

**Malli Gandhi**

## **CHALLENGES OF LIVELIHOOD, DIGNITY AND DEVELOPMENT OF DENOTIFIED COMMUNITIES**

### **Introduction: Traditional means of livelihood**

Independent India envisaged to build an egalitarian society in which people with diverse socio-cultural and economic background can have equal opportunities in various fields with dignity and honour. In order to achieve a cohesive society, some sort of social engineering is imperative for bringing the historically neglected people on par with privileged sections of the society. Positive discrimination along with developmental interventions, capacity building was considered essential to social engineering. In order to achieve a state of social and economic equality, the builders of modern India had undertaken certain measures right from the period of Independence. The communities which were historically disadvantaged were kept under different social categories such as Scheduled Castes (SCs), Scheduled Tribes (STs) and Other Backward Classes (OBCs). Certain privileges were given to them to overcome socio-economic disabilities. As a part of the categorization, communities which were wandering, nomadic, and semi-nomadic depressed, criminal tribes were included in the list of SC/ST and OBC categories. However, the most important aspect is that their categorization was not logical and uniform. A large number of communities were not included in any category of SC/ST/OBCs. They are placed on par with the general section of the people. These communities have a long history of marginalisation. They were neglected and oppressed during the colonial and postcolonial independent India. The development schemes designed for the SC/ST/categories have not benefited the DT/DNT communities. They are denied, segregated and pushed to the walls on account of stigma of nomadic, gypsy way of living with low social status. They are identified as wanders, following customs such as earth diggers, fishermen, salt sellers, shepherds, scavengers, basket makers, furriers and tanners, landless agricultural laborers, waterman, toddy tapers, pig breeders, collectors of forest produce, hinderers and beggars. In India there are 192 NT/DNT communities with more than eight percent of the tribal population.<sup>1</sup>

The NT/DNT communities in Andhra Pradesh are the Poosala (bead sellers), Woddera (earth diggers), Pamula (snake charmers), Uppara (salt

manufacturers), Dudekula (cotton cleaners), Pichiguntala (geneologists), Lambadis or Sugalis (carriers of salt and grain), Chenchu (hunting and gathering tribe), Nakkala, Boya, Nirshikari (trappers of birds and animals), Dasari, Bogam, Satanis (temple attendants), Piriki Muggalas, Koracha, Yerukula, Pichiguntala (professing tattooing, fortune telling). Further, Dasaris, Parayas, Korawas, Dommaras, Jogis, KondaDoras, Rellis, Paidis, Gollas, Malas, Madigas, were also declared as NT/DNs in Andhra Pradesh. In the State of Hyderabad 7 denotified tribes are identified. In the erstwhile Madras Presidency 43 denotified tribes were listed. The Andhra Pradesh Government declared 56 communities as NT/DNT communities in the state. The NT/DNTs are very poor and economically backward. Most of them are living with meager income for their livelihood. Their habitations are usually a cluster of thatched huts or settlements. A few of them are well off and they are engaged in petty business and government jobs. Among the NT/DNTs the family is considered as a basic unit. Males go out for labour work. The women take care of the children and participate in the household work and indoor activities.<sup>2</sup>

The Caste Panchayat (a hereditary body of the caste elders) constitutes the primary social organization. Its primary responsibility is settling various categories of disputes, overseeing the observance of community norms relating to marriage, divorce, property, economic transactions, community disputes, etc. The *Kulapanchayat* system prevailed among these communities, degraded their positions with various ordeal tests conducted on them. The society among the nomadic, semi-nomadic and denotified communities is based on the patriarchal system. However, the women occupy a relatively important position. The decision making power is entirely vested with males.<sup>3</sup> Men, women and children of the NT/DNTs lead their livelihood as small traders, in various districts in Madras presidency in 18-19<sup>th</sup> centuries. These tribes moved from district to district, carrying salt, food items, and household materials from the plain areas to inland districts. They used animals (such as donkeys, oxes, and bullocks) to carry their trade. Thus these communities once upon a time were nomadic. Nowadays they are settled and earning their livelihood by following different occupations. Trading activities are predominantly their means of livelihood.<sup>4</sup>

### **Social Practices of NT/DNT Women**

The social practice among the denotified tribes tells us about the general position of women among these communities. A system of bride price existed among these communities during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Bride price (*voli*) was very high among the Yerukulas. During the year 1871 the bride price among the Yerukulas was rupees 70/-. The bride price was paid in the form of donkeys, bullocks, rather than in the form of cash. The degree of bride price implied high economic status of women among these communities. With the

destruction of their economic foundations bride price also disappeared among them. Selling, mortgaging of women and prostituting them to the moneylenders and the local landlords replaced bride price. In the past, both men and women used to practice polygamy and polyandry. Widows were allowed to remarry. Their women could get divorce very easily. The girls were married only after their puberty.<sup>5</sup> It was observed that: “Women formed an important factor in the settlements of the NT/DNTs. They generally come and go as they liked and acted as spies and informants to their leaders. They used to go out on the pretext of selling *Karipak* leaves but really to spy out the land and keep themselves in touch with absconding members. The women have now been formally placed in the criminal settlements. Many of the wandering women have been registered under various sections. It is hoped that this step will further tend to put down crime in Madras Presidency. The chief employment provided for them is agriculture. Besides agriculture, the women in the settlements were also provided with the employment in weaving, silk production, making of ropes and baskets. They were provided with sheep and goats”.<sup>6</sup>

There were a number of ways in which the women were described in the literary texts about the reputation of the women of these communities. Missionaries like American Baptist Telugu Mission, Canadian Mission, London Mission and Salvation Army described them as “thievish raw materials”. Anthropological, sociological and historical studies of the colonial and postcolonial era described these people with different appellations and tags. The high caste Hindus and the administrative authorities weakened their position in the society. The different laws of the colonial government weakened the position of women. Parents make merchandise of the children. The police raid their houses, molest them and drive them away from the village. Sometimes they were forced to commit crimes and pay bribes to the police and village authorities. They go for rag picking in order to eke out their livelihood. The types of crime committed on them are peculiar and their photographs were kept in the railway stations, bus stands, and cine theaters for chain snatching, pick pocketing and other crimes. Poverty stricken conditions, lack of alternative avenues, lack of work, living in the ex-settlement areas are some of the reasons for their misery and state of affairs in the state. Women enjoy lower status than men. They did not have the right to inherit the property of their parents. Women work in the fields and go to collect fuel and fodder. No important role was assigned to their women in the social functions. Women were assigned only household work. They were listed as a criminal tribe under the provisions of the Criminal tribes Act, 1911. The *Kulakattu* (a traditional community council) contrived the activities of the women. Some women go round the villages for begging alms foretelling events. Some of the women among these communities were aware of the black magic sing *Burrakathalu* (folk story singing) and folk music. Some of them took to agricultural labour, masonry work and petty trade for their livelihood.<sup>7</sup>

