide belt along the demarcating line. The R.C.C. survey pillars / stones shall be raised along this demarcating line. The existing thorn-bushes and tiny spiny trees in the belt of about 8 meters wide shall be cleared along the demarcating line. The inculcation of notion of different territorial division can be effected on the Jarawas through the plain and candid visuals. The visuals are the gun

carrying *khaki* clad human figure, representing the Police and all non-Jarawas and mother-naked archers representing the Jarawa.

11.7 The large trunks of the standing trees, along respective edges of the Buffer Zone shall be used as pictographic posts. Roughly the rectangular areas of say, 45 cms. wide and 65 cms. tall or 60 cms. wide and 85 cms. tall (depending on the surface area/girth of the tree trunks) are chiseled cortex deep and painted in white, over which, the above said visual's pictography is done in respective colour paints i.e. black for mother-naked archer and *khaki* for gunman.

11.8 The effective administration of Buffer Zone is the crucial factor in the success of this Buffer Zone strategy. The effective administration of Buffer Zone means total prevention of trespass on the Jarawa area by non-autochthons. An reward system shall be introduced in the Police administration to encourage the Police to book the offenders.

11.9 The trespass upon the Jarawa Coastal Water Reserve from the sea front shall also be stopped by regular patrol along the western coasts. Similarly the Indian Coast Guard could also apprehend the poachers on the western coasts of the South Andaman and the Middle Andaman Islands. The Indian Coast Guard has the base in Port Blair.

11.10 The local people use small boats rowing or motorized-mainly for fishing though at times such boats are deployed for other purposes like carrying sand and even few the passengers. Boats are registered with Director of Fisheries, A&N Administration and are to follow certain restrictions like not fishing in the Tribal Reserve Water, etc. The registering authority can prescribe other specific conditions also like requiring the Master of the boat to paint / display the registration number prominently on boats for easy identification from distance; fly Indian National Flag; report to 'check-post' at Ports, Harbours, Jetties about their sailing programme including expected time of departure (ETD), expected time of arrival (ETA), destination and purpose before they sail out; report their actual return and cargo they carried.

11.11 Unauthorized entry into the Tribal Reserve is a non-cognizable offence at present under the A&N Islands (Protection of Aboriginal Tribes) Regulation 1956. Illegal entry, exploitation of resources, causing direct / indirect harm to the tribals could be made as cognizable offence with stringent punishment to have a deterrent effect. Such offence is a '**social evil**'. Therefore, burden of proof should lie on the accused and not on prosecution. So amendment to the above said Regulation is recommended accordingly. Further, the welfare functionaries in the Jarawa area could be vested with the powers of Police Officers and the appointment of Special Deputy Superintendent of Police for Jarawas will enable the effective implementation of regulatory measures.

11.12 It is equally important that Jarawas should not cross the Buffer Zone and enter non-Jarawa areas, as it is not safe for their survival and cultural identity. The current perception of Jarawas about non-Jarawas areas as abode of fun, entertainment and bounty needs to be changed. They should see it as **hazardous** areas as against their own **healthy** area. The present sources (as discussed in Chapter- 9) of lure for Jarawas in non-Jarawa areas should dry up quickly. The risk (due to road accident etc) harmful effects of the addiction to tobacco and alien food, exploitative nature (including sexual abuses) of unscrupulous elements in civilized society could be highlighted to discourage the Jarawas entry to non-Jarawa areas. There are quite a few Jarawa youths both male and female having picked up a bit of Hindi who could be "Link Persons" to influence other Jarawas in changing their perception of non-Jarawa areas. Health care could be reached in Jarawa area instead of Jarawas reaching non-Jarawa areas for health care.

11.13 There are three primary sectors i.e. Health, Subsistence and Culture in which the Jarawas have to equip themselves and the same are dealt below. Before that, let us discuss the field level organization needed to carry out the long term plan programme for the welfare of Jarawas.

## Field Level Organization

11.14 There shall be three Zones corresponding to three territorial divisions of Jarawas i.e Northern Zone (*Tarmad*), Central Zone (*Thidong*) and Southern Zone (*Boiab*). The Headquarters of each zone shall be fixed taking into account the availability of fresh water and other physical conditions. The **Spike Island**, **Port Campbell** and **Bada Balu** areas could be explored as Zonal Headquarters for Northern, Central and Southern Zone respectively. There shall be a Helipad near each zonal headquarters for communication and for evacuation of the patients. Helicopter service has been reintroduced in Andaman and Nicobar Islands since June 2003.

