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TRIBAL ETHNOGRAPHIES AND VILLAGE STUDIES IN ANDHRA PRADESH: SOME OBSERVATIONS

The government decisions do affect academic activities and agenda to greater or lesser extent in India though university systems are autonomous and curricula are free from political or government interference. The present context is the bifurcation of Andhra Pradesh into Andhra Pradesh and Telangana states since June 2, 2014 and its likely impact on anthropological research in academic institutions/departments. These new states are liable to set some common but some distinct agenda for the future study of tribal and general populations which are likely to influence the academic interests as well. For instance, for various pressures known, these states may include some populations into scheduled caste or tribe or backward class categories. Thus, one is likely to get new social status that would have chain reactions in the population configuration and other profiles of the state. Keeping such proclivities in mind, the present paper takes a stock of the situation before new initiatives are likely to emerge. Thus, this paper intends to review retrospectively the anthropological works undertaken when the state remained united till May 2014, till the historic even, took place leading to separation of the state of the Telugu speakers after a period of 64 years of being together. This review may even reflect or resemble the situation in other states also as the general trend in the country could not be in any way different drastically.

The united Andhra Pradesh was a homeland for 386 castes of which the government of Andhra Pradesh had identified 59 as scheduled castes and 35 as scheduled tribes, the population of which works out to be 16.19 per cent and 6.59 per cent respectively to the total population of the state. Within the general population the government identified 93 castes and called them collectively Other Backward Class which had been classified into four groups: A (39 castes), B (20 castes), C (Scheduled Castes converted to Christianity) and D (34 castes). The percentage of the Other Backward Class was fixed at 25 per cent which was only an indicator of its numerical strength for the purpose of extending certain material benefits as in case of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. The religious composition of the population of the state showed Hindu majority (89.1 per cent) with the presence of other religious

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communities such as Muslim (9.2 per cent), Christian (1.6 per cent), Buddhist (0.04 per cent), Sikh (0.04 per cent) Jain (0.05 per cent) and a miniscule of other religions. The anthropology of Andhra Pradesh was concerned with these castes and tribes.

Since the ethnographic literature about these populations, published and unpublished, is quite large, the paper cannot boast to have presented an analysis of the ethnographic account of these populations in all dimensions. It only brings out some observations from the ethnographic accounts on village, caste and tribes of Andhra Pradesh. Only published material in the form of books, papers in academic journals is considered for the present purpose. Also the research themes covered in them are so numerous that only a few important ones are selected. The main objective is to identify the trajectory of ethnographic writings.

Early Ethnography and its Continuation: An Inventory of Castes and Tribes

If we take the meaning of ethnography in its wide sense the description of people, we find the earliest writings in district gazetteers, manuals, monographs of the British revenue and other officials produced in the late 19th and early 20th century. While the district gazetteers provided synoptic view of the district's population, economy, resources, traditions and practices among the populations of the district, some monographs or descriptions provide detailed accounts of castes and tribes in a geographical region. These writers include Baines (1893), Grigson (1947), Hutton (1946), Risley (1908), Russel and R. Hiralal (1969), Sherring (1909/1975), Syed Siraj-ul-Hassan (1920), and Thurston (1975). Even after the demise of British rule, considering the practical use of the gazetteers for the administrators, the state governments of Independent India continued publication of the gazetteers and in Andhra Pradesh these are updated from 1979 onwards employing revenue officials. While some gazetteers give little information on the population inhabiting the district some other give more information which include demographic data, types of houses, dress patterns, languages spoken, castes, and religious sects besides economic data.