### Colonial Economic Policies and NT/DNTs

In the early part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the trading practices of these communities were destroyed by the economic policies of the British government. The introduction of railways, metalled roads, establishment of police constabulary, repeated famines in 1823, 1866, 1876, 1895, the forest policy of the colonial government crippled the traditional occupations of a number of communities. The cattle possessed by them died in large number. The forest officers did not allow them to depend on forest produce. The police and the forest officials prevented their business, cattle and trading possibilities. The worst affected people out of these policies were the women and the children among these communities. For example, the Dasari women were traditionally employed as village watchpersons. They used to collect roots, tubers, vegetables etc. The women were also used to work as domestic laborers, village servants and undertook cattle rearing. The Dasari women used to sell fancy goods, cosmetics, wigs, and trinkets. They accompanied their males when they went round the villages for begging. They used to perform ear boring to the women with the help of needles. Performing magic was the traditional occupation of the Pedditi Gollas. They were experts in tattooing. The Jogis were expert in indigenous medical care. They were aware of many varieties of herbs and shrubs. They used to carry the antidote for snake biting. Traditionally they were mendicants. Katipapala women in addition to household work used to sell combs, beads, and aluminum wear in the surrounding villages. The Konda Dora women used to participate in agricultural operations like thrashing, animal husbandry and collection of the minor forest products. The Koracha women participated in the agricultural activities like sowing, transplantation, weeding, harvesting and other activities. They used to collect palmera leaves, bamboo and made mats, ropes and toys. They used to collect minor forest produce like tamarind, soap nut and sold their items in the market. They were experts in fortune telling and collecting food grains. They maintained close relationship with their customers. The Banjara women were very colourful. They were experts in colorful prints and embroidery work. They supplied their products, transported grain, salt and other items from plains to the inland areas. Like wise, the Mandula women used to collect the herbs and roots to prepare the herbal medicine. The Manggarudi women used to sing folk songs and folk tales. The Muttarasi women worked as contractors, mill workers and manufacturers. The Nakkala women assisted their males in making the snares, stuffed animals, colorful necklaces. They were treated as expert saleswomen. They lead their life as selling bangles, mirrors, combs, safety pins, needles etc. The Parika Muggala women were expert in sorcery and black magic and fortune telling. The Pitchiguntala women were traditional bards, folk singers, genealogists and wandering mendicants. The Veera Mushti women used to work as casual laborers. They used to prepare artificial pigtails (*savaralu*) to supplement their family income. The Yata women were experts in toddy tapping, making umbrellas and other house articles. With the

enactment of the Criminal Tribes act of 1911 the local police authorities showed reasons for their alleged involvement in different kinds of crimes in the Madras province and declared them as criminal tribes under section 10 and 12 of the Criminal tribes Act of 1911. Since then, they lost their traditional occupations and lead a poverty stricken life.<sup>7</sup> It was stated that: "If the local government has reason to believe that any tribe, gang or class of persons or any part of the tribe, gang or class (men, women and children) is addicted to the systematic commission of offences it may declare that such tribe, gang or class or part of the tribe gang or men, women and children declared as criminal tribes".<sup>8</sup>

### **Disintegration of Tribes into Communities and Family Units**

With the enactment of the Criminal Tribes Act in 1911, many tribes in the country were declared as criminal tribes. They were kept in agricultural, reformatory, penal and voluntary settlements opened by the colonial government. The whole family members, men, women and children were placed in the settlements. In reality, they were not criminals. The local moneylenders demanded free labor from the women and children. Prejudices of the British administrators also played an important role for the suppression of these communities. It was stated that "the women and children of these communities have the lust for wandering. The women possessed loose sexual morality. Women took on as many husbands as they liked, return on as many husbands as they liked, return the former husband with their children furthered by the new husband, that easy divorce was permitted and that the women as well as men drank toddy on all social occasions". The women possessed slack moral code in the eyes of the colonial administrative authorities.<sup>9</sup>

It is a recognized fact that women and children among these communities hardened with their men. Women as wives, mothers, daughters, and sisters worked hard for the development of their families. It was noted that: "in Guntur the Yerukula women were confined in large numbers. The Stuartpuram settlement was actually started with the women folk whose men were expected to be released from the jails within a year or two. The Salvation Army specified different tasks to be performed in the settlements at various levels. Land was allotted to the women, *pattas* were provided to the individual women, a woman has to work within and outside the family for the welfare of her husband, children and the family members. She used to collect the date, palm leaves, and weave the mats, ropes, and baskets, for the sale. They used to furnish their houses with the material. They kept their houses and environment very clean. They showed the skills of knitting, sewing, physical labor, agricultural and quarry work".<sup>10</sup> They were asked to pay attention towards their appearance. They strove hard to stop the practice of drinking toddy by the males. Thus the contribution of the women for the family welfare and economic development among these communities is very critical.

The women and the grown-up girls who are very averse to manual labor, are being taught how to make mats. The Salvation army have been asked to see about the introduction of the lace and other industries in order to discipline the women folk. The government had stated that in Godavari, Krishna, Kurnool, Bellary, Anantapur and Cuddapah and the other districts in the Madras presidency the women members of these communities were confined to various kinds of settlements due to their operations. There was an increase in the crime rate under dacoities, robberies and house breakings in the Godavari and Krishna districts, which is attributed to the women and children of the criminal gangs viz, Pamulas, Kondadoras, Donga Waddars, etc., who were not settled and who escaped from the settlements. The increase of crime in Kurnool is attributed to the Chenchu women who had been declared as a criminal tribe and the Donga Yerukulas who have not been settled yet. The employment of Donga Waddars women has prevented crime on their part. There was a slight increase of dacoities in Bellary district for which the women of the Donga Yerukulas and the out-of-view members of the Rudrapad Korchas were said to be responsible. The increase of dacoities in the Anantapur district is attributable to the escaped women members from the Bhumannagadda settlement, while the marked decrease of crime in Cuddapah district is due to the settlement of the women members of the Korachas in Chittoor and Nellore districts.<sup>11</sup>

### **Administrative Policies of the Colonial Government**

The women among these communities had a chequered life. The police used to investigate and detect ordinary, non-professional crime of the women among the criminal classes in the Madras Presidency. The government possessed great hope on the women and children in the settlements as a means of reducing crime, as an instrument of reformation, rehabilitation and reclamation of the criminals. The chief thing government had adopted was providing them education to bring them up in a proper atmosphere, to disassociate themselves from criminal associations, teach them to lead an honest life and earn their livelihood through honest means. The reformation of the adult males and females was more difficult to the government. The reformation work carried in many of the settlements was of a high order.<sup>12</sup>