11.15 The functionaries to be positioned at each zone could be as under:-

Designation	No. of functionaries
▪ Anthropologist	- 1
▪ Pharmacist	- 1
▪ Auxillary Nursing Midwife (ANM)	- 1
▪ Medical Helper/Ayah	- 2
▪ Trekking Assistant	- 2

11.16 There shall be a Base Hospital only for Jarawas. The patients from three zonal areas could be evacuated by Helicopter to this Base Hospital. It shall have at least two doctors apart from a lady doctor so that one of these doctors by turn could be always on visit to zonal headquarters where a Medical Sub Centre is located and to the Jarawa camps. The medical specialists services could be made available to this Base Hospital as and when required.

11.17 The helicopter service shall be available for Medical Specialists to reach Base Hospital. Similarly visiting doctor can also be dropped by helicopter at the inaccessible Zonal Headquarters or picked up from there on completion of his visit to that area. The serious patient, doctor on Jarawa duty and officials



posted in the respective Zones may get air lift with the approval of Lt. Governor. There shall be absolute ban on the use of helicopter service to Jarawa area by the visitors including VIPs.

11.18 The selection of the functionaries, their training, their posting and other related matters are discussed under Personnel Management Policy later in this chapter.

11.19 The field functionaries while dealing the Health, Subsistence and Cultural Management shall keep documenting in computer their daily observations on various aspects of Jarawas. Such information shall be accessed through internet by the **Standing Tribal Welfare Committee** (discussed later in this chapter). This system of information building on life and society of the Jarawas and its analysis by the experts would be highly valuable. The regular interaction with the said Committee will provide a continuous and constructive guide to the functionaries to act in the field. The ethnographic study particularly their body, mind food and disease should be complemented by in-depth study of immunity system and drug regimen.

## **Health Management**

11.20 The health is a crucial aspect of the survival of the small community like Jarawas. They have their own ethno-medicine to meet the requirement, which has been working since beginning. However, it is the epidemic diseases caused due to the contact with outsiders which has turned out to be nightmare to Jarawas. Further, they do not have the evolved ethno-medicine to combat and contain the invasion of such exogenous epidemic diseases. Keeping this dispensation in view the medical and health management is devised for Jarawas. It shall have three pronged approach viz. (a) prophylactic (b) curative and (c) promotive. It is the comprehensive approach with all three prongs in action simultaneously.

11.21 The prophylactic or preventive approach is the most important measure for the well-being of Jarawas. It shall have two measures, one to prevent a fresh invasion of foreign pathogens and the other to prevent the recurrence of epidemic as well as endemic diseases. The further invasions of exogenous pathogens and novel diseases shall be prevented through an indefinite **quarantine**. No outsiders shall enter the tribal area, never anywhere near the Jarawas camps. All the functionaries shall have medical clearance to the effect that they do not carry any contagious diseases. The Pharmacists and Doctor shall implement the standard preventive measures against the recurrence of diseases among Jarawas. The approved manual or handbook of such measures designed by the medical experts shall be provided to all the field officers for their ready reference.

11.22 The curative approach is the urgent and a substantial measure to ensure the demographic survival and re-stabilization of eco-cultural-equilibrium of Jarawas. It has three aspects viz. (i) diagnosis (ii) acceptance of treatment and cooperation by patients and (iii) medication. The Pharmacists are professional medical men sufficiently trained in the diagnostics and medication of certain specified disease / ailments for which they are declared competent and hence authorized. For other diseases, the Doctor shall be responsible who may diagnose the ailment on the report of Pharmacist and on the basis of his own personal observation of the patient. He may even seek the advice of medical specialists through the communication system available.

11.23 The Pharmacists shall report the health situation as normal or emergency as the case may be in their zone, on the basis of number of patients, types of ailments, nature and extent of treatment required in every camp. The situation would be an emergency on two counts: One, if the immediate treatment by the Doctor or that in the hospital is required, otherwise the condition of the patient would get worse or the patient may succumb. The immediate treatment for other diseases shall be given by the Pharmacist for which he is competent. Two, if many persons in the camp are afflicted by the same or some diseases thereby paralyzing the normal life - an epidemic situation.