Following this tradition the Anthropological Survey of India launched a massive project in 1985 to identify various castes and tribes and to provide brief account of each of these communities. In this regard 4,693 communities were identified in the country and ethnographic information was collected by scholars engaged in anthropological research throughout the country and the same has been published in several volumes (Singh 1998). Andhra Pradesh has been covered in Volume XIII that includes 390 castes and tribes. Separate volumes are published for scheduled castes and scheduled tribe, though these castes and tribes are included in the volumes of general population (Singh 1995, 1998). Apart from these, some scholars like Ram (2007) Singh (2006)

and Yadav (2009) have attempted to provide encyclopedic description about the scheduled castes and tribes on the lines of British scholars mentioned above. I call this an inventory of castes and tribes whose relevance cannot be undermined but their theoretical value for anthropology of Andhra Pradesh is not significant or nominal.

The ethnographic works of the British administrators are mostly impressionistic and superficial in nature though certain amount of objectivity can be perceived. Sweeping generalizations are made about the living styles of people, as they had covered a wide range of geographical area. From these accounts one will be able find the differences among communities in their social life. The People of India project is different in that the scholars have made attempts to study the communities assigned to them keeping in mind the accounts produced by the British administrators or scholars, and the facts were verified in the field situation and wherever there was inadequate or lack of material, fresh data were collected and incorporated into the body of ethnographic literature. But these accounts have neither been systematic and nor analytically sound perhaps the data collected were unmanageably huge. For example, the account on Yerukala tribe appears under various names though they differ only in occupation without any explanation for this diversification (Singh 1994:1181-1202). It is not a comprehensive work from which one could make generalizations of any theoretical importance.

The encyclopedic works of Ram and others are compilations of the works of various scholars including the British. They, except Ram, are not concerned about the significance of the ethnographies, but for Ram the emergence of caste system, marginalization of castes and the stigma of untouchability and associated social inequalities underlie the ethnographic accounts of various scheduled castes (Ram 2007: xiii-xxxiv). Even in this case, certain confusions continue. For example, Adi- Andhra is mentioned as a caste with certain social and cultural features. The fact is that this is a generic category in that more than one scheduled castes identify with it. Both Mala and Madiga households refer themselves particularly in the official records as Adi-Andhra which is a honourable term. By referring themselves to Adi-Andhra they do not consider themselves belonging to the same caste, but for all practical purposes, they identify themselves either with Mala or Madiga. But the compilers of encyclopedia have identified the Adi-Andhra as separate category which is quite misleading (Ram 2007:1-6; Singh, N.K. 2006: 30-34).

Tribal Village Monographs

During the 1961 Census, more systematic study of certain castes and tribes focusing on a particular village was carried out. The Census covered ethnographic profiles of certain communities under 'special groups' which focus on rural craft, fairs and festivals relating to various tribal villages. These studies also included the basic occupational activities around fishing, hunting,

peasantry, pottery, etc. The village monographs pertaining to Andhra Pradesh give us an idea about the population that includes dress patterns, food habits, fairs, festivals and religion. However, these are not in-depth studies that explore the social and cultural complexities of the population.

Village Ethnography: Structural Features

The authentic and scientific ethnographic documentation began to emerge after the independence. An understanding of village was a felt need of the government for the purpose of introducing development programmes and an academic need for the sociologists or anthropologists. For this M. N. Srinivas' study of Rampura in 1948 became the source of inspiration along with other publications on villages in India. Dube's (1955) study of Shamirpet is the first of its kind that represented the Telugu people. This is a multi-caste village which is located close to Hyderabad city on the northern side. The study assumes great significance as it provides the sociological reality¹ of the Indian village in Andhra Pradesh. The social structure of Andhra village in terms of castes and interdependency among castes, *jajmani* relations, the political and economic institutions of the village are well represented. It is also a representative of Indian village that has been used in the debates on the nature of inter-caste relations, principles of social structure of Indian society and so on. This is followed by Heibert's (1971) study of Konduru located a few kilometers south of Hyderabad where the focus is on the social structure and village integration. A vivid description of *jajmani* relations reveals the fact that various service castes are brought to the village temple after renewing the service obligations in the New Year and they are compelled to take oath in front of the village deity as commitment to their calling. The village ritual is an area where social integration can be seen very clearly. These two studies provide the reality of Telugu village for all academic purposes. However, the account of Mallannapalle village gives the dynamic social life of villagers wherein one finds the changing *jajmani* relations and the connections of several villages through these relations (Benson 1976).