In industrial settlements the women used to carry various forms of employment. The women used to carry out the tasks, which the settlement managers used to allot them. The rate of payment for the women's work was very low as far as possible. The works which were engaged by the women were silk worm rearing, silk reeling, spinning and weaving, wool spinning or weaving, cotton weaving and warping, carpet and durrie making, blacksmithy, shoe-making, tailoring, mat and basket making, coir picking, pottery making, metal work, stone breaking, dressing, quarrying, mining, gardening, building and repairing the buildings, making of treasure bags and boxes, tending poultry

and livestock, scavenging, sugar manufacturing and other duties connected with the upkeep of the settlements.<sup>13</sup> In agricultural settlements the women actively participated in agricultural activities along with the male members. Agriculture is the main occupation of the women. They participated in tasks such as improving the lands, growing the crops, weeding, and working as agricultural laborers. Their role in obtaining, developing and preserving the land was remarkable. The women used to carry 10 hours daily in order to bring the land under cultivation with works such as watering, measuring, leveling the land, removing the bent grass, thrashing the floor, processing the crop, etc.<sup>14</sup>

The women also played significant role in protecting their family members from the strict supervision and control of the police force in the settlements, obeying the orders of the managers, assistant managers and protected them from various penalties such as warning, additional work, arduous work, reduction of wages, cancellation or withholding of the passes, loss of other privileges, daily roll call, restriction of movements to particular areas, fines, prosecution, discipline inside and outside the settlements.<sup>15</sup> It was stated that: "the Waddar women are as criminals as the men. They take part in the commission of heinous crime. They are however, clever at poultry and other petty thefts. They are very daring and immoral and are adepts in the art of spying and concealing and disposing of the stolen property and also in collecting the information useful to the males in the commission of crime. Should any of the males be accused of crime, the women are most troublesome and there are some instances in which they have even rescued the males from lawful custody. The children are equally clever at petty theft. Many of the women and children are convicted".<sup>16</sup>

### **Repercussions on Women**

Women who were working among these communities were removed from the settlements with the orders of the Commissioner of labor department. Their males were incorrigible. Under these circumstances the women members of the family had to prove the good behaviour of her husband, his sincerity and honesty, uniformity of good conduct and behaviour despite the fact that the males were cruel in treatment of the women. The management, control and supervision of the settlements were vested with the settlement managers, assistant managers and the police authorities by the nature of their virtue of office. But they used to harass women and grownup girls in settlements in the name of well-being and proper upbringing of the members of the tribe. They were allowed to go out with a pass. Any women who went beyond the settlement limits for fodder, palmera leaves, date leaves, or the women having received the pass overstay outside the limits of the settlements for a longer time than specified time in the pass. The penalties imposed on them were very severe. The women were expected to take-up regular and daily employment in and outside their settlements in order to eke out the livelihood.<sup>17</sup>



Some of the women were appointed as daily wage workers by the public works department in order to take-up the works such as road repairs, construction work, cultivation of their lands and also, ploughing, weeding, reploughing the land after the harvest, clearing of the lands, cutting fuel, and selling in the head loads, cutting grass, and selling it as fodder, cutting the *tangedu* wood, and removing its bark, repairs to the buildings, building revetment, contract works, repair works to the building, etc. It is an interesting factor that the managers of the settlements were instructed by the government to keep a record of all the women members of the settlements with a brief note of their history, associations, avocations, movements, conduct, behaviour, with a view to help the police as well as the management to have proper control and watch over them. The sub-divisional officers of the police used to watch the settlements periodically and inspect them annually. The police constables and the head constables from the police outpost used to go round the settlements in the nights regularly and check the men, children and women. Whenever there was a chance they used to commit crimes on the women and children. This was with the pretext to find out whether they go out in nights for committing prostitution or crime.<sup>18</sup>

The women used to get substantial income from weaving, knitting, basket making, mat making, and rope making to run their families. The managers stated that: "in agricultural settlements there was no provision for them to provide employment for the women". They used to provide employment for the women somehow. They used to provide continuous work only to the male members. The women and children started making mats, baskets very fast in their houses. It paid them better. Some women forced their males to join them in making the items. When asked the males to go to work they refused to attend the work. Under these circumstances, in order to protect their males from the influences of arrack, punishments from the local police, and other criminal influences the women used to encourage the males to work at home in the household industries.<sup>19</sup>

There were a number of ways in which the Salvation Army fashioned the women out. Women were initially trained in feminine virtues. They were expected to sew, embroider and cook for their families. Mat making which was a traditional activity of the Yerukula men and women was handed over exclusively to the women as an indoor activity. The women were taught to pay attention to their appearances. The Salvation Army even helped the women with periodic parades. The most neatly dressed women and most neatly kept houses by the women were awarded with prizes. The women were not allowed to go outside the settlements frequently on the passes. The before and after photographs of the women taken by the Salvation Army and given to the office records shows the after version with a completely changed Hinduised appearance, with neatly tied saris, oiled hair, with the flowers and vermilion marks on their fore-heads. Their appearance in the settlement was in fact modified according to the opinions of the outside people.<sup>20</sup>



### **The Changed Roles and Responsibilities of NT/DNT Women**

In 1920s the Missionaries played an important role in the development of poor women in the presidency. They attracted a large number of poor women and converted them to Christianity. They encouraged moral education to the women and children in the settlements. They recommended the government to provide agriculture as a means of employment. Women were encouraged to work in the sugar factories, cement factories, tea gardens, tobacco company, quarry industry, rail industry, etc. Income for women from their traditional work soon replaced with the industrial wages. They became waged workers in the companies. The materials prepared in these companies were exported to foreign countries. For instance, the tobacco processed by the Yerukula women was neatly packed in the wooden crates and exported to England for cigarette manufacture. The mats, baskets prepared by them were in great demand for the company. Women provided excellent and profitable labour work. Women became the factory workers and household workers. They combined the two operations as a single worker. The women used to demand the company authorities for extra hours in the factories in order to earn more to support their family income. The labor department and the companies demanded longer hours of work. It was an advantage for the company if the whole family worked in the factory. The companies lowered the wages of women's labour than the males. The company often used to threaten the women workers to lose their jobs if they fail to bring their males to work along with them. Sometimes the women used to plead the managers of the company not to handover their wages to their males. The Salvation Army in the Settlements used to take personal decisions with regard to the matters pertaining to the women and children. Thus, the missionaries curbed the choices of women in the settlements. The missionaries played an arbitrary role with regard to the women and children.