11.24 The Pharmacist shall send “**sick report**” immediately to the Doctor and Base Hospital in such emergency situations. The Doctor on receipt of report shall proceed to affected camp with necessary medicines. He may deal the situation at the camp itself or may decide to provide hospital treatment as the case may be. In the latter case the patient shall be evacuated to Base Hospital. The crisis management arising due to the large scale emergency shall be done by mobilizing the additional resources with the help of District Administration and the Directorate of Health Services.

11.25 The Pharmacist shall use the audio-visual aids to inform Jarawas as to how the diseases, particularly major and epidemic ones are caused, how such disease could be treated and prevented from recurring. However, the type, extent of medication and treatment of Jarawas has to be well thought of in view of their inbuilt resistance and immunity system vis-à-vis the morbidity. A comprehensive module of diagnosis and medication shall be worked out for the use at field as well as at referral hospital.

11.26 The promotive approach in the medical and health management is the significant measure. The promotive measures clubbed with the preventive ones are the bases of ideal principles of long term health management. The promotive approach in Jarawas has three sectors, viz, environmental sanitation and hygiene, physical health of individuals and ethno-medicine.

11.27 The ethno-medicine of Jarawas is one aspect, which requires greater attention. As already said the ethno-medicine has been the medical system, which served their purpose for centuries prior to the invasion of foreign disease. These foreign diseases may require the foreign system of cure. But, the endemic diseases were taken care by their ethno-medical system. Therefore, this aboriginal system shall not be discarded outrightly but it shall be thoroughly studied by verifying its efficacy or extent of efficacy.

11.28 The Health Team of multi-disciplinary Composite Groups has made following suggestions after the survey:

11.29 Jarawas do not have acquired immunity against new diseases. All the Jarawa children 0 to 6 years age group need to be immunized against the vaccine preventable diseases as per the UIP schedule like: BCG, DPT, OPV and measles. Iron folicacid prophylaxis may be initiated along with the routine vaccination to correct the anemia.

11.30 To prevent vertical transmission of Hepatitis B among Jarawas, routine Hepatitis B vaccination and immunoglobulin to be given to all new born babies.

11.31 Create awareness about cleanliness and maintenance of personal hygiene.

11.32 New diseases like community-acquired pneumonia can be prevented by maintenance of good sanitation and hygiene and avoidance of over crowding in the hut and also by early detection and prompt treatment.

11.33 Malaria prevalent among Jarawas can be contained by detecting mosquito breeding place around the habitat and introducing anti-larva measures. Mass drug administration to all Jarawas with anti-malarials to eradicate hepatic stage of plasmodium vivax. Restriction of entry of migrant workers to the Jarawa reserved areas shall also reduce the incidence of malaria among Jarawas.

11.34 Homoeopathic medicine is easy to administer for the fact that it is sweet and liked by the most. Exciting and or maintaining cause has to be removed, in form of diet, habit, environment etc.

11.35 The Health measures and health delivery system as discussed and recommended in the **Medical Workshop** held at Port Blair during July 2003 could be kept in view for providing health care to the Jarawas.

## Subsistence Management

11.36 Basic approach in the subsistence management is to re-stabilize the eco-cultural-equilibrium to regain its original eco-status in the Jarawa forest and adjoining areas. As discussed in Chapter 5, Jarawa Territory was a happy home with bountiful natural resources and unhindered accessibility to the Jarawas in past. With the change in the behavior of Jarawas in post-1997 era, the question of not only non-availability but the accessibility of natural resources to Jarawas has become critically important. The causal factors are fundamentally the activities of non-Jarawas with consequent reflection on Jarawas.

11.37 Therefore the remedial measures have two aspects: -

Prohibitory / regulatory measures targeting non-Jarawas to safeguard Jarawas and their natural resources.

Promotional measures again targeted to non-Jarawas to ensure willing co-operative participation in the welfare of Jarawas.

11.38 As discussed in above paragraphs Buffer Zone administration and Biosphere management are suggested remedial measures for subsistence management. The natural regeneration and succession process will maintain the richness of bio-resources in Jarawa Biosphere reserve. To make regulatory measures effective some supportive actions could be taken which may include : avoiding frequent official visits to Jarawas, lest these interfere in their daily routine; not providing dole or free gifts to avoid “dependency cult”; designating Special Court and Special Public Prosecutor to try the offences committed against the tribe like Jarawa.