The next two studies are concerned with resource management and power. Wade's (1987) study of Kottapalle draws our attention towards the concept of 'village republic' with reference to collective action emerging from political and economic needs of people in regard to common property resources. Unlike the other studies where caste and inter-caste relations are emphasized in village organization, here it is the governance of territorial unit under certain rules with the participation of individuals from different castes. There is a separate council to protect the common interest of grazing land and irrigation by canal, and this council is different from the constitutional *panchayat*. While there are few of this kind, there are several villages where there are no such councils. The explanation offered here is that where there is scarcity of water or other resources and risk of crop loss or occurrence of social conflict in

agricultural sphere, the corporatization is higher. The study assumes significance with reference to the ongoing debate on the common property resources at global level.

Rao's (1998) study of Anthatipuram deals with power, in Foucaultian sense, which is construed not only as constitutive element of caste structure but also an inherent element in other structures like gender and age. Unlike several studies that largely attempted to study the constitutional and traditional structures of power which often get manifested in coercion subjugating the subordinates, the study tries to understand power as it is constituted in caste system in its ideology and rules and its symbolic construction through rituals. His approach to understanding power is through the analysis of various forms of resistance which are not organized but unorganized forms of protests which can be observed in the subtle activities of sabotage and in stories, myths and songs. Rao joins the ongoing debate on caste ideology particularly of the untouchable castes articulated by Dumont (1980), Moffatt (1979), and Deliege (1992), disagrees with the consensus model and the structuralist perspective of caste system advanced by Dumont and Moffatt (Rao 1998).

Kranthi Kumar (2013a) has added to the short list of village studies with his work on the impact of tobacco cultivation on the Dalit agricultural labourers in two villages of Prakasam district. The Karavadi village is on the speedy track of social and cultural change compared to Veerabhadrapuram due to cultivation of tobacco and establishment of tobacco processing factories over the years. The cultivation of commercial crop and its consequences particularly setting up of the factories in the area has facilitated a positive change in the social and economic life among the Dalits. Also penetration of Left parties and their ideology that galvanized the local political forces has been so sharp that the social transformation could easily be noticed with the facts that the Dalits were able to corner the position of Surpanch in the Panchayat which has been unreserved thereby asserting their presence of substantial figures while actively engaged in local political field. They could make temple entry with the support of the Communist leaders and able to cause dent on the practice of untouchability.

Ethnography of Castes

Caste is the basic constituent of a village, and in this regard the available literature informs us of the nature of Madiga, Kayastha, Mala, Balija, Vysya, Palle, Vodabalija, and Jalari castes. The Kayastha (Leonard 1994) caste in fact had migrated from north India during the times of Nizams, and therefore it does not reflect the Telugu society and culture. Singh (1969) brings out the concept of 'satellite castes' to characterize the relationship between dependent castes and central or patron or main sub-caste in his study of Madiga

community. This has great potential to understand caste system in a new perspective, but it has not been taken up so far by others. The implication of this shall be discussed at a later stage. The study deals with the Madiga untouchable caste in Telangana region which has been excluded from the main residential location of a village where the high castes live but integrated with the village in all domains of life. The Madiga caste members provide services to castes like the scavenging, skinning the dead buffalos and cows, and make sandals with the skin of these animals. But in fact Madiga itself constitutes a community with sub-castes or groups which are endogamous but dependent on the Madiga central caste; these are Sangari (spiritual guides), Baidla or Erpula (priests), Sindu (entertainers and caste mythological story tellers), Mashtin (acrobats and entertainers), and Dakkali (beggars). Among these sub-castes there is a social hierarchy in which the Sangari claim the superior status to the Madiga main caste, and Dakkali is the lowest and the Madiga do not accept food or water from the Dakkali. Singh calls these sub-castes *satellite castes*. This type of structural arrangement can be found in several castes (see Rao 2001).