In connection with the employment of the women at the Indian Leaf Tobacco company (ILTD) factory, a nursery crèche for the infant children was also provided. The mothers carried their babies to the company. They left their children in the shed outside the factory gates in charge of old women. Women who had more children had no one to take care of them. The managers and the forest department officials attracted the children to collect the date leaves and hence used to take the children along with them. There were lapses and fighting amongst the settlers themselves. This was largely due to the sale of the toddy in the neighbouring villages. Whenever, toddy was obtainable, there feuds were inevitable. Women used to face severe stress and strains with the drunkard males in the settlements. The women often requested to ban the sale of liquor in the settlements. Women used to regularly attend the company's work walking 20 kilometers every day. The old women in the settlements used to receive the subsistence allowance under two main categories: 1. Widows with children and women whose husbands absconded

or were in jail. Women used to suffer without food. Food and clothes were distributed to the women in the settlements.<sup>21</sup>

### **Patterns of Earnings Livelihood**

The materials produced by these communities did not directly enter into the markets. The companies carried the manufacturing process. For example the Indian leaf tobacco company used to process the tobacco prepared by the Yerukulas. The materials developed by other communities were taken over by the public works labour department authorities and handed them to the cooperative societies. The cooperative societies never encouraged their skills. Men, women and children were always hired to labour contract works in the mines, quarries, as factory workers outside their settlements. They employed them to do multiple jobs at a time and exploited them due to their innocence. Thus, a large number of women among these communities became workers in the factories and labour contract workers. Land was distributed to some of the communities. Agriculture became the chief means of livelihood. Women did not seek employment on their own. The missionaries played an important role in obtaining employment to these communities. The families wanted to self support themselves. But they remained as low wage paid laborers in their work places. The factory management found these people less troublesome to attain the profits.<sup>22</sup>

The role of women as the principal contributor to the family income continued among these communities. Men also requested the company management authorities to absorb them in the factories. The company always demanded more works for cheap labor. With the distribution of land and development of agriculture, some of the communities only depended on the agricultural and other related activities. Water resources were provided plentiful. The government provided the sole ownership of land to some of the communities. For example, the Yerukulas demanded *pattas* for their lands. The government discharged a large number of them from the settlements and the company's work. The company demanded as many hours of work as possible from them. The Labor department used to find new employment for these people in times of need. A large number of communities were shifted to other places in order to provide suitable employment for them. In the settlement areas the whole family members used to work for the company. Wages were given to the family members. The companies lowered the wages of women and children. The companies interfered into the domestic and personal life of the workers. Sometimes the women due to the harassment of their husbands wanted to desert them or the women demanded the companies to give the salaries of their males directly to them. The companies used to put pressure on the males and females for more work.<sup>23</sup>

It can be observed that the whole families of these communities started working on different kinds of avocations and occupations. Women organized

as workers in 1930s. They developed rapidly due to the influence of the other sections of the people. They consolidated themselves as strong communities. They used to select works very near to their habitations. They formed as unions. Women achieved substantial success. They participated in the strikes and understood the spirit of the national movement. Hatch wrote about the Yerukulas “ trade unionists of the most thoroughgoing kind and united action was a necessity in the tribal existence. Group thinking and belief in group action, they formed themselves into a close brotherhood and would on no account betray their fellow class men they were free masons and helped each other to the end”.<sup>24</sup>

These communities had lost their traditional occupations due to the laws of the government, protection of the environment, wildlife protection, prevention of cruelty to animals and other such acts. They were driven away from their traditional habitats and occupations. Their women have no other option than to accept petty trade to eke out their livelihood. There are many communities eking their livelihood by showing street performances of the bears, monkeys, parrots, snakes, oxen, etc. The women assist their males in the traditional occupations. They are suffering to a great extent due to the implementation of the Forest Protection Act, Wild Life Protection Act, banning, exhibiting the animals in the streets and public. Many communities became jobless as a consequence of the act. They are unable to locate themselves with an alternative means of livelihood. The antisocial elements frequently visit their habitats luring their males to carry crime as a means of livelihood and exploit their women by various means. Since their life support system is lost they are allegedly involving in petty offences.<sup>25</sup>

In places like Maharashtra the women from these communities are used as bar dancing girls. The women are traditionally from the dancing communities and entertainers. As dancers and entertainers, they received the patronage from the feudal classes. However, in due course of time, with the introduction of television, cinemas their performances were not entertained. These dancers and entertainers took to street performances. There is no other alternative for the women to eke out their livelihood. They are forced to send their grown up girls to dance in the bars. In the bars they were subjected to exploitation and abuse. These women bore the brunt of exploitation. They have no support to run their families.<sup>26</sup> Their males are often left out without any work. There are two important issues to be noted here. 1. With the loss of the traditional livelihood, their skills and occupations were lost. In distress the women among these communities are forced to accept certain other professions. 2. Due to globalization and the affect of the modern industries, competition has entered into their life. They need attractive money to lead a comfortable life. These are pull and push factors for the women of these communities to accept any kind of profession, which is providing them with sufficient money. They are deprived of their traditional livelihood. Studies

point out that a large number of the women among the NT/DNTs, Dalit and Muslim communities in Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, West Bengal, Uttarpradesh, Delhi, and Rajasthan the women are subjected to various kinds of ill treatment. When the bars were closed down in Maharashtra, they were arrested and kept behind the bars.<sup>27</sup>

The Dommara women in Andhra Pradesh are labeled as prostitutes. It was stated that prostitution was their profession. It was also believed that the entire community was involved in the practice of prostitution. Thus irreparable damage was made to the social life of the Dommara in the state. The media, newspapers carried special articles, with misleading titles. Thus the Dommara were stigmatized. Clients visit their houses for women trafficking. They force the women to take to prostitution. Law enforcing agencies start troubling them. If some women of these communities have taken to prostitution, due to the poverty stricken conditions and lack of employment opportunities, lack of skills for pursuing jobs in the cities, the women from the other communities even if they are indulging in these activities they were never treated as prostitutes. Many women among the Dommara are hard working and law abiding. They are constantly engaged in the street performances, agricultural labour and petty business.<sup>28</sup>

## **Problems and Challenges of NT/DNT Women**

### ***Dishonor to NT/DNT Women***

The women among these communities are facing various kinds of dishonor in the society. Due to poverty some of the women are allegedly involved in illegal brewing of liquor. Some are following witchcraft. Some are involved in the Rafu (replacing original gold in the place of artificial gold) practice. Many stereotypes are wrongly attached to these communities. It is very unfortunate that for the activities of few individuals and deviant persons, the entire community is branded as illegal practitioners or evil-minded people. The whole community is brought to the public discourse. However, the worst affected people are the women among these communities. The women among these communities are most backward. The vulnerable conditions of the women are due to their backward position. The community members itself look down upon the women members.<sup>29</sup> Their women often go outside in search of employment. The males often suspect the reputation of the females. Many a time, petty quarrels in the house lead to divorce and second marriages. Thus the position of the women is always degraded in their society. The women are the victims of their customs and institutional practices. The *Kulapanchayats* (caste councils) play a negative role as far as the issues of their women are concerned. Women are conducted virginity tests. If they fail to prove their virginity they were levied with different kinds of punishment and fines such as dipping their hands in the burning oil, lifting the crow bars. The women

are forced to name the illicit relations before the members of the caste council. Kulapanchayats treat the women very badly.<sup>30</sup>