11.39 **Andaman Trunk Road.** Though the Andaman Trunk Road is legally in the non-tribal area today, it has been a major factor affecting the life of Jarawa community. The matter regarding its closure etc is *sub-judice* in Supreme Court of

India. If it is not closed for usual traffic or retained for some period to come, certain strict regulatory measures concerning to ATR are must.

11.40 Andaman Trunk Road could be just a “**corridor**”/ passage for the traffic. Only tar / metaled part of the road could be declared as non-tribal area. Entry beyond the tar portion without valid permit shall amount to offence under the law. So road and other infrastructure maintenance people who are to work along the edge of metal road shall also have to get the Permit from the competent authority with prescribed conditions. The carriages on Andaman Trunk Road shall be **pecially designed** and traffic on ATR shall only be **in convoys** and under total control. The drivers and passengers have to follow certain DOs and DONTs. The special measures of ATR may include the following:

- The **pecially designed** government run buses and specially designed cargo trucks will only be allowed to ply in the Jarawa sector of Andaman Trunk Road.
- All other vehicles including Government cars, jeeps, vans, trucks, private buses, cars, van, jeeps etc will operate upto the terminal points like Jirkatang in South Andaman Island and Kaushalya Nagar in Middle Andaman Island.
- All the travelers moving in the Jarawa sector of Andaman Trunk Road will have **recorded identity**. The permanent inhabitants of A & N Islands shall carry the Islander’s Identity Card, the Government Servants will carry their own Identity Card and the rest will carry the Tourist Identity Card issued by the designated Government agency. The tourists shall be issued such identity cards on furnishing the required details and declarations to the Government agency.
- State Transport Buses specially designed shall be deployed for ferrying the travelers in the Jarawa sector of Andaman Trunk Road. Sufficient number of such

buses will be deployed to ensure the required and reasonable comforts to the travelers and also to maintain time efficiency.

- There shall be no ladder to the roof top of buses or the design the ladder in such a way that the same could be folded before the vehicle enters Jarawa sector of ATR.
- There shall be wirenet window screen to prevent dropping of alien items by travellers which would harm Jarawas.
- Fully covered i.e. hooded trucks without ladder / foldable ladder could only be allowed to pass through the Jarawa sector of the ATR so that the Jarawas particularly children would not climb on to the such trucks.
- Vehicles will move in close convoy with Police escort. Vehicles will not stop to avoid climbing of the vehicles by Jarawas.
- Compulsory briefing of drivers at the Check-Posts by Police about DOs and DONTs for the safety of Jarawas and sensitizing the passengers by playing recorded cassettes as soon as vehicles cross the Check-Posts.
- Playcards of DOs and DONTs shall be prominently displaced in few places in vehicles and different locations along Andaman Trunk Road.
- A speed limit of say **45 KM per hour** could be notified for the vehicles on Andaman Trunk Road in the Jarawa sector.
- With this speed limit, the convoy consisting of the loaded trucks, buses, etc. would move in close line. The Police Escort and the **personnel** belonging to **welfare** agencies - who have gained a capacity to converse and convince the Jarawas, in case the Jarawas stop the convoy - will be sitting in the first vehicle. The Police escort in the first vehicle could maintain contact with

his counter-part sitting in the last vehicle of the convoy and thus can ensure that the convoy goes in one unit and also prevents interface of Jarawas with non-Jarawas.

- Anybody breaking the convoy by over taking could be booked by Police effectively for violating the notified Speed Limit.
- Constant wireless / mobile communication with convoys and Check-Posts (Jirkatang, Middlestrait, Kadamtala, Adajig No.3, Adajig No.15 etc.) shall be maintained.
- **“No Horn Zone”** shall be notified for the Andaman Trunk Road of the Jarawa sector so that the drivers are prohibited by sounding the horns and thus dissuaded from over taking and breaking up the convoy and also not affecting the Jarawas in their hunting activities by not scaring away the pigs.
- No traffic on any point on Andaman Trunk Road after 1700 hrs.
- The transporters to ensure that vehicles plying on the ATR are well maintained to avoid possible breakdown in the Jarawa area.
- In case of the breakdown of the vehicle in the Jarawa area the Police in the convoy could contact the Police Patrolling Team - having mainly **women Police** - on the ATR so that the patrolling van could reach the spot to ensure that no untoward and undesirable activities occur due to such breakdown.
- Breakdown van with towing facilities shall be positioned at selected locations on ATR like Potatang, Kadamtala etc. ready to reach spots of breakdown to retrieve quickly.