The ethnography of fisher castes – Palle, Vodabaliya and Jalari of north coastal districts — reveals the fact that despite engagement in same occupation of marine fishing, and living in the same socio-economic conditions and environment, they maintain their identities and practice strict endogamy. One wonders why and how they maintain their distinct identities. Suryanarayana (1977) undertakes a comparative study of these castes and covers material culture, social organization, economic and political organization and development programmes. Each of the castes is internally divided and maintains strong leadership. The marriage pattern shows strong tendency towards cross cousin marriage (27 per cent), but it is more among the Jalari (36 per cent). Both great and little traditions are practiced by all the castes. Had there been an attempt to explain the reasons for such high percentage of consanguineous marriages, and similarly, the adaptation to ecology and its impact on the social system the study would have greater value. However, some of these questions are answered in another study that followed. Rao (1990) in his intensive study brings in for the first time the distinction between culture and structure in understanding the family of Jalari. The structural features of relations among the family members, composition of family and domestic organization are explained through cultural beliefs, ideas and values of the society. The adaptive strategies to the risky enterprise of marine fishing include marriage with close relatives, worship of various deities, and also inheritance of property – boats and fishing nets. Further he unravels the fact that kinship behaviour and terminology incorporate the hierarchy which is a caste feature (Rao 1973).

The ethnographies available on Vysya, Baliya and Mala, an untouchable caste are based on survey of households from these castes carried out by Gupta

and Bhaskar (1992), Rathnaiah (1991), and Vijayakumar and Bhaskar (1998). These are neither methodologically nor theoretically significant, but contribute for a sociological understanding of these castes vis-à-vis other castes in the region and similar castes in other linguistic areas of the country. Rajpramukh's book (2013) on Mala Masti supplements the work of T.R. Singh and N.S.Rao with greater ethnographic account on a single dependent Mala caste.

Tribal ethnographies

A substantial number of studies has been carried out and impressive ethnographies are brought on Chenchu, Gond, Kondareddi, Kondhs, Kolam, Koya, Lambada or Sugali, Savara, Yerukala and Yanadi. Particularly Fürer-Haimendorf's works on Chenchu (1943) Kondareddi (1945) and Gond (1979) are very significant. In this regard attempt is made here to find out the significance of these studies in the long drawn debate and discussion on the structural and cultural unity of India despite diversity (Ghurye 1943, Dumont), caste system and social formation.

Social Organization: The ethnographies reveal that some tribes are divided into two divisions or groups as in case of Savara as Hills Savara and Low country Savara. The Hill Savara is again divided into six sub-groups and the Low country Savara into Kapu Savara (cultivators) and Pallapu/Sudha Savara and others as well. All the Koya sub-groups belong to either Racha Koya and Dairla Chattam, except the Doli Koya (Rao 1990:27). However, several of the tribes are divided into sub-groups/tribes like Maliah Kondhs, Desia Kondh, Kutia Khonds and Dongria Kondhs where language is a marker as Maliah Kondhs speak Kuvi language which is Dravidian whereas the Kutia speak a form of Kuvi which includes several Oriya words. Desia Kondh speak Oriya and Dongria Kondh speak Telugu. The division of tribe or sub-tribe is based on different criteria. In case of Koya, these are: Commu Koya (those who live on river banks), Lingadari Koya (Saivaites and Priests), Gampa Koya (basketmakers), Musari Koya (brassworkers), Gutta Koya (mountain dwellers) and Doli Koya (traditional bards to Koyas) (Rao 1990:27). There are about 19 sub-groups among the Yerukala, and some of them are: Bhajanthri (musicians), Bidari (nomadic), Dubba (split bamboo workers), Donga or Kepmari (criminal), Gadde or Pachchakuti (sooth-sayers and tattoo markers), Eetha (date palm basket makers), Kuncha (brush makers) etc. (Reddy 2001:42-43) and these are occupational divisions. Similar divisions are found among the Yanadi and Chenchu (Rao 2004:32), Porja (TCR & TI 2004:28), Lambada (Rao 1990: 32-34, Ratthord 1984) and so on. Thus, sub-division or sub-group formation is the common feature and this is based on various criteria but mostly on the means of livelihood or the habitation or language that they speak, etc. While some sub-groups are organized around the dominant sub-groups others are independent. In some cases the sub-divisions are organized into one or two groups as in case of Savara.