Nowadays a lot of changes are taking place in the society of NT/DNTs. They are following traditions, customs, language and habits of the mainstream society. There is a lot of change in their dress pattern, material things, language, dialects, customs, ceremonies, etc. They are imitating others in this respect. Communities which are better off are not allowing their women folk to work in outside places. They are particularly confined to the four walls of their household. The custom of demanding dowry in the manner of gold, silver, money, vehicles, land and other items at the time of marriage are taking place. This is replacing their custom of bridewealth. In the earlier days they used to fully recognize the abilities of their women. Their productive and reproductive systems were totally respected. They produced male dominated society, worked in the paddy fields, and contributed to their household works through various economic pursuits. They also supplemented greatly the income for the development of their households. Some of these communities adopted the dowry system. Thus, the position of the women has drastically changed. Nowadays, women among the NT/DNTs are seen as an economic liability. In view of the above analysis, two important points need to be considered seriously. There is a need to promote their economic conditions, education and health. The literacy rate among the girls and women among these communities are almost zero percent. The women are treated as breadwinners for their families. Their women are exposed to many kinds of violence, stigma from the outside world. Therefore, the women and girl child development is an urgent need. The government should take care of the problems of the NT/DNT women with radical and special packages. The policies initiated by the government should be gender specific, gender budgeting, women and girl child specific.<sup>31</sup>

### ***Gender Discrimination***

The important aspect of inequality among the NT/DNTs is gender discrimination. Indian society is patrilineal and male dominated. Women among these communities are denied several basic rights. They are discriminated in the society. They suffer from several social, cultural and economic handicaps. Women are the victims of discrimination. Their conditions are immeasurably pathetic, pitiable in their localities. They are exploited due to their precarious conditions. Women lead a very poor life and social exclusion. Poverty increased due to loss of their traditional means of livelihood. Their natural habitations were destroyed and pro-active measures are not being undertaken for the gainful employment. Women are greatly oppressed in sharing of power, voting rights, education, health, nutrition and political process. Nobody comes to their rescue when the need arises. They were devoid of modern leadership. They are unable to take their representations to the government and fight for their basic rights. The women among these communities are subjected to

exploitation, suppression and oppression. The sufferings of the women among these communities are several times higher than that of the women of other communities. They are the victims of the accumulative inequality. Under these circumstances, they deserve immediate policy intervention. The government should take serious note on the cases of atrocities on the women. Their atrocities are daily reported in the media, public pronouncements and radio. The people were petitioned to the commissions and government authorities about their grievances several times. Enquiries are pending. Memoranda were also submitted. Many women among these people are homeless. They are leading a wandering life even after 65 years of independence. The administration is totally indifferent to their problems. Speedy justice has to be made to the victims of these poor communities to provide the safety and dignity for the women. For instance, in a recent incident it was reported in a local newspapers that a girl from the denotified tribe settlement was forcibly carried away by a group of miscreants in a car. She was dumped at the same place from where she was picked up the following day. Her family did not even approach the police authorities with a complaint because it was committed by the people of the dominant sections of the people and the affluent persons in the society. Since the victim is from the denotified tribal family the police did not register the case. She was not paid the compensation for the problem she had faced.<sup>32</sup>

There were a large number of cases of this type that can be collected from the newspapers every month. There are also many representations from the members of the communities, NGOs at the village, district and state level. The women were specifically targeted for sexual abuse, and the attacks of the male members in the society. The pathetic situation is that neither the administration nor the police take serious note of the problems of their women. Women among these people are beaten severely in the police stations and public roads. They were subjected to severe atrocities, violence, rape and custodial deaths. In a recent incident, a twenty years young woman was brutally beaten to death due to the severe beatings of the police. In the settlements the women and children narrate their woes and experiences with the administrative authorities and the police. The police invariably round them up for the petty offences, confine them to the police stations, and beat them up, torture them and release them when the police are bribed. In the police stations women police constables are not available to deal with women's cases. The women are the victims of oppression. Many women members are leading their life as rag pickers and some tertiary occupations of selling beads, herbs, plastic items, medicines, etc.<sup>33</sup>

### **Police Harassment**

Some of the women in the settlements said that their children couldn't get jobs. They have to work with the breadwinners of the family having a criminal record and serving a prison sentence. The womenfolk in the colonies

are compelled to work along with their children to eke out a living in the absence of any assistance from the government. There is nobody to see the plight of the women and come forward to provide help to them. According to the police records eighty percent of the women in the NT/DNT colonies are hard core criminals who live by committing pick pocketing, chain snatching, and other offences in the busy centers. The state government had provided bank loans and self-employment schemes. They did not reach them properly. The distressing factor with regard to women is that whenever their men folk are sent to jail for minor or major offences, some women folk either work as coolies or take illegal means of livelihood practices in order to keep their families going. The women ex-criminals in the settlement colonies confess that after taking all risks and tensions in committing offences they are left with nothing but police harassment and imprisonment. The women in these colonies are pleading the government for some gainful employment opportunities and jobs for their children in railways, postal, telecommunications, public works department, police department, etc. Government officials from the Revenue, Home, Education, Social Welfare, Women and Child development, Panchayat Raj and other departments should formulate a long range of policies to solve the problems of the women among these communities.<sup>34</sup>

### **Better Future for the Children**

In most of the settlements the women allegedly reported that they demand a better future for their children. The government should provide an opportunity to develop the bright future of the tribal children. The women are leading a life of frustration, fear and protection from many people who are coming in the way of their development. The women are living in the perpetual fear of the police and they want to lead a normal life with that of the women of other communities. They are afraid of the thrashes of the police when the male members are caught by the police. The police convicted some poor women who were not at all involved in the theft cases. Society however looks at them with suspicion and the stigma of a women offender. Above all the police haunt them to keep a track of their activities.<sup>35</sup>

### **Freedom From Fear and Inferiority Complex**

Another problem that the women among these communities are facing today is fear and inferiority complex. They fear the problems posed to them by different people. Their main demand is that they should be liberated from the poverty stricken conditions. Narrating their problems the Woddar women in Siddhapuram settlement said, “no one wanted to lead a criminal life. Even after 65 years of Independence and identification of the tribes we are still discriminated against our daily life. People treat us with suspicion and as outcastes here”.<sup>36</sup>