- Automobile Garages shall be encouraged at strategic locations ( like Jirkatang, Baratang, Kadamtala etc. ) for repairs of vehicles plying on Andaman Trunk Road.
- Maintenance workers for Andaman Trunk Road and Optical Fibre Cable etc. are to be **medically screened** thoroughly before they enter the Jarawa sector with Permit issued by the competent authority ( Deputy Commissioner ).
- Deployment of mobile piquet of welfare personnel ( consisting of **mainly women** ) and women Police piquet for maintenance gangs.
- No maintenance workers will enter Jarawa territory beyond the road belt for any purpose like collection of wood or other resources including even water.
- Avoiding the presence of non-tribals in the maintenance work of the infrastructure i.e. ATR and Optical Fibre Cables (OFC) and **maximum mechanization** as far as possible could be adopted.
- Ensuring the maintenance work only between 0700 hrs and 1600 hrs.

11.41 The closure of Andaman trunk Road has been strongly recommended by some experts as if such closure would take care of everything else for the well-being of Jarawas. The Andaman Trunk Road is not the only place where the Jarawas are subjected to possible exploitation and harmful effects due to non-tribals. Further, it is worthwhile to note that there is no Andaman Trunk Road in Tirur Jarawa area to close it down.

11.42 Mere closure of the Andaman Trunk Road may not address the problem arising out of Jarawas themselves coming out into villages and non-tribal areas. Further, the non-tribals could enter the Jarawa areas through vast coast line and the village boundary adjoining the Jarawa territory.

11.43 Jarawas are vulnerable for exploitation not only on the Andaman Trunk Road but also in the other non-tribal

areas and also in the Jarawa Forest itself. Therefore, the measures like Buffer Zone approach would be indispensable for the well-being of the Jarawas.

### **Promotional Measures**

11.44 The non-Jarawas targeted for promotional measures are those who have an eye on the Jarawas and the Jarawa resources as an economic opportunity for their livelihood or for their economic prosperity. They may be immediate neighbors i.e. villagers or non-neighbors living at far away place like Port Blair and even mainland. They may include the farmers, agricultural workers, non-agricultural workers, Tour Operators, Transporters, Infrastructure Builders ( Contractors of PWD, Andaman Harbor Works, Telecom Department etc.)

11.45 The mainland Indians and foreigners too are participants in the Jarawa centered economy-popularly known as '**Jarawas Tourism**'. Tour operators take tourists to places like Baratang, Rangat, Mayabunder, Diglipur, through Andaman Trunk Road with undeclared intention to "*show*" mother-naked Jarawas on the way. They encouraged Tourists to drop gifts and edible items thereby creating demand for such items also thus supporting the **Trade and Business** sector of the economy. Many small vehicles like Maruti, Omni, Jeeps etc are engaged in such tour operations, thus supporting **Transport Industry** as well. Most tourists would never like to miss Jarawa tourism having come to these Islands. Infact, Jarawa Tourism has been one of the most fascinating tourist attractions in mainland and elsewhere.

11.46 Neighboring villagers exploit the resources available in the Jarawa areas by hunting the deers, wild pigs and fishing in the rich coastal water not only for their own consumption but for sale also, since there is always a demand for all such items in Port Blair and other places.

11.47 The mere sermon, advice or even regulatory measures are not just enough to transform these

opportunistic non-Jarawas unless **alternative** economic opportunities are opened up for them. The new economic ventures may include:

(i) Social Forestry through the principle of Joint Forest Management (JFM) for bamboo and other Minor Forest Produce (MFP), (ii) Commercial Agro-forestry in bamboo plantation, orchids cultivation , Potted Fern Cultivation, Medicinal Plant Cultivation, (iii) Fresh Water Fisheries, (iv) Handicrafts, (v) Transport and Communication (vi) Trade and Business, Eco-tourism (diverting from Jarawa Tourism) and (vii) Information Technology.

11.48 The Government can act as the **facilitator** in these re-directed economic ventures. These activities will provide alternative sources of livelihood and prosperity for non-Jarawas thereby not affecting the Jarawas and their resources.

11.49 Mass awareness programme among the non-Jarawas to bring about the attitudinal change regarding the Jarawas and their welfare is essential on regular basis. Apart from mass media, the awareness is brought about through the Panchayati Raj Institutions, schools and participation of Non Governmental Organisation (NGO).