In some cases the sub-group is divided into smaller groups or sections as in case of Lambada; the Dappan Lambada are divided into Bhat, Dhandi and Dhalia (TCR&TI 2004:31-32). But in case of Gond, Koya, Pradhan and Kolam the tribe or its sub-group is usually divided into phratry which consists of some named localized patrilineal and patriarchal clans which are termed as *intiperu*. The Gond group of tribes is divided into exogamous groups called *Saga* or *Devar* or *Kher* which are referred to as phratries by Fürer-Haimendorf (1953): Nalwen Saga (four divine brother group), Seewen Saga (Five divine brother group), Sarwen saga (six divine brother group) and Edwen Saga (seven divine brother group) and each of these saga is divided into several *padi* which is again divided into several *khandan* and each *khandan* consists of several *kita*. The *padi* is equated with clan and *khandan* with sub-clan and *kita* with lineage. Each of these social categories is identified with a deity and rituals are organized for each social unit. In case of saga, there is identification with male and female deities and the habitation of the deity besides sacred object or animal. Such elaborate classification and social organization is absent in case of Kolam and Pradhan.

Tribe and Caste Conundrum

The segmentation of tribe is similar to caste structure in many ways. As caste gets divided into various sub-castes, based on the principle of occupational specialization and on the value of purity and impurity, the tribe is also divided into few segments. As in case of some high castes, *gotra* system found in some of the tribes that basically regulates marriage. The functioning of exogamous *intiperu* is same among the tribes and castes of Telugu populations. Caste like endogamous groups are noted among the tribes; there is a hierarchy among the Koya sub-groups where Lingadhari Koya claim highest social status among the other sub-groups, and the Koya Dolies and Koya Pottidis are untouchable artisan and beggars whereas Koya Doralu are ruling class and Koya Musara and Koya Kammara are in the middle level of the hierarchy (Murthy 1981:215).

Reddy (1973) finds caste features in the tribal society of Visakhapatnam agency area based on purity and pollution concepts. Those who deal with hides are considered inferior. Acceptance of food and water is based on social hierarchy in the tribal communities. He says,

this society has developed all the essential characteristics of a caste system which has neither been imposed nor is being maintained by any external agency. It is not a mere replica of the caste system found in the plains around, for the caste groups on the plains do not correspond to the groups here. It is purely an indigenous growth which gives us an insight into some of the processes of the evolution of a complex institution at the grassroots level (Reddy NS 1973:167)

This is an important observation which required further enquiry. The Lambada have their own barber, the Navi sub-group, ornaments makers,

the Sonar, and the Dappan as bards and musicians and these sub-groups depend on the main Lambada sub-group only. The Pradhans are bards and keepers of myths and stories of Gonds and to each family; a family of Pradhans is attached. Among the Kondhs of Kandhamals there is a close relationship between the Kondh traditional leaders and non-tribes particularly the Panna, the untouchable caste (Patnaik 1992). As noted earlier the sub-caste organization in the Madiga community has similar features. This points to the fact that the caste system has some intrinsic connection with the tribal organization which has not been thoroughly explored so far. Further in the religious sphere also there is syncretism of Hindu and tribal pantheon and beliefs, but very little work has been carried out to examine the interrelation between the little traditional religious practices of tribal population and the great and little traditional practices of non-tribes though efforts have been made in this direction (Rao DVR 1968, Sastry 1994, Murthy 1981, Reddy BK 1992).