### **Rational and Humane Approach to the Problems of NT/DNT Women**

Many women members in the colonies poured out that their tale of misfortune being wrought upon them even after they changed their ways of past life. They lamented and narrated that their plight particularly in the hands of the brutal attacks of the rich people, Zamindars, Local upper caste communities and the police. Showing the finger at the police, they say that the police stand in our way of leading a respectable and honorable life. They are steeped in corruption. The police are instigating us to commit crimes. The police should adopt a rationale and humane approach to our problems and help us to eke out our livelihood through labor contract work and agricultural activities. A reformed women criminal blamed the police squarely for trying to condemn them forever to criminal lifestyle. She had observed that the reformed criminals were forced to replace into criminal life by the indifference displayed by the society towards them. The district administration should help them launch self-employment projects to remove the injustice imposed upon the settlement tribal people. They lamented the discrimination people show on them every day.<sup>37</sup>

### **Participatory Approach**

The women should participate and discuss about their problems, issues, concerns regarding their social, economic problems, human rights issues, protection, integration, development, etc. Co-operative societies must be opened in the settlements. Women in these settlements and outside the settlements should be influenced through development activities through the distribution of bank loans, livestock, sewing and knitting machines, and job oriented skills and vocational training centers. There are many hurdles coming in the way of their development programmes. The illiterate women are exploited due to multiple handicaps. There is an urgent need to create social awareness with regard to health issues (like HIV/AIDs and other communicable diseases) among the women. Whatever the materials prepared by them in the form of the handicrafts and other materials should have the marketing facilities. The government should also provide the materials for the women for the preparation of household articles with their skills. The experiences of the women in these settlements should be taken to the women ministers in the parliament and they should take serious note of their problems. Heinous practices on the women should be curbed. The government should provide them proper guidance and encouragement for their overall development.<sup>38</sup>

### **Persuasion Method**

Efforts should be made by the government to educate them and orient them in order make them realize about the programmes initiated for their development by the state and central government organizations. They must

be perused to make use of these programmes for their speedy development. Several schemes are initiated for the development of women among the Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes. These schemes must be initiated for the development of the tribal girl child and women. Corrupt officials, middlemen should be strictly punished. There should be strict monitoring on the implementation strategies, time for the implementation process of the government schemes, utilization, advantages and disadvantages of the programmes. The village committees and panchayats have to be empowered. Government should design new programmes and policies for the development of women. The village councils, *gramasabhas* should act as nodal centers in order to implement the welfare schemes initiated for the women. Proper recommendations and guidelines must be provided to the government in order to implement the schemes. The government should provide them employment guarantee schemes, at least 180 days of employment through National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (NREGA) of the central government and state government. They should be brought on par with at least upper middle class status within the time span of ten years. The women members are alienated from the decision-making, political representation and economic empowerment. Therefore, the women among these communities must be brought to the mainstream society. Factories which will promote small scale industries, home based agro based, forest based, flora and fauna based occupations may be thought of in the settlements as an employment guarantee schemes for the women. They should be mixed up with the industrial trainers to learn the industrial skills. The present legal system with regard to the protection of women is lopsided. Effective law and judicial help must be provided to the women and children of these communities. Their problems must be understood with missionary zeal and their problems must be solved on war footing.<sup>39</sup>

### **Non-Government Organizations, Self-Help Groups**

The problems of women among these communities should be handed over to the non-governmental organizations. Women and child welfare projects have to be launched in order to protect them. There is every chance that women and children become more vulnerable if the government doesn't come to the rescue of their problems. Women and children should be provided with quality education, life skills and vocational skills, training, and nutrition. The non-governmental organizations should make sincere efforts to promote their well-being. The constitutional obligations failed with regard to the welfare of these sections of people. The enforcement authorities of the Constitution are not performing their responsibilities with the spirit of the Constitution. Moral education has taken a backseat. The state and central government organizations are not seriously concerned with the problems of women. Primary education system has created a lot of differences in the country. Quality primary education in the settlement schools for the children is not provided so far. There are no separate schools, Ashram, Residential, Tribal welfare

schools for the tribal girl children of the NT/DNT communities. They should be treated specially due to their segregation, isolation in the society. They must be provided with hostel and scholarships without any delay. The children of the rich people go to reputed schools, others who cannot afford good education languish in government schools, which is lacking proper facilities, teachers, curriculum and environment. The women and the children have to compete with the limited resources and with those who have all facilities at their disposal. The education authorities have to create history with achieving 100 percent enrolment and literacy with the education of women and children in the NT/DNT colonies. The trauma underwent by the women, children whose breadwinners are sentenced to jails or with a criminal background. Proper efforts have to be made to provide some sort of comfort to them. They should be made as responsible citizens of tomorrow. Every year the government should target 10000 women and children under the NT/DNT women's project. Counseling centers need to be opened in all the ex-settlement colonies to provide proper guidance to eke out their social, cultural, economic rights and needful employment opportunities. In this connection, the efforts made by the Samskar a voluntary organization, in Nizamabad Andhra Pradesh and Athiest Center in Vijayavada and Samskar in Betapudi, Stuartpuram are noteworthy. They are providing skills, guidance and counselling, moral enlistment, removal of stigma and protection from the police and public for these communities. Similarly Asmita (another important organization) is very actively working with the problems of women among the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and minorities with regard to protection of the girl child, women's education, land rights, protection of women, research and training opportunities with committed workers in the field. Similar organizations have to be brought to the common platform in order to exchange and share the experiences and speed up the process of the development process in the state.<sup>40</sup> The contribution of the NT/DNT women to domestic labour, labour market and the people has been neglected by our society. They played variety of roles in the country. They formed into the distinct communities like peasants, workers, laborers, etc. They are hard working than the women of other communities. They played important role in the socialization, lifecycles, daily work, domestic labor, childcare, financial, business transactions, investments, daily trade, and customer relations.<sup>41</sup>

### **Participation of Women in the Economic Activities**

There is an increase in the percentage of the female population among the NT/DNT communities in the rural and urban areas. However, they are unable to get 180 days of work in a year. The position of women is gradually changing in the settlement colonies. Women workers are increasing every year. The percentage of women workforce is gradually increasing. At the same time, the problem of unemployment is very high among them. Women among the NT/DNTs have acknowledged the fact that they are unemployed. The males

are willing to send the women to work outside their colonies for various kinds of employment. The employment opportunities are very few for them. The government must tackle the problem of chronic unemployment problems among these people. Many communities among NT/DNTs are becoming seasonal migrants. They are migrating to urban centers in search of employment opportunities and facing severe financial crisis. The women members are working as marginal workers. Child labour is rampant among these communities.<sup>42</sup>

### **Avenues of Employment**

There is an increase in the role of women with regard to economic development in the settlements of the NT/DNTs. Their women possess a good amount of skills. They are concentrating in various activities other than agriculture. Poverty is the main hindrance for their development. If they are employed properly, their poverty stricken conditions can be easily eliminated. They can be employed in avocations like plantation work, preservation of medicinal plants, mining work, quarrying, industrial establishments, manufacturing industries, protection and preservation of meat, manufacturing of food, manufacturing of edible oil, fats, coffee curing, roasting, cashew nut processing, manufacturing of tobacco products, manufacture of cotton textiles, roots, tubers, vegetables, flowers, traditional plants, livestock, forestry, fishing, manufacturing of wool, silk, synthetic fibers, manufacture of jute, paper products, etc. Qualified women should be employed in the public and administrative services, educational serves, medical and health services, personal services, and laundry services. Women should be encouraged towards technical and vocational education. They can be appointed as wage laborers.<sup>43</sup>