11.50 An Agenda Item for discussion during each budget meeting of Zilla Parishad, Panchayat Samities and Gram Sabha about the Jarawa Welfare and its awareness could be made as compulsory agenda item. A written directive could be issued by the Administrator i.e. Lt. Governor to the above said Panchayati Raj Institutions under the provisions of Andaman and Nicobar Islands (Panchayat) Regulation 1994.

11.51 Educational course material as part of school Text Books could be prescribed to educate children and through them all others regarding the Jarawas. Project Works by students on Jarawa welfare could also be made mandatory.

## **Cultural Management**

11.52 One may be tempted to ask the question - is the changed behaviour not the resultant of Jarawa's self determination ? It may be yes. But it is like the rolling down bogie on the already laid railway track. The track is not laid by the Jarawas but by non-Jarawas. Jarawas have the **right to determine** their own path or track and the non-Jarawas have the complementary **duty to honor** this right. The end of the Jarawa hostility marked the beginning in social exploitation - ethnocentric arrogance, cultural dominance, trafficking in women, children and in narcotics; increase in economic exploitation - poaching and unscrupulous trade.

11.53 Therefore, the culture management strategy is to prevent the exposure of the Jarawas with their present state of culture to the mainstream cultures till they are **equipped for co-existence**, without being victims of exploitative forces. The Buffer Zone administration shall prevent such contacts. A cultural milieu shall be provided to the Jarawas to facilitate the inherent process of acculturation which would equip them socio-economically for their co-existence with non-autochthons. The cultural milieu shall be provided to the Jarawas by the field functionaries.

11.54 Acculturation is a phenomenon of culture change, which may be spontaneous or induced. The spontaneous culture change need not be due to the culture contact while induced culture change may follow the culture contact. Here the culture contact is between the Jarawas and the field functionaries. It shall be a controlled and chosen contact and not an indiscriminate exposure of Jarawas to urban culture. The field functionaries shall be the "**reference group**" for Jarawas and not the agents of cultural conscription. The audio-visual media shall be of immense aid in communication and acculturation. It shall be an inbuilt or natural process of acculturation at the pace adopted by the Jarawas themselves. The Jarawas would observe or watch the conduct and living style of the field functionaries. A special care shall be taken with regard to their food as long as they remain in the zonal headquarters with field functionaries. They shall not partake the rice, wheat, bread, oils, condiments with functionaries.

11.55 As field functionaries are the "reference group" for Jarawas, their conduct and habits are to be **exemplary**. They shall shun the bad habits like smoking, consumption of liquor. There are certain cultural aspects wherein the process of acculturation would be tangible in a given time. These include personal health, hygiene and attire, production and exchange, social relations and settled habitation. And there are subtle aspects of culture like beliefs, values and religion wherein the acculturation is intangible in that given time. The acculturation could be modulated to an extent by the "reference group" though it is an inherent process. As such the field functionaries shall endeavor to discourage certain, harmful things, for instance consumption tobacco.

11.56 Adoption of attire of the "reference group" is generally a first tangible aspect in acculturation. It would be more vivid in cases where the culture contact is with primitive communities like Jarawa who do not have clothing system in their tradition. Adoption of textile especially synthetic clothing may be harmful for Jarawas at the present state of their personal hygiene and health. Therefore the acculturation in personal hygiene and health shall precede the adoption of attire.

11.57 The personal hygiene measures may be encouraged by the functionaries by being the effective "reference group". These include regular bathing with soap, brushing the teeth, lavation after defecation. The toiletry could be given to Jarawas at just the nominal exchange rate. This price structure shall keep up the pride, morale and self dependence of the Jarawas and thereby avoiding the "**dependency syndrome**". Through this process, Jarawas would be prepared to co-exist with the mainstream culture and its market economy by building up a faculty of **self-defence** with necessary knowledge, information and ability to combat the possible elements of exploitation.

11.58 There shall be an **exchange system** based on the differential valorization of commodities so that the health and sanitary habits of the Jarawas are improved faster than the rest. The Jarawas would get their articles out of the approved ones in exchange of their surplus produce like resin ad valorem. The cloth would be the one of demand commodities for the

Jarawas. The cloth shall be sparingly made available and only when the Jarawas learnt the necessity of cloth its hygienic aspects through acculturation.