Marriage, Family and Kinship Organization: Several ethnographers provide detailed description of the ways of acquiring mate, different types of marriages, rule of marriage and so on. They also give the details of descent, descent groups, family types, and family organization – division labour, inheritance of property and the like, but they lack theoretical importance of such descriptions.

Trautmann is also of the view that the three important kinship systems found in India – Indo-Aryan, Dravidian and Munda – have had influenced each other in space and time. According to him the contemporary Indio-Aryan system, when examined through inscriptions, law books, chronicles and epics, had based on the Dravidian features (1981:Ch.4). In fact Dumont (1966) and Vatuk (1972) show certain features of Dravidian system in Hindi speaking populations of North India. Carter's (1973) study of kinship among the southern Maharshtrians shows features of both North Indian among the Brahmins and Dravidian features among the non-Brahmins. It is clear that the southern Maharashtra forms the transition zone between south and north Indian kinship systems. The Munday kinship system is influenced by the Indio-Aryan as well as Dravidian systems. It resembles the Dravidian in distinguishing cross and parallel kin and repeating marriage alliances between groups, but cross-cousin marriage is not allowed (Parkin 1992). Therefore, as we move towards north from south, we find transformation of Dravidian kinship system into various cases of Indo-Aryan and Munday kinship systems.

Of the 35 tribes inhabiting Andhra Pradesh, only Chenchu, Yanadi, Konda Reddy, Mannevarlu and Nayak speak Telugu as their mother tongue and the rest have their own languages which have been influenced by either Marathi or Oriya. The tribes that are considered Dravidian include mainly Gond, Koya, Kolam, Kondh, Yanadi, Yerukala, Chenchu and Bagata among others. Among these as Bagata, Yanadi and Chenchu speak Telugu, others

have their own dialect. As regards Gond, Koya, Kolam, each of them have their own dialect but Mannevarlu who claim their origin with Kolam speak Telugu for having lived along with the Telugu speakers for many years. They consider themselves sibling tribes and their common deity is Bhimdevara besides other gods and goddesses associated with forest, and all follow the phratry system and *intiperu*. The Koya phratries include: *yedava gatta*, *arava gatta*, *idava gatta*, *nalgava gatta*, and *mudava gatta*. Each of the phratry or *gatta* is divided into clans (*intiperlu*). Among Mannevarlu the phratries include *eydu devar*, *aru devar*, *idu devar* and *nalgu devar*, and each *devar* is divided into a number of *intiperlu* (Rao, 2008: ch 2). Gond, Koya, and Mannevarlu practice cross-cousin marriage, however it is important to note that as Tyler finds alternate generation in the kinship system of Koya which is a feature among the Australian tribes (which is a feature of the Munadary kinship system), one finds the same among the Gonds and Mannevarlu. Tyler believes that change has occurred in the Dravidian kinship structure over a period of time (Tyler 1984, 1990).

Similar to Gond, Koya, Kolam and Mannevarlu, each of the Yerukala sub-group is divided into *phratries* such as Kavadi, Sathpadi, Manupati and Mendraguthi. Each of the phratry consists of named localized patrilineal and patriarchal clans called *intiperu* (Reddy 2001:356). But there is no evidence of alternate generation feature among the Yerukala as in case of Gond, Koya, and Kolam.