### **Conclusion and Recommendations**

Even after 65 years of Independence the Adivasi, NT/DNT women and children are confined to certain unclean and vulnerable occupations in the agricultural and non-agricultural sectors. Their involvement in self-employment is very much lacking (not even 10 percent). They are lacking primary education and vocational training skills. They are not having any political, bureaucratic and people support to fight for their constitutional rights and asset themselves. Public employment opportunities are very much inaccessible to them. Women among the NT/DNTs are very poorly represented in the high paid and high skilled jobs. Their percentage in the police, judicial, educational, medical, sectors is very insignificant. They are mainly concentrated in the low paid, minimum skilled, labor intensive, traditional, unproductive, menial, and low paid jobs. They are seen in the highest numbers as housemaids, rag pickers, earth diggers, fortunetellers, acrobats, agricultural and other types of labour works. Therefore, self-employment and credit facilities must be extended to the NT/DNT women. Local self help groups,

banking institutions and credit organizations must be encouraged to develop these communities. There are many challenges and hindrances, which are coming in the way of development of the NT/DNT women. First of all, the union and state governments should allocate resources in the budgetary allocations in order to tackle the problems of these communities. The budgetary provisions are not considering the problems of the NT/DNT communities in the five-year plans and budgetary and allocations. The central and state government initiated programmes reinforce caste, class and gender discrimination in designing, implementing the programmes. Education is an important tool for their development. Most of these communities among them are not able to access the primary, secondary, technical, vocational and medical education. They do not have any economic and physical assets with them to fight their cases. Their growth in human endeavor is also very limited. They do not come under tribal sub plans and special composite plans, etc. The government should take immediate steps to include all the NT/DNTs under the tribal subplans or a separate NT/DNT communities subplan for their development.

Positive discrimination is very much necessary for the NT/DNT communities by targeting the policies of development of women. Their accessibility to employment, land, and credit facilities needs to be improved. The wages they are earning is so meager that they are unable to run their families. Their wages under the national wage policy must be improved. They should be provided employment under the National Rural Employment Guarantee scheme. Their labour market needs to be strengthened. The state governments should make a policy for the protection of NT/DNT women from exploitation, discrimination, police and public harassment. Social security mechanisms such as Rastriya Swasth Bheema Yojana, Rashtriya Vimuktajati Mahila Yojana must be initiated.<sup>44</sup>

The educated youth among the NT/ DNTs must be supported with supplementary coaching facilities for clearing the competitive examinations, entrance examinations, into the professional courses. Study of English must be made compulsory. Infrastructural facilities like community halls, information and communication technology and other fast growing sectors must be strengthened. Micro-finance initiatives, bank loans with no interest or very simple interest (25 paise interest) must be provided. The government must also promote self-help groups, vocational, industrial schemes, and self-employment opportunities. Women and child development specific schemes under the special component plan and ICDS must be strengthened. There is a need to ensure gender perspective, gender budgeting programmes in all the policy making implementation and evaluation schemes must be initiated. Private sector institutions should come forward to tap the skills possessed by the women. There is also an urgent need to study and review the existing conditions of the NT/DNTs women in India and also the policies, schemes

implementation strategies by the independent recognized bodies for ensuring speedy and quality delivery of the government programmes and schemes. The voices and opinions of the women and educated members of these communities must be heard and understood what kind of developmental programmes are urgently required to them needs to be identified. The results of the findings of the state and central government programmes must be widely publicized in the websites, newspapers and media. Wide publicity and campaigns must be made on the programmes initiated and designed for the development of NT/DNT communities by the government and voluntary organizations every year. Periodic surveys must be conducted to understand the effectiveness of the government programmes, policies, problems of these communities and specific needs to be undertaken by the government. What is urgently required with regard to the speedy development of these communities is that of social empowerment including education, health and nutrition; economic empowerment including right to land, resources, forests, water, housing, sanitation, occupations, agriculture, industrial development, attractive wages for their labour, etc. Political empowerment including protection from atrocities, discrimination, harassment from the police, forest official, revenue officials and the public, participation in the elections, *grama sabhas*, gram panchayats, municipalities, wards and decision making bodies; Cultural empowerment including protection from the missionary organizations, protection of their culture, languages, cultural sites, etc., for the empowerment of women and children.

The development of the socially backward classes particularly the women sections of these communities is an integral part of the national development. The central and the state governments are given equal responsibilities to execute the constitutional guarantees given to the SCs and STs. The commissioner at the central level, the social welfare director at the state level, are the two functionaries who deal with these guarantees. At the state level, the programmes designed for the welfare of these sections of the people often overlaps as these are combined and dealt with. As a result, many of the needs of these communities are not fulfilled. For example, the budget allocated for the education, health, nutrition, employment opportunities, hostel facilities, separate allocations are not made for the basic needs of these communities. The government officials say that there are no specific funds for the welfare of these poorer sections of the society. Such a tendency culminates discontentment among these sections of the society. The important question today that needs to be debated and understood with regard to the development of the NT/DNTs and their women are: should women among the NT/DNTs in the settlement colonies be treated as habitual criminals? What is the fate of the women and children whose male and breadwinners are sentenced to life imprisonment? Should women in the NT/DNT colonies be left destitute and fend for themselves? What measures the state and the central government organizations have taken so far for the development of the women and girl

child to mainstream them? What are the gaps and what needs to be done in order to improve the conditions and the betterment of the position of the women among these communities? The reality is the attempts made by the government in this sphere have only touched the fringes of the problem leaving the large area of the problems of NT/DNTs unattended so far.