11.59 The Jarawas shall not be exposed to the actual forces of mainstream culture but a **window** on this mainstream world and a controlled milieu shall be provided. The Jarawas would adopt through the process of acculturation the improved fishing technology, manufacture of implements through improved techniques of metallurgy - “heat and hammer technique” of blacksmithy would be adopted in place of their present mere cold hammer technique.

11.60 The Jarawas, during **First / Quarantine Phase** shall be protected against the dangers due to onslaught of so-called civilized society and prepare them for the **Second / Safe Phase** to co-exist with the mainstream culture through the process of acculturation. By then Jarawas would be in a position to decide on their own, the way of life and economy exercising their right of self determination.

11.61 The Jarawas are intelligent and innovative enough to equip themselves for the co-existence with the mainstream culture. To illustrate this through an example, the latest observation of the Jarawas during 20th and 21st of June 2003 could be referred:

- An adult Jarawa of R.K. Nallah area of South Andaman was seen manufacturing an arrow head by adopting the “heat and hammer technique”. He heated the iron piece and hammered it to an arrow head.
- Amazingly enough, Jarawas of Middle Andaman Island camping at Dhani Nallah area have started manufacturing wax candles using the wax of the beehives, as raw material, bamboo of appropriate length and girth as a mould and cotton thread as wick. This innovative activity of the Jarawas has been started only very recently. It appears that Jarawas have observed usual candles whenever they visited Kadamtala and other areas including

hospital where they could see the candles being used for lighting (during power shed hours).

- Some Jarawas were found advising others and children to keep away from the road whenever they saw the vehicle on the Andaman Trunk Road.
- Jarawas used to demand banana as gift in the earlier days but they no longer insist for the same. However, their request still persist for metal and iron pieces to make arrows and other implements.

## **Personnel Management and Policy**

11.62 The personnel policy of the welfare agency is the most crucial factor in the development or welfare activities. The basic personnel policy is not to perpetuate the establishment but to permeate the essence of planning for the development of primitive isolated community, to regain them the **self dependence** and **self defence**. And finally, one fine day the functionaries who are instrumental to drive home this principle of development shall depart from the field, leaving behind the community, mentally and materially equipped to co-exist with the mainstream communities. And therefore, the right kind of persons with right kind of aptitude, right kind of facilities and right kind of working environment are indispensable. The personnel management shall have the following aspects viz. selection of functionaries; their training and orientation; working facilities, incentives and the performance evaluation.

## **Selection and Orientation**

11.63 The field functionaries are carefully chosen and deployed for a certain period. The assignment shall be either a term contract or a “special contract posting” of the officers from some related government departments. The large incentives, ideal working conditions with challenging tasks shall not only attract the officers, *con amore* but likely to get the best out of them. The field functionaries shall include Anthropologists, Doctors, Pharmacists, Auxillary Nursing Midwives (ANM), Medical Helpers / Ayahs, Trekking Assistants.

11.64 Anthropologist is an officer of Group-‘A’ grade belonging to the organizations like Anthropological Survey of India, or Tribal Research Institutes or Universities. He shall be appointed on a “special contract posting” to Andaman Adim Janjati Vikas Samiti (AAJVS) under Andaman and Nicobar Administration with a special arrangement with the concerned Department / Government.

11.65 Specifically and carefully chosen medical personnel from Directorate of Health Services, A&N Administration could be deployed in the Jarawa area as a special assignment for short durations. The duration could be three months each time following which they would be deployed in other soft areas like Port Blair. Doctors, Pharmacists, Auxillary Nursing Midwife and Ayah (Medical Helper) could be identified specifically taking into account their **aptitude** and **endurance**. Medical personnel other than Doctor could be chosen from amongst persons belonging to tribal origin like Nicobarese / Ranchis who would have natural endurance and aptitude required for challenging Jarawa assignment.

11.66 Very attractive incentives attached to the Jarawa assignment are likely to invoke response from such officials possessing the desired qualities. Preference for **lady Pharmacists** could be given for the Jarawa assignments. The number of Doctors and other medical personnel identified shall be at least **three times** more than actual requirement to deploy at any point of time so that each set of persons can be positioned in the Jarawa area by rotation for short durations.