In contrast to above, among the Oriya or Adivasi Oriya speaking tribes the phratry system is absent as in case of Telugu speaking tribes such as Bagata, Goudu, Yandi, Chenchu, and Kondareddy. The Bagata is divided into *gothrams* or *vasams* such as *korra* (sun), *killo* or *bagh* (tiger), *gollari* (monkey), *pangi* (kite) which may equated with clan or *intiperu*. The Goudu is divided into twelve endogamous sub-divisions and each of the subdivisions is further divided into exogamous units such as *vantahal* (snake), *samardhi* (flower) in addition to those mentioned. The Kammara tribe also has the same exogamous clans. Among the Chenchu, Yanadai, Kondareddy, Mannevar and Nayak, there is no phratry system, but *intiperlu* are the divisions of the society. The non-Telugu speakers speak kui or kuvi with inflections of Oriya such as Khond, Kutia and Porja are similar to Telugu speaking tribes. Each of the Khond sub-tribe is divided into exogamous clans. The Kotia sub-division is divided into numerous clans such as *matya* (fish), *naga* (snake), *geedh* (eagle), *gorapitta* (a kind of bird), etc. Among the Porja also we find eight divisions and each division has same clans which form the *intiperu*. Cross-cousin marriage is permissible in all these tribes.

It has been observed that the Savara who follow Mundary pattern of kinship where ideally cross-cousin marriage is forbidden. In case of Savara there are no clear cut clans or lineages, but marriage with any cousin or sister's daughter is allowed. This is a change of kinship which has been noted by

Suryanaraya (1999) and this Dravidian feature is due to contact with the non-tribal Telugu speaking tribes and castes. Thus, the kinship system of tribes been changing due to the influence of others, the Dravidian systems have been influencing the Indo-Aryan and Munday systems as well. Rao (2004) notes reflection of affinity in Yanadi kinship which is prominently displayed in the marriage rules of Tamil caste (c.f. Dumont 1986). Thus, the changing kinship structure is an area which needs deeper investigation. Thus, Andhra Pradesh seems to be the meeting ground of Dravidian, Indo-Aryan and Munday systems of kinships. The studies of kinship systems among Andhra tribes have thrown some light on the influence of Dravidian system on Indo-Aryan and Munday system.

Territorial and Political Organization

Each of the tribes has its own mechanisms of social control through the customary law. The tradition system continues to function simultaneously along with the constitutional institution, *grama panchayat* to which members are elected through democratic system of elections. In spite of the fact that the modern institutions and the institutions of police and judiciary have greatly weakened the traditional institutions of political organizations are still effective to a large extent. The territorial organization is very important for state formation, and there existed the phenomenon of territorial organizations beyond the village during pre-independence. The Gonds seem to had risen to that stage of state formation, but anthropologists have not made any attempts to study such situations. Fürer-Haimendorf (1953:511) claims it as an imposed political hierarchy resulting from the domination of non-tribal kings when extended their jurisdiction to tribal areas. But such claims need to be verified. Such is the case among the Koya leaders who served as *muthadars* to the Hindu kings, Muslim and also the British rulers for collecting taxes, but this institution still exists in degenerated form for the main purpose of social control. The *muthadar* is assisted by *samithi poyi* or *daluvai* among the Koya (Dash 2009). There is a strong local and supra-local organization in Kondh society (Patnaik 1992). Despite the existence of organized political institutions among the tribes, there is very little ethnographic work on customary laws and the political institutions of the past as well as their links with the contemporary political structures and issues of the tribes though some work has been reported on tribal unrest (Reddy 1987, Rao 1993, Rao and Rao 1982, Sastry 1989).

Changes in the Tribal and rural ethnographies

The late fifties has witnessed a change in the focus of tribal studies from social organization to social and culture change, land alienation, exploitation, tribal economy, and tribal development. Several scholars such as Rao (1971, 1999), Rao (1982), Rao (1988), Rao, (1987), Rao (1998), Rao (1981),

Reddy AM (1973), and others have discussed the problem of land alienation. There have been large number of reports, and publications on the analysis of tribal development plans, and schemes implemented for the tribe's economic development, processes of implementation, evaluation of the development schemes and so on. There is only one case where anthropologists performed the roles of change agents in an action research programme (Agrawal, Rao and Reddy 1981). Rao (2004) after carefully examination of several of these publications writes:

After decades of special efforts for tribal development, significant changes can be seen. Modern and commercial agriculture has made entry. Literacy is on the rise along with aspirations. Considerable improvement can be seen in infrastructure, communications and health facilities. But large gap exists between the available potential of natural resources like land, water, and forests, and their utilization and productivity (Rao 2004:163)

An area which is emerging besides tribal development is about the patterns of livelihoods and changes therein. Siva Prasad is concerned with the changing trends of the livelihoods (2002). Venkata Sivaiah notes the livelihood patterns and changes among the Chenchus (2013).