#### NOTES & REFERENCES

1. Government of India, June 30<sup>th</sup> 2008 *Report on National Commission for Denotified, Nomadic and Semi-NOMADIC tribes, Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment, Vol. I*, (un published Report), GOI, New Delhi, P. 1.
2. Government of Andhra Pradesh, Tribal Cultural Research and Training Institute, Hyderabad, 1964 *Report on Denotified tribes of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad*, pp 1-10 (un published Report).
3. Radha Krishna Meena, 2001, *Dishonored by History, 'Criminal Tribes and British Colonial policy'*, Orient longman, Hyderabad, P. 13.
4. Radha, Krishna Meena, 1989, "From Tribal Community to working Class Consciousness: A case of Yerukula Women", *Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. XXIV, No. 17, April 29, pp. 2-5*.
5. Government of Madras, 1927, *Note Showing the Progress Made in the Settlement of Criminal Tribes in the Madras Presidency up to January 1925*, Madras, p. 7.
6. Government of Madras, 1927, *Madras Criminal Tribes Manual, Criminal Tribes Act VI of 1924, Brought up to 31<sup>st</sup> March 1927*, Superintendent Government Press, Madras, P. 3.
7. Government of Madras, 1912, *Administration Report of the Forest Department (Southern and Northern Circles), Madras Presidency for 1889-1890*, Madras, 1890, PP. 23-27. Also see, *Government of Madras, Report of the Forrest Committee, Madras, Vol. 2, PP. 31-32*.
8. Government of Madras, 1921, *Judicial Department, GO. NO. 110, dated 27<sup>th</sup> April 1921*, P.3, APSA.
9. Ghani, Muhammad Abdul, 1915, *Note on the Criminal Tribes of Madras Presidency, Provincial Police Training School, Vellore*, p. 3.
10. Booth Tucker, Frederick, 1913, *Mukti Fauj or 40 Years with the Salvation Army in India and Ceylon*, Marshall Brothers, London, p. 41.
11. Government of Madras, 1913, *Judicial Department, GO. NO. 1161 dated 12<sup>th</sup> June 1913*. Also see, *Home Judicial Department, GO. NO. 1140 dated 1<sup>st</sup> May 1920 pp.1-2*. Also see, *Home Judicial Department, GO. NO. 1649, dated 19<sup>th</sup> July 1919 PP.1-4* and *Home Judicial Department, GO. NO. 2497, dated 29<sup>th</sup> October 1919, pp. 1-3*.
12. Government of Madras, 1918, *Memorandum on Donga Yerukulas by the Deputy Inspector General of Police and Criminal Investigation Department, Madras*, Also see, *Government of Madras, Judicial Department, GO. NO. 917, dated 10.5.1913 (Mis)*.
13. Government of Madras, 1929, *Administration Report of the Labor department, 1925-1928*, Madras. Also see, *Public Works Labor Department, GO.NO. 2338L, dated 19.8.1930* and *Public Works Labor Department, GO. NO. 1313L., dated 17.6.1932, pp. 1-3*.



14. Government of Madras, 1932, Public Works Labor Department, GO. NO. 1313L., dated 17.6.1932, pp. 1-7.
15. Government of Madras, 1928, *Public Works Labor Department, GO. NO.1654L., dated 6.7.1928, p.4.*
16. Government of Madras, 1939, *Home Department, GO.NO. 1544, dated 20.3.1939, pp.2-3.*
17. Government of Madras, 1934, *Public Works Labor Department, GO.NO. 2671L., dated 6.12.1934, pp 4-5.*
18. Government of Madras, 1935, *Public Works Labor Department, GO.NO. 2726L., dated 17.12.1935, pp. 1-2.*
19. Government of Madras,1916, Home Judicial Department, GO. NO. 1534 14.6.1916, pp. 1-2.
20. Tucker Booth Frederick, 1912, *Criminocurology or the Indian Crim and What to do with him-A Report of the work of the Salvation Army among the Criminal Tribes, Habituals and Released Prisoners in India, London, pp. 17-17.*
21. Government of Madras, 1921, *Stuartpuram Administration Report 1920-21, Tamil Nadu Archives, p. 1.*
22. Government of Madras, 1928, *Administration Report of the Labor department for 1927-28, Madras, 1928, p.4.*
23. Government of Madras, 1932, *Administration Report of the Labor department for the year's 1927-28,1929-1930 and 1930-1931, Madras, 1932, pp. 7, 8,9-10.*
24. Government Of Madras, 1933, *Development Department, GO.NO. 1315, dated 27.10.1933, Commissioner of labor letter to Secretary to Government of Madras, dated 1.10.1933, p. 9.*
25. *Indian Express, June 16<sup>th</sup> 1984, Vijayawada, Edition, "Raw deal to Residents of Settlement Colonies", p. 4.*
26. *The Hindu dated 19<sup>th</sup> June 1984, Vijayavada Edition, "A Change for the Better", p. 8.*
27. Government of India, 2008, *Report on National Commission for Denotified, Nomadic and Semi-NOMADIC tribes, Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment, Vol. I, (un published Report), GOI, New Delhi, p. 8.*
28. *The Hindu, Hyderabad Edition, October 3<sup>rd</sup> 2001, "High Court Judge Fours sending Juvenile Offenders to NGOs", p. 1.*
29. *The Hindu, Hyderabad Edition, Saturday, March 13, 1999, "Reform Process a pace at Stuartpuram", p. 1.*
30. Gandhi, Malli, 2006, *Development of Denotified Tribes: Policy and Practice, Sarup and Sons, New Delhi, p. 198.*
31. Gandhi, Malli, 2008, *Denotified Tribes: Dimensions of Change, Kanishka Publishers, New Delhi, p. 201.*
32. *The Hindu, Wednesday, June 20<sup>th</sup> 1984, Vijayawada Edition, "Reformed criminals want the Government to lift ban on employment", p. 8. Cops driving them to crime.*
33. *Deccan Chronicle, Vijayawada Edition, dated 19.6.1984 and News Time, dated 12.6.1984, "Reformed criminals to take part in the meeting", p. 3.*

34. The Hindu, March 1999, "Thirteen Criminals Surrender", p. 8.
35. *The New Indian Express, Hyderabad, Tuesday, march 30<sup>th</sup> 1999*, "Twenty five hard core dacoits of Guntur Surrender", p. 4.
36. Lavanam and Hemalatha Lavanam, February 1976, *Notes on Reformation of Criminal Tribes people*, Atheist center, Vijayawada, p. 8.
37. Lalitha, V., 1995, *Making of Criminal Tribes: Patterns and Transition*, New Era Publications, Madras, p. 77.
38. Banerjee, Nirmala, 1989, "Trends in Women's Employment, 1971-81, Some Micro Level Observations", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XXIV, No. 17, April 29, p. 10.
39. Unni, Jeemol, 1989, "Changes in Women's Employment in Rural areas, 1961-63", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XXIV, No.17, April, 29, p. 23.
40. Gandhi, Malli and Lalitha V., 2009, *Tribes Under stigma: Problems of Identity*, Serials publishers, New Delhi, p. 127.
41. NT/DNT Rag, 2005, *Technical Advisory Group Report*, p. 86.
42. *Ibid.* p. 89.
43. Government of India, June 30<sup>th</sup> 2008, *Report on National Commission for Denotified, Nomadic and Semi-NOMADIC tribes*, Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment, Vol. I, (un published Report), GOI, New Delhi, p. 48.
44. Gandhi, Malli and Lalitha V., 2009, *Tribes Under stigma: Problems of Identity*, Serials Publishers, New Delhi, p. 127.