11.67 The Trekking Assistants shall be young and hardy men who would have similar qualities like that of medical personnel discussed above. They could also be from the tribal communities and could be appointed on a term contract. Their wages could be comparable to the Medical Helper (Ayah)

11.68 The selection of all these field functionaries shall be so scheduled that all of them would be available for their orientation and training which is essential to discharge their duties confidently and effectively. The orientation and training shall **not be compartmentalized** i.e. specialized training in the respective trade for only concerned personnel, for example health for Doctor, Pharmacist, ANM and Ayah; ambulance training for Trekking Assistants and applied anthropology for Anthropologist. But all of them shall together undergo all these specialized training and orientation. However only the concerned shall practise his specialized trade in the field. The purpose of this combined training is to inform all the field functionaries as to what is his role and nature of task vis-à-vis every other, so that all of them function organically.

11.69 The training and orientation of the field functionaries shall be for sufficient duration, say for three months apart from the practical training in the use of computers, internet services and other communication system for about one month. Following this first instalment of training and orientation, the functionaries shall be sent to the field. During this period they shall have full-fledged exercise in the field and the functionaries shall apply their skill and knowledge. They shall note the difficulties, queries, doubts that would arise while actually functioning in the field. After one month field assignment, the functionaries shall come back to Port Blair for consultation and discussion in the light of their observations and experience. The second instalment of training shall be for two weeks, one each in anthropology and health during which the field functionaries shall have cleared their doubts and finally ready for regular posting in the field.

11.70 All the field functionaries shall undergo **compulsory refresher course-cum-interactive session** every year

for their re-orientation. The other related agencies like Police, Forest, and Health etc could also be involved in such sessions.

11.71 One or two exceptionally good field functionaries could be chosen from the highly reputed Non-Governmental Organisations (NGO) forming one of the members of the team of field functionaries. Assigning the entire job of welfare of Jarawas to a Non-Jarawa NGO may not be advisable at present. Ideally NGOs should be the local ones to deliver the desired goods to the targeted group. In future, Jarawa NGO may come up for such activities.

### **Incentives for Functionaries**

11.72 The incentives shall be of three kinds viz. monetary, material and professional or occupational. The salary of the functionaries shall be much higher say **two times** in comparison with that of the corresponding functionaries in non-tribal areas. The structure of the salary is such that the functionaries are constantly motivated to excel in the performance of their respective roles.

11.73 The residential accommodation shall be one of the material incentives for the field functionaries. They shall get free unfurnished good accommodation at Port Blair and **fully furnished** bigger **accommodation** in their place of posting in the field. The ration and other consumer goods shall be made available periodically through **special arrangements** so that the field functionaries could procure the essential items they required at their place of posting itself. The Zonal Headquarters shall be electrified with small DG Sets/ Solar Power Plant. The Medical Sub-Center at the Zonal Headquarters shall be fully equipped to keep the required medicines. The communication that would be available in the field will be through mobile and Internet services. The audio-visual equipments for the use in the Zonal Headquarters shall be provided to help acculturation of the Jarawas.

11.74 The Anthropologist may carry out the anthropological research for his post-doctoral degree, research articles or for monograph on Jarawas. No other anthropologist would get such an opportunity to conduct research among the Jarawas. He would achieve the professional distinction and recognition for such research. The Doctor may also carry out medical research. He would be able to collect the basic data for the research, which others would not be able to do.

### **Performance Evaluation**

11.75 The performance evaluation intends for perpetual motivation and to get best out of the functionaries. The professional competence and knowledge of the functionaries shall be evaluated by the respective senior professionals and interpersonal behavior through the **mutual evaluation** and the latter is likely to have a salubrious effect on all the functionaries especially supervisory ones to practice good and cordial personal conduct which are so essential in the welfare agency.

11.76 At the end of **twelfth month** of service the performance of all the field officials shall be evaluated and if their performance is excellent, they shall get the lump sum monthly **monetary grant** till they are in the field. Otherwise they shall get the intimation to improve the performance. They shall earn monthly lump sum monetary grant if their performance is found excellent in the second review failing which they shall be repatriated or retrenched to bring in new candidates.

## **Standing Tribal Welfare Committee**

11.77 There shall be a Standing Tribal Welfare Committee under the converynorship of Lt. Governor to advice the Administration in the tribal matters. It will have Anthropologists, Doctors and Officers who have had long experience in the tribal development activities. The Committee will have at least one each lady Anthropologist and a lady Doctor. One of the other requirements for the Members of the Committee is their present or past actual association in the Tribal research / welfare activities in the A&N Islands. The Committee will visit Jarawa areas periodically to have interactive sessions with the field functionaries and to evaluate implementation of Policy and Programme for welfare of the Jarawas as finalized by the Government.

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