Today tribal health that covers ethno-medicine, woman and child health, magico-religious processes of healing, morbidity and so on has been an important area of interest since the 1970s. Some important works are: Anil Kumar and Mishra (2003), Gangadharam (1999), Roy and Sharma (2005), Rajpramukh (1976, 2011,12, 2014), Rajpramukh and Palkumar (2006), Rao (2006), Rao and Prasad (1995), Reddy (1990), Rao (1998), Reddy (2005) Sharma and Majhi (2004), Sharma (2002), Sharma and Singh (2010, 2011, 2014), Sharma and Reddy (2012), Sharma and Srinivasu (2013), Subramanyam (2014) and others. Among them the most outstanding work is about the fertility behavior of Chenchus (Gangadharam 1999) where a clear association of cultural factors with the fertility behaviour has been established. Like other examples around the world, the hunting and gathering Chenchu tribe able to keep the fertility rate in balance without high fertility and mortality as well.

Another area emerging slowly is the indigenous knowledge. Misra has published a full length book on the Kondareddi's indigenous knowledge, natural resource management and development (Misra 2005). Other publications include the indigenous knowledge of primitive tribal groups (Rao and Ramana 2007) and perceptions of forest space among the Chenchu, Kondareddi and Koya Dora (Gangadharam 2007).

Change of trend has also been noticed from 1990s in rural ethnographies where the focus is on changing social relations. Rao (1996, 1997) observes change in the social relations in a village due to establishment of mica mines and shortage of rainfall. The socio-economic profile of rural Andhra Pradesh has been affected due to commercial ventures in agriculture such as

sericulture and tobacco besides mining. The impact of sericulture has been on the rural economy (Eswarappa and Prasad 2007); (Eswarappa 2009, 2011). Similarly the impact of tobacco cultivation on the Dalits of a village and their relations with upper castes has been reported by Kranthi Kumar (2012, 2013a, 2013b).

Conclusion

The major trajectories of ethnographic accounts of populations in Andhra Pradesh outlined above reveal gross neglect of caste and rural or urban populations, but substantial work has been done with regard to tribal population. This is for the reason that Indian anthropologists are more concerned about the tribes leaving the caste largely for sociologists who in fact have done no way better than the former. The ethnographies so far produced unravel the facts of similarities between castes and tribes as much as of their differences so far as the social organization is concerned. But as regards to religion, and economic life there are more differences than the similarities. In case of political organization the traditional system of social control and administering of justice goes on similar lines. There is a fertile ground to investigate process of Dravidian system interacting with other systems of kinship to find the consequences of the same. The initial exploration into the tribal life has given way to the issues of tribes for the enthusiasm of anthropologist to find ways of application of anthropological knowledge and to meet the needs of the government agencies.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is a revised paper presented at the Workshop on "Facets of Anthropological Research, Teaching and Training in Andhra Pradesh: A Retrospect and Prospect" organized by ASI, Dept. of Anthropology, HCU and TCR&TI, Hyderabad during 27th-28th January 2011 at the University of Hyderabad, Hyderabad. I gratefully acknowledge the comments received from the scholar participants at the workshop on the basis of which the paper has been revised.

NOTES

1. This is the time when anthropologists inspired by Robert Redfield in America tested their theory and method in Indian context and published monographs on villages (Srinivas 1955, Marriott 1955).